

The Crisis of Capitalism

CUTBACKS BRING FIGHTBACK

The massive cutbacks in social services and employment which have recently swept New York and other big cities expose the capitalist lie of "recovery."

In Chicago, the whole city school system slammed its doors on students three weeks early.

In New York, the City University system padlocked its gates as the 270,000 students were trying to finish their final exams. It will be reopened only with high tuition fees that will virtually exclude working class and minority students.

Also in New York, the federal unit controlling health care funds in the city has demanded the closing of 30 hospitals, including the main hospitals serving Black and Puerto Rican communities, and the layoff of 3,000 hospital workers.

All over the country, thousands of children have been sent home from daycare centers as President Ford's veto of daycare services took effect.

More than five million poor people, mainly minorities and women, will be left without food if Ford's proposed foodstamp cutbacks are approved.

These cutbacks and a long list of others show what kind of "recovery" the capitalists have in mind. While their production has begun to show an upturn and their profit charts are climbing, unemployment remains "officially" well over 7%, with a whole generation of youth unable to find summer jobs this year. The cutbacks, in addition to layoffs, wage freezes and inflation are capitalist tools

for making the working class bear the burden of the continuing crisis. They are another hidden form of exploitation and robbery of the working people's labor.

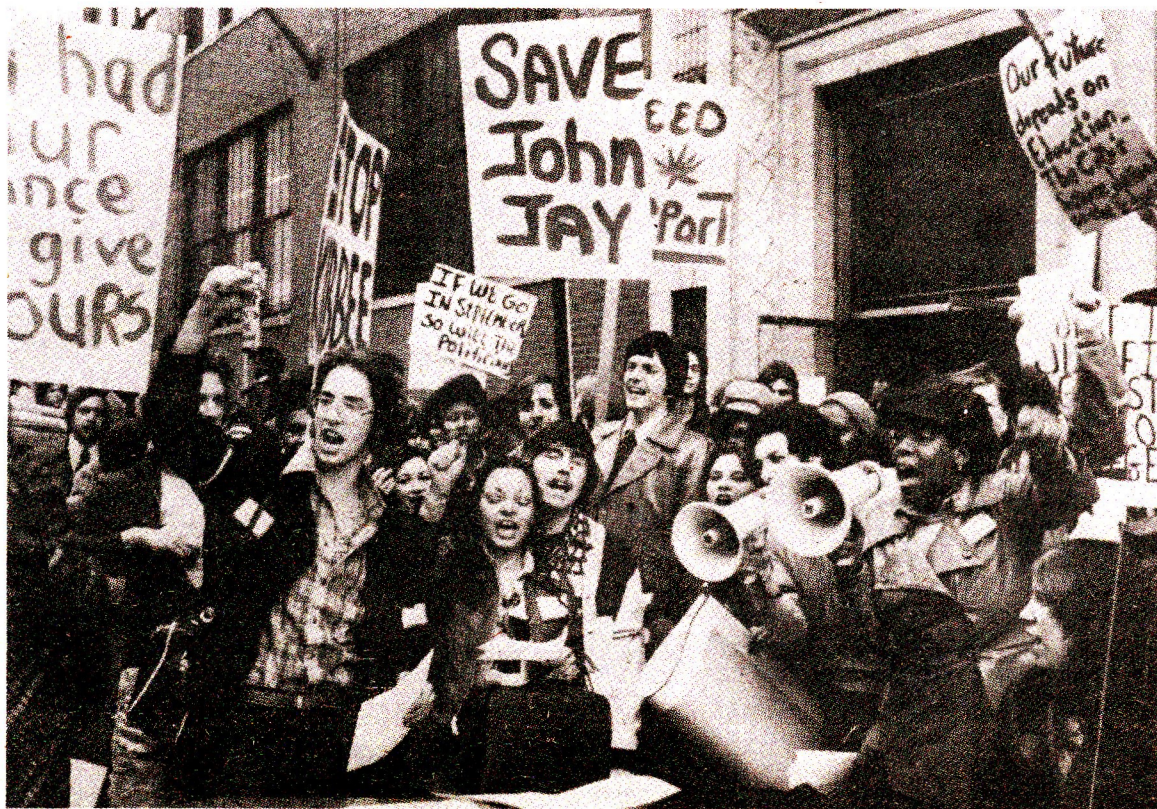
The cutbacks have taken an especially heavy toll on minorities and women. Even the few bones which were tossed to minority communities in the '60s are being taken back. For example, of the 500 Afro-American studies programs established in colleges during the Black revolt of the last decade, only 200 are still in operation, with the rest having been closed "for lack of funds."

The social services being stripped away were never even close to adequate in the first place. Even before the latest round of daycare cuts, for example, only 3% of working women were able to get their children into government-funded daycare centers. When daycare centers were set up or job training programs established, the bulk of the funds always went to supporting a monstrous bureaucracy and not to the needs of the people involved.

The capitalists have promoted a wide variety of lies and tricks to get people to swallow the cutbacks. Their chief props in forcing through the cutbacks are the labor bureaucrats who keep the lid on the workers' movement.

A clear instance of this betrayal

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 8)



STUDENTS PROTEST CLOSING of John Jay Branch of City University of New York.

ARAB UNITY KEY IN LEBANON CRISIS

Unity in the Arab world on the Lebanon crisis has emerged as the decisive factor in the Mideast following last week's meeting of all 20 Arab League countries. But the specter of superpower meddling and Israeli aggression still hangs over war-torn Beirut.

Signs of the growing unity in-

cluded the arrival in Lebanon of a joint Arab League peace-keeping force and Syria's reported agreement to withdraw at least 2,000 of its invading troops.

The Cairo meeting began with a statement from Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat on the need for unified and decisive Arab action in Lebanon. Arafat strongly condemned the Syrian invasion of Lebanon June 1.

He said that without Arab League action, Syria would continue to attack the Palestinian forces and the danger of imperialist intervention in Lebanon would be increased.

Palestinian guerrilla leader Rehbe Awad also spoke to the Arab League representatives, informing them of the death of Jawaad Abu Shaar, commander of Palestinian forces in Lebanon, at the hands of the Syrian army.

The majority of Arab League members opposed Syria's role in Lebanon and agreed with Egyptian Foreign Minister Fahmy who said, "There is no replacement for joint Arab action that would transform the provocations and the fighting into a dialogue governed by logic between the Lebanese parties to the conflict."

Behind the scenes of the Lebanon conflict lie the U.S. and the USSR, who have stepped up their activity in order to keep Arab unity from developing. Both superpowers have moved their warships closer to the Lebanese coast and both are involved in a complex web of political manipulation designed to disarm the Palestinian revolution and keep Arabs fighting Arabs. Both superpowers have supported Syria's invasion in one way or another.

The Soviet role in the Mideast is especially important to examine, because this superpower claims to support the Palestinian and Arab people in their struggle. The facts of the Lebanon situation expose the hypocrisy of such Soviet "support."

On April 28, the Soviet government issued a major statement defining its Mideast policy and repeating its call for a superpower Geneva Conference on the Mideast. This call was issued in spite of the fact that the official position of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is to oppose any such conference.

The Soviet Union is hoping that

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 8)

NAZI-LED RIOT

Racist Terror in Chicago

Chicago, Ill.—A wave of racist terror, aimed at maintaining segregation in this city of 3.5 million people, has swept across Chicago in the past two weeks. Mobs of racists, under the leadership of the KKK, nazis and other reactionary "white power" groups have attacked dozens of Black people under the noses of the police and city government

officials.

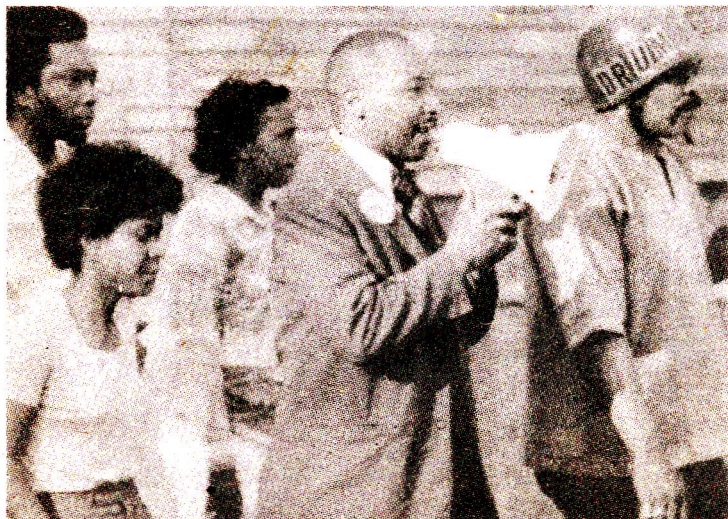
On Sunday, June 6, James Holdman, a Black man, was returning from a church service with his son when their car was attacked by demonstrating whites marching under the banner of the American Nazi Party and the KKK. The racist demonstration was held in the Marquette Park area, which has be-

come the target of a campaign of racist hysteria whipped up by the biggest realtors and other sections of big business. Attempts by Black families to integrate this formerly all-white area have been met with cross burnings and beatings.

The mob that attacked Holdman was carrying signs which said: "Niggers Beware" and "Hands Off Marquette Park." They were demonstrating prior to a planned march into Marquette Park by members of the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Movement in support of open housing.

