

The ruling MPLA government in Angola, under pressure from the Soviet Union, has jailed and threatened to execute over 100 revolutionary fighters who oppose Soviet-Cuban occupation of their country. Among those threatened with death are Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, who was formerly the honorary president of the MPLA.

Chief targets of the attacks are the Angolan Communist Organization (OCA) and the Active Revolt group, both made up largely of veteran MPLA fighters. The fact that the MPLA government is now

forced to arrest some of its most heroic revolutionary leaders shows the extent of the Angolan people's rebellion against domination by Soviet social-imperialism.

In a joint declaration with the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstituted) published in the newspaper *Bandeira Vermelha* April 29,

the OCA stated:

"We appeal to world public opinion to protest against the arbitrary and despotic imprisonments to which revolutionary and popular leaders have been subjected in the past weeks. Among these comrades are Sirgado, Nogueira, Henrique Guerra, Matadi and Rui Ra-

mos. We appeal to world public opinion that they protest against the imprisonment of the renowned nationalists and democrats Joaquim Pinto de Andrade (ex-honorary president of MPLA), Gentil Viana, Manuel Videira and Liceu Viera Dias, outstanding members of "Active Revolt," a dissident fac-

tion of MPLA.

"We appeal for protests also against the imprisonment of dozens of workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals and people of other sectors of the population who, moved by a democratic and patriotic spirit, rose up in the struggle against exploitation, for democracy and national independence."

The declaration went on to point out that Interior Minister Nito Alves, immediately following his return from the Soviet Union's

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PEOPLE OF  
THE WORLD  
UNITE TO  
DEFEAT  
IMPERIALISM

# THE CALL

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MAY 31, 1976

## The Hawkins Bill

# GREAT JOB FRAUD

Once again the politicians are trying to play a cruel joke on the workers, especially the more than 10 million unemployed. The joke is named the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, now coming up for final vote in Congress.

"It will reduce unemployment to practically nothing in a few years," promise the sponsors of the bill, who include the liberal Democrats and their tail, the revisionist "Communist" Party USA. In actual fact, the bill as it stands is nothing but a cheap campaign ploy by one party of fat cats aiming to steal the show from the other party of fat cats in the November elections.

The game plan is that the Democratic majority in Congress will pass the bill, and Republican President Ford will veto it. Then come November, the Democrats will brag that they want to end unemployment but the Republicans want to preserve it.

Clever, isn't it? The only question is whether the liberals are right in thinking that working class people are ignorant enough to believe their promises.

Every worker who has given some thought to analyzing the real situation knows that the present economic system is based on unemployment and couldn't run without it.

If the owners of the factories, mines and fields couldn't keep telling us "there's ten people out there waiting to take your job if you don't like it," how could they force us to speed up faster and faster to make more profits for them?

The threat of unemployment is the main thing that forces us to put up with the dangerous, unhealthy, noisy, humiliating and underpaid work we do. And it's unemployment that they hold over our heads when we organize unions to fight for better wages and conditions. Without unemployment, no profits, and without profits, no capitalist system.

Anybody who claims that one or another of these rich people's politicians wants to "end unemployment" is a fool or a deceiver.

It might be different if this Humphrey-Hawkins snake oil medicine actually had a chance of creating jobs. It creates not a single job. All it does is call on the president at the start of each year to "make proposals" on how to reduce unemployment.

What kind of proposals, the bill doesn't say. It has no teeth in it of any kind. It just calls on the president to keep doing what they've

been doing anyway: making big promises while unemployment goes right on.

The working class in the past has fought, millions strong, to win much-needed reforms like unemployment compensation, social security and public works. These measures have never been adequate. (At the height of the New Deal, for example, the famous public works programs made jobs for less than five percent of the unemployed.) But even so, small as they were, these gains never came as "gifts" from above, out of the goodness of some liberal's heart.

They were won by struggling in a revolutionary way. Masses of workers took to the streets to fight for them, threatening to tear the government apart if they didn't get action. Many died in the struggle, killed by police and troops.

These past struggles could be won because they were led by the



MASS ACTION, not relying on liberals, is the way to win more jobs.

old Communist Party, when it was a genuine Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class. Today this organization has degenerated into a revisionist, opportunist bunch whose leaders are sold to Moscow.

Their stand on the Humphrey-Hawkins bill shows this. After many quibbles, they say they

view it "overall as a positive bill," and that it's "essential" to "associate with that movement" to get it passed. (Daily World, April 1).

The revisionist party backs the bill because the bill is the darling of the liberals, and the liberals are the darlings of the revisionists.

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 8)

## GOVERNMENT OFFENSIVE AGAINST INTEGRATION

In what could well be the sharpest legal attack on the rights of Black people since the infamous "separate but equal" decision of 1896, Plessy vs. Ferguson, President Ford has initiated court action to stop busing for school integration.

Ford has directed Attorney General Edward Levi to "look for an appropriate and proper case" in which to ask the Supreme Court to "re-examine" the use of busing as a means of integrating schools.

Ford's statement was announced as Levi was holding meetings with the leaders of Boston's segregationist movement, including ROAR leader Louise Day Hicks. She emerged from the meeting saying that she was "hopeful and satisfied."

All of the legal gains that came out of the civil rights movement of the '50s and '60s stand to be wiped out, including the 1954 Supreme Court decision *Brown vs. Board of Education*. This decision declared that segregation in public schools on the basis of race was "unconstitu-



BOSTON MARCHERS demand end to system of school segregation.

tional." The decision was the product of a long struggle which cost the lives of hundreds of people. Despite the 1954 decision, the majority of schools in this country remain segregated today.

The busing plan in Boston and other cities, while filled with weaknesses and problems, represented a positive step in the struggle for school integration. The integration plans are concessions forced from the ruling circles of this country, who have always stood for segregation and con-

tinued oppression of Black and other minority peoples. The struggle for integration is a part of the overall struggle of Afro-Americans for full democratic rights.

Ford's latest move is an act of encouragement to the white-supremacist anti-busing movement. During the upsurge of this segregationist movement in Boston in 1974, when racist mobs were attacking and stoning minority children riding buses to white schools, Ford came out

against busing, and today he says he's "totally opposed to court-ordered forced busing."

It is also important to note that Ford's moves could not have been made without the closest consultations with phony misleaders of the Black community, such as Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Massachusetts senator Edward Brooke. The NAACP leadership has shown itself to be bankrupt liberal opportunists in the face of increased racist attacks.

Ford was the speaker of honor at the last NAACP convention. Furthermore, Wilkins pulled the NAACP out of the planned protesting demonstration that would have brought thousands into the streets of Boston on April 24.

How Wilkins and company will respond is unclear. Already opposition is mounting against the government's racist move. If Ford's maneuver to repeal these reforms is successful, it will only spark larger, more determined protest.

**Tyler Demo**  
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**War**  
**Danger... P. 5**

**SECCION**  
**EN ESPAÑOL**



# EDITORIALS

## LESSONS OF '76 ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The 1976 election campaign has moved through complex twists and turns for several months and will undoubtedly continue to do so until November. Candidates have risen and fallen, backroom deals have been made, rhetoric has flourished and millions of dollars have been spent. But what lessons for the working class struggle can be drawn out of this complex campaign?

In the first place, all the candidates are capitalist, imperialist candidates. Not one of them could survive a day in the campaign without the backing of huge monopoly financial interests. None of them oppose the system of exploitation. This was graphically demonstrated when virtually all the candidates followed up Jimmy Carter's "ethnic purity" remarks with similar racist statements of their own, defending segregation.

But this year has also revealed some important differences among the candidates—differences over issues which hold great significance for the working class.

The most controversial issue in the campaign has been the foreign policy debate over "detente," Soviet arms buildup, Angola, and similar questions. The essence of this debate is how U.S. imperialism ought to meet the growing power and aggression of Soviet social-imperialism in the superpower battle for world control. One section of the ruling class favors the line of "detente" and is increasingly appeasing Soviet aggression. The other section favors increased confrontation with the Soviet Union and opposes "detente" and its chief symbol, Henry Kissinger.

Foreign policy has not only been the sharpest issue of public debate, it is also the main issue over which the U.S. ruling class is split inside its smoke-filled rooms.

The fact that relations with the Soviet Union have become the main campaign issue is one indication of the growing danger of war between the two superpowers. The splits in the U.S. ruling class are deepening as the war danger mounts. The pro-"detente" wing, headed by Ford and Kissinger,

while suffering some serious setbacks, is still on top. This fact also emphasizes the war danger, because this wing's appeasement of social-imperialism is accelerating the outbreak of war.

The war danger lends new urgency to our work of building the workers' fightback and the new communist party which can lead the assault on U.S. imperialism. This election year gives us the opportunity to clearly contrast the two roads. On the one hand, there is the capitalist road of war, exploitation and misery as preached by all the candidates, including the phony communists of the CPUSA who have also thrown their hats in the ring (see page 7). On the other hand, there is the revolutionary road of building the party and leading the masses in overthrowing imperialism and putting an end to the evils of this system.

The 1976 electoral game offers us only a "choice of oppressors." But this does not mean we have no interest in the elections. On the contrary, we should study them closely and gain a deeper understanding of the imperialist war strategies, their phony solutions to unemployment and their attacks on the rights of minorities and women. Through such study and analysis we will be able to deepen our revolutionary program, prepare the masses better for the danger of war, expand the working class fightback and draw new recruits into the communist ranks to fight for socialism and a society run by the working class.

