



RUSSELL MEANS, American Indian Movement leader, addresses rally.

RUSSELL MEANS SHOT IN S. DAKOTA

Russell Means, a co-founder of the American Indian Movement (AIM) was shot in the chest on May 6 on an Indian reservation near Wagner, South Dakota.

Also wounded in the incident was AIM member John Thomas. Both were listed in serious condition after undergoing surgery at Sacred Heart Hospital. Four men were arrested in connection with

the shooting. As of yet, no explanation for the incident has been given.

This is the second time that Means has been shot. Last year an officer of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) put a bullet in the AIM leader, claiming that he was "interfering with a BIA officer." Means was acquitted of the charge. He is presently free on appeal bond after

being convicted in connection with a protest at the county courthouse in Sioux Falls, S.D.

According to an article which appeared recently in the Portland Scribe, more than 240 Native Americans have been killed at the Pine Ridge Reservation alone since the 1973 Wounded Knee occupation which Means helped to lead.

PEOPLE OF
THE WORLD
UNITE TO
DEFEAT
IMPERIALISM

THE CALL

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8

MAY 17, 1976

Jailings Hit Tampa Fightback

Tampa, Fla., May 4—A racist court here convicted two Black factory workers, leading members in the fightback movement, for defending people's right not to starve.

The arrest and conviction of John Marshall, chairman of the Tampa Workers' Committee, and his sister Eddie Ruth Marshall, has also caused a stir in Florida newspapers because the Tampa cops who made the arrest falsely posed as newspapermen.

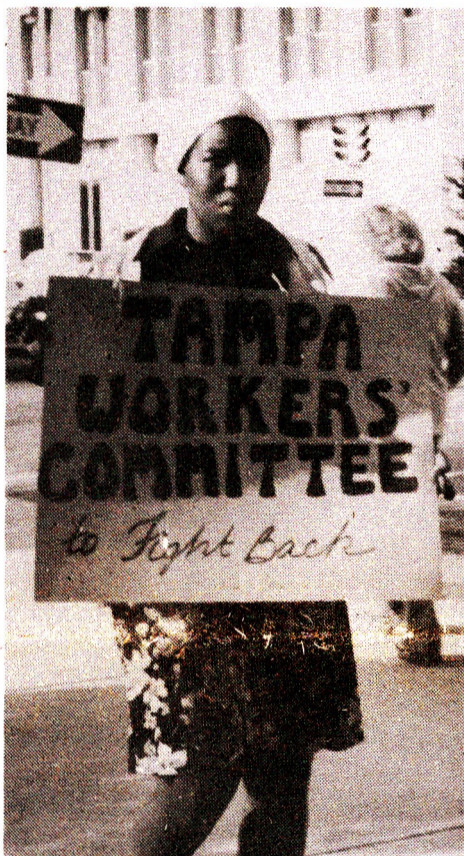
The Marshalls' trial at the Tampa courthouse was like a small-scale rerun of the Scottsboro case, the infamous racist frameup of 45 years ago that was recently reenacted on television. Despite Tampa's 20% Black population, plus a large number of Latinos, only whites were in the jury selection pool.

The only working class juror in the pool, a retired steelworker, was knocked off the panel by the prosecution, who feared that the solidarity of one worker for another would upset the state's racist railroad. John and Eddie Ruth Marshall were judged by a cop's wife, a cop's sister, a retired army officer, an active-duty Air Force master sergeant, and a woman who described herself as a "Florida lady."

Despite the kangaroo quality of the court, the defense was able to prove that Tampa undercover cops had falsely identified themselves and, while posing as reporters, took pictures and asked questions in a threatening, intimidating manner.

What had happened was this. After a demonstration in February at the food stamp office to protest recent sharp cutbacks and harassment, Eddie Ruth Marshall was jumped by a plainclothes cop who earlier posed as a Washington Post reporter. Without showing police ID, the cop suddenly demanded she get in an unmarked car with him and drive away. John Marshall, seeing his sister assaulted, came to her defense.

It was a trap set up by the Tampa police in an effort to intimidate the Tampa Workers Committee, which organized the protest for the people's right to eat. (The TWC is part of the National Fight Back Organization (NFBO) formed at a national convention in Chicago last December 28.) Squad cars and a paddy wagon were waiting just



EDDIE RUTH MARSHALL in Tampa

(CALL photo)

around the corner to bust the two fighters for the people. Eddie Ruth Marshall was charged with not having a valid drivers' license—she was walking on the sidewalk at the time!—and John Marshall with assaulting a cop. Both were hit with the frameup charge of "resisting arrest."

The trial prosecutor didn't argue his case on facts. Instead he made a demagogic speech against

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 8)

KISSINGER AND 'DETENTE' IN HOT WATER

The election results of the past two weeks reflect significant setbacks for the "detente" line of Henry Kissinger and the policies of the Ford administration. The growing debate around "detente" shows once again that the danger of war between the two superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, is growing.

The different sections of the ruling class each have their own strategy for contending with Soviet social imperialism abroad and increasing the exploitation of the working class at home. It is these differences which the presidential campaign has begun to bring into public view.

Reagan and Carter scored massive gains in Pennsylvania, Texas and Indiana, reflecting millions of dollars and large sections of party staffs brought to these anti-"detente," anti-Kissinger campaigns. For the first time, Carter spoke openly against Kissinger, and Reagan continued to focus the bulk

of his rhetoric on Kissinger and "detente."

Both Ford and Humphrey, who were Kissinger's major supporters among the candidates, suffered setbacks in the campaign. Ford has become number two on the Republican side, while Humphrey had to bow out of the Democratic race.

As the anti-"detente" campaign has developed, sections of the Republican Party including Ford's own inner circle have grown more opposed to Kissinger's policies and are openly advocating that he be fired. Even among many who support "detente" there is a desire to get rid of the secretary of state

in order to salvage his policies. For example, House GOP Whip Robert Michel of Illinois suggests that Ford "muzzle" Kissinger.

Should the U.S. continue to respond to growing Soviet war preparations and aggression by conciliating and appeasing, as Kissinger's corner has been doing in the name of "detente," or should a line of confronting the USSR, particularly in Europe, prevail instead? This is the battle being waged in the upper circles of the U.S. imperialist ruling class, where the strings of the candidates in both parties are pulled.

Advances for the Soviet Union in Angola, U.S. setbacks in the Soviet wheat deal, and Kissinger's recent Africa trip have aroused the ire of a growing section of (PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 8)

Call Editorial

SUPPORT URW STRIKERS

The United Rubber Workers (URW) strike is entering its fourth week, with a lot more at stake than wage and cost-of-living demands. The present strike of 70,000 rubber workers is a class battle being fought on behalf of all working people. At stake are all the potential gains which stand to be won in this series of contract year struggles as well as the right to strike itself.

The October League calls for all-out support for URW strikers: support on the picket lines and through our union locals, caucuses, fightback and community organizations. To build working class solidarity behind this strike, we must link this struggle to the growing fightback against the capitalist crisis. By using The Call/El Clarin and involving rank-and-file rubber workers to speak on the issues surrounding the strike, we can mobilize broad support based on an understanding of the importance of a strike victory for the entire working class movement.

THIS ISSUE FREE TO ALL URW STRIKERS

If the URW strike is defeated or betrayed, it will be a real set-back for workers nationally, particularly in the upcoming contract battles. Above all, it would be a blow to the rank-and-file movement and the growing trend that is breaking with the no-strike, no-struggle policies of the labor misleaders.

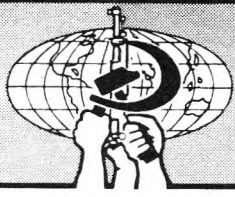
Throughout the past period of economic crisis, the capitalists have relied on their labor lieutenants to impose no-strike agreements, wage-controls and "share-the-misery" schemes. URW president Peter Bommarito has been out front playing this role, with his sell-out 1973 contract, his abandonment of the Sloane strike, his vicious attacks on militant workers in the URW, his support for deportation, and his disregard for health and safety in one of the most hazardous industries.

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SECCION EN ESPAÑOL



EDITORIALS

— Strengths and Weaknesses Summed Up —

LOOKING BACK ON MAY DAY

This year's May Day celebrations in the U.S. had even more significance than usual. Aside from commemorating the great history and traditions of the working class, May Day this year was also a time for clearly restating our main and immediate task of building a new communist party in the U.S. and recommitting ourselves to the class struggle against capitalism.

The celebrations showed some of the strengths and weaknesses characteristic of our movement at the present time. On the positive side, the large strides forward in party-building were greatly consolidated and expanded on May Day. In more than 25 meetings, representatives of the growing unity trend spoke in some detail about the developing efforts being made to forge a single revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party.

Through the course of these activities, even broader unity was built among many communist groups and individuals who are moving towards unity.

During these meetings some direct blows were dealt to anti-party opportunists such as the Guardian and the "Revolutionary Wing." Their anti-party views were soundly discredited in the eyes of many people who participated in the activities.

Militant May Day demonstrations hit at imperialism and the two superpowers for their attacks on the third world countries and for their growing war preparations. May Day was also a time when many workers and unemployed were mobilized against capitalism's attacks to demand: "Jobs or Income Now!" and to oppose all forms of discrimination against minorities and women.

While in some cities the activities were still relatively small, nationally thousands of workers were educated in the spirit of socialist revolution. The weaknesses were in large part due to the youthful primitiveness of our movement at the present time. With no single communist center to coordinate the May Day mobilization into a

mighty display of working class power, we had a situation where several activities took place simultaneously in many cities. This spread some confusion and demoralization among many of the most advanced and revolutionary-minded workers.

To add to this difficult situation, the revisionist Communist Party USA and the various Trotskyist organizations were trampling on the real revolutionary traditions of May Day. They tried to transform this holiday into a celebration of reformism and Bicentennial patriotism, combined with support for the Soviet Union's expansionism and aggression in Angola and elsewhere.

The Marxist-Leninist forces, including the October League, contributed a great deal of work in mobilizing to build this year's May Day on a sound revolutionary basis and in opposing the revisionists and Trotskyists. In the course of this work however, errors were made in some cities where a separation was made between communist education and our mobilization of the workers. In some cases our party-building efforts were not well enough integrated with the mass struggle of the factory workers. This is especially important in light of the recent upsurge in the strike movement of the workers. This separation shows that the struggle against right opportunism and revisionism must be heightened within our own ranks also.

Through our experiences in this type of mobilization we can see the need to base our work even more solidly within the factories and to go more deeply among the working class and oppressed peoples when building for May Day and similar activities.

Closely linking the day-to-day struggle of the working class with the science of Marxism-Leninism and heightening communist unity, will make next year's May Day celebrations a great victory.

LONG LIVE MAY DAY—
THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS
HOLIDAY!



(CALL photo)

URW STRIKE...

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

While Bommarito currently controls the URW strike, the strike itself is a product of the growing rebellion within the union. In spite of the URW misleaders' hold on tactics, the strike objectively challenges their class collaboration.

To win, workers cannot rely on the union misleadership. The real strength of the strike rests on the rank-and-file strikers themselves.

Already rubber workers in 13 countries, in Europe, Japan and Canada, have pledged support, by refusing to work overtime in the Big Four's subsidiary plants. Trade union organizations in more than 70 countries, affiliated with the Federation of Chemical and General Workers' Unions, have called for an international boycott of Firestone products.

The Big Four tire companies, meanwhile, are taking this battle seriously and do not want to lose. Under heavy pressure from other industries where contracts also expire this year, the Big Four have not budged from their original starvation offer of \$1.05 an hour and a meager cost-of-living adjustment (COLA). The URW is demanding \$1.65 an hour and an unlimited COLA.

So far the tire companies got injunctions against pickets at a few plants. They have mainly relied on the news media to stir up sentiment against the strikers. The media has actively pushed the lie blaming wage demands and increases for inflation, when, in fact, wages have dropped continuously in relation to prices over the past six years.

The URW strike will most likely be a long one, and rank-and-file workers have expressed determination to win. With backing from workers around the country and the world, the rank and file will be strengthened against attacks by the ruling class or sell-outs by their labor lieutenants. A URW victory is victory for all workers. Build support for the strikers!

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Letters



Dear Call,

I am a Tuscaroran Native American from eastern North Carolina. In the past, my people have worked in agriculture. But tobacco plantations and other big agribusiness corporations as well as political and social repression have forced many of us to make a life in large cities in the South and Northeast.

In this way, our experiences have been like other third world peoples, like Afro-Americans and Puerto Ricans in the U.S. who have been forced from their homeland by imperialism and colonialism. The Tuscaroran people have fought against capitalist expansion and genocide for centuries. The ruling class has not been able to wipe out the Tuscarorans from eastern North Carolina.

In South Dakota, my Indian brothers and sisters are standing up to the guns of the FBI, U.S. marshalls and their "Indian Scouts" like Dick Wilson. In North Carolina, the Tuscarorans face the organized fascists like the KKK and the Rights of White People.

I have been a steelworker here for three years. The crisis has hit our plant, and like everywhere, the workers are supposed to pay. Our union leadership has gone

along with these attacks, and now we must fight a big struggle for leadership of the union.

Over the past three years, I have seen several groups talk about fighting for the workers—RU, PL, SWP. They have given us the same thing the white missionaries gave us in eastern North Carolina—sweet violin music and bitter betrayal.

The Black and white sisters and brothers in the OL and people that work with them have the same values I learned from my people—to die fighting against the system that oppresses us all. I have read the OL party-building plan and I think it is very sound. I am very glad to see *The Call* coming out every week. We need it. The most important thing we need to lead the struggle is a new communist party that has the correct program and the will to carry it out.

I feel very strongly that the new party should place a high priority on developing the correct view of the liberation struggles of Native American people. The party program should provide the guidelines for the victory of all peoples in the U.S. against imperialism.

K.C.
Atlanta

Comrades,

Enclosed you will find a check for a one year subscription to *The Call*. I must admit that for a time I was guilty of centrism, but

through the fine article in *Class Struggle*, No. 3, I was able to see my error. After much thought, I have decided to stand with *The Call* and help as much as I can.

In struggle,
C.F., Tallahassee, Fla.

Dear Comrades:

I have just received word that a veteran fighter and friend of mine has died—Frank Ryan.

Ryan was a founding member of the Trade Union Unity League, and was a fighting communist in the garment district of Los Angeles. It seems incredible that he is gone, even though tuberculosis had sapped much of his strength in the last few years. He always had time and the spirit to advise us in garment organizing.

Ryan had won many garment workers of all nationalities to join the Communist Party during the Depression. He was hated by garment bosses and union bureaucrats alike. He was blacklisted in the garment shops, and had to work under many different names to get by, and in 1959, he was purged from his position in the garment union by the Dubinsky machine.

Although his health was bad, he attended Labor Unity Organization meetings and was a dedicated *Call* reader. He took great strength from the advances of the Chinese revolution, and bitterly hated social-imperialism and the degenerate Communist Party USA, which he eventually left.

On behalf of Ryan's widow, friends and fellow garment workers, I would like to make this donation to *The Call*.

In struggle,
S.W.
Los Angeles, Calif.

Comrades,

The October League's approach to party building is Leninist, clear, open and above board, allowing ample time for full discussion and airing of issues, while correctly proposing a concrete time table. This is in opposition to both the organizational opportunism and closed-door policies of C.L. and R.U. on the one hand, and the abstract calls to build the new party, completely divorced from any concrete proposals or time table, by the Guardian and similar forces. I agree, fundamentally with the analysis set forth in all five parts of the November, 1975 *Call* article.

Certainly it is correct to make a principled break with revisionism and never be sucked into revisionist-led action, which will always be opportunist and try to create illusions of reforming the system.

The OL's call is basically correct. Any minor differences should certainly be no stumbling block to Marxist Leninist organizational unity based on clear Marxist-Leninist principles, in the near future.

In struggle,
M.H., Champaign, Ill.

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COMMITTEE REPORT PROVES

FBI Murdered Fred Hampton

The Senate Intelligence Committee last week released information proving conclusively that the FBI was involved in the assassination of leaders of the Black liberation movement, including Black Panther leader Fred Hampton.

The documents detail the massive scope of government attempts to smash and disrupt the upsurge of the revolutionary movement in the late '60s and early '70s. They show how the FBI was responsible for the murder of Illinois Black Panther (BPP) leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in a pre-dawn raid on their Chicago apartment in 1969. The FBI, using one of their agents, William O'Neal, among the Panthers, set up the Panther leaders and then sent the Chicago police in to murder them in their sleep.

According to the report, O'Neal, who was then the Panther's chief of security, furnished the FBI "Racial Matters Squad" with a floor plan of the Panther apartment and a list of weapons—legally purchased according to the FBI—and a list of people who were staying there. The floor plan pointed to the room where Hampton slept.

In February of this year, a

\$47.7 million lawsuit was brought by the family of Fred Hampton and seven survivors of the raid. They charged the FBI, among others, with conspiring to murder Hampton and destroy the Black Panther Party in Chicago. Evidence revealed so far at the trial documents the attempts of the FBI to prevent the "rise of a Black 'messiah'" and their fear of a "true Black revolution."

One secret FBI memo, for example, even admitted that "approximately 25% of the Black population has great respect for the BPP, including 43% of Blacks under 21 years of age."