Unaware of the marching whites, Holdman, a sheriff's deputy with the Department of Corrections, was returning from a service at Mt. Hebron Baptist Church. His car was stopped for a light. Holdman described the situation this way: "I was about five or six cars behind the signal light and there were other cars behind me. I think I was the only Black."

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 8)



CHICAGO DEMONSTRATION for open housing.

BFI Strike ... p. 3

OAS Meeting ... p. 4

SECCION EN ESPAÑOL



EDITORIALS

UNITY AGAINST DEPORTATIONS

"U.S. Jobs Market Pinched by Alien Trespassers"... "Latest Wave of Immigrants Brings New Problems to U.S."... "Study Says Illegal Aliens Create \$16 Billion Tax Burden"...

These headlines from recent U.S. news sources reflect the current campaign to whip up national chauvinism and anti-immigrant hysteria, especially against Mexican and Latino workers.

Hoping to divert the people's anger away from the real source of high unemployment, exorbitant taxes, huge welfare rolls, and other mounting burdens, the ruling class has resurrected its historically tested scapegoat—the immigrant worker.

When the Rockefellers and other big monopolists were building their empires, they brought millions of people from all over the globe to build the railroads, work in the mines and textile mills—in short, to make millionaires out of a few with the sweat and blood of the masses.

As capitalism developed into its highest stage, imperialism, the monopolists exported capital to other countries, exploiting the resources and the workers of these countries as well, forcing growing numbers to leave in search of a livelihood in the U.S. Today this process has forced an estimated eight million people to live "illegally" in the U.S. along with millions of "legal" immigrants who are also exploited as a source of cheap labor.

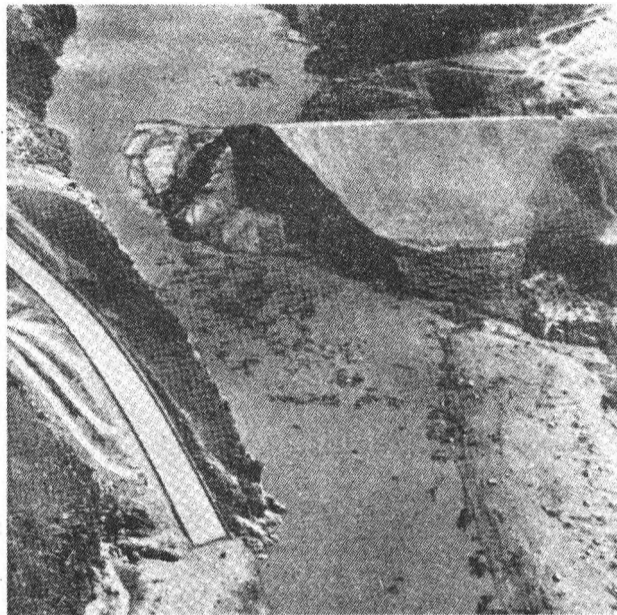
But imperialism also produces periods of economic crisis when unemployment and suffering for the masses grow even deeper. During these times, as in the current period, the capitalists must face the outrage of the people demanding jobs and an end to the system of exploitation.

A favorite answer to these demands has always been "deport the immigrant workers." This answer serves the purpose of severely weakening the workers' movement—dividing the immigrant workers from the non-immigrants, dampening the workers' militancy by spreading the fear of deportation, and selectively deporting picketers, union organizers and other leaders of the workers' struggle. The widespread deportation raids accompanied by police terror in factories, picket lines, and minority communities are meant to accomplish just these ends.

The media and the Immigration Service (INS)

are not the only tools that the ruling class uses in accomplishing these tasks. They have successfully placed their agents right in the workers' movement at the head of the most powerful labor unions. George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, for example, has solidly backed the ruling class call to deport "illegal" workers, as have other top officials. The hypocrisy of their concern for saving the jobs of U.S. workers is exposed by their total lack of action against the capitalists who are laying off workers of all nationalities by the thousands.

The strength and unity of the workers' movement depends on its ability to meet these deportations attacks head-on and smash them. This can be done only if U.S. workers, immigrant and non-immigrant, legal and "illegal," link arms in the common fight against imperialism, unemployment and all forms of exploitation both here and in the third world.



PROFIT SYSTEM BROKE DAM

The disastrous June 5 dam break in Idaho's Snake River Valley was caused by the politics of the profit system.

The scale of the catastrophe was that of a major hurricane or an earthquake. At least nine people were killed, and dozens are still missing. Four thousand homes and other buildings were swept away by the raging flood. More than 50,000 acres

of fine croplands lie spoiled by mud and silt. Estimates of the total damage run up to one billion dollars.

But this wasn't a disaster made by nature. It was man-made from start to finish. The parties responsible are the local, state and federal governments, and the agribusiness and banking interests that pressed for the dam.

When construction on the dam first started, local citizens' groups protested and went to court to try to block the work. One such group, representing conservationists, put a former government geologist on the stand who showed, on the basis of tests, that the earth at the base of the dam was too porous and crumbly to hold water. It was proved furthermore that the dam site lies on an earthquake fault zone.

The state court refused to listen to their testimony. In 1974, the U.S. district court also turned a deaf ear to appeals against the dam. Idaho's liberal senator Frank Church, long on the payroll of the state's biggest financiers, pushed for the project. Congress approved it. The Interior Department began construction. Last fall, the dam was basically finished. It was being filled up for the first time this month when its foundation started leaking and it broke. Even though leaks were reported three days before the dam broke, the people in the Snake River Valley weren't warned because Church was willing to risk people's lives on the slim chance the dam could be saved, rather than expose this scandal in an election year.

Why did the courts, the Congress and the administration refuse to hear the people's testimony? Because the powerful agribusiness and financial interests that control the fertile potato-growing land in the area also control the government. The potato tycoons of Idaho, and their Wall Street and Washington connections, wanted the dam for irrigation, and the government did what they wanted instead of what was right for the majority of the people.

The victims of the disaster are righteously angry. "I just knew it was dangerous," said Mrs. Ted Ard, one of the thousands who lost their homes, their savings and their livelihood. "The government had better repay us," she said.

But so far the government shows no signs of paying any compensation for the catastrophe it made. The Snake River Dam joins a long list of profit-caused disasters which the government has brought crashing down on the people.

The root cause of these evils is that political power in this country is in the hands of the big financial interests, and not in the hands of the working people.

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Comrades,

In April, *The Call* ran a front-page article "Nothing for Us in '76 Elections" which in our opinion puts forth an incorrect view of the election campaign. While Engels' words, describing the Democratic and Republican parties as "two wings of a single bird of prey," still hold true today, it is important to analyze scientifically the very real contradictions presently going on within the ranks of the U.S. ruling class. This is precisely what this article fails to do.

The very title of the article, "Nothing for Us . . ." shows that the article leaves the working class directionless in this campaign, when there is so much focus on the national and international political issues. Of course we should not support any of the ruling class parties or candidates, but we should analyze such contradictions as the one over foreign policy and the "detente" question, in order to carry out further exposures of the capitalists' growing war preparations going on behind the talk of "peace."

The "Nothing for Us . . ." article barely makes mention of the question of "detente" or the growing war danger. Therefore it leaves us with no scientific way of explaining the real news behind the election rhetoric which is overemphasized in this weak article.

A *Call* Study Group

Letters



Editor's answer:

Your criticism of the elections article in the April issue is a good criticism. While our article put forward a correct general position on the capitalist state apparatus and its use of elections, it failed to make a correct and concrete analysis of concrete conditions.

The article should have showed that the main struggle within the ruling class today is over the questions arising from the growing threat of war and the sharpening contention between the two superpowers. This contradiction, as later *Call* articles showed, is not basically between Democrats and Republicans, but a fight existing within each party.

These divisions between the appeasers of Soviet social-imperialism and those who stand against appeasement is a fight among the imperialist gangsters who stand behind all the major candidates.

We think that the weaknesses in this article were corrected in several articles on the elections which followed in recent issues of the weekly *Call*. Criticisms such as yours help us to understand our mistakes.

Comrades:

Enclosed is the first of my monthly sustainer checks for *The Call*.

While I'm still learning, and don't always agree with the October League's positions, I think the weekly *Call* is great. It is helping me clarify my politics, and gives me energy and inspiration. Having had some small experience in organizing working people, I found your articles dealing with experiences people have had around the country a real help.

The best thing about *The Call* is that it makes me feel that we're going to win. And not just in some future time far away. The struggle will be long and hard, but reading *The Call* makes me feel that the people will surely win, that socialism is a profoundly practical question. After hearing for years that "people aren't ready," *The Call* is a breath of fresh air.

T.M.
Essex Ctr., Vt.

Dear Comrades,

The recent front page article on Gary Tyler was very helpful. It shows people that, while we should unite together to free Gary Tyler, the struggle is much deeper and broader. In fact, the only thing that will prevent more centuries of frame-ups and racism is socialism and Black self-determination. The article correctly draws these conclusions.

H.S.
San Francisco, Cal.

Chicano Workers in Forefront

BFI STRIKE IGNITES PRAIRIE FIRE

Every so often, a small struggle of workers fighting for their rights against the capitalists can light a spark that ignites a broad movement of the working class.

Such is the case with the present struggle at Browning Ferris Industries (BFI) in Santa Barbara, where a group of 70 workers, mostly Chicano and Mexicano, have been out on strike for more than four months. They are demanding a regular hourly wage and overtime, seniority rights and grievance procedures.