## CALL FOR COMMUNIST UNITY

Marxist-Leninists committed to the goal of forging a single, unified communist party in the U.S. will hold a unity meeting soon based on the "Call to Unite" published by the October League last November.

This meeting reflects the rising unity trend of the Marxist-Leninist groups and is a blow to revisionists and opportunists of all stripes who have been feverishly trying to wreck this unity. Statements by several of the groups participating in this meeting have already been published in *The Call*; another one is published this week on page

7, and more will be published in the coming weeks.

The unity of these Marxist-Leninist organizations and individuals is not built on the basis of enthusiasm alone, nor is it built on general or vague principles. It is unity that is being built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tsetung Thought and will be forged through struggle for correct general and particular political line culminating in a party program. This is the only kind of unity which can hold firm in the difficult times ahead.

The May meeting, while highly significant, is only the beginning of a long difficult process leading to a unified leadership in a single party. To succeed, the unity meeting must do battle with the long-ingrained small-circle mentality which calls for the continuation of many small groups, operating often in isolation from one another.

Through several years of common struggle and study combined with a relentless fight against modern revisionism and opportunism of all kinds, these groups of communists have developed a common basis for unity. The next few months will produce a draft program and organizational rules which can be adopted at the first Party Congress, to be convened later this year.

There are still some honest Marxist-Leninists who are not yet willing to take part in these unity efforts. Hopefully, they will be won over in the course of the struggle. The door is open for them. But there are also opportunists who have attacked our efforts from both the "left" and the right and have declared themselves sworn enemies of the party-building efforts. But even within these opportunist groups, the rank and file and even some among the leadership have begun to express their desire to forge unity with the other Marxist-Leninists. This is at the root of the great turmoil which can be seen both within the ranks of the "left" opportunist "Revolutionary Wing" and the circles around the right opportunist Guardian.

With all their anti-party articles (which now occupy a good three-fourths of their newspaper space) the opportunist anti-party forces are small and isolated and exert little, if any, influence among the masses.

The real battle with revisionism however, lies ahead and must be directed against the revisionist Communist Party, which is the main enemy within the ranks of the working class movement.

The unity meeting is a firm step in the correct direction. It shows the great advances that have been made in the young communist movement in the past few years. It is a meeting which should serve as a clarion call to all communists to unite in the struggle to build the party.

Marxist-Leninists Unite to Build the Party!

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Dear Comrades,

I am an avid reader of *The Call*. I particularly enjoy your articles about the People's Republic of China. The heroic people of China are advancing forward in their struggle for socialism. I believe that China serves as an inspiration to all true revolutionaries throughout the world that imperialism can be defeated if only people put their own destiny in their own hands. I hope that *The Call* continues to print many articles about China in future issues. The articles about the current campaign in China, the study of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the articles about the counterrevolutionary incident at Tien An Men Square are just excellent.

C.M.  
Livonia, Mich.

Dear *Call*,

When the paper was monthly, it was great. How sweet it is to have a weekly *Call* now and a daily *Call* soon. We not only learn about the rotten bosses and imperialists from reading *The Call*, but we also learn about the struggle of all poor, working class and minority people.

It was May 1975 when I first learned about *The Call*. My nephew, Harold Dancy, was framed with the murder of a white man. I was working at Stewart-Warner and I didn't know anything about

*The Call* or the October League.

Some girls from the OL said they could help about Harold. Together we set up the Harold Dancy Defense Committee, and got his story published in *The Call*. *Call* readers sent donations and letters of support.

The Defense Committee spread the word about Harold. We raised money and brought a lot of people to his hearings. We showed the judges and the rotten police that Harold Dancy and his family were not struggling alone, and he was freed.

But *The Call* and the OL didn't stop there. They took up the struggle of others like Harold: frame-ups of James Jackson, Joan Little, Cheryl Todd and Dessie X Woods, and Gary Tyler, to name a few.

I'm a victim of a frame-up too, because I'm a Black woman, because I'm a worker, and because I live under imperialism. Last August I was coming back from Mississippi when the bus was in a bad accident. I got some bad bruises and was put in the hospital with a back injury. My neck and shoulder were hurt, too. Now I can't work.

But I've been waiting almost a year to get a settlement from the bus company (Continental Trailways). The insurance claims adjuster went to Stewart-Warner, where I worked, to get a report

## Letters



on me. Anything to keep me from getting any money. He talked to this Personnel guy, Dave Stafford, who's a frontman for the big bosses. Stafford searched through my records and told the claims adjuster that they shouldn't pay me anything because I had hurt my back at Stewart-Warner in 1969.

I learned two things from this. One, that the bosses at Stewart-Warner have it in for me because I was friends with October League members. The second thing is that the owners of the bus company and the owners of my factory are part of the same class—the ruling class—so they stick together, especially when it comes to hurting working people and minorities.

We have to get rid of this whole imperialist system if we want to stop these frame-ups. *The Call* is helping us to do it.

A.J.  
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Brothers and Sisters,  
Five months ago I wrote to

Sr. Gilberto Vega, Assistant to the Governor of Pennsylvania for Latin Affairs. But up till now this so-called "Sr." hasn't answered. The reason for the letter was to let him know the problems of 27 Puerto Ricans here in the prison.

I don't know if you are aware that simply because of the barrier of the English language, many of us must pay for crimes that others committed. There have been cases in which court "interpreters" made innocent people sign papers in English admitting guilt, without the people knowing what they were signing.

How would you feel if you spent three or four years in prison without a visitor? Or if you left prison without prospect of a place to live or work? Here, there are several prisoners in this situation. In order to improve our situation, we have organized our own club made up of 27 Puerto Ricans. We are developing an educational and cultural program in the Spanish language. Can you rest at peace knowing that a brother or sister is being beaten and discriminated against just because they're Latino? If you support what we are doing, please send whatever you can in care of the Latin Cultural Group of Puerto Ricans.

J.R.  
Dallas, Pa.

Atlanta, Ga.—Thousands of people will demonstrate July 17 in New Orleans to demand the immediate release and freedom of Gary Tyler, the Black youth who faces execution in the electric chair in Louisiana. Plans for the mass demonstration were announced at a press conference May 19.

Speaking at the conference were Bob Zellner, executive-director of the Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF), which initiated the demonstration, Tyrone Brooks of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Betty Bryant of the October League, James Bond, Atlanta city councilman who was also representing Atlanta state legislator Julian Bond, and Ron Carter from the steering committee of the National Fight Back Organization (NFBO).

New Orleans, July 17

## DEMONSTRATE FOR GARY TYLER'S FREEDOM!

Gary Tyler was falsely convicted of the murder of a white student during a 1974 racist mob attack on Black students at a high school in Destrehan, La. Last month, Tyler's request for a new trial was turned down by the original trial judge, even though the key prosecution witness, Natalie Blanks, renounced her testimony.

At the press conference, Bob Zellner described the Ku Klux Klan campaign of terror against the organizers and supporters of the struggle to free Gary Tyler. One example he spoke of was the

murder of Richard Dunne March 15 as he was leaving a Tyler support dance in New Orleans.

"We state here and now," said Zellner, "that these cowardly acts don't scare us. This KKK terror will not stop us from marching July 17 in New Orleans to free Gary Tyler."

Speaking of this growing wave of support for her son, Mrs. Juanita Tyler in a May 3 interview with *The Call* said that people "should look deeper into the situation today and see that it's not just in Destrehan—that it could be

their son next time."

Adding to this theme, Betty Bryant stated the position of the October League at the May 19 press conference. She said that the Tyler case "vividly shows that Black people and working people have no political power under this

imperialist system. So long as this system exists," she stated, "it will continue to produce such crimes against Black people."

For information on how you can help build the July 17 demonstration in New Orleans, or take up local work in defense of Gary Tyler, contact: SCEF, 3210 Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211.

To contribute to the legal defense, send checks and money orders to: Gary Tyler Defense, Liberty Bank, 3939 Tulane, New Orleans, La. 70119.

## POLICE ATTACK RUBBER WORKER PICKET LINES

Akron, Ohio, May 18—Striking rubber workers are facing a growing opposition force of security guards, police and scabs at the Big Four tire company plants, where they've set up round-the-clock pickets.

Over the past few weeks, police have clashed with United Rubber Worker (URW) strikers in many of the 47 plants closed by the five-week-old strike. Despite injunctions limiting pickets and a newly-hired crew of security guards, strikers have been fighting to prevent white collar workers from entering the plants. The tire companies are using these workers as scabs to run the production lines.

On May 14 in Akron, strikers at the B.F. Goodrich plant closed ranks at the gates to stop scabs. As one striker described it to *The Call*, within minutes patrol cars and paddy wagons appeared and police went after strikers, swinging their clubs. "You would have thought there was a riot," he said. B.F. Goodrich fired 20 workers for defending their picket line, while in a similar incident at Firestone in the same city, one striker was fired. On May 21 at the large Uniroyal plant in Detroit, 30 police cars were called in to break up a mass picket.

The Big Four tire companies have not budged from their original contract offer, which falls far below the URW's present demand for \$1.65 an hour increase and an uncapped cost-of-living adjustment (COLA).

### NO ADJUSTMENT

Besides a downward adjustment of piece-work pay, the companies have produced a COLA formula that fails to provide any kind of decent adjustment. "It was figured out by somebody on Wall Street," a Firestone striker remarked. "It looks good on paper, but it doesn't do anything for the common worker." A seven-year Black veteran worker added: "The company doesn't want to give us anything. They actually want to take away."