The attacks on the Black Panther Party were part of a massive program of sabotage and violence known as COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program). Dating back to the 1950s, COINTELPRO was directed at the whole revolutionary movement in the U.S. The FBI approved and carried out more than 2,300 separate programs ranging from the harassment (and quite probably the assassination) of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to widespread use of informants, fake letters and the stirring up of "gang warfare."

Many of the FBI attacks were

directed towards hampering the efforts of the growing Marxist-Leninist forces to build unity, especially in the early stages of the new communist movement.

In a California incident in 1969, the FBI provoked a shooting incident between the "US" organization and the BPP, which resulted in the death of two Panther Party leaders. In an interview in the May 8, 1976, issue of The Black Panther newspaper, former police agent Louis Tackwood is quoted as saying that the 1971 murder of Black revolutionary George Jackson in San Quentin Prison was planned by an arm of COINTELPRO, the Criminal Conspiracy Section of the Los Angeles Police Department.

In an attempt to head off any further exposures, FBI chief Clarence Kelly "apologized" for these "abuses of power" which he claimed only occurred "during the twilight of Mr. Hoover's (former FBI director J. Edgar Hoover) administration."

But the present exposures show, if nothing else, that the scope of the attacks on the Black liberation struggle and progressive movement were so widespread and involved so many government agencies and go back so many decades, that they are an historical feature of our system. No effort to dump it all on Hoover or make the Hampton killing the "exception" to the rule can change the facts.



(CALL photo)

BILL HAMPTON, brother of slain Black Panther leader.

Hospitals Threatened, Community Protests

The fight to save New York's community hospitals is the biggest battle yet against attempts to balance the budget of this crisis-ridden city at the expense of workers and minorities.

Hundreds demonstrated May 6 at Gouverneur Hospital on the city's Lower East Side, a mainly Puerto Rican, Chinese and Black community. During the demonstration, 100 of the demonstrators seized the sixth floor offices of the hospital.

Gouverneur and three other New York hospitals, are slated to be shut down within the next two months. The other hospitals are Sydenham in Harlem, Fordham, which serves a predominantly Latino community in the South Bronx and Morrisania.

The effect of these closings would be staggering. The hospitals slated to "take over" the extra patient load are long distances from the communities, miserably understaffed, and overcrowded. Harlem

Hospital, which will double its population to 500,000 when Sydenham closes, recently laid off 194 employees. A new hospital, which is supposed to replace Fordham and Morrisania, will have only 60% of the former capacity of the two hospitals together. In addition, an estimated 3,300 layoffs are scheduled as part of the hospital cutbacks.

In response, coalitions of community groups, along with hospital workers and administrators, have organized thousands of people to demonstrate against the closings. On March 25, 5,000 demonstrated against the closing of Sydenham; the following day, 2,000 marched on the offices of the Hospitals Administration to demand that Gouverneur stay open.

At Fordham, over 100 community residents have occupied administrative offices for almost four weeks. During the occupation, the protestors have allowed patient care to continue as usual, but have

stated that no patient bills and no more layoff notices will be sent out. One demonstrator stated, "We're not going to let the corporation make money while they are killing us."

Hospital workers are also organizing within their unions. On May 5, the workers in Local 420, District 37 of the State, County and Municipal Employees voted overwhelmingly to strike all municipal hospitals on May 24 to stop the threatened layoffs. Local 420 is mainly Black, Puerto Rican, and women workers.

The city's aim in the closings and layoffs is to slash the Hospitals Corporation budget by \$159 million over the next three years. They are using the fact that the hospitals are old, run-down, understaffed and undersupplied to justify the closings. But angry residents point out that the answer to these deplorable conditions is to improve the facilities, not abandon them.

BOSTON SCHOOLS TO CLOSE MAY 16?

Faced with a \$20 million budget deficit, Boston's Mayor Kevin White is now planning to shut down the city's schools on May 16. The "liberal" mayor has used the occasion of this financial crisis to further attack the rights of Black people and blame the school problems on busing and school integration.

White claims that the source of the problem is busing. More specifically, he has blamed the School Department and U.S. District Judge Garrity, who ordered the desegregation efforts. White charged that Garrity and the School Department were "spending as if there were no tomorrow." He added: "Whatever the School Department has pronounced necessary for desegregation purposes, the judge has promptly ordered without any regard for questions of costs." White was mainly pointing to the \$9 million which was spent on police overtime.

White, of course, made no mention of the racist mobs that have been mobilized to attack Black and other minority students being bused to integrated schools. It is this violence which has brought about police overtime costs.

White not only blamed the anti-segregation forces as the cause of the deficit, but he went so far as

to praise the five-member School Committee, including racist ROAR leader Louise Day Hicks as being "most helpful and cooperative." Hicks has used City Hall to hold racist ROAR meetings to block integration. It was after one of these recent meetings that a mob attacked Black attorney Theodore Landsmark and beat him with an American flag.

The latest attack on desegregation on grounds that "it's too expensive" represents a new attempt to confuse people about the real causes of Boston's crumbling system of public education. The racist policies of the city government, encouraged by President Ford and the biggest circles of big business, have left Boston schools in a shambles, for white as well as minority students. White has also called for the firing of 550 teachers.

The racists are now organizing white-only "alternative schools" in South Boston, Hyde Park and other areas in preparation for the school closing. The victims of this whole segregationist operation will be the working people whose children are having their right to an education stolen from them because of ruling class attempts to undermine integration and maintain segregation.



ANTI-SEGREGATION MARCH through Dorchester (CALL photo)

SUPPORT BUILDS FOR THE E.R.A.

The growing sentiment for women's equality can be seen in the massive support building for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). A mass demonstration has been organized in the Illinois capital of Springfield on May 16 demanding that this state ratify the amendment.

Illinois is one of four states where ratification is needed to make the ERA law. The ERA states: "Equality under the law shall not be abridged or denied on the basis of sex."

Of course, the ERA, even if adopted, will certainly not put an end to the oppression of women which is woven into the very fabric of capitalism. Illusions of this type of "legislative emancipation" are being spread by the liberal reformist leaders of the women's movement, such as the National Organization of Women (NOW) which sponsors the Springfield demonstration.

The ERA is a positive piece of legislation primarily because it will give working and other women a better position from which to continue their struggle for emancipation. The passage or defeat of the ERA is not the decisive thing. The main factor in the women's struggle is the unified effort of women and men with the working people in the leadership, against the system of exploitation

and oppression which lies behind women's inequality.

If the ERA is passed, we will have to continue the fight to implement it, and oppose all efforts to turn the amendment into a tool used by big business to wipe protective legislation off the books.

But the limitations of the ERA are no excuse to hold back support. The revisionist leaders of the Communist Party USA, long-time traitors to the cause of women's equality as well as to the whole working class, have openly attacked the ERA. Trying to pull the rug out from under the growing militant women's movement and

steer it further into reformist channels, they have counterposed their "Women's Bill of Rights" against the ERA. Their plan is to stop mass demonstrations of women and substitute a petition drive for passage of their bill instead.

The pass-the-ERA movement is a progressive movement. Its success will open some doors, especially to working and minority women. As women are able to enter new industries for the first time, they will be a powerful addition to the general movement of the working class as well as a vital force in the overall struggle for women's emancipation.



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Revisionists Thrive on Italy's Crisis

The deepest political crisis in Italy's post-war history led to the collapse of its 38th government in 33 years two weeks ago. New elections have been set for mid-June, and the revisionist Italian Communist Party (PCI) has greatly improved its chances of entering the government.

The resignation of Christian Democrat Prime Minister Aldo Moro came as the value of the lira sunk to 30% below its level of last year. Scandal also hung over the government with front page news stories reporting that one of Italy's three top politicians took huge bribes in a defense deal with the U.S. and Lockheed Corporation.

The atmosphere of scandal and the faltering economy have boosted the electoral popularity of the PCI, which already commands 30% of the votes. With any increase at all, the Christian Democrats will be forced to form a coalition with the PCI after 30 years of attempts to keep it out of the government.

What will it mean for Europe if the revisionists come to power in Rome? What will it mean for Italy's workers?

One thing is certain. A share of power for the revisionists in the middle of Europe and in NATO's naval center will greatly heighten the superpower rivalry between the U.S. and the USSR. It will give the Soviet Union its best opportunity to penetrate Europe's second most populous country.

U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has stated that "the consequences will be grave for the NATO alliance" if the PCI is allowed into the government. He has also predicted that the PCI's assumption of coalition powers will be followed by similar coalitions in France, Spain, Portugal and Greece.

To stop the PCI, Kissinger has been threatening Italy with exclusion from NATO. Former Texas governor John Connally has added to the Kissinger pressure by creating an organization of Americans dedicated to keeping the PCI out of power.