In their struggle, they have fought against the BFI Corp., the police and city government, and the Teamster union misleaders. They have been gaining broad support from other workers around the country and from large segments of the local community.

GROWING MERGER

What gives special importance to the BFI strike is that it represents the growing merger of the national struggle of the Chicano and Mexicano people with the general struggle of the whole workers' movement in one powerful force fighting for political as well as economic demands.

In past years, other such union battles have sparked widespread class struggle, especially in the Southwest with its oppressed national minority of seven million Chicanos. In struggles such as the farmworkers' movement, the 3-year-old Sloane strike, the victorious protracted struggle of the Farah strikers, the strike at Toltuca Food Co., and others, Chicano workers have come forward to take the lead in the general movement of the working class.

In a recent interview with *The Call*, Roberto Valdez, one of the BFI strike leaders, said of the Chicano people: "We are a sleeping giant. We have slept for centuries and centuries. We have always had the management, the chiefs, control everything. The giant is wak-



BFI STRIKERS received broad support in Santa Barbara's Chicano Community. (Call Photo)

ing up now, little by little. The Chicano and Mexicano is waking up little by little to fight for his rights. When this giant is wide awake, then and only then is when the working class is going to take over the whole thing."

GIANT AWAKENS

When the company fired Valdez three years ago because of his union activities, this "giant" began to awaken. A week-long wildcat strike forced the company to rehire him. A grievance committee was formed in the process when the Teamsters Union refused to back up the workers.

The Teamster leadership has long played the role of scab where the rights of Chicano workers have been under attack, as in the case of BFI and, in particular, the farmworkers. BFI workers have given open support to the struggles of farmworkers against the Teamster-grower alliance, and have received support in their own struggle from the UFW.

The broad support for the BFI strike from the community has brought on a red-baiting campaign in the press from police officials. One striker answered,

saying that these attackers believed the workers "had no minds of their own." He added: "We may be garbage workers, but we are not stupid."

Through the course of the BFI strike, a strong core of class-conscious workers has come forth to provide leadership. Communists and other revolutionaries have lent support and given some guidance to the strikers. As a result of all these factors, the BFI strike has reached a high level of political consciousness.

On May Day this year, more

than 400 people demonstrated at BFI. Police brutally attacked the crowd, arresting over 30 people. Roberto Valdez told *The Call*: "May Day we were going to celebrate International Workers' Day. This is the day recognized throughout the world as the workers' holiday."

As to the police attack, Valdez said, "They attacked in order to discourage the workers from fighting for their rights. This is the kind of system they tell us to believe in. I don't believe in this system at all."

Another strike leader, Jorge Mesa, explained to *The Call* why the police tried to split the supporters from the workers at the May Day demonstration. "They want our supporters to go away because with their help we will win our struggle and open the eyes of other workers who want to go out on strike but are afraid they are alone."

EXPOSE BFI

Many of the BFI workers read *The Call* and other revolutionary material. One striker said, "One thing we like about *The Call* is that it will expose BFI nationally. BFI is a nationwide company, with plants also in Canada and Puerto Rico, where workers are facing the same conditions we're fighting here."

Summing up the experiences of the strike so far, one strike leader said: "The kind of system we have right now is all corrupt. The only way you can function in it is if you have the bucks. Where does a worker have a chance?"

Valdez concluded, "The workers have to stick together and be united in order to win. That is our only defense. The only weapon that we've got is to stick together and fight for our rights. Viva la huelga!"

CARTER BACKS ZIONISTS, ATTACKS ARAB PEOPLE

Speaking in New Jersey two days before the primaries there, candidate Jimmy Carter launched a chauvinist attack on the Arab peoples and sided fully with the aggressive policies of Israeli Zionism.

Like all the other presidential candidates, Carter has endorsed Zionism, pledging unlimited financial aid to Israel and calling for an "Arab surrender" before any discussions can take place concerning the Palestinian people.

Carter's outspoken support for Zionism is an attack not only on the Palestinian and Arab peoples, but on the majority of countries in the world which joined together at the United Nations last year to condemn Zionism as a form of racism.

Zionism, in reality, has nothing in common with the Jewish religion, nor with the real interests of the vast majority of Jewish people. Zionism is a reactionary political movement that leeches off the persecutions Jewish people have suffered for centuries under feudalism and capitalism.

For the last 70 years the Zionist leaders have sold their followers to one after another of the most reactionary colonialist and imperialist regimes. They even collaborated with Hitler, and preached non-resistance to the concentration camps and the fascist policy of genocide.

For the last quarter century the Zionist leaders have sold themselves to U.S. imperialism in particular. The big U.S. oil companies, among others, support the artificial state of Israel as an armed outpost in the Arab world, designed to act as local "cop" to protect the companies' interests. For this purpose the U.S. government has

spent over \$12 billion of taxpayers' money, and is about to spend \$4 billion more, with no end in sight.

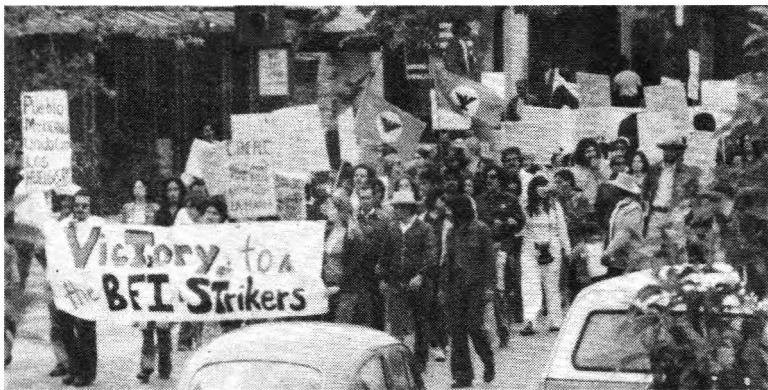
More of this same policy, Carter promised his audience, will eventually bring "peace" to the Middle East. This is not true. It will bring bigger and bigger wars, in which both superpowers—the U.S. and the USSR—will get more deeply involved in their rivalry to rule the world.

The Palestinian people, whose land the Zionists have stolen, have waged a 12-year struggle under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to win

back their homeland. Zionist Israel not only occupies the Palestinians' land, it viciously persecutes the Moslem religion which most Palestinians practice. Even Palestinian Christians are under attack.

The PLO demands that the racist, bigoted state of Israel be replaced by a democratic, free and secular Palestinian state. The PLO's program is the only guarantee for the freedom of all religious beliefs.

Carter's endorsement of Zionism is only one small reflection of his support for all the reactionary policies of the U.S. imperialist class he represents.



MARCHERS demand "Victory to BFI Strikers." (Call Photo)

"Hurricane" Carter Supports Tyler

Brooklyn, N.Y.—"Gary Tyler did not commit the crime, but the crime was committed against Gary Tyler."

These were the words of Rubin "Hurricane" Carter when he addressed 200 people at a rally June 6 in support of freedom for Gary Tyler.

Carter, once a leading middle-weight boxing contender, was framed on a murder charge along with his friend John Artis in 1967. After spending nearly 9 years in prison, a mass movement in his behalf finally forced the courts to overturn his conviction last March. He now faces a new

trial. Shortly after Carter spoke at the Brooklyn rally, prosecutors in New Jersey asked the court to raise Carter's bail pending a new trial, and also to impose severe travel restrictions on him. This move is clearly designed to prevent "Hurricane" Carter from continuing to help build the Free Gary Tyler movement.

The Brooklyn rally in Tyler's behalf was part of a growing number of support actions taking place across the U.S. recently. It indicates that mass support is building for the immediate release of Gary Tyler.



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Kissinger Strikes Liberal Pose at OAS Meeting

Frantically trying to bolster the frayed image of weakened U.S. imperialism in Latin America, Henry Kissinger arrived in Santiago, Chile, last week for the start of the sixth general assembly of the Organization of American States (OAS).

As part of this face-lifting campaign, Kissinger posed as a spokesman for "human rights" and openly criticized the right-wing Pinochet dictatorship in Chile for its failure to observe "fundamental standards of humane behavior." A new report by the OAS human rights commission has revealed more evidence of the already widely known tortures of thousands of Chilean political prisoners by the Pinochet regime.

The fact that the conference was even held in Santiago was strongly protested by several countries. Mexico refused to send a delegate to what it termed "a conference in a concentration camp."

Claiming to agree with the OAS report,

Kissinger said that relations between Chile and the U.S. have been "impaired" by the inhumane practices of the regime. Kissinger, who helped engineer the coup which overthrew the progressive government of former Chilean President Salvador Allende, added, however, that there were "hopeful prospects" of some reforms.

In a pre-arranged fraud carried out with help from Pinochet, 60 Chilean political prisoners were released from prison a few hours before Kissinger's arrival at the meeting. The fact remains that since the coup in 1973, thousands of patriots, unionists, democrats and communists have been tortured and massacred by Pinochet's CIA-trained police.

U.S. interference in Chile has angered nearly all of Latin America and severely weakened U.S. credibility in the OAS. The anger has been compounded by increased talk in U.S. ruling circles of "permanent domination" of the Panama Canal. Panama has won strong backing for its demand for full sovereignty and ownership of this strategic waterway from nearly all the countries in the OAS. The issue has weakened U.S. influence as perhaps no other issue has.

In face of the growing trend of third world unity developing within the formerly

KISSINGER—the architect of the right-wing coup in Chile, is greeted by Chilean boss, Pinochet in Santiago.