Over the past few years, the Big Four have tightened the screws on the workers to boost profits, imposing speed-up, job combination and changes in the work rules. A good example was the so-called "Hey MAC" program—Make Akron Competitive—instituted by B.F. Goodrich in the early '70s. This plan, which was backed by the URW leadership, led to the closing of several departments and the loss of hundreds of jobs.

In response to increased attacks

by the companies, workers have stepped up picket line activities. In the past two weeks, mass picketing has occurred at all the Akron plants. Mass picketing also took place May 6 in Los Angeles and May 10 and 11 in Alabama. On May 15, almost 1,500 rubber workers assembled for a rally at the Akron Rubber Bowl as part of the drive to build the Firestone boycott. Wives of strikers have also set up picket lines at retail outlets for Firestone.

### SETBACK FOR STRIKERS

A setback for the strikers came when the URW Local 9 president, in charge of negotiations at General Tire, prevented an expected walk-out on May 15 when their contract expired. About 2,700 General Tire workers in Akron and Waco, Texas are being kept on the job by a special deal cooked up by Local 9 president Nathan Traschel, although workers at the Waco plant had already voted to strike. Traschel extended the contract and agreed to give the company a 5-day strike notice.

The union has called its first special convention in history May 27 in Chicago largely to vote on a dues assessment to replenish the strike fund. Strike benefits were pared down to \$25 a week on May 17. A URW worker from a non-striking plant in Denver told *The Call* that his local had been told that each member was going to be assessed \$100 monthly. He stressed that while all the workers strongly backed the rubber strikers and would continue to build support, the local and international union bureaucrats were using the assessment in such a way as to turn the workers' sentiments against the strike.

An Akron striker, standing out in the cold rain, warned that "Bommarito doesn't have a choice... He's in a nice warm office now, but he knows that if he doesn't get what we want, he won't be there long." Reflecting the sentiments of many of the 70,000 strikers, a Firestone worker added, "We'll stay out here on the picketlines for a year with no strike benefits if we have to."

## Protest Builds Against Deportations

The ruling class is stepping up its efforts to deport immigrant workers. President Ford's proposed budget increase, a recent Supreme Court decision, and increased deportation round-ups are a few examples of the attempt to place the blame for continued high unemployment on undocumented workers.

On May 5, Ford requested a \$10 million increase for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The House Appropriations Committee not only approved his request, but added an additional \$7.3 million to expand "apprehension, detention, and deportation" of aliens.

Last February, the U.S. Supreme Court endorsed California's Dixon-Arnett law which requires employers to do the work of Immigration agents. The law makes it illegal for employers to "knowingly employ an alien who isn't entitled to lawful residence in the U.S." The court decision is a boost for passage of a similar law on the federal level—the Rodino Bill, which is being opposed by the growing anti-deportation forces.

Every day thousands of workers leave their countries to look for work in the U.S. The INS reports that border patrol agents in April

apprehended an average of 4,000 undocumented workers per day. It is estimated that the current population of those who are here "illegally" is around eight million.

The immigrants, 90% from Mexico, leave because their countries have been impoverished by imperialism. U.S. investment in Mexico, for example, has reached the \$2 billion mark, reflecting U.S. control of about 55% of the Mexican economy. The extraction of these billions in profits has produced large-scale starvation and 40% unemployment in Mexico.

In the U.S., the immigrants work at the worst jobs for starvation wages. According to U.S. News, between 20 and 25% earn less than the legal minimum wage.

In a report to *The Call*, a Spanish-speaking worker correspondent described the effect on her community of the ruling class' mass deportation campaign:

"In the last few months, Immigration has been making raids in an area of Brooklyn, not only in factories, but also in buildings where Spanish-speaking people live. In a recent raid, they took 19 people from a coat factory. Most were women from Central and South America who did sewing. "I was able to interview one of



(CALL photo)

## 10,000 in ERA March

Springfield, Ill.—In the largest demonstration ever called to support the Equal Rights Amendment, more than 10,000 people marched on the Illinois state capitol May 16. The march, sponsored by the National Organization of Women (NOW), reflected the growing struggle for women's equality, especially in the present period of massive layoffs of women workers and cutbacks in childcare, health services and welfare programs.

In sharp contrast to the slogans promoted by the organizers of the march like "ERA is the American Way," fightback activists from several cities joined in the march carrying signs that demanded "Full Equality for Women," and "Make the Bosses Pay!" They distributed leaflets which targeted imperialism as the cause of women's oppression and urged men and women to unite in the fight for women's rights.

Despite the large size of the crowd, only a small number of working class and minority women participated. This reflects the reformist approach of NOW, which relies on the liberal politicians and ignores the demands of working class and minority people.

who come to this country to work for miserable salaries in the factories which deny them every benefit to which they have a right."

A member of the Los Angeles Labor Unity Organization wrote to *The Call* about efforts to organize against deportations at the welfare office where he works:

"Recently it has become more obvious that Immigration is using welfare workers as involuntary informers in the search for undocumented workers. We put out a newsletter demanding a stop to deportations and harassment of the Chicano and Mexicano community of East Los Angeles.

"The welfare bosses panicked. They threatened to fire workers who were active in the anti-deportation movement and actually did suspend one worker. But our determination to defeat the lie that foreign-born workers cause unemployment has only gotten stronger."

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## A Page From History: Memorial Day, 1937

# WORKERS' DETERMINATION IN THE FACE OF DEATH

The 1937 Memorial Day Massacre at Republic Steel in Chicago has become known world-wide as an example of the determination of the working class in the face of vicious attacks by the capitalists. Out of this heroic struggle to unionize the steel industry and to build the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) came many invaluable lessons which are relevant to the class struggle today.

By early 1937, the U.S. was well into the period of the Great Depression. The CIO was being built in militant opposition to narrow craft unionism, a policy of the reactionary labor leaders who organized only the highly skilled and better-paid workers. This policy left the great mass of working people and particularly the minority workers completely at the mercy of the capitalists, who were willing to commit any form of tyranny to keep their profits up.

The CIO drive was the greatest period of advance for the U.S.

working class in history. Led by the Communist Party, the working class in that period reached new levels of political and industrial strength and class consciousness. Unlike today, where the CP has degenerated into a party of revisionist traitors, in those days it was acting as a real vanguard party in the struggle for socialist revolution.

Communists and other revolutionary organizers led the 44-day sit-down strike at Flint, Mich. in February of 1937 which forced General Motors to sign a contract

with the auto workers' union. On March 2 of that year, U.S. Steel, the country's largest steel company and the citadel of the open shop, was forced to sign a contract with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC). SWOC was the forerunner of the United Steel Workers of America and was headed by the opportunist, reform union leader, Philip Murray.

The struggle to organize steel became a symbol in the working class battle for industrial organization following years of retreat at the start of the depression. Both the steel companies and the labor movement were gearing up for a decisive battle. With the victory over U.S. Steel, the next target of SWOC was a group of steel companies known as "Little Steel." They included Inland, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, Bethlehem and Republic.

About 200 full-time organizers were sent in by SWOC to organize in steel. Of these some 60 were communists. The leading role of the communists in the steel organizing drive was widely recognized, even in the capitalist press. Years earlier, the party had begun establishing communist cells and communist shop newspapers in the mills and the communist labor leader William Z. Foster had led the great steel strike in 1919. In addition, the party had taken the struggle into the communities and in particular linked the steel struggle to the fight for Black liberation. Much support for the steel drive was built in Chicago's Black South Side community.



ODIS HYDE, October League leader, tells of Memorial Day in 1937.

On May 26, at 11 p.m., the steel strike began. Out of 78,000 workers at the affected mills, 77,000 went out. Only two mills, Republic's Chicago and Buffalo plants continued to operate.

As the strike began, the workers were in a determined mood. They were finally getting a chance to hit back at the steel bosses for the miserable conditions which they had been long subjected to. Odis Hyde, a leader of the October League and a participant in the Memorial Day events, recalls the conditions in the mills: "There were no limitations on hours, no overtime, vacations were unheard of. These were just some of the horrors in the mills at that time."

Huge crowds greeted the last shift with cheers. They tried to set up picket lines, but the cops wouldn't allow it. Workers were arrested and beaten in the ensuing



MEMORIAL DAY MASSACRE of 1937: Police kill ten, wound scores.

struggles. Fearing the growing militancy of the workers, the opportunist union leaders struck up a deal with Chicago's Mayor Kelly and some of the other liberal New Deal politicians. Kelly finally agreed that the strikers could set up peaceful picketing and a mass rally was called for May 30, Memorial Day.

### HUNDREDS GATHER

Hundreds of workers gathered at Sam's place, a bar near Republic that was being used as strike headquarters. The crowd included strikers from Republic and from other mills around Indiana harbor. Many brought their families. There was also a large contingent of unemployed workers and hundreds of Black community and church organizations. As the strikers and their supporters set out for Republic Steel, Hyde recalls the mood as one of jubilation. A few blocks from the mill gate a line of 650 city police, called out by Mayor Kelly, opened fire on the marchers.

George Patterson, a picket captain recalled: "He was standing there—Kilroy was the man—and he was reading a very official document, telling us in the name of the people of Illinois to disperse. As soon as he said that, he put down the paper and all hell broke loose. They began to shoot at us, club us and gas us. I saw a boy run with his feet bleeding, then it dawned on me they were shooting real bullets. This was for keeps!"

### 'INVADING ARMY'

Hyde described the police as being "like an invading army, shooting indiscriminately at men, women and children."

Ten workers were killed and over 100 wounded by police that day. It was a testimony to the ruthlessness of the capitalists who would gladly turn guns on workers fighting for a union, let alone for political power over society. So much for the idea of "peaceful transition to socialism" now preached by the revisionist CP.

