

PEOPLE OF
THE WORLD
UNITE TO
DEFEAT
IMPERIALISM

THE CALL

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PEOPLE HIT BACK AT RACISM AND REPRESSION

NATIONAL DAYS OF RESISTANCE TO REPRESSION

Thousands of people, primarily workers and minorities, gathered in militant actions throughout the country last month, during the National Days of Resistance to Repression.

Initiated by the October League to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the death of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton, the National Days of Resistance to Repression served as a warning to the ruling class that the continued increase in repression and open terror against the working class and oppressed people would only lead to heightened resistance.

The Days of Resistance were not simply days of mourning for our fallen comrades, but rather they were days of militant speeches and actions uniting workers and oppressed minorities in struggle. One of the main features of the program was the opposition built to the racist attacks against Black and other minorities in Boston. People involved in various anti-repression campaigns spoke, and film showings, as well as other cultural events, were held. A summary follows:

In Atlanta, Ga., some 300 people gathered on December 6 for a program called by the Fred Hampton Day Organizing Committee, composed of the Atlanta Anti-Repression Coalition and several rank-and-file caucuses, community people and progressive organizations as well as the October League.

The program was followed the next day by a march of 200 people, despite a torrential rain. The main themes of the march were, "Unite to Fight Repression;" "Stop Attacks on All Oppressed People;" and "Self-Determination for the Afro-American People." The march was endorsed by members of AFSCME, CWA and other unions; the National Black Communications Coalition; Coalition of Labor Union Women; the Atlanta Labor Action Alliance; and a Black labor group in Greensboro, North Carolina. Other supporters included Rev. Hosea Williams, Rev. Stafford, Rev. Joe Boone, Georgia Power Project, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Great Speckled Bird newspaper.

Speakers at the rally included Mrs. Idella Gibson, whose 17-year-old son Brandon was murdered by Atlanta police; Jehu, from the October League; a member of the Black Workers Congress, who called for a fight-back against the attack on the living standards of the workers; Teddy Treadwell, a Black woman worker who exposed the treacherous role of the reactionary labor leaders; and James Matthews of the Leavenworth Brothers Defense Committee.

Jehu, a leader of the October League in the Boston area, explained the events in Boston as being a result of the decline of imperialism, a system locked in a great crisis. Throughout his speech Jehu emphasized the need to fight the seeds of fascism which were emerging in the racist anti-busing movement.

He pointed to the outstanding example of the people of Columbia Point who picked up guns to defend their community from racist attacks. He concluded by calling for a broad national movement against repression and especially attacks on Third World people, "... linking the demands of such a movement to the demand for self-determination

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 5



DESPITE DRIVING RAIN, hundreds march in Atlanta, Georgia, to demand an end to police terror.

Victory in Chicago Struggle

HAROLD DANCY FREE

On December 3, Harold Dancy, 15 years old and Black, was tried and acquitted of murder. His acquittal was a result of a mass defense campaign led by the Harold Dancy Defense Committee.

His case had been dragged out for 7 months through 9 pre-trial hearings, despite the fact that he had 5 witnesses who testified they were with him at the time of the murder. The state's descriptions of the killer were contradictory but their 3 witnesses were white while Harold's 5 were Black. That is one reason it took 7 months and a mass defense campaign to get Harold off.

The authorities had tried to frame Harold for the shooting of a white man in a bar on the South side of Chicago near his home. After this killing, the police began to round up any Black man or youth they saw on the street. They first arrested Harold's brother, who is 4 years older and looks very different from him. When Harold went to the station to find out what was happening to his brother, they arrested him. The witnesses picked Harold out of the lineup only after they had first been allowed to meet together and agree on who they were going to pick out.

Soon after the arrest, relatives and friends of Harold, along with some members of the October League, formed the Harold Dancy Defense Committee. The committee worked hard on publicity for his case, mobilizing supporters to his series of trials, fundraising for the lawyer, and circulating a mass petition about the case. This support is the main reason Harold was released.

Every day hundreds of minority youth are arrested in this city. But the legal system denies people under 21 even the right to a jury trial. The juvenile court where Harold's trial was held, was filled with young Blacks awaiting trials where their fate would be decided by white judges who based their judgement on the testimony of white policemen. In many cases this amounts to lynch law.

This situation is true in all minority communities. But the Dancys were picked out for a special reason. They were only the second Black family to buy a house in the all-white neighborhood of West Pullman. When they moved in, the Dancy kids were continually hassled in the neighborhood stores. The police frame-up of Harold was a clear attempt to whip up white chauvinism in the community and to terrorize the minority families. In addition, the Dancy family's mental and financial suffering as a result of the case was meant as a warning to all minorities.

Harold Dancy's victory was due to the fact that people rallied to his defense. This same militant support is needed to defend the thousands of other minority people facing repression. Realizing this, members of the Dancy Defense Committee joined the Chicago Anti-Repression Coalition in an effort to unite their struggle with the broader struggle against police repression and other forms of attacks by the state which hit minorities the hardest. Defense committees are a key to organizing mass resistance in minority communities, and also against repression in the plants. The Harold Dancy Defense Committee has shown that the people can win victories over racist and fascist repression when they are united, organized and mobilized.



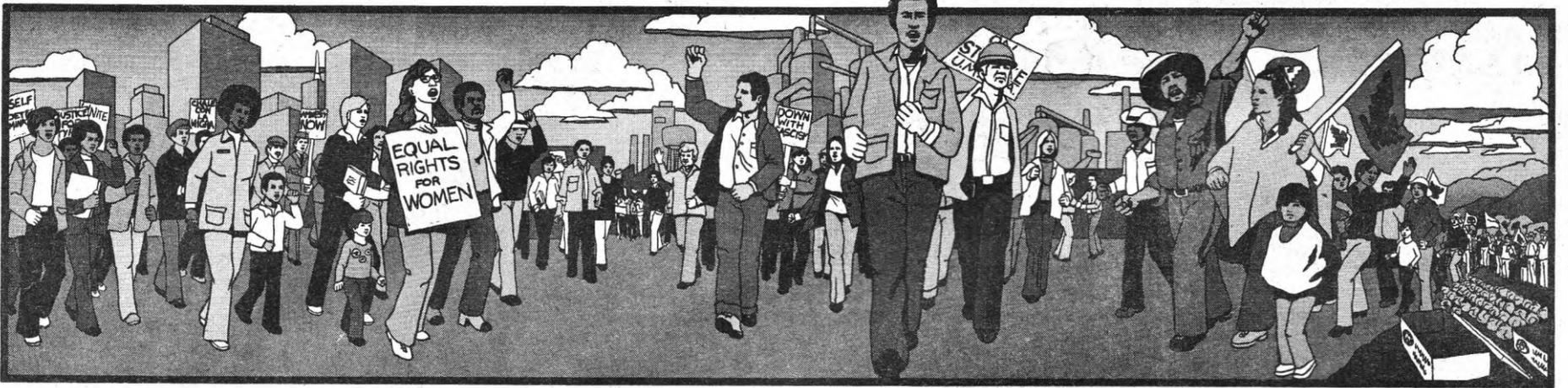
ALBANIA/ 30 YEARS OF LIBERATION

(SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT INSIDE)

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THE PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE



LEAVENWORTH TRIAL ENDS IN VICTORY

Wichita, Kansas—Armando Miramon, a Chicano Leavenworth Brother charged with kidnapping and assault, was acquitted of all charges in U.S. District Court here November 22.

The charges stem from the heroic July 1973 rebellion at Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary in which four guards were taken hostage. The rebelling inmates demanded that a prison grievance committee meet with the warden and reporters to expose the intolerable conditions inside the prison.

After the all-white jury returned the unanimous verdict, the jurors—some of them crying—congratulated Miramon and the defense attorneys in an emotional courtroom scene.

Jury foreman Ross E. Childs stated that, "Testimony about the 'hole' made a big impression on us. There is no reason to treat prisoners like that."

Miramon's defense was one of "temporary insanity" and coercion caused by the inhuman conditions inside the "hole," a rat-infested and excrement-filled solitary confinement section in the prison. Miramon described the "hole" as a 10 by 20 foot box with no windows and only a backed-up toilet and mattress. There were rarely and exercise periods or showers, and the cell was crawling with rats and cockroaches. Miramon also stated that medical problems were ignored to the point where inmates had a constant fear that they were going to die. He himself was subjected to long periods of time in the "hole" because of his leadership of food boycotts and work stoppages organized to better prison conditions.

Miramon is the last of six Black and Chicano prisoners—known as the Leavenworth Brothers—to be tried in connection with the Leavenworth rebellion. The four Black men who were tried were convicted by an all-white jury. But Miramon's co-defendant, Jesse Lopez, was acquitted earlier in the trial.

The Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee organized the legal defense and mobilized large numbers of people to support the Brothers. They rightly hailed the acquittal as a great people's victory and stated, "The defense set out to prove that inhuman prison conditions caused the prisoners to rebel, and that those who maintain the prison conditions were to blame."

PSP LEADER DIES

Puerto Rico—Raul Gonzalez, editor of Claridad newspaper and a member of the Political Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), was killed in an auto accident on December 21. He had been active in both the student movement and the struggle for independence since 1964.

At that time, as a student at the University of Puerto Rico, he participated in a campus uprising in which the students bravely battled police. In 1965, he distinguished himself as an organizer in the funeral of the great leader of the Puerto Rican independence movement, Pedro Albizu Campos, that drew thousands of people. He later joined the PSP and, in 1966, began working with Claridad, eventually becoming its editor.

All who struggle for the freedom and independence of the Puerto Rican people will mourn his loss.

G.I. ORGANIZERS HOLD CONFERENCE

Chicago—A national conference of active G.I. organizers was recently held here. Called together by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO), the conference included organizing projects from all over the country and within every branch of the military.

The purpose of the conference was to sum up several years of organizing experience, as well as bring about a closer unity among the various groups participating.

Although the more militant forms of G.I. resistance to the military (such as armed insurrection and the killing of officers) has declined since the troop withdrawals from Vietnam, the struggle of G.I.'s for their basic democratic rights has intensified. The conference saw the struggle against racism, discipline and harassment, and unsafe working conditions as major areas of organizing efforts in the coming period.

KESSLER & MARTINEZ FRAME-UP FAILS

Atlanta, Ga.—The federal government December 10 dropped all charges against Stephen Kessler and Joe Martinez. They had been facing frame-up murder charges, stemming from two unsolved murders which occurred over six years ago in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary.

A spokesperson for the Stephen Kessler/Joe Martinez Defense Committee stated, "The fact that the government dropped these charges less than a month before the scheduled trial shows conclusively that this was a frame-up. Kessler and Martinez were framed because they have been politically active inside American prisons."

Stephen Kessler, since his imprisonment in 1967, has been active in the struggle to unite people of all nationalities in the fight against prison repression. While confined in Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, he helped organize the Church of the New Song. The church is a multinational prisoners organization dedicated to the principles of equality and the right to free assembly. Kessler also successfully challenged the prison system through the courts. In 1973, he won a major lawsuit which restricted the prison system's ability to arbitrarily transfer prisoners as a means of punishment or in order to isolate them from their comrades. Two weeks after the victory of his suit against transfers, he was secretly indicted on the murder charges.

Joe Martinez, co-defendant in the charges, is a Chicano inmate originally from Texas. He has spent the last 15 years of his life in prison on a framed-up drug charge. Although the authorities have tried to break his spirit, he always maintained his strength and dignity, becoming known as a strong supporter in the fight for justice. Because of this, and his membership in the Church of the New Song, prison officials decided to set him up on phony murder charges along with Stephen Kessler.

A CORRECTION

In the December issue of *THE CALL*, the "Victory for Palestine" article stated that the demonstration against Moshe Dayan was held in Tampa, Florida.

This was incorrect. The demonstration was in fact held in Gainesville, Florida.

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STUDENTS STOP SALE OF SCAB LETTUCE

Chicago—At both the University of Illinois (Circle Campus) and Northeastern University, students have successfully stopped the sale of head lettuce in the school cafeteria. These actions are an important victory in the United Farmworkers' boycott of head lettuce in the Chicago area.

Just a year ago, the administrations at each school lost their drive to keep lettuce in the cafeterias, in spite of their hollow pleas of "academic freedom" (freedom to eat tossed salads). This year, thinking that students may have forgotten the importance of the UFW struggle, they tried to break the boycott of head lettuce. However, they were met by broad coalitions dedicated to keeping scab lettuce off the campus.

At the University of Illinois, over 2,000 students signed petitions in support of the boycott in only two weeks time. Picket lines formed inside the student union to educate other students and demand that the administration enforce the boycott. A similar picket line was formed at Northeastern University.

The actions around the boycott reflect the growing unity of anti-imperialist organizations and individuals at both schools. At the University of Illinois, for example, representatives from numerous organizations attended the meeting at which the decision to boycott lettuce was made.

SAN QUENTIN 6 INDICTMENTS UPHELD

San Francisco—The State Court of Appeals, in a blatantly racist decision, decided to let stand the frame-up murder indictments of the San Quentin 6.

The indictments were recently thrown out by a Superior Court judge who was forced to agree that the San Quentin 6 had been denied their right to a fair trial because of discrimination against Blacks and other minorities in the selection of the grand jury members that indicted them. The Appeals Court decision reversed this ruling.

The indictments charge six San Quentin prisoners—Hugo Pinell, Luis Talamantes, Willie Tate, Johnny Spain, David Johnson and Fleeta Drumgo—with murder in the August, 1971, assault against prisoner activists by fascist prison guards. During the incident, which the authorities have tried to picture as an "escape attempt," George Jackson, two other inmates, and three of the guards were killed. George Jackson, the main target of the attack, was a courageous revolutionary and fighter in the Black liberation movement. The authorities decided to assassinate him because of his growing influence and respect among prisoners of all nationalities.

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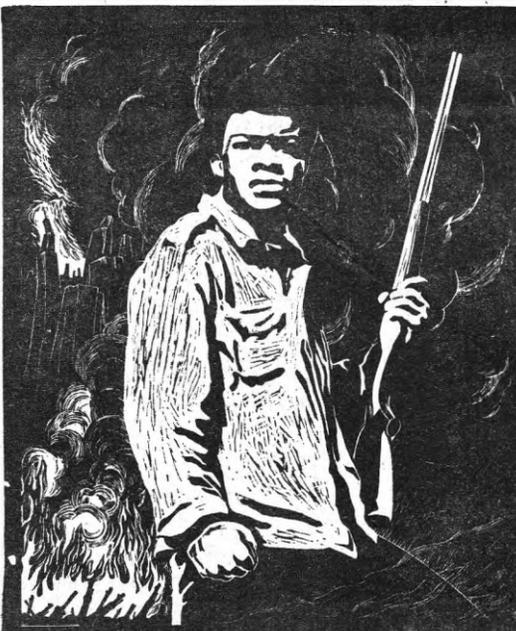
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MINERS VICTORY NOT COMPLETE

NEW CONTRACT WEAK ON RACISM, RIGHT TO STRIKE



MINERS FROM LOCAL 1886 of the United Mine Workers Union stand picket duty in front of the entrance to Megis No. 2 mine of the Southern Ohio Coal Company.

Rank-and-file mineworkers, ratifying their own contract for the first time in 50 years, voted to return to work following their three-week long strike. The new contract carried in all of the union's major districts by narrow margins with the overall vote being 56 per cent for the contract and 44 against. Though it has many weaknesses, the new contract represents some definite steps forward for the membership.

In the face of rising inflation, the economic package outstrips any single settlement made in heavy industry in recent years. This victory is important to all working people who are trying to buck the attempts of the big capitalists to shift the burden of the crisis onto their backs.

Part of this fight-back is emphasized by a specific contract provision stipulating an end to the contract agreement if the Pay Board interferes with the carrying out of the economic package. Other gains were made in the pension program which significantly raised the pension levels for retired mineworkers.

In the crucial area of safety, some important gains were made as well. Among these was the mandatory assignment of helpers to continuous miners and roof bolters (dangerous working face equipment). This particular provision not only improves safety, but also will increase the workforce in the mines by over 8,000 workers in the next three months.

INSPECTION OF THE MINES

Other real gains were made in safety around expanded training programs and mandatory access to any mine for International and District safety representatives and regular inspection of the mines by the entire local safety committee.

Another qualified step forward is the right of the individual miner to protect himself by refusing to work a particular job he considers too hazardous and to be assigned to alternative work at equal pay until the condition is corrected. Additionally, the mine operators are specifically forbidden from firing any local safety committee member for exercising his duties as a member of the safety committee. This last provision is intended to stop the firing of safety committee members who pull men out of an area under the right of imminent danger.

However, within the contract language, a great many loopholes were left that allow for broad interpretation. Under the right of individual miners to leave the work place, for instance, the company is given the right to discipline workers that an arbitrator judges to have acted in "bad faith." The arbitrators will depend to a great extent on the testimony of federal and state safety inspectors to determine "bad faith." As most miners know, these inspectors are almost all from backgrounds of supervisory and professional positions. The few impartial and honest inspectors are subject to constant pressure from their agency and from the companies.

Though gains were made, they were fewer and less substantial in effect than what could have been gained with stronger leadership and greater reliance on the militancy of the rank and file. The high level of profit and the increased demand for coal provided a good chance to take major strides forward with a strong and determined struggle. However, the top leadership of the union often played a weak and vacillating role around the major issues facing

the miners.