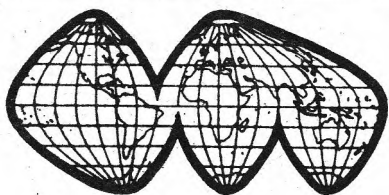


U.S.-dominated OAS, and growing competition in this part of the world from the Soviet social-imperialists, Kissinger was forced to give some ground diplomatically. In a joint statement with Panama's Foreign Minister Aquilino Boyd on the opening day of the conference, Kissinger emphasized the "spirit of compromise" and the "understanding of new realities" that marked the discussions over the canal.

Kissinger and President Ford have been pushing the view within the present election campaign that the best way to continue U.S. control of the canal is through "compromise" and possible concessions to Panamanian sovereignty on condition of guaranteed continued use for U.S. ships.

Ford's opponent, Ronald Reagan, on the other hand, promotes the use of force to maintain open U.S. domination as a warning to other independent-minded Latin American governments. The very fact that military force against Panama is even an issue in the U.S. elections has further angered the majority of OAS countries. It is under these conditions that Kissinger is trying to strike his "democratic" pose at the OAS meeting.

But the well-known history of U.S. imperialism in Latin America, particularly its backing of the Chilean coup and its colonial position in Panama, stands as a full exposure of its thoroughly reactionary nature. It is doubtful that Kissinger's "compromising" side will fool anyone at this meeting.



...in brief...

MEXICO STANDS UP: The Mexican government has vetoed a U.S. plan to deport "illegal" Mexican immigrants by means of airplane flights deep into Mexican territory instead of the traditional bus across the border. The U.S. was hoping that the flights would minimize the number of Mexican workers re-crossing the border. But the Mexican government has refused to grant landing rights to such planes. This is a step in the direction of official Mexican opposition to deportations.

CHINESE SCIENCE: A great advance has been made in the field of science in China. Recently, two earthquakes were forecast in western Yunnan province, greatly reducing casualties. This is not the first time that the Chinese have predicted earthquakes. Putting science in the service of the people, they have avoided the devastation suffered most recently by the people of Guatemala and Italy.

Science, like everything else, is a political question. The Chinese have put proletarian politics and proletarian needs in command. This is why their science serves the people while science in capitalist countries serves the bourgeoisie first.

REVISIONIST LEADERS MEET: Italian and French revisionist chiefs Berlinguer and Marchais met in Paris June 4 and joined together to renounce the dictatorship of the proletariat. In each of their countries, they are posing as "democrats" and taking some stands of independence from the Soviet Union to strengthen their appeal to the other ruling class parties. But despite all their talk of "democracy," the revisionists are well-known for their social-fascist beatings and killings of rank-and-file workers and revolutionaries. In France, the revisionist party was the moving force in banning the French Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) in 1968 and has tacitly supported the recent jailing of several militants charged with trying to "re-constitute" that party.

BHUTTO IN CHINA: Pakistani Prime Minister Bhutto visited China in May and held talks with Chairman Mao Tsetung. Both sides opposed superpower hegemony all over the globe and hailed the struggles of the third world against imperialism.

SWAPO EXPANDS STRUGGLE

The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) is stepping up its armed struggle to drive racist South Africa out of Namibia.

South Africa has refused to relinquish control of the area known as South West Africa or Namibia, in spite of United Nations resolutions demanding Namibia's right to self-determination. In fact, John Vorster's apartheid regime in South Africa has concentrated its armed forces in Namibia and is carrying out a reign of terror against SWAPO and the Namibian people.

Most recently, the Vorster regime condemned two SWAPO militants to death. Their crime was membership in SWAPO, the organization which is recognized as the sole representative of the Namibian people by the U.S., the Organization of African Unity and the World Court.

Under these conditions, SWAPO has expanded the armed struggle and redoubled its commitment to liberate Namibia. SWAPO guerrillas have killed over 100 South African troops in the last few months.

YOUTH DELEGATION TO CHINA

A delegation of revolutionary youth and students left this week for a visit to the People's Republic of China. The delegation will spend about four weeks touring China's cities and rural areas, visiting schools, factories and farms and learning about the life and struggle of the Chinese people.

The youth delegation is made up of young workers and students who have been active in the Communist Youth Organization (CYO) or other youth and student organizations. Upon their departure, one member of the delegation said: "Through this visit we especially hope to learn about the history and experiences of the youth movement in China. We hope to learn from their early struggles against foreign imperialism, such as the May 4th Movement, as well as the role of the youth in socialist construction today."

Upon their return to the U.S., members of the delegation will speak about their travels in public meetings. The trip is being organized by the October League.

Attacks on South African military installations have been highly successful, resulting in the destruction of barracks, jeeps, helicopters and other aircraft.

A SWAPO official told the Kenyan newspaper Sunday Nation that the key to victory is "the determination of the people fighting for freedom, not military buildup or sophisticated arms."

Representing the just aspirations of the Namibian people, SWAPO has been able to establish large operational zones right under the noses of Vorster's army. An example of popular support for SWAPO was a February 20 guerrilla raid on a huge estate which uses Namibians as plantation slaves. The slaves rose up and joined the guerrillas, wiping out the plantation owners and their managers. Shortly afterwards, an intensive search by South African police could not

produce a clue as to where the guerrillas came from.

Faced with an increasingly difficult military situation, Vorster has resorted to phony "constitutional talks" to derail the liberation forces. The aim of these talks is to turn nominal control of Namibia over to lackeys of the Vorster regime. A SWAPO representative said, "SWAPO has nothing to do with them... They are aimed at dividing our country... SWAPO will continue to intensify the armed struggle until final victory."

Seeking U.S. aid to salvage South Africa's sinking ship, Vorster will meet with Henry Kissinger in Germany later this month. Kissinger's support for the racist regime shows that the U.S. has no "new Africa policy," but is continuing the same policy of plundering Africa and attacking the armed liberation struggles of the people.

Call Quoted in World Press

This week World Press surveys articles from *The Call* that have appeared in the foreign press.

Nearly a dozen items quoting *The Call* have appeared in the past few months in *L'Humanite Rouge*, the Paris daily which reflects the line of the banned Communist Party of France (Marxist-Leninist). The eight-page tabloid had a correspondent at the National Fight Back Conference in Chicago Dec. 27-28 and gave the event extensive coverage.

L'Humanite Rouge has also been serializing a long interview by its correspondent with Michael Klonsky, Chairman of the October League, on the situation in the U.S. and in the world. In addition, the paper has quoted *The Call* concerning the struggle of Native Americans and about the election campaign, and has reprinted several *Call* graphics.

Klassekampen, the twice-weekly organ of the Norwegian Workers' Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), carried a feature in February on the campaign to build the weekly *Call*. The article reported on the Call Conference of last November and expressed the best wishes of the Norwegian workers for the campaign.

The organ of the Portuguese Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), *Unidade Popular*, excerpted articles from *The Call* in its Feb. 1 issue.

People's Daily, the organ of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, with a circulation of 5.8 million, reprinted on June 1 nearly all of *The Call's* May 17 article on the struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping. The same material was reprinted that day in the *Hsinhua News Agency* bulletin, a daily press service distributed around the world. On May 28, *Hsinhua* reprinted a long excerpt of OL Chairman Klonsky's interview with *L'Humanite Rouge*, pointing to the growing danger of world war due to superpower contention.

In its April 21 issue, *Hsinhua* wrote, "The U.S. monthly 'Call' carried an article recently supporting the just struggle of the Puerto Rican people to free themselves from U.S. imperialist domination and win national independence." It quoted excerpts from the February *Call's* article "Puerto Rico Will Prosper."

Four days earlier, *Hsinhua* quoted at length from *The Call's* April article on Angola, which, said *Hsinhua*, "made a stern denunciation of the Soviet interference in Angola's internal affairs."

UMW Suspends 2 Activists MILLER HITS WILDCAT STRIKES

Two rank-and-file activists in the United Mine Workers (UMW) were suspended May 2 for one year by the UMW hierarchy. The suspensions were part of UMW president Arnold Miller's growing campaign against wildcat strikes.

Miller, who came to power in the UMW on the strength of the rank-and-file movement, now stands openly in opposition to all the principles that this movement fought for. His suspension of the two strikers for their participation in wildcat activities was carried out through the faction-ridden International Executive Board. The board is sharply divided between

Miller's liberal forces and members of the machine of ex-UMW president Tony Boyle.

Although locked in a power struggle, both factions united in opposition to the growing strike movement. The miners have shut down mine after mine to protest the coal bosses' violations of health and safety and other contract provisions.

Miller has appointed a special commission which has established new policies of punishment against workers taking part in "unauthorized strikes." These policies were issued last September after 80,000 miners struck for six weeks, de-

manding the right to shut down the mines when unsafe conditions exist.

The new anti-strike policies of the UMW leadership clearly violate the union constitution which, for the first time in UMW history, was ratified by the rank and file. One resolution passed at the 1974 convention clearly affirmed the right of UMW members to strike in defense of their personal safety and rights.

Already in the first three months of 1976, 53 workers have been killed in coal mine accidents. The death and injury rate is up in every state. But despite the urgen-

cy of the safety and health problem, the union leadership cracked down on the miners' main ways of protecting themselves.

The new rules, for example, force strikers back to work immediately in any wildcat strike. By tradition, miners have always stayed out until the shift where the grievance was originally voiced went back to work following the settlement of the problem.