While the Memorial Day Massacre broke the 1937 strike, it wasn't long until "Little Steel" was forced to sign an agreement. Following the massacre, workers around the world marched in protest.

Some 10,000 people attended the funeral of four of the murdered workers in Chicago and the mass support, built largely by the communists, played a key role in the victory.

The massacre was also an exposure of the liberal labor aristocrats like Philip Murray who preached reliance on the New Deal politicians. Murray and company were tied completely to Roosevelt. While they were willing to use the communists to build the union

drive, they systematically kept them out of union leadership and tried to take away the party's ability to do any independent work among the workers, such as distributing literature about socialism or recruiting workers into the party.

The party itself made serious errors in the steel drive and in the CIO campaign in general. Under the influence of the arch-revisionist Earl Browder, the party gave in to the pressures of the labor lieutenants.

Odis Hyde sums it up this way: "The party relied too heavily on Murray and the liberal petty-bourgeois labor leaders. Instead of pushing forward the real people who built the struggle, they tailed after these so-called 'progressive leaders.'"

### A WORSE 'MASSACRE'

Two short years after the Memorial Day massacre, a worse "massacre" took place. The party put an end to all of its communist fractions within the union and liquidated all of the hundreds of communist shop papers, through which it carried on the class education of the workers. The union leadership was completely in the hands of reactionaries while the communists who had done all the organizing work were pushed out and stabbed in the back by the Browder leadership.

The lessons of Memorial Day, 1937, for us today must include not only the strengths of the communist participation, but also the errors caused by Browderism. Nearly 40 years later, the steelworkers have their union, but it is a union headed by the most corrupt and traitorous leaders imaginable, such as I.W. Abel. The line of Browder was later consolidated by the present Gus Hall leadership and now the working class has no vanguard party to guide it.

### LEADING ROLE

In waging the struggle today it is important to remember that without the leading and independent role of communists, the labor struggle is left in the hands of these agents of the capitalists. According to Odis Hyde, "It is also important to see that the reformists like Murray, who are today exemplified by opportunists such as Ed Sadlowski, in the USWA anti-Abel opposition," are no alternative."

The militancy of the working class and its determination to look death in the face in the course of the class struggle, is clearly painted in the story of the Republic Steel massacre. But without communist leadership of the union, the steelworkers will continue to suffer from the harsh exploitation of the companies and the sell-outs and betrayals of the union misleaders.

## ON THE LINE



### 'Huelga Sí, BFI No!'

Santa Barbara, Ca.—"Huelga, si! BFI no!" was the cry as over 250 strikers and supporters marched through the streets of Santa Barbara May 16 to show that the massive police arrests and beatings two weeks earlier could not stop the four-month battle against Browning Ferris Industries (BFI).

The march was a show of unity behind the 70 striking city garbage workers' and their demands against BFI, the City Council, the Police Department, and the sell-out Teamster leadership. The strikers, mainly Mexican workers with a long history of struggle against exploitation and national oppression, have won wide support from labor, Chicano and communist organizations.

### Support for Guyan Strikers

Logan, W.Va.—Three hundred strikers and supporters rallied and marched through this mining town recently to support the 170 striking members of Local 678 of the IUE. The local, on strike for four months against Guyan Machinery Co., is seeking its first decent contract since the union came in.

Speakers at the rally included officers of the IUE local, the Miners' Committee to Defend the Right to Strike, and the Southern West Virginia Fight Back Committee, which called on workers to strengthen pickets and put a stop to scabbing. Following the rally, more than 100 people volunteered to risk arrest by walking the line to stop the scabs.

Despite intimidations, fines, injunctions and a virtually complete sell-out by the IUE international leadership, not one of the original striking workers has gone back to work.

### Teamster Sweetheart Deal

Detroit, Mich.—After months of struggling to bring in the union, Detroit Public School bus drivers discovered May 5 that the Local 214 Teamster leadership had secretly signed a sweetheart agreement with the Board of Education in July 1975.

Militant rank-and-file drivers exposed this treachery to a general membership meeting of over 200 people. They quoted documents secured from the Michigan Employment Relations Commission which clearly revealed the Local 214 officials had agreed to a one-year pact that limited drivers' wages and benefits.

When the documents were read, pandemonium broke out in the union hall. Business rep Jack Ford was forced to retreat. Both the union and the Board of Education are upset at the recent television and radio interviews in which drivers denounced the bankrupt relationship.

### Cops Attack Cambion Pickets

Cambridge, Mass.—Three dozen off-duty cops hired by Cambion Electronics Co. attacked 70 picketing workers at dawn May 7 in an effort to protect a company truck that was hauling away the plant's machinery and the workers' jobs. Some of the cops had liquor on their breath, strikers said, and the club-swinging assault injured several workers. Six were arrested.

About 250 workers, many Portuguese and women, went out April 14 after the company threatened a lock-out rather than negotiate with UE Local 262. The company is trying to shift production to an unorganized plant in New Hampshire.

A fundraiser to help strikers, sponsored by the Cambridge Fight Back Caucus and the local chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), is planned for June 5.

# INTERVIEW WITH OL CHAIRMAN ON INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

## 'Working Class Must Get Prepared for War Danger'

The following interview with October League Chairman Michael Klonsky examines the views of the OL on some questions about the international situation. The interview was conducted following the return in April of an OL Central Committee delegation to the People's Republic of China, headed by Klonsky.

**Call:** The October League has said previously that the two superpowers are the main enemies of the world's peoples today. Is this still true?

**MK:** Yes, it is. The two superpowers are the biggest criminals and enemies of the peoples, nations and countries of the whole world. They are the main source of a new world war and the only countries capable of starting such a war. This is because of their struggle to redivide the world among themselves. In doing so, they trample on the rights and sovereignty of the countries of the second and third world as well as on those of the people of their own countries. A broad united front of these peoples, nations and countries should be built to oppose them.

**Call:** OL has also said that of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union is the more dangerous. Why is this so?

**MK:** The Soviet Union is the most dangerous because it is a superpower on the rise, while the U.S. is on the decline. Although the U.S. still maintains the most colonies and is to some degree stronger economically, the Soviet Union is the most aggressive because it is a newcomer to the imperialist feast.

The Soviet Union can be compared to Hitler Germany during the period of the

'30s. At that time, the British, French and U.S. imperialists were in the most dominant position in the capitalist world. But Germany's imperialists were the most dangerous precisely because they were trying to seek hegemony and replace the other imperialist powers as top dog. This is the goal of the Soviet social-imperialists today.

The Soviet Union is also stronger militarily than the U.S. in the main strategic areas of sea power and ground capabilities. It has the most powerful military machine ever assembled in history and has completely militarized its fascist-type society. Despite all of Brezhnev's talk of "detente," the recent 25th Congress of the Soviet party was obviously a war preparations congress.

Finally, the Soviet Union is the most dangerous enemy because it carries out aggression under the flag of "socialism." Its present intervention and occupation of Angola has temporarily confused some honest anti-imperialists. Because of the lies of the revisionist slander mill, the role of the Soviet Union as an imperialist superpower has not been clearly recognized yet by many of these militants who have long fought against the U.S. imperialists. Many are being temporarily pulled into efforts to open the door to even further Soviet expansion.

**Call:** Because of this stand on the Soviet Union, the revisionists and centrists have accused the OL of "class collaboration" and claim that you are calling for a "united front" with U.S. imperialism against the USSR. They have also made the same charge against China. What is your view of this?

**MK:** Yes, the centrists are trying to rescue the revisionists from their sinking ship. They are repeating all the lies which have been fabricated in Moscow of a "Maoist alliance with U.S. imperialism."

As to the question of a united front with U.S. imperialism, we know of no communist organization or party that has put forth such a view.

The opportunist charges of "class collaboration" are aimed at discrediting any and all opposition to the aggression of the Soviet Union.

The defeats of U.S. imperialism have not at all changed its completely reactionary nature. As the U.S. ruling class gears up for the inevitable war with the Soviet Union, we must intensify the struggle against them and their war preparations.

**Call:** Does China call for such a united front against the Soviet Union?

**MK:** From our discussions, I can say absolutely not. While opposing both superpowers, the Chinese have made it clear that they will direct the main blow against the Soviet Union because it is the most dangerous and the main source of a new world war. As to U.S. imperialism, the Chinese Party has always opposed it and still does. The present foreign policy of China is being carried out under the direct supervision of

Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee.

**Call:** What does it mean for us to direct this main blow at the USSR?

**MK:** It means that through our propaganda we must work even harder to expose the aggressive imperialist nature of the Soviet Union, to show that it is a capitalist dictatorship, a fascist dictatorship of the Hitler type. Secondly, we must expose and work to smash the revisionist Communist Party USA, which is nothing but a reactionary "fifth column" of the Soviet Union. We must intensify our exposures of this party and show it for what it is—an imperialist party—and not a communist party at all.

It also means that we must firmly oppose those in the U.S. who appease or conciliate to Soviet social-imperialism and who thereby bring on the war that much sooner.

**Call:** How does the OL view the present war danger?

**MK:** A few years ago, it was correct to say that "revolution is the main trend in the world today." Now this statement is no longer fully complete or applicable to the present conditions. Today both the factors for war and revolution are developing together. By saying that both factors are developing together, we are clearly emphasizing the growing danger of a war. In this way, we take note of the changes since 1970 and help people get prepared.