For one thing, the Miller leadership downplayed the demands of the miners for the right to strike over local issues and for militant picket line struggles to stop and organize scab coal. Around the question of stopping scab coal, the position of the International was "don't do it--leave everything to us in Washington."

Since 1966, the strike rate in the coal fields has increased by nearly 900 per cent. Correspondingly, pressure and repression from the courts and police has also increased to the point that a virtual no-strike clause has been written through the many anti-strike injunctions. These injunctions strike at the local unions but also have been used to fine and imprison individual local members.

Though the 1971 contract didn't prohibit strikes over local issues, the courts have interpreted it this way, saying that the grievance process: "is the only recognized means of settling disputes." These court actions have provided the impetus for the beginnings of a significant rank-and-file, right-to-strike movement around which a great deal of opposition to the contract was generated.

The new contract does not in any way improve on the overall situation. Though grievance procedures have been improved to provide for quick settlement of disputes (maximum of six weeks) and provides a special process for the settling of firing grievances in a maximum of 15 days, it is still maintained as the only recognized procedure for settling local disputes, thus robbing the miners of their most powerful weapon, the strike.

FAILURE TO OPPOSE DISCRIMINATION

But the most dangerous weakness in the new contract was its failure to take up in a militant way, the fight against racial discrimination. The UMW has a long history, going back to the days of John L. Lewis, of neglect and white chauvinism towards minority workers. The companies have never failed to use this to break the miners' struggle. During the recent strike efforts, the company-backed racist book-burning movement was used to misdirect white miners away from the class struggle and to weaken Black-white unity by attacking the use of Black history books in the public schools.

The new contract, while paying lip-service to the struggle with a new anti-discrimination clause, provides no means of enforcing that clause, especially when coupled with no right to strike. Furthermore nothing is in the new contract dealing with the special demands for hiring and promotion of minority and women workers and challenging the old seniority system which is built upon white supremacy.

The weakness of the reform leaders of the UMW in this contract struggle, was a clear lesson for the miners about narrow trade-unionism, even the democratic kind. Unless the reformism and narrow economic outlook of the leadership is overcome, the conditions of the miners

will suffer, both in the long and short run.

The victory of the Miller leadership over the old Boyle gangster regime was a clear-cut victory for the rank and file. Advances around local and district autonomy, safety as well as democratization of the union and organizing the unorganized, have made the UMW one of the most progressive unions in the country. However, the stand of the reform leadership in all these areas, just as around the contract, has been one of wavering and hesitation to take action, uncertainty of direction, and at times even outright capitulation to the interests of the operators and the government. It is with this recognition that rank-and-file organization is needed at this time.

Not all the opposition to the new contract however, came from the militant rank-and-filers. Especially within the national negotiating committee, made up of district leadership, there were many forces who launched all-out attacks on the new contract from the right. Many of these Johnny-come-lately "militants" were some of the same people who under the old Boyle machine, voted for the rotten contract of 1971. Their object was to sabotage support for Miller and keep the contract out of the hands of the rank and file. The Boyle machinery is still intact within many areas of the union.

The revisionist Communist Party USA continued to play a reactionary role in the struggle, tailing after Miller and emphasizing opposition to Boyle as though it was the only factor operating in the miners' struggle. This type of reformism gives no impetus to the rank and file to organize themselves but rather the CP falls all over themselves in trying to characterize any opposition to Miller as "extremist" or "opportunist."

Of course this should come as no surprise to those who recognize that the CPUSA long ago wrote "revolution" and a revolutionary approach to the labor movement, out of their program.

The ultra-"leftists" on the other hand fail to make any distinction between Boyle and Miller and fail to unite with the positive aspects of the democratic struggle in the union. This is best exemplified by the various Trotskyist groupings and by the Revolutionary Union (RU), which wrote in a recent issue of Revolution, that the new contract was a step backward for the miners and which went so far as to distort the actual content of the contract. For example, Revolution claimed that the union had given up the right of the safety committee to shut down unsafe work sites, in exchange for the right of an individual miner to walk off an unsafe work site. This is false.



Because of their line of "jamming the union," the RU is unable to make use of the progressive aspects of the reform leadership to push the struggle forward.

As discontent over the new contract increases, the Boyle forces are going to try and use this dissatisfaction to reinforce themselves and overthrow Miller. Miller himself, is showing signs of moving more to the right under this pressure. He is growing fearful of the developing left and militant forces in the union. In a post-contract interview, Miller told the Wall Street Journal that the union may consider taking sanctions against "units which wildcat in flagrant disregard of the contract."

The rising rank-and-file movement represents militant opposition to the corruption and fascist politics of the likes of the Boyle machine. Within this movement there has been an increasing radicalization among the miners. The Miller leadership represents the forces of democratic trade unionism. But this is not enough!

The lessons of the strike and the advances won in the new contract point to the need for a militant, revolutionary-led rank-and-file movement, which relies on the united struggle of the miners themselves. A break from the narrow trade-unionism of Miller as well as from the gangster Boyle machine is the order of the day. This movement must not be chained by the "respectability" demanded by the government and the mine owners at the expense of the worker's right to strike, health and safety, and especially at the expense of the rights of the minority workers.

While uniting with all that is progressive in the UMW and its present leadership, this movement must go far beyond that if the miners are to make real gains in the coming period in the fight against exploitation. Without such a movement, even the partial victories of the recent strike will soon be stolen back by the mine owners.

Boston—Despite the bitter cold and rain of the Boston winter, more than 20,000 people marched here December 14 demanding an end to the racist attacks against the Black community which have been focused around the school busing issue.

From as far away as Georgia and South Dakota, buses streamed in, answering the call for the "March Against Racism." The strength and militancy of this march signified an important victory in the fight for democratic rights of all oppressed minorities as well as for all working people. The backbone of the march was the 3,500 people who made up the anti-imperialist "Fred Hampton Contingent" initiated by the October League, and named in honor of the fallen Black liberation fighter who was murdered five years ago by Chicago police.

The demonstration came on the heels of a week of increased violent attacks on the Black community whipped up by the reactionary anti-busing leaders. Earlier in the week in South Boston, a racist lynch mob gathered outside of the local high school trapping 140 Black students inside. Spurred on by neo-fascists such as the John Birch Society and Powder Keg, a white, para-military organization, the mob of nearly 2,000 stormed the building three times, stoning Boston police in order to get to the students, one of whom was accused of stabbing a white student. While their attempts were turned back, the character and developing leadership of this "anti-busing" movement clearly was exposed once again as the openly racist movement it is, and not the "movement for decent education" that its leaders like Louise Day Hicks are making it out to be. This emerging fascist leadership has driven many whites away from the anti-busing movement, who had earlier been misled by the demagogic promises of politicians like Hicks. The mob attacks on South Boston High set the stage for the Dec. 14 March for Freedom.

The March For Freedom was seen by many as the most significant demonstration for civil rights of Black and other minority people since the early 60s. A broad united front of forces was mobilized behind the call of Black senator-elect Bill Owens, a liberal who is being pushed by powerful forces within the Democratic Party and civil rights forces as the "next Black leader." Supporting Owens' call were significant sections of the labor movement who have opposed the racist position of many of the most reactionary unions (such as the Construction Trades Council). Those marching included contingents from the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, who mobilized 50 buses from New York:



HAMPTON CONTINGENT PROVIDES BACKBONE 20,000 MARCH FOR FREEDOM

the International Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; Teamsters Local 10; Hotel, Restaurant and Cafeteria Workers; the Southern Tenant Union; Communication Workers of America; Retail Store Employees; United Electrical Workers as well as contingent from the Coalition of Labor Union Women and others. The American Indian Movement (AIM) and many other minority organizations also marched.

The Fred Hampton Contingent included the October League, the Congress of Afrikan People (CAP), African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC), Haitian Action Committee, Boston Area Youth Organization of Black Unity (YOB), Organization for the Solidarity of Third World Students, Science for the People, Hard Times, Eritreans for Liberation in North America, the Guardian newspaper, Boston Socialist-Feminist Organization, Struggle! newspaper, Atlanta Anti-Repression Coalition, and other inde-

pendent people.

The Fred Hampton Contingent, while supporting the march, exercised independence from the liberals by its slogans, militancy, and in the speeches at the contingent's own rally held before the march. Sen. Owens, when faced with a massive blockade of mounted police, backed up by paddy wagons, and 300 visible police on Boylston Ave., a main business area, tried to have himself arrested in order to become a new "martyr" rather than relying on the masses. The plan backfired when the crowd surged forward, charging the police. The police pushed back the crowd, arresting 6 marchers, and sending one to the hospital. The crowd began to move around the corner, and the march continued down the alternate route.

The Contingent also put forth its slogans in opposition to the pacifist liberal approach of the march leadership, which put the problem of racism on the shoulders of the working class and claimed that what is needed is "more love and less hate." The Fred Hampton Contingent united around demanding democratic rights for oppressed minorities, and pointed to imperialism as the source of oppression of the peoples of the Third World and oppressed people here at home. It called on people to unite to defeat the boycott, and dump Hicks and Kerrigan, the racist politicians who are leaders of the anti-busing, racist school boycott.

The Contingent demanded an end to police terror in the oppressed communities, and supported the right of armed self-defense against the fascist attacks. An end to segregation, and support for the democratic rights of all oppressed minorities were also raised as demands of the Contingent.

The "liberal" imperialists such as Kennedy further exposed their racist nature by not openly endorsing the march, a factor which couldn't hinder the large turnout. Kennedy, like Hicks and the other reactionaries, has maintained that "racism isn't the issue" but rather it was a question of "quality education." But the deteriorating conditions of all the Boston area schools, which have long served as a bulwark of segregation, expose the lie that the segregationists are at all interested in "quality education." This movement is nothing but a racist assault on the right of minorities aimed at smashing a united struggle against capitalism.

COUNTER DEMO FLOPS

On Sunday, the day after the March, a counter-demonstration was called by the racists which drew over 5,000, far less than their predicted 20,000. This was a major setback for the anti-busing movement and exposed a developing split in their ranks between Hicks, who leads ROAR, the largest anti-busing group, and the more open right-wing reactionaries. Hicks refused to support the Sunday march. Many parents, growing weary of the white boycott, are beginning to send their kids back to school and the boycott is weakening in South Boston. The effects of the developing split in the ranks of the racists remains to be seen. In January the busing plan calls for more busing of students in Charlestown and East Boston and the reactionaries are trying to build up their forces there.

The March for Freedom was a big blow to the plans of the racists. But the question now is which direction will this movement take and who will lead it. Amiri Baraka, representing the Congress of Afrikan People spoke at the rally and voiced the sentiments of the anti-imperialist forces in the march. He pointed to the fact that the "liberals" like Owens, while marching on Saturday, were preparing to support Rockefeller the following week in his bid for the vice-presidency. Baraka pointed out that imperialism was the cause of the fascist attacks. He warned the marchers against relying on any "new" politicians.

The march in Boston showed clearly that the masses of people oppose racism and the attacks being whipped-up by the capitalists against the minorities in this period of deep crisis. The size and influence of the Fred Hampton Contingent showed the growing influence of the anti-imperialist and communist forces within the people's movement. The racist anti-busing movement will be defeated!

JANUARY 15/ MARTIN LUTHER KING'S BIRTHDAY DAY FOR UNITY-ACTION-STRUGGLE

"Some days ago, Martin Luther King, the Afro-American clergyman, was suddenly assassinated by the U.S. imperialists. Martin Luther King was an exponent of non-violence. Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists did not on that account show any tolerance towards him, but used counter-revolutionary violence and killed him in cold blood. This has taught the broad masses of the Black people in the U.S. a profound lesson. It has touched off a new storm in their struggle against violent repression sweeping well over a hundred cities... a storm such as has never taken place before in the history of that country. It shows that an extremely powerful revolutionary force is latent in the more than 20 million Black Americans..."

Mao Tsetung, on the assassination of Dr. King
April, 1968

Thousands of Black workers and students will mark January 15, Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday, with work stoppages, school boycotts and other expressions of commemoration and unity with the civil rights fight which King led. In Atlanta, Ga., Dr. King's hometown, a mass march and memorial banquet are scheduled. Last year over 3,000 people attended a similar demonstration.

This year Dr. King would have been 46. He was assassinated in April, 1968, while he was lending support to the organizing strike of sanitation workers in Memphis, Tennessee. Although he himself was an advocate of non-violence and pacifism, King's role in uniting various sections of the Black people was sufficient to incite the U.S. ruling class to assassinate him.

Martin Luther King first arose to national prominence in the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott in 1955. Huge marches and meetings were mounted to spotlight the fight against racist segregation, opening a new wave of victorious struggles to do away with restrictions on the democratic rights of Black people in the South. Over the decade between 1955 and 1965, King gradually grew more involved in the fight of Black labor in the South, for union rights and against discrimination in employment. In 1967, he openly spoke out against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and urged Black people to march against the war as well as for civil rights at home.

The movement of which Dr. King was a leader was besieged by government spies, wiretaps, and bombings. In the recently exposed FBI program (COINTELPRO) of J. Edgar Hoover, U.S. government attempts to sabotage, in-

filtrate and spy on King and his family are related. At the present time the Federal courts are attempting to suppress new testimony by James Earl Ray, convicted as King's assassin. Ray now insists he lied in his confession and wishes to reveal who was really behind the assassination. In the past year, attacks on Dr. King's family have persisted. His mother, Mrs. Alberta King, was shot down in church on June 30, 1974. But all these brutally elaborate attempts of the reactionaries to stamp out the civil rights movement have failed.

In fact, over the years since the death of Dr. King, the movement of Black people has gained deep roots in the labor movement, has spread into the factories, mills and mines of the South, and has brought forward new leaders and organizations, new coalitions and greater militancy.

For example, Atlanta, Georgia, King's hometown, has been the scene over the last year, of many demonstrations and marches against police brutality in the Black communities. The movement of today in the South differs in many respects from the movement in 1968. Dr. King's main focus was desegregation of schools, public facilities, and voting rights. Today, the main focus of the movement of Black people in the South is in labor struggles, against police repression, and against economic exploitation. With the rise in unemployment and prices, police suppression of the Black people has been on the increase. In the last several months in Atlanta alone, more than 20 unarmed Black people were shot to death by the police. The Atlanta Anti-Repression Coalition of labor, political and civil rights organizations has formed in the wake of these attacks, to mobilize the people of Atlanta to continue the struggle.

Dr. King was by no means the only leading fighter of the civil rights movement. Many Black people saw the limitations of his outlook of "non-violence" especially as they were faced with increasingly violent attacks from the ruling class. Nonetheless, by King's work he brought together many broad forces, and encouraged the people to unite and linked the struggle of Black people with that of the Vietnamese people who were under U.S. bombardment at the same time. His name became a symbol of broad-based unity and his martyrdom likewise became a symbol for all the suppression and violence thrown daily at Black people, north and south. This is why people in their millions rose in rebellion at the time of his death, and why this month, people continue to commemorate Dr. King's life. It is a time for unity, for action, and for remembering the history of the struggle.

(Cont. from first page)

for the Afro-American people, independence for Puerto Rico, full democratic rights for the people of other national minorities in this country and linking them to the demand for better living and working conditions for working people and the fight for socialism."

In Chicago, more than 250 people, most of them workers and minorities, gathered on the South Side, December 7 at the call of the newly-formed Chicago Anti-Repression Coalition. The coalition includes the Congress of Afrikan People; the Harold Dancy Defense Committee; the Illinois Prisoners Organization, and the October League.

Speakers from each group spoke to the rising tide of fascist attacks and called for a united struggle fought in a revolutionary way against these attacks. A guest speaker, Toni Jones, from the Boston Afro-American newspaper *Struggle!*, gave a report on the situation there and told how minorities in the housing projects at Columbia Point organized themselves into self-defense units against attacks by the KKK. She stressed the need for work among the white workers to win support for the democratic struggles of the minorities and an end to all national oppression. The *Struggle!* speaker also showed how many white housewives, concerned with the well-being of their children, fell victims to the racist propaganda of the anti-busing movement, because of an absence of work among them by revolutionaries and progressive forces.

A representative from the Harold Dancy Defense Committee brought news of the victory they recently won, when Harold Dancy was freed from the racist frame-up charges of murder. The speaker pointed to this victory as an example of the fact that repression and the growing fascist threat can be smashed by the people.

The speaker from the Illinois Prisoners Association, which also gave a fundraising dance sponsored by the coalition, stressed the racist nature of the prison system and the need to support the movements for prisoners' rights.

The CAP speaker received a standing ovation for the stirring way he pointed to who the real criminals are in this society. As he said, "If a poor man steals a wallet, he goes to jail for years of his life, but if Nixon steals millions of dollars he gets a free pardon and a pension of \$60,000 a year."

Daniel Sanchez who spoke for the October League warned of the rising fascist tide. Sanchez pointed out that while fascism has not won its victory here yet, the developing increase in police terror, union busting and repression against working and minority people should be taken as a serious warning. As long as capitalism exists, this threat will be with us.