The provisions also make it mandatory for UMW district-level officials to force strikers back to work or be held liable for Executive Board punishment.

The International also now re-

fuses to provide legal defense or any other support for workers or locals who are attacked by the police for striking. This lack of defense has already led to the jailing of one worker for six months. Injunctions have been put on entire locals, threatening them with imprisonment for striking. The Miller leadership has also set up a kangaroo court resembling a court-martial where trials of striking members are held.

These provisions are part of the "great" new alliance being rebuilt between the coal operators and the union leadership since the collapse of the old Boyle regime. But the rank and file will resist this new assault on their basic rights just as they have always done in the past.

The May 2 suspensions will not go unanswered.



MINERS MARCH in Harlan County, Ky. demanding right to strike over safety conditions.

CAMBION STRIKERS RESIST ATTACKS

Cambridge, Mass.—Neither police attacks, company threats to shut down the plant nor union misleadership has been able to stop the 255 workers at Cambion Electronics Corp. in their fight for wage, cost-of-living and pension increases.

These workers, 70% women and many Portuguese, answered Cambion's threatened lock-out on April 14 with a 100% strike vote in Local 262 of the United Electrical Workers Union (UE). Since then, they have maintained strong picket lines, refusing to accept the company's offer of 20 cents an hour with no pension plan.

In an effort to bust the union, Cambion has tried to transfer operations and machinery to its non-unionized plant in New Hamp-

shire. On May 8, the company called in 30 city police, many of whom were drunk, at 4 A.M. to help them get a truck with machine parts through the picket line. Police attacked strikers, brutally beat and kicked them, injuring fifteen and arresting six.

The victory last year of the UE union drive at Cambion was an important step forward in the struggle to organize the large numbers of unorganized workers in the Boston area, including many women and minority workers. The unity built among Portuguese and American-born workers at Cambion helped to make that victory possible and is a main source of strength in the strike today.

To broaden strike support, the Cambridge Fight Back Caucus and

the Boston chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) sponsored a benefit June 5, drawing over 150 people.

The UE leadership, however, tried to keep strikers away from the fundraiser, just as they have tried to prevent supporters from joining strikers on the picket lines. This is part of the efforts of UE misleaders to control the militancy of the workers. UE's response to the vicious police attacks on the picket line was an even clearer example.

Discouraging militant protest, they went to the chief of police instead to get a "promise" that a "full investigation" of police violence would be done.

ESPECIALLY FIERCE

The UE's attacks against revolutionaries and revolutionary ideas are especially fierce because UE leaders themselves have posed as revolutionaries.

The UE used to be different from other unions because it was organized and led by the once-revolutionary Communist Party (CP). Today it is still led by the CP, but this party has degenerated into a revisionist party, opposed to revolution and to the interests of the working class.

While the UE leaders try to live off the union's past of militancy and class struggle, their policies are no different from other reformist labor bureaucrats, as their misleadership in this strike confirms.

But despite all the roadblocks in the path of the Cambion strike, the unity and determination of the workers is carrying the struggle towards victory. As one striker at the Fight Back benefit said: "After four weeks things got a little hard, but I'll stay out until November to win."

a cross in your yard" and "you're a disgrace to the white race."

Despite a strict rule against fighting on company property, the white shirts prevented security guards from taking action. Other workers put a stop to the attack. The goons retreated elbow to elbow with the company officials.

Two days later, Louisville friends and supporters of *The Call* came back over a dozen strong with leaflets and stacks of the issue with the Gary Tyler story. Large numbers of workers welcomed them back, cursed the goons as "company men," and asked for copies of "the paper the company doesn't want us to see." "Nobody's going to tell me I can't read this paper," one worker said defiantly, waving a copy of *The Call* in her fist.

At Phillip Morris

CALL VS. KKK

Louisville, Ky.—Readership of *The Call* has gone up dramatically among workers at the Phillip Morris plant here after a gang of company goons, including KKK members, tried to scare *Call* sellers away from the plant gates.

As company officials in white shirts and ties looked on, half a dozen highly paid mechanics attacked a woman *Call* seller during the 3 p.m. shift change June 9. They tried to seize her papers with the front-page Gary Tyler article (issue of June 7), but she defended herself and left one of the cowards' faces with deep scratches on it. They then attacked a second *Call* seller, dragged him onto company property and beat and kicked him, some shouting "I'm going to burn

ON THE LINE



Heat on Allis Chalmers

Milwaukee, Wis.—Allis Chalmers foundry workers put the heat on the company by walking off the job two weeks ago when temperatures in the plant hit 90 degrees. Forty workers from the second shift chipping room stopped work and demanded that the company comply with the contract clause that gives workers the right to leave the shop when the heat rises to 90°.

A foreman followed workers into the locker room, threatening: "This is an unauthorized walkout, and if you are not on the floor within five minutes, you will all be disciplined." But in the face of strong workers' unity—every worker in the chipping room participated in the action—A-C backed down and allowed a vote.

It was a small victory but an important one. Struggle has been sharpening at A-C against the company as well as against the no-strike, no-struggle stand of the UAW local 248 leadership. With a contract coming up later in the year, this recent show of strength will stand as a warning to A-C and an example for the workers.

Report from Bilrite

By Five Worker Correspondents (translated from Spanish)—

Chelsea, Mass.—Five workers shut down second-shift production at American Bilrite May 6 to protest unsafe conditions on two machines. The company didn't want to fix the machines until the weekend, caring more about profits than our health. They suspended us without pay for "insubordination," but we forced them to fix the machines.

In our factory there are workers of many nationalities. Close to half speak Spanish. The company uses discrimination to divide and exploit the workers more. What scared the company most about our action was that the five of us are of three different nationalities: three Latinos, one Afro-American, one Anglo. Throughout the struggle, we used two languages all the time.

The leaders of Local 209 of URW didn't defend us, and stood with the company. They said we should depend on grievance procedures instead of the workers.

Now we're fighting to get our suspensions lifted. This would establish the workers' right to shut down unsafe machines without losing job or pay. To win, we need a strong union that fights for workers of all nationalities. We are all human beings and have the right to live. We are not slaves.

Meatcutters' Strike Broken

Milwaukee, Wis.—Union-busting efforts by the city's Independent Meat Packers Association have succeeded in defeating the 16-month-long militant strike of 760 meatcutters, members of Local 248. The meat-packing firms used scab labor to vote out the union in an NLRB certification election.

Last April, the NLRB upheld the Association's request to call an election to determine whether Local 248 was still the bargaining agent for the employees. Eligibility lists for voting excluded all strikers because, according to law, strikers can only vote in such elections within the first 12 months of a strike.

Meatcutters went out on strike in January 1975 over a contract dispute, when the companies tried to reclassify 100 workers in order to impose wage cuts. Workers were demanding cost-of-living and wage increases.

Exide Strike Hits Cutbacks

Philadelphia, Pa.—Some 500 outraged workers at Exide, a large battery plant, went on strike June 1, denouncing planned company cutbacks in wages, benefits, health and safety. Exide presented the union, IUE, with 76 demands, including a near 50% pay cut. Workers raised sharp protest against the health and safety cutbacks, in particular, because of the already high frequency of lead poisoning among workers. Despite Exide's threats to move its plant to the South if the strike continues, the strikers are holding firm.

Wreckers Cripple African Liberation Support Committee

A handful of ultra-"leftist" phrasemongers has done more in the past few months to wreck the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) than open revisionists and narrow nationalists were able to do in years.

ALSC, at one time (1972), mobilized tens of thousands of people, primarily from the Black community, in militant support of the African liberation struggles. Now more than ever before, with Africa more seriously threatened by the rivalry of the two superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, and with the liberation movements moving towards continent-wide victory, the contribution made by ALSC is necessary. But the destructive role of a few groups operating under the cloak of "Marxism" has sabotaged this work.

Two groups in particular, the Revolutionary Workers' League (RWL)—a member of the so-called "Revolutionary Wing"—and the Congress of African People (CAP), who are both relative newcomers to Marxism-Leninism, have provided the clearest examples of how not to do communist work in a mass people's organization.

INCOMPLETE TURN

These two groups include people who at one time played a role in the building of ALSC, although their political ideas were not scientific; they were heavily influenced by Pan-Africanism. They then turned in the direction of Marxism. But their turn towards the revolutionary ideology of the working class was never fully completed. They fell to grabbing at bits and pieces of Marxism-Leninism while still maintaining the stand and outlook of the petty-bourgeois intellectual. Thus RWL and CAP substituted abstract sloganeering for real communist leadership in ALSC.

They promoted the line that party building, rather than being the central task of communists, was "the only task." Their line included the sectarian view that ALSC, or any other mass organization, could not be built among the people until after the party had already been organized. Instead of working with the growing trend towards Marxist-Leninist unity and building the party in the storm of mass struggle, these dogmatists counterposed party building to agitation among the masses.

They put forth the backward view that propaganda to a few advanced workers was the only activity called for in this period and raised the slogan of "Build the Party" as the only slogan for the ALSC. At the last ALSC National Secretariat Meeting held April 16-17, RWL put forth the view "that African Liberation Day should move away from being mass demonstrations."

In place of these mass actions, RWL proposed calling a series of forums on "party building." In this way, they have succeeded

in driving away thousands of militant fighters against imperialism and colonialism from the ranks of ALSC simply because they were not yet committed to or conscious of Marxism-Leninism but were anxious to join in the world-wide movement for African solidarity.