While a new war is inevitable, it is not necessarily imminent. War will not necessarily break out all at once. The main area of superpower contention is in Europe, but to prepare for war, the superpowers are jockeying for position on Europe's flanks, like the Mideast. The Soviet aggression in southern Africa is likewise a part of their efforts to strengthen their hand against the U.S. prior to the outbreak of world war.

**Call:** What does "getting prepared" for war entail?

**MK:** First and foremost, getting prepared means forging a genuine Marxist-Leninist vanguard party of the working class. With such a party, the working class can be organized and the struggle against capitalism heightened. In the event of a war, our program must be to turn the imperialist war into a revolutionary war against capitalism. At present, we must oppose the imperialist striving of both superpowers who are the only forces capable of launching such a war.

To turn this program into a living reality, work must be done now to educate the masses through our propaganda and agitation about the nature of the war. We must show that it is an imperialist war that is in the making. We must expose the Soviet Union as the main aggressor and the most dangerous of the superpowers and take on our special responsibilities of opposing our own imperialism.

Attempts are being made to increase the attacks on the working class and on the minorities. Getting prepared for war necessitates heightened class struggle against all such attacks on the rights and living standards of the people and in defense of the right to self-determination of all oppressed nations. The U.S. ruling class cannot carry out a war without attacking the people of this country.

The war and the danger of war is bound to heighten all of the basic contradictions in our society and provide an opportunity for winning large numbers of the working and oppressed people to revolutionary struggle.

A world war is a terrible attack on the people and on the productive forces in the world. However, it is better to be prepared than unprepared for such an attack.

On the other hand, the war heightens the revolutionary anger and fighting spirit of the people who also have guns placed in their hands. This is what makes it possible to turn imperialist war into civil war.

(To be continued)



(CALL photo)

## 'LIBERATE PALESTINE!'

Dearborn, Mich.—The streets of this city were filled with cries of "Free Palestine!" and "Democratic Palestine!" on May 15, when over 1,000 people marched in the rain on the anniversary of the armed occupation of Palestine by U.S.-backed Israeli aggressors. On that date in 1948, the Palestinian people were forced from their homes at gunpoint into concentration camps or into neighboring Arab countries as refugees, and the racist settler-state of Israel was founded.

At the rally in front of Dearborn City Hall, a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) called for support for the just struggle and goals of the Palestinian people.

The march coincided with the intensifying struggle in the West Bank area of occupied Palestine, where Israeli soldiers have unleashed a terror campaign against Palestinians protesting new Zionist takeovers of Arab lands. On May 16, an Arab school girl was killed by Israeli machine gunners. Massive demonstrations were immediately organized by the PLO.

Among the marchers in Dearborn were hundreds of Arab auto workers, including many who have been forced to leave the miserable poverty and oppression in occupied Palestine.

### From the World Press

### China Policy Study Group BROADSHEET

"Without doubt, it was not the wish of the politically conscious people in Angola that after the Portuguese withdrawal there should be civil war or any new form of foreign domination," says the April issue of the China Policy Study Group "Broadsheet," published in London.

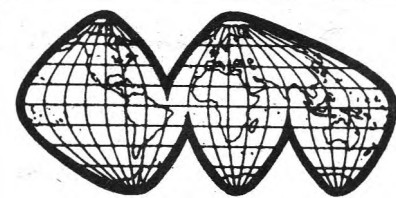
But, the article continues, "the massive foreign interventions triggered off by Moscow's interference have taken matters out of the hands of the Angolan people, at least for a time.

"Angolans have now to start again from the new facts of their situation: there is an army of occupation of Cubans, whom the vast majority of Angolans would never even have heard of till their invasion; there are South African troops along the border with Namibia; and there is the firm Soviet grip on Angola. . .

"But the Soviet hegemony in Africa, however benevolent it may seem to social-democrats and revisionists, has in it the seeds of its own destruction. . .

"Its presence, and the activities of the KGB and its agents, both open and secret, in Africa, must put high on the agenda of patriots, both Marxist-Leninist and others, a systematic inquiry into the nature of the Brezhnev regime. Is the 'international dictatorship' which this regime wants to exercise over the workers and peasants in Asia, Africa and Latin America not exercised over the workers and peasants in the Soviet Union, and over the minority peoples there? Is the Soviet Union capitalist or socialist? What is the nature of Soviet 'aid'? Why is this self-appointed model, even more than the other superpower, in a mess economically and socially? . . .

"The tiger that came in through the unguarded back door is a paper tiger."



## ...in brief...

**MEATLESS THURSDAYS:** The people of Moscow will no longer be able to eat meat on Thursdays as a result of new orders from Brezhnev, who is forcing the workers to "tighten their belts" in order to step up war preparations. A Moscow official stated that the reason for the meatless Thursday campaign is to "improve the diet" of people in that city. But the real reason is the crisis in Soviet agriculture which has been greatly sharpened by the militarization of the economy.

**MILITARIZATION:** A May 6 dispatch from the Albanian Telegraphic News Agency discusses imperialism's ever-increasing tendency to militarize the economy, noting that today more than \$300 billion is spent by the two superpowers and other capitalist countries on military expenditures. The article shows that these countries now spend more money on military aims in one year than was spent in all of World War II. The article also noted that the Soviet Union today spends 20% of its national income on military development. The only other country in history to spend a similar percentage was Hitler's Germany on the eve of the war.

**REPRESSION IN INDIA:** The Indian government disclosed that it has rounded up 7,000 people and imprisoned them in an effort to halt the distribution of "objectionable literature." The government has also seized 34 illegal printing presses. Foreign observers told the New York Times that the official statistics on those imprisoned are too low and that literature opposing the government continues to be widely circulated.

**STRIKERS IN COLOMBIA:** The workers at the Riopaila sugar mill in Colombia have been on strike since December 15 protesting company violations of agreements on working conditions. In spite of union leaders' attempts to end the strike by putting the union under government control and severe police attacks, workers are persisting in the struggle, according to Nueva Democracia, the newspaper of the Marxist-Leninist League of Colombia. Thousands of workers across the country have contributed to the strike fund, helping to support the families of the 2,000 strikers.

# EARLY UNIONS A SCHOOL FOR STRUGGLE

What is the purpose of trade union organization and what are the tasks of communists within the trade unions? In a series of articles to be published in *The Call*, we will examine these questions, summing up a Marxist-Leninist view of the trade union question.

Unions first arose out of the spontaneous battles of working people to defend themselves from the abuses and oppressive conditions imposed by the very system of wage labor. The rise of capitalism brought the increasingly greater concentration of industrial production in factories and mills, with ownership concentrated in the hands of a small class of capitalists.

Stripped of any means of survival other than the sale of their labor power, workers were forced to compete against each other, thereby enabling profit-hungry capitalists to drive down wages and force long hours and inhuman conditions on the masses of people.

In this situation of virtual enslavement, workers were bound to resist. In the days of

the industrial revolution, this resistance tended to take the form of smashing the very machines which seemed to be the immediate cause of their enslavement and impoverishment. Later, however, workers began to form various societies, organizations and common funds for mutual protection. In the course of these spontaneous outbreaks and through their own experience, workers soon learned that their most effective weapon against the combined power of capital was to combine their own resources, to unite the working people in one craft or one factory so they could exact better conditions for work and also better terms for the sale of their labor power.

The trade unions were built in the fight of workers to eliminate or restrict the competition among themselves, so that they could in fact demand better terms. From the earliest struggles in the 19th century, organized labor demonstrated its power in sharp strike battles and broad international movements like the struggle for the eight-hour day.

In the United States, the rising trade union movement emerged through difficult but also victorious battles against a ruling class determined to crush it. From the first unions in this country like the cigar makers in Tampa and the shoemakers in Philadelphia, and the development of early labor federations like the Knights of Labor, the U.S. working class made historic advances. In 1886, these organizations played a leading role in mobilizing tens of thousands of workers and supporters to fight for the 8-hour day in Chicago at the May Day demonstration in Haymarket Square. This event became a landmark in the struggle for the working class internationally as did the fight of women garment workers in the Lower East Side of New York, which led to the development of International Women's Day, March 8.

In these battles as well as others like the great Pullman strike of 1894, revolutionary-minded and socialist leaders like Eugene V. Debs linked the fight for the immediate demands of the working class to the fight against capitalism, showing in this way the potential of the unions in organizing and leading these fights.

In drawing together workers and teaching them through struggle the need for solidarity and unity against the onslaught of capital, unions served as centers for organizing the working class as a whole. They were schools that provided an elementary class training, demonstrating to workers the necessity of subordinating individual interests to those of a larger section of the class, of putting solidarity above competition in order to advance the interests of all working people.

## UNIONS' ENORMOUS POTENTIAL

Even when the unions were in their earliest stage of development, carrying out guerrilla war against different employers, Karl Marx recognized the enormous potential of the unions far beyond the fight against day-to-day abuses. In a resolution of the International Workingmen's Association in 1866, the first international organization of the working class, Marx stressed that the trade unions were even more important "as organized bodies to promote the abolition of the very system of wage labor."

The introduction of socialist thought, the science of working class revolution, into the labor movement began to transform the character of the trade unions and the trade union movement, by consciously diverting it from the path along which it had developed spontaneously. The spontaneous movement would never make a break with the capitalist system, and as Lenin emphasized, the spontaneous movement alone meant "a strengthening of the influence of bourgeois ideology upon the workers." Spontaneous outbreaks are aimed at one or another abuse of capitalist exploitation but never against the whole capitalist system, the root cause of the continual impoverishment and oppression of the broad masses of people.