From the viewpoint of the Soviet Union, the PCI's step into parliamentary power is a long-awaited dream. The Soviet social-imperialists have their eyes on Europe, which is the focus of contention between the superpowers. While massing 4.5 million Warsaw Pact troops on Europe's frontiers, the Soviet Union is also trying to penetrate Europe through a complex web of economic and political maneuvers.

Across Europe, the revisionist parties serve to open the door to Soviet aggression and domination. In Portugal, where the revisionists entered a coalition, they tried to turn the whole economy in the direction of dependence on the USSR. They urged the disarmament of their own country and the weakening of NATO. After all their talk of a "peaceful path" to socialism, they ultimately tried to organize several armed coup d'etats to bring Portugal more firmly into the Soviet sphere of influence.

The Italian revisionists have a similar history. But lately, some contradictions have developed between the Soviet revision-



ITALIAN AUTO WORKERS beat drums in protest against crisis.

ists and the PCI. Berlinguer, the leader of the PCI, claims to be "independent" of the Moscow line, and has taken certain stands which lend some credibility to this independence. For example, the PCI has opposed the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and has been unwilling to endorse a Soviet-backed proposal to hold an all-European conference of revisionist parties. At the 25th Congress of the Soviet party, Berlinguer took the podium to defend his party's independence.

These stands taken by the PCI as well as similar stands of the revisionists in France and Spain have allowed them to strengthen their alliances with sections of the ruling class. But even if the revisionists disagree with certain Moscow policies, their ascendancy to power can only merge with overall Soviet interests. They certainly can provide no real resistance to Soviet expansion.

European leaders like Germany's Schmidt have expressed the view that despite real contradictions between the two parties, the PCI remains the Soviet Union's main tool for penetrating Italy. Evidence of this is the PCI's continued advocacy of "detente," support for Soviet aggression in Angola and continued lobbying for big trade deals with the USSR. Although the PCI is committed to supporting NATO in words, it favors closing naval bases and reducing the NATO budget.

The PCI long ago sold out the interests of the Italian working class. It abandoned

the banner of the dictatorship of the proletariat and put forward the line of "historic compromise" instead. This compromise is indeed historic because it calls on the workers' movement to unite with the Christian Democrats, who are the spokesmen for the biggest monopoly-capital interests as well as the Catholic Church.

In this "historic compromise," the job of the PCI is to strangle the workers' movement, smash strikes, hold down wage demands and sabotage the efforts of genuine Marxist-Leninists to give leadership to the mass upsurge. Lately, in order to legitimize itself before the Christian Democrats, the PCI has attacked the mass women's demand for abortion and has urged the working class to swallow a program of economic austerity to shore up the declining lira.

Even after all this grovelling, the Christian Democrats don't trust the PCI one bit. They are doing their best to bring about a new government that still excludes the PCI. But should the PCI come to power in a coalition, or should the revisionists come to power in other countries, the message for the working class is clear.

The revisionists are traitors to the working class cause and front-men for Soviet aggression. Their participation in government cannot bring about socialism "peacefully" as they claim, but will only heighten the superpower contention and bring the Soviet tanks rolling into their countries all the faster.



...in brief...

PRESSURE ON ANGOLA: A May 6 New York Times report states that a debate is sharpening in the Angolan government over the presence of 15,000 Cuban troops as well as the question of reliance on the Soviet Union. The article said that Angolan president Agostinho Neto, who is also the leader of the MPLA liberation organization, was stressing the need for national unity. But according to the article, Interior Minister Nito Alves is arresting MPLA members who oppose Soviet-Cuban occupation. The article noted that it was shortly after Alves' return from the Soviet Union's 25th party congress that he initiated the crackdown on the Angolan Communist Organization and other groupings within MPLA.

MUTINY ON SOVIET SHIP: The Swedish Defense Ministry has reported a mutiny aboard a Soviet ship in the Baltic Sea. According to the reports, sailors took over the ship, locked the officers in their cabins, and set course for Sweden. Several Soviet naval vessels were sent out in pursuit, and naval planes strafed the deck, killing 50 sailors involved in the mutiny. The reports added that an additional 50 sailors were summarily executed after the Soviet navy recaptured the ship and brought it into Riga harbor. Most of the sailors involved in the mutiny were from minority nationalities.

CHILEAN REVOLUTIONARY MURDERED: The Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile (PCR) disclosed in its clandestine newspaper El Pueblo, that Guillermo Arevalo, a trade union leader and member of the party central committee, had been tortured and killed by the fascist Pinochet regime. Arevalo died heroically, refusing to give up any information about party activities.

KOREANS FIGHT DICTATORSHIP: The wife of Korean patriot Kim Dae Jung led a mass demonstration outside the trial of her husband and 17 other nationally-known political figures who are charged with the high crime of "dissenting against the government." Demonstrators battled the riot police and denounced the fascist rule of Pak Chung Hee as well as the growing impoverishment of the vast majority of people in South Korea.

WORKERS MARCH WORLDWIDE ON MAY 1st

Millions of people in nearly every country in the world marched and rallied last week in celebration of May Day, the international working class holiday.

May Day in socialist China was celebrated at a time when important new victories have been won in the struggle to beat back the right deviationist wind of capitalist restoration. The counter-revolutionary incident at Tien An Men Square has been smashed and a new upsurge in the cultural revolution is developing. Millions gathered in parks and squares across the country along with more than 6,000 foreign guests, raising banners of support for the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Party Central Committee.

In many capitalist countries, workers laid down their tools and took to the streets, calling for an end to capitalist exploitation. In Japan several million workers demonstrated in more than 1,000 cities. In Tokyo alone, 180,000 workers marched in a driving rainstorm holding signs which read: "Demand Big Pay Increases!," "Down with Dismissal of Workers!," and "Oppose Inflation and Soaring Prices!" Following the giant rally, six contingents demonstrated through the downtown streets, holding red flags.

Large May Day demonstrations were also held in France, Sweden, Spain, Italy, Belgium and other European countries. Several thousand French workers, in response to an appeal from "L'Humanite Rouge" (a communist newspaper), staged a march from the Bastille Square to the Nation Square behind banners reading: "Let's Struggle Against the Two Superpowers."

Workers in Greece rallied by the thousands demanding that "All Foreign Warships Get Out of the Mediterranean" and "Down

With the Two Superpowers!" The Greek workers combined their opposition to foreign imperialism with demands for job security and higher wages.

In Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, massive rallies were held to celebrate the first anniversary of the Indochinese liberation struggles. The people of Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City in Vietnam celebrated the recent elections and the upcoming unification of a socialist Vietnam.

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, speaking at a May Day rally in Cairo, said that in the name of the Egyptian people, he would like to "send our salute and admiration to Chairman Mao Tsetung and the great Chinese people for their understanding and appraisal of our difficult circumstances." Sa-

dat also lauded the Palestinian people's struggle under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In Mexico City, nearly one million workers staged a May Day demonstration. They held banners and placards reading: "Imperialism is an Enemy of Mexico's Development!"

This year's world-wide celebration of May Day demonstrated once again that the power of the working class and oppressed nations and peoples is growing rapidly in the struggle against imperialism and the two superpowers. As the May Day editorial in the Belgium Marxist-Leninist Communist Party newspaper "Clarte et L'exploite" pointed out: "The two superpowers are the main obstacles to world revolution..."

From the World Press



"The objective conditions for making revolution in the country and in the world are excellent, more than ever before," says a recent English-language issue of Ang Bayan, organ of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

"A storm far larger and stronger than the first quarter storm of 1970 and subsequent events is brewing in the Manila-Rizal region and other urban areas. Current manifestations show that the proletarian masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie will swell the ranks of those in democratic mass actions.

"After seven years of revolutionary armed struggle," concludes the Marxist-Leninist periodical, "the Communist Party of the Philippines has become well-rooted ideologically, politically and organizationally and is more determined than ever to grow in strength and advance further. It is confident of meeting all kinds of odds and overcoming them. By firmly and skillfully wielding the two powerful weapons that are the armed struggle and the united front, the Party is certain of leading the Filipino people from one victory to another until the national democratic revolution is completely won. No superpower or local reactionary clique can stop the revolutionary movement of the masses who are aroused and mobilized to take their destiny into their own hands."

Pressmen in 8-Month Strike of Washington Post

Washington, D.C.—Two hundred striking pressmen continue their 8-month battle against the owners of the Washington Post newspaper, who are determined to break their union.

Since the strike began, pressmen have faced indictments, a Grand Jury hearing, police harassment and back-stabbing. In February, other AFL craft unions at the paper signed separate agreements and began scabbing on the strike.