By restricting the scope of communist activity at this time to a handful of only the "most advanced," RWL and CAP failed in their communist duties and handed over leadership of the people's movement to the various opportunist and revisionist groups



LONGSHOREMEN in San Francisco lead boycott of South African coal. (Call Photo)

who had previously been isolated and unable to gain that leadership.

The revisionist Communist Party, for example, has tried for years to crush ALSC as a mass organization. Following the massive ALSC demonstrations on African Liberation Day 1972, the CP announced the launching of their "new" organization, "The National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation."

With Angela Davis and other prominent revisionists in the leadership, and thousands of dollars to play around with, the revisionists flew their favorite representatives from the pro-Moscow organizations in Africa to speak in the U.S. Their clearly stated aim at the time was to grab the leadership of the growing support movement "away from the Maoists and Pan-Africanists" and to smash ALSC. Their emphasis on Africa at the time was laying the groundwork for the Soviet intervention and occupation in Angola which were to follow later. ALSC was correctly seen as a "dangerous" force that could defend the legitimate aims of the African struggle for genuine independence from colonialism and imperialism old and new—U.S.-style as well as Soviet-style. But the "Wing's" wrecking activity enabled the current crisis in Angola to go by the board with little ALSC response.

Also involved in ALSC were the narrow nationalist forces who preached that African support should be based on race only and

who promoted such bankrupt theories as Black people not being part of the U.S. working class, but rather citizens of Africa. They tried to turn ALSC into a cultural organization rather than an instrument of anti-imperialist struggle.

With the exposures of RWL and CAP's splitting and wrecking role in ALSC, the once-defeated revisionists and narrow nationalists have begun to make a comeback. Following RWL's call to have no African Liberation Day demonstration this year, over 2,000 Afro-Americans rallied in Washington, D.C. on May 22 under the leadership of the well-known misleader Stokely Carmichael. The opportunism of the RWL and CAP, characterized by "left"-sounding rhetoric, in fact proved itself to be right-opportunist in essence. Not only did it give leadership over to the revisionists and narrow nationalists, but it discredited the work of all genuine communists and set back the work of building the new party

among the advanced workers.

In our efforts to forge a new vanguard party of the working class, propaganda is the chief form of activity, particularly in winning the advanced section of the working class to the party. But propaganda must be closely combined with mass agitation in order to keep the party from ending up in isolation from the masses it is trying to lead.

The correct policy of combining party building with mass struggle among the people should be carried out at all times. The party must be built in the heat of the mass struggle which goes on independently of anyone's will. The mass struggle is a testing ground for communists as well as a training area for developing the revolutionary cadre that will some day be able to lead the revolutionary struggle to victory.

The policies of the "Wing" are policies of defeat. They are bound to lead to setbacks and to play right into the hands of the revisionists.

It is the task of the Marxist-Leninists to break from and to combat these opportunist policies. To build the party is not contradictory to building the struggle for African liberation support on a revolutionary and mass basis. Organizations like ALSC can be built on such a basis, but only in continuous struggle against the right-opportunists, revisionists and narrow nationalists on the one hand, and the splitters like RWL and CAP on the other.

THE

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The capitalists have consolidated, in ants who serve as the political detachme

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The leadership of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), since the time of Samuel Gompers in the 1880s, has seen its role as trade union warriors vying directly with the communists for control over the labor movement. A recent article in AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News dates this battle back to the 1917 Bolshevik revolution and shows how the AFL developed its political line and method to defeat their "direct" rivals as leaders of the working class.

Gompers was the first clear exponent of trade unionism in this country. He saw "unions pure and simple" as the "natural organization" of workers to represent them in their struggles with the bosses and serve as their lobby in influencing political legislation and affairs outside the workplace. Workers needed no other organization besides the unions, Gompers insisted.

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READERS

Dear Comrades,

The Guardian's recent attempt at conducting a debate on China's foreign policy has proven beyond any shadow of a doubt which side of the fence the editorial staff of the Guardian stand on. They have essentially put together an unprincipled attack on the People's Republic of China. Moreover, they have made their bankrupt position on the international situation a cornerstone for their ridiculous attempt at party building.

First of all, let's talk about what criticism means, and what the Guardian means by "friendly" criticism. If the Guardian really wanted to conduct a comradely criticism of the line of the People's Republic they would certainly have taken the pains to get the word from the horse's mouth. They would not have relied on any second-hand account, regardless of how "reliable" they claim it to be. Instead they use an account by William Hinton which is questionable, if not totally incorrect, and title the debate "China's Foreign Policy." A more correct title would be "Hinton's view of China's foreign policy."

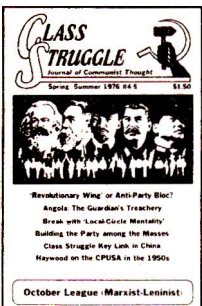
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The answer to this question is that the Guardian has fallen into the same trap that the renegade Kautsky did better than six years ago. They see the USSR as a power that carries out imperialist policies, but it is not imperialist in its very nature. This is revisionism.

Let's not mince words. Among Marxist workers we don't need to harp on the "friendly" nature of our criticism.

The Guardian is not "friendly" to the people of the world who are threatened by social-imperialist aggression. It is



NEW 'CLASS STRUGGLE'

The new issue of Class Struggle, a journal of communist thought published by the October League, will come off the press this week. The journal, a special double issue, contains six important articles concerning the struggle to unite Marxist-Leninists into a single party. The articles criticize different forms of revisionism and opportunism.

The lead-off article in the new issue is "Revolutionary Wing or Anti-Party Bloc?", a commentary by Sherman Miller on the ultra-"leftist" coalition which claims to be Marxist-Leninist, yet attacks every step forward to the party.

In another article, Carl Davidson, formerly an editor of the Guardian newspaper,

exposes the Guardian's role as a prop for revisionism and social-imperialism by examining its centrist position on Angola.

The new issue also contains an in-depth article by OL Vice-Chairman Eileen Klehr on the class struggle under socialism, drawing on the experiences of the Chinese working class in consolidating the proletarian dictatorship. Klehr recently returned from an OL Central Committee Delegation to China.

A new development in the journal is the opening of its pages to the forces who are participating in the unity trend of Marxist-Leninists for a new party. The current issue contains three articles by participants in the May Unity Meeting. There is a contribution by the League for Marxist-Leninist Unity on "Building the Party among the Masses,"

and Clay Claiborne's article on "Breaking with Small-Circle Mentality in the Fight Against Revisionism."

Harry Haywood, a veteran of fifty years in the communist movement and also a participant in the May meeting, comments in his article on the degeneration of the CPUSA in the 1950s and its attacks on the demand for self-determination. The article is an excerpt from Haywood's unpublished autobiography, Black Bolshevik.

This issue of Class Struggle is a strong weapon in the fight against revisionism.

Class Struggle is available for \$1.50 per copy. Subscription: \$4 for 4 issues. Make checks payable to Class Struggle, Box 5539, Chicago, Ill. 60680. Include 25¢ for handling. Bulk rates on request.

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A Communist View of Trade THE POLITICS OF TRADE

The early trade unions were forged in the fight against wage slavery, but the capitalist class has succeeded for the present in turning the union movement into a reserve to defend that very system of exploitation.

The capitalists have consolidated, in the union leadership, a stratum of labor lieutenants who serve as the political detachment of the imperialists in the working class.

The line of trade unionism today dominates the organized labor movement and, as the communist leader Lenin wrote, trade unionism "means the political enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie." Where ruling class violence had failed to stop the powerful workers' movement, trade unionism channeled the movement into a path of reformism, of acceptance of capitalism.

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At the heart of trade unionist ideology is the separation of the workers' economic struggles from revolutionary political struggles. The rationale put forward is that "la-

bor is fundamentally an economic organization," and as the AFL states, "political" questions should be left to the politicians in the bourgeois political parties. Transferred into practice, this view concludes that politics is not the concern of workers. "Members are far more concerned with bread-and-butter economic issues . . ." the AFL insists. This view, of course, leaves the question of political power, that is, of which class will rule society, as an already-settled one in favor of the bourgeoisie.

The trade union leaders do promote their own brand of politics in the unions. But this brand is trade unionist politics as opposed to the workers' political struggle for power.

In waging only the trade unionist struggle, Lenin stressed how the working class loses its independence and becomes tied to the bourgeoisie and its political parties. This is the purpose, in short, of trade unionism, to restrict and paralyze the working class movement and turn it into a prop for the imperialists.

"The American trade union movement," explained George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO and spokesman for capitalism within the labor movement, "is part and parcel of the American society which is capitalism. We have no quarrel with this system at all. Anyone who knows the history of American labor and American workers



"Progress Through Collective Bargaining" is the leaders gathered at this UAW Special Convention demand an end to union bureaucracy. (Call Photo)

will understand this . . . The only thing on which we disagree with the capitalist is, how much do we get? That is the only thing."

Trade unionism glorifies the "guerrilla war"—the isolated, local skirmishes—between workers and employers. Some trade unionists and even capitalists pay lip service to the "class struggle," which they characterize as an economic tug-of-war which may or may not include outbursts like strikes and walk-outs. But all this "struggle," in reality, comes down to haggling for better terms, a few bones more or less thrown by the capitalists to their wage-slaves.