In addition to their original tasks in defending workers, the trade unions, as Marx



WORKING WOMEN in New York led the way to

pointed out, "must learn how to act consciously as focal points for organizing the working class on the greater interests of its complete emancipation." In supporting every social and political movement directed towards this aim, the unions "must convince the whole world that they are not fighting to further their narrow personal interests, but to free millions of oppressed people."

When unions first arose, the capitalists waged a vicious battle to block them, to crush them before they could spread. They passed laws, jailed and killed union organizers and leaders and sent out police, army, guards and goon squads to massacre and intimidate the growing workers' movement.

But the workers' movement was too strong and persistent; the workers, faced with the brutalities of capitalist exploitation, were bound to resist and fight back, at whatever cost.

So, in addition to repression, the capitalists saw the need to appease the workers, to buy off some faithful adherents to serve as agents in the ranks of the workers' movement. They began not only to accept trade unions but to promote trade unionism and reformism in order to channel workers into the limited struggles for better wages and better conditions within the context of preserving capitalism.

## CORRUPT UPPER STRATUM

Out of the vast profits gained through the plunder of third world nations and peoples as U.S. capitalism developed into imperialism, the capitalists in this country bought off and corrupted a small upper stratum of the workers. They created a labor aristocracy of bourgeoisified workers who stood for the preservation of the capitalist system, preached class collaboration instead of class struggle and used the unions to protect the interests of only the most privileged strata of workers, mainly white skilled workers.

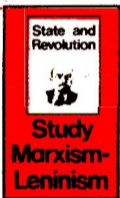
Whereas unions had arisen to build and strengthen unity among workers against the capitalists, these labor lieutenants have only promoted divisions, particularly along national and sex lines.

These misleaders have served the interests of capital, either through the outright reactionary suppression of the workers' movement or through the derailment of that movement into reformist and trade unionist channels.

Along with the reformist wing of the labor aristocracy today, sabotaging the workers' movement, stands the revisionist Com-

## Democracy Covers Capitalist Rule

# The State and Revolution (3)



A central part of Lenin's teachings in "The State and Revolution" deals with the struggle to move from the present sham democracy, which is only a cover for the dictatorship of the biggest capitalists, to "a state that is democratic in a new way (for the proletariat and the propertyless in general) and dictatorial in a new way (against the bourgeoisie)." (p. 41, Foreign Languages Press edition, Peking.)

Lenin's discussion of this question is aimed against two kinds of wrong views, both of which lead to the defeat of this struggle. One is the ultra-"left" view that says the working class should be indifferent to bourgeois democratic rights and forms and not get involved with them. The other is the right-opportunist view that says the working class should enter the struggles around bourgeois democracy, but not go beyond that.

Today, as in Lenin's day, there are people who are disdainful of struggles that concern "only" democratic rights under capitalism, such as the struggles for the rights of national minorities and of women, or the struggle to defend the right to strike or the right to vote. They want to engage only in the "pure revolutionary" struggle, nothing less. What they preach is that it really makes no difference whether the capitalists exercise their dictatorship over the workers in the "democratic" form or in the open terroristic form (fascism).

## LEARN TO 'MAKE USE'

Lenin sharply opposed such a line. Marxist-Leninist parties, he taught, must learn to "make use of" the bourgeois-democratic forms, even the most rotten ones such as the "pig-sty" of bourgeois parliamentarism." (p. 54) True, bourgeois democracy is only a cover for bourgeois oppression of the workers, but this "by no means signifies that the form of oppression is a matter of indifference to the proletariat, as some anarchists 'teach.'" (p. 95) Lenin states that the democratic form of capitalist rule is far more advantageous to the proletariat than any other because it allows for and creates "a wider, freer and more open form of the class struggle." (p. 95) Those who preach indifference to the democratic forms under capitalism may sound very revolutionary, but in essence they are helping the bourgeoisie, not the proletariat.

Lenin's main target, however, is those

who spread the illusion that the bourgeois democratic forms by themselves can basically change capitalism. "We are in favor of a democratic republic as the best form of the state under capitalism; but we have no right to forget that wage slavery is the lot of the people even in the most democratic bourgeois republic." (p. 22).

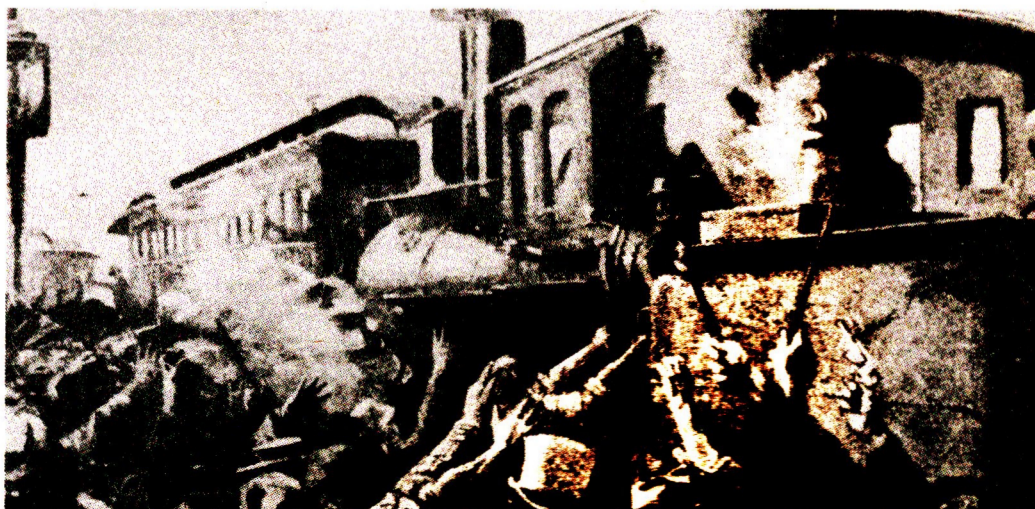
This passage hits today's liberals, but it hits even more the modern revisionists of the so-called Communist Party (CPUSA). The revisionists, along with the reformists and liberals, claim that war, unemployment, national and sexual discrimination and other built-in evils of capitalism can be fully removed by working "within the system" and voting for their favorite candidates. They reject going further, and in particular they oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. All the world's revisionist parties today have either written the dictatorship of the proletariat out of their program or are in the process of doing so.

## INTENSIFIES STRUGGLE

Lenin, by contrast, teaches that the democratic republic is precisely the form that brings the working class closest to realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat, and is the step immediately leading up to it. "The democratic republic is the nearest approach to the dictatorship of the proletariat. For such a republic—without in the least abolishing the rule of capital, and therefore, the oppression of the masses and the class struggle—inevitably leads to such an extension, development, unfolding and intensification of this struggle that, as soon as there arises the possibility of satisfying the fundamental interests of the oppressed masses, this possibility is realized inevitably and solely through the dictatorship of the proletariat, through the leadership of those masses by the proletariat." (pp. 83-84)

Revisionism divorces bourgeois democracy and the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. Lenin shows on the contrary, that the former is the "nearest approach," the step immediately leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat and is intimately linked with it. Revisionism claims that the fundamental interests of the masses can be realized by sticking within bourgeois democracy. Lenin teaches that they can and will be realized through the dictatorship of the proletariat and through it alone.

Can the working class take the step to power peacefully, nonviolently? This is another question on which Lenin's teachings sharply expose the line of the revisionists. (To be continued.)



GREAT PULLMAN STRIKE of 1894: Socialist leaders like Eugene Debs linked strike battle to s

# NS A RUGGLE

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So, in addition to repression, the capitalists saw the need to appease the workers, to buy off some faithful adherents to serve as agents in the ranks of the workers' movement. They began not only to accept trade unions but to promote trade unionism and reformism in order to channel workers into the limited struggles for better wages and better conditions within the context of preserving capitalism.

## CORRUPT UPPER STRATUM

Out of the vast profits gained through the plunder of third world nations and peoples as U.S. capitalism developed into imperialism, the capitalists in this country bought off and corrupted a small upper stratum of the workers. They created a labor aristocracy of bourgeoisified workers who stood for the preservation of the capitalist system, preached class collaboration instead of class struggle and used the unions to protect the interests of only the most privileged strata of workers, mainly white skilled workers.

Whereas unions had arisen to build and strengthen unity among workers against the capitalists, these labor lieutenants have only promoted divisions, particularly along national and sex lines.

These misleaders have served the interests of capital, either through the outright reactionary suppression of the workers' movement or through the derailment of that movement into reformist and trade unionist channels.

Along with the reformist wing of the labor aristocracy today, sabotaging the workers' movement, stands the revisionist Com-

munist Party (CPUSA), vile traitor to the working class. Once the proud vanguard of the U.S. working class movement, the CP has degenerated over the past decades into a revisionist party. On the one hand, they preach class collaboration and reformism, tailing after the reformists. On the other, they work as agents of the social-imperialists, promoting the interests of the Soviet Union, its phony line of "detente." Disguising themselves as "communists," the revisionists are the most dangerous enemies in the working class movement.

In order for the unions to advance the genuine interests of the working class, they must break completely with the reactionary leaders, the reformists and the revisionists. "No preparation of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is possible," Lenin wrote, "unless an immediate systematic, extensive and open struggle is waged against this stratum (labor aristocracy)." At the same time, the struggle against these traitors must be linked, as Lenin showed, to the battle against spontaneity, to the fight for conscious Marxist-Leninist leadership of the workers' movement.

Lenin targeted in particular the opportunist idea promoted by the economists that the unions could be "neutral" organizations. He stressed that only by maintaining the very closest contact and being under the leadership of a communist party could the trade unions advance the struggle of the working masses and break with opportunism.