James Dugan, president of the pressmen's Local 6 of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union, described the present struggle to *The Call* as a "premeditated, well-bankrolled attempt to bust our union." Attacks against Post pressmen have been part of a nationwide plan by the American Newspaper Publishers Association to destroy the pressmen's union throughout the industry. Previous attacks have been carried out in Detroit, St. Louis, Miami and last month in Baltimore.

In a *Call* interview, Dugan pointed to some of the reasons why this pressmen's local was singled out. "We were a small and strong union, 400 men," he explained. "We kept the officers' pay limited, and all officers were full-time workers (in the press room). The Post knew we were militant."

In November, 1973, when the Post locked out its compositors belonging to the International Typographical Union (ITU), the pressmen struck and took over the press room. Despite police threats, they held firm, forcing the Post management to negotiate a settlement with the ITU. Dugan added, "... from that day on, the Post said, 'Those guys down there have got to go.'"

Because the AFL has refused support for the pressmen, 24 strikers sat-in Feb. 20 at George Meany's office in the AFL-CIO building in Washington. Fred Tweedie, a rank-and-file pressman, told *The Call*: "Well, we were get-

ting no support from the higher part of the union... There's a guy (Meany) sitting down there making \$90,000 a year, and what does he do for the smaller working people? He's never walked a picket line."

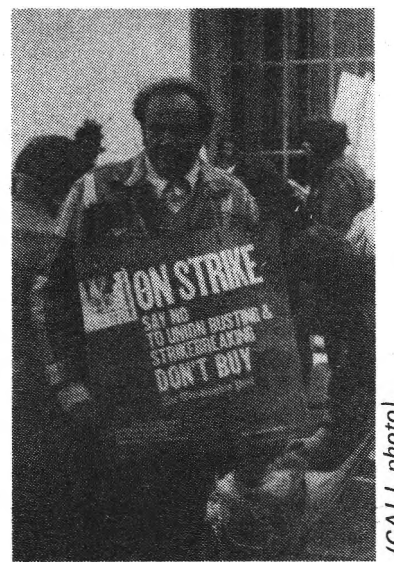
On February 15, the other craft unions caved in and signed separate agreements, losing past gains and further undermining support for the strike. Among the scabbing unions was the ITU, whose secretary-treasurer is also president of the Greater Washington Central Labor Council, supposedly supporting the strike. "If my union had voted to cross one of the other local union's picket lines," said Dugan, "I would have resigned as an officer. I would have stood on the line and tried to stop them from going into the building."

The personal costs of the strike to the pressmen have been high. Many are losing their homes. The Post management has blacklisted members of Local 6, making it im-

possible for them to find jobs in the newspaper industry. After 4 months on the picket line, one pressman with 30 years on the job shot himself.

Not just the ruling class press but even the so-called radical weekly *Guardian* (March 17) have reported the strike as over. Pressmen, however, continue their picket and boycott of the Post. Since March 16, wives of pressmen have been leading a protest vigil outside Post owner Katherine Graham's mansion.

Lack of AFL-CIO support and the betrayal by the other craft unions have hurt the strike. Separate bargaining and craft privileges in the AFL have always served to undermine working class unity, especially since these crafts have remained largely closed to minority workers. Striking pressmen are having to deal with the consequences of a history of narrow craft unionism and racism in the union, which weakened support in



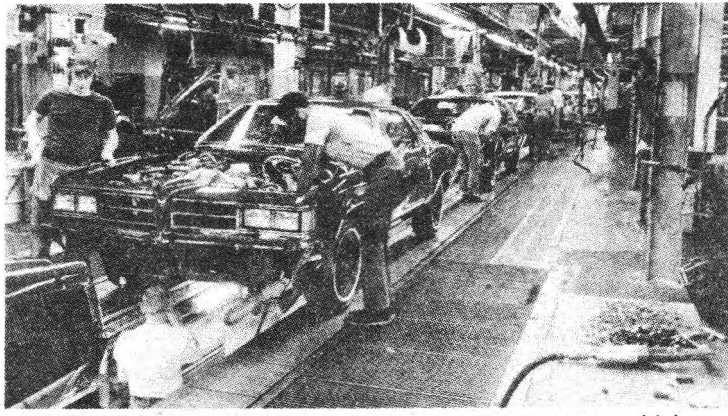
James Dugan, Pres. of Local 6

(CALL photo)

the AFL-CIO and narrowed their base of support among the city's large Black population.

Union-busting—whether slashing salaries or attacking the right to strike—is a main capitalist weapon in times of economic crisis. The pressmen have stood firm against these attacks over the past 8 months, defending the right to a strong union. Their struggle is just and should be supported.

AUTO WORKERS EXPOSE FACTORY CONDITIONS



SPEEDUP rages in auto plants while unemployment stays high.

With contract negotiations just months away, struggles are sharpening throughout the auto industry against increasingly repressive company policies. While some 60,000 auto workers continue on permanent lay-off, in-plant speed-ups and job combination have meant record auto production levels.

In addition to the companies, United Auto Workers (UAW) labor misleaders have lent a hand in these attacks, preparing to bargain away wage and cost-of-living demands as well as the right to strike over safety. UAW president Leonard Woodcock has already spoken against the growing movement for a shorter work week with no cut in pay and, along with his cronies, turned his back on all demands for special seniority for minorities and women.

Last week, announcements of support for Democratic Party candidate Jimmy Carter came simultaneously from UAW head Leonard Woodcock and corporation owner Henry Ford II. This joint support of the boss' party along with the boss himself shows vividly the class collaborationist character of the union leadership.

Auto workers have written in to *The Call/El Clarin* to expose the capitalists and to spread the struggle for strong rank-and-file organization across the nation. Take up the struggle, and use *The Call* to build the fightback in auto.

CALLBACK AT VAN NUYS

By a G.M. Worker Correspondent

Van Nuys, Ca.—After a year and a half of layoff, I finally went back to work at GM in Van Nuys on April 5. From the first moment we were called back, it was obvious that the company was going to do everything it could to stop the militancy of the workers

before it even started.

Our first day back, we were assembled in a room to be insulted in speeches by the company president about how grateful we should be to be working. We were threatened with more lay-offs, if we didn't work hard and keep up high quality production. Yet in the same breath they told us they would speed up production from 55 cars per hour to 60, which really means about 63 or 65 cars an hour.

To top it off, we were shown a film blaming all the foreign workers for our lay-off and pushing their "Be American, buy American" chauvinism on us. Yet they failed to mention that GM has companies around the world and that the workers in these plants face even more brutal working conditions than we do and at unbelievably low wages.

They want us to be so grateful for our jobs that we won't fight against the worsening conditions we now face. They are pushing compulsory overtime of at least 65 hours a week and two Saturdays a month through July. Almost all jobs have had more work added to them.

With our contract coming up in September, it's clear that they're trying to beat us into accepting the few crumbs they dish out. So they tell us that the "recovery" depends on hard work and sacrifices. They are intensifying their practice of dividing us up along sex and national lines to destroy unity among the workers.

The union leadership also has been doing its best to echo the companies' policies. They're always talking about the weakness of our position with so much unemployment these days. They sell chauvinist bumper stickers that blame other workers. They have

done little or nothing to defend us in this crisis, at a time when we need it most.

Since we know we can't depend on the company or the present union leaders to fight for our needs, we will have to take on these giants ourselves. I have seen how *The Call* has worked to provide ideas and analysis of other struggles, particularly the Capitol strike, and I think this is a valuable service that *The Call* can provide auto workers also. Please keep up your GM articles, and I will continue to send in what I can also.

STRIPPED OF EVERYTHING

By J.B., a Worker Correspondent—

Norwood, Ohio—I'm an auto worker at General Motors plant. UAW contracts come up in September, and there's a good chance we'll have a strike. The capitalists have really been cracking down on workers out on strike.

In our 1971 strike, I would have gone under, if it hadn't been for food stamps to feed my wife and 8 children. Now they would refuse me. There's a new rule that if you have over \$1,500 worth of equity, you can't buy stamps. Since I have some land, I no longer qualify. What am I supposed to do, eat the land? No, they told me. Sell it. A worker must be stripped of everything he owns in order to eat while on strike.

They have it in for working people, especially trying to bust the unions. They're using the economic crisis to make everybody work harder for less and would pay us all \$2.00 an hour if they could. We need to fight for justice to survive, but really we have to change the whole system, so that it's run by working people instead of big business.

ON THE LINE



City Breaks S.F. Strike

San Francisco, Ca.—1,700 city workers were forced back to work May 10, as a result of a government union-busting campaign. The strike erupted when the city Board of Supervisors imposed a wage cut. The 39-day strike had won support from other city workers, including Muni transit workers.

The city's decisive move against the strike came with a proposal of two anti-labor ballot measures for the June 8 elections. The first measure gave the city the right to fire striking employees. The second enabled voters to decide salaries for the strikers.