Bureaucratization of the unions developed hand in hand with trade unionism, binding it more closely to the capitalists and making the unions every day more dependent on red tape, legalisms, and government arbitration. In fact, with the expansion of the trade union bureaucracy came an equal-

READERS DENOUNCE CENTRISM

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The Guardian is not "friendly" to the people of the world who are threatened by social-imperialist aggression. It is not

IN CHINA—working people demonstrate support for the policies of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao. (Hsinhua Photo)



"friendly" to the anti-revisionist movement in the U.S. It is not "friendly" to the People's Republic of China. Its centrism is nothing but a sham and a cover for revisionism at home and social-imperialism abroad. Let there be no mistake about it. The Guardian is becoming less and less "independent" every day. Its claim to uphold the right of countries to independence no longer holds any water. It is now an open apologist for Soviet social-imperialism.

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Baltimore, Md.

Dear Comrades,

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The speakers tore off the "socialist" cover of the Soviet Union, exposing their tactics of arming one liberation group against others, thus fomenting disunity and civil war.

The militant proletarian internationalist line of this event was a heavy blow against the opportunist and chauvinist line put forth at two different events by revisionist and centrist forces. On March 12th in Oakland, Irwin Silber, speaking for the Guardian, put forth his centrist line of prettifying Soviet aggression, refusing to label it imperialist. He also gave full support to Soviet lies about the MPLA being "revolution-

ary" and the FNLA and UNITA "reactionary." Members of CASD in the audience exposed his line of covering up for the Soviet Union and demanded that he answer one simple question: is the Soviet Union imperialist or not? Silber would not answer the question.

The Guardian participated in another forum along with the CPUSA and the Communist Labor Party on April 11. Speakers at this forum put forth the same opportunist line and viciously slandered the People's Republic of China. Members of CASD united closely to uphold proletarian internationalism, and expose the role of Soviet imperialism and its agents, the CPUSA and the Guardian.

This ideological struggle against revisionism and centrism not only united honest Marxist-Leninists and other progressive forces, but within the coalition it also helped expose and isolate anti-party forces associated with the so-called "Revolutionary Wing." In particular, the coalition waged repeated struggle against the line of the Revolutionary Workers' League, which tried to get the coalition to condemn the MPLA for "not waging people's war," for "inviting in the Soviet Union" and so forth. The coalition persisted in upholding the unity and revolutionary character of all three liberation groups, and showed how RWL's line was just another way of taking the heat off the Soviet Union.

Bay Area Call Committee

A Communist View of Trade Unions

POLITICS OF TRADE UNIONISM

the fight against wage slavery, but the capitalist turning the union movement into a reserve to

the union leadership, a stratum of labor lieutenant of the imperialists in the working class.

labor is fundamentally an economic organization," and as the AFL states, "political" questions should be left to the politicians in the bourgeois political parties. Transferred into practice, this view concludes that politics is not the concern of workers. "Members are far more concerned with bread-and-butter economic issues . . ." the AFL insists. This view, of course, leaves the question of political power, that is, of which class will rule society, as an already-settled one in favor of the bourgeoisie.

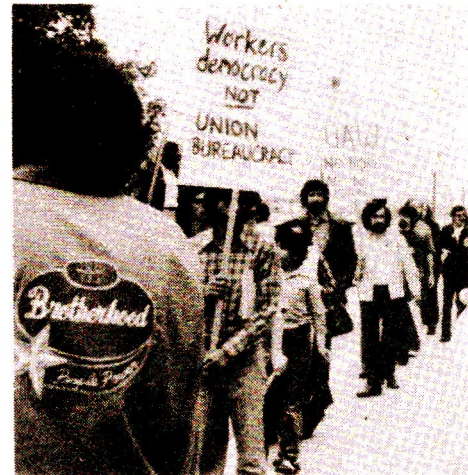
The trade union leaders do promote their own brand of politics in the unions. But this brand is trade unionist politics as opposed to the workers' political struggle for power.

In waging only the trade unionist struggle, Lenin stressed how the working class loses its independence and becomes tied to the bourgeoisie and its political parties. This is the purpose, in short, of trade unionism, to restrict and paralyze the working class movement and turn it into a prop for the imperialists.

"The American trade union movement," explained George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO and spokesman for capitalism within the labor movement, "is part and parcel of the American society which is capitalism. We have no quarrel with this system at all. Anyone who knows the history of American labor and American workers



"Progress Through Collective Bargaining" is the main theme of the reformist trade union leaders gathered at this UAW Special Convention (above). Rank and file forces (right) demand an end to union bureaucracy. (Call Photo)



will understand this . . . The only thing on which we disagree with the capitalist is, how much do we get? That is the only thing."

Trade unionism glorifies the "guerrilla war"—the isolated, local skirmishes—between workers and employers. Some trade unionists and even capitalists pay lip service to the "class struggle," which they characterize as an economic tug-of-war which may or may not include outbursts like strikes and walk-outs. But all this "struggle," in reality, comes down to haggling for better terms, a few bones more or less thrown by the capitalists to their wage-slaves.

Bureaucratization of the unions developed hand in hand with trade unionism, binding it more closely to the capitalists and making the unions every day more dependent on red tape, legalisms, and government arbitration. In fact, with the expansion of the trade union bureaucracy came an equal-

ly elaborate government apparatus to "mediate" and "facilitate settlements" should labor disputes get "out of hand."

Trade unionism has also meant the transformation of the unions into profitable business enterprises for the labor bureaucrats. Besides fat salaries like \$132,000 for Teamster president Fitzsimmons, there are travel expenses, slush funds, conventions, international travel and government consultant fees. The amount of dues and pension money handled by the largest unions approaches many of the largest corporations in income.

These are only a few of the thousands of threads by which the labor aristocracy and especially the trade union bureaucrats are tied to the imperialist system. Having shackled the workers' movement, they claim to be the main defenders of an "independent" trade union movement. Gompers in fact attacked the communists for wanting to link the trade union movement to the revolutionary movement for socialism. Waving the banner of a "free" trade union movement, these class collaborators have turned "labor's" political voice into open and complete support for the ruling class' most reactionary imperialist aggression and expansion internationally.

SUPPORTERS OF AGGRESSION

The growth of U.S. imperialism was the basis for the development of the labor aristocracy and this whole bureaucracy of labor misleaders. Their survival depends on U.S. imperialism's continued growth and expansion. On the domestic front, these trade unionists may preach varied reformist programs and measures but on the international front they are rabid supporters of all-out imperialist aggression. Even when the broadest masses of American people stood opposed to the Vietnam War, George Meany threw the AFL-CIO's support behind continued escalation. Meany has led the AFL-CIO in a frenzy of buying Israeli war bonds to support Zionist expansion in the Middle East. And today, as the crisis throws greater numbers of workers into destitution, Meany has turned the blame against the nations and peoples of the third world and not the U.S. imperialists. The AFL-CIO has become the biggest backer of U.S. imperialism in its world-wide battle for hegemony against its chief rival imperialist power, the Soviet Union.

With clear self-interest at heart, U.S. labor lieutenants joined the world-wide war against socialism and national liberation, claiming that if the U.S. lost its colonies and neocolonies, this would jeopardize the whole American way of life. What they really meant was that it would jeopardize the position of the labor aristocracy. That's why, Meany explains, the AFL-CIO spends some 25% of its total income overseas—teaching the methods of class collaboration, spreading trade unionism's treacherous ideology and, arm in arm with the CIA, sabotaging and splitting the working class

Total Salaries (as of 1972)

Frank E. Fitzsimmons,	
Teamsters	\$131,481
Peter Fosco,	
Laborers	\$ 80,599
George Meany,	
AFL-CIO	\$ 74,776
I.W. Abel,	
Steelworkers	\$ 69,937

Bay Area Call Committee

CONDENNANCE CENTRISM

IN CHINA—working people demonstrate support for the policies of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao. (Hsinhua Photo)



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movements in other nations, especially in the third world.

In World War II, when most of the world's people were fighting to defeat Nazi fascism, the AFL traitors like Irving Brown and former Communist Party leader Jay Lovestone were actively at work in France, Italy and Greece, plotting to destroy the class-conscious workers' movements—the very backbone of the anti-fascist resistance. With CIA money and backing they created phony labor federations, bought pro-U.S. lackey leaders and helped lay the groundwork for imposing the Marshall plan and other U.S. imperialist policies.

These traitors and agents of imperialism and fascism like to strike a pose domestically as reformers and liberals. A particular danger which they pose today stems from their use of the growing attacks on the trade union movement as a means of rallying support behind their continued collaborationist rule.

For example, Teamster-grower attacks on the farm workers' union have threatened to set back the struggle of these workers to unionize. At the same time, reformist leader Cesar Chavez has mainly channeled the struggle onto legalistic paths, election referendums and reliance on liberal politicians. While defending union rights is essential, the struggle cannot be allowed to remain under the slogan of "defend the unions." The incorrect formulation a couple years ago by some communists, the OL among others, of a growing "fascist tide" and "fascist labor front" led Marxist-Leninists to raise defense of the union above and apart from the fight to revolutionize the unions.

TACTICAL ALLIANCES

While tactical alliances of different kinds must be formed at times to fight the increasing attacks against the workers' movement in general, it is wrong for communists to disregard the class character of the trade unions as they are, without simultaneously waging a struggle against class-collaborationism and the labor misleaders.