All the speakers were Black or Latin and all spoke with special intensity about the way the economic crisis and the rise in repression fell heaviest on the minorities and the need for a united front struggle against fascism and imperialism. The film, "The Murder of Fred Hampton" was also shown, which exposed the fact that the former Panther leader from Chicago was definitely murdered by the police in an attempt to smash the Black Liberation Movement. Fred Hampton stood for revolution, class struggle and unity among oppressed peoples.

On the same weekend in Chicago, also in commemoration of the death of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, another coalition held a forum at which one of the Attica Brothers spoke, along with speakers from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Fred Hampton Scholarship Fund, and Rising Up Angry. They stressed that this was not a time for mourning, but a time for action against the system which murdered the Panthers and the Attica Brothers.

In Cincinnati, the death of Fred Hampton was marked by a public meeting Dec. 8, sponsored by the October League. The film, "The Police Attack—The People Fight Back" produced by the Atlanta Anti-Repression Coalition, was shown to demonstrate that repression breeds resistance. In the discussion that followed, speakers laid the blame for police terror on the capitalist class and its crisis and called for revolutionary leadership in the fight-back.

UNITED FRONT BUILDS

RALLIES HELD TO RESIST REPRESSION

Attention was also focused on the new "shoot-to-kill" policy of the Cincinnati police which includes making "dumdum" bullets standard police equipment. A movement is building in this city to oppose these fascist measures.

In Tampa, Florida, on December 7, people from all over the state gathered to call for heightened resistance to repression and to demand an end to racist police terror.

Beginning at noon, a spirited picket line was held in front of the Tampa police station. Following this, over 100 people gathered for a rally in the Black community. Speakers included representatives of the African Socialist Party, Black Organizing Project, Malcolm X United Liberation Front, SCLC, Revolutionary Student Brigade (Gainesville), Student Anti-Imperialist League (Tallahassee) and the October League.

They pointed to historic oppression and resistance of Black people and the need to organize to combat the fascist tide as well as upholding the right of self-determination for oppressed nations.

Support was called forth for the Jackson family whose members were beaten, arrested, and shot by police while standing up for the rights of their people. Following the speeches, a march was held through the community led by chants of "Free the Jackson Family," and "Stop, Stop, the Racist Cops of Tampa!" People came out of their homes to join the marchers who then returned to the community center where they saw a film on the Oneita textile strike.

In Detroit, more than 160 people gathered to demand an end to police terror and to hear speakers call for resistance to the rising fascist tide. The film, "The Murder of Fred Hampton," was shown as well as parts of a film on the struggle of the farmworkers in California.

Speakers included, Jehu from the Boston October League; Susan Branson from the Brookside Women's Club in Harlan County, Ky.; a representative from African Liberation Support Committee; a leader of the Detroit United Farm Workers Boycott Committee and a speaker from Hamtramck, a community where a series of police attacks have recently taken place.

In Los Angeles, a meeting of 130 people was held on December 14 to hear speakers from the Black and Chicano communities call for a fight-back against racist police repression. The program combined speeches with the film, "The Police Attack—The People Fight Back" and an original skit performed by OL members and members of the community.

Speakers included Raul Ruiz, a leader of La Raza Unida Party; Valerie, a representative of the Tony Wilkins Defense Committee; Darrell who spoke for the Shorts family of Pico Aliso Community, whose son Fred was murdered in a racist police shooting; and Earl Massey from the OL.

Ruiz stressed the need for unity between Black and Chicano communities, which have long been the target of police attempts to spread division and inter-community violence.

Earl Massey detailed the wave of police repression which has hit the Black and other minority communities across the country. But he showed that in every community where this has taken place, the people have organized strong movements for defense against killer cops and terror. He linked the oppression of Black people to the history of national oppression in the former slave areas of the South pointing out the need for Black and white to unite around the fight

for Afro-American self-determination.

The skit dramatically portrayed the history of repression against Black people beginning with the arrival of slave ships in the 17th century and continuing through slavery and reconstruction in the South. The skit concluded with scenes from the modern-day struggle for freedom in the factories and communities. Although the players were not professionals, they skillfully combined dance, poetry and songs to give the audience a vivid impression of Black oppression and their liberation struggle. It was received with a standing ovation.

In Oakland, a forum sponsored by THE CALL drew 125 people to hear songs, poetry and speeches in support of the anti-repression struggle. Lorenzo Carlisle, a Black worker from Caterpillar Corp. spoke about the anti-discrimination struggle in the factories. He described the lawsuits being filed for the enforcement of equal rights. He said that these law suits were only one form of struggle and had to be combined with other mass, militant efforts on the part of the workers.

A white worker from the Holiday Inn strike spoke about Black-white unity being the key to victory. Farmworker songs were sung at the forum by Marina Garcia and Ruth Hyde read a poem by Langston Hughes, the great Afro-American poet, which was a call to white workers to support the Black liberation struggle. The Atlanta Anti-Repression film was also shown.

Odis Hyde spoke on the question of self-determination for Afro-American people and told of the long, bloody history of the KKK as an arm of fascism directed against the Black struggle. Sharply criticizing the stand of the Revolutionary Union (RU) in support of the racist anti-busing movement, he exposed them as "super-revolutionaries" who "marched with the KKK."

In New York, the OL participated in a program sponsored by the Coalition Against Repression which attracted 200 people in Harlem.

Speakers at the meeting included a representative from the Committee for Justice for Claude Reese, Jr., a Black youth murdered by police; James Young from the Commandos, a Harlem community youth group, and Brother Tyrene from Congress of Afrikan People. The Fred Hampton film was shown and many community people spoke up about the need for united action against repression.

In Baltimore, behind the slogans of "Self-Determination for Black People", "Unite to Stop the Fascist Tide", and "Stop Attacks on Minorities and Women" 175 people gathered, including many workers and minorities, for a rally sponsored by CAP, Black Workers Congress, National Welfare Rights, Local 1199, community people speaking out on the busing question and the October League.

In New Orleans, a demonstration was called by the New Orleans Housing Coalition on Dec. 8 in Congo Square, the former slave market. The demonstration was called around the slogans, "People Have a Right to Decent Housing" (see article on p. 6), "Unite to Fight Repression" and "Self-Determination for Afro-Americans". More than 150 people heard Fran Brown of the BWC; a speaker from the Parkchester Community Committee and Bob Davis from the October League speak on the fight against repression. A support message from ALSC was read. This was the first activity of the newly-formed NOHC.



Jehu (left) from the October League addresses crowd on the theme of the growing fascist tide, symbolized by recent events in Boston. At right, contingent of steelworkers participates in Atlanta anti-repression forum.

(CALL PHOTOS)



All in all, the National Days of Resistance to Repression were a great success and a militant victory for the people. The large number of people mobilized in so many cities with open communist leadership and the fact that a great percentage of these people were workers and minorities shows, not only the will of the people to resist repression and the fascist threat, but also the increasing ability of the communist movement to provide direction in this fight-back.

The National Days of Resistance to Repression helped to strengthen the united front against imperialism and fascism and to build the unity of workers of different nationalities.

Unite For Greater Victories in UFW Struggle!

On the two battle fronts of the United Farm Workers of America (UFW)—the strike and the boycott—the farmworkers, led by Cesar Chavez, have made great gains since the Fitzsimmons-led Teamsters Union robbed them of 85 percent of their contracts in April, 1973.

Militant strikes of field workers in asparagus, strawberries, tomatoes, and lemon and apple orchards, swept across the Southwest during the summer months, involving thousands of the most exploited workers in the country. The UFW newspaper, *El Malcriado*, reported in October that “during the past 18 months, more strikes have broken out than in the last 18 years.” The union counted almost 5,000 workers on strike in September alone.

A strike of lemon pickers in Yuma, Arizona, is still holding strong after almost three months of fighting the growers for better wages. This strike which involved up to 3,000 workers, has been marked by violent police attacks and heroic resistance on the part of strikers.

The summer months also saw an upsurge in the grape, lettuce and Gallo wine boycotts. In cities from coast to coast thousands of farmworker supporters organized to bring news of the farmworkers' struggle to the masses of people. Their actions have had impressive results.

Grapes lie rotting on supermarket shelves as the UFW paper reported, a record 7.2 million boxes of unsold grapes. The number of grapes in cold storage is twice the normal. The Gallo wineries are also feeling the effect of the boycott as recent tax returns showed a 10 percent drop in sales.

As a result of the boycott, many of the largest chain markets have been forced to stop selling scab products. New England is now 65 per cent clean of scab lettuce, grapes and wine.

These impressive gains in the boycott are the result of what must be considered the most massive and thorough campaign any union has launched in 30 years. A core of full-time organizers have built the boycott in every major city in the country. In addition to support from tens of thousands of volunteers, the farmworkers struggle has been joined by trade unions, minority and communist organizations.

During a 10-year battle to build their union, the UFW

has emerged as one of the main forces in the U.S. fighting for the right of national minority people to unionize and for the democratic right of rank-and-file workers to control their unions. Their enemy in this battle is the big capitalists who run the agricultural industry, an \$8 billion-a-year enterprise in California alone, and scab Teamster leadership. This agri-business monopoly has for decades enjoyed tremendous profits off the vilest exploitation of national minority people, especially the Mexican people.

Doing the dirty work of the monopolies within the labor movement are the leaders of the Teamsters Union. Racist and anti-democratic, the Teamsters' attempt to break the back of the UFW, represents the plans of the capitalists to build a fascist labor front within the trade union movement.

It is clear that the struggle of the farmworkers against this alliance of the growers and the Teamsters is an important part of the fight against a rising tide of fascism which has grown out of the deepening economic crisis in the country. The repression against the workers' attempts to defend their living standards has taken many forms. In addition to the attempts to crush democratic workers' movements, like the farmworkers' movement, layoffs, no-strike agreements, wage cuts, forced sterilizations, and police repression, including outright police murder of the people are on the rise, hitting especially hard among the minority people. It is from this perspective, that we must look at the issue of deportations of Mexican workers without papers, a major question confronting the UFW.

Several months ago, as the economic crisis worsened, the government spokesmen began stepping up their campaign to deport foreign workers who “are taking jobs away from U.S. workers.” At the same time, UFW leaders began to point the finger at “illegal scabs” as a main source of weakness in their strike. They stated to the press that they would begin to carry out a policy of calling Immigration and turning in scabs without papers as a means of strengthening the strikes. They also criticized the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) for “failing to do their job” in the fields.

This position, which attacks undocumented workers as the enemy of the farmworkers' struggle, is in contradiction to

the main goal of the farmworkers themselves—the defeat of the grower-Teamster alliance. The UFW leadership in carrying out this policy, has been working with the INS, a police arm of the government against their working class brothers and sisters from Mexico. Their policy ignores the fact that undocumented workers, when offered union protection, have often been in the front lines of the strikers.

The UFW leaders fail to put the blame for “illegal” immigration where it really lies—on the imperialists and big growers who have so thoroughly exploited Mexico that its citizens have been forced by starvation to cross the border to look for work outside of their own country. Of course the UFW workers have every right and duty as workers to prevent scabs from entering the fields and breaking their strike. But to attack them as “illegals” echoes the ideas of the growers who strive to divide U.S. and Mexican workers.

Since this policy of calling Immigration was announced, there are indications that, although it is still being defended especially by boycott organizers in the cities, the policy is not being wholeheartedly carried out by the workers themselves in the fields. One example of this was in Porterville, California, where an organizer reported that organizing against the “illegals” hadn't worked. He said that when strikers there changed from a policy of calling “la migra” to trying to organize the scab workers by offering them union help in getting their papers, the majority of scabs left the fields.

Another example has been in Yuma, Arizona, where the UFW organized a human chain of 15,000 people along the Arizona-Mexico border to prevent Mexican workers from coming across. They called this “doing the work of the INS.” Subsequent reports, however, indicate that, rather than trying to stop the workers from crossing the border, what they actually did was to inform the workers about their strike and to ask them not to scab. This policy gained support for the UFW among the immigrants, prevented many people from scabbing, and even resulted in UFW flags flying from the rooftops of homes in the border town of Sonora, Mexico, near Yuma.

It is clear that a victory for the UFW will mean a victory for the entire working class in its resistance against racism, fascism and repression. These tools that the imperialists use to keep the people divided and intimidated are being used against the farmworkers and the undocumented workers alike. The official UFW policy toward undocumented workers is a major obstacle preventing the union from breaking the back of the grower-Teamster alliance, in spite of the recent gains. If the union can break with this policy and work to unite the Mexican and American class brothers and sisters against their common enemy, the farmworkers' struggle is sure to end in victory.

Special to The Call

New Orleans—A rent strike of Black tenants at the Parkchester Apartments here is now in its seventh month. Their struggle marks the first mass resistance in the South to the “redevelopment” pattern established in cities all over the country—the eradication of Black and poor communities to make way for luxury apartments and businesses.

The tenants are demanding that the owners maintain the apartments, stop demolition and plans for sale, and end their campaign of terrorizing families into moving out. The struggle escalated on November 9, a month after eviction notices had been served, when the police arrived to throw two families out of their homes. Warned in advance by the Tenants' Committee, residents filled the apartments, sat on all the furniture, and refused to allow it to be taken. Five people, three from the committee were dragged from the apartment and thrown down the stairs. They were charged with “resisting arrest.”

Early the next morning, as people gathered to try to block two more evictions, a Tenants' Committee leader was re-arrested in a blatant example of harassment after a policeman heard him refer to the District Attorney as the biggest dope dealer in the city. He was charged with “criminal mischief” and having threatened the DA's life.

Leafleting to inform the people about the real issues at Parkchester was immediately begun at large shopping

BLACK TENANT STRIKE IN NEW ORLEANS

centers around the city. The goal of the Tenants' Committee is to broaden their campaign, to mobilize the whole city around the problem of housing.

Conditions at Parkchester today are unliveable. Sewage backs up into bath tubs and onto floors through broken plumbing. There are countless housing and fire code violations. Water heaters are placed in halls where children can reach them, and electrical wiring is left exposed.

“At night the rats and roaches are so thick out there, they have to move over for you to pass. Or you have to move over,” said a resident on Duplessis Street. In one case, a 6-year old girl was bitten by a rat which fastened on her arm and could not be pried off. Her mother had to call the police, who arrived an hour later and literally shot the rat off the girl. Both children in the family must now take large doses of nerve medicine which can cause brain damage. When their mother sued the Parkchester owners, the family was evicted.

ROBBERIES AND FEAR USED

Robberies and the fear of attack are another weapon used against the tenants. “A few years ago,” a tenant said, “you couldn't turn around in Parkchester without seeing a cop.” Now the police take up to two hours to answer calls on rape and burglary, if they come at all. Women hospital workers are in danger, coming home late at night, and children have been molested in abandoned buildings.

“Usually burglars seem to enter with a pass key,” the Tenants' Committee explained, “and then knock out some part of the door frame to make the entry appear forced. People's possessions are often hauled away in vans in broad daylight.”

Parkchester was built in the late 1940s, an all-white, privately-owned development with a government mortgage. Most of the original tenants were returning veterans. The tree-lined streets, solid two-story structures, model maintenance and convenient location made it one of the most desirable residential areas in the city. When fully occupied, it housed about 5,000 people in 1,500 units.

The civil rights movement forced the integration of Parkchester in 1967. As a rapid change to mostly minority tenants developed, the owners slashed the maintenance crew from 400 workers, to 100, to 40. They refused to spend the maintenance fund, or to make payments on the principal of the mortgage, and prepared to sell the property.

In May, 1974, the tenants began the rent strike over the

terrible living conditions and the proposed sale of the property. Among the 400 families still living in Parkchester, the strike has been 98 per cent effective. A Tenant's Committee was formed to maintain constant communication among the tenants, organize their resistance, and conduct negotiations.

Public meetings every few weeks on open lots inside Parkchester keep the people informed on the overall situation and answer questions. They provide an organized voice for the tenants in negotiations, but do not impose decisions without the tenants' involvement.

The struggle at Parkchester is an example of the unity, strength and creativity of its people. But it is also an example of the systematic attack by the ruling class on the Black community, and the attempt to constantly manipulate the lives of poor and working people to increase profits.

In the past 20-30 years, as sharecropping became less profitable than automation, most Black farmers were starved off the land in the rural South and forced into the cities. In many Southern cities, like New Orleans, they reached a majority of 50-60 per cent of the population. Inside the city, discrimination and national oppression consolidated large Black concentrations of working and semi-employed people, creating a desperate need for low cost housing.

ONLY THE FIRST MOVE

Destroying the Parkchester community is only the first move in a long-range plan to break up and move out the Black population of New Orleans' 7th Ward. Studies are already underway to tear down the Iberville and Lafitte housing projects in the same area. The central location of the 7th Ward makes it prime land for new business development. And the area surrounds the new Superdome and the Civic Center, with which the city hopes to attract even more tourists in the coming years. The only relocation housing offered to Parkchester tenants lies across the Mississippi River, separate from most of the city and effectively cut off from city transportation, the public hospital, and other essential services.

This struggle and others like it are bound to continue. They are the inevitable result of a vicious combination of capitalist exploitation and national oppression. But these conditions have bred the militant resistance of the Parkchester tenants. Their struggle is a component part of the Afro-American people's struggle for democratic rights and self-determination.

Put the Squeeze on the Landlords



FORCED STERILIZATIONS

A MURDEROUS POLICY OF IMPERIALISM

The theory that "overpopulation" causes unemployment, starvation, and even wars of aggression has been around ever since the capitalist system has been creating those problems for the masses of people. In the early 1800s, 22 states had laws on their books providing for the forced sterilizations of women, according to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). The operations then were often brutal and resulted in death for a woman. And this method of "population control" certainly did not prevent early capitalism in the U.S. from undergoing periodic depressions, famines, and wars. As early as the mid-1800s Karl Marx, explaining capitalism scientifically, refuted the well-known theory of the economist Malthus who said that "overpopulation" was the cause of the world's problems, and that the world would never survive to the twentieth century.

Today, U.S. imperialism is sinking deeper into a prolonged general crisis and is confronted with the revolutionary upsurge of the world's people. As a result, the apologists for imperialistic capitalism have dug up the old discredited "overpopulation" theories, putting new wrappings on the old arguments. The U.S. government is pushing a campaign with propaganda and money for sterilizing poor and working class women, both at home and abroad.

Carl Schultz, director of the Office of Population Affairs

for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, estimated that between 100,000 and 200,000 sterilizations of women were performed with HEW funds in 1973. The reason the statistics are so absurdly inaccurate is that many of the sterilizations were without the consent or knowledge of the women undergoing surgery. A November article in *THE CALL*, exposed the fact that many women, mainly Black and Chicano, were sterilized at L.A. County Hospital without their knowledge or consent while undergoing caesarean birth of babies. HEW money is often used to perform tubal ligations or hysterectomies on minors. In 1973, 18 women on welfare in South Carolina, 16 of them Black, had their tubes tied without full understanding of the consequences of the operations. Many of the hospitals in the larger cities in the U.S. will sterilize women on welfare, or Medicaid, simply to collect more money from HEW, or to give interns "practice."

The rate of sterilizations for Black women in the U.S. is three times higher than for white women according to research by the National Fertility Studies Group. North Carolina laws require birth control surgery for women if they are found to be "mentally defective." However, 66 per cent of the women forced to undergo operations by law in that state in recent years were Black.

Do the advocates of population control in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare believe that Black women are three times more likely to be "mental defects" than the rest of the population? If directly confronted, the "liberal" officials of HEW would deny association with such blatantly racist ideas. But, in practice, HEW's policy is aimed directly at minority women in the U.S. Stripped of all its intellectual veneer, the arguments of the advocates of population control are fundamentally racist.

Why is this so? Because U.S. imperialism is based on the exploitation and oppression of whole peoples and whole nations, within its borders and internationally. The oppressed peoples suffer the heaviest burden from the contradictions of the capitalist system—unemployment, impoverishment, starvation, and so on. The U.S. government's attempt to control unemployment through cutting the birth rate (by any means necessary) is aimed at the whole working class, but falls heaviest on Blacks and other minority peoples who have the highest unemployment rates, who are the "last hired and first fired."

In the Third World, foreign aid from the U.S. government carries the stipulation that a country begin a program of "family planning" before receiving aid. In Colombia, the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), controlled directly by the Rockefeller Foundation, sterilized 40,000 women in two years in the early 1960s as part of a "family planning" program. The women were given cheap lipstick and artificial pearls in exchange for allowing the doctors of the IPPF to insert birth-control devices ("IUD's") which contained an unsafe substance, resulting in serious and even fatal medical problems. In Bolivia, Peace Corp volunteers perform birth control operations on women immediately after they give birth, in the same way that operations are being done at L.A. County Hospital. In Puerto Rico, 40 per cent of the women have been sterilized. This amounts to nothing less than genocide against future generations.

SWP'S RACIST "SINGLE-ISSUE" APPROACH TO WOMEN'S STRUGGLE

Atlanta—The struggle in this city to pass the Equal Rights Amendment for women, led by Georgians for the ERA (GERA), is continuing. Last year, 1200 people, representing a broad range of forces, marched on January 12 demanding legislative approval of the ERA. This year, another mass demonstration is planned on January 11, immediately preceding the opening of the General Assembly. Massive public support for the amendment forced the legislature to consider the ERA for the first time last year, when it received 70 votes. Opposition to the ERA was led by the John Birch Society and other right wing elements in the state. The women's movement feels that this year's chances for approval are good.

GERA is part of a broad coalition, including many different organizations, which sponsored a two-day conference in November to discuss, among other things, building for the January 11 march. The women's movement in Atlanta, while carrying forward the work to pass the ERA, is also learning from the negative example of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers' party (SWP).

SWP wants to limit the struggle to the "single issue" of getting the ERA passed. While paying lip service to relying on the masses of women, this view in fact negates building a strong, unified base of support. And, although it may be dressed up with revolutionary sounding rhetoric, it is nothing but narrow reformism. It seeks to channel the women's movement into reliance on capitalist politicians and courts rather than on the strength of the people. Further, it attempts to divide the movement from other progressive struggles, pitting one against the other rather than unifying them against their common oppressor. By doing this, the SWP is not serving the interests of the vast majority of women, but rather is tailing after the most negative, backward "feminists" such as the former terrorist Jane Alpert, who recently said she was glad that the 42 Attica Prison Inmates were murdered because they were "male supremacists."

The area where this reformist "single issue" approach has most clearly shown its bankruptcy is around the question of racism and building unity between Black and white women. When, for example, the issue was raised that the ERA group take a position against the racist killing and assaults on inmates at nearby Reidsville prison (see Dec. *CALL*), the SWP led the opposition. They see the ERA and the prison situation as completely separate issues. They claim that by taking such a position, support for the ERA will be "diluted."

Such a position is not only reformist, but it is objectively racist as well. Black women are oppressed as Blacks, not just as women. In order to forge unity between white and Black women, white women must recognize this special oppression and take action on anti-racist demands.

STRONG ALLIES

The women's movement and the Black Liberation movement are natural allies in the struggle for democratic rights and against the rising tide of repression and fascism. The Black Liberation Movement is a "clarion call" to all oppressed people in this country. There is much the women's movement can learn from the struggles of Black people, especially Black women.

The Socialist Workers' Party doesn't see it this way. For example, recently Mrs. Ethel Mathews and the local National Welfare Rights Organization which she heads, were approached about participating in the ERA conference and march. She said her group would be interested if they could have some input. It was tentatively agreed that she would give a short statement of greeting to the conference. But once again, the SWP led the opposition. Rather than have her speak, they wanted her to come to the conference and "learn." Reasons put forward included statements like, "She doesn't understand the women's movement," "What can we learn from her?" "She'll ruin the conference by talking too long," etc.



DEMONSTRATION IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA in support of the ERA.

This amounts to out and out racism! Mrs. Mathews and the NWRO have a long history of militant struggle for welfare rights. This group, made up mainly of Black women, has made many contributions to the struggles for both Black liberation and women's liberation. Certainly everyone, especially the SWP, could learn from their experience.

When the decision, won by the SWP, not to have her speak was taken back to a NWRO meeting, that group voted unanimously not to participate in the conference. As one woman said, "though they didn't say so in so many words, they don't want us Black women."

Racism, reformism, and narrow feminism—that is the essence of the SWP's program for the women's movement. But the women's movement in general, and the particular struggle around the Equal Rights Amendment, will not be built around such a program. The strength of the women's movement lies in uniting the greatest number of women in the just struggle for full democratic rights. This means relying on the masses of women, especially working class and minority women, and taking up the struggle against racial discrimination. The women's movement is growing in strength in Atlanta and is looking for an even larger demonstration this year than last. As the movement grows in strength, the SWP's attempts to split, isolate and manipulate are bound to fail.

STOP FORCED STERILIZATIONS!

Threats of stopping food shipments are used by the U.S. against countries which refuse to cooperate with "family planning" programs of the IPPF or AID, the Agency for International Development. AID administers the distribution of the bulk of population control devices and propaganda to the Third World. AID also requires that money it gives a country for population control be used for purchase of contraceptive devices and office, educational and medical equipment from U.S. corporations.

A commission of the United Nations estimated recently that the world food supply is growing one and three quarters faster than the world population. The People's Republic of China, with a population of 800 million people, completely eradicated starvation just ten short years after the triumph of their revolution. The cause of starvation and other related problems in the world is clearly not "overpopulation" or "people pollution" as some term it, but the two superpowers, U.S. and Soviet social-imperialism.

The two superpowers rob and plunder the people and resources of the world. After Latin America is stripped of its wealth by multi-national corporations in the U.S., the Rockefeller Foundation's propaganda machine screams out, "You have too many mouths to feed! Your people are polluting the earth! Millions starve to death in India while the Soviet Bank in Moscow reaps billions in rubles from factories it owns in that country. When the exploited people rise up to oppose superpower domination, they answer by attempting to kill the future generations.

The revolutionary upsurge around the world cannot be put down so easily, with "family planning" schemes. When the Indians in Bolivia discovered that the Peace Corps volunteers were sterilizing the women, they chased the Peace Corps out of their country. In the South, sterilizations of Black people have caused outrage against the racist policies of the federal government, resulting in many lawsuits against HEW. The Puerto Rican independence movement has made an end to sterilizations a central demand. In Los Angeles, a November demonstration of over 300 people protested the forced sterilizations of large numbers of Chicana and Black women at L.A. County General Hospital.

Forced sterilizations exemplify the barbarism with which women in this society are treated. While opposing the movement of women for equality on grounds that a "woman's place is in the home," the imperialists are perfectly willing to brutalize women, attack the family and destroy children and family life.

Imperialism thrives on the murder of unborn generations in the vain hope of forestalling its final downfall. The policy of forced sterilizations reveals that the oppression of women, of whole peoples and nations, and the exploitation of the working class, all have their source in the evil system of imperialism. The people of the world are rising in struggle to defend their lives today—and the lives of their children tomorrow.

Jung Sai Strike Enters Fifth Month

San Francisco—As the strike of garment workers at Jung Sai (Great Chinese American Sewing Co.) enters its fifth month, settlement appears close. As we go to press the workers, represented by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), have reached agreement with the company on all but one point—a guarantee that the garment company will continue to contract work to the Jung Sai shop.

The Jung Sai workers, mainly immigrant Chinese women, went on strike in mid-July when the company fired Frankie Ma, a leader in a strong union drive in the non-union shop. At the time Jung Sai was a direct subsidiary of Esprit de Corps, a company grossing several million dollars a year in its sales of women's apparel across the country. When the Jung Sai workers walked out, the president of Esprit de Corps claimed the shop was "financially bankrupt" and locked out the workers.

From the start the workers were met by company violence and police arrests (see *THE CALL*, September 1974). But support grew widely around the Bay Area and particularly in the Chinese community, where the garment industry is largely concentrated and largely non-union. The Jung Sai workers, with their determination and spirit, have set an example for other immigrant Chinese and Chinese-American workers to stand up and fight against discriminatory wages and working conditions.

In October, Esprit de Corps sold the Jung Sai lease and machines to the manager of the shop, who until then had only a minor share in Jung Sai. The intent of the sale was to dissolve any responsibility Esprit de Corps had towards the Jung Sai workers. But Esprit de Corps and the manager of Jung Sai have continued to work together to attack the strike.

The workers have responded by insisting that they will not sign an agreement with Jung Sai until the manager can produce a contract between himself and Esprit de Corps guaranteeing a permanent and adequate supply of work to the Jung Sai shop. This is to prevent Jung Sai from "going out of business" and coming back under another name.

Cannon Mills Still Unorganized

Kannapolis, N.C.—"We'll be back. We intend to stay in touch with them (the workers) and see them through toward eventual success in forming a union." So said Textile Workers Union of America president, Sol Stein, after the union lost a representation election at 14 Cannon Mills plants in Kannapolis. The town is one of the last blatant "mill towns" still existing in the South.

With a population of 40,000, Kannapolis is still unincorporated. The company appoints the local government, pays a private police force, provides sanitation, etc. and owns most of the houses the workers live in. Despite this firm company control, the union got 40 per cent of the votes.

The election came on the heels of important election victories at J.P. Stevens mills in N.C. and the long, victorious strike at Oneita Mills in South Carolina. An election victory on the first try, said a TWUA spokesman, "is a rarity in a Southern mill." The victory at Stevens came on the third attempt.

The spokesman said the union felt that it had a good chance to win next year at Cannon. Most of the union's support came from Black and young white workers. Blacks now make up about 20 per cent of Cannon's work force, although before the civil rights struggles of the 1960s, Blacks made up less than 5 per cent of the work force. The fight to unite the struggles of Black and white workers is the key to victory in the future.

ON THE LINE!

A SUMMARY OF WORKERS
STRUGGLES FROM
AROUND THE COUNTRY



A View of Sadlowski's Campaign

Ed Sadlowski was elected director of the largest United Steel Workers district in the country in a race with Sam Evett, who represented the I.W. Abel machine which has controlled the District 31 bureaucracy for over thirty years. Sadlowski's election this November was a re-run of the one held in 1973 where fraud and vote-stealing had resulted in defeat. The Abel leadership had tried for over a year to "block a new election, and further court testimony concerning the fraud.

Sadlowski's victory over the Abel machine was a victory for all the progressive forces in the USWA nationwide, and his election was supported by many of the militant rank-and-file caucuses which have sprung up over the last few years in opposition to the racism and sell-out policies of the Abel leadership.

Sadlowski's campaign, however, had several important weaknesses from the point of view of the developing rank-and-file movement. The central issue he raised was the question of election fraud, and he did little to push forward other rank-and-file demands. This was particularly significant year for the USWA with the "ENA" being signed (giving up the right to strike until 1980), the racist "Consent Decree" taking effect, and the union's international convention taking place at which opposition was silenced by thugs and goons. However, Sadlowski did not take a firm stand on the "Consent Decree" (which denies minority workers the right to further discrimination suits) and only responded to the no-strike deal after it was signed.

The main points of Sadlowski's reform campaign were the right for workers to ratify contracts, and opposition to dues increases and pay boosts for union officials. But he refused to raise special demands in the interests of minority workers, saying that this would "divide the workers."

Organizationally, Sadlowski surrounded himself with some of the more reformist and chauvinist elements of the rank-and-file movement including such known anti-communists as Joseph Raugh. During the International union's red-baiting campaign, Sadlowski attacked communists and revolutionaries in the USWA.

Sadlowski had energetic support from large numbers of workers and progressive forces, as the overwhelming election victory showed. Communists working in the Sadlowski campaign built unity with his struggle against the International bureaucracy, but at the same time, tried to carry out independent action to force Sadlowski to take stronger stands, and to expose his reformist and chauvinist positions.

This independent role of communists was exercised through the right-to-strike and anti-consent decree campaigns, the various rank-and-file conferences that were held to unify the insurgent movement, and independent propaganda which exposed the relationship of Abel to the growing fascist labor front and the need to fight for the special demands of minority workers.

OCAW Workers Prepare for Long Battle

On January 7th, the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) will most likely go on strike against the nation's oil monopolies. The 66,000 oil workers will face a tough battle in their demands for better pensions, wider health and safety coverage, pay raises, and a cost of living clause.

The oil companies are dealing from a powerful position, and are not about to give into the demands without a fight. With Rockefeller's ascent to the Vice-Presidency, and his position as the most powerful oil baron in the world, the oil workers will face a foe openly supported by the government. With greater cash reserves than ever and oil supplies ready, the monopolies have refused to negotiate with the union, saying its demands are "inflationary" and "unrealistic." They are also pushing the issue of "crossing crafts," meaning absolute flexibility for workers to do all operations. This would make workers carry greater work loads, lose their craft classification, and do jobs they aren't well trained to do. The companies would also be able to get rid of a good number of workers as unnecessary extra baggage, or "obsolete classifications."

The oil workers are preparing for a long and hard-fought strike. With all the propaganda and attention focused on energy and oil, the strike is shaping up as an important battle for all workers. As the first major strike of 1975, it may well set the trend for what other industries win. Following on the heels of the coal strike, the companies and government will surely make the fullest use of their propaganda machines to split the oil workers off from the American people, based on the false claims of "energy crisis."

The union has put forward the position that the companies can satisfy all workers' wage and fringe demands by taking out a meager 8/10 of one cent from the price of each gallon of gas. This cannot be used as an excuse to raise prices—the monopolies already have the money in their pockets to meet the demands. The monopolies must pay, not the people.

Conference Sets Coal Boycott Plans

Birmingham, Alabama—Activists met here on November 23 to plan a South-wide conference on the boycott of South African coal. The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) initiated the event and the African Liberation Support Committee endorsed it.

It was agreed to call a conference for February 1 and 2 in Atlanta in order to unite the most progressive forces in the South around a mass campaign to stop South African coal. The campaign would last three years, which is the length of the contract that seven companies signed to purchase the coal.

The organizations at the conference included: South African Support Committee, African People's Socialist Party, Atlanta Anti-Repression Coalition, Coalition to Stop the Coal, Friends of SCEF, Iranian Students Assoc., Labor Action Alliance, Nashville Black Labor Alliance, October League, People's Community Hall, Revolutionary Union, Selma Project, SCEF, Strike Support Committee from Tampa and New Orleans, Student Anti-Imperialist League and Workers World.

These groups met because they agree that a coordinated effort throughout the South could provide concrete support to the African liberation struggle and be a great force for education about the struggle for freedom in South Africa. The basis of unity for building the conference is the perspective that the common enemy of workers and oppressed people is imperialism, that South African liberation struggle must be supported, that US workers and South Africans have common interests and that importation of South African coal is a symptom of the crisis of US imperialism.

At the conference itself, the first day will be devoted to discussing strategy with speakers on the struggle of South Africa, a factual background on the Southern Company and the boycott and the political overview for the conference. The second day will be devoted to implementing the regional and local work.

For further information on the conference, contact Ira Drupper, SCEF, 3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Ky., or Chris Lutz, Atlanta wing of SCEF, P.O. Box 54538, Atlanta Georgia.



SEVENTEEN UNITED FARMWORKERS' SUPPORTERS were arrested in Denver, Colo. on Nov. 29, when they defied court orders prohibiting more than two pickets outside Applejack Liquors, the city's largest retail liquor store. The United Farm Workers Union is trying to keep Applejack from carrying scab Gallo Wines. No warning was given prior to the arrests and several picketers were beaten by police.

However, these brutal acts could not stop the farm workers. In the first weeks of December, mass picket lines again formed outside Applejack, despite snowstorms and heavy winds. Before a packed courtroom, a Denver judge was forced to agree to unlimited numbers of pickets in the future. Photo: Orlando Martinez

THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION IS OUR REVOLUTIONARY POLICY

One of the guiding principles of the October League has always been its support for the right of self-determination for all oppressed nations.

In its founding statement of political unity, the OL states: "The U.S. is a multi-national state. That is, within the borders of the U.S. there exist several oppressed nations and national minorities. It is the resolute duty of the proletariat to support and unite with the struggles of these nations and national minorities, to resolutely uphold in practice the right of all oppressed nations to self-determination (including the right to secede and establish its own independent state), and to defend all other democratic rights."

The term, "the right to self-determination" has been used by different groups and individuals to mean many different things, often spreading confusion about this

The right of self-determination has always been put forth by communists . . . in the interests of building unity among the working people of different nations . . .

revolutionary principle. "Self-determination" has been used by the revisionists in the Communist Party U.S.A. for example, to mean everything from certain groups "doing their own thing" to Black people getting liberal politicians elected.

What is the real view of communists on the right of self-determination? How is the right of self-determination carried out in practice? This article will attempt to examine these questions.

The right of self-determination has always been put forth by communists in a very concrete way in the interests of building unity among the working people of different nations as well as between the working class as a whole and the movements for national liberation. To understand its full meaning, we must first look at the historical development of nations as we know them today.

Nations in the modern sense, developed with the rise of capitalism and its victory over feudalism. With capitalism came commodity production and the need of the capitalists to capture the home market. In order to carry out commodity production in place of the outmoded, backward feudal production, the old organization of society into feudal kingdoms had to be broken up and replaced with politically united, independent territories, whose people spoke the same language. Without a common language, no extensive commerce on the massive scale necessary for large-scale commodity production would be possible. No broad grouping of the population into all its various classes could take place and the necessary close connection between the seller of the commodities and the market would be impossible without the organization of society into nations.

Therefore, if we want to talk scientifically about the meaning of the right of self-determination of nations, we must see it as an expression of the development of national movements trying to form themselves into independent separate states—separate from alien national bodies.

ENTIRE WORLD DIVIDED

As capitalism has developed and moved to its highest stage, imperialism, the nations that had developed capitalism first, completely carved up and dominated the entire world. Domination of the colonies in order to plunder their raw materials and cheap labor, is a characteristic feature of the system of imperialism. As Lenin wrote: "Colonial possession alone gives the monopolies complete guarantee against all contingencies in the struggle against competitors..." He added, "The more capitalism is developed, the more strongly the shortage of raw materials is felt, the more intense the competition and the hunt for sources of raw materials throughout the whole world, the more desperate the struggle for the acquisition of colonies." (Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism)

By the time World War I took place, the entire world had been divided between a handful of big imperialist powers on the one hand and the great masses of people in the oppressed nations on the other. War became the only way for imperialism to redivide the world among the great powers. Imperialism brought about a change in the national question and a change in the meaning of the right of self-determination.

Whereas previously, the national question primarily involved the formation of newly developing capitalist nations in place of the old feudal forms of organization, under imperialism, the national question developed into a question of liberating the oppressed peoples in the colonies from the yoke of imperialism. From simply being a particular and internal question of inequality within each country, the national question became a world problem and a worldwide struggle linked to the rise of socialism and socialist revolution, rather than capitalism.

As J.V. Stalin wrote: "Leninism broadened the conception of self-determination, interpreting it as the right of

the oppressed peoples of the dependent countries and colonies to complete secession, as the right of nations to independent existence as states." (Foundations of Leninism)

In viewing the national question within the borders of the U.S. and particularly the struggle against national oppression of the Afro-American, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian-American, Native American Indian and other peoples in its various forms, it is important to see that these struggles are all component parts of the world-wide struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Some of these questions, for example the Afro-American question, are examples of oppressed nations right within the borders of the U.S. Others, including the Puerto Rican question and Afro-Americans outside the deep South, are questions of oppressed national minorities. The Indian question is a special national question due to the fact that the Native American peoples developed as peoples, before the rise of capitalism, into pre-national forms. But all these questions are a part of the general national and colonial question in the world and are questions of anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle. In his "Preliminary Draft Thesis on the National and Colonial Question" Lenin listed the question of the "Negroes in America" along with the other major national liberation struggles in the world, as part of the National and Colonial Questions.

NOT ADVOCATING SECESSION

By upholding the right of self-determination for the Afro-American and other oppressed nations, we are not necessarily advocating separation of these nations from the oppressor nation. While defending the *RIGHT* of these nations to separate and form their own independent political states, we at the same time examine each case in particular to find the solution to the national question that will link it most closely with the overall struggle for socialism. As Lenin said: "The right of nations to self-determination implies exclusively the right to independence in the political sense, the right to free political separation from the oppressor nation. Specifically, this demand for political democracy implies complete freedom to agitate for secession and for a referendum on secession by the seceding nation. This demand therefore, is not the equivalent of a demand for separation, fragmentation and the formation of small states."

Lenin also pointed out that the demand for the right of self-determination "implies only a consistent expression of struggle against all national oppression." (The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination) In each case, he explained, the question of secession vs. federation would have to be dealt with on the basis of which choice would unite the working class and further the cause of socialism, which in the final analysis is the only system that can fully emancipate the oppressed nations.

He compared the right of self-determination with the right of divorce, showing that equality in marriage necessitated the right of divorce, while equality among nations necessitated the right of self-determination. "To accuse those who support freedom of self-determination, i.e., freedom to secede, of encouraging separatism," Lenin said, "is as foolish and hypocritical as accusing those who advocate freedom of divorce of encouraging the destruction of family ties." (The Right of Nations to Self-Determination)

With the development of the U.S. into an advanced capitalist (imperialist) country and the conclusion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the emancipation of the oppressed nations and nationalities within the borders

The concrete question of secession or federation of an oppressed nation can only be examined in the context of what will push the class struggle for socialism forward.

of the U.S. became completely bound up with the working class struggle for socialism. Despite the illusions being spread by the revisionists of the CPUSA and various petty bourgeois nationalists, that national oppression can be ended under capitalism, the truth is that capitalism is the basis for national oppression. As Mao Tsetung wrote: "The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people." (Statement in Support of Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism)

The concrete question of secession or federation of an oppressed nation can only be examined in the context of which will push the class struggle for socialism forward. Sometimes a national movement within a country can objectively hinder or weaken the overall revolutionary struggle, or be used by reactionaries to break the unity of the revolutionary movement. In such cases, the working class and its leadership is under no obligation to support such a separatist movement. Speaking of such a poss-

ibility, Lenin said: "The several demands of democracy, including self-determination are not an absolute, but only a small part of the general-democratic (now: general socialist) world movement. In individual concrete cases, the part may contradict the whole; if so, it must be rejected. It is possible that the republican movement in one country may be merely an instrument of the clerical or financial-monarchist intrigues of other countries; if so, we must not support this particular, concrete movement..." (Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up)

Lenin pointed out however, that even with this possibility, it would be "ridiculous to delete the demand" for self-determination from the party's program. An example of a national movement being used by the imperialists for their own gains was the Bangla Desh secessionist movement which was inspired by the Soviet social-imperialists and the Indian expansionists in order to dismember Pakistan, further oppress the Bengali people and surround China. It is for these reasons that communists around the world refused to support such a movement.

Whether or not the people of the oppressed nation favor secession or federation at any given period, it is still the duty of the working class of the oppressor nation to raise the slogan of the right of self-determination. This serves as a guarantee to the oppressed nation that the working class will not take the same chauvinist stand as the capitalists and it furthers the cause of anti-imperialist unity. Lenin pointed out that: "It is our right and duty to treat every Social-Democrat (Communist-ed.) of an oppressor nation who fails to conduct such propaganda as a scoundrel and an imperialist. This is an absolute demand, even where the chance of secession being possible and 'practicable' before the introduction of socialism is only one in a thousand." (The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up)

The right of self-determination can not be put off until "after socialism." This view of "waiting for socialism" is put forth by the Trotskyites of various stripes in order to liquidate the national question. The right of self-determination is raised now in order to build unity and to rally



the people in the liberation struggle. The movement against national oppression is the closest ally of the working class and objectively is directed against imperialism. By consistently upholding the right of self-determination in practice, the working class shows the people of the oppressed nation that its program of struggle *NOW* and under socialism starts with the fight for an end to all national oppression.

Of course socialism is the only system that creates the conditions for an end to national oppression but socialist revolution alone is no guarantee that this oppression will end. Rather, power in the hands of the working class means only that no class can profit from national oppression and that the basic conditions for that oppression are being eliminated. Lenin said that, "Just because the proletariat has carried out a social revolution it will not become holy and immune from errors and weaknesses. But it will be inevitably led to realize this truth by possible errors (and selfish interest—attempts to saddle others)." Lenin further pointed out that nationalism of the oppressed nation will not immediately disappear either. He said: "National antipathies will not disappear so quickly: the hatred—and perfectly legitimate hatred—of an oppressed nation for its oppressor will last for a while; it will evaporate only after the victory of socialism and after the final establishment of completely democratic relations between nations. If we are to be faithful to socialism, we must even now educate the masses in the spirit of internationalism, which is impossible in the oppressor nations without advocating freedom of secession for oppressed nations." (Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up)

While upholding the right of self-determination and the right of an oppressed nation to secede (separate) and establish its own government in its historic homeland, we must also deal with the question of the people of the oppressed nation who have been dispersed from their homeland and scattered through the oppressor nation. An example of this dispersal can be seen with the history of the Afro-American people of whom millions were forced off the land and driven into the industrial centers of the U.S. Outside the Black Belt South, their area of historic development as a nation, these Afro-Americans constitute an oppressed national minority along with many others. Concentrated in ghettos and barrios, these oppressed national minorities are the victims of intense discrimination and sometimes even worse national oppression than those members of the oppressed nations remaining in the Black Belt, Mexico or Puerto Rico. Here some form of autonomy and self-rule

A NEW COMMUNISM TO LEAD THE PEOPLE

The last year has been one of great advances and inspirational victories won by the countries and peoples of the Third World for independence, liberation, and socialism. The events of 1974 have further exposed the U.S. and the USSR as imperialist superpowers, and the main enemies of the people of the whole world. The coming year of struggle is sure to bring even greater victories!

Here in the U.S., the capitalists find themselves in the midst of their worst economic crisis in forty years. With each passing week, this crisis reveals the weakness of capitalism, as all the basic contradictions in the system grow more intense. The sixth major crisis since the end of World War 2 hit the U.S. economy in 1974, with inflation reaching 12%, industrial production declining rapidly, and unemployment topping six million.

These conditions have caused the U.S. ruling class to act like a wounded beast—trying to survive the crisis by unleashing fascist attacks on the American people while at the same time threatening new wars of aggression in Europe and the Middle East.

The pace with which these developments have occurred has posed a challenge to the organized revolutionary forces including the October League to deepen political line and extend mass work in order to give genuine leadership to the working class struggle. In the next year, the communists in this country are faced with the duty to their class and the people of the world to forge a new communist party. This party must be capable of defending the working class against the rising fascist tide, and of leading the masses to a final victory in overthrowing the system of imperialist rule. It must break with the revisionism of the Communist Party (CPUSA), and boldly affirm the need to smash the existing state machinery, and establish the political power of the working class and its allies—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

RECALL HEROIC VICTORIES

As *THE CALL* goes to press, we recall the heroic victories of the last year, which were marked primarily by the rapid development of the anti-imperialist struggle in the Third World: Yasser Arafat's triumphant appearance at the UN; the overturning of 500 years of Portuguese colonialist rule in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique; the consolidation of the liberated zones in Indochina; the heroic resistance of the OPEC countries to the domination of the superpowers—all of these events prove the vitality of the revolutionary trend which Mao Tsetung described in 1970 when he said, "Revolution is the main trend in the world today." The struggle of the third world countries has become a motive force propelling world history forward. Only through fighting in solidarity with this force can the U.S. working class move decisively toward its own emancipation.

The forward march of the socialist countries has given in-

spiration to revolutionaries in every country. The past year saw the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the People's Republic of China, and the 30th anniversary of the People's Republic of Albania.

In China, the campaign to criticize Confucius and Lin Biao mobilized the masses in defense of socialism, and opposition to reactionary ideas such as the "genius theory."

In addition to the achievements of the socialist countries, the countries of the Third World have inspired the anti-imperialist struggle through militant solidarity with each other. The United Nations, formerly a propaganda house almost exclusively in the interests of U.S. imperialism, has in the last year become a forum for ideological struggle against the two superpowers and for defense of the interests of Third World countries. This trend was demonstrated through major international meetings such as the Law of the Sea Conference, the Conference on Raw Materials, the World Population Conference, and the World Food Conference.

In the U.S., 1974 was a year of growing class consciousness and deeper ties between the organized revolutionary movement and the broad masses of people. The largest wave of strikes in forty years swept through the labor movement. It included strategic victories such as the Farah strike where thousands of Chicano workers won the right to organize after a 21-month struggle.

Many of the leading activists from rank-and-file auto movements, farm worker organizing, southern textile organizing, mine workers, and others came together at the October League-sponsored Southern Labor Conference in August. The theme of this conference was the national question and Afro-American self-determination. The numerous workers' movements represented at the conference, and its high political level, indicated the growth of revolutionary work in the labor movement.

New advances were scored in 1974 linking the women's liberation movement to the general working class struggle. In March, the largest International Women's Day demonstration in recent times filled the streets of Chicago, while a few weeks later, in the same city, 3,600 women trade union activists came together to found the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). In many plants women workers sparked



struggles against layoffs and other company attacks, and expanded the fight for equality in hiring for women in heavy industry. Minority women came to the forefront of the women's movement around such questions as forced sterilizations of Black and Latina women.

Among all the oppressed nationality people, 1974 was a year of victories, and development of working class and revolutionary leadership. The December Days of Resistance to Repression (see page 1), in which thousands of people participated indicated that Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano people are organizing to resist killer cops in the community and other fascist attacks.

African Liberation Day demonstrations in May drew over 15,000 people, and were followed by a conference in Washington DC, in which thousands of Black revolutionaries debated the strategy for Black liberation. Works of major theoretical importance on the national question resulted from this conference, showing the growing role of Marxism-Leninism in the Black liberation movement.

The publication of the October League's pamphlet, "For Working Class Unity and Black Liberation," lent clarity to the discussion of the national question in the U.S. It served to popularize the understanding that the basis for oppression of Afro-Americans is the oppression of the Afro-American nation in the South, and that Black people suffer national oppression, not only racism. This pamphlet, a resolution of the 1973 Congress of the October League, raised the slogan of "Afro-American Self-Determination." It called for building a Black united front, which along with the general workers movement and other minority struggles, constitutes the core of the revolutionary forces in this country.

The Puerto Rican movement for independence and democratic rights made one of its most important showings in the U.S. as 20,000 people rallied in New York on the October 27th National Day of Solidarity with Puerto Rico. Similar demonstrations across the country upheld the demands of independence for Puerto Rico, and an end to U.S. colonial domination of the island.

In the Southwestern part of the U.S., the Chicano movement surged forward, led by the inspiring struggles of the Farmworkers and the Farah, Sloane, and Pay-Less strikers. The Sloane strike is now ending its second year, and the Sloane workers stand as a heroic example to all workers because of their undying will to fight. In addition to these strike battles, thousands of Chicanos and Mexicanos have participated in actions of mass resistance to fascist round-ups and deportations.

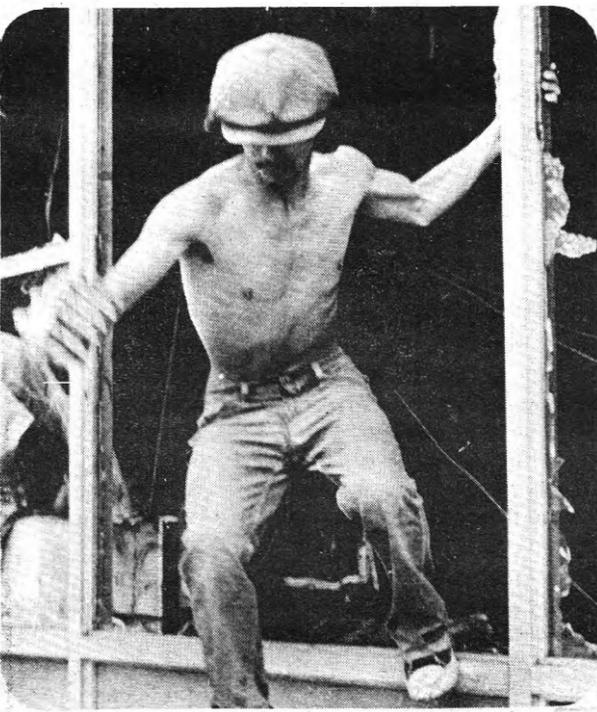
MINORITY STRUGGLE SURGES

The movement of other minorities, including Native American and Asian-Americans, also surged forward, deepening the alliance between the working class and minority struggles. While the victory of Russell Means and Dennis Banks in the Wounded Knee trial was won through mass support, hundreds of other Wounded Knee defendants are still facing charges for their participation in the Wounded Knee uprising. These trials are just another example of the 400-year history of the struggle of Indian peoples against subjugation and genocide.

Besides the victory in the Banks-Means trial, other political prisoners have also won victories through mass mobilizations, such as the two Chicano Leavenworth Brothers and Gary Lawton. But the struggle to free Ruchell Magee, Chavez-Ortiz, the Angola 4, the Charlotte 3, the San Quentin 6, the brothers confined in the fascist CARE Program at Marion, Illinois, and all other political prisoners must continue as an integral part of stemming the fascist tide.



PHOTOS SHOW YEAR'S EVENTS: Dow Strikers (above) stop scabs in Midland, Mich. Victorious Farah strikers (left). Youths in Newark, N.J. (below) leap through a window of gutted market during Sept. rebellion.



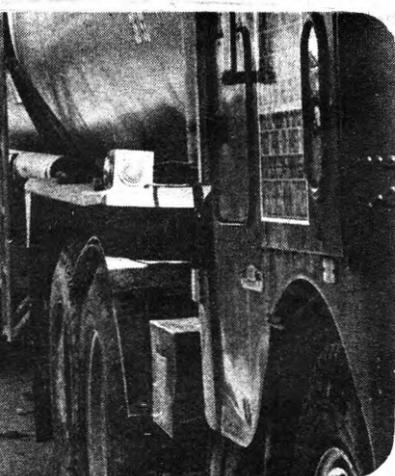
A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY IS NEEDED TO LEAD THE PEOPLES STRUGGLES

ionaries in every country. The past year of the 25th anniversary of the People's and the 30th anniversary of the People's Revolution in Albania.

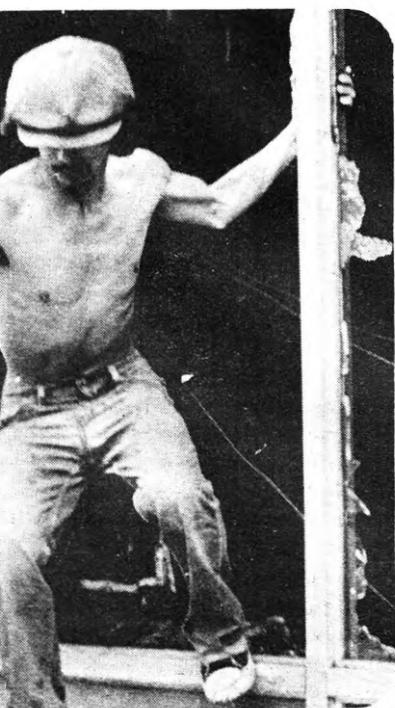
campaign to criticize Confucius and Lin Biao, and masses in defense of socialism, and other ideas such as the "genius theory." The achievements of the socialist countries, and the Third World have inspired the anti-imperialist militant solidarity with each other. The Communist Party, formerly a propaganda house almost entirely in the interests of U.S. imperialism, has in the past year taken the forum for ideological struggle against imperialism and for defense of the interests of the oppressed peoples. This trend was demonstrated through meetings such as the Law of the Sea Conference on Raw Materials, the World Food Conference, and the World Food Conference. It was a year of growing class consciousness between the organized revolutionary forces and the broad masses of people. The largest party years swept through the labor movement with strategic victories such as the Farah strike and the Chicano workers won the right to organize.

ing activists from rank-and-file auto worker organizing, southern textile workers, and others came together at the October Southern Labor Conference in August. This conference was the national question conference on self-determination. The numerous workers presented at the conference, and its high profile, indicated the growth of revolutionary work in the U.S.

scored in 1974 linking the women's struggle to the general working class struggle. At the International Women's Day demonstration in Chicago, while a few women in the same city, 3,600 women trade union members gathered to found the Coalition of Labor Union Women, many plants women workers sparked



WORKERS' EVENTS: Dow Strikers (above) in Warren, Mich. Victorious Farah strikers (below) leap through a market during Sept. rebellion.



struggles against layoffs and other company attacks, and expanded the fight for equality in hiring for women in heavy industry. Minority women came to the forefront of the women's movement around such questions as forced sterilizations of Black and Latina women.

Among all the oppressed nationality people, 1974 was a year of victories, and development of working class and revolutionary leadership. The December Days of Resistance to Repression (see page 1), in which thousands of people participated indicated that Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano people are organizing to resist killer cops in the community and other fascist attacks.

African Liberation Day demonstrations in May drew over 15,000 people, and were followed by a conference in Washington DC, in which thousands of Black revolutionaries debated the strategy for Black liberation. Works of major theoretical importance on the national question resulted from this conference, showing the growing role of Marxism-Leninism in the Black liberation movement.

The publication of the October League's pamphlet, "For Working Class Unity and Black Liberation," lent clarity to the discussion of the national question in the U.S. It served to popularize the understanding that the basis for oppression of Afro-Americans is the oppression of the Afro-American nation in the South, and that Black people suffer national oppression, not only racism. This pamphlet, a resolution of the 1973 Congress of the October League, raised the slogan of "Afro-American Self-Determination." It called for building a Black united front, which along with the general workers movement and other minority struggles, constitutes the core of the revolutionary forces in this country.

The Puerto Rican movement for independence and democratic rights made one of its most important showings in the U.S. as 20,000 people rallied in New York on the October 27th National Day of Solidarity with Puerto Rico. Similar demonstrations across the country upheld the demands of independence for Puerto Rico, and an end to U.S. colonial domination of the island.

In the Southwestern part of the U.S., the Chicano movement surged forward, led by the inspiring struggles of the Farmworkers and the Farah, Sloane, and Pay-Less strikers. The Sloane strike is now ending its second year, and the Sloane workers stand as a heroic example to all workers because of their undying will to fight. In addition to these strike battles, thousands of Chicanos and Mexicanos have participated in actions of mass resistance to fascist round-ups and deportations.

MINORITY STRUGGLE SURGES

The movement of other minorities, including Native American and Asian-Americans, also surged forward, deepening the alliance between the working class and minority struggles. While the victory of Russell Means and Dennis Banks in the Wounded Knee trial was won through mass support, hundreds of other Wounded Knee defendants are still facing charges for their participation in the Wounded Knee uprising. These trials are just another example of the 400-year history of the struggle of Indian peoples against subjugation and genocide.

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While fierce ideological struggle has raged among the newly emerging revolutionary forces, spurred on by participation in all of these mass movements, new political unity has been reached in the process. This growing unity is the main trend in the communist movement, as advanced workers and revolutionaries are learning to distinguish genuine Marxism from revisionism. The last year has seen both the sharpest ideological struggle, as well as the greatest influx of new blood in the communist movement, to take place in many years. Thousands of working class and minority fighters have begun to study Marxism, and assume leadership roles in the movement. This development has challenged the revolutionary forces to transform and proletarianize themselves; to carry out in practice a total break with the revisionism of the CPUSA.

One of the most important developments of 1974 was the ripping away of the masks behind which the leaders of the so-called Communist League and the Revolutionary Union had hidden for some time. In the Spring, the Communist League went on a frantic offensive attempting to split the revolutionary movement away from Marxism-Leninism. Setting up "Continuations Committees" supposedly to build a "new party," the leaders of CL were soon exposed as offering nothing new, only warmed-over Trotskyism, attacking the third world struggles and socialist China.

In May, CL blatantly revealed the total deviation from Marxism that it was trying to establish as the political line of this "new party." In "Report on the International Situation," CL attacked the united front against imperialism, condemned the People's Republic of China, and covered over the social-imperialism of the USSR. In addition to these slanders, the CL revealed its petty-bourgeois class stand through its view that U.S. imperialism is "stronger and more consolidated than ever" and its pessimistic, defeatist attitude toward making revolution. In the end, CL split with all the forces it had temporarily blocked with in the Continuations Committees, and declared that it was now the "Communist Labor Party." They promptly retreated into hiding where the people couldn't find them.

Summing up this experience, the October League and others saw that an organizational structure is not the only factor in party-building. The decisive factor is political line, and a rotten, ultra-"left" line which attacks the united front and Mao Tsetung can never be the basis for a new party.

Following a similar path as CL, the Revolutionary Union also attempted to block with other groups to build a party along anti-Marxist political lines. But when these groups rebelled along with many RU members including its leading minority cadre, RU turned on its former allies, calling them all "the enemy." Their "crime" was that they had learned through practice that the RU was a pack of chauvinists in Marxist disguise, whose line was an opportunist continuation of the CPUSA's liquidation of the Afro-American and other national questions.

The basis for the split in RU's ranks was its chauvinism and its attempts to dominate other communist groups with an opportunist line. Minority members led the rebellion. To cover its tracks, RU hastily began assembling new theories to prove that all its minority cadre were "nationalists" and that narrow nationalism, rather than white chauvinism, was the "main danger" in the movement.

As RU grew further isolated its leadership grew adamant and refused to make any self-criticism. Instead they began to launch frantic, social-fascist attacks on revolutionary groups. It became apparent that at the heart of this sectarian style was RU's anti-Marxist political line, which like CL, was ultra-"left." RU too, launched attacks on the international united front, which includes the Arab

people's struggle. They further propped up the work in the trade union movement. This sounded "socialist" but that strips the work of its revolutionary content.

The clearest mark of the rightist action has been its refusal to work for democratic rights. It sided with the revisionist strategy because of the credibility it may gain.

The October League's revisionism of the CPUSA is the main ideological trend. But the negative impact of revisionism can be seen in the revisionist groups of petty-bourgeois elements in the development of the movement.

In the course of its ultra-"left" movement, that proletarian movement is drawing up a new program. This means resolute and firm solidarity with the peoples of the Third World. We thoroughly reject the attacks on the newspapers of the CPUSA.

Within the U.S. understanding of the historically underdeveloped refused to take up the struggle, including the CPUSA. The practice has continued for Afro-American workers held while demanding minorities.

A revolutionary work actively in the working class.



PHOTOS SHOW: Yasser Arafat greets Yasser Arafat (below) between the Arab people in Atlanta, Ga. Farah (above) celebrates.



EDITORIAL

PARTY IS NEEDED

PEOPLES STRUGGLE



While fierce ideological struggle has raged among the newly emerging revolutionary forces, spurred on by participation in all of these mass movements, new political unity has been reached in the process. This growing unity is the main trend in the communist movement, as advanced workers and revolutionaries are learning to distinguish genuine Marxism from revisionism. The last year has seen both the sharpest ideological struggle, as well as the greatest influx of new blood in the communist movement, to take place in many years. Thousands of working class and minority fighters have begun to study Marxism, and assume leadership roles in the movement. This development has challenged the revolutionary forces to transform and proletarianize themselves; to carry out in practice a total break with the revisionism of the CPUSA.

One of the most important developments of 1974 was the ripping away of the masks behind which the leaders of the so-called Communist League and the Revolutionary Union had hidden for some time. In the Spring, the Communist League went on a frantic offensive attempting to split the revolutionary movement away from Marxism-Leninism. Setting up "Continuations Committees" supposedly to build a "new party," the leaders of CL were soon exposed as offering nothing new, only warmed-over Trotskyism, attacking the third world struggles and socialist China.

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Following a similar path as CL, the Revolutionary Union also attempted to block with other groups to build a party along anti-Marxist political lines. But when these groups rebelled along with many RU members including its leading minority cadre, RU turned on its former allies, calling them all "the enemy." Their "crime" was that they had learned through practice that the RU was a pack of chauvinists in Marxist disguise, whose line was an opportunist continuation of the CPUSA's liquidation of the Afro-American and other national questions.

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people's struggle for economic and political independence. They further proclaimed that revolutionaries should not work in the trade unions, except to "jam" them. While all this sounded "super-revolutionary" it is in fact a strategy that strips the working class of its allies, and is therefore a revisionist strategy which will lead to defeat.

The clearest manifestation of RU's "leftist" talk, but rightist action has centered on the Afro-American struggle for democratic rights in Boston. There, RU has objectively sided with the racist anti-busing movement and has lost any credibility it may have had previously.

The October League was founded on a break from the revisionism of the CPUSA, articulated in the "Unity Statement" from the OL's 1972 Congress. It is the CPUSA which is still the main ideological danger in the working class movement. But the negative examples of RU and CL have shown us that revisionism can adopt an ultra-"left" mask among the anti-revisionist groupings trying to build a new party. This disease of petty-bourgeois "leftism" is the most immediate threat to the development of the communist movement.

In the course of furthering our break with the CPUSA and its ultra-"left" mirror images, the October League has seen that proletarian internationalism must be the touchstone in drawing up a new party's program. In today's world, this means resolute opposition to both imperialist superpowers, and firm solidarity with the struggles of the countries and peoples of the Third World for independence and revolution. We thoroughly reject the apologies for social-imperialism and the attacks on third world countries which have filled the newspapers of RU and CL.

Within the U.S., no party can be built without a scientific understanding of the national question. This question has historically undermined revolutionary organizations which refused to take up the struggle against white chauvinism, including the CPUSA and now RU. The last year of study and practice has confirmed that the right of self-determination for Afro-Americans and all oppressed nations, must be upheld while demanding full democratic rights for all oppressed minorities.

A revolutionary party must lead the working class and work actively in the trade unions. The starting point of all work in the labor movement must be the emancipation of the working class, and not simply winning some reforms or



PHOTOS SHOW YEAR'S EVENTS: Demonstrator (right) greets Yasser Arafat during his U.N. visit. Confrontation (below) between police and anti-repression demonstrators in Atlanta, Ga. Patriots in Lourenco Marques, Mozambique (above) celebrate newly-won independence.



building stronger unions. This is part of the break with the CPUSA which for 20 years has tailed after the labor bureaucrats, practicing class collaboration, and denying the workers revolutionary leadership.

On the question of fascism, we cannot accept the view of the CPUSA that the new fascist danger comes from "right-wing extremists" and fringe elements. The events of the past year have shown the signs of a rising fascist tide, which comes from the mainstream of monopoly capital. While rejecting CL's overestimation that "fascism is inevitable," we must also reject RU's insistence on disarming the people by saying "there is no fascist threat." The fascist tide, while not consolidated or victorious yet, must be opposed. It can be defeated by the working class and a broad united front movement with communist leadership.

In the battles for reforms, democratic rights, peace, and in opposition to fascism, the communist movement must enter into struggle boldly. These questions must be linked to the overall revolutionary struggle. We cannot have an air of detachment or an attitude of disdain towards the major battles for democratic rights which women, minorities, and workers are fighting. We cannot simply say, "Wait until we have socialism." Our organization must be in the vanguard of the reform struggles, while at the same time showing their limitations and organizing the people for revolution.

The fight against women's oppression must be a central part of a revolutionary program. We must fight for both equality under capitalism (a struggle with which RU and CL both don't wish to be tainted) and the real equality which can only come about under socialism.

We must fight to defend and advance the role of women in production and all areas of social life and clearly expose the ideology of male chauvinism as an anti-working class outlook. Every obstacle to women's participation in the revolutionary movement must be combatted.

NEW YEAR WILL BE DECISIVE

These principles are all extensions of the break with revisionism which the new communist movement has been deepening. They go hand in hand with opposition to the essence of revisionism which is the liquidation of the need for violent revolution and the theory that the state need not be smashed to bring about socialism.

We believe that the next year will be a decisive one in the establishment of a new communist party.

In this period, every organization, and every individual will be judged by their willingness to take the stand of the proletariat in the class struggle, and their concrete contributions in bringing the party into being.

Despite any weaknesses our movement may have, it is our revolutionary duty to overcome them in the course of building a new communist party. Our brightest hope for the new year is that this work can be consolidated and that such a party can be formed in the coming period.



Over 3,000 workers at Puerto Rico's Aqueduct and Sewer Authority (ASA) voted December 9 to end their 6-week long militant strike, at least temporarily. Throughout the strike, the majority of Puerto Rico's unionized workers mobilized to support the strikers, thus providing a significant demonstration of working class power.

The union's president, Hector Lugo, emphasized that no contract had been signed and that the workers might walk out again at any time. The members of the striking union, the Authentic Independent Union (AIU), voted amid sharp debate to return to work with pay raises of not more than 10 per cent. The Aqueduct and Sewer Authority had claimed that by law they were not able to increase wages by more than 10 per cent.

From the beginning, the colonial government's response to the strike had been to use severe repression in an attempt to break it and intimidate other sections of the Puerto Rican working class from coming to the aid of the AIU. However, the striking workers did mobilize a united front of 100 unions to support them, and thus were able to defy the government's use of the courts and the National Guard against them for many weeks. But in the face of the continued and increasing repression, they made a tactical decision to return to work and regain their strength.

The Aqueduct strike, latest in a strike wave that has swept Puerto Rico, began when the Aqueduct and Sewer Authority refused to seriously negotiate with the workers. The union was demanding monthly wage increases of \$119 for each year of a two year contract. The Authority refused to budge, however, on its offer of only \$50, \$29, and \$39 monthly increases for a three year pact. In addition, the Authority refused to negotiate on the questions of a union medical plan, a Christmas bonus, and a merit system of raises. After beginning a slowdown on October 20, the workers set up picket lines and began their strike on October 30, the anniversary of the armed Nationalist revolt of 1950.

The militancy of the picket lines and the fact that the pumping stations had been shut down convinced the government that the workers meant business. So the government tried to break the strike by sentencing 11 of the strike leaders to jail.

When the island's labor movement saw the leaders of the

REVISIONIONISTS TRY TO DISARM PALESTINIANS

Although the USSR has posed as the "friend" of the Palestinians and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), their "friendship" is in fact no less dangerous than the troops which the U.S. imperialists are training in the Mojave Desert for a possible invasion of Arab countries.

When Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the PLO, visited Moscow shortly after his United Nations speech, Brezhnev told him to give up the demand of return of all the lands Palestinians held before 1948. A Pravda editorial stated that the PLO should accept a West Bank state as the finalized territory of Palestine, and leave the rest of Palestinian lands to the Israeli Zionists.

In the past, the revisionists in power in the USSR were fond of calling the Palestinian guerilla movements "irresponsible, adventurous riots." Now suddenly they claim to be not just the friend of the PLO, but its "big brother" as well, trying to tell the Palestinian people how to wage their struggle.

The international revisionist movement has taken up the tail of the USSR. The Communist Party in this country, has suddenly declared its total commitment to Arafat, saying that PLO's political line has "become more realistic" since 1970, when the CP used to attack it as "terrorist."

Trying to merge their real support for Israeli Zionism with their sham support for the PLO, the CP wrote a version of the main points of Arafat's UN speech, which was nothing but a lie and slander against the political stand of the PLO.

The Daily World on November 30, stated that the PLO has "dropped the demand in the 1968 Palestine National Charter for a 'secular, democratic' Palestine which would consist of all the territory of pre-1948 Palestine—i.e. would eliminate Israel." Nowhere in Arafat's speech does he mention dropping this demand. In fact, he reaffirmed it.

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Puerto Rican Working Class Shows its Muscle



ONE OF THE MANY SUPPORT DEMONSTRATIONS held in the U.S. during the strike of Puerto Rican workers.

(Call Photo)

union jailed, plans for united action were begun almost immediately. A 10 member co-ordinating committee for a general strike representing over 100 unions was formed and discussion of action began. Within 24 hours it had been agreed that unless the jailed strike leaders were freed, a general strike would be called. With over 100,000 workers from important sectors of the island's economy committed to a general strike, the judge released the men from jail and gave them five days to end the strike and return

to work.

The leaders of the AIU made it clear that they would bargain in good faith but would not be intimidated by the threat of jail. "We will not bargain on our knees," stated union president, Hector Lugo. "If no agreement is reached we will return to jail at the end of the 5 day grace period."

The co-ordinating committee decided that they would also not stop organizing the struggle. Throughout the five day grace period, they solidified their commitment from the many labor unions for a general strike, and engaged in extensive educational work to explain the nature of the struggle to the Puerto Rican working class.

The co-ordinating committee also organized the student movement to join in support of the strike. On the morning of November 14, the day the 11 strike leaders were to report back to court, the students at the university voted to join in the general strike called by the co-ordinating committee. They also marched down to the courtroom to demonstrate alongside the workers for the freedom of the strike leaders.

At this demonstration, Pedro Grant, a leader of the United Labor Movement, spoke to the assembled crowd. He said, "We are facing the most historic moment in the history of the Puerto Rican workers movement. The struggle of the working class against the interests of the capitalist state has clearly revealed itself." He went on to state that "The general strike will ensure that our just and necessary struggle will not be defeated."

While the demonstration continued outside the courtroom and work slowdowns in support of the strike leaders spread throughout government offices, the judge ordered the 11 men returned to jail, saying he had "no alternative." But within minutes, the colonial governor pardoned the men. They were released shortly afterwards to a cheering throng of workers and students.

GENERAL STRIKE AVERTED

By this concession, the government had averted the immediate threat of a general strike. But the Aqueduct strike continued and a series of militant actions in support of the workers took place just before Thanksgiving. Many of the island's water mains and pumping stations were destroyed. Using these actions as a pretext, the colonial government called out the National Guard. The real purpose of this action was to intimidate the strikers and the working class as a whole, and to scab on the strike by taking over the workers' jobs. Juan Mari Bras, president of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), described the mobilization of the National Guard as the "latest in a series of repressive moves against the labor movement." He called on the National Guardsmen not to report for duty.

Then, three days after the Guard was called out, several bombings occurred at various U.S. corporate offices. The government responded on December 3 with a wave of searches at the residences of independence leaders, particularly those of the PSP. As a result of these terror raids, three PSP members were arrested: two were Central Committee members of the PSP who were charged with violating traffic laws (driving without a license), and the third was the President of the local PSP Committee in Ponce who was charged with allegedly having an unloaded .25 caliber gun in his possession.

Demonstrating their support for the striking Aqueduct workers and the independence leaders, thousands marched in the capital city of San Juan against the National Guard actions. In the U.S., hundreds of people demonstrated in New York, Boston, Camden, N.J.; Hartford, Chicago and Los Angeles at colonial government offices to demand an end to the repression. These demonstrations were sponsored by the PSP with the support of other organizations, including the October League.

Even though the strikers were forced to temporarily return to work, the Aqueduct strike showed the tremendous power of a united working class struggle that is linked to the political struggle for independence. Both of these movements are again joining together in the realization that the fight for better wages and living conditions is an inseparable part of the struggle for national liberation and independence for Puerto Rico.

With the aggressive ambitions of both the U.S. and the USSR threatening peace in every part of the world, Brezhnev and Ford held a ritual summit meeting in the Siberian town of Vladivostok last November to discuss "peace, detente," and the "limitation of arms."

Like the underworld chieftains who run their blood together in brotherhood while plotting each other's death, the top gangsters of both imperialist superpowers put on a phony show of friendship.

The main purpose of the meeting was to reach an agreement, covering a ten-year period on the "limitation" of strategic missiles. The number chosen was 2,400, of which 1,320 can be equipped with multiple warheads. Neither country has yet reached these levels in their huge stockpiles, one small indicator that far from limiting the arms race, the two superpowers are actually expanding it.

In a series of press conferences designed to explain the details of the agreement, top U.S. defense officials made it perfectly clear that in spite of the Vladivostok agreement, there would be no slowing down of the invention, production, and deployment of new and more powerful nuclear weapons. Defense Secretary James Schlesinger stated shortly after Ford's return from the USSR that the limit of 2,400 missiles doesn't affect the weight of those missiles, nor does it prevent the use of any number of similar missiles launched from sea-going carriers. He went on to say that this meant that while respecting the 2,400 ceiling, the U.S. was planning to increase the explosive weight of its land-based missiles, while rapidly expanding the program to build and test sea-launched missiles of more powerful types. Further, the Vladivostok Summit put no limit on the total number of warheads a missile can carry. In other words, while each side may be limited to 1,320 missiles, they can arm these missiles with anywhere from 5 to 50 smaller missiles, each capable of blowing up a separate target.

One White House official commented on the agreement noting, "All we've really done is set a limit so that the U.S. can blow up Russia seven times instead of eight." In spite of the promises from both Ford and Brezhnev that the agreement was "only a beginning," and that both hoped to lower total arms capacity, Defense Department expert Adrian Fisher told reporters in a press conference that this was "unrealistic," that actually the 2,400 figure was a "floor rather than a ceiling."

The fact that neither superpower has any intention of placing real limitations on arms capabilities was revealed only days after the Vladivostok Summit. The U.S. was already talking about designing a new, more versatile version of the Minuteman missile, while there were reports that the USSR had equipped its first multiple warhead missile at stations within range of the Western European countries. Further, as a result of limiting land-based missiles, other programs are being beefed up. Now for example, the Pentagon plans to build 12 Trident submarines instead of ten at a cost of \$1 billion each. These developments exposed the lies of the superpower leaders who said in their Vladivostok statement, "What we have done is prevent an arms race, with all its terror, instabilities, war-breeding tension and economic waste."

HIDE AGGRESSION UNDER WORDS OF PEACE

The two superpowers are anxious to hold these summit meetings and pretend that they are doing something about disarmament. They have two motives in this. First, they hope to hide their aggression and subversion in the Middle East, Cyprus, the Indian Subcontinent, Chile, the Arab Gulf, and other regions, by acting as if they are the greatest champions of world peace. Through their pompous ceremonies and meaningless agreements, they hope to convince the Arabs, the Cypriots, and other peoples of the Third World that negotiations between Washington and Moscow are the key to solving world problems, and not the wishes and demands of the people themselves in those parts of the world.

The second motive of the superpower summits is to use some insignificant, unenforceable limits on nuclear arms as a tool in keeping other countries from developing nuclear weapons. The superpowers, possessing devastating stockpiles of missiles and bombs, are saying that the "greatest danger" to world peace is further development of these weapons by the small and medium sized countries. The superpowers hope to hang on to their nuclear monopoly, but they have been met with increasing demands to curb their own stockpiles and aggressive potential. For this reason, they put on performances like the Vladivostok Summit.

Many countries of the Third World are not buying this gangster logic. Socialist China has taken the lead in voicing the need for the people of the world not to be bullied by the superpowers' self-styled talk of peace and disarmament. Addressing this question in October, Chinese representative Chiao Kuan-hua gave the UN China's views of the necessary preconditions for a real disarmament conference: "All the nuclear countries, and particularly the two nuclear superpowers... must first of all undertake the unequivocal obligation that at no time and in no circumstances will they be the first to use nuclear weapons... and they must withdraw from abroad all their armed forces including nuclear missile forces, and dismantle all of their military bases, including nuclear bases, on the territories of other countries." Chiao Kuan-hua went on to point out that the only concrete step towards disarmament is the actual reduction and destruction of nuclear weapons already existing; yet this is precisely what the superpowers

SUPERPOWER SUMMIT

TALKING PEACE BUT PREPARING FOR WAR

refuse to do. According to superpower logic, arms limitation means planning how many missiles they won't build, instead of dealing with the question of destroying the ones on hand.

The superpowers are trying to blind the people to the reality of U.S.-Soviet rivalry and the dangers of a new world war. In doing this, they are not without their agents among the people, who tail behind every flourish of Ford or Brezhnev's pen announcing how much these agreements have promoted world peace. This is the role of the revisionist Communist Party, USA, which hailed the Vladivostok Summit as "a breakthrough towards stable world peace and a sharp setback for the Pentagon warhawks."

The CPUSA claims that the "warhawks wings have been clipped" by the agreement, thus "automatically limiting arms spending." They make these wild assertions hoping to prove that U.S.-Soviet "detente is saving the U.S. taxpayer money." But history shows the fallacy of this line of reasoning.

Every year since the Nuclear Test Ban treaty of 1962 the U.S. and the Soviet Union have agreed to limit some aspect of the arms race, yet every year the military budget of both superpowers increases as they search for new and more destructive weapons. Even Ford informed newsmen that the arms limitation would not decrease the military budget. "We will probably have to increase our military budget next year," said Ford, to provide for new programs and "inflation in military costs." The CPUSA, in the November 26 issue of Daily World, goes on to praise the peace-making efforts of Brezhnev, Ford, and Kissinger, saying that the only danger to world peace comes from Senator Henry Jackson and "the Pentagon." (It is interesting to note that Jackson's opposition to the Vladivostok Summit centered on the need for lower arms limits than the ones Ford and Brezhnev proposed).

The CPUSA seems to have suddenly forgotten that it is

the U.S. government as a whole, and not some isolated "warhawks" in the Pentagon which is responsible for the policies of imperialism in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. If Ford is so committed to peace, why do U.S. troops still fight in Indochina? Why are U.S. naval vessels carrying out military exercises in the Persian Gulf? And if Brezhnev has really "initiated and led a consistent struggle for world peace," as the CPUSA claims he has, why do Soviet troops occupy Czechoslovakia? Why are a million Soviet troops on China's borders, constantly provoking skirmishes and making threats?

LIST OF CRIMES GROWS

The list of crimes of aggression by both imperialist superpowers goes on and on. Vladivostok, too, was a crime against the people, and not a "victory for peace" as the CPUSA claims. Vladivostok signified that the superpowers are willing to go to great lengths to cover up their greed and aggression in a cloak of peace. They are willing to make certain deals with each other in order to suppress the struggles in the Third World which pose a threat to their dreams of world control. But in the final analysis, the only reason they build nuclear weapons is that one hopes to crush the other and rule the world alone. It is this feature of imperialism which the superpowers and their apologists in the CPUSA try to hide, hoping the world's people will not pick up their guard against it.

But the people are picking up their guard. All over the world the realization is growing that it is the two superpowers who are to blame for war and instability in the world. The biggest imperialist gangsters cannot sit down together and plan a peaceful world. The only peaceful world which can really come into being is one which is based on the defeat of the imperialist system, and the crushing of the two imperialist superpowers through the revolutionary struggle of the world's people.



Revolutionary Union

Opportunism in a "Super-Revolutionary" Disguise

60¢

This new pamphlet from the October League includes three major polemics against the line of the Revolutionary Union:

- On communist work in the trade unions
- On the international united front against imperialism and the standpoint of proletarian internationalism
- On the Afro-American national question and the fight against white chauvinism

In addition, the pamphlet contains an introductory note summing up the different party-building attempts of the last fifteen years, reprints from THE CALL on the Revolutionary Union's role in the Chicago Women's Day march and the Dasco strike, and the recent series of gangster-style attacks by the RU on other groups in the revolutionary movement.

OTHER LITERATURE AVAILABLE: Party Building in the U.S. (25¢), Unity Statement (25¢), For Working Class Unity and Black Liberation (50¢), Lenin on the Party (50¢), Enver Hoxha's speech, "Our Policy is an Open Policy" (25¢).

BUTTONS: "Self-Determination for Afro-Americans" and "End Attacks on All Oppressed People" (50¢ ea.)
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LIBERATION FORCES SET UP CLASSROOM IN LIBERATED GUINEA-BISSAU

LIFE IN THE NEW GUINEA-BISSAU

More than a year after declaring independence from Portugal, the people of Guinea-Bissau continue to struggle against the economic, political, and ideological influence of their former colonizers.

The new democratic government of Guinea-Bissau is struggling to spread to the whole country the type of government that has existed in the two-thirds of the territory which has been liberated by guerilla fighters over the last 17 years of armed struggle. This means setting up "political-administrative committees" of men and women either elected by the people, or appointed by the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde.). Besides organizational tasks, the leaders have ideological ones: in the city of Bissau, for example, where the majority of youth left long ago to fight with the guerillas, the PAIGC is concentrating on political education among those who remained in the former capital city of the Portuguese. This means organizing the peoples' fight against the attempts of former Portuguese exploiters to get back into power, while at the same time opposing spontaneous violent "settling of accounts among the people." The Portuguese also fostered racist divisions among the people along tribal lines. The PAIGC is carrying out extensive work to heighten the unity of the people, with respect for the rights of all tribes.

Economically, the PAIGC is concentrating on the agricultural development of Guinea-Bissau, an overwhelming majority of whose 900,000 inhabitants live in the countryside. As Amilcar Cabral, the leader of the PAIGC, assassinated in 1971, stated, "Our absolute first priority will be agriculture."

Agricultural development in Guinea-Bissau means increased productivity through modernization of methods for growing rice and other raw products for export. However, the PAIGC states categorically that they will not let the

country become a slave to its exports. Other African countries have allowed neo-colonialism to develop by becoming "slaves to exports." They do not believe in "growth without development." For them, exports will serve development, not vice-versa.

Building on this base of agricultural development, the government has the task of raising the standard of living, and increasing the peoples' welfare. Agriculture, said Cabral, "is a question not only of cultivation, but also, the means of bringing about what the people are capable of doing and doing effectively. It's a question of democracy: schools, hospitals, of village cooperatives. . . ."

In the process of building the rural economy, the government is also solving monetary, cultural, and technical problems. For example, they must introduce a currency system to replace bartering. To integrate the cities with the countryside, much of which has been self-ruled in liberated zones for a long time, they must overcome remnants of decadent Portuguese imperialism in the cities such as widespread alcoholism. This country, which before the war of liberation

did not have one native-born doctor, is continuing the process begun by the PAIGC of training doctors, nurses, and other scientific personnel. During the war, the PAIGC trained 10 of its cadre as doctors and 11 as assistants; this year, it is training 45 nurses and 237 paramedics.

Also progressing noticeably in new Guinea-Bissau is the liberation of the country's women. Many women belonged to the guerilla army, although they did not go into combat but served as nurses, cooks, and radio communications technicians. Now the PAIGC is actively promoting equality for women by bringing them into all fields of work, and in the government, requiring at least one woman for every two men serving on the political-administrative committees. (This quota is generally filled in the liberated areas, but not, as yet, in the rest of the country.)

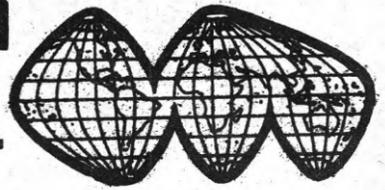
Cabral, concerned about women's position from the beginning of the struggle, said, "We cannot have a successful revolution without the full participation of women." Implementing this line on the woman question after independence has meant establishing the right of women to divorce their husbands through the People's Courts. The PAIGC is also slowly working to end the custom of forced marriages, (now virtually non-existent), and of polygamy. Party policy is to forbid polygamy among cadres, while the struggle among the rest of the people advances a little more slowly, along with the people's political education.

While Guinea-Bissau may have thrown off the yoke of the imperialists, the PAIGC still struggles underground in the neighboring Cape Verde islands, where Portugal has promised elections and independence in the coming year. At that time the people of Cape Verde will exercise self-determination—whether to remain totally independent, or to join Guinea-Bissau, as the PAIGC program proposes, in an autonomous state in federation with Guinea-Bissau. These islands have historically been the pawn of U.S., Portuguese, and South African imperialists, who have used them for air and naval bases.

However, many people from the islands went to Guinea-Bissau to fight the Portuguese and the PAIGC, though unable to wage guerilla warfare on the islands, nevertheless seems well on the way to liberating them. The PAIGC program opposes the existence of all foreign bases on Cape Verde.

While building up their own democracy, self-sufficiency, and independence, the people of Guinea-Bissau are conscious of solidarity with the struggle of other oppressed countries. They coordinate with the liberation movement in Angola and Frelimo of Mozambique, to negotiate with the Portuguese, in order to help force the colonialists out of Mozambique and Angola. The new government of Guinea-Bissau has pledged its aid to the liberation movements in Indochina and Palestine, and has vowed especially to help their fraternal African liberation fronts in any way possible

International News in Brief ...



ZIMBABWE LIBERATION MOVEMENT ADVANCES

The white supremacist regime of Ian Smith is weakening in Rhodesia. The government has been forced to release political prisoners from the Zimbabwean people's struggle, including leaders of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). (Zimbabwe is the people's name for Rhodesia).

Both ZANU and ZAPU have joined the African National Council, which up to this point has been the only legal Black political organization in the country. While willing to negotiate, the masses of Zimbabwe are committed to nothing short of political power and majority rule. To win these demands, the liberation movements have been carrying out armed struggle in several regions of Zimbabwe for the last ten years.

FRENCH WORKERS DENOUNCE SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

When the chieftain of Soviet revisionism, Leonid Brezhnev visited Paris in December, he was met by more than 1000 workers who participated in a demonstration against Soviet social-imperialism. The slogans of the demonstration, sponsored by the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France were: "Down with Revisionism!" "Brezhnev—Get Out of France!" and "A United Front Against the Two Superpowers!"

THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES RESPOND TO U.S.

U.S. representative John Scali launched an attack on the whole Third World in the December 6 session of the United Nations, when he declared that the UN was suffering from "a clear and present danger" of "tyranny," and that U.S. support for the world body was "eroding."

Angry representatives of some of the third world countries responded to these allegations showing that the U.S. was motivated by fear that it was losing its stranglehold on the UN. Algerian representative Abdellatif Rahal pointed out that the changes in the UN reflect the changes in the world, and that leaders of the UN should encourage this, rather than trying to stifle it.

Chinese representative Huang Hua showed that both the U.S. and the USSR are afraid of the growing third world unity which challenges the ability of the superpowers to dominate the world.

GUARDIAN'S DAVIDSON TO SPEAK ON WEST COAST "WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?"

.....TASKS FACING THE MOVEMENT IN THE PRESENT IMPERIALIST CRISIS

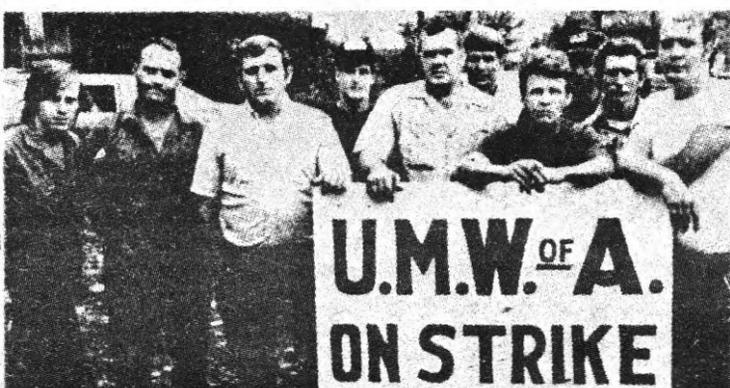
Carl Davidson of *THE GUARDIAN* newspaper will make an 8-city speaking tour in January and February. The focus of this tour will be the tasks facing the movement in the present imperialist crisis. Particular attention will be paid to the role of the national question in building working class unity, and in laying the foundations for a new communist party. Davidson's first-hand observations on the Boston busing struggle will be among the issues discussed.

The tour, which is being jointly sponsored by *THE GUARDIAN* and *THE CALL*, will cover the following cities between January 23 and February 5, 1975: Boulder, Colo., Denver, Los Angeles, San Diego, the East Bay (Berkeley-Oakland), Seattle, Portland and Eugene, Oregon.

For further information on activities in your city, please contact *THE CALL* or check the announcements in the January issues of *THE GUARDIAN*.

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LON NOL IS THOROUGHLY ISOLATED

From 1955 until 1970, the Royal Government of Cambodia, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, occupied a seat in the United Nations. In 1970, the United States launched an unprovoked invasion of Cambodia and installed its puppet government in Phnom Penh, the Lon Nol clique.

On November 26, 1974, 37 countries put forward a resolution in the UN demanding the restoration of the Royal Government's seat and the expulsion of the Lon Nol clique from the world body. The U.S. government put up a counter-resolution, backed by only 23 nations. Through a series of underhanded parliamentary tricks, such as putting its counter-resolution on the agenda ahead of the original, making a series of amendments and later withdrawing them, the U.S.-backed resolution narrowly passed by a vote of 56 in favor, 54 opposed, and 23 abstentions.

Chinese UN representative, Huang Hua condemned the U.S.-sponsored resolution as attempting to cover up U.S. aggression in Cambodia and turn the UN into an instrument of U.S. aggression. Further, the narrow margin of victory and the underhanded maneuvers used by the U.S. representative to push passage of its resolution "fully revealed the passive position and weakness of the U.S. on the Cambodia question and reflected its political and moral defeat," said Huang Hua.

DISTORTIONS OF CAMBODIAN STRUGGLE

The U.S.-sponsored resolution contained a great many distortions of the Cambodian struggle. In the first place, it claimed that the Lon Nol clique still controlled a majority of the people. Prince Sihanouk pointed out that the major newspapers and reporters of even Western countries agree that the Royal Government and the liberation forces control no less than 80 percent of Cambodian territory and well over half of the population. The Lon Nol clique is completely isolated territorially; supplies from U.S. military bases must be either flown in or sailed up the river. Without the 700 million dollars that the Lon Nol clique receives yearly from the U.S. as well as the tremendous amounts of food supplies, and the military hardware, it would crumble tomorrow in the face of the revolutionary warfare of the people.

In the liberated zones sufficient rice, maize, poultry, pigs, oxen, tobacco, and cotton is produced to meet the needs of the populace, while exporting to Vietnam and the liberated zone in Laos.

Further, the U.S.-backed resolution hypocritically called on the Cambodian people to solve their political problems peacefully, "without outside interference." But, as Prince Sihanouk pointed out, "The war in Cambodia is not a civil war." The Cambodian people are united in the struggle against the military aggression of the U.S. government. Only a handful of the population co-operate with the Lon Nol clique and its very existence is totally dependent on the U.S.

Finally, the U.S.-backed resolution was a sham because it called for a "peaceful settlement" while deliberately ignoring the role of U.S. imperialism in creating the present war.

The Cambodian people are continuing their armed struggle for the complete liberation of their country. In November, the Peoples' Liberation Armed Forces sank more than 8 enemy ships, downed several aircraft, and killed hundreds of enemy troops. Just 13 miles to the east of Phnom Penh, two entire villages of people, over 600 altogether, came over to the liberated zones, showing conclusively that the Cambodian people are united in the struggle for the liberation of their country.

SELF-DETERMINATION ...

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9)

must be fought for as well as an overall struggle for full democratic rights as part of the general class demands of the working class.

The fight for the right of self-determination is closely linked to the struggle for democratic rights in general. While the fight for democratic rights is for equality and democratization of society in general, the right of self-determination is the crowning point of that struggle and the highest expression of democracy between nations. Whereas the struggle for democratic rights is basically a fight for reforms, the struggle for self-determination is one that cannot be won without the revolutionary winning of state power. In raising the demand for democratic rights, for example the right of Black students to attend integrated schools in Boston, we also link this demand to the right of self-determination in order to show that the roots of national oppression in Boston lie in the oppression of the Afro-American people as a nation, with full rights to self-determination in the Black Belt. We link this struggle in much the same way that the economic struggle of the workers must be linked to the fight

LETTERS TO THE CALL



DISAGREES WITH ARTICLE ON IRAN

Your article criticizing U.S. communists calling for the overthrow of the Shah of Iran (October 1974) makes two errors: on the nature of the united front against the two superpowers, and on Iran's objective world position.

1) Inside the united front, groups "make mutual concessions for the sake of long-term cooperation" and "assist friendly parties and armies to consolidate and expand." (Mao) (Class struggle continues, but in limited form.)

This distinguishes united fronts from other types of alliance where unity around a particular issue has no effect on other relations with member groups. We might, for example, join with a section of the U.S. ruling class to fight for legislation banning Rhodesian imports. But this tactical alliance must never serve as an excuse to lighten up our attacks on them or assist their growth in any way.

Because a united front is based on the principle contradiction, however, we are willing to make concessions to allies within it, to assist them "to consolidate and expand" so they can help remove the main obstacle to progress at the moment. But this makes it critical that we distinguish between those forces whose principle aspect is opposition to the main enemy and those with whom we can ally on this or that issue but whose principle aspect is unity with imperialism. Otherwise we may find ourselves assisting the growth of our main enemy.

2) One always divides into two—even the enemy. Contradiction is not proof that two forces are characterized primarily by opposition to each other. Police may strike for higher wages, for example, but it would be one-sided and subjective to take this as the primary aspect of their relationship with the bourgeoisie.

But your article on Iran cites a few examples of this without looking at that relationship all-sidedly. You cite Iran's membership in OPEC, but not its sabotage of OPEC's main weapon, the oil boycott. (The Shah bragged on U.S. TV "Not one drop of Iranian oil has been diverted from U.S. ports.") You cite Iran's new oil agreement but not the fact that it requires Iran to expand production by ten per cent every year, thus undercutting future oil boycotts and nationalizations. (Several geologists predict that this production increase will deplete all of Iran's known resources by the time Iran is scheduled to take them over.)

This letter is too short to cite more than a few examples, but the evidence convinces me that the objective position of the Shah's government is characterized primarily by:

Dependency on U.S. imperialism—Iran's government, unlike most Third World countries, is not a compromise between imperialism (and local compradors) and other class forces inside Iran. Rather, like South Vietnam's Thieu and the Chilean junta, the Shah's reign was imposed from without by a CIA-financed coup in 1953 against the popular government of Muhammed Mossadeq which had nationalized Iranian oil. The result is a solidly comprador government that keeps its power only through a repressive machine maintained by U.S. arms shipments.

As a "junior partner" of U.S. imperialism—Defeat in Vietnam and increasing competition from the USSR (and Western Europe and Japan) has forced the U.S. to shift from a policy of direct intervention to the use of favored regional "partners" to protect U.S. imperial interests (the

for socialism. In this sense, the right of self-determination is the highest form of democratic rights of an oppressed nation. Stalin pointed out: "But the persons constituting a nation do not always live in one compact mass; they are frequently divided into groups, and in that form are interspersed among alien national organisms. It is capitalism which drives them into various regions and cities in search of a livelihood. But when they enter foreign national territories and there form minorities these groups are made to suffer by the local national majorities in the way of restrictions on their language, schools, etc. Hence national conflicts." (Marxism and the National Question)

At the time Stalin wrote these words, there were some, like the Jewish Bundists who were putting forth the idea of "cultural autonomy" or the cultural separation of the different nationalities in separate schools, social organizations, and political parties, etc. Stalin pointed out that in such cases as this, some form of regional autonomy, based on territory must be carried out as well as the general fight for democratic rights in all spheres of society. At times when self-determination is not applicable (i.e. where full national development never took place) or where the people of the oppressed nation reject secession, regional autonomy can be implemented as the basis to bring about unity and equality.

To show the difference between cultural autonomy and regional autonomy, Stalin said, "The advantage of regional autonomy consists, first of all, in the fact that it does not deal with a fiction bereft of territory, but with a definite population inhabiting a definite territory. Next it does not strengthen national barriers; on the contrary, it breaks down these barriers and unites the population in such a manner as to open the way for division of a different kind, division according to classes."

In the People's Republic of China such a program has been instituted and the more than 50 formerly oppressed nationalities (some numbering less than 1,000 people) all received some form of regional autonomy. While remaining part of the People's Republic of China, they have the power

Nixon Doctrine).

This explains why U.S. military aid to Iran was stepped up so sharply in the late 60s, including the recent \$2.4 billion arms deal. The U.S. is arming the Shah to carry out U.S. "police operations" in the Middle East. In return he receives the support necessary to survive and certain privileges in the area.

The principal challenge to U.S. hegemony against which the Shah has directed his energies is the PFLOAG in Dhofar and Oman. Whether this is a genuine revolutionary movement or a move by the social-imperialists to move out the U.S. (which you claim but offer no evidence), the Shah's fight is clearly in the interest of his U.S. masters.

Even more significant, Iran—alone among Muslim states—gives direct aid to Israel, including the training of Israeli pilots in the use of U.S. Phantom jets.

So U.S. arms shipments to Iran are not an accident but a policy of enlightened self-interest designed to strengthen its junior partner as a bulwark against anti-imperialist forces in the Middle East.

This means that failure to support revolutionary movements in Iran (whether proletarian or national bourgeois) and failure to oppose U.S. arms shipments to the Shah results objectively in the strengthening of U.S. imperialism. Support the Shah on issues where his interests coincide with ours by all means. But don't liquidate the struggle against imperialist agents because they occasionally want a more important, better-paid position. Roger Tauss, Phil., Pa.

RU ROLE IN CLIFFORD GLOVER STRUGGLE

Comrades,

The article about the demonstration for justice for Clifford Glover in the August CALL was good. We should all take heart in the victory the people won when Shea, the cop who murdered this 10-year old Black youth, was later kicked off the New York City police force as a result of mass pressure.

The last paragraph of the article, however, lists, "The October League, the Committee for Justice for Clifford Glover, the Revolutionary Union, Youth Against War and Fascism, the African Information Service," equally as participants in the demonstration. This is misleading because RU and YAWF did nothing at all to help build for the demonstration. In fact, at an earlier Clifford Glover demonstration RU cadre refused to participate because of the "rightism" of a sign one of the demonstrators was carrying. The next week at an RU forum, instead of criticizing themselves for this, Bob Avakian, one of their leaders, attacked the OL for participating in the demonstration.

It's only by participating in such united front activities as the Clifford Glover demonstrations that communists can effectively struggle against incorrect and confused lines and win other forces over to a correct line. To attack such united front activities from the outside, as the RU did, is nothing but rank opportunism. A.H.L. (N.Y., N.Y.)

of local self-government and the development of their national language, culture and schools in these areas. In the U.S. this is one part of the communist program on the national question and the right of self-determination. In areas like Harlem, South Side of Chicago, Watts, etc., Afro-Americans must have some form of regional, district or community autonomy. This also applies to other nationalities facing similar conditions of oppression, for example, Native Americans.

In conclusion, the right of self-determination is a basic component part of the communist program of the October League on the national question. It must also become a component part of the program of the new communist party when it is formed. We cannot accept those who call for "unity" in a new party, but who refuse to uphold in practice, the right of self-determination of Afro-American people and all other oppressed nations.

The right of self-determination, while not an abstract call for separation of nations or the breaking up of big countries into small ones, is put forth as a guarantee of democracy and political power for the long oppressed peoples of the oppressed nations and national minorities. When raised by the workers of the oppressor nation, it represents an act of solidarity with the national liberation movements and a sign that they have made a clean break with their own capitalist class. When raised by the people of the oppressed nation, it serves as a rallying cry for revolution against imperialism and its reactionary policies.

The right of self-determination must be applied to the concrete conditions in each country with the unity of the class struggle and the fight against imperialism and the need for working-class leadership in the forefront. It is only on these revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principles that a genuine multi-national communist party can be built and that the alliance between the workers' movement and the national liberation struggles can be firmly cemented.

**SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL OPPRESSED NATIONS!
WORKERS AND OPPRESSED NATIONS UNITE!**