Muni drivers met and voted to return to work, if the city dropped the measures. Leaders of the laborers union, meanwhile, had opened separate negotiations, breaking ranks with the craft unions.

In this situation, the city was able to end the strike with no settlement whatsoever. An 11 member fact finding group was established to propose a settlement. It is made up of 5 reps from the Board of Supervisors, Mayor George Moscone, and 5 craft union reps. Although 60% of the strikers were laborers, none was included in the group. The Board, moreover, was given power of veto over all proposals. A June 30 settlement deadline was imposed.

Riot Police Attack Strike

Santa Barbara, Ca.—300 strikers and supporters marched to the plant gates of Browning Ferris Industries on May Day to support the 70 striking Latino workers of Teamsters Local 186. The protestors were met by a riot force of 200 Santa Barbara police, detectives and sheriffs, who launched a vicious attack, arresting 33 and injuring 13.

Strikers in their fourth month are demanding an hourly wage rate, rather than a daily one which robs them of overtime pay. BFI is a multi-national firm with over 200 plants in the U.S. and Puerto Rico. Jose Meza, a member of the negotiating committee told *The Call*: "The company has said they will spend \$5 million to stop us. They are afraid our example will spread."

Protest Layoffs at U.S. Metals

U.S. Metals Worker Correspondent (Translation from Spanish)—

Cartaret, N.J.—U.S. Metals Refining Co. has laid off some 365 workers. They claim "lack of materials," but, in fact, the company has increased production and is stockpiling copper to create an artificial shortage and drive up prices.

The layoffs have affected minority workers the most, especially in departments where they have only recently won the right to work, like the Mechanics Dept. The few women who worked at U.S. Metals have been pushed out by layoffs. Those still working face speed-up and doubling up on jobs.

Our union heads, United Steelworkers Local 837, have turned their backs on workers. Last year, for example, a wildcat broke out in the Mechanics Dept., protesting the transfer of apprentices from one craft to another and the use of outside skilled contractors. Because these demands were ignored, workers later called a stoppage. The first to oppose it were the union bureaucrats, talking the men back to work with empty promises.

A good demonstration of unity led to victory when a foreman tried to fire a Spanish-speaking worker in the tank house. Workers refused overtime and held a work stoppage in protest. Although the union heads tried to intervene on the side of the company, our brother was reinstated the next day.

China's Victory over Teng Hsiao-ping

TAKING THE CAPITALIST ROAD

In trying to understand the current struggle in China, some people have asked, "Why did Teng Hsiao-ping become an enemy of socialism and take the capitalist road? How could a leader of the Communist Party of China like Teng turn against the revolution? To understand the struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping it is necessary to learn something about the nature of the class struggle under socialism and something about the history of Teng Hsiao-ping himself.

Teng Hsiao-ping joined the Communist Party during the New Democratic stage of the Chinese revolution which preceded the present socialist stage. During that stage the main contradiction was between the masses of Chinese people, including workers, peasants, the petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie on the one side and foreign imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism on the other. Until this stage of the revolution was completed, it was impossible for the Chinese people to take on the tasks of building socialism.

At that time, many people joined the revolution and the Communist Party because the party was playing the leading role in the fight against the imperialists and the landlords. Many of them adopted the minimum program of the party but failed to accept or fully understand its maximum program, that is, the winning of communism, a classless society.

Following the victory of New Democracy in 1949, the revolution entered its socialist stage. The principal contradiction changed to one between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The tasks of this stage of the revolution were: 1) To replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat; 2) To fight for socialism in a long, difficult struggle against capitalism; and 3) To gradually create the conditions where the capitalists and capitalism would no longer exist. This would be a classless society or communism.

Many of the revolutionary-minded democrats, who earlier had entered the party, transformed themselves and came to adopt the tasks and program of the party in the socialist stage. They studied the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and integrated them-

selves closely with the masses of working people. In this way, they came to play active and leading roles in the building of socialism.

Others, however, failed to transform their outlook and came to oppose the revolution as it moved beyond its democratic stage. Because they had achieved high positions and a relatively comfortable life, they grew complacent and came into opposition to those new revolutionary things that were developing. Teng Hsiao-ping was just such a person.

Socialist society is a society where classes and class contradictions still exist. Remnants of the overthrown capitalist and landlord classes still exist for a time, as well as large numbers of petty-bourgeois elements and bourgeois-minded intellectuals. The

force of habit and old ideas can also provide fertile soil for those bent on restoring capitalism. The existence of a large peasantry and the peasant-type of production also engenders capitalism continuously.

Most importantly, throughout the whole period of socialism, inequality exists in the system of distribution based on the amount of work a person does and as a result of exchange through money. While private ownership of the factories, farms and mines has in the main been done away with and turned into socialist ownership by the whole people or collective ownership by the laboring people, "bourgeois right" still exists.

Bourgeois rights are the inequalities that still exist under socialism. Contradictions between mental and manual labor, between town and country and between workers and peasants continue to give rise to inequalities in wages, living conditions, working hours, etc. The gap between these inequalities can only be narrowed and restricted, not fully abolished until the communist stage is attained.



Hundreds of thousands cheer Teng's ouster in Peking parade on Tien An Men square.

Because of this, the class struggle is the key link in building socialism, and everyone must take part in the struggle to restrict bourgeois right while raising their political consciousness. But Teng Hsiao-ping, and those like him such as Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, opposed the revolution and used their positions to defend and expand, rather than to restrict these differences under socialism. They tried to suppress the revolution under socialism, downplay the study of communist theory and promote all types of capitalist thinking such as individualism and self-interest.

During the first 16 years of building socialism, Teng Hsiao-ping was a follower of the renegade Liu Shao-chi. They opposed the agricultural cooperation movement in the '50s which was aimed at getting the peasants to pool their land and resources that were won when the landlord class was overthrown. This meant educating the peasants in the spirit of socialism and combatting their spontaneous small-owners mentality.

A few years later, Teng worked against the rise of the people's communes, saying that these advances in collectivization were moving ahead "too fast." Later in the '60s, when China was facing agricultural problems due to sabotage by the Soviet revisionists as well as by natural disasters, Teng advocated a return to individual farming as the remedy. Some 200,000 farmers cooperatives were destroyed as a result of this line.

SHARP ATTACK

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the camp of the capitalist roaders came under sharp attack. Led by Chairman Mao Tsetung, the people smashed Liu Shao-chi's reactionary headquarters and loudly repudiated the revisionist line. Teng Hsiao-ping came under sharp criticism as the Cultural Revolution targeted everything reactionary in education, art, literature and other parts of society which went counter to China's socialist economic base. Teng, who openly defended everything old and reactionary, was met head-on by the masses, criticized and ousted from his posts.

Seeing that the capitalist headquarters was under fire, Teng made a lengthy self-criticism of his old ways and promised to accept the verdicts of the Cultural Revolution and follow the party's line. On this basis, he was allowed to return to a position of leadership in the party and the state in 1974. This was in accord with Chairman Mao's approach to criticism and self-criticism—"curing the illness to save the patient."

But in fact, Teng Hsiao-ping hadn't broken from his old ways and his old bourgeois class stand. Last summer he came out with his "program" for development in China over the next 25 years. In this program he launched an attack against all the revolutionary achievements of the Cultural Revolution and in fact tried to reverse the very verdicts he swore to accept.

In his "program" he directed his main fire at Chairman Mao's line of "taking class struggle as the key link." In place of class struggle, Teng's program promoted economic development as the key link. This was



Militia members in Shaoshan, birthplace of C

'The Struggle for Black Liberation and Socialist Revolution'

"How can Black people win their freedom?"

"How can the masses of white workers unite more closely with the Black liberation struggle and rise up against the reactionary white chauvinist policies of the labor aristocrats?"

"How can the working class ally itself with all the oppressed nationalities...to

smash the criminal rule of the imperialists and establish socialism?"

These vital questions are posed in the introduction to the October League's resolution on the Afro-American question which was passed at its Third Congress in July, 1975. The resolution, "The Struggle for Black Liberation and Socialist Revolution," answers these questions in depth and clearly poses socialist revolution as the only path for the Black liberation struggle. It lays out the basis for unity between white workers and the various oppressed nationalities through the course of the class struggle for political power.

This document in large part summarizes the combined study and practical experience of the October League within the movement for Black liberation. In this sense it is an important contribution in preparing for the work of drafting a program for the new Marxist-Leninist party. It is also a guide to action and provides valuable study material for all working people.

The O.L. resolution defends the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist stand on the right of the Afro-American people to self-determination in the former slave areas of the deep South. This position treats the Afro-American question as a national question instead of a question of "race" or culture primarily. It is a weapon against revisionism and all forms of opportunist thinking. It hits sharply at both the phony integrationist schemes of the liberals as well as the narrow nationalism of the Black petty-bourgeois misleaders.

The resolution's main target is the line of the revisionist Communist Party USA. During the '20s, '30s and '40s, the party upheld the right of self-determination and took a revolutionary stand on the

Afro-American question. They were able to play a leading role in the struggle and build revolutionary unity between thousands of white and Black workers. When the party degenerated into a revisionist party, it turned its back on this country's 25 million Blacks.

The resolution is more than a restatement of the old Communist Party's position which was abandoned with the party's turn to revisionism. It also takes into account the changes in the status of Black people over the last 30 years, like their migration from south to north, their development into a people who are mainly working class rather than small farmers, and the significance of the urban rebellions of the '60s. The resolution makes clear, however, that these changes have not "fundamentally changed the character of Black oppression."

Striking a blow at the opportunists, the resolution exposes those who credit capitalism with having already basically "solved" the national question through the development of industrialization. These opportunists (such as Irwin Silber of the Guardian) promote the view that only "remnants" of national oppression remain and therefore tell us to give up our defense of the right of self-determination.

The resolution concludes: "Today it is our recognition of the Afro-American question as a national question that distinguishes us from those opportunists who, under the mantle of Marxism, have sided with the monopoly capitalists in their onslaught against Black people."

Copies of "The Struggle for Black Liberation and Socialist Revolution" are available from *The Call*, Box 5597, Chicago, Ill. 60680, for 75¢.



SOCIALIST revolution is the only way!

'FORGE UNITY AROUND A PROGRAM'

Statement of League for Marxist-Leninist Unity

This statement was written by The League for Marxist-Leninist Unity, a recently formed communist collective in Southern California. The League is one of several organizations which has united with the basic views expressed in the October League's declaration, "Marxist-Leninists Unite to Form the New Party," first printed in the November, 1975 issue of The Call. The statements of other organizations also uniting with this proposal will follow in upcoming issues of The Call.

The League for Marxist-Leninist Unity announces its intention to join in the May Unity Meeting which will lead to the founding of a new Marxist-Leninist Party. We view the call for Marxist-Leninists to unite issued by the October League as a tremendous step forward for the working class and our movement. The objective and subjective conditions for the formation of the party exist and we call on all other Marxist-Leninist organizations and individuals to participate in the building of a party which is rooted ideologically, organizationally and politically in Marxism-Leninism.

STUDY AND STRUGGLE

For the League, participation in the organizational formation of the new party represents the culmination of a long period of study and struggle. In the past, the attitude of many of us had been to take a position above the ideological and political struggle in the anti-revisionist movement. We have come to see that unity can only be built upon the basis of a correct political line and by the clarification of clear lines of demarcation with opportunist trends, whether of the right or the "left." This can only occur in the course of the struggle for Marxist-Leninist unity. Any other approach objectively holds back the development of a new communist party.

The struggle against the right opportunist Revolutionary Union on the national question, trade union question and party building clarified for us, as well as others in the anti-revisionist movement, a correct Marxist-Leninist line on these questions. The struggle against centrism and neo-Trotskyism (particularly the CL) on the international situation has further distinguished Marxism-Leninism from revisionism. These two struggles have placed the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces in a position to reach organizational unity based on a correct political

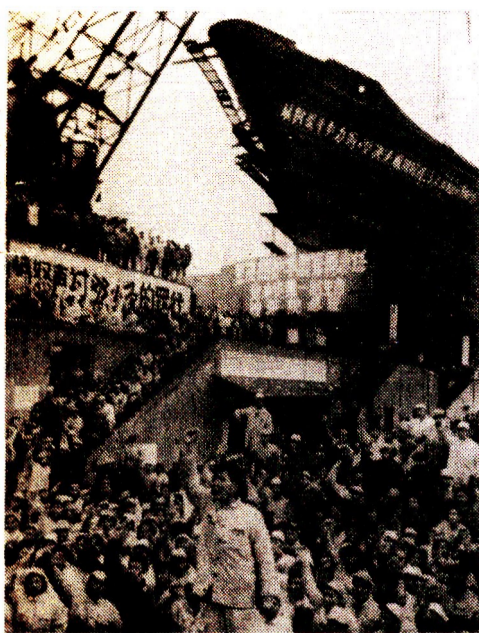
line.

These struggles and the development of our movement have fully confirmed the Marxist-Leninist tenet that the correct political line emerges in the struggle against the incorrect line. The task for Marxist-Leninists in the present period is to struggle for the correct line to be reflected in a party program. In this struggle, political line is key.

Though there continue to be many differences among Marxist-Leninists, we believe that the theoretical and practical work has been sufficiently completed to come to a correct political line embodied in the program of the party. There is a sufficient basis

any organizations that fight for the complete emancipation of the working class. This requires strategically that all the labor bureaucrats (who are agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement) be driven out of the working class movement, and replaced by true representatives of the proletariat. The trade unions are the key mass organizations of the working class. We must make every factory our fortress by building factory nuclei and relying upon the leadership of the units and fractions and the strength of the rank and file.

2) Periods in the development of revolution—The new party must firmly grasp the



Shanghai shipyard workers denounce Teng. (Hsinhua)

the same theory which Teng and Liu Shao-chi had used to hold back the development of collectivization 20 years earlier. It was the same "theory of the productive forces," placing production ahead of revolution, that Lin Piao had used to attack the socialist revolution in 1971.

All this experience has shown the people of China that socialism is a period of protracted class struggle. These lines of Teng, Lin Piao and Liu Shao-Chi represented the interests of a certain class, the bourgeoisie. It is the old and new bourgeoisie who use people like Teng as their spokesmen and representatives within the party.

It is within the party that the capitalist roaders are the most dangerous because it is there that they can achieve power and implement their reactionary program. Since liberation, the Communist Party of China has had to wage sharp struggle against different types of capitalist roaders. Some were hidden agents of the reactionary Kuomintang or foreign imperialism or other alien class elements and renegades who had sneaked into the leading positions. Still others are bourgeois democrats whose world outlook has remained unchanged. Teng Hsiao-ping is one of these.

ROLE OF MASSES

The most important thing about this struggle against Teng is the role that the masses are playing and the lessons they are summing up. With the leadership of Chairman Mao and the party, they are getting a rich education in class struggle under socialism and valuable instruction on how to fight the bourgeoisie.

In a recent statement Chairman Mao pointed out: "With the socialist revolution they themselves (capitalist-roaders like Teng Hsiao-ping—ed.) come under fire. At the time of the co-operative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. You are making socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road."

Teng Hsiao-ping is one of these capitalist roaders still on the road to capitalism. The socialist revolution can only move forward in the course of an all-around campaign against those who want to keep history's wheel from advancing towards communism.



Chairman Mao, greet party decisions. (Hsinhua)



of unity in the anti-revisionist movement for Marxist-Leninists to enter into a concrete struggle for the correct political line for the new party. What all Marxist-Leninists must do in this period is to take up party building actively, to respond to the call for the party by putting forward their views in a concise way on the main questions facing the movement, and to enter into the party-building process concretely.

Through Marxist-Leninists stepping forward in an open and above-board way, and attending the conferences at which the political line and program of the party will be struggled out, Marxist-Leninist unity will be guaranteed.

We would like to briefly state our views on two questions which we believe must be addressed in the party program. We choose these two, not because we think others are unimportant, but because there has been much confusion and controversy on these questions in our movement.

1) The trade union question—We must win the trade unions to the leadership of the party and transform them into revolution-

relationship between the two historical stages. The first stage is winning the best elements of the working class to communism. The second stage is winning the masses to the side of the party and preparation for the seizure of state power. We are in the first historical stage and will be for a period after the party is formed. Our primary task in the workers' movement is to win the best elements of the working class to communism—that is, those workers who respond most rapidly and most easily to socialist ideas and who are the most active and dedicated to the cause of the proletariat. This requires that we actively bring communist ideas to the workers through propaganda and agitation; that we go into the heat of the class struggle, and that we consolidate the best elements from among the workers ideologically, organizationally and politically on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This means concretely building the factory nucleus as the basic unit of the party. While grasping what is primary, we must reject all notions which separate and counterpose the struggle of the masses to the building of the party.

We anticipate sharp struggle over these and other questions. Some important questions will remain unresolved. But the key questions must be resolved in the party program. The formation of the party, functioning with one center and one organ, rather than in the previous narrow, isolated and scattered fashion, which has characterized our movement, will allow us to move forward with the theoretical tasks of deepening our understanding of such questions as fascism, the history of the CPUSA, and class analysis of the U.S. We will also be capable of moving forward with the practical tasks of rooting the party in the factories and communities.