Today this is certainly true. The unions are presently bound hand and foot to the imperialist class and bourgeois ideology through the labor aristocracy and the revisionists. The most immediate and pressing task is to build a genuine communist party that will be able to guide the struggle in the unions and provide Marxist-Leninist leadership in the battle to oust these opportunists.

The new communist party that we are presently building will be made up of the finest working class fighters of all nationalities, and it will be based firmly in the industrial proletariat, rooted through factory nuclei in all major industries and unions, especially the large mills and plants. Through communist agitation and propaganda, the party will win the advanced workers to its ranks, spreading the influence of communist ideas and the communist party among the broad masses.

Under the leadership of the new party, the unions will be forged into powerful weapons to advance the struggle for proletarian revolution and for socialism.

# Unity Philadelphia

We are a group of communists who have constituted ourselves as a Marxist-Leninist organization, the Philadelphia Party Building Collective, in order to participate in the nationwide struggle to build a genuine communist party of the working class.

We have achieved a high degree of unity with the seven party building principles advanced in the November 1975 issue of *The Call* and are preparing ourselves for participation in the May unity conference. We believe that the current struggle to establish unity among Marxist-Leninist forces is a revolutionary struggle, one that is being waged in the interests of the working class and all oppressed people, both in the U.S. and all over the world.

In particular, we support the "Call to Unite," including the seven points as a correct line of demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism. A scientific Marxist-Leninist line must point out the necessary relationship between the struggles of the multinational working class and the revolutionary fight of oppressed nationalities for their democratic rights. We in the PPBC uphold the right of Afro-Americans to self-determination and believe that this position reflects a Marxist-



Leninist understanding of the necessary connection between Black people's struggle for liberation and the whole multinational working class struggle for revolutionary upheaval and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The formation of our party building collective is a great step forward for our movement in Philadelphia. In doing so, we have made a clean break in theory and practice with the revisionists and their allies, the centrists. In the past, Philadelphia has been a stronghold of centrism, most influentially represented by the Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee (PWOC). Their line

## No Revolutionary Talk Allowed

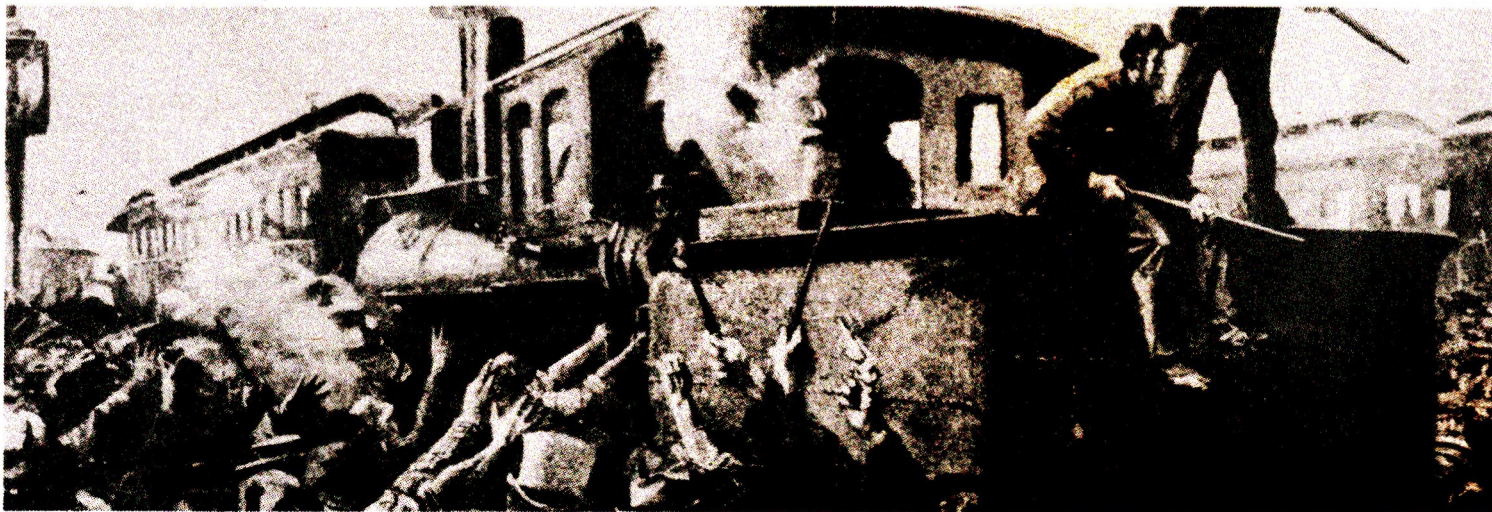
# A COMMUNIST

The revisionist Communist Party USA is running an opportunist election campaign hardly distinguishable in its political content from the Democratic Party campaign program.

The campaign, in the words of party chairman and presidential campaigner Gus Hall, is "the centerpiece of our work." Hall added: "We will relate all our work to the elections."

Like its fraternal revisionist cliques running for office in Italy, France, Greece and other European countries, the CP has dropped all talk of revolution from their program. The U.S. revisionists have thrown all principles of Marxism to the wind in exchange for some votes. Their long range strategy is to strengthen their political base enough to form a bloc with the liberals of the Democratic Party and the "independents." This is their version of the "peaceful road to socialism." Their short-term goal is to use the campaign to promote "detente" and pressure the other candidates into appeasing the expansionist drives of the Soviet Union.

The opportunism of the Hall-Tyner campaign could be clearly seen in a recent appearance on a New York radio call-in show. For thirty minutes, Hall and Tyner discussed the various ways they could patch up capitalism, if elected. But then, an astute caller asked them about the aim



GREAT PULLMAN STRIKE of 1894: Socialist leaders like Eugene Debs linked strike battle to socialist aims of whole working class.

# Unity Statement of the Philadelphia Party-Building Collective



...rt International Women's Day (March 8).

...nist Party (CPUSA), vile traitor to the working class. Once the proud vanguard of the U.S. working class movement, the CP degenerated over the past decades into a revisionist party. On the one hand, they practice class collaboration and reformism, following after the reformists. On the other, they work as agents of the social-imperialist system, promoting the interests of the Soviet Union, its phony line of "detente." Disguising themselves as "communists," the revisionists are the most dangerous enemies in the working class movement.

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on trade unions has been characterized by an explicit trend of rightism and economism and, although they consider themselves communists, they make a practice of eliminating discussion of the goals of the whole working class movement: the overthrow of the state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Like the revisionists, they paint the state apparatus as neutral, and while they mention how difficult these bureaucratic agencies make it for workers to file grievances, etc., they do not explain that the ruling class owns and runs the state and must be overthrown. Besides distorting Marxism-Leninism, they demonstrate a profound pessimism about the ability of the working class to grasp Marxism-Leninism and build a revolutionary movement and a revolutionary vanguard party.



As regards the Afro-American national question, the PWOC has adopted the view that Black people constitute "a national minority," and that the October League's position that a Black nation exists in the deep South is nothing more than "romanticism and dogmatism". In actuality, the PWOC view has led them to reject the struggle for democratic rights as evidenced by their opposition to the demand for compensatory seniority for minority and women workers.

To liquidate the revolutionary demands of oppressed people as a means of achieving working class "unity" is to capitulate to

white chauvinism and contribute to wrecking the real unity being built in the multinational working class. There is much more to be said about the line of the PWOC, but the general thread which distinguishes this trend is a refusal to recognize the Soviet Union as an imperialist superpower, political backwardness and reformism to the core.

Besides a break with the rightist, centrist forces, we have also broken sharply with the ultra-"left" tendency, represented by the "Revolutionary Wing" and best represented in Philadelphia by the Workers' Viewpoint Organization.

We in the PPBC believe that mass struggle is a testing ground for our theory, and only through the application of Marxism-Leninism to our revolutionary work can we advance our theory and practice in the work-

ing class movement. Although our organization is a transitional form, our work must be carried forward in all three aspects of party building: mass work, organizational work and ideological work. The fact that our party building collective was forged through breaks with both rightism and ultra-"leftism" is evidence that the rising trend in our move-

ment is unity around a genuine Marxist-Leninist line, laying the groundwork for our new party.

Finally, we wish to express our solidarity with the weekly *Call*. We believe that it is a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist newspaper and continues to be a most valuable tool in our party building work here in Philadelphia. We have unanimously agreed to support it, write for it and sell it. These are major tasks for us in party building.

We call on all comrades who wish to advance the revolutionary task of party building to its realization to unite with our organization in Philadelphia and with this general trend throughout the U.S.

## No Revolutionary Talk Allowed

# A COMMUNIST ELECTION CAMPAIGN ?

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of communists, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After all, the dictatorship of the proletariat has always been at the heart of any communist program. Lenin called it the "touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested." It means the replacement of the rule of the capitalists with the undivided rule of the working class. The dictatorship of the proletariat is also the pathway to communism, a society where there are no longer any classes. This is the final goal of all Marxist-Leninists.

After hemming and hawing for a few seconds on the radio show, Hall blurted out that the dictatorship of the proletariat was "not a campaign issue." He then added that the CPUSA ten years ago had decided that use of this phrase "could be misunderstood," and had therefore dropped it from its program.

It should be obvious that the Hall-Tyner campaign has nothing in common with communism. The revisionists view the electorate as an ignorant mass to be manipulated in the same way the Democrats and Republicans do. Their motive is not to educate people about socialism, but to bring the struggle of the people into the bounds of acceptability to the capitalists.