Arnold Miller, for example, has tried recently to characterize attacks against him by pro-Boyle forces on the UMW International Executive Board as an attack against the miners' union as a whole. In this way, he hopes to silence the rising struggle against his own sell-out policies. In the Miller election campaign a couple of years back, defense of the union against "right-wing attacks" was wrongly used to justify unprincipled alliance with Miller for the sake of "saving the union."

The unions cannot be "saved" without smashing the hold of the misleadership. "The thinking worker," Lenin wrote, "knows that the most dangerous of advisers are those liberal friends of the workers who claim to be defending their interests, but are actually trying to destroy the class independence of the proletariat and its organization." It is, he stresses elsewhere, an "absolute immutable duty" of all communists to preserve the ideological and political independence of the party of the working class. No task—building or defending the trade unions, winning a union drive or election—can ever be placed above the principal task of building and strengthening the vanguard party, the independent leadership of the working class.

FIGHT CUTBACKS . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

by the union misleaders was seen last week in New York. Faced with a new round of layoffs on top of last year's cuts, rank-and-file hospital workers were ready to strike June 7, demanding jobs. But union leader Victor Gotbaum quickly lent big business a helping hand by stifling the strike action and submitting the struggle to arbitration.

Coupled with this sabotage of the workers' movement, the capitalists spread propaganda like "New York is going broke," and "Inflationary wage demands are the cause of the crisis." They try to get workers to believe that everyone has to "share the misery."

In fact, neither New York nor any other city is "going broke."

The officials who run New York continue paying their huge bills to contracting firms, utility companies and all the big monopolies that profit tremendously from city business. The cutbacks are designed to save city revenue so that it can be handed over to the big banks who dictate New York's finances and control its debt. In this way, New York's "crisis" and similar situations all over the country are being manipulated by the financial elite to extract greater profits and intensify the exploitation of the working class.

But people in New York and elsewhere are not buying the capitalist schemes. "Make the bosses pay!" is the attitude of working-class activists taking up the fightback against the crisis. "They say cutback, we say fightback," is the slogan that fills the streets as work-

ers and community people demonstrate against layoffs, hospital closings and school shutdowns.

A powerful mass upsurge is developing in response to the cutbacks. What is needed is revolutionary leadership to organize and strengthen the fightback, driving out the saboteurs and misleaders like Gotbaum from the workers' movement.

Revolutionary leadership of the fightback means not only throwing the burden for the crisis back onto the bosses. It means exposing the capitalist system's thirst for profit which lies at the root of the cut-

backs. Capitalism is a system which continuously attacks the living standards of workers and minority people. Even when some reforms are won, as they were in the '60s, capitalism tries to erode and undermine them from the day they take effect.

A society based on profit for a handful and exploitation of the majority can't provide quality health care, child care, education, or other such needs of the people. Only a socialist system where the working class runs society in the interests of the vast majority can guarantee the fulfillment of these needs.

The reactionary nature of the present system stands exposed as the politicians, Democrats and Republicans alike, join together to

keep minority students out of the schools, throw the aged out of nursing homes, refuse hospital admittance to the sick, lock the playgrounds and generally lower the quality of life for the masses.

While the capitalists claim there is no money for these social services, their own profits are still fat from the exploitation of the workers and the plunder of the world. The annual profits from just one of New York's big banking families is more than enough to pay all New York's bills without anything cut back.

It is this reactionary system, with its barbaric attacks on the people both in the U.S. and around the world, which stands behind the cutbacks and should be the target of the fightback.

RACIST TERROR . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Speaking from his hospital bed, Holdman said, "Suddenly I heard loud voices. Then my son cried out, 'Look, Dad, look, look. They're coming to the car.'"

"About that time, one guy swung a baseball bat and broke the window on the passenger side where my son was sitting," Holdman continued. "There must have been 300 or 400 of them, and I was in the middle. They kept shouting, 'Get that nigger, get that nigger.'"

When Holdman saw one of the fascists appear to draw a gun, he reached for his own revolver. In the excitement, the gun went off, hitting him in the leg. Also wounded in the attack was Betty Glover, 25, who is three months pregnant, and another woman, Marie Mercado and her two sons.

Other attacks occurred last week on several Chicago area beaches where gangs of racist thugs beat, stabbed and kicked scores of isolated Blacks free from police interference.

The new white terror attacks have been accompanied by the set-

ting up of a new Southwest-side branch of the National Knights of the KKK. Marquette Park has long been the center of activity of the Nazi Party, whose store-front office carries the slogan "Keep the Niggers Out of Marquette Park." The attacks have also been accompanied by the growth of a Boston-type anti-busing movement organized largely out of the churches, parent-teacher organizations and civic associations.

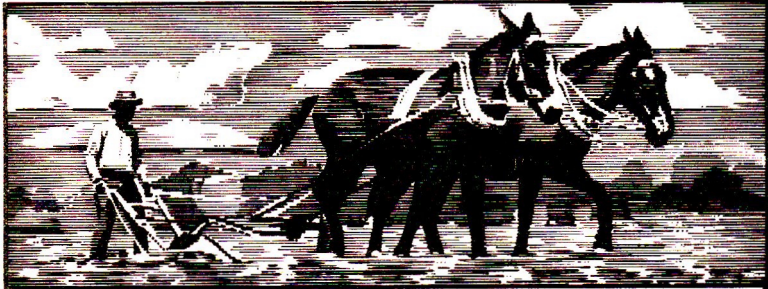
Despite demands that the Nazis be banned from Chicago, Mayor Daley and the courts have decided to allow them to remain while paying lip-service opposition to them. A delegation of young people, Black and white, from Chicago schools, religious organizations and other groups went to the city council last week demanding that the council denounce the racist attacks and outlaw the KKK and the nazis. Included in the delegation were several students from Carver High School, some of whom were victims of a recent attack by racists while they picnicked in a forest preserve in suburban Bloom township.

While the Nazis have been al-

lowed to continue their attacks unhindered, leaders of the integration movement have been arrested at each attempt to demonstrate. The marches have been turned back by police, and the city bureaucracy is working overtime to send its cool-out squads into the Black community.

The marches are continuing despite this harassment, and many people in the community are preparing to defend themselves from the racists. Willie Curtis, director of the West Englewood Community Organization, who was arrested during the June 6 open-housing demonstration, said: "Black people have got to take care of their property and their life. The police aren't going to protect us, so we have to protect ourselves."

This view was also put forth by a member of the Workers' Solidarity Committee, which has organized against previous racist attacks in the Marquette Park area. "We stand for the militant defense of the Black community against these racist attacks by the nazis and their backers, by any means necessary," he said.



B. BROWN CALL '76

THE HEART OF DIXIE

Blood-stained, rich black dirt bears the imprint of its ugly yesterday,
And the air with its virgin aroma pumps life to wasted souls.

From one acre to the next, tons of food in 'our backyard'--
We (the croppers) often went hungry,
The pains gnawed at little Susie's stomach like the plows cultivating the land.

'All I want is some support,' Mom's everyday slogan
While Spud's drinking remained a mystery.
Result: at such an early age my hatred out-brewed the lava pits.

Promises were broken like our backs in the cottonfields--
Sunday morning was the only time Cousin Cat saw a cross that wasn't burning.

HANDS OFF, ye wretched scumbums
Hear This--We're moving slow
but with the certainty of childbirth!

We'll work in the sun's rays,
Sing praises and dance in 'our backyards.'
We'll shout glory hallelujah and eat this bread and drink this wine
In remembrance of--Death to the Fascists.

We'll tear down the old--put Wall Street in the museum
And curse our masters in Swahili.

High esteem; enjoying the fruits of our labor
Just discrimination will replace unjust discrimination.

Persevere in struggle--hard work for those that haven't.
Away with ignorance; our nation must mature

The bottom will be on the top,
We'll live like human beings
And nature will applaud us for her rescue!

by **Shed Harris**

LEBANON CRISIS . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

by maintaining the divisions in Lebanon, they will be able to force the Palestinians to accept a Geneva Conference. Soviet Premier Kosygin recently traveled to Syria, doing his best to heighten the contradictions between Syria and Egypt as one tool for keeping the situation tense in the Mideast. A Lebanese newspaper reported that Soviet manipulation was behind Syria's withdrawal from talks with Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait to solve the Lebanese crisis.

The Soviet Union in its April 28 declaration also stated demagogically that it "does not seek any gains or advantage for itself" in the Mideast. But in early June, with the U.S., France and Israel threatening military intervention in Lebanon, the Soviet Union turned around and declared that Soviet vested interests in the Mideast are greater than any other power, and that it "would act to protect them."

The French newspaper L'Humanite Rouge also reported recently that the Soviet Union is arming the right-wing Christian Phalange group in Lebanon which opposes the Palestinians. The arms deal has been arranged with Bulgaria as an intermediary.

The U.S. is relying mainly on its

client-state of Israel. The Israeli Zionists are taking advantage of the Lebanon crisis to beef up their army, carry out repression against the Palestinians on the West Bank, and threaten aggression against Lebanon.

With both superpowers trying

to disarm the Palestinians, undermine Lebanese sovereignty and divide the Arab world, Arab unity is crucial. The decisions of the Arab League and the establishment of the peace-keeping force are steps in this direction.



NEGRO LIBERATION

by Harry Haywood

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. Long suppressed by the revisionist CPUSA, Negro Liberation is now reprinted by Liberator Press with the author's permission. \$3.25 postpaid

NEGRO
LIBERATION
HARRY HAYWOOD

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