POLITICAL LINE IS KEY

When we say political line is key in this period, we mean concretely the struggle over the political line to be reflected in the party program. The program must be brief, precise and lay out with clarity our maximum and minimum program. The program must put forward an analysis of the working class movement historically, internationally, and in the U.S. and establish clear positions on the major questions of political line—the national question, trade union question, united front, woman question and international situation. It must raise the agitational slogans for the struggle. The program is a practical document—it is a guide to the working class in the years ahead.

Again, we call on all Marxist-Leninists to put party building into practice and to forge unity around a Marxist-Leninist program.

BILTRITE WORKERS FIGHT FOR THE CALL

"Anyone caught bringing into the plant or distributing literature that would tend to interfere with discipline, order or production or soliciting for any purpose not approved by the Plant Manager will be subject to disciplinary action, including dismissal."

So read notices posted by the management and owners of the American Biltrite Co. in Chelsea, Mass., where over 15% of the 350 workers have bought *The Call* regularly. Why was *The Call* being attacked? The influence of *The Call* had been steadily growing for three years. It had taken the lead in the Biltrite workers' struggle against deportations, the sell-out United Rubber Workers (URW) bureaucrats, the segregationist movement, and the exploitation they faced everyday on the job.

But in March, the owners had more to fear. A fund-raising and subscription drive was being launched in the shop to build *The Call* into a weekly. The more enthusiastically the workers responded, the more nervous the owners became. They hoped their threats would drive a wedge between the workers and *The Call*.

How did the Biltrite workers respond? "El Clarin dice la verdad—*The Call* tells the truth" was heard over and over again. Over ten new subscriptions came in, in less than two weeks. *Call* sales reached a four-month

high. Turning the company's attacks into a counter-attack, the October League (OL) passed out a leaflet entitled "Support *The Call*." It explained that the owners and URW bureaucrats feared *The Call* because it "shows the strength of the workers' movement against the capitalist class" and "the need for a revolution to turn this system around and replace it with socialism."

The next day, people came to the plant gates with posters, banners and a table to collect money for *The Call*. About 35 workers contributed money to support the weekly *Call* and more people bought subscriptions. A foreign-born worker explained why he subscribed to *The Call/El Clarin*: "*The Call* is a communist newspaper. I think I can learn a lot from *The Call*. It is important to support it financially so it can come out weekly."

Another worker explained, "If we had this paper twenty years ago, this place wouldn't be such a miserable dump to work in."

The notices still hang on the bulletin boards, but the lesson is clear. No threats can hold back the political and financial support the working class will give to a revolutionary paper that advances the cause of its liberation. *The Call/El Clarin* is the workers' paper.

'THE FINAL DAYS'

... Nixon walks the halls of the White House waving goodbye to portraits of earlier presidents. . . His aides save him from blowing up the world in a drunken, suicidal depression. . . Two intrepid newspaper reporters probe the deepest secrets of the administration and lay them bare before the nation. . .

These are the scenes that have become familiar with the recent publication of *The Final Days* and the release of the film *All the President's Men*. Both are based on the writings of Washington Post Watergate columnists Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein.

The book and film expose capitalist corruption at the highest levels. But when the capitalists

themselves start exposing parts of their own system so freely, their motives must be examined more closely.

The film and book both reflect the fact that one section of capitalism is trying to use the media and cultural tools to wage war against another section. At the same time, they are trying to spread illusions among the masses of people about the possibility of reforming the decaying capitalist system.

Bernstein and Woodward work for the Washington Post, which is well-known for its liberal editorial stand as well as its support for "detente." Katherine Graham, the owner of the Post, is closely asso-

The Final Days



BOB WOODWARD
CARL BERNSTEIN
Authors of ALL THE PRESIDENT'S MEN

ciated with the Kennedy and Rockefeller families, and the Post, as well as its subsidiary Newsweek Magazine, are both used to advance the ideas and interests of this particular section of the ruling class. Newsweek distributed more than twelve million copies of its editions which serialized the most sensational parts of *The Final Days*. The Washington Post donated an entire



Woodward and Bernstein: not propagandists?

crew of staffers to help the directors of *All the President's Men*, and Graham herself made numerous editorial suggestions about the film.

The thrust of *Final Days* is to make the Nixon administration look like something so criminal and sinister that it was like no administration before or after it. With its details of Nixon's megalomania, his racism, his outright bribery and corruption, his mental dullness and his sex life, it presents the reader with the view that all this was so abnormal that its cause could only be Nixon himself and not the system which put him in office. In this sense, the book not only focuses attention away from the system which spawned Watergate, but it also takes the heat off the Kennedys, Rockefellers and Co., all of whose careers have likewise been filled with corruption, assassination, and "dirty tricks."

All the President's Men, meanwhile, is designed to teach the lesson that "the system works." Crusading newspaper reporters and others who love justice and democracy can ultimately triumph over anything evil in the system. This is an advertisement not just for the Post, but also for the whole

capitalist system. The Watergate affair is being used to white-wash the class character of government corruption.

The book and film drive nails into Nixon's political coffin. It is no coincidence that they appear at a time when the U.S. ruling class is locked in sharp debate, especially over the question of "detente" and strategy towards the USSR. Nixon's administration took a less conciliatory road in confronting the Soviet Union than the present Ford-Rockefeller team, and this contradiction has fueled much of the present ruling class debate.

In the controversy around *The Final Days*, Bernstein and Woodward have defended their brand of journalism and their probes into Nixon's personal life. Every time they are interviewed, they say "We're not propagandists. We're just journalists trying to tell the facts."

But they are propagandists. Even while bringing "the facts" about Nixon to life and exposing the corruption of his regime, they are propagandizing for the view that "the system works" and in support of the system of exploitation and oppression that Katherine Graham and her newspaper are tied to.

TAMPA JAILINGS...

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

the "specter of welfare." He told the jurors, who were all economically secure, that "we" shouldn't stand for people like the Marshalls who demand that people should be able to get food stamps and other relief. It was a blatant appeal to rich people's prejudices against Afro-Americans and other poor and working class people, who are threatened daily with unemployment, hunger, harassment, and worse.

The jury bought it and returned with guilty verdicts on all counts. Racist Judge Hanlon, alleging that the two lifetime residents of the county might try to flee, set an extraordinarily high appeal bond of \$5,000. Cries of outrage filled the courtroom.

The Marshalls aren't leaving, and the Tampa fightback movement hasn't been intimidated. The Tampa Workers Committee and the October League organized a demonstration at the police sta-



TAMPA PICKETS demand Marshalls be freed.

(CALL photo)

tion the day of the arrests, and another militant demonstration outside the courthouse at the trial. Supporters of the fightback came from local workplaces, from the food stamp office, and from as far away as St. Petersburg and Tallahassee.

The courtroom was crowded with friends and supporters of many nationalities, united to resist this blatant frameup.

The ruling class has tried to stop the fightback with more and more repression. In Tampa alone, in recent months they have used a grand jury investigation, black-listings, mass firings and other injustices. But the frameup of the Marshalls has only broadened and deepened the fightback movement.

As Eddie Ruth Marshall pointed out: "This kind of phony political arrest gave us more of the fighting strength that we need to get ready for revolution and stop this kind of oppression."

For donations and information write: Tampa Workers Comm., Box 4521, Tampa, Fla. 33677.

Kissinger and 'Detente'...

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

big business in this country.

A new surprise was the withdrawal of Humphrey, the most pro-"detente" of the major candidates. (The New York Times' correspondent in Moscow reported April 14 that Humphrey was "the real favorite among official circles" in the Kremlin.) But evidently Humphrey could not find in the

U.S. ruling class enough millions to float his campaign. Nor could he get the backing of a majority of the big labor bureaucrats on the AFL-CIO executive council.

The Reagan gains have hurt the Ford candidacy as well as his election chances. Last week's polls showed that in the event of a Ford vs. Carter contest, Carter would win by more than 10 points.

Carter has been two-faced on foreign policy as on everything else. He maintains advisors that disagree with each other down the line. He talks out of both sides of his mouth on "detente." He is on record favoring a \$7 billion cut in the military budget, but lately he has not pressed this point much; and two weeks ago a disgruntled Carter speechwriter quit, saying that Carter in private favors a big increase in the war budget instead. With this kind of doubletalk, Carter has won endorsement from "liberals" like Birch Bayh as well as from George Wallace. Carter is the "fresh face" on the make, for sale to whichever circle in U.S. imperialist high finance makes the best offer.

The growing war danger reflected in the campaign means increased attacks upon the people of this country and a threat to the world's people as a whole. No matter who triumphs in this election, the forecast is for increased arms build-up, intensified exploitation of the working class and racial oppression and rising war casualties. The only answer is the growing resistance of the people, and revolutionary struggle.

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