One campaign directive of the revisionist party even tells its members not to dis-

cuss politics with potential voters while doing petition work to get the party onto the ballot. In a petition-drive guide printed in the revisionist mouthpiece, "The Daily World," Robert Phillipoff writes: "Pen out in front so they may sign quickly. Speak with assurance. Smile." The petitioners are then instructed to tell people that they can vote against the CP on the ballot if they want to. "What you do in the voting booth is your own business. It's freedom of choice."

What about political discussion with potential signers about the merits of socialism as opposed to capitalism? Phillipoff writes: "...experience has shown that from the point of view of collecting a large amount of signatures in a short period of time, a big discussion of issues can be time-consuming."

He adds, "The 'freedom of choice' theme is good not only because it is true, but it tends to give the potential signer confidence that he or she is doing the right thing by signing the petition."

The CP's election campaign is a fancy bit of Madison Avenue huckstering. It is a campaign of opportunism designed to pull the rug out from under the revolutionary struggle of the people and promote instead the interests of imperialism and social-imperialism.





# MPLA LEFTISTS JAILED...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

25th Party Congress, threatened these patriots with death. In the April 9 issue of the Lisbon newspaper, *Jornal Novo*, Alves was quoted as saying, "Individuals who are known to belong to the OCA . . . or those who have been loyal to the Active Revolt or have shown such an attitude will have to be arrested immediately . . . The most hardheaded, the most obstinate, will have to be eliminated."

Reports from a number of Western newspapers document the further development of opposition to Angola's new colonizers. The *Manchester Guardian* of Britain in its April 3 issue noted that "left-wingers" within the ranks of the ruling MPLA government are saying that "Angola has been sold out to the Soviet Union" and that "Moscow has allowed the Cubans to become the new colonizers of Africa."

New York Times correspondent David Binder noted in a May 5 dispatch that the Soviet Union had put pressure onto Nito Alves to maintain the Cuban military presence and silence opposition to it. The article said that this was not necessarily in accord with the policies of Angola's president and the leader of the MPLA, Agostinho Neto, who had recently appealed for national unity.

All these developments show that while the Soviet social-imperialists may have been able to hide their aggression against Angola for a time under the banner of "aid" and "solidarity," the Angolan people themselves have seen through these lies.

All over Angola people are asking why the Soviet-Cuban troops won't leave, especially now that South Africa has withdrawn completely. Shortly after it was revealed that the families of the Cuban troops were settling in Angola, indicating intentions of a long stay, demonstrations were held in southern Angolan cities, raising the slogan "No to Soviet-Cuban Domination!"

Brezhnev's hypocrisy that "the Soviet Union seeks no advantage in Angola," is exposed by new facts every day. It was recently disclosed that the Soviet social-imperialists made a huge coffee deal with the Angolan government in January to buy coffee at 180 escudos per sack, when world market rates are currently fluctuating between 467 and 472. In this venture, the Soviet Union netted \$30 million in profit.

Soviet "advisers" now run all the diamond and mineral mines in Angola, according to the Belgian newspaper *Clarte et L'Exploite*. That newspaper reported on a fishery operation where the director

was Russian and under him were 60 Cuban technicians. Angolans did all the manual labor.

The emergence of opposition to Soviet domination from inside the MPLA has frightened the social-imperialists. One of their chief tactics in Angola was to promote the disunity of the people by promoting the MPLA in opposition to Angola's other liberation organizations. Only a disunited Angola could be penetrated and occupied by social-imperialism.

But now, it is not only the liberation fighters in those other organizations who are coming forward to oppose superpower domination. Even leading fighters in the MPLA are taking a stand for the unity of Angola against its new exploiters. These developments show that in spite of superpower attempts to destroy the unity of Angola, the people are fundamentally united in wanting to see their country free from all foreign control.

We should answer the OCA's call for worldwide protest with a thundering denunciation of the jailings and threatened executions. The social-imperialists already have the blood of 150,000 Angolans on their hands, massacred in the civil war. We must bitterly condemn their attempt to add to this evil record with the blood of more patriots and revolutionary fighters.

## Hit Cops Posing as Newsmen

When local police admitted in court that they had posed as "reporters" in order to set up John and Eddie Ruth Marshall for arrest, it caused a stir in the local press. The Marshalls, both Black factory workers and active fighters in the Tampa Workers' Committee, were arrested and convicted on frame-up charges after a recent food stamp office demonstration (see *The Call*, May 17).

The Washington Post sent a telegram to Tampa Mayor Bill Poe condemning the practice of impersonating newsmen, and the Florida Society of Newspaper Editors termed the Marshalls' arrest a "sorry spectacle."

At a press conference, a spokesman for the Tampa Workers' Committee hit at police activities, and pointed out that they were designed to "harass the demonstrators and to discourage others from joining the fightback."

## Phila. Group Demands Justice

Philadelphia, Pa.—Last October the home of the Santiago family was firebombed by racists, killing Mrs. Santiago, three of her children, and 15-year-old Luis Carrocini, who was helping to guard the home.

The Santiagos, a Puerto Rican family, had been threatened and harassed by a gang organized by the area's Democratic Party committeeman ever since moving into the mostly-white neighborhood. The court attempted to cover up this racist conspiracy by only bringing to trial one of the accomplices, Robert Wilkenson, and letting the committeeman go free.

The newly-formed Puerto Rican Action Committee (PRAC) and the Coalition for Justice began mobilizing the Puerto Rican community to demand that the conspiracy be exposed, the murderers convicted, and the racist attacks stopped. On April 24, PRAC and the Coalition led a militant march and rally that drew hundreds of people to protest the trial judge's delaying tactics in avoiding a conviction.

Shortly afterwards, Wilkenson was found guilty of second-degree murder. But the Coalition and PRAC are continuing to push for the arrest and exposure of all the conspirators.

## Inmates Stage Hunger Strike

Submitted by Jim Grant, Black prisoner in North Carolina and one of the Charlotte 3.

The entire population of the South Carolina State Prison at Columbia went on a hunger strike in solidarity with prisoners on Death Row.

Death Row inmates had themselves been refusing to eat for several days before they were joined by the rest of the prison population. The hunger strike is in protest against repressive new rules concerning Death Row inmates' right to have literature, personal possessions, etc.

In other developments, prison activists in North Carolina recently won a limited victory in court after two years of secret organizing.

A three-judge panel ruled that members of the North Carolina Prisoners' Labor Union (NCPLU) had the right to meet, bring in outside speakers, solicit membership, and circulate their newsletter. However, the court also stated that the union had "no right to strike."

The union was first organized by a group of prisoners in 1974. But in response to severe repression, the NCPLU went underground. Meetings were held secretly while membership recruitment continued. Despite the official ban against the union, more than 2,000 of the 12,000 prisoners in the state's 79 facilities signed union cards.

## Gov't. Drops Arms Charges

Portland, Ore.—Federal firearms charges were dismissed May 12 in the trial here of four Native American activists. The four—Dennis Banks, Kamouk Banks, Kenneth Loudhawk, and Russell Redner—still face state frame-up charges of "carrying concealed weapons."

No decision has yet been reached as to the proposed extradition of Dennis Banks to South Dakota. Banks, a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), is fighting extradition because his life would be in danger from the police should he return. Another defendant, Anna Mae Aquash, was assassinated shortly after her extradition.

## HAWKINS BILL BAD JOKE ...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

These phony "communists" see the liberals as their pathway to "peaceful socialism," nibbling away bit by bit at the foundations of capitalism. This strategy is no threat at all to the capitalist system, and that is why the CP is well-appreciated by the liberals.

Unemployment can't be solved under capitalism. But it can be solved under socialism. A living example of how to do it is today's China. Led by a real communist party, the Chinese working class made a socialist revolution, took power, and organized themselves as the ruling class.

That done, solving the unemployment problem thoroughly

and completely didn't take very long. Today there is no unemployment in socialist China, nor inflation, hunger, discrimination against minorities and women, or the other evils built into the capitalist system.

Every worker wants to eliminate unemployment. The Humphrey-Hawkins bill does not take a single step in this direction. It is an effort to sidetrack working people's anger at unemployment into the harmless and fruitless channel of congressional lobbying and election-year horsetrading.

Even partial victories against unemployment can be won only by fighting for them in a revolu-

tionary way. This is why the National Fight Back Organization (NFBO) has relied on militant actions to demand jobs from the capitalists, rather than relying on the Humphrey-Hawkins bill or other legislation.

A complete and lasting victory over unemployment can only come with the elimination of the system that feeds on unemployment for its very lifeblood, profits.

That means to step up the fightback for jobs or income now, and to unite the most advanced elements of the working class in a new Marxist-Leninist party that will fight for and win working class power.

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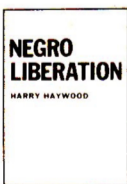


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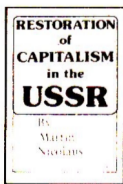
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Originally published in 1948, this important work by a leading Afro-American communist examines the conditions of exploitation and oppression of Black people and traces the root cause to their existence as an oppressed nation. Haywood's call for self-determination for the Afro-American people is seen as part of the overall destruction of the imperialist system.



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by Harry Haywood \$3.00

This is the first publication in book form of the author's recently completed study of the restoration of capitalism in the once-socialist Soviet Union. Making a scientific analysis of the political and economic changes in the Soviet Union since the death of Stalin, Nicolaus proves that the Soviet working class is exploited by a new monopoly capitalist class—a brutal fascist dictatorship.



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