

BIG PROFIT IN PHONY GAS SHORTAGE

Two million workers are laid-off because factories and other workplaces can't get enough natural gas to operate. Schools are closing for extended periods of time, as a way of "conserving energy." The people are being ordered by the Carter administration to "sacrifice more" and turn their ther-

mostats down to 55 degrees.

The reason for all this is supposed to be a "shortage of natural gas," the fuel which accounts for 30% of the energy used in the U.S.

But the "gas shortage" is a myth. Even some of the capitalists have had to admit that there is plenty of gas around. The Washing-

ton Post headlined on February 1, "Studies Find No Shortage of Natural Gas." The article went on to quote gas company officials as saying the U.S. had enough gas to last the next forty years without discovering another new drop.

The problem, according to these energy barons, is a "shortage

of readily available supply." Their excuse is that government regulations have made it too costly to explore for deep deposits of gas, and shallow ones are being used up.

But this "shortage of readily (PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 11)

PEOPLE OF THE WORLD UNITE TO DEFEAT IMPERIALISM

THE CALL

POLITICAL NEWSPAPER OF THE OCTOBER LEAGUE

VOL. 6, NO. 6

THE CALL, Post Office Box 5597, Chicago, Ill. 60680—Published by the October League (Marxist-Leninist)—25¢

FEBRUARY 14, 1977

FLAMES OF FREEDOM RAGE IN AFRICA

The Carter administration dispatched Andrew Young to Africa this week in hopes of dousing the flames of liberation which are raging across the southern tip of the continent.

Young, who is the new U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations and the government's most prominent Black official, is following an itinerary very similar to Henry Kissinger's Africa trip of May 1976. The purpose of the trip is the same: to use liberal, "humanitarian" rhetoric as a tool to disarm the liberation movements and step up U.S. contention with the Soviet Union for control of Africa.

Since Kissinger's trip, the imperialists have found it increasingly difficult to achieve their ambitions in Africa. The Geneva talks

on majority rule for Zimbabwe, cooked up by Kissinger and Rhodesia's Ian Smith, have now collapsed completely.

Kissinger arranged these talks in an effort to get a "cease-fire" in Zimbabwe and bring a pro-U.S. regime to power. The U.S. dreamed of using the Geneva negotiating table to split the ranks of the liberation forces and promote a puppet representative.

Just the opposite has happened. Today, the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe is growing more unified and pursuing the road of armed struggle more firmly than ever. Only two weeks ago, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe was formally consolidated. Its new co-ordinating committee includes the leaders of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), the African Na-

tional Council (ANC) and other liberation fighters.

Immediately after electing its new leadership, the Patriotic Front issued a press release affirming its objective of "liquidating imperialism and colonialism and thereby overthrowing the racist regime of Rhodesia." The press release also indicated that important measures would be taken to reinforce and strengthen ZIPA (Zimbabwe People's Army) and its fighting ability inside Rhodesia.

Andrew Young's mission in Africa is to stem this tide of victory for the liberation forces and bring the movement for majority rule under U.S. control.

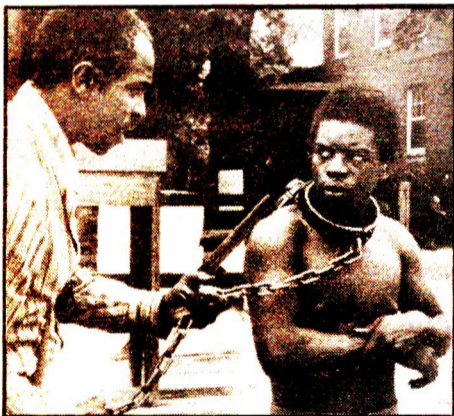
As Business Week magazine commented in a special supple-

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 11)



ZIMBABWE GUERRILLAS training for armed struggle.

(Hsinhua photo)



ROOTS distorted Black history, emphasizing passivity instead of resistance and rebellion.



'ROOTS' TV SERIES— WHICH CLASS DOES IT SERVE?

The eight television episodes of "Roots," based on Alex Haley's best-seller, were watched by more people than any other program in history. All told, some 130 million people viewed it on ABC. All or part of the series was seen in 85% of the homes with TV in the U.S.

The massive response demonstrated that the people of this country are hungry for knowledge about their own history, especially the history of their class and national oppression—their struggle for freedom. The attractiveness of "Roots" can be seen in comparison to the steady diet of Fonzie, Bionic Woman and super-cop shows that we are fed regularly. "Roots" gave us a glimpse into

the long history of Black slavery and oppression of which millions of Black and white people have long been kept ignorant. The TV series has sparked widespread discussion. To some degree, it has helped awaken pride and awareness in a society where Black people and all working people are usually portrayed in the most degrading manner.

"Roots" also focused attention on some of the best Black actors and actresses in the media, allowing them to play something other than the usual pimp and hooker many are forced to play to earn a living.

But to really understand "Roots" we must look at its class

viewpoint. Which class does it serve and from what point of view does it look at this history? We must ask, does it portray this history as it really took place? What does it include and what does it skip over? Finally, what are the lessons that it offers the viewers? Do these lessons serve to further the struggle or cripple it? Who does it show as the friends and enemies of the oppressed people?

Haley's search for his family history is interesting enough, but the book and TV series are being presented as much more than that. The story of "Roots" is being promoted as an accurate portrayal of

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 11)

PAC NATIONAL SPEAKING TOUR

David Sibeko of the Azanian Pan Africanist Congress will speak in the following cities next week. His U.S. tour is organized by the October League. See p. 3 for more details.

NEW ORLEANS: Sunday, Feb. 13, 7:30 P.M., St. Mark's Community Center, 1130 N. Rampart. Co-sponsors: Peoples Defense Coalition to Free Gary Tyler, Ahidiana, RWC. Tuesday, Feb. 15, 7:30 P.M., Desire Neighborhood Center, in Desire Projects. Co-sponsor: Sons of Desire.

HOUSTON: Wednesday, Feb. 16, 7:30 P.M., Texas Southern University. Co-sponsor: International Students Association.

DALLAS: Thursday, Feb. 17, 11 A.M., Bishop College Chapel Feb. 17, 1 P.M., Southern Methodist University Feb. 17, 7 P.M., Roseland Homes Recreation Center, 2021 N. Washington Blvd. Co-sponsors: People United for Justice for Prisoners, Black Women's United Front.

BALTIMORE: Saturday, Feb. 19, 7:30 P.M., Morgan State University, Jenkins Hall 104.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: Sunday, Feb. 20, 7:30 P.M., Douglass Memorial Church, 11th and H Sts., Northeast. Co-sponsor: Iranian Students Association.

Meatcutters strike

Lessons of long battle in Los Angeles.

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Report from Europe

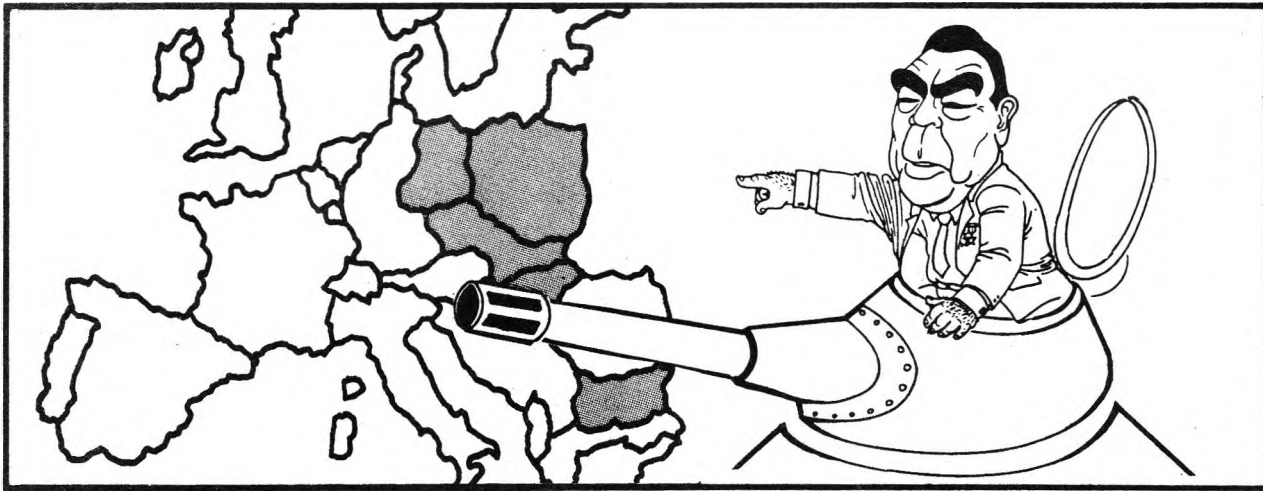
A look at Luxemburg's communists.

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SECCION EN ESPAÑOL



EDITORIALS



(Rote Garde)

BREZHNEV preaches "brotherly love" in East Europe, but 600,000 Soviet troops are there to suppress resistance.

EAST EUROPE RESISTS SOVIET UNION

Eastern Europe, the most important Soviet sphere of influence, has become a powder-keg of opposition to Soviet domination. In recent weeks, various forms of protest have erupted in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and East Germany.

For many years, the Soviet Union has ruled Eastern Europe with an iron fist. Brezhnev's talk about "brotherly love" and "complete equality" has only been a smokescreen for the hard reality of neo-colonialism in these countries.

More than 600,000 Soviet troops are stationed in Eastern Europe to perpetuate this enslavement and to prepare for aggression against the West. Under the watchful eyes of the Russian occupation army, Eastern Europe's raw materials are plundered, unequal economic exchanges are enforced, and the labor of the working people is brutally exploited.

But this intense repression cannot last long. The people of Eastern Europe have expelled one tyrant after another over the last few hundred years, including Hitler. In Poland, where the genuine Marxist-Leninists of the Polish Com-

munist Party are forced to work underground, massive strikes and workers' rebellions have rocked the country in the last year.

Most recently, the "Charter 77" movement in Czechoslovakia has kindled a new flame of rebellion against the Soviet occupiers who have remained in the country since their 1968 invasion. The "Charter 77" demands for political liberty and opposition to Soviet domination have aroused strong support among the masses. Recognizing this, Czech authorities under direction from Moscow have begun a crackdown against the activists in this movement.

Even in Bulgaria, a country long considered in the tightest grip of social-imperialism, a government publishing house has just published a book exposing Soviet strangulation of the economy.

The struggles of the Eastern European peoples and countries have ripped the "socialist" mask off Brezhnev and exposed the USSR's imperialist, fascist nature. But these struggles have also shown that Soviet social-imperialism is outwardly strong, but inwardly weak and filled with contradictions. Even while Brezhnev tries to extend his empire around the world, the most important building block of that empire is erupting in fierce opposition.

What is taking place in Eastern Europe today is a reflection of the fact that countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution. No amount of aggression or repression by either superpower can stop the advance of this trend of history.

LIBERALS PROVIDE NO ALTERNATIVE

In many ways, this week's election campaign in the United Steel Workers union (USWA) is a weather vane reflecting the different currents within the labor movement for the period ahead.

Capitalism's sharpening economic crisis has given rise to a new upsurge in the strike movement and resistance to the open collaborationist policies and chauvinism of the old gang of labor bureaucrats. Faced with this situation, the bosses have pulled out a "new" group of liberal, reformist and revisionist misleaders to try and pull the rug out from under the rank-and-file movement.

The liberal, reformist campaign of Sadlowski in the USWA offers no alternative to the steel workers. Sadlowski and his backers have no real fighting program for the union, nor do they represent the outgrowth of a genuine mass movement or organization. Rather, the Sadlowski campaign, like the efforts today of Arnold Miller in the UMW and Doug Fraser in the UAW, is part of the strategy of Jimmy Carter and the ruling class, combining liberal misleadership with increased attacks on the rights of workers.

Our consistent stand against both McBride and Sadlowski in the USWA election has not been aimed at building a boycott of all union activities nor of elections in general. In fact, we believe that at the proper time and using the correct tactics, election alliances with some opportunist trade union leaders are both necessary and possible. Our emphasis is not on the question of the five minutes or less that union members spend in the voting booth, but rather in dealing a blow at the wave of liberal trade unionism that is now being promoted.

Our struggle to build a new Marxist-Leninist party of the working class must be coupled with fierce opposition to the entire gang of labor aristocrats and bureaucrats that dominate the unions. It must be a fight against both the old line reactionary types like Abel and Meany as well as against the liberals and revisionists who are posing as a "revolutionary" alternative.

In this way, the most class-conscious fighters in the labor movement can be wrested free from the ideological hold of the reformists and won to the line of the new party, while the broad masses of workers can learn through their own experiences that liberalism is a dead-end street.

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The Call is published weekly, at \$12 for a one-year subscription. 4249 W. Division, Chicago, Illinois 60651. Application to mail at second-class rates is pending at Chicago, Illinois.

To The Call:

I enjoyed your recent article on amnesty. I'm glad you pointed out the racist implications that the Vietnam War had on people.

It seemed to me that you somewhat glided over civilian resisters. Anyone still incarcerated because of the war should be immediately freed, and any warrants or past arrests against others should be dropped or forever erased.

I am a Vietnam-era veteran actively involved in the amnesty fight. In conjunction with amnesty is the fight for a single-type discharge. At present, there are five types: Honorable, General, Undesirable, Bad Conduct and Dishonorable.

The first three are given out administratively, the latter two by court martial. Too many "failure to repair" (the military's version of "disorderly conduct") can get you an administrative undesirable discharge and no benefits. This is where the majority of less-than-honorable discharges are and where racism shows its hideous face.

A single type discharge would state time served only.

I read *The Call* from time to time and usually enjoy it. Keep up the fight for universal, unconditional amnesty, and I hope to read more about vets in your paper.

Comradely,
J.E., Milwaukee

Comrades,

I am especially gratified to see your position towards the upcoming steel worker elections. As in Montreal, I'm

Letters



The Call, P.O. 5597, Chicago, Ill. 60680

convinced that your position and that of the Canadian Communist League (M-L) is the only correct one. The reformism of Sadlowski is clearly no answer for the working class. Obviously, it is an answer for the Guardian and other petty-bourgeois "radicals" who rely on the labor aristocracy and bourgeois legality.

Keep up the struggle!

L.F., Toronto.

Comrades,

In the February issue of RCP's paper Revolution, they have a long and windy article "refuting" the direction of the main blow thesis. In this article, they've done a number of things. First, they have attempted to separate Stalin from Lenin on the question of Bolshevik strategy.

Second, they have repeated the typical Trotskyite "analysis" of the period leading to the rise of fascism to power in Germany. They claim had it not been for singling out the social democratic parties as social fascist, the fascists would not have been able to achieve victory! Third, they have apologized for the Soviet Union, particularly in relation to Angola.

Fourth, they have called for tactical unity with the revisionists. Fifth, they have characterized the revisionist CPUSA as a middle force with whom one has to follow the policy of unity and struggle.

Sixth, they have echoed the revisionists' and centrists' slanders against the October League. And seventh, they have not in the least refuted the direction of the main blow thesis.

In Lenin's *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, there is an article on page 376 entitled "Concerning an Article Published in the Organ of the Bund." This article speaks to the question of Bolshevik strategy and elaborates that strategy in relation to the Cadets. This article shows that Stalin was following Lenin's teachings when he summarized Bolshevik strategy.

A Los Angeles reader

Dear Comrades,

Thank you very much for your article on Krugerrand sales in South Africa. It helped me a lot, since I am working in a bank and am forced to sell this symbol of the oