

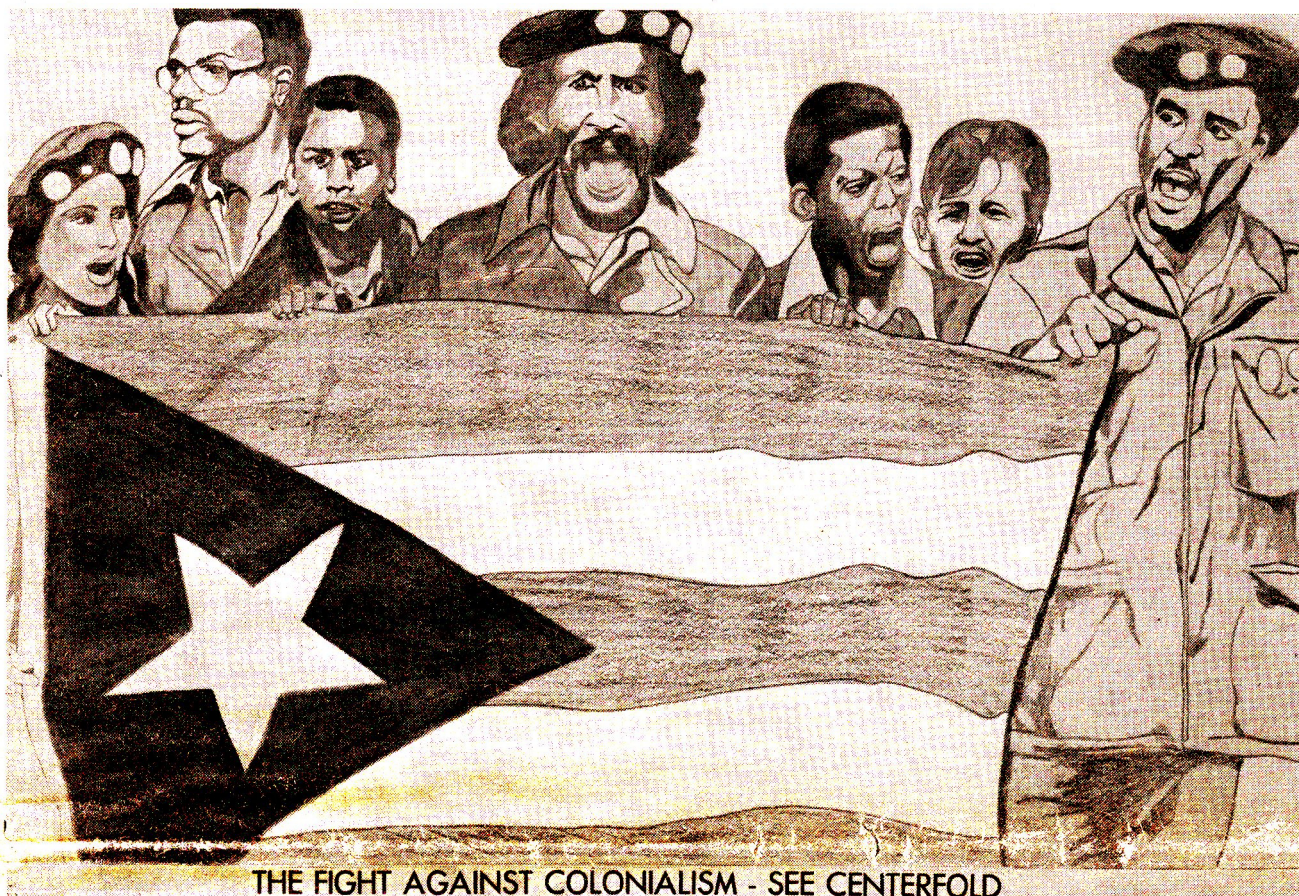
**PEOPLE OF
THE WORLD
UNITE TO
DEFEAT
IMPERIALISM**

THE CALL

**POLITICAL
NEWSPAPER
OF THE
OCTOBER
LEAGUE**

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FREE PUERTO RICO! DAY OF SOLIDARITY OCT. 27TH



THE FIGHT AGAINST COLONIALISM - SEE CENTERFOLD

CALL EDITORIAL:

“THE NATION THAT OPPRESSES ANOTHER NATION FORGES ITS OWN CHAINS...” (Karl Marx)

October 27 is being organized as Puerto Rican Solidarity Day. On this day, thousands of people will rally throughout the country to express the solidarity of the people of the U.S. with the Puerto Rican independence cause. The largest rally is planned for Madison Square Garden in New York, where upwards of 20,000 people are expected.

The October League and *THE CALL* fully support Puerto Rican Solidarity Day, and are among the co-sponsoring organizations. We demand that the U.S. end its colonial domination of Puerto Rico and we express our total support for the independence movement in all its forms. We also demand equality for the thousands of Puerto Ricans living and working in the U.S.

We urge the broadest possible united front action on October 27, calling on people of every nationality and political persuasion to take part. It is only through such broad mobilizations that the real friends of Puerto Rican independence can come forth and the false friends, who promote “peaceful development” of the Puerto Rican struggle can be exposed.

Because Puerto Rico is a direct colony of the U.S. and the colony closest to our shores, the liberation of this country must be a number-one priority for the working class movement in the U.S. The oppression of Puerto Rico is used by the forces of reaction in order to weaken the revolutionary struggle here and turn worker against worker.

No important steps forward in the U.S. workers' movement can be made without the closest links to the anti-imperialist struggle in the colonies. The liberation of Puerto Rico will be a great step forward in the fight against imperialism, and for the liberation of all people.

ALL OUT FOR OCTOBER 27! INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO! DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM!

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**SECCION
EN ESPAÑOL**

REBELLION ROCKS NEWARK

Newark, N.J.— The police said they were trying to stop an illegal dice game in Branch Brook Park Sunday September 1 at the Puerto Rican Folklore festival. But Mrs. Iris Cartegena who was there, said two mounted police started hasseling the picnickers over two cooking carts. As the police moved in the crowd, they trampled a four-year-old girl under one of their horses. The child is still in the hospital.

The Puerto Rican rebellion in Newark, sparked by this incident of police brutality, represents the determination of the Puerto Rican community to fight for their democratic rights.

The movement of the people won the release of two men arrested in the incident. The Puerto Rican community returned to City Hall to demand a community board to oversee the police, but they got no satisfaction at all from Mayor Gibson. The anger of the people mounted and trashing of City Hall began. Mayor Gibson himself gave the order for a surprise attack by over 500 police armed with horses, clubs and shotguns. The police had been waiting in hiding in full riot gear. They savagely tore

into the crowd, beating everyone they could get their hands on, even a pregnant woman.

The wrath of the people at this vicious attack led to burning and looting similar to the Black rebellion in Newark in 1967. The Puerto Rican community has in effect been put under martial law and occupied. Two Puerto Ricans are dead and over 75 people have been arrested.

A speaker at the City Hall rally pointed out the miserable conditions faced by Puerto Ricans in Newark, aside from the open terror of the police. A full third of Puerto Ricans earn incomes below the official “poverty level.” Black community leaders, including members of the Congress of African Peoples (CAP) expressed their solidarity with the rally, and pointed out that both Blacks and Puerto Ricans are fighting the same struggle against oppression.

When the Puerto Rican people come here, intense discrimination forces them to fill the sweatshops of this country. Heads of households—men and women—work for the bare minimum wage. It was not until 1949, after 50 years of struggle, that Puerto Rico won the right to run its schools in Spanish. But due to the contempt for the national heritage of Puerto Ricans in the U.S., English is rammed down the throat of the Puerto Rican community. This forces

Puerto Rican students out of high school and is why the drop-out rate of Puerto Rican students is the highest of any people in Newark. Puerto Rican people share the same miserable medical care and housing conditions as Black people. Police violence is the most open form of this general social and economic violence against Puerto Ricans and other national minorities. For the Puerto Rican national minority, this was the straw that broke the camel's back. How much are people to tolerate without striking back?

Events in Newark have shown that we cannot rely on liberals like Mayor Gibson who make promises of reform. The fact is that Gibson has been backed by big business interests of Newark to tone down the problems of Newark without really dealing with them.

While millions have been poured into downtown office buildings, and a new airport, the needs of the people of Newark go unanswered.

Like the mayors before him, Gibson is bound to try to preserve the police as a tool of those interests behind him. His refusal to even compromise with the community demands and his order for the police attack have shown that the people must depend on themselves to bring about the changes needed for a decent life.



Over 3,000 people marched through the Chicano barrio of East Los Angeles August 31 to protest raids and deportations of Chicano and Mexicano people by the U.S. Immigration Service (INS). Chanting "Raza Si, Migra No!" contingents from many organizations and residents of the barrio arrived at Salazar Park to hear speakers from the Coalition for Fair Immigration Practices, CASA, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the American Indian Movement, and others. The key point made in all the speeches was solidarity against the fascist deportation of workers from the cities and fields of California as well as other parts of the country. They pointed out that in this period of economic crisis, the imperialists are attempting to blame the immigrant workers for the high unemployment and other problems that are caused by the imperialists themselves.

Salazar Park was the scene four years before of the Chicano Moratorium where 35,000 people marched to protest the Vietnam War, and fought off bloody police attacks on the demonstrators.

IRANIAN MILITANT SEIZED BY AGENTS

San Francisco—Over a hundred people, members of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) and supporters, picketed the U.S. Immigration Services office here on Sept. 16 to protest the arrest of ISA activist Mohamad Hadj-Azimi. Mohamad was seized by Federal agents and held on \$10,000 bail on charges of "violating immigration laws." The arrest took place at the end of a demonstration sponsored by the ISA to protest the recent murder of 16 striking workers in Iran.

The strong show of support for the ISA at the Immigration office forced the judge to lower the bail to \$2,000, but Mohamad, like other ISA activists whose passports have not been renewed by Iranian authorities, still faces possible deportation.

The fascist tactic of seizure by immigration agents has been used increasingly against foreign students--Vietnamese, Ethiopian, Arab, as well as Iranian -- and is aimed at breaking the political organizations of these students, who have been firm allies of the American people in the struggle against imperialist war and repression.

This tactic is a part of the nation-wide campaign of "anti-foreigner" hysteria which has seen more than 700,000 Mexican-born workers rounded up and dumped across the border. This campaign on the part of the ruling class is first and foremost directed at the activists and anti-imperialist fighters like Mohamad Hadj-Azimi.

End the immediate end of harassment of Mohamad Hadj-Azimi and all Iranian students by the Immigration Service. We call on everyone to stand up and protest this outrageous attack on the ISA on all foreign workers and students in the U.S.

STOP THE DEPORTATIONS!!

MARINES PROTEST KOREAN DICTATORSHIP

Iwakuni, Japan—Some U.S. Marines stationed in Iwakuni, Japan have taken up the struggle against the Pak dictatorship of S. Korea. The GI's, members of "Marines Against the War," have been collecting signatures to a letter protesting the abuse of democratic freedoms by the S. Korean regime.

The Marines had collected 40 signatures before being arrested. They are now awaiting a Special Court Martial on the charges of passing out a petition without prior Command approval. The letter was addressed to Senator J.W. Fulbright (chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.)

By arresting the GI's, the Command hopes to scare GI's away from taking up the struggle against imperialism. The military fears the international solidarity developing between GI's and the oppressed people of the world.

The Marines were calling attention to the recent sentencing of 55 political prisoners to punishments ranging from 20 years to death by the fascist Pak dictatorship. These were but the latest actions in a series of repressive acts carried out by President Pak under his State of Emergency Measure of April 4, 1974. The Pak dictatorship has been desperately trying to stem the popular upsurge to reunite Korea.

The U.S. Military plays a strategic role in keeping the dictatorship alive. There are over 50 U.S. bases in Korea, with 45,000 troops. In addition, the U.S. spends over \$200 million each year to help maintain the S. Korean army, the fourth largest standing army in the world. This is in addition to a secret police force of 350,000.

The arrested Marines have expressed their international solidarity against this fascist regime, and have taken a courageous stand.

OCTOBER LEAGUE FORUM

THE WORKING CLASS NEEDS
A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY

Speaking will be a member of the Central Committee of the October League (Marxist-Leninist)

In Denver, Saturday, October 5, 7:30 PM
Colorado University Denver Center
Fourteenth and Arapahoe Room 116

KILLER COPS FORCE D OUT BY PEOPLE

New York City—Two white cops, Thomas Shea and Walter Scott, have been kicked off the city's police force in response to massive community pressure. They were found guilty in a departmental trial of violating regulations in the use of a service revolver and giving misleading information to investigators. The firing stemmed from the fatal shooting of a 10-year-old Black youth, Clifford Glover.

On April 28, 1973 in South Jamaica Queens, Shea and Scott in plain clothes jumped from an unmarked car and yelled "halt" to Clifford Glover and his father who were walking to work. When the child and his father began to run, Shea shot Clifford in the back killing him.

The two cops claimed they were on the lookout for a six foot man who allegedly robbed a taxi. Clifford was under five feet tall. They also claimed that Clifford was carrying a gun, and that they had shot in self-defense. But no gun was found at the scene of the murder, and neighbors testified that Clifford was unarmed.

Due to pressure from the outraged Jamaica community, Shea was brought to trial on charges of first degree murder—the first New York City cop ever so charged. But in a mockery of justice, Shea was acquitted by a nearly all-white jury, with many of the jury members being related to police officers.

As news reached the community of Shea's acquittal, the people responded with demonstrations and rebellions. Demonstrations were held at City Hall and at Police Plaza, and a boycott of the most powerful member of the Jamaica Chamber of Commerce, Gertz Department Stores, was organized. After four weeks, the boycott forced the Chamber of Commerce to send a letter to Robert Moore, Chief Assistant to U.S. Attorney, requesting a federal "investigation."

The struggle of the people finally forced the police department to bring charges against and finally fire the two killer cops. But the fight for justice for Clifford Glover is far from over. We demand that Shea be convicted for the murder of Clifford Glover. We demand that there be an end to these fascist police attacks on Afro-American and all minority communities. Shea must pay!

VICTORY IN WOUNDED KNEE TRIAL



St. Paul, Minn.—Charges against American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means were dismissed September 16 because of flagrant government misconduct and deception. The charges stemmed from the heroic Indian rebellion at Wounded Knee.

Judge Nichols, who presided at the trial, was reportedly so disgusted with the prosecution's methods and the actions of the FBI during the trial that he had no choice but to dismiss all charges against the two AIM leaders. The prosecution had bribed witnesses, and the FBI had engaged in a campaign of harassment and illegal wiretaps in order to try to convict Banks and Means.

In dismissing the charges, Judge Nichols stated that the FBI had "stooped to a new low" in their handling of the case, and that, "This has been a bad year for justice."

After the dismissal, Russell Means noted that he still had four more trials to go, and that several other trials stemming from the Wounded Knee rebellion are still in progress. Continued support is needed to defeat government attempts at crushing the American Indian Movement.

People in Struggle

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NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD CONVENTION

Minneapolis—More than 800 lawyers, law students, and legal workers met here August 8—12 for the annual convention of the National Lawyers Guild and reaffirmed their commitment to the struggles of workers, minorities, women and the left political movement in this country.

The convention marked 37 years of activity for the Guild, organized in 1936 as an alternative to the American Bar Association, which at that time was refusing to admit Black members or to support progressive legislation such as an end to child labor.

Keynote speakers at this year's convention Juan Mari Bras, Secretary-General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and Joan Andersson of the Guild's International Committee encouraged the participation in the struggles of oppressed and third world countries against U.S. imperialism. Resolutions were passed endorsing Puerto Rican Solidarity Day on October 27 and in support of the seven South Vietnamese students facing deportation.

The Guild also reaffirmed its commitment to the defense of the Attica Brothers and the Wounded Knee defendants. Both defense campaigns have been national priorities for the Guild.

In response to the upsurge in the general workers movement, the Guild has created a National Labor Law Project. The Project will train lawyers and legal workers to provide legal assistance to labor groups and caucuses fighting against discrimination in the plants, unsafe working conditions, and undemocratic unions.

Elected at the convention as new national officers were lawyers Doron Weinberg of San Francisco, President; Mary Joyce Johnson of Atlanta as Vice-President; and Jeanne Mirer of Boston as Treasurer.

The continued growth of the National Lawyers Guild is accompanied by the rapidly developing political consciousness of its membership. The coming year will focus the attention of Guild members on their relationship as lawyers and legal workers to the overall anti-imperialist struggle.

THE VOICE OF PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE

THE CALL is the political paper of the October League (Marxist-Leninist) and is published monthly, with a section in Spanish, EL CLARIN.

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VICTORY FOR BROOKSIDE MINERS

MARRIED BY COMPANY MURDER

Brookside, Ky.—The 180 striking miners at the Brookside mine in Harlan County, Ky. have beaten Duke Power Company, the sixth largest electric utility in the country. The strength, courage and determination of these brave men and their wives and supporters have laid the foundations for a victorious drive to organize all the unorganized coal fields. On August 29, 1974, after 13 months of trying to break the strike with court injunctions, murders, arrests, beatings, state police, firings, hired gun thugs, and evictions, Duke Power was defeated and signed a contract with the United Mine Workers of America.

The victory was marred by the murder of a young Brookside miner by a Highsplint mine foreman. Indeed, it was this stark exposure of corporate violence and the fear of retaliation which finally forced Duke Power back to the bargaining table. 23-year-old Lawrence Jones died just hours before the contract, for which he gave his life, was signed. Jones had been shot in the head with a shotgun at such close range that the buckshot did not spread.

On the evening of August 24, 1974, Jones was standing talking to two Highsplint strikers near his home when mine foreman Billy Carroll Bruner approached the group and reportedly said, "Jones, you're the one I want," raised his shotgun and fired. Only four hours before, Bruner had been seen meeting with Basil Collins, a Highsplint supervisor who headed Duke's thug operations. Lawrence Jones died at the Appalachian Regional Hospital after a four day battle for his life. He is survived by his 16-year-old wife, Diane and his three-month-old daughter.

MURDERED IN FULL VIEW

Lawrence Jones was murdered in full view of two fellow strikers and yet a grand jury convened in Bell County, Ky. failed to even indict Bruner. And what about the criminals who stood behind Bruner? What about the Harlan County Coal Operators Association, Duke Power Company, the Morgans, who control Duke, or the Rockefellers, or the Mellons, or the Duponts? And what about the willing servants of these monopoly capitalists, the state and federal governments of this country? Justice for them will have to come at the hands of the working class.

The contract which Duke Power signed on Aug. 29 was the same contract they were offered 13 months before, but which Duke resisted, hoping to insert a no-strike clause. The contract is the 1971 National contract which provides for pension, medical plan, portal to portal pay and a UMW safety committee with some teeth. Just before the strike, the men at Brookside were working in 18 inches of water, with power lines completely submerged in water. When the men called for the federal mine safety inspector to inspect the mine, the government representative said that there was too much water in the mine for him to inspect, and that "the company needs additional time to pump the water." There wasn't too much water for the men to work, just too much for the government to enforce safety regulations!

Duke also agreed to reinstate the 19 militants fired during the strike, drop all court and NLRB charges against the miners, and withdraw the eviction notices served on families living in company-owned housing.

In addition, the company agreed to an "expedient" election (within 10-30 days) at Highsplint and to automatically sign the same contract with Highsplint as they did at the Brookside mine if the miners vote in that election to be re-



Thousands of coal miners marched during the 5 day work stoppage in late August under the slogan made famous by Mother Jones to "pray for the dead and fight like hell for the living." (Call photo)

presented by the United Mine Workers of America.

The Eastern Kentucky organizing drive is the direct result of the movement for democracy within the UMW which threw out the corrupt Tony Boyle machine last year and elected the reform leadership of Arnold Miller. During the Boyle regime, not one mine in Eastern Kentucky was organized. The UMW, under new leadership and with a strong rank and file is stepping forward as one of the most progressive unions today. The pledge to take on the giant coal monopolies by organizing the unorganized and stopping the importation of slave-mined South African coal has put the UMW squarely in opposition to both the monopoly corporations and the government. These stands have also brought the UMW in opposition to such class-collaborators as I.W. Abel of the United Steel Workers, who sold the right of steelworkers in basic industry to strike, and Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters, who has launched an all-out attack on the United Farm Workers. The progress that the United Mine Workers has made under Miller can be directly attributed to the continuing strength and organization of the rank and file.

During the Brookside strike, Miller tended to rely on legal maneuvers and the courts to win the strike. For instance, too much was made about the NLRB case against the company-backed SLU (Southern Labor Union) for trying to bribe several strikers into starting a back-to-work movement. Legal tactics are fine, but they cannot be the extent of a strike strategy. As Jerry Johnson, a Brookside striker said at a meeting discussing mass picketing: "You'll never win a strike with 6 pickets on the line.

About these injunctions . . . Lawyers were made to get you out of trouble once you get into trouble . . . not to get you out of trouble before you get in!"

The International responded to the rank and file demand for more militant action, after some stalling, by calling the 5-day Memorial period, which would enable union miners from all over the country to physically support the miners of Harlan County and the campaign to stop South African coal. While the work stoppage represented a mass display of working class solidarity, miners in Harlan County were disappointed that the International only mobilized for a one day march and rally in Harlan. Early plans had called for a tent city of 10,000 miners camping out in Harlan County to put an end to company violence and to shut down all the scab mines in Harlan as a warning to the Harlan County Coal Operators Association that Brookside is only the beginning.

DEMANDS OF BLACK WORKERS RAISED

One of the reasons for the Brookside victory was the unity built among Black and white miners. In the coal industry, Black workers have always suffered the worst conditions—working mainly in dogholes, small pick-and-shovel one and two-man mines. They are mostly unorganized. When the first Black worker ever hired at Brookside was fired, the UMW took a good stand. Special demands of Black miners were raised and the union backed discrimination grievances. The campaign against slave-mined South African coal imports and the growing drive to organize the unorganized are beginning steps in forging the kind of Black-white unity necessary for an industry-wide victory.

The Brookside Women's Club, made up of wives and women supporters of the miners played a vital role in the strike. If the women had not joined the picketline last November, the strike would have been crippled by an injunction. Since its formation the Club has been a primary force in organizing mass pickets and stopping scabs. The women were beaten, arrested and jailed, threatened, and harassed by the armed power of the state and gun thugs, but they stood firm. The Brookside Women's Club became an inspiration to people all over the country to keep on fighting.

The women also mobilized support for other labor struggles in the area, particularly where women were trying to organize. The Women's Club sent money and people to help striking hospital workers at the Pikeville Methodist Hospital and the Appalachian Regional Hospital and waitresses on strike at a cafe in Harlan. The women argued against both the union and the backward elements among the men and the women who felt that the Club should concern itself only with Brookside. The women pointed out that Brookside could not win alone. They stressed the need for solidarity among the working people of Harlan County, and the importance of organizing women.

The Club has not dissolved now that Brookside has won a contract. The women will continue to give support to the organizing drives and are setting up chapters in other areas of Eastern Kentucky where organizing is going on. In addition, they've taken up some projects of their own: a number of women have applied for jobs at the Brookside mine. If hired, they would be the first women in mines in Harlan County.

ARSON DESTROYS OFFICES OF MOUNTAIN EAGLE

The state fire marshal of Kentucky has officially declared arson in the August 1 fire which left the offices and equipment of the Mountain Eagle, a community newspaper in eastern Kentucky, almost totally destroyed. The 67-year-old newspaper has long had a reputation for taking up progressive causes and is currently the only paper in middle Appalachia that openly supports the United Mine Workers union. The Mountain Eagle has also opposed strip mining and has been in the forefront of a drive against local coal industries.

Recently the Mountain Eagle took up a campaign against the practices of local police in the town of Whitesburg. Like so many cities, rural Whitesburg has been granted money by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) with which to beef up its police force. With this federal money, Whitesburg police have bought new cars, fancy equipment and hired on more officers.

But there just isn't enough crime in Whitesburg to give the police the opportunity to use all their new equipment. Consequently, they have begun harassing young adults and teenagers. This has resulted in what editor Tom Gish describes as "playing robbers and Indians"—a number of high speed auto chases have occurred; teenagers have

been imprisoned for long periods of time before they were even allowed to see a judge; and in general, there has been increased police harassment of the people of Whitesburg.

It is interesting that in the midst of this campaign, the local police have refused to investigate the fire at the Eagle, despite the fact that it has been officially declared as arson. "All we've gotten from Whitesburg City officials are icy stares and turning away of heads," said Gish. Whitesburg police were right on the spot, however, when it came to condemning the building and evicting the staffers who were trying to repair the damages. The FBI has been asked to make an investigation, but they have refused, saying that arson is a "local matter." State police arrived on the scene a month after the fire, but so far have made only half-hearted attempts at an investigation.

The fire came after a threat of arson was made by a coal trucker and a threat was made on Gish's life by a local policeman. The paper is currently being produced out of a private home and contributions toward the \$30,000 in damages are urgently needed. Please send all contributions to Tom Gish, Editor, Mountain Eagle, 120 Main St. Whitesburg, Ky. 41858.

A DEPRESSION AHEAD?



Millions of working people in the U.S. still have vivid memories of the Great Depression of the 1930's. Long lines waiting for hours to receive bread and soup. Jobs were scarce and paid dirt cheap wages. Five, six or more people lived crowded together in a single small room.

Another depression, like the one of the 30's, is very possible in the near future. That is the opinion of many government economists and leading capitalist economic magazines. Runaway inflation continues, industrial output declines, the stock market is in a shambles, several basic crops failed and unemployment rises.

General Motors, for example, turned out 38 per cent fewer autos in the first half of this year than in the first half of last year. With the decline in auto production, millions more workers have been thrown out onto the streets to join the already swelled ranks of the jobless. The construction industry built 30 per cent fewer private housing units in the first half of '74 than in the first half of '73. Manufacturing inventories jumped 18 per cent in the last year—which means manufactured goods sit on storeroom shelves because people are buying less. This will worsen the already declining industrial output as corporations seek to unload their surplus of unsold goods before producing more. Ford Motor Company announced it is cutting back 1975 plans for new machinery and plant facilities by \$220 million.

The severity of the current economic crisis is revealed in the drastic drop in personal consumption. Personal consumption fell more than 2.4 per cent this year. Hit with layoffs and rising prices, people are cutting back on the basic necessities of life.

CORN SUDDENLY VALUABLE

Agricultural production has dropped along with industrial output this year. The U.S. Department of Agriculture estimates that this year's overall production index of all crops will be lower than last year's. This year's corn crop will be 12 per cent lower and soybeans will be 16 per cent lower. In Business Week, a government economist is quoted as saying: "Corn will be a pretty valuable commodity."

Along with the decline in industrial and agricultural production, the number of jobless is increasing. In July, unemployment reached an "Official" 5.3 per cent—500,000 more than at the end of last year. Real unemployment is much higher. Secretary of Labor Brennan announced the government will begin a "public works" program if the unemployment rate reaches 7 per cent. Seven per cent unemployed means 6 million "officially" out of work, with millions more not listed in government statistics. Brennan's proposed "public works" program would reach only 800,000 jobless. Furthermore, no mention was made of the wages to be paid, if child care was to be provided unemployed mothers, or other vital considerations.

President Ford, while specifically denying that another Great Depression may be approaching, warned that wage increases could lead to "economic disintegration." Although there are definite signs of "economic disintegration" the facts show that wage increases have nothing to do with causing it. The August issue of "Fortune" magazine, the leading magazine of U.S. monopoly capitalism, revealed the primary cause of inflation:

"In recent months," the article said, "the real push behind prices has come from businessmen straining to restore their profit margins to previous levels."

When Ford took over the presidency, he called inflation the "number one problem" facing the American people. Since he has been president, he has spoken many times on the "dangers" of wage increases heating up inflation. He even went so far as to attempt to deny a 5.5 per cent wage increase to 3.5 million federal workers scheduled for Oct. 1. As if that weren't enough, he plans to carry out a cut of 40,000 federal workers from the payroll that was originally planned by Nixon shortly before he resigned. Furthermore, while flatly stating he will not reimpose wage controls, Ford is setting up the Wage and Price Stabilization Board, with "wage-price guidelines" as the first item on its agenda. This was the first step Nixon took prior to imposing a wage freeze.

While not carrying the official clout of a freeze, these "guidelines" will serve to make every boss an enforcer under the banner of patriotism.

If Ford actually believes inflation is the "number one" problem facing the American people, then why is he attempting to put the clamp on wages but not on profits? At the same time that prices were rising 12 per cent yearly, wages rose on the average 5 per cent. For the masses of workers outside the organized labor movement, who have not received cost of living wage increases, the picture is even more bleak. For millions of minority and women workers, who remain outside the union movement because of chauvinist policies of the AFL-CIO leadership, wages have not risen anywhere near 5 per cent. The 7 per cent difference between the rise in wages and the rate of inflation has to come from only one source, big monopolist businessmen "straining to restore their profit margins."

The "profit margin" of businessmen, measured as a percentage of the Gross National Product (GNP-total dollar value of all goods and services) has fallen steadily since 1968. In '68, real profits were 17.5 per cent of the GNP. In the spring of '74, profits were 16.4 per cent of the GNP. The GNP itself has declined from a growth rate of 6 per cent in 1973 to less than 2 per cent for the spring of 1974.

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 18)

LINDBERGH / HERO OR NAZI?

The death of Charles Lindbergh, the noted aviator, brought great proclamations of tribute from all of the giant mass media and the leading U.S. politicians. Among those paying such tribute was President Ford who said, "The Lone Eagle represented all that was best in our country—honesty, courage and the will to greatness." Ford said Lindbergh "always remained a brave, sincere patriot."

But the fact is that Lindbergh was a shameless coward, a Nazi and a believer in anti-Semitism and Aryan supremacy. In 1938 Lindbergh went to Nazi Germany to meet with Adolf Hitler and Hermann Goering and other Nazi leaders. He was presented a medal by Goering, the head of the Nazi air force and returned to the U.S. to oppose this country's entrance into the anti-Hitler fight. He claimed that the Nazis were "invincible" and that only the British and the Jews wanted war.

Lindbergh soon became head of the America First Committee, a group of pro-Nazi racists, who were backed by some of the largest monopolies in this country, including Ford and J. P. Morgan. The America First Committee was strongly anti-Jewish and anti-communist. It attacked the thousands of U.S. freedom fighters volunteering to go and fight in Spain against the Franco fascists and their Hitlerite backers.

Lindbergh wrote that the U.S. should "let Germany and Russia clash and bleed to death," a policy followed by this government under Harry Truman. He said, "... if Germany were defeated, it seemed to me almost certain that Russia would be the real victor and that a Stalin-dominated Europe would be even worse than a Hitler-dominated Europe."

In 1941 Lindbergh said, "The Jews will be made answerable for America's entry into the war, and therefore they will be made to suffer for it. The anti-Jewish outbreaks will surpass those in Germany, because the Americans are more brutal than the Germans."

Much has been said and written about Lindbergh's flight across the Atlantic in 1927, but rather than being a personal feat as painted in the press, this fascist flew the Atlantic as part of a promotion campaign for Ryan Aircraft Company and Wright aircraft engine firm (later Curtis Wright). Both firms made a bundle of money off the flight and Lindbergh was always a willing servant of the big monopolies. In 1929 he married Anne Morrow, daughter of Dwight Morrow, the U.S. Ambassador to Mexico and a representative of the J. P. Morgan interests. He was always well connected within the highest echelons of imperialism.

So this is President Ford's idea of a "great patriot." This is the type of person that the U.S. ruling circles have always viewed as embodying "the best interests of our country."

The truth about Lindbergh will remain even after his death. Lindbergh was no hero. He was a fascist.

Boycott Fake Amnesty!

The so-called "amnesty" program for war resisters announced by Gerald Ford following his unconditional pardon of Nixon, is receiving virtually no takers from among the resisters concerned, and has been denounced as a fraud by all the organizations which have been active in the drive for amnesty.

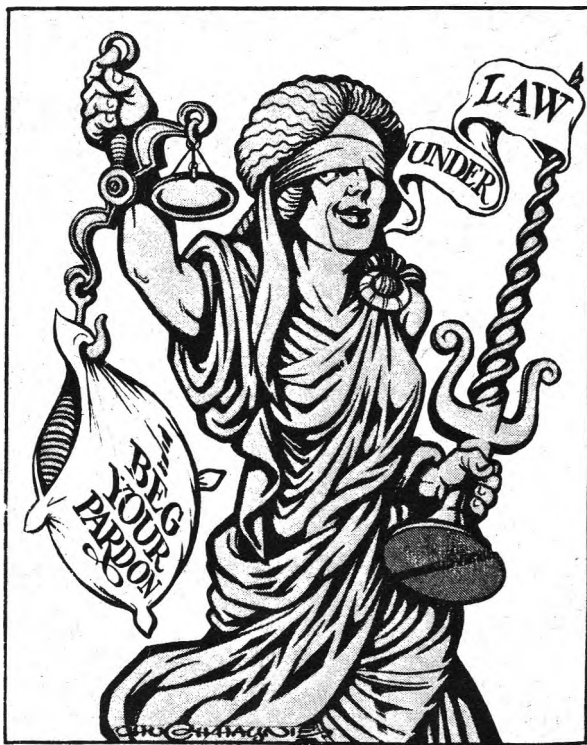
The stand taken by these groups and individuals is a good stand because it exposes the imperialist logic of the government which pardons the chief murderer of the Vietnamese people, while demanding that those who refused to fight the unjust war beg on their knees for forgiveness.

Even if you beg on your knees, you don't get any real "amnesty" under Ford's program. First you have to turn yourself in to the police and surrender all your rights. Then, you have to pay all your own travel expenses in order to contact the new bureaucracy which has been set up to deal with your case. When your "individual review" comes up, you have to swear loyalty to the U.S. government, admit that you were wrong in what you did, and be prepared to work up to two years in a forced work program, which will not even necessarily pay minimum wage. When through with this two years of penal servitude, your case gets reviewed again. Assuming you've toed the line all this time, you will then receive not an honorable discharge to mark down on future work applications, but a "clemency pardon." Naturally, none of the people who make it to "clemency pardon" will receive any veterans benefits, even though many of those affected by the program served as much as four years in the armed services.

DEMAND REAL AMNESTY

Draft resister organizations in foreign countries have thus far completely boycotted this program, and persisted in the demand for "universal, unconditional amnesty." Here in the U.S., Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization, as well as other groups, have rejected Ford's amnesty, and organized demonstrations to press for unconditional amnesty. VVAW/WSO has also pointed out that the program is not only a total fraud to balance public opinion against the Nixon pardon, but it is also a racist and anti-working class scheme. It offers at least a semblance of a deal to the 50,000 or so resisters in exile, mostly white, middle-class youths who could afford to stay out of the draft and go to Canada or Sweden. At the same time, it ignores the 500,000 men who received dishonorable discharges or court-martials for their resistance to the war within the armed services. 30% of these people are minorities, and the vast majority are from the working class.

Draft resisters refused to participate in the Vietnam war, or deserted from the battle lines, because they saw it was



White House Justice, 1974

an unjust, illegal war of genocide against the Vietnamese people. Today, this war is still raging throughout Indochina backed by U.S. money and arms. Draft resisters should not be forced to admit that they were "wrong." The spirit of their actions should be renewed in the people's campaign to oppose continued U.S. aggression in Indochina.

The demand for unconditional amnesty is also politically linked to the demand to stop the deportations of Vietnamese students from the U.S. who face torture and death at the hands of the Thieu regime, for their opposition to the war. The draft resisters, the GI's who opposed the war, even while in the service, the Vietnamese students—these are the real heroes of the Vietnam war, and it is the Nixons and Fords who are the real criminals.

BOYCOTT THE FAKE "AMNESTY"!!! DEMAND UNCONDITIONAL, UNIVERSAL AMNESTY FOR ALL ACTS OF RESISTANCE TO THE WAR!!!

Report from Labor Conference workshop

ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED

Atlanta, Ga.—Organizing the unorganized workers was a major workshop topic at the recent October League-sponsored Southern Labor Conference. This question is of particular importance in the South, where the number of unionized workers is very low. This is a direct result of the national oppression of the Afro-American people in the South.

The current leaders of the U.S. labor movement have only paid lip service to organizing the South. In practice they have stood against it. Why is this so?

The bureaucrats running the trade unions today have long supported U.S. imperialism's exploitation of Third World countries. Meany, Abel, Fitzsimmons & Co. were the loudest supporters of U.S. aggression in Vietnam long after the majority of the American people had turned against it. The incredibly high "super-profits" extracted from the Third World enables the imperialists to bribe a small upper section of the working class to support their policies and defend their interests. Meany and friends represent this small bribed strata, "the labor aristocracy" as Lenin called it.

OPPRESSION OF THE SOUTH

This "arrangement" between the labor aristocracy and U.S. imperialism extends to the plantation South as well because it is the historic homeland of the Afro-American people. These labor leaders have left the South largely unorganized, creating for the imperialists a vast source of cheap, non-union labor within the borders of the U.S. Organizing these workers is of great importance to the entire labor movement and a real blow to the imperialist system.

First, organizing unorganized workers will protect the already unionized workers. It will strengthen their bargaining position and help to protect their jobs against "the runaway shop." More importantly, organizing the unorganized will bring larger numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled, national minority (Afro-American, Chicano, etc.) and women workers into the labor movement. These groups are historically the least unionized, but, they are often the most militant and revolutionary-minded. Bringing larger numbers of these workers into the trade unions will provide a firmer basis for moving the unions to the left and fighting the influence of the labor aristocrats.

There are two different approaches to organizing the unorganized workers, and these two approaches reflect the struggle between two lines in the labor movement. One

Fremont, Calif.—"Last hired, first fired"—these familiar consequences of discrimination in employment are hitting women especially hard during the present economic crisis. The push by the women's movement in the late 60's resulted in new job opportunities for women, but these gains are being rapidly stripped away by layoffs in many industries. Women, like Blacks and other minorities who are used by the employers as a "reserve army of labor," are now being shoved out of the work force.

In the auto industry, where hundreds of thousands of workers have been laid off in the past year, women have generally been among the first out the door. The General Motors Assembly plant in Fremont, California which began hiring women only in 1968, is an example. During the recent 6 month layoff which idled 1500 second-shift workers, not a single woman, out of the 500 who had been hired, had enough seniority to keep her job.

NO HELP FROM UNION

When the cutback was announced and it became clear that all the women would be laid off, they turned to the union—"What are our rights? Why should we suffer because of GM's discrimination?" The answer from the International representative was that the women should be grateful that the union got them the jobs in the first place, and they should be happy to enjoy a "vacation."

However, many of the women did not qualify for SUB benefits (Supplemental Unemployment checks for UAW members with over one year seniority), and most of them knew that their drop in income would hurt the family budgets. Instead of going along with the International's do-nothing attitude, the women decided that GM should be forced to pay for their failure to hire women in the past. Some of the women got together to discuss the idea of a lawsuit against GM, took their complaints to the EEOC, and on August 28, 8 of the laid off women filed a class action suit in Federal Court, charging General Motors with sex discrimination.

To publicize the fact that no women were working at the Fremont plant, the women picketed the offices of the GM Public Relations staff on the day the suit was filed. Along with supporters from the Southern Alameda County chapter of CLUW they chanted "Last hired, first fired, GM women are sick and tired," and passed out leaflets which explained their demands:

"We are basing our suit on the fact that no women were hired at the Fremont plant until 1968. We feel that this was in violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. We don't think we should have to suffer for GM's failure to hire women when they should have. But we're not interested in

approach is the method of the union bureaucrats when they take up the question at all. They do not try to stimulate the initiative and enthusiasm of the workers and do not create a spirit of self-reliance. Rather, they frequently push the line of "rely on the experts," "rely on our lawyers," on the NLRB, etc. And, they never take the opportunity to raise the class political consciousness of the workers by taking political issues to them, such as the Dump Nixon Movement, the anti-war movement, or the struggle against deportations.

A revolutionary approach is just the opposite, developing self-reliance as the workers' main strength and using the organizing struggle, when workers are most open to political ideas, to bring political issues directly into the labor movement. This too is the time to develop militant, fighting leadership. The workshop agreed that a united front approach to "getting the job done" was correct. That is, struggle should be waged with the middle forces in the unions and with the union leadership to take up this task, as some of them have. This is important in terms of material and organizational support as well as avoiding unnecessary splits within the labor movement. It was clearly pointed out that these forces cannot be relied on to do the actual organizing. This would be a rightist error. The ac-



GM women demonstrated outside company office as part of struggle for jobs.

(Call photo)

"LAST HIRED, FIRST FIRED"

WOMEN AUTO WORKERS FIGHT LAY OFFS

taking jobs away from the men, because it's not their fault either. Our suit is aimed at making GM pay for its past discrimination.

"We want them to implement their affirmative action program even during a period when people are laid off. But we are making it clear that no men should be laid off in order to keep the women in the plant. There's plenty of work for everyone! We are also asking for back pay for all the women who were laid off."

By demanding that affirmative action be implemented and a certain percentage of women be kept in the plant even during layoff, the women's lawsuit gets to the central question of job seniority. It is essential that the demand to modify the seniority system be taken up by the trade unions in order to enable women and minorities to catch up and to be restored the rights long denied them through no fault of their own. Without special measures, workers who have suffered discrimination in hiring won't ever have the chance to "gradually" gain seniority—because they are always the first to be laid off.

When the GM women first brought up the question of seniority, they were opposed by a whole range of forces from the UAW International leadership on the right, the local union leadership trying to straddle the fence, and the ultra-"left" including members of the Revolutionary Union. "Seniority is the backbone of the union, and you're going to let the courts throw it out the window!" was the cry of all those who objected to seeing the women fight for their rights.

"You're dividing the working class!" cried the RU members, who always raise this objection when special demands are brought up to deal with the discrimination against minorities and women. These people said that they could support the demand for back pay, but not for special seniority rights.

This is not an attack on the seniority system, but an attempt to strengthen it and to overcome the divisions within the working class. These divisions can only be overcome through struggle—by getting the men to support the demands of the women, and by showing in practice that the

tual work and initiative will have to be taken by the left and most progressive sections of the labor movement or it won't get done at all.

The questions of dual unionism and independent unionism are especially important for the South because the workers are often faced with the outright refusal of many established unions to organize there. There are many advantages to affiliating with the established labor unions. It increases the solidarity and strength of workers to belong to an international, there are certain material advantages and, most important, it allows the "fresh blood" of the newly organized workers to have a greater effect on the labor movement as a whole, making it more difficult for the right-wing bureaucrats to play their reactionary role. Dual unionism, i.e., making a principle of separation from the established labor movement, always serves to split and weaken the labor movement in the long run.

Sometimes, however, it may be necessary to form "independent" unions where established unions refuse to organize. There were two main dangers here that were discussed at the workshop. On the one hand, the danger of making separation a principle, and on the other "unity at all costs." While the workshop agreed that organizers should always push for affiliation with existing unions, they should not do so on unprincipled terms, or under conditions that would actually weaken the workers' ability to struggle.

This workshop and others like it at the conference covering work with women, the farmworkers, organizing in various industries such as steel and textile, the national question and the building of a new revolutionary communist party brought together organizers from the most important struggles going on today in the South. The shared experiences and principled ideological struggle made it possible to reach a high level of unity on numerous questions and points the way for even greater unity in the future.

union is much stronger when both men and women work in the plant and participate in the union activities.

In Fremont Local 1364, the women had helped improve conditions in the plant by fighting against overloaded jobs and were among the most militant organizers against harassment and disciplines. The women turned out in large numbers for union meetings, spoke out, and got involved in the union committees.

When women are in the union with nothing but a "here today, gone tomorrow" status, the fighting capacity of the working class is weakened. The failure to take on the fight for jobs for women and minorities plays into the hands of the companies and jeopardizes the existence of the union itself.

Some of the men in Local 1364 have recognized this and the Fair Employment Practices Committee in particular, has defied the local and International leadership by supporting the women. The International uses the "seniority principle" as a smokescreen to hide their own unwillingness to fight discrimination. They claim to support the women's "right" to file suit, but avoid doing anything by saying that the women are asking for "unearned" seniority. Yet violations of seniority occur constantly, including the practice of allowing foremen to return to the union with their seniority intact—a clear case of "unearned" seniority which the International does nothing to oppose.

The day before the women went to court against GM, the company announced that the second shift was scheduled to be recalled in October. It will be up to the women, as well as the men who support them, to win even more support for the fight against discrimination once they are back in the plant.

The company, with the help of a few union officials, has already begun to try to isolate the women, by communist-baiting some of them, and by spreading the rumor that the women are trying to take away all the jobs from the men. It will be up to the most advanced fighters in the union to raise the special demands of the women workers in the context of the overall fight against GM and to show concretely that "the rising of the women is the rising of us all!"

ON THE LINE!

A SUMMARY OF WORKERS STRUGGLES FROM AROUND THE COUNTRY



Atlanta CLUW Gets Male Worker Rehired

Atlanta, Ga.—Men and women employees of the Atlantic Steel Company have successfully protested the suspension of a 20-year-old worker. "My record is clean," said Ken Chastain.

A few days before his suspension, Chastain had taken part in a grievance brought by a woman employee. The grievance stated that safety director, Ray Carleton, was trying to create "...degrading atmosphere for the newly hired women production workers."

Atlantic Steel has hired five women in the past four months, the first women at the plant since WWII. They were hired as a result of a campaign of the Atlanta Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). The company has been attempting to create an atmosphere so uncomfortable for the women that they will quit. Safety director Carleton told a craft-orientation class that women steelworkers during WWII had made extra money at the plant through prostitution. According to Carleton, true equality of the sexes means that men should be able to look in windows of the women's dressing room.

Chastain reported what Carleton had said in the statement he wrote as part of the grievance. The grievance demanded that Carleton retract what he said before the entire craft class, make a public apology to the women involved, and that the foremen show respect to women at all times. The company agreed to all the demands.

CLUW and fellow workers at the plant demanded that Chastain be reinstated with full back pay and that his record be wiped clean. After four days off the job, Chastain was reinstated. During those four days, leaflets were passed out and a press conference was held in front of the plant.

A spokeswoman for CLUW discussed the reasoning behind the organization's participation in the campaign to hire women in steel and other industries. "CLUW's participation in such campaigns is aimed at strengthening the entire labor movement, and at improving conditions for all workers, men and women."

Discrimination Leads to Transit Sell-out

Oakland—The strike at A.C. Transit, a public transit bus company has ended after two months. The three-year contract finally accepted by the 1,700 employees of the Amalgamated Transit Union, Local 192 represented a big compromise on all the major demands of these strikers.

However, the length of the strike showed the strength and determination of the rank-and-file to gain their demands, in the face of a weak local leadership and the bullying and splitting tactics of the International which tried to force the poor settlement down the throats of the workers. This militancy and determination was enhanced by the participation of minority workers, especially Blacks, who represent over one-third of the work force. But real unity within the local was not achieved because the special demands of minorities and women were not taken up as contract issues.

The local union officials did little to provide militant leadership and relied more heavily on their lawyers, international reps. and politicians than on the rank-and-file. When mass meetings were called, the response was overwhelming and a vast majority always showed up. One major demonstration was held where 1,500 strikers and their families rallied and marched on the company headquarters in downtown Oakland. Hundreds of these workers occupied the offices of the transit district and forced the company's general manager to meet with their leaders.

A month after the company's proposal had been voted down, the union came back with virtually the same one, and this time it was accepted by the membership. The local leadership was telling everyone that this was the best they could do. So, most strikers voted to go back to work, realizing that their leadership was incapable of leading their struggle to victory. But the long strike proved to the workers their own strength. In the future, struggles against discrimination will be the key to building a united and powerful union.

Textile Victory at J.P. Stevens

Roanoke Rapids, N.C.—Textile workers at 7 J.P. Stevens plants here with over 3,500 workers have voted to affiliate with the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA). J.P. Stevens is the second largest textile company in the world. This has boosted the union's hopes of organizing the entire industry. It follows on the heels of the hard-fought victory for union recognition and a contract at the Oneita Mills in South Carolina. The TWUA is still in the middle of an organizing drive among the 16,000 workers at Cannon Mills, Inc.

A significant factor in the union victory is that Black workers make up 37% of the Roanoke Rapids textile work force, and according to news estimates, they accounted for about 950 of the 1,685 votes cast for the union. Nine years ago, during the last election for a union, Blacks were less than 5% of the workers and the TWUA lost. This is an industry wide trend, as more and more Black people are forced off the land in the rural South and the textile monopolies continue to seek "cheap" labor. Burlington reported only 2% Black employment, for example in 1963 and today it is 23%.

The organizing drives among textile workers is long overdue. Wages and fringe benefits in textile, especially in the South, are far below the national average for workers. In the whole country, only 1 out of 5 textile workers are unionized.

Wives and Kids March on TWA

Los Angeles—Over Labor Day weekend, wives and children of the mechanics and ground crew of Trans World Airlines demonstrated daily at the passenger entrance of L.A. International Airport. Judy Warfield, wife of a mechanic and spokeswoman for the protest told *THE CALL* that the men have been working for over one year with no contract.

"We're very concerned about this because our last contract was negotiated during Nixon's wage freeze. If the company stalls much longer, we'll be negotiating during Ford's wage freeze, and we'll get taken again."

Last November, during the strike by flight attendants and stewards on TWA, mechanics and ground crew, who were already working without a contract, honored the picket lines for 45 days. TWA locked them out and classified them "off duty without pay." The workers were refused unemployment, because TWA blocked it on the grounds that they weren't on strike but were "off duty."

The wives decided to take matters into their own hands and use the heavy traffic of Labor Day weekend to call attention to the plight of the workers and their families. "It's been especially difficult for homeowners," Mrs. Warfield said. "Things are tight and getting tighter. We just couldn't wait any longer to act. Our husbands are backing us up 100%."



UFW Fights to Regain Contracts

The United Farm Workers of America (UFW) has been moving forward in new, militant strikes, and has been making progress in their boycotts. This comes after losing all but two of their contracts to the union-busting Teamsters union.

Leading off the upsurge in strike activity is a new strike against Gallo Wine, by workers who have been covered for a year by Teamster contract. 300 of the 500 Gallo workers left the fields on Mon., Sept 9 declaring a strike and uniting with the UFW strikers. They left because conditions have not changed a bit under the Teamster contract, and the representatives work hand-in-hand with Gallo.

The national boycott against Gallo wine is hurting them, also Gallo, the largest grape-field owner in the world, paid 10% less taxes to Modesto County on their wine sales.

In Stockton, the center of the world's largest tomato growing region, a strike began with 500 workers in July, and has spread in a 50-mile radius. It threatens to virtually bring to a halt tomato-picking and canning in this \$200-million dollar industry. The strike started when growers refused to comply with an agreement for an increase in the piece rates, which was won in a strike last year. Stockton strikers have been beaten and arrested by security guards and sheriffs on the strike line.

Grapes and lettuce aren't selling, and growers are hurting because of the boycott. Workers in the fields have been cut to under 40 hours a week, when last year, they were working 60 hours a week. The growers are holding back picking and shipping until the very last minute, hoping that either the strike will be broken, or that someone like the U.S. Army will buy the scab products.

Harley - Davidson Workers Roll

Milwaukee, Wis.—The 1,600 employees of Harley-Davidson here have been on strike for over three months. It has been a long, hot summer, but the strikers have remained solid in their demands for a contract they can live with over the next two years.

In 1969, Harley-Davidson was bought by American Machine and Foundry (AMF) and since then, working conditions and the quality of the product have declined, while profits for Harley have quadrupled. When the union was at a low ebb, a rank-and-file "No More Overtime" movement started, which sparked the union. Since then, the Harley Action Workers Group (HAWG) was formed to build the union, and has played a role in the struggles at the plant.

Until Friday, May 31, when the contract expired, the company was sure that there would be no strike, even though they had not yet sat down to the bargaining table. They had even scheduled overtime for the weekend. At 11 P.M., the workers walked out, and haven't been back. The strike got under way with a rally of 200 cheering workers.

The company began to hire scabs, first to clean the machines, and do inventory, and later to run production. But they haven't really helped, and production remains at only 10-20%. After 2 months of strike, a meeting was held to vote on a company proposal. It did not make up for what the workers had lost to inflation, and it changed the pension plan to benefit some workers, but cut benefits for older workers, and no cost-of-living escalator. The crowd of 1,000 began chanting "No! No! No!" and voted it down overwhelmingly.

The company has not budged. On Aug. 25, HAWG called a nationwide boycott of all AMF products. They are taking a firm stand against the corporate giant which is trying to crush their union.

For more information, write to Albert Parsons, P.O. Box 8225, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53225

Boron, Calif.—Strikers here greet scabs coming out of U.S. Borax and Chemical Co.'s huge open mine and refining plant with rocks and insults. Tension is mounting, as the company is hiring more scabs to take the places of the strikers. Scabs homes have been fire-bombed, and strikers have been arrested. Over 1000 members of Local 30 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union have been on strike in this small town since early June. The strikers are now demanding a 13% wage increase to keep up with inflation, and are fighting the company's attacks on the seniority system.

Lessons Learned from Dasco Wildcat

On May 1 of this year the workers at Dasco Inc., a small paper plant in Oakland, Calif. shut down the plant in a militant wildcat strike. The issue which sparked the strike was the firing of a Chicano shop steward but the conditions which lay behind the walkout go back a long way.

The plant is a classical sweatshop known throughout the neighboring Latino community for its discrimination towards women and minorities, low pay, speed-up, and bad safety conditions. For the past year there have been many struggles in the plant including two successful walkouts, many petitions and grievances, and confrontations with management. Communists from several organizations—Revolutionary Union (RU), August 29th Movement (ATM), I Wor Kuen (IWK), and the October League (OL)—have been influential in these struggles.

● RU SLANDERS OTHER COMMUNISTS

Since the end of the recent strike, the RU has been going around the country slandering ATM, IWK, and particularly the OL saying that the strike lost because these organizations "united around a reformist and defeatist line that was to make defeat the only possibility;" that we pushed for "relying on the union bureaucrats instead of the rank and file," and that we pushed a line which reinforced national divisions among the workers. The OL thinks it is important to analyze the strike and to answer these attacks not to simply defend our own organization but to deepen the struggle in the communist movement against RU's incorrect line so communists can give real leadership to the working class movement and contribute to the development of a correct program, strategy and tactics for the revolution in the U.S.

The strike itself was a tremendous event. For two weeks we kept the plant shut down with mass picketlines of over 100 workers at each shift change. Committees to organize and lead strike activities were formed and broad outreach was done to involve students from local colleges and other workers.

The strikers faced vicious attacks from the police who came down to the lines every day, from the courts who issued an injunction forbidding any picketing at all, and from the company. The company took a very hard line and it cost them tens of thousands of dollars to defeat us. At stake was the future of the workers' movement at Dasco and especially the contract struggle which comes up in November. The company threatened to fire anyone who honored the picket lines and in fact did fire a total of 87 people in a plant with only 250 workers.

UNION TRIES TO OUST MILITANTS

We also received no support at all from our reactionary Teamster Union Local 853 leadership. The union leadership wanted to rid itself of a large group of militant workers who had begun to fight against their sell-out policies.

Besides these external factors the strikers faced many internal weaknesses. The wildcat was completely spontaneous. We had no organization among the workers to lead the strike nor did we have a strike fund. These difficulties played a big role in the defeat of the strike which was called off by the workers at a mass meeting two weeks after it began. The attacks upon us by the ruling class and our own internal weaknesses had taken their toll. The October League supported the decision to go back to work because we felt that in that situation it was the best way to consolidate the strength we had left and continue the fight for our jobs through other means.

Because of the difficulties we faced, difficulties which made it very hard to win, does this mean that we shouldn't have struggled? No! Whatever tactical errors we made in carrying out the strike, it was right that we dared to defy all difficulties and fight for our rights.

Besides learning that it's right to fight back against repression, many other lessons can be summed up from the Dasco wildcat. We learned that multi-national unity is key to winning victory and that this unity can only be built by workers of all nationalities being won to take up the fight against every case of discrimination. In the Dasco wildcat, Black, Asian, Chicano and white workers united not only to demand the rehiring of a militant shop steward but also to support the right of Chicano people to keep a bilingual Chicano shop steward who put special emphasis on fighting for the national demands of Latino people.

However, the Revolutionary Union, in the August issue of its newspaper Revolution, opposed the struggles of minority workers for equality to the general workers struggle saying that when you raise special demands of the minority workers you are "making a principle of national division." In this article they criticize ATM, IWK and the OL for saying that the strike was a "Chicano struggle" and that thus we "reinforced divisions and discouraged the role of the strikers of other nationalities." While none of these three organizations ever said that the strike was just a Chicano struggle, we all felt that an important aspect of the struggle was that it not only was a struggle of all workers to retain a militant shop steward but it was particularly important also as a struggle of Latino people for their rights. Because of these national aspects, the Chicano movement rallied around the strike and many Chicano workers and students came down

to the picket lines. But the RU denied these national aspects and reduced it simply to a "fight back against the firing of a fellow worker" as the RU put it in their Revolution article. What this line comes down to is "leftism" in form—by pointing out this struggle solely as a struggle of all workers and by denying the national aspects of it—but rightism in essence, by refusing to win the white workers to support these national demands. This is out and out white chauvinism.

RU's refusal to take up the special demands of the minority workers also came out in the plant before the strike. One example of this was around the firing of three Black workers a few weeks before the strike. A petition was written demanding the three workers be rehired but the RU opposed the petition saying that "they deserved to be fired."

A third lesson that we learned was the need to take up the fight against the special oppression of women, to strengthen their role in the struggle. The women workers at Dasco played a leading role, setting an example not only for women but for all workers around the country. Women were the main force behind the two successful walkouts which occurred in the year before the strike. They also came out in force for the picket lines where they stood up to the police, and engaged in all the strike activities from mass meetings to rallying support from workers in other shops. The activism of the women came in spite of the fact that many of their specific demands were not taken up, nor was enough attention paid to helping them resolve their family problems.

The RU often took the position of opposing the special demands of women. An example of this was when a petition was written saying that the company was guilty of discrimination because they made a small woman take a job pushing around 2000 lb. rolls of paper before she could get a machine job, but often did not require the men to do this. The RU opposed this petition, saying that in fact it was not discrimination against women but "discrimination against small people." This liquidation of the women's struggle kept us from winning more women workers into leadership of the strike. More examples of this are found in the "Revolution" article which hardly even mentions women, let alone the leading role they played in the strike.



Dasco strikers used mass picket lines for over two weeks to keep the plant shut, and the scabs out. They were attacked by company thugs and local police.

From the strike we also learned the need to work in the union around a concrete program to isolate the union bureaucrats and win over the middle forces to our side. A strong core of advanced workers existed at Dasco, willing to go out on a wildcat without any support from the union. These workers were our main strength. But the middle workers were still influenced by the union leadership and they were confused when the union did not sanction the strike and actually told people to go back to work. What we had failed to do in the past year was to rally the middle workers around a concrete program expressing the demands of the rank and file and expose the bureaucrats for not taking up these demands. Instead what happened was that the RU in particular rested content with abstract attacks on the union leadership and didn't build up a rank-and-file movement to a position of power in the local. This left us with-

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 18)

REMEMBER ATTICA! SUPPORT THE BROTHERS!

Sixty-one men went on trial this month for the insurrection an Attica State prison in New York three years ago.

More than 1,500 prisoners took over a cell block and a yard on September 9, 1971, to demand an end to the racist and inhuman conditions in the prison. Afro-American, Puerto Rican, Native American and white prisoners united in an attempt to make changes. Turning a deaf ear to their demand, Nelson A. Rockefeller—then the governor of the state, now on the way to the vice-presidency, ordered troops to storm the gate. Shooting everyone in sight, the troopers killed forty-three men, including guards being held hostage by the inmates. Hundreds were wounded.

Three years later, the state of New York is bringing the prisoners to trial. The state has given the prosecution over \$6 million to convict the Attica rebels. At the same time the defendants have been held in solitary confinement, harassed and in some cases tortured. Several defendants were beaten, one unconscious, on the way to the pretrial hearing on April 29, 1974. They have had no chance to prepare their defense.

The state is trying to arrange for guilty verdicts to be handed down on a total of 42 charges including murder, kidnapping, and other felonies. Altogether the 61 defendants are accused of more than 1,400 crimes.

In an effort to shoot the ground out from under the defense, the state is using two grand juries, kept in session for more than two years, who are handing out additional indictments against any prisoner who agrees to testify in court in defense of the rebels. The grand juries are all white and one of them is made up of a majority of friends of the slain guards.

The reason why the state is going to such extremes against the prisoners is that the heroism of the Attica brothers has been a great inspiration and source of strength for all oppressed people. One of the leaders of the revolt said at the time, "I'd rather die like a man than live like a dog." This summed up the feelings of prisoners all over the country. The uprising brought the condition of prisoners to nationwide attention and greatly advanced the struggle within the prisons. Outside the jails, too, thousands of people have rallied to the cause of the Attica Brothers and mobilized in their support. By forming an organization called the Attica Brothers, the inmates—predomina-

tely Black and Latino—have been able to fight the attacks against them. They have fought also for the cause of others such as the American Indian Movement and the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.

When one of the trial judges offered the defendants the "opportunity" to plead guilty to lesser charges, Big Black, the National Director of the Attica Brothers, answered in these words:

"We will not accept offers of blackmail. We will not negotiate behind closed doors, we will not sell each other out. No, we will not make a whore of ourselves, and we will not make a whore out of justice."

Despite the difficulties the defense has scored some victories. On June 27 this year defense lawyers forced the judge to throw out 95 percent of the prospective jurors because minority people and women had been deliberately cut out of the jury rolls. Defense lawyers produced two secretaries from a state office who testified under oath that they were threatened with being fired unless they eliminated Blacks, Latinos and women as potential jury members.

Defense lawyers will try to get the case dismissed on many grounds. Among them are that the defendants have not been given a speedy trial as provided in the constitution, that the grand juries who handed down the indictments were biased, and that illegal wiretaps and undercover agents were used to gather "evidence" against the Attica brothers.

One of the agencies used by the state to gather "evidence" against the prisoners was Gov. Rockefeller's Organized Crime Task Force, which by law is supposed to stay away from political cases and concentrate on chasing mobsters and syndicate bigwigs. This is but one example of how millions of dollars are used to shore up the repressive apparatus of the state.

The ruling class, which commits crimes daily, never receives prison sentences. Even their flunky, Nixon, who was caught red-handed, has been pardoned. Rockefeller, who has the blood on his hands of the forty-three men who died at Attica, has been rewarded with the Vice Presidency. This is a typical example of "justice" in a capitalist society.

REMEMBER ATTICA!

SUPPORT THE BROTHERS!

Contributions should be sent to Attica Brothers Legal Defense, 147 Franklin Street, Buffalo, New York 14202.

OCTOBER, 1974—THE CALL—7

BUILDING A REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT MOVEMENT

PART 2: STUDENTS AGAINST IMPERIALISM

This article is the second of two-parts on the history of the student movement in the U.S. Last month's article dealt with the development of SNCC and the influence of the civil rights movement on students.

The role of students providing a spark to mass movements such as the struggle for civil rights and against war and aggression in Vietnam is nothing new. This process has been repeated in similar form in many countries. In China, for example, revolutionary students launched what became known as the "May Fourth Movement" in 1919. This movement mobilized hundreds of thousands of students to oppose the division of Chinese territory by the European powers following the Versailles Treaty of World War I. Protesting imperialist domination of their country, the students in May, 1919 were the first to recognize that it was not "foreigners" in general who were China's enemies, but the imperialist exploiters, their troops and corporations, who sought to drain and subjugate China. The student uprising of May Fourth was violently attacked by the Chinese Imperial Dynasty, and several students were killed. The urban workers of Peking, Shanghai and other big cities joined in the anti-imperialist movement in a wave of general strikes during the following month and sweeping anti-imperialist unity between workers and students was forged. Furthermore many of the intellectuals who later founded the Chinese Communist Party in 1921 to lead the revolutionary struggle, were participants in the May Fourth Movement. In the course of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal battle, the students and intellectuals embarked on mass criticisms of traditional Chinese schools of thought, denouncing the philosophy of Confucius with its contempt for the laboring people.

INTEGRATE WITH MASSES

Mao Tse-tung, reflecting on the May 4th Movement of which he too was a member, pointed out to the students of China: "How should we judge if a youth is revolutionary? . . . There can be only one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice . . ." (On the Orientation of the Youth Movement, May 1939).

The movement for "student power" which arose in the U.S. in the 60's also faced the dilemma of dealing only with student issues, or else taking on the imperialist system, of which the universities are only a tool and a reflection.

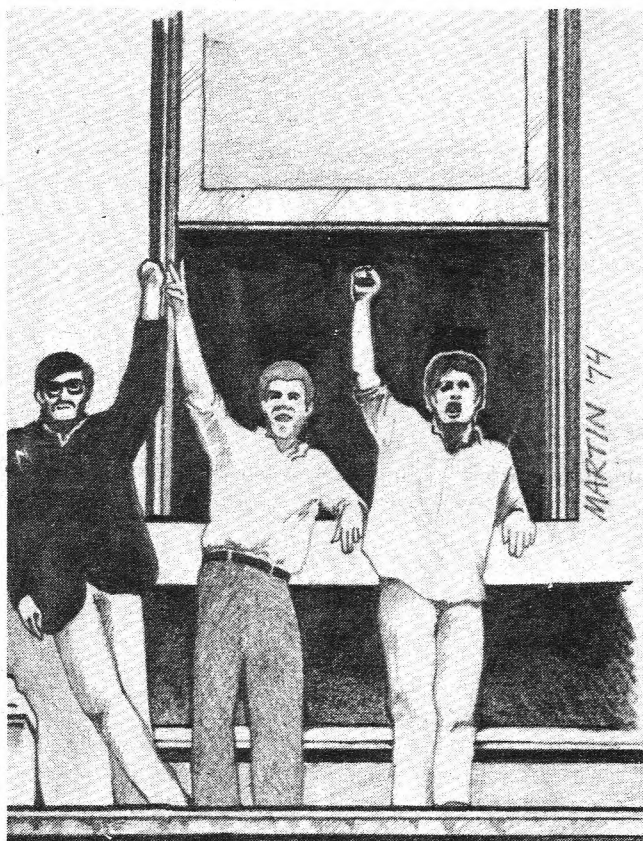
The Free Speech Movement (FSM) at Berkeley in 1964 was a dramatic event which helped to stimulate the whole student movement of the sixties. The FSM, initially a campus issue, was transformed into a major mass struggle.

The FSM began when university authorities, fond of speaking of Berkeley as a "marketplace for ideas," suppressed a campus table where money was being collected for the civil rights battles being fought in the South. In response, a movement rapidly spread demanding the right of free speech on all issues, and the right to organize politically. Believing that these rights were guaranteed by the constitution, many students woke up to the nature of the imperialist system when their demands were met by police, tear gas, and mass arrests.

Out of the FSM came the recognition that the interests which ran the whole society, also ran the universities. University of California regents were exposed as oil monopolists, publishing tycoons, and so forth. In this period, the tactics of mass confrontation against the police and student strikes spread from Berkeley to hundreds of other campuses, as Dow Chemical recruiters were chased out of the schools for the manufacture of napalm, and army ROTC buildings were burned down.

As a result of militant student actions, the universities granted some concessions on the question of free speech, academic requirements, dormitory hours and the like. But the basic class role of the universities did not change. Many students recognized this, and stepped-up the anti-imperialist struggle, especially around Vietnam. As a result, those who advocated only "student power" and reform, became the right-wing of the student movement, trying to make "the system work." In the mid-sixties, however, this tendency could not gain hold among the most active students who began joining fighting organizations like Students for a Democratic Society in large number.

Students for a Democratic Society was the largest anti-imperialist student organization of the 1960's. By the late 60's its membership had swelled to near 70,000 with nearly 350 chapters all over the country. It had back-fired on its founders. Originally set up by right-wing social democrats of the League for Industrial Democracy, Socialist Party, and some labor union bureaucrats, founders' purpose was to channel the dissension of youth into saving the system, getting them interested in Democratic Party politics, and capitalizing on the groundswell of discontent among the youth to build a base for their reformist politics. But as soon as the active students were brought together in this setting, the influence of such forces as the Black struggle in the South, Vietnam, and the Berkeley movement began to cause sharp debate within the early SDS over its character. While early SDS buttons carried the anti-struggle message, "Build, Not Burn" and called on students to support Lyndon Johnson with "Part of the Way with LBJ", within a few years, the buttons said, "Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win" and called on students to boycott the elections ("Vote in the Streets") and march against the war and the system. The great strength of SDS was its internationalism and its militant anti-imperialism. It did not fail, however, to fight around local student issues on the campus, focussing especially on questions affecting minority students and minority communities, as well as for the rights of women. Several of its most important battles were against university expansion which resulted in destruction of Black communities, such as at Columbia University in 1968. Within SDS a significant section of the women's liberation movement developed. Women in SDS called upon the organization to take up issues of discrimination and oppression of female students. It helped organize women's groups on the campuses, and agitated within the student movement for attention to the special demands of women and against male supremacy within the organization.



Students occupy Columbia buildings in 1968 protest against university's destruction of neighboring Black community.

The 1968 student strike at New York's Columbia University exposed urban renewal as a vicious attack on the Black community and revealed again the degree to which the university is only a servant of the big corporations. The Oakland "Stop the Draft Week" and numerous national drives against the Vietnam draft, mobilized thousands of men to refuse to fight against the Indochinese people. SDS members began moving off the campus to organize among active-duty GI's and to set up community draft resistance centers. Gradually, the actions of SDS attacked the imperialist system by name and spoke openly of the need for revolution, while moving from the big universities into the working class schools and communities.

Within SDS several serious ideological debates occurred. One was the question of the role and character of the American working class. Because of the primarily middle-class base of SDS, many students had a tendency to look down upon the working people. A line emerged which opposed uniting with workers' struggles, and which claimed that the students and technically-trained professionals themselves were some sort of a "new working class" which must itself lead in revolution, and which depicted the industrial working class as a backward and dying class due to technology. With the gradual upsurge in the labor movement in the latter part of the sixties this line was discredited to a large extent.

As SDS and the rest of the student movement took major strides forward in the anti-imperialist struggle, it was met with sharp repression.

At Columbia University, San Francisco State, Orangeburg, So. Carolina, Kent State, Jackson State in Mississippi and others, student demonstrations were violently suppressed, and the student movement had a number of martyrs who laid down their lives in the fight against the U.S. aggression in Indochina and against national oppression of Black people.

During this period especially, many students recognized the need to reach out to the people in the communities and in the factories; to do political organizing not only among students but among the masses of people. A significant trend within the student movement began by going out and doing just that.

Why did the movement of the sixties which had reached such tremendous proportions collapse so rapidly? In part, this was due to organizational factors. SDS and other similar organizations were loosely structured and suffered from an inability to coordinate their efforts nationwide. This weakness stemmed from both the instability of the students as a group (the transitory character of the student movement with the constant turn over of the campus population), and a lack of understanding of the significant role their movement could play.

Owing to the heavy bourgeois influences of the university and to the lack of a real communist party to provide clear leadership to the students as well as to the anti-communism which is part and parcel of university education, a large anarchist trend existed within SDS. Without a firm understanding of the real oppression and potential power of the masses of the American people, some among SDS turned to terrorism—they lacked faith in the people and believed that a small group of "pure revolutionaries" could destroy U.S. imperialism, and bring socialism to the masses. This characterized the Weatherman split-off from SDS.

The U.S. student movement was also sabotaged directly by U.S. government agencies. In 1966 it was revealed that the National Student Association was heavily funded and infiltrated by the Central Intelligence Agency for the purpose of subverting it and keeping it from heading in a more militant direction.

PL SABOTAGE FROM WITHIN

Sabotage from within was carried out by such wreckers and agents as the Progressive Labor Party (PLP). Their objective was to destroy the mass base of the student movement by splitting SDS organizationally. PLP's line aimed at splitting SDS away from the national liberation movements by characterizing all nationalist movements as "reactionary"—including the patriotic resistance of the Vietnamese, which PLP termed a "sell-out." PLP also tried to mislead the student movement into withholding support from the Black liberation struggle because it was "too nationalist." Their actual intention was to isolate SDS. Although PLP claimed to be a "vanguard communist party," it was a party built primarily of students with no ties to the masses of working people. Their contempt for the workers was reflected in their abstract calls for a "student-worker alliance" which was a call for students to tail behind the narrowest economic struggles of the unions rather than join with working people in opposing imperialism and its policies. PLP scoffed at the struggle of Black students to gain admissions to the universities, saying that the "universities are just bourgeois institutions and if Blacks get in, it will just make them bourgeois." They were dogmatists who belittled the importance of the fight for democratic rights and struggles of the students as students on the campus, especially of minority students. At the same time, they sought to prevent SDS from moving to support struggles of the people of Indochina; thus liquidating the two most powerful areas of student struggle. In 1968, a significant section of SDS voted to expel PLP from SDS for its white chauvinist and pro-imperialist politics and sectarianism. PLP, in a well-financed maneuver, set up a rump SDS in Boston, which was never able to build up a mass base as SDS had once had.

At the 1969 SDS Convention, when PLP was expelled, another important split occurred. Two lines on the direction of the student movement emerged; one advocated closer unity between the students and the working class, and national minority movements, and sought to rebuild SDS as a mass-based anti-imperialist organization. This tendency was called, "Revolutionary Youth Movement" or RYM-2. The other trend was the Weatherman line which was described earlier. This line saw no relevancy in the struggles of the American people or students, and said that the American people are "living off the people of the Third World." Workers, said the Weathermen, are co-partners with the imperialists. Weatherman claimed that to fight for the needs of the people would be to give U.S. workers "more privileges." This line is repeated today by the Revolutionary Union and the Communist League who both claim that "white-skin privileges" are the cause of "backwardness" among the workers. RU called RYM-2 "pacifist" for opposing Weatherman's terrorism and anti-working class stand.

This split between RYM-2 and the Weatherman coinciding with the expulsion of PLP, was the final blow to the organizational stability of SDS. Another basic cause of the downfall of SDS was the efforts on the part of some to confuse the student movement with the party. Rather than seeing SDS as a broad united front organization, they tried to narrow it to an appendage of their own narrow organization. This provided a basis for sectarianism and splittism.

But from this experience some important lessons for the student movement of today can be learned. The student movement must have a mass character. When left sectarianism gains control of the movement, the masses will turn away from it. The mass student organizations cannot become a narrow front for any group. When a party is built, it must give leadership to the students, but

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 18)

THE CALL BEGINS THIRD YEAR

WITH NEW PARTY ON THE HORIZON

With this issue, *THE CALL* begins its third year of publication. We want to take this time to express to all those who read *THE CALL* and who contribute to its work, our deepest thanks. Without the broad numbers of people connected with the paper in the factories and communities, on the campuses, and working within the *CALL* Committees around the country, the paper would have little, if any, meaning.

The masses are the makers of history and the relevance or irrelevance of any newspaper or organization, the correctness or incorrectness of its views, ultimately is something decided by the people themselves. *THE CALL* over the past two years has grown into a paper that is read by thousands of people each month. Especially during this period of rapid development of the communist movement, when the foundations are being laid for the building of a new communist party, the significance of *THE CALL* can clearly be seen by the revolutionary forces in this country.

Articles in *THE CALL* have become focal points for the ideological debate now raging within the ranks of this movement. The fact that the paper integrates the science of Marxism-Leninism with the day-to-day struggles of the people has given its articles life and has helped to broaden the base of the revolutionary forces into the factories, communities, and prisons. *CALL* study circles have drawn in large numbers of workers and revolutionary intellectuals to learn the science of revolution and apply it in practice.

In the last few months especially, we feel that we have been able to deepen our analysis of world events utilizing the experience we have gained over the past two years and taking seriously the suggestions and criticisms we have received.

Around the scaffolding of *THE CALL*, an organization has been built across the U.S. of organizers, agitators and revolutionaries, all dedicated to a common goal -- the overthrow of U.S. imperialism and the establishment of the rule of the working class. This organization, the October League, has taken its place in the forefront of the working class struggle alongside the many other Marxist-Leninists who have begun to organize themselves and to unite on the basis of revolutionary principle. The task remains to unite these communists into one organization -- a party based upon the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tsetung.

Recently many people have been trying to sum up the past period of revolutionary development and are asking the question, "How can such a party be built? It is our view that the experience of putting out *THE CALL* for two years provides some of the answers to this question. An organ similar to *THE CALL* can serve as the center into which the leading communist forces can contribute leadership. This unity, while being broad enough to include differing views, must also be firm enough to make both democracy and centralism possible. It is not a unity built upon words only, but upon the accumulated experiences of several years of common experience, during which time the different trends within the anti-revisionist forces have had time to distinguish themselves and lend some much-needed clarity to the struggle. We hope that *THE CALL* has contributed to this process.

It is around this center, this editorial board of such an organ (not *THE CALL*) that a network can be built, distributing the paper; organizing circles of advanced workers; leading mass struggles and recruiting to its ranks. The experience gained through this kind of work has prepared many hundreds of revolutionary cadre in the October League and other organizations for the difficult tasks ahead.

THE CALL has been able to develop a style that, while popular in its form, maintains a high content in order to push ahead and not tail behind the people. It has grown strong ideologically through the struggle against both revisionism and ultra-"leftism" making these fights into mass issues in many ways.

Our newspaper has become a clarion call to rally the people against imperialism and its fascist aggressive policies. It has been a revolutionary fighter for the liberation of all oppressed nations and peoples. It has consistently demanded the emancipation of women and been relentless in the fight for equality and democratic rights.

This is the type of work that a paper serving as the central organ for the new party must take up. Unlike some papers being circulated at this time, *THE CALL* is linked to organization among the broad masses. We have strongly criticized the concept of "saving Marxism for Marxists," while feeding "mush to the masses."

THE CALL still has much room for improvement. Our style must become more militant and sharp, our analysis of events deeper and more scientific. The many letters we receive help us in this development. The financial contributions we get also help to sustain us even through these difficult times.

In this second anniversary of *THE CALL*, the prospects for revolutionary struggle are bright. A new party is on the horizon and the people are rising up in a new surge against the crisis conditions which the ruling class has put on them. We are proud to play an important role in this great struggle. Thank you again.

THE CALL Staff.

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To celebrate our second anniversary, all new subscribers will receive a free copy of the October League pamphlet, "For Working Class Unity and Black Liberation," if the subscription order is accompanied by this ad, and received prior to November 15.

Other pamphlets available include, "Party Building in the U.S." (25¢), "Lenin on the Party," (50¢), and "Statement of Political Unity" (25¢).

DISTRIBUTE THE CALL IN YOUR COMMUNITY!!

Low bulk rates are available for people interested in helping to build THE CALL by selling it where they live, work or go to school. Please write for more information

THE PEOPLE MAKE NEWS!

LETTERS TO THE CALL

FROM LEADER OF SLOANE STRIKE

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

This letter is to express my deepest appreciation on the way that you have carried an article in most of your monthly issues (on the strike at R.&G. Sloane—ed.). Since September of 1973, we have been reading *THE CALL* and some of the articles are very interesting. The one thing that the members of our union think is very good is the translation into Spanish of the articles. Since we have been on strike we have had poor news coverage from the news media but thanks to your paper the story of our strike is being read and people all around are offering their support. As you know by now we have been on strike for the past 18 months, and we need the support of all who want to help. It has been a long and bitter struggle for the members of this local but they are determined to win, and that's what really counts. I want to thank the members of the October League for helping us with our struggle.

Sincerely,
 Hiram Rivera, President United Rubber Workers, Local 621.

LIKES NEWS OF MIGRANT WORKERS

Dear *CALL*,

I recently read a copy of *THE CALL* and found it to be refreshing, hard hitting, and accurate, particularly concerning the plight of the migrant farm worker, a problem with which I am in deep sympathy. Please accept my money order for a subscription.

B.M., Tampa, Florida

OCTOBER, 1974—THE CALL—9

STAND OF COMMUNISTS MUST BE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

PART 2 -- RESPONSE TO REVOLUTIONARY UNION

In the last month's issue of *THE CALL*, we began our response to the sectarian attack made on us in the August issue of *Revolution*, the political paper of the Revolutionary Union.

In the previous issue of our paper we dealt at length with the views of the October League on the question of working within the trade unions and criticized the RU position of "jamming the unions."

In this article we hope to clarify the divergent views of our two organizations on some matters concerning the international situation, particularly on the questions brought up in the August *Revolution* article. In this article, RU defends its position of calling for the overthrow of the Iranian government (quite a feat for U.S. Marxist-Leninists) and attacks the publication by *THE CALL* of a New China (Hsinhua) News Agency release on the visit of the Shah of Iran to the U.S. According to the RU, by publishing the Hsinhua article on the visit, "OL obviously is confusing the role of the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China in the world struggle with its own role and the role of Communist Parties and organizations that have not yet led the people in their countries to power." (page 22). This is a charge, by the way that has been recently repeated in an article by Guardian columnist Irwin Silber who calls our stand "flunkeyism" towards China.

The RU then goes on to justify its attack on the Iranian and the Mexican governments. They say that by taking the same stand as the Chinese and Albanian comrades on the struggle of the Third World peoples and governments, the OL is "aiding the Trotskyites and revisionists who are vehemently attacking the Chinese and the international and revolutionary united front line the Chinese have been instrumental in developing." Despite all this praise for the line of the Chinese, RU is in fact developing a view of the international situation that is anti-Marxist and damaging to the cause of the revolutionary united front.

THE CALL, of course, will continue to publish the news agency releases from China and other socialist countries which are of much interest to the working class of the U.S. But underlying the *Revolution* attack on the publication of the Hsinhua release lies an erroneous view of the international situation. It is a view marked by great-nation chauvinism and in fact, as we will show, plays right into the hands of the two imperialist superpowers in their strivings to conquer the countries of the Third World.

Soviet social-imperialism has long tried to use its influence in the Gulf area to blackmail and bully Iran.

The question of Iran is a fine case in point. OL's stand on the question of Iran and the countries of the Persian Gulf has been developed through our study of the rapidly changing world situation and is based on our own analysis and not that of any other country or party. The kind of China-baiting of communists that goes on in the U.S. is rooted in the oldest, most reactionary traditions of anti-communism.

Iran is an oppressed country that has long suffered under the yoke of imperialism, especially that of Britain and the U.S. Today the Soviet Union has also joined the ranks of the imperialist thieves who hope to cut up this juicy pie. At present, the Iranian people and government are making some important strides forward in defense of their national rights and resources and are deepening their opposition to bullying and control of, not only the old-line imperialists, but especially against Soviet social-imperialism, which today presents itself as the most aggressive and dangerous imperialism in the Persian Gulf area.

The resistance by Iran and the other Gulf countries has objectively weakened the efforts of the superpowers to bleed the Gulf region of its resources, including about half of the world's oil reserves. Through the development of organizations such as the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and others, Iran and the countries of the Gulf have united with the world's small and medium-sized countries in their struggle against domination and hegemonism.

Iran, with known oil deposits of nearly 14 billion tons, ranks fourth in the world among oil-producing countries. But since 1902, its resources have been totally controlled by the West. Back in 1971, Iran and the other OPEC countries forced the oil monopolies to raise the posted price for each barrel of oil taken from the region, breaking for the first time, the absolute domination of the foreign pow-

ers. On July 31 of last year, the Shah of Iran ratified the bill on a new oil agreement between the National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC) and the Western oil consortium, which will enable Iran to recover from the western monopolies, all rights over production, management and ownership of the oil installations.

The steps taken by Iran and other Third World countries to control their own resources should be supported by the working people in all countries, not just in China, but especially here in the U.S. where the government and the oil monopolies are using great-nation chauvinism against the oil-producing nations to set the stage for aggression against them. The job of building the world-wide United Front Against Imperialism is the job of communists and revolutionaries in each and every country.

Stalin in his work, *Foundations of Leninism*, wrote:

"Now we must speak of the world proletarian revolution; for the separate national fronts of capital have become links in a single chain called the world front of imperialism, which must be opposed by a common front of the revolutionary movement in all countries." (FLP, Peking, P. 29)

Peaceful coexistence was never meant to apply to relations between the exploited and the exploiters ...

This front must be built on opposition to imperialism of one or another stripe and not on the subjective understanding or position of the various classes or countries towards socialism. We will come back to this question later.

Soviet social imperialism has long tried to use its influence in the Gulf area to blackmail and bully Iran. For years the social-imperialists forced Iran to sell its natural gas far below the world market price after which the greedy Soviet rulers sold the same gas on the European market for tremendous profits. Last month Iran demanded and won the right to renegotiate the natural gas agreements with the Soviet Union, raising the prices considerably. This was an important victory, not only for Iran, but for all the Third World countries who the Soviet Union had over a barrel.

Furthermore, Iran and its neighbor Pakistan both refused to join in the Soviet-backed Asian Collective Security Pact which was being used as a plot to surround China and support Soviet expansionism in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf. It is largely for this just stand that China is deeply indebted to these two countries.

Faced with this situation, the Soviet Union has been intensifying its aggressive posture in the Gulf and the Indian Ocean. It backed last year's coup against Iran's neighbor, Afghanistan (which by the way went practically unnoticed in the press) and is pouring millions of dollars into so-called "liberation movements" and interfering in the internal affairs of other countries in the area. Like the Hitlerites of 40 years ago, the U.S.S.R. uses the secessionist sentiments of various oppressed peoples to split smaller countries and further their rivalries with the other superpower. Their policies of this type are well known around the case of Bangla Desh.

Since Iran has begun standing up to their advances, the Soviet revisionists have filled the pages of Pravda and TASS with calls for the overthrow of the Iranian government. Suddenly these socialists in name, who practice fascism in their own country, have become the champions of "democracy" for the Third World countries. Trying to meddle in the internal affairs of other countries, they have fostered puppet secessionist movements in Baluchistan and Khusistan and other places, aimed at weakening Iran, toppling the Shah and bringing the Gulf area under their sway.

The U.S.S.R. is also backing organizations in Oman which work closely with the revisionist Tudoh Party in Iran and with other pro-Soviet organizations, such as the World Peace Council, to lay the groundwork for Soviet expansion in the Gulf. The RU spreads the lie that China supports these organizations and that in fact they are being led by "Maoists." They use films made years ago, before the Soviet domination of these groups, to try to mislead the people of this country.

Here in the U.S. the RU and its student groups try to organize demonstrations demanding that Iran be disarmed and left weak and defenseless against the growing superpower war threat. They claim that the internal class struggle in the third world countries is their principle concern and is the main contradiction. In typical Trotskyite fashion, they downplay the significance of the national movements against imperialism and social-imperialism.

At a time when the Israeli Zionists were launching their war of aggression last October, these super-revolutionaries in RU launched a page-after-page denunciation of the Arab

governments. They refused to give concrete support for the Arab oil boycott, claiming that the Arab governments were really in the same camp with the Zionists and imperialists.

For example, in the Nov. '73 issue of *Revolution*, RU claimed that the "state of Israel has proved too useful not only to Western and in particular U.S. imperialism, but also to Soviet social imperialism and to the Arab ruling classes themselves..."

and further:

"What unites imperialism, social imperialism, the various Arab ruling classes and the Zionists is the fear of a true mass movement developing in the Middle East..."

The pages of *Revolution* have always been a place where the national question was blurred over and where the governments of the oppressed nations were treated as equal enemies as the imperialists and Zionists. Such statements are designed to weaken support for the Arab and Palestinian cause and make the internal class contradictions principle over the struggle against the superpowers. This is the main feature of Trotskyism on the international situation and is a direct attack on the international United Front Against Imperialism. In developing our line on the national question, we must take as our starting point, the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations and uphold, in practice the right of all oppressed nations to the right of self-determination.

The communist movement must build resolute opposition to the two superpowers and especially to the aggressive designs of our own imperialists. We must render concrete support to every struggle that objectively weakens the superpowers, while at the same time, using the upsurge of anti-imperialist militancy to strengthen the movement and organization of the working class, guaranteeing its independence and initiative.

We must give this support even though at any given time, the working class may not be in the leadership of such a movement and even though, as in the case of Iran, no communist party presently exists. By our rendering support, we will improve the conditions for such organization and leadership to grow and develop within that country.

It is true, that such a world-wide front has within its ranks capitalists and feudalists. It is also true that capitalists of all stripes, big or small, exploit the working people of their own country and under their leadership, the national movements are not carried out in a thorough-going and revolutionary manner. For that to happen, communist parties must be built which can win leadership of the national movement through their participation. It is for this reason that we have always joined with and given support to the patriots and communists of every country who face repression as well as to the laboring people of every country who struggle for their just needs.

The Third World countries are joining together more strongly and scoring unprecedented victories.

We have great confidence in the Iranian masses and the millions of oppressed peoples in the Third World. They will certainly organize themselves, take up arms and when the time is right, overthrow any and all classes which stand in the way of their efforts to establish people's rule. It is not the RU's job nor that of any U.S. group to call for this overthrow, but rather it is our job to struggle against the aggressive stand taken by the superpowers towards the Third World countries. This is what RU has failed to do.

RU's stand on the international situation and on the Middle East in particular is anti-Marxist. Rather than making use of contradictions, weakening imperialism and defeating enemies one at a time, RU lumps all capitalists into the same camp. Mao Tsetung in his work, *On New Democracy*, wrote:

"No matter what classes, parties or individuals in the oppressed nations join the revolution, and no matter whether or not they are conscious of the point mentioned above or subjectively understand it, so long as they oppose imperialism, their revolution becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution and they become its allies." (Selected Works, Vol. 2.)

Of course there are different kinds of allies and class struggle must always continue within the oppressed nations depending on the concrete conditions within each country. These conditions will be summed up by the communist parties and revolutionary organizations in those countries.

But Mao Tsetung singled out for attack, those groups that called for a "single revolution" in the oppressed nations, and made the internal class contradictions principle

RESPONSE TO RU ...

at a time when foreign imperialism was threatening. This is the line of the RU applied to the Middle East. Mao said, "the theory of single revolution is simply a theory of no revolution; that is the gist of the matter." (Ibid.)

The RU is fond of pointing out the undemocratic nature of the Shah's regime in Iran and that of the other Middle Eastern governments. This fact is, of course, true and the revolutionary and democratic forces of the people of these oppressed nations will topple feudalism and autocracy in the course of the anti-imperialist struggle, because these reactionary factors hold back the initiative of the masses.

But the lack of democracy in the Third World countries should never be used by communists in the "democratic" West as it is being used by RU. Stalin dealt with this question in *Foundations of Leninism*, while discussing the national question. He took the case of the Emir of Afghanistan of whom he said:

"The struggle that the Emir of Afghanistan is waging for the independence of Afghanistan is objectively a revolutionary struggle despite the monarchist views of the Emir and his associates, for it weakens, disintegrates and undermines imperialism...."

"For the same reasons, the struggle that the Egyptian merchants and bourgeois intellectuals are waging for the independence of Egypt is objectively a revolutionary struggle, despite the bourgeois origin and bourgeois title of the leaders of the Egyptian national movement, despite the fact that they are opposed to socialism...."

"Lenin was right in saying that the national movement of the oppressed countries should be appraised not from the point of view of formal democracy, but from the point of view of the actual results as shown by the general balance sheet of the struggle against imperialism, that is to say, 'not in isolation, but on a world scale.'"

(FLP, Peking, P. 75-76)

It is true that the policies of China have a particular character due to the fact that this is a socialist country. The working class government in power carries on relationships with capitalist governments based upon the principles of peaceful coexistence. In other words, they agree not to invade or meddle in each other's internal affairs. Of course there is no reason for China to meddle in the internal affairs of any other country or use aggression against anyone else. At the same time, China does extend aid to the revolutionary forces in every country. This is a just and principled stand and nothing the Trotskyists and revisionists say can change that. The RU seems to be having trouble defending China's stand. Perhaps that is because they are really mistaking China's position for their own indefensible position on the world situation.

Despite RU's charges, we do not confuse ourselves with China. We don't have any relations based upon peaceful coexistence with any government. We don't enter into alliances with governments of other countries. It is perfectly correct for socialist countries to make such alliances with capitalist countries to fight other capitalist countries as in the anti-fascist war. Peaceful coexistence was never meant to apply to relations between the exploited and the

exploiters nor to the relations between oppressed and oppressor nations.

The RU seems to be confusing China's state relations with Iran (based on peaceful coexistence)-with China's resolute support for Iran's struggle against the superpowers as part of the front against imperialism. It is the duty of people throughout the world to support the latter, not just China's duty.

This incorrect stand explains RU's refusal to give concrete support to the OPEC countries in their boycott of the imperialists on the oil front. That is why they refuse to run articles from Hsinhua in their paper. That is in fact why, instead of giving real support to the Iranian people's struggle and to the people of the Third World, they try and speak for various Third World organizations in the U.S. and use them for their own factional purposes to carry out the ideological struggle in the U.S. movement. But all this unprincipled intrigue will never work.

Just as the "left" sectarian, chauvinist line of RU's fore-runners, Progressive Labor Party and the Communist League, have been exposed before the people as being "left" in form only, but right in essence, so the line of RU will be exposed.

The United Front Against Imperialism is surging forward. The victories of the people against the two superpowers are mounting daily. The Third World countries are joining together more strongly and scoring unprecedented victories. This is an irreversible trend of history.

The young communist movement and the party it will build must stand on the principles of proletarian internationalism. It must see itself as part of this world-wide struggle and especially work to smash imperialism right here in the U.S.



**THE
UNITED FRONT
AGAINST
IMPERIALISM
IS SURGING
FORWARD!**

In the past month, several significant steps towards communist unity have been taken. First, unity has been reached between the October League (M-L) and the Revolutionary Organization of Afro-American Workers (ML) in Boston. In addition, unity has been reached between the October League and communist collectives both in New Orleans, Louisiana and Denver, Colorado—thereby establishing two new OL districts and expanding the communist movement in new areas.

The unity and merger with ROAAW (ML) is a material step in building a new multi-national communist party. It reflects not only the trend towards unity of the working class and Afro-American movements but also the unity of communists of various nationalities on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

ROAAW (ML) members initiated the publication of the newspaper, STRUGGLE! which is produced in cooperation with many activists from Boston's Black community. STRUGGLE! has combined the fight around the day-to-day issues in the community—housing, child care, police terror—with education about the final aims of the struggle, socialist revolution. STRUGGLE! has also played an important role in promoting internationalism and taking a firm stand on the struggle of the African colonies for liberation.

On May 1st of this year, the Struggle Collective announced its formation as ROAAW (ML). Their unity statement said:

"We began in the late summer of 1972 as a group engaged in putting out STRUGGLE! Newspaper. Our ideology at that time was Revolutionary Nationalism . . . In December 1973, we decided to begin operating as an organizing collective. We also began examining our political perspective and started a study group. Through our practice, we came to see the need for something more scientific to carry through to completion the Afro-American struggle for liberation: we also noticed that all successful liberation struggles that have occurred in our lifetime which have not been co-opted by the vulture of imperialism, have been guided by the revolutionary thinking and scientific principles of Marx and Lenin."

"Even more than merely explaining our situation, Marxism-Leninism is the best guide to action on the burning questions facing Afro-American people: the role of diffe-

OCTOBER LEAGUE MERGES WITH ROAAW

Communists Reach Unity

rent classes in our struggle, which class will give the most correct leadership? How do we build a broad anti-racist, anti-imperialist united front? How do we build mass organizations to sustain, intensify and carry to completion our liberation struggle? How do we conduct class struggle against reactionary elements among our own people? What are the necessary tactics and how do we combine them (armed struggle, elections, etc.) What is the role of Black women in our struggle? Who are our real allies and our real enemies?

"This revolutionary theory rejects the outlook that ties us to the 'liberal wing' of the U.S. ruling class (Kennedy, Mc Govern, etc.) which dooms our movement to kneeling at the altar of the 'Gentle Slavemaster' . . . At the same time Marxism-Leninism rejects the 'hate whitey' idea that makes all whites our enemies on the basis of their skin color . . . not making any distinction between the class interests of the Kennedy's and Rockefeller's and those of the masses of white working people, who are also oppressed and exploited by the ruling class."

They also stated that, "The new communist movement is rapidly growing, increasing its ties with the masses of workers and other oppressed people. It is studying and applying Marxism-Leninism in a concrete way, and working to build the broad united front against imperialism, Racism, Fascism and Capitalism. We are a part of that movement . . . We seek to develop relations with other Marxist-Leninist forces and we are working for the development of a new communist party in the U.S. . . ."

Over the last few months, after more than a year of joint practical work and discussions, the OL and ROAAW (ML) merged. This new organizational unity will not only strengthen our Boston district and the entire OL, but provides a good example for further gains in party building.

Also this month, organizational unity has been reached

with independent communist collectives both in New Orleans and Denver. These mergers are particularly significant, indicating the growth of the communist movement in in the South and Southwest—battlegrounds for the Afro-American and Chicano people's struggles as well as militant labor movements.

Comrades in these two collectives began factory organizing over the past 1-2 years, integrating themselves with the working class. Taking up the study of Marxism-Leninism, they began participating in the struggle within the communist movement.

In November of 1973, comrades from Denver and New Orleans attended the OL's Conference on Communist Work in the Labor Movement in Chicago. This was a very good chance to exchange experiences and sum up work with comrades from many different areas and organizations.

From then on, joint practical work was undertaken and principled ideological struggle brought about closer unity between the OL and these collectives.

As one comrade from Denver put it, "We joined the October League based on a careful study of the current debate within the communist movement. The building of a new communist party is our central task, but it must be done in the closest connection with communist participation in all the most important struggles, particularly of labor and the oppressed nationalities."

He went on to say that, "Being part of a national communist organization is also very important for us here in Denver. With this, communists can effectively test their line in practice and sum it up. Localism is a great weakness in small collectives."

The unity of these communist forces in a significant step forward for the entire communist movement and will help strengthen the work to build a new communist party in this country.

PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE



Don Pedro Albizu Campos, leader of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, as pictured in an illustration by J.R. Alicea from the magazine, Guajana.

The main demand of Puerto Rican Solidarity Day, October 27, is "Independence!" — meaning an end to U.S. colonial domination of Puerto Rico. It is the internationalist duty of every American to join with the Puerto Rican people in this fight for independence and justice.

The struggle for independence for Puerto Rico has been raging for nearly 75 years against the U.S. colonialists. But recently it took on added strength when the United Nations concluded, in an historic decision December 14, 1973 that Puerto Rico was a classic colony of the United States. It reaffirmed "the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence . . ."

Why do we say that Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States in the classic sense?

Because nearly every aspect of its political and economic life is controlled by the government and corporations of the United States.

The U.S. government has exclusive jurisdiction over all questions of citizenship, immigration and emigration, foreign trade, communications and transport, and foreign affairs. Any decision of the Puerto Rican Supreme Court can be overturned by the federal courts of the U.S. And all the laws adopted by the Congress of the United States automatically apply in Puerto Rico with no regard to the wishes of the Puerto Rican people.

In addition, the U.S. exercises absolute control over the entire economy of Puerto Rico, as the following facts demonstrate.

*American investments amount to \$1 billion dollars and even according to colonial propaganda, yield profits in excess of 30 per cent—in contrast to the 13 to 18 per cent

these corporations can expect inside the U.S.

*U.S. monopolies today control 80 per cent of Puerto Rican industry, and these companies pay no taxes for a period between 12 to 17 years from the time they start operations.

*Only 24 U.S.-owned chain stores in Puerto Rico are responsible for 90 per cent of all sales on the island.

*Protecting these investments and profits are a string of U.S. military bases that occupy a total of 13 per cent of Puerto Rico's best land.

In these ways, Puerto Rico has been converted into a privileged preserve for U.S. monopolies, who use the country as a source of cheap labor and exploit the national economy with no regard whatsoever for the rights or needs of the Puerto Rican people.

The effect of this colonial domination of the Puerto Rican worker is devastating. A Puerto Rican worker makes only 1/3 the wage of an American worker, yet the cost of living is 25 per cent higher on the island than in the U.S. Nearly 15 per cent of the Puerto Rican labor force is unemployed, compared with a little over 5 per cent (officially) in the U.S. And because of this, over a third of the entire population of Puerto Rico has been forced to emigrate to the United States in search of non-existent or menial, low-paying jobs.

The latest scheme of the U.S. imperialists is the creation of a "superport" in Puerto Rico to take care of the refining tasks of the oil companies that are considered too "dirty" or dangerous to handle along the U.S. coast. The "superport" plan would turn the entire western coast of Puerto Rico into a monstrous oil refining and processing area, destroying in the process the fishing industry along the coast

"WHEN TYRANNY IS LAW, REVOLUTION IS ORDER!"



-- Albizu
Campos

Albizu Campos was an uncompromising and heroic fighter for Puerto Rican independence. He put forward that independence was an inalienable right and not a question to be voted on under terms dictated by the guns of the U.S. government.

His revolutionary stand was clearly expressed in a speech delivered Sept. 23, 1949 at a ceremony commemorating the Lares Rebellion of 1868: "The struggle which began 81 years ago against the mother country, Spain, for the independence of Puerto Rico, continues. The Nationalist Party is going to dynamite the United States and expel the Americans from Puerto Rico. The Yankees have killed many Puerto Ricans. They want to destroy us by means of vicious maneuvers and, in all justice, we have the right to destroy them. Since that is our right, the moment has come to exercise it. Here in Puerto Rico, the only thing that is subversive is the Government of the United States and all its agents."

DEDICATED LIFE TO INDEPENDENCE

It was Albizu Campos and the Nationalist Party that developed the Puerto Rican nationalist and anti-imperialist consciousness that continues today to inspire the movement against U.S. domination of Puerto Rico. This is why Albizu Campos has been called "El Maestro"—the teacher—by the Puerto Rican people.

Pedro Albizu Campos graduated with honors and a law degree from Harvard University. Just before graduation he received among other offers a job as assistant in the Supreme Court of the U.S. at \$500 a week. But he declined this offer, because he was determined to make the independence of Puerto Rico his life.

When Albizu returned to Puerto Rico to live, he also refused an offer of judgeship and he and his wife both refused positions at the University of Puerto Rico. They did not want their hands tied. He and his Peruvian wife, Laura Meneses, lived in poverty with

their children. Albizu Campos took up the cases of the poor and the politically persecuted, and he wrote for the nationalist newspaper, El Nacionalista de Ponce.

Albizu Campos was elected vice president of the Nationalist Party in Puerto Rico in 1925 and president in 1930. The Nationalist Party was formed in 1922 and was strengthened when the dominant Union Party of Puerto Rico eliminated from their program independence as a possible solution to Puerto Rico's political status. At this time in Puerto Rico there was an all out drive by U.S.-appointed Governor Reilly against all independistas (people favoring the independence of Puerto Rico) in the colonial government. The patriotic radical wing of the Union Party, including Albizu Campos, joined the Nationalist Party in 1924.

Under the leadership of Albizu Campos as president, the Nationalist Party grew in determination and influence. Its assembly of May 1930 closed with the oath: "Assembled here, we solemnly swear to defend the nationalist ideal and to sacrifice our homes and our lives, if that would be necessary for the independence of our country." The platform of the Nationalist Party declared that: "...Under the harsh yoke of North American colonialism, from a nation of proprietors we have changed into a mass of peons, a rich economic mine for exploitation by the capitalist invader."

NON-COOPERATION WITH THE REGIME

Albizu addressed the people of Puerto Rico through press, radio and popular theater and in person. After a one-time experiment in colonial elections, the Nationalist Party took up a firm line of non-cooperation with the regime and through intense agitation, called for a Constituent Assembly to proclaim the Independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Puerto Rico.

In 1933 Albizu Campos led masses of people in storming the capital in San Juan when it was learned that the elimination of the Puerto Rican flag as the national banner was being discussed. The campaigns of the Nationalists drew huge crowds to rallies; many young people and intellectuals joined the party. The 1930's was the time of the great depression and the people of Puerto Rico were suffering intensely. The basis for a merger between the workers' movement and the struggle for independence was real. In 1933 a strike of gasoline consumers broke out. Under the leadership of Albizu Campos this strike developed into a general strike which crippled all phases of the economic life of the island. Troops were called out.

In 1934 the big sugar cane workers' strike was led by both communists and nationalists. The regular opportunist labor leaders, who worshipped the U.S., were discredited by this strike. The growing militancy and effectiveness of the Nationalists was bound to provoke reaction.

On Oct. 24, 1935, police killed Ramon Pagán and 3 other nationalists at a meeting at the University of Río Piedras. Ramon Pagán was the Labor Secretary of the Nationalist Party. The Nationalists stepped up their demands and tactics in the face of repression. In 1932, the party had created the Army of Liberation—or Cadets of the Republic. Their outfit was a black shirt, to signify mourning over colonial captivity of the Puerto Rican nation, and white pants. In 1935, after the police killing of Pagán, military service in the Army of Liberation was made mandatory for all party members. The Nationalists put forward the demand of immediate evacuation of the island by the Americans with the threat there would be a "resort to armed violence." The Nationalist Party correctly saw the murders at Río Piedras as a declaration of war by the U.S. and colonial governments on the nationalist movement. They were determined to answer the attack.

In February 1936, 2 nationalists carried out revolutionary justice and assassinated Col. Francis Riggs, head of the Police, who along with U.S. Governor Winship was responsible for the murder at Río Piedras. The two nationalists, Hiram Rosado and Elias Beauchamp, were brought to police headquarters and murdered in cold blood. Albizu Campos delivered the funeral oration of the murdered nationalists: "...the lie has been given to that phrase that the Puerto Ricans, taken collectively, are cowards. That is a legend that corrupt leadership has brought us to justify their trafficking with the life of the

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and the livelihoods of the thousands of Puerto Ricans who depend on fishing to survive.

At no time, however, have the Puerto Rican people passively accepted U.S. imperialist domination. The Puerto Rican people have a long and heroic tradition of resistance to oppression, and of struggle for this complete independence and freedom.

Puerto Rico was at first a colonial territory of Spain. On September 23, 1868, the famous armed struggle known as "El Grito de Lares" began with the aim of overthrowing the barbarous rule of Spain. After nearly 30 years of rebellion, the nationalist forces succeeded in wresting a relatively large degree of autonomy from their colonial oppressors.

But the next year, on July 25, 1898, Puerto Rico was invaded by the armed forces of the United States, who dissolved the Puerto Rican Parliament and established U.S. rule by force of arms. This was done under the pretext of Puerto Rico being the "booty" acquired during the Spanish-American War which took place in that year. Ever since that time over 75 years ago, the Puerto Rican people have waged a valiant struggle for independence from their new U.S. oppressors.

With the occupation of the island by the U.S., poverty and exploitation increased dramatically. Peasants were thrown off their lands to make room for the large U.S. sugar cane monopolies. These small farmers became workers when U.S. corporations began to set up their factories on the island as part of "Operation Bootstrap," a plan to "industrialize"—meaning exploit—the economy. Since then, the standard of living of the Puerto Rican worker, rather than improving, has constantly deteriorated.

This continued impoverishment of the Puerto Rican

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The first mass up during the organization of the sugar cane workers, the reactionary trade union, the Socialist Party abandoned the cane cutters. Thousands of workers, the only party between the poverty and colonialism.

The Nationalist Party leadership of a young leader, the course of his 40 years of U.S. domination, he tried to truly inject the concept of revolution (see article below) and prestige of the island. Louis Johnson went to the local police to and assassinating it on 30, 1950, the repression and fighting spread.

For 5 days, U.S. workers were employed again. But the Nationalist Party withstand the assault, hundreds massacred. They were sentenced to death for heroism of the Nationalist Party as a clarion call to

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nation. Our people are courageous, our people are a heroic people..."

The confrontations between the U.S. Governor Winship and the nationalist movement escalated with repeated clashes between protesting demonstrators and the police. Winship outlawed demonstrations and began police raids and searches of nationalists' offices and homes. The seized material was handed over to a federal grand jury which indicted Albizu Campos and many others on the charges of conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. government by force, and organizing to incite violence.

The first jury, consisting of 7 Puerto Ricans and 5 Americans, could not reach a verdict. A new jury was selected for a second trial with 10 Americans and 2 Puerto Ricans. This time the nationalists were convicted and given prison terms of 10 and 6 years, to serve in the Penitentiary of Atlanta, Georgia. The sentence of the court stripped Albizu Campos of his citizenship; this was later to be used by U.S. immigration to prevent his wife from visiting him when he was dying in Puerto Rico.

The tremendous support that Albizu Campos had from the Puerto Rican people demonstrated when the bail for the nationalists was fixed at one million dollars. On the very same day a public collection was held and the bail was posted, much of it in small change.

Before the nationalist prisoners were moved to Atlanta, the party organized a protest march in the city of Ponce. Gov. Winship ordered the mayor of Ponce to cancel the permit for the march at the last minute. The people—men, women and children—decided to go ahead. It was Palm Sunday. The marchers were totally unarmed. More than 100 fully armed police set themselves facing the marchers in the line of the march and opened fire. Firing continued for 15 minutes. Twenty-one people were killed and more than 150 wounded and arrested. The U.S. government and Winship made it clear they were implementing a full scale campaign to crush the nationalists. The total repressive machine of the United States was to be brought down on the Nationalists. The severe repression of the Nationalists continued while Albizu Campos was in jail. He returned to the island in 1947. In 1950, in response to the imposition of the "commonwealth" on Puerto Rico, the nationalists staged a rebellion centering in Jayuya. Campos was in San Juan. His house was stormed and he was taken prisoner. Again he was sentenced to this time for 53 years.

While the nationalist movement failed in its ultimate aim, it wrung many concessions from the U.S. government. Among them were the right to run the schools in Spanish, the right to raise the Puerto Rican flag (of course alongside the U.S. flag) in all public places. But most important, the nationalist movement and its great leader Albizu Campos maintained and developed the struggle of the Puerto Rican people against colonialism, protecting the national heritage of Puerto Rico and laying the basis for the liberation struggle of today.

SHORTCOMINGS OF NATIONALIST PARTY

The Party had certain limitations. One was the mainly middle-class composition of its members, who did not take a consistent stand on the importance of the labor movement. They were unable to give guidance in the day-to-day fight of Puerto Rican workers. The Party was coupled with constant, severe police attacks on the leadership. Unity between workers' and nationalist movement was not firmly cemented, although the great sugar cane strike of 1934 was a step in the direction of unity. This was partly due to the Nationalist leadership's underestimation of the role of the working masses in liberating the nation. Reformists and collaborators like Munoz used this weakness in the Nationalist Party to advance the independence cause in exchange for false promises of U.S. factories and jobs.

Don Pedro Albizu Campos, while not a socialist, was an anti-imperialist, a nationalist and a revolutionary. Well aware that U.S. imperialism was the main danger to the world, he said: "The world economic hegemony which the Great War placed in the hands of the United States is the gravest danger humanity has ever faced." Although he did not see the strategic necessity for an alliance between the Puerto Rican working class and the Nationalist movement, Albizu Campos stood up for the rights of Puerto Rican labor both in his homeland and in the U.S. Under his leadership the Nationalist Party called upon workers to refuse the draft in the U.S. Army during World War II, pointing out that with se

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and the livelihoods of the thousands of Puerto Ricans who depend on fishing to survive.

At no time, however, have the Puerto Rican people passively accepted U.S. imperialist domination. The Puerto Rican people have a long and heroic tradition of resistance to oppression, and of struggle for this complete independence and freedom.

Puerto Rico was at first a colonial territory of Spain. On September 23, 1868, the famous armed struggle known as "El Grito de Lares" began with the aim of overthrowing the barbarous rule of Spain. After nearly 30 years of rebellion, the nationalist forces succeeded in wresting a relatively large degree of autonomy from their colonial oppressors.

But the next year, on July 25, 1898, Puerto Rico was invaded by the armed forces of the United States, who dissolved the Puerto Rican Parliament and established U.S. rule by force of arms. This was done under the pretext of Puerto Rico being the "booty" acquired during the Spanish-American War which took place in that year. Ever since that time over 75 years ago, the Puerto Rican people have waged a valiant struggle for independence from their new U.S. oppressors.

With the occupation of the island by the U.S., poverty and exploitation increased dramatically. Peasants were thrown off their lands to make room for the large U.S. sugar cane monopolies. These small farmers became workers when U.S. corporations began to set up their factories on the island as part of "Operation Bootstrap," a plan to "industrialize"—meaning exploit—the economy. Since then, the standard of living of the Puerto Rican worker, rather than improving, has constantly deteriorated.

This continued impoverishment of the Puerto Rican

worker has led to militant labor struggles.

The first mass upsurge of Puerto Rican workers occurred during the organizing drives of the Socialist Party among the sugar cane workers in 1917. But owing to its ties to the reactionary trade union bureaucrats in the U.S., the Socialist Party abandoned the workers during an island-wide cane cutters strike in 1934.

Thousands of workers then turned to the Nationalist Party, the only party which drew the necessary connection between the poverty of the Puerto Rican worker and U.S. colonialism.

The Nationalist Party was founded in 1928 under the leadership of a young lawyer, Pedro Albizu Campos. In the course of his 40-odd years of active struggle against U.S. domination, he was to be the first independence leader to truly inject the concept of anti-imperialist struggle—the concept of revolution—into the struggle for independence. (see article below on Albizu Campos). Due to the strength and prestige of the Nationalists, U.S. Secretary of War, Louis Johnson went to Puerto Rico with instructions to the local police to destroy the Nationalist Party by jailing and assassinating its leaders. Soon afterwards, on October 30, 1950, the repression started against the Nationalists and fighting spread throughout the island.

For 5 days, U.S. tanks, planes, bombs, and machine-guns were employed against Puerto Rico's independence fighters. But the Nationalists were not sufficiently strong to withstand the assault. Thousands were arrested, and hundreds massacred. Those few Nationalists who did survive were sentenced to outrageously long prison terms. But the heroism of the Nationalists during the insurrection served as a clarion call to all Puerto Ricans.

The United States imperialists, scared to death by the insurrection and resistance of the Puerto Rican people led by the Nationalists, decided to hold a phony "plebiscite" under U.S. guns in order to declare Puerto Rico a "Free Associated State." But it was a hoax: Puerto Rico is neither "free," nor a "state," and the form of its "association" is colonialism.

At the same time that this "Free Associated State" was declared into being, a small group of dedicated Nationalists in New York decided that strong action was needed to draw the plight of Puerto Rico to the attention of the American people.

On March 1, 1954, Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irvin Flores, and Andres Figueroa entered the gallery of the U.S. House of Representatives and began to shout at the imperialist congressmen while crying out, "Viva Puerto Rico Libre!" ("Long Live Free Puerto Rico!") Several congressmen were wounded in the assault, and the Nationalists were arrested.

These four courageous freedom fighters are still confined as political prisoners in U.S. federal prisons, serving sentences ranging from 50 to 75 years. Today, they remain heroes to their people, and their freedom is one of the demands of the October 27th rally to be held in New York.

The struggle for independence continues to rage today, with leadership coming from such groups as the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). Workers struggles have experienced a renewed mass upsurge beginning in 1969 with the strike of the General Electric workers in Palmer, Puerto Rico. In the past year, workers have shut down trucking, municipal transportation, sanitation collection, electrical and power utilities operations. Students have closed down the university twice this year, once in support of labor struggles.

But most importantly, the Puerto Rican workers movement and the political struggle for independence have again joined together in the common realization that the fight for better wages and working conditions is an inseparable part of the struggle for national liberation and independence.

The interests of the Puerto Rican people are the same as those of the American people. U.S. imperialism uses its subjugation of Puerto Rico to further exploit and suppress all workers here in the U.S. Puerto Rico is used as a haven for runaway shops and a reserve of cheap labor which is used to drive down wages in the U.S. The giant profits derived from investments in Puerto Rico are used to bribe the rotten trade union leaders in this country.

What is the meaning of the Puerto Rican independence struggle to the American people? Juan Velasquez of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party put it very well when he said that, "No country can talk about independence for its own people when it dominates, when it subjugates another."

INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO!

¡QUE VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE!

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ment, Puerto Rico would have its own army and decide its own policies.

Seizing upon the draft resistance issue, reactionaries twisted its meaning and labelled the Nationalists as "fascists." Nothing could be further from the truth. It was the hope of the Nationalists that during the World War, the U.S. imperialists would be so tied up that Puerto Rico would make headway toward liberation. This position amounted, however, to one of abstention in the worldwide anti-fascist war effort, a war in which nearly all national liberation movements of the colonies participated.

These events must be viewed in the context of the times. During the period of the World War, the call for Puerto Rican independence was largely dropped by the Communist Party U.S.A. Under the leadership of the traitor Earl Browder, the C.P. abandoned the special struggles of many oppressed peoples, especially the fight for self-determination of nations under the heel of U.S. imperialism. Browder was actually trying to use the correct strategy of an all-out fight against fascism for his own bourgeois ends: to liquidate the freedom fight of the minorities of the U.S. and its colonies. Rather than encouraging the building of a Puerto Rican Communist Party to carry out the struggle in Puerto Rico, Browder paternalistically insisted on a Puerto Rican "branch" of the U.S. Party. At the same time, the CPUSA praised to the skies the reform party of Marin Muñoz.

In contrast to the revisionists, Albizu Campos, nationalist revolutionary, stands as the unyielding fighter for self-determination. Known as the "Tiger of Liberty" he occupies a place of honor, joining, Bolivar, Martín, José Martí of Cuba and Nicaragua's Sandino, fighters for the liberation of Latin America.

Jailed almost constantly after 1954, Campos' health was destroyed. It was outright murder by the hand of U.S. imperialism. The government was forced to free him four months before his death due to intense international pressure. Cuban journalist Agustín Tamargo in 1956 wrote, "Puerto Rico is not a free country, nor can Muñoz, jailor and executioner of Campos, speak of freedom. The dying heart of Campos and his suffering body, tortured by imprisonment and mistreatment, are today more than ever a symbol...of human liberty and dignity of the people, which shall blaze one day like a star in the pure blue sky of Puerto Rico..."



FLAMES OF RESISTANCE STILL BURN IN CHILE

The author of this article lived and worked in Chile during 1972-3. Since the article was written, Ford, Kissinger, and CIA Director Colby have all been forced to admit that the U.S. was directly involved in sabotaging the Popular Unity government, and in building up the pro-fascist forces. These admissions come as no surprise to anyone who followed the events in Chile. As the article points out, the survival of the fascist Junta is totally tied to the support it receives from U.S. imperialism.

With one year of fascist repression under its belt, Chile's military Junta still struggles unsuccessfully to consolidate its dictatorship. Over the past months the Junta has enacted a wave of drastic measures to centralize authority and accelerate "normalization" throughout the country. These iron-fist maneuvers have backfired, however, feeding the flames of opposition and resistance. The Chilean Junta is today more isolated than ever.

One year after the bloody September 11 coup that overthrew the popular government of Salvador Allende, Chile continues in a declared state of war. Elections of all kinds have been postponed indefinitely; political parties and all political activities have been outlawed. Trade union rights belong to the past, and meetings or assemblies of any kind must be cleared with the military weeks in advance and they take place under armed guard. Army General Augusto Pinochet, appointed Supreme Chief of the Junta in late June, has recently announced that civilian government is "out of the question for at least 10 years." Praising the curfew and state of siege restrictions as "good" for family life, Pinochet informed the Chilean people that he was extending both for an indefinite period.

The Junta initiated its rule with the outright massacre of an estimated 30,000 people. Now it seeks to maintain power with the selective assassination, imprisonment and/or torture of thousands of workers, peasants and poor. Despite efforts to hide its counter-insurgency operations from world scrutiny, reports smuggled out of Chile expose the fascist Junta. They describe the recently intensified military campaigns to weed out centers of civilian resistance as well as the newly established special torture center at Tejas Verdes, run by ex-Nazi-SS colonel Walter Rauff. Rauff had headed the German concentration camps at Ravensbruck and Ravenstein.

TROJAN HORSE FOR IMPERIALISM

At a juncture in history when most countries of the world are uniting to challenge the hegemony of the superpowers, Chile is playing the role of trojan horse for U.S. imperialism. Chile's wrecking activities have isolated the Junta further and increased its abject dependence on the United States and its puppet allies. At a meeting of the Organization of Copper-Exporting Countries this past June, Chile sabotaged efforts of third world copper exporting nations to raise and regulate the price of copper on the world market. Disrupting the proceedings with a long defense of Junta policies, the Chilean delegate then broke the unity of these countries by casting the only negative vote.

More recently, Chile pushed through a statute on foreign investments that directly counters previously signed Andean Pact agreements. There is no question that the U.S. is blackmailing the debilitated Chilean Junta into fronting for its reactionary policies aimed at reversing the advances made to date by third world countries to assert independence from the superpowers. Chile is being pushed against the tide which is to strengthen regional economic integration and develop trade and commercial ties among third world and second world nations. Besides handing Chile's wealth lock, stock and barrel over to the U.S. imperialist multinational corporations, the Junta has sold out the Andean nations, undermining their bargaining position and deepening the distrust and divisions among them.

In exchange for its loyalty to the U.S. however, the Junta has gotten only crumbs. With a bankrupt economy and no political base within the country, the Junta is in

no position to bargain effectively. As a result, the Junta keeps upping the ante in order to attract foreign investors. To date, the Junta has moved to eliminate almost every regulation, investment code and tax law which would protect Chile from imperialist plunder and exploitation. All the advances toward national independence achieved as a result of bitter struggles by Chile's workers and consolidated under the Popular Unity government (1970-73) have been wiped out. The Junta has reestablished friendly relations with Kennecott Copper Company and is now paying off Kennecott for having exploited Chile's resources and workers. In exchange for this payment over and above superprofits of the past, Kennecott has agreed to reinvest a large percentage of the money. Industries which had been taken over and run by workers during the Popular Unity rule have been handed back to U.S. companies; Dow leaped in to repossess its petrochemical plants and GM has reopened shop in northern Chile.

Despite the outbreak of popular protest in this country following the coup, the U.S. government managed to slip through some quick loans and credit to the Junta. Subsequent political pressure coupled with Nixon's discredited and bankrupt leadership forced the U.S. to find back-door approaches to propping up fascism in Chile. U.S. private banks like Manufacturer Hanover's took the lead in pumping in funds for Chile's floundering economy. Brazil and Israel have also moved in to take up some slack. Now that the spotlight on Chile has dimmed, the U.S. government is preparing for larger 1975 transfusion of funds, beginning with a planned boost to \$25 million in AID grants.

The Junta gambled on a losing strategy. They thought iron-fist tactics in the short run would accelerate pacification and guarantee a rapid and generous return of foreign capital. But providing a "good investment climate," that is political stability and in particular a controlled labor force, turned out to be a lot harder than the Junta thought. Where police raids failed, encirclement and starvation were used. Where military operations proved ineffective, the Junta applied its "austerity" program, an economic program that required all sectors of the population except for a handful of monopoly capitalists and U.S.-lackeys to endure hardships and sacrifice for the so-called national reconstruction. But this has only swelled the



Salvador Allende, leader of the popular unity government, moments before his assassination during last year's fascist coup.

ranks of the opposition, causing most potential foreign investors to keep arms length from Chile.

The Junta's domestic economic policy is another front in its war of attrition against the Chilean people. Moving to reverse the popular economic programs established under the Allende government, which were based on a redistribution of income and services in favor of Chile's working people, the Junta has dumped the main burden of the economic crisis on the poor. Inflation has soared to 709 per cent, the highest in the world. Even if workers received the minimum wage—and most don't—this salary buys no more than a pair of shoes and a half quart of cooking oil MONTHLY. What's worse, the number of people fired for political reasons, blacklisted, or laid off due to production cutbacks has skyrocketed. The army of unemployed in Chile has swelled to a quarter of the labor force.

As a result of the Junta's policies, its base of support within the country has all but disappeared. Even among the sectors of the population who embraced the junta in its early days, there is mounting dissatisfaction. The major industrialists' organization, SOFOFA, equivalent to the National Association of Manufacturers, is locked in internal combat. The majority of its members, middle and large entrepreneurs, has attacked the Junta's pro-imperialist economic policy. The petty bourgeoisie, including the store owners and truck owners who took the front lines in right-wing mobilizations to oust the UP government, now criticize the Junta bitterly and are gravitating into opposition circles.

The real base of opposition to the Junta, however, doesn't come from the disgruntled liberals. Resistance to the Junta is the present form of the class struggle in Chile, and the Chilean working class has many decades of experience in fighting reactionary governments and U.S. imperialist domination.

Even faced with the most brutal repression, the people have initiated an heroic resistance struggle—first largely spontaneous, but now increasingly more coordinated and consciously developed. Resistance has taken many forms over the past months from minor harassments of military patrols to broadly-based political campaigns. The indus-

trial strips have been a main target area with extensive sabotage, sporadic strikes, slow downs and organized absenteeism. Attacks on the Junta have ranged from the flooding of a large mine, the damaging of newly purchased Air Force bombers, to a widely-supported boycott on all stores on the eleventh of every month to mark the anniversary of the coup. The fear and demoralization which paralyzed many people during the months immediately following the coup are being replaced by defiance and organized preparation.

The base for resistance activities are committees being built systematically inside factories and throughout working class districts. At present the development of the clandestine resistance committees is supported by all political organizations and parties on the left except the Communist Party. These committees have emphasized political tasks over military ones, focusing on building strong and broad opposition to the Junta linked closely to the workers and their struggles. Providing also a secure underground organization to protect themselves from fascist repression, these worker-based committees seek to guarantee working-class leadership in the broad resistance front being formed. At the same time, however, preparations for a long range armed struggle, the development of a people's army, are underway. The tactical program now being put forward as a basis for unity in building the resistance front is three-fold: the unity of the people against the fascist dictatorship, the struggle to restore democratic rights and freedoms, and the defense of people's standard of living.

But there is another line also being put forward in the resistance, a line that betrays the working class and its struggle for socialism now as it had previously under the UP government. That is the revisionist Communist Party line. It calls for the restoration of bourgeois democracy, opposes armed struggle and bases its strategy for overthrowing the Junta on the development of the inter-bourgeoisie conflict rather than on the organized struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Ignoring the clear and tragic lessons of the Chileans' struggle for socialism over the past years, the Communist Party of Chile mouths the line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, insisting that a "peaceful transition to socialism" is possible, that what happened in Chile wouldn't have

happened if the workers hadn't "provoked" the capitalists and imperialists.

In the months preceding the coup in Chile, the CP played a decisive role in holding back the workers. It drove a wedge into the left forces, dividing and confusing the people. Even more serious, the CP openly sabotaged the working class organizations that had taken root in the industrial strip areas throughout the country. As the right-wing openly armed for counter-revolution, the CP disarmed the masses politically and militarily, handing power over to the military and preaching peaceful surrender. As the right launched its war against the workers, the CP's slogan for rallying the people was "No to civil war."

Now in the wake of fascist repression, the CP calls for a "legal" resistance struggle, a "peaceful transition" back to bourgeois democracy. It has thrown its support in with the so-called liberal wing of the bourgeoisie, the Christian Democrats, and has instructed its base NOT to support or cooperate with the underground resistance committees. Its orders to its cadres are to confide in the back-door collaboration and sell-out alliances of the CP bureaucracy.

Internationally, the CP has pushed its revisionist line in Chile support groups, trying to convince the peoples of the world that it is sufficient to rely on the liberal bourgeois governments and lobbies to isolate the Junta. Given internal divisions in Chile, the CP argues, the Junta will fall by its own weight. Revolutionary forces in the Chilean resistance have denounced this line as false and treacherous. They have called on the peoples of the world to support their just and difficult struggle against fascism, imperialist aggression and domination and also against the revisionist, counter-revolutionary line advanced by the CP.

The Chilean people have sustained their determined fight against the Junta and with international support have prevented the Junta from successfully "normalizing" the country. The Junta has been forced to commemorate its first anniversary in a state of war which it cannot lift because Chile's working people continue to fight.

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

TAKING UP THE CALL

"REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE ONLY ROAD TO LIBERATION"

In a fiery opening to the 29th General Assembly of the United Nations, Abdul Aziz Bouteflika, newly-elected president of the assembly, told delegates from 133 nations that, "revolutionary violence is the only road to liberation" for the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world. Bouteflika, who is also Algeria's Foreign Minister, called for the small and medium-sized countries to "fight imperialist hegemony," and promised to extend and deepen the debate which began last year on the question of world economic development.

The speech was one more indication of the changes that have taken place in the UN, as third world countries have succeeded in playing a leading role in spite of the opposition of the two superpowers. In the past, General Assembly presidents always confined their inaugural addresses to discussion of peace and cooperation in the abstract. But Bouteflika made it clear that it is imperialist aggression which is the main cause of war and poverty in the world, and that this enemy can only be defeated by revolutionary struggle.

INDIA GRABS SIKKIM IN FACE OF MASS RESISTANCE

The Indian government has all but completed its forcible annexation of the small Himalayan country of Sikkim, against the will of the masses of people there. Passing a bill of intent to absorb Sikkim under Indian domination, the government of Indira Gandhi has once again exposed itself as the conquistadores of the Subcontinent, hoping to bring that whole region under its control.

Ignoring the resistance of the King of Sikkim, and the mass demonstrations which have taken place against the Indian schemes, Mrs. Gandhi has insisted that she is acting "at the request of the people of Sikkim." But even leading figures in Indian politics have exposed this lie; a lie similar to the one told by the U.S. government when it said that intervention in Vietnam was at the request of the Vietnamese. Says the Indian newspaper, Hindustan Times, "No country or people voluntarily choose self-effacement...The Indian government is not going to be able to persuade the world that Sikkim's annexation to India represents the will of the Sikkimese people."

In neighboring Nepal, the reaction to the annexation was summed up in the Sept. 6 edition of the newspaper, Arpan. The article said, "India has swallowed up the independent identity of Sikkim in the same way that a big fish swallows a small one. This has posed a threat to the existence of all small nations in south Asia, including Nepal and Bhutan."

India's activities on the Subcontinent must be seen as a part of the Soviet strategy for world domination, since the USSR is the main political and financial backer of the Indian government. The Soviet press has justified the annexation of Sikkim by saying that the people there will be given new rights. In all actuality their new rights will consist of the right to be superexploited by India, and the right to be a Soviet pawn in its attempt to encircle China.

OPEC DECIDES TO CONTROL PRODUCTION DESPITE WESTERN THREATS

In a step to safeguard their national oil resources from the plunder of the Western oil monopolies and the Soviet Union, several oil exporting nations agreed to cut production levels at the recent meeting of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) held in Vienna.

In spite of threats of "retaliation" by some Western governments, Venezuela, Kuwait, Libya, and Nigeria went ahead with plans to reduce their production of oil, thus preventing their reserves from being drained. The cutbacks will also have the effect of raising market prices.

OPEC member countries were apparently not intimidated by recent statements from Ford, Kissinger, that the U.S. will not tolerate attempts by the Arab countries to gain further control over their resources. At Ford's mid-September speech to the United Nations, he threatened an end to U.S. food supplies if the price of oil goes up any higher.

It is precisely this kind of superpower bullying which has united many third world countries into organizations such as OPEC which can, through mutual cooperation, stand up to the threats and intimidations of the two superpowers.



INDEPENDENCE IN MOZAMBIQUE

The FRELIMO flag waves proudly in Lourenco Marques following independence agreement.

PALESTINIAN VICTORIES ON DIPLOMATIC, MILITARY FRONT

While the U.S. and USSR compete for the upper-hand in the Middle East, the Palestinian people are reaffirming their struggle to liberate their homeland. Meeting in Damascus Aug. 27, the Fifth Congress of the General Union of Palestinian Workers declared that, "The Palestinian working class considers armed struggle as the basic and only road to liberation."

The struggle is continuing on both the diplomatic and military fronts. The Workers Congress rejected UN resolution 242, which treats the war of national liberation as a "problem of refugees." Recently, 20 Arab states, as well as 23 other countries have called on the UN to deal with the question of Palestine. Lebanese Ambassador Edouard Ghorra declared that the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) must be allowed to put its views forward at the UN.

Algeria's President, Houari Boumediene, has also reaffirmed his country's unconditional support for the liberation of Palestine. Boumediene told the Seventh Congress of the General Union of Palestinian Students, "To use revolutionary violence as a means of acquiring your legitimate rights, preserving an entity, and liberating the fatherland...is undoubtedly the most correct way to the success of your cause."

On the armed front, commando activity is continuing against Zionist aggression. In a battle near Tubas, Israeli forces suffered heavy losses even though they were far better equipped than the guerillas, and utilized armored cars and helicopters. Another Palestinian victory was reported in Northern Ariba, where a bitter 8-hour battle took place. Israel has repeatedly violated Lebanese territory in recent weeks, attacking the port of Sidon and destroying boats used by the liberation forces.

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION ADVANCING IN ROMANIA

Thirty years of development and socialist construction were commemorated in Romania this summer, as the masses of people celebrated the anniversary of the liberation from Hitler's armies on Aug. 23. In an address to the Grand National Assembly, Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, recalled the long history of foreign domination under which the Romanian people suffered prior to 1944. "In the 30 years since the victory of the national armed uprising against fascism and Hitler, our people have achieved brilliant successes in building a new life, uprooted the bourgeoisie and landlord system, realized socialist revolution, and made tremendous progress in the cause of socialist construction."

Ceausescu added that never, in all of Romania's history, had it had so many foreign friends. The basis for the development of diplomatic relations with 120 countries, is equality among countries, and independence for each. In a mass rally on Aug. 21, Defense Minister Ion Ionita pointed out that through reliance on its own people, Romania has developed an army and the equipment necessary to protect its independence from any foreign interference.

FRELIMO VICTORIOUS IN 13 - YEAR STRUGGLE

The victory of the September 7 agreement for the progression of total independence to the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) reverberates powerfully against the history of 500 years of Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

In an editorial in the Vietnamese newspaper, Nhan Dan, the solidarity of all the third world countries fighting for liberation and independence was summed up well: "The Mozambique people's victory is a factor accelerating the irreversible historical process of national liberation and the collapse of colonialism."

After ten years of fighting for control of the countryside and establishing liberated base areas, FRELIMO has won the formal transfer of power from the Portuguese colonialists. Until next June, there will be a transitional government with FRELIMO sharing cabinet positions with Portuguese administrators of the peace agreement. In June, full control will be given to FRELIMO.

Attempting to turn back the wheel of history, an abortive coup was attempted by some white racists inside Mozambique the day the peace agreement was signed. Portuguese troops were forced to put down the uprising, which served warning that the racist ideas of colonialism will not disappear with the departure of the Portuguese. FRELIMO has repeatedly warned of the danger of the white regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa attempting to intervene in Mozambique.

FRELIMO began 13 years ago with a membership of twenty-five. Today, with over 10,000 members, the slogan which echoes through the countryside is, "Everything for the war, everything for victory." Schools, hospitals, and light industry have been established in the base areas, as the masses have been educated in the spirit of relying on their own strength and creativity.

Victory in Mozambique is certainly an inspiration to the other liberation struggles being fought throughout southern Africa. This is especially significant for Angola, where the Portuguese have continued to attack the guerilla movements while talking all the time of "peace and negotiations."

FRENCH REVISIONISTS WRITE SOCIALISM OUT OF PROGRAM

The revisionist Communist Party of France (PCF) announced on Sept. 5 that it will hold an "extraordinary congress" to reaffirm the line of the leadership best summed-up by chairman George Marchais when he said, "What we need is a new politics...to give greater liberty and prosperity to France...This is the demand of our time and it does not necessarily mean instituting socialism..."

The upcoming congress will also formally abolish the "Common Program" under which the PCF united with the Socialist Party during the Mitterand election campaign. Now the PCF is for building "broader unity" than the Common Program, and hopes to build its ties with the Gaullists and the parties of the right. When asked if all this new politics meant that the PCF would risk losing its "revolutionary character," Marchais responded with an indignant, "No." But, as the Marxist-Leninist newspaper, Humanité Rouge, pointed out, "There is no risk because the revolutionary character was lost long ago."

This month marks the 57th anniversary of the October Revolution, which shook Russia in 1917, sweeping away the remnants of Tsarism, smashing the capitalist state, and establishing working class political power known as the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

This article focuses on some of the battles led by V.I. Lenin and the Bolshevik (Communist) Party prior to the revolution, which were aimed at building and developing the party of the working class in the struggle against all forms of incorrect, opportunist, and counter-revolutionary ideas.

The cornerstone of the Bolsheviks' success in overthrowing the old system was that their party was built like a fighting army. It practiced broad democracy in the development of its political line, but combined this with disciplined centralism in its actions.

The other major organizational principle of Bolshevism was that the party was a vanguard party—made up of the most class-conscious, dedicated, and active working class fighters. This "advanced detachment" of the working class, as Lenin called it, developed a professional level of skills in all its areas of work, trained theoretical workers to further the understanding of Marxism, and was able to successfully combine "open" or legal work, with "secret" or illegal work.

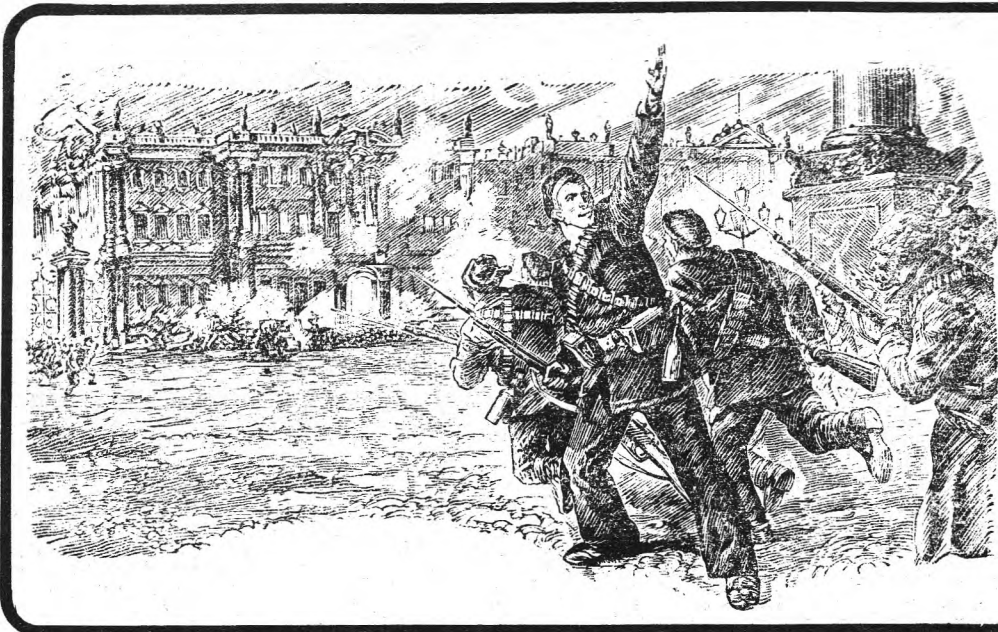
Far from being an "elitist" grouping up at the top, Lenin urged that party members be the most self-sacrificing, and take on the hardest jobs. Lenin said that the party should be "tied to the masses through a thousand strings," mainly through the factories, trade unions, peasant organizations, etc.

Lenin's concept of a "vanguard party" was viciously attacked by large numbers of intellectuals who had previously been considered among the leaders of the socialist movement. In the 1890's, the first major struggle for the vanguard party was waged against the "Narodnik" tendency, which put forward a strategy for revolution based on peasant revolts and terrorism. The Narodniks denied the necessity of building a revolutionary party based on Marx's teachings. Lenin replied to them in 1894 with the book, "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How to Fight Them," and by building up the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. This organization opposed Narodism in practice by bringing the lessons of socialism actively into the workers' movement in St. Petersburg, and agitating around both the badly needed reforms, as well as the ultimate goals of the revolution.

At the turn of the century, Lenin began a period of two decades of ideological struggle, first against the trend known as "Legal Marxists," and then the groupings called "Mensheviks." These tendencies attacked the idea of a vanguard party, insisted that it should have a "mass" character, and that agreement with the party program shouldn't be a condition for membership! They thought that the

PARTY OF LENIN LED

57th Anniversary of October Revolution



OCTOBER!!
Month of
Revolution!

the dawn
shatters into
a thousand red
strands
falling into a
hundred nations
a million hearts
and cries

Adelante!

Arise!

the castles burn in
St. Petersburg!
and from this
moment on
We shall Never
turn back!

Roberto Nunez

"dictatorship of the proletariat" was "unnecessary," and opposed its inclusion in the party program. It was in the struggle against Menshevism that the Bolsheviks developed their revolutionary program. Ultimately, the Mensheviks sided with the ruling class, when it became obvious that the revolution was going to take place. This showed concretely that the attempts to undermine the discipline of the party and make it anything less than a vanguard unit fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat merged, in the long run, with the interests of the ruling class.

Today, over a hundred communist parties in the world, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Communist Party of the USA, have fundamentally violated all of Lenin's teaching on the party. They have abandoned democratic-centralism. They develop their leaders in total isolation from the workers' struggles, instead of closely integrated with them. Like the Mensheviks, they say that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary, and that socialism can be achieved by "the whole people" through "peaceful means." They are providing cover for the ruling class—or in the case of the USSR, have already provided the ruling class with the "socialist mask"

which has enabled them to return to power, half a century after the revolution led by the Bolsheviks.

The Bolshevik party developed its strength not only from its revolutionary organizational form, but from its revolutionary political line, which developed at each new step of the way in opposition to trends such as anarchism, economism, and social-chauvinism.

Originally, Russian socialists had been members of the 2nd International—a group of socialist parties in which the line of "social-chauvinism" became dominant—best exemplified by the preachings of these parties when the Imperialist War of 1914 broke out that "socialists" should "defend the Fatherland," and actively participate in the Imperialist War. They opposed self-determination for oppressed nations and colonies; they too began to talk about the dictatorship of the proletariat not being necessary.

Closely linked to the ideas of the rightist line within the 2nd International was the trend known as economism, which said that the struggle for better wages and working conditions (in essence, an economic struggle) in and of itself was revolutionary: that socialists should not bring Marxism to the workers, but should instead glorify the

25 YEARS OF PROGRESS IN NEW CHINA

The 25th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China is a milestone marking the big strides made by the Chinese people in developing their national economy by self-reliance since they overthrew the three huge mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in 1949.

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party, they have transformed a poor, backward, semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, in the short period of a quarter of a century, into socialist new China which has achieved initial prosperity.

100-odd years of oppression and exploitation by imperialists and their agents had reduced China to the extremes of poverty. A big agricultural country in name, China was not self-sufficient in grain. Her agricultural products, like her mineral resources which were predatorily exploited by imperialists, were wantonly plundered. Her rising national capitalist industry was challenged and crippled by imperialists and Chinese bureaucrat-compradors. Communications and transport were difficult. The banks and the Customs were manipulated by imperialists. Foreign goods flooded the Chinese market. Machine-made cotton cloth, petroleum and even matches and nails had to be imported. Currency depreciation and soaring prices plagued the land. Large numbers of workers and intellectuals were jobless and on the brink of starvation, while famine-stricken peasants went begging and died by the millions.

It was on the ruins of this semi-feudal and semi-colonial state that new China started large-scale socialist construction after liberation. In the early years of new China, the Chinese people carried out a nationwide land reform and started rehabilitating the national economy. The First Five-Year Plan (1953-57) followed. By 1956 the collectivization of agriculture and handicrafts and the socialist transformation of private industrial and commercial enterprises into joint public-private ones had been completed.

When the Second Five-Year Plan (1958-62) was launched in 1958, Chairman Mao Tsetung put forward the general line, "Go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism." He also laid down the general principle in developing the national economy: "Take agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor," in addition to a series of policies known as "walking on two legs," including the policies of bringing the initiative of both central and local

authorities into play, of simultaneous development of large, medium-sized and small enterprises, and simultaneous use of modern and indigenous methods of production.

Under the guidance of the general line, people's communes, growing out of the development of cooperative farming, were established throughout rural China in 1958, and a big leap forward was brought about in agricultural and industrial production. In 1960, the Khrushchev clique in the Soviet Union treacherously tore up agreements and withdrew Soviet specialists in an attempt to blackmail China and halt the growth of her economy. These acts, far from forcing China into submission, made her people all the more determined to rely on themselves, struggle more intensely and follow an independent road of industrial development. Adjustments were made in the national economy in the years 1963-65.

In the early part of 1964 Chairman Mao issued to the nation his great call, "In industry, learn from Taching; in agriculture learn from Tachai," marking these two as outstanding models and pace-setters in self-reliance and hard struggle.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao, the Chinese people criticized and repudiated the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-chi and company, who preached material incentives, profit in command, the running of factories by specialists, the philosophy of servility to things foreign, and the theory of trailing behind at a snail's pace. This brought about a new leap forward in agricultural and industrial production. The Third Five-Year Plan (1966-70) was successfully fulfilled and the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1971-75) was launched.

The yearly targets set for the first three years of the Fourth Five-Year Plan were fulfilled. Industrial production has increased and good harvests have been reaped from year to year. This year, as the great movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius brings the revolutionary initiative of the masses of people into fuller play, they sum up experience and make renovations, and achieve new successes in the development of the national economy.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the Chinese people have made energetic efforts over the past 25 years to expand farm production in line with the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation in developing the national economy. In 1949, China's total grain production was 110 million tons. By 1973 it had jumped

to over 250 million tons, ensuring for China not only self-sufficiency but a surplus. Output of cotton, oil-bearing and sugar crops, aquatic products and livestock had increased by several to over a dozen times.

Sweeping changes have taken place in rural China. The multi-millions of Chinese peasants, who previously engaged in individual farming, have step by step got organized and formed tens of thousands of people's communes, thus taking the socialist road of collectivization. Armed with advanced ideology, the collectivized peasants went all out to transform rivers and mountains in the staunch spirit of the Chinese fable "Foolish Old Man" who plugged away at removing the mountains. Remarkable achievements have been made in the multi-purpose harnessing of the Yellow, Huai, Haiho and other big rivers as well as smaller ones which caused recurrent floods in pre-liberation years.

Since the Cultural Revolution, the spread of the movement to learn from Tachai has enhanced the peasants' spirit of self-reliance and further popularized scientific farming. Small iron and steel works, coal mines, cement plants, chemical fertilizer plants, farm machine repairing factories and hydropower stations have mushroomed in all parts of China to meet the needs of developing farm production.

Today there is enough food for everybody in China and a certain amount of grain has been stored by the state and many people's communes and production brigades. On the basis of agricultural collectivization, the people's communes are steadily advancing toward farm mechanization with the support of socialist industry.

With agricultural development as its foundation, Chinese industry over the past 25 years has given full play to its leading role in the development of the national economy. China has made a big step toward establishing an independent, integrated industrial system. Since the Cultural Revolution the movement to learn from Taching among Chinese workers has grown still more vigorously.

Deriving its raw materials mainly from agriculture and animal husbandry and equipped with home-made machines, China's fast growing light industry is turning out abundant consumer goods of ever-increasing variety to meet urban and rural needs. It has also accumulated enormous funds for the state to invest in construction. Output of the main light industrial items has increased several to dozens of times since 1949. With the development of cotton, flax, wool and silk industries the Chinese working people, in

THE WAY

day-to-day battles and the outlook of trade unionism. The economists also opposed the Leninist party, and believed that a revolution in Russia would develop spontaneously, as the working class demanded more and more money from the capitalists.

Lenin answered the economists in his book, "What Is To Be Done?" He pointed out that while revolutionaries must participate in the day-to-day struggles of the workers, this is linked to raising workers' political consciousness through theory, and to building the party from among the workers.

Although economism was resoundingly defeated as an organized tendency, Lenin remarked in "What Is To Be Done?" (1902), that while economism was a rightist (meaning reformist) outlook, the so called ultra-"leftists" really put forward the same views. Underneath their anarchism and terrorism, these "leftists" liquidated the question of building the party and organizing the workers. Both tendencies bowed to the spontaneous movements of the day, and believed that revolution would take place spontaneously without careful organizational, theoretical, and practical work.

In his book, "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder," written 18 years later, and three years after the revolution, Lenin examined more deeply the question of ultra-"leftism." According to Lenin, the ultra-"leftists" refused to practice revolutionary strategy and tactics, and insisted instead on a proletarian "purity" which ruled out any possible alliances, compromises, or tactical retreats. They refused to work in the trade unions and refused unity with other progressive classes and strata outside the proletariat. They insisted on building pure revolutionary workers' organizations based only on support for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and would not work in organizations whose political unity was anything more broad.

Time and again, Lenin pointed out that in essence, all these ideas of the "leftists" were rightist at their heart because they undermined the genuine revolutionary struggle of the workers and their party. But he also stressed the significance of the "left" disguise that these ideas took. Once rightism had been defeated, it was too difficult for the counter-revolutionaries to revive their rightist ideas—and so they had to develop a "left" sounding cover. Trotsky is perhaps the best example of this. First he was a

by Chao Cheng (CHINA FEATURES)

sharp contrast with pre-liberation days when the majority went in rags, are today adequately clothed.

Pre-liberation China lagged to two centuries behind developed capitalist countries in industrial development. At that time China had almost no machine building industry. There were only a scanty light industry and a few repairing and assembling workshops of a colonial nature in a few coastal cities. Today China has her own independent basic industries. Her mineral resources have been tapped according to plan. Steel production totalled 23 million tons in 1972, and was considerably raised in 1973, topping the 1949 output by over 140 times. China now turns out more than 1,000 types of steel as well as rolled steel in over 20,000 specifications.

As a result of the development of agriculture and industry, the state revenue and expenditure have been kept in good balance over the past 25 years, with currency and prices stable in this period. The market in both city and countryside, well stocked with goods, is thriving and foreign trade expanding. The living standards of the people continue to rise steadily, and the problem of unemployment does not exist. China has accumulated all her construction funds from home resources. The implementation of her state budget every year has left a moderate surplus. She is a country free of internal and external debts.

The Chinese renminbi is one of the few stable currencies in the world. The prices of basic necessities including grain, cotton cloth, edible oil, salt and coal have for a long period been kept low and stable. Since 1953 the average price of wheat flour, a staple food, has remained at 0.35 yuan (about 0.17 U.S. dollars) per kilogramme and that of rice at 0.30 yuan per kilogramme. The prices of medicines have been reduced by 80 per cent on an average from their 1950 levels. There has been a steady increase in the sales of bicycles, wrist watches, sewing machines and radio sets, which few people could afford to buy before liberation but are now common among the working people.

China is a socialist country, but also a developing country. Despite 25 years of great achievements in her national economic development, China's economy, science and technology are not yet highly developed. The Chinese people, however, have shown the determination and conviction to turn their country into a great socialist nation with modern agriculture, industry, national defense, science and technology in a not too distant future.

Narodnik, then a Menshevik, and ultimately, when all these trends had been defeated he joined the Bolsheviks, and became a super-revolutionary, attacking Bolshevism from within. Later he was expelled from the communist movement after going over to the enemy's side in practice.

Today, as we recall the heroic October Revolution, we should look as Lenin himself suggested not only at the triumph of the revolution, "but at the reasons why the Bolsheviks were able to build up the discipline that revolutionary proletariat needs."

Some lessons which we can draw of the utmost importance in the U.S. today are first, to combat all rightist deviations on the building of the party itself. We must fight for a proletarian vanguard party which can really muster the strength and discipline to challenge U.S. imperialism, and not a nebulous "mass party," with no organized leadership, program, network of connections to the masses, or secret work. A new party, to avoid the development of revisionist ideology, must consistently practice democratic centralism. The building of such a party remains the main task of Marxist-Leninists in the U.S.

Second, the party must be built not only in strategic op-

position to rightism as an ideological enemy, but it must also take into account the varied forms of ultra-"leftism" which cover revisionism when the revisionists can no longer cover for themselves. The party must develop its political unity through the most consistent struggle against those who would deny the proletariat its organized vanguard, those who refuse to take Marxism to the workers, those who refuse to work inside the trade unions, those who liquidate the united front, and those who do not recognize the right of nations to self-determination. Only by waging these struggles, will a new Marxist-Leninist party have the ideological strength to lead a successful revolutionary movement in the U.S.

Fifty-seven years ago, the Russian Revolution initiated a new era in history. Today, as Mao Tsetung has said, "Revolution is the main trend in the world." All over the world, the revolutionary movement, and the struggles for independence and national liberation are growing and winning great victories. Our struggle to build a new party in this country and lead the working class in battle, is a part of this great trend which is sure to bring a final end to the evils of the capitalist system.

CHINA FRIENDSHIP ASSOC. HOLDS FOUNDING MEETING

Los Angeles—As the 25th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China approached, a great step forward was taken in furthering the friendship between the people of this country and the people of China. The national U.S.-China People's Friendship Association was formally founded at a convention held in Los Angeles from August 31 to Sept. 2.

More than 300 representatives and observers from more than 30 local associations were present to initiate the new organization. Following the opening of the convention, more than 1,500 people attended a rally which was addressed by writer Han Suyin. The convention adopted resolutions on organizational structure, elected a national steering committee and decided to publish a national journal, *New China*.

The three-day convention heard much debate and discussion concerning the character of the new organization. One debate focused around a paper, coming out of a minority position of the Atlanta chapter, called "Walking on Two Legs, Leaning to One Side."

The paper placed the main stress on "specifically aiming toward reaching the middle class." However in the workshop on community outreach this proposal found itself in an overwhelming minority and never reached the floor of the convention itself. This reflected the view of most of the convention's participants that the Friendship Association must be broad-based and that special work must be done to bring China-U.S. friendship to the working people and minorities as well as to the middle class.

The main discussions around the question of structure dealt with the problem of on the one hand, having a strong national organization, with spokespeople and a representative voice to the masses; while on the other hand, avoiding bureaucracy or domination of the organization from the top, thereby hindering mass, democratic participation. Although this contradiction could not fully be resolved at this early date some measures were taken in that direction, as national leadership was elected which was fairly representative of the work going on locally to build the association. Resolutions were passed aimed at keeping national leadership responsive to the local organizations and making sure that most of the steering committee at least had support from the majority of local members.

Perhaps the most heated debate arose around the publication of "New China." The first issue of this expensive, full-color journal was sold at the convention. While some chapters declared their outright opposition to publishing such a costly national magazine, for fear that it would sap local funds and resources, the majority of the convention voiced approval, with reservations. One worry the delegates had stemmed from the expense involved in financing a full-time paid staff for the magazine. How responsible will this staff be to the membership, whether or not the journal will sell, at a dollar a copy, and to whom it will be directed, were some of the questions discussed by many. The practice of the coming year will serve as the only basis for answering most of these questions. A compromise resolution was passed, proposed by delegate Koji Ariyoshi of Hawaii, which called for keeping subscription money held in escrow for a definite period until the magazine becomes solvent and stable. In this way, if it does not succeed, the people's money can be returned.

While many questions regarding the political content of China-U.S. Friendship were left unsettled, it was generally felt that the association shouldn't involve itself in the political movement, but should limit itself to building friendship between the two peoples. However there are still many points to be debated as to what friendship means. For example, what about raising the struggle to restore Taiwan to China or connecting China-U.S. friendship with the fight against discrimination of Asian-Americans? Such questions were not resolved at the convention.

The organization is just beginning and many problems have been left unsettled after this first national convention. But all the delegates seemed to agree that this was a fine beginning. A message was sent to the convention from the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries in Peking reading: "Deep appreciation for your efforts in promoting friendship and mutual understanding between the Chinese and American peoples."

The convention ended with representatives singing "Long Live U.S.-China Friendship!"

NEW CHINA- A new magazine by Americans for Americans

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FORD & ECONOMY...

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4)

The exception to the overall trend of falling profits has come from the big monopolies. The oil monopolies, for instance, reported mammoth profit increases last year, as high as 500 per cent. In September, the large steel corporations reported similar increases. These are the corporations that, not coincidentally, have raised their prices the most. During the "energy crisis" the oil monopolies raised gas prices almost 100 per cent! What it all comes down to is a campaign of price gouging by the big monopolies.

Price gouging is the real spiral causing the "number one problem" of inflation, not wage demands. Gerald Ford's "warnings" are only an excuse to reimpose the wage controls of his predecessor—Nixon. Further, wage controls through the Wage-and-Price Board will allow the big monopolies to continue their price gouging while denying pay increases to working people. This Board will be, in fact, a government shield for these price gouging actions.

The real attitude of the Ford Administration towards inflation was exposed at a recent Department of Health, Education and Welfare conference with several labor leaders. Alan Greenspan, chairman of Ford's Council of Economic Advisors, told the conference that Wall Street brokers were suffering more from inflation than any other group of people. Stockbrokers are the worst parasites in this society; they make money off the interest of stocks, simply by clipping coupons. Yet when workers see their paychecks dwindling away, when the unemployed give up hope of finding work, when old people can no longer live on their pensions, the Ford Administration is concerned only with the problems of these parasitical coupon-clipping stockbrokers. George Hardy, president of the AFL-CIO Service Employee's International Union told Greenspan that "the whole trouble" with the Ford Administration is that there are too many "Wall Street brokers" in it.

As prices continue to rise, millions of workers have gone on strike to try to regain some of what has been taken from them. In November, the United Mine Workers is planning a nationwide strike, followed by railroad workers and, in January the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers will lead oil refinery workers out on strike. The current policy

of the Ford regime towards organized labor is termed "jawboning." It means the government is "jawboning" for time, stalling for time, to convince AFL-CIO labor leaders that it is against the "national interests" for workers to strike with the economy in such bad condition. But when it comes down to the wire, when the mine workers go out on strike, every indication is that the "jawbone" of the Ford Administration will be replaced with the billy club.

Business Week summed up the overall economic crisis facing the United States and the other industrially advanced capitalist nations: "Battered by inflation, haunted by fears of depression, and confronted with the prospect of vast redistribution of natural resources, the nations of the world are presented with a challenge to preserve economic and social stability greater than any they have faced since the 1930's."

THIRD WORLD STRUGGLE

Internationally, the countries of the Third World, in Asia Africa and Latin America are restricting the exploitation of their own natural resources by monopoly capitalists from the U.S. These countries are challenging the "right" of GM, US Steel, the Rockefellers, and all the rest to steal copper from Peru or oil from Iran. Now these same U.S. monopolists are putting the squeeze on working people right here in the United States. Ford is urging workers to "increase productivity"—work and slave harder to fill the pockets of the super-rich.

But if a worker demands a decent wage, Ford screams: "economic disintegration—you're ruining the country." The truth is that businessmen straining to restore their profit margins threaten to ruin the lives of millions.

Millions of working people in the U.S. still have vivid memories of the Great Depression. Not just memories of the mass misery, however, but memories of the tremendous fight waged by the masses against the big monopolies. The auto workers in Flint, Michigan, for example, rebelled and took over a large Ford factory to win the right to form the UAW. This is one example of the fight waged by millions to build the industrial unions of the CIO in basic industries, to win unemployment compensation, to fight the racist "legal" lynching of the Scottsboro Boys, and in many other ways on many other fronts. This is a part of the experience of the American people that will aid them to defeat the current offensive of the government and the big monopolies.

LESSONS OF DASCO...

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7)

But strong ties to the middle workers, who eventually crossed our picket lines.

A final lesson which became clear through the Dasco wildcat was that by integrating with the workers, communists can play a leading role in their struggles. The steward who was fired was a communist and in spite of all the company and union attempts to red-bait him, the workers at Dasco were willing to risk their jobs and their families to get his job back. This happened because of the generally positive role that the communists played in the plant over the past year. Communists were always in the lead of the shop struggles and the workers were ready to fight to keep them as their leaders.

But again the role of the RU at Dasco almost turned this strength into a weakness. They never took up their task of training a stable core of class conscious workers to lead the struggles in the plant. Instead what they did was to substitute their own activity for that of the workers, setting a militant example but not training workers to lead. The building of a core like this demands that the advanced workers be won to Marxism-Leninism, for only then can they see ahead and really understand how to lead. To win the workers to Marxism-Leninism, as Lenin points out in "What Is To Be Done," we must bring communist ideas to the workers.

LINK PARTY BUILDING TO SHOP WORK

We must not rest content with simply leading the day to day struggles.. This is what it means to link party building to shop work. To accomplish this, the OL should have used *THE CALL* more with the workers before the strike. But since we had only been in the shop for a short while, this was extremely difficult. The major burden of this error must fall on the RU which had been working there for over a year and had several cadre and contacts in the shop. While ATM and the OL have since seen the mistakes of not doing sufficient communist propaganda, the RU refuses to criticize itself for its lack of propaganda work. Instead RU raises this error to the level of principle. They put forth a line which calls for selling only their various "worker newspapers" in the factories. These papers talk only of the need for workers to fight back; they are not designed to teach Marxism. The RU saves its "communist" newspaper, *Revolution*, for intellectuals and only a few select workers. In the months before the strike, the RU opposed putting out a shop paper to discuss the struggles in the plant, raise the level of education, and provide the basis for a workers' organization. Again the RU's line is leftism in form—by putting out their newspaper *Revolution* which is filled with theoretical articles and polemics—but rightism in essence because they leave the masses of workers with only the trade unionism put forth in the various "workers newspapers."

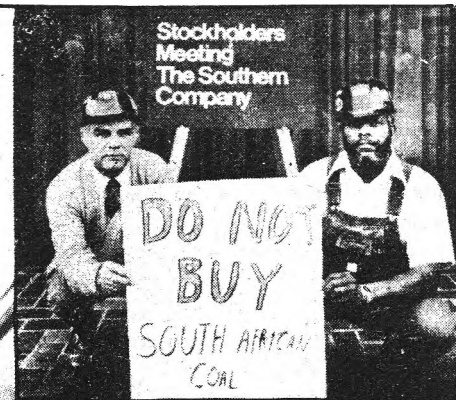
In summing up the Dasco strike, it is necessary to evaluate the negative aspects of it—the jobs lost, and the defeats suffered. But at the same time it is crucial to see the heroic spirit of the workers who were ready to fight, and to analyze the errors made by all the revolutionary forces, for the purpose of giving better leadership to the workers' struggle in the future. The OL is self-critical of numerous mistakes from our work in the strike. But our attitude towards these mistakes is to study and rectify them.

The RU on the other hand, is busy attacking everyone else who participated in the strike, and clinging to their own incorrect views and the mistakes that flowed from them. In essence it is RU's economism under their "left"-sounding cover which leads them to oppose training the masses of workers in Marxism, not take up the fight against national chauvinism and male chauvinism, isolate the advanced forces from the middle forces, and liquidate the need for a rank and file movement to gain power in the union in an organized form.

This type of errors in political line must be opposed by all revolutionaries, not defended and glorified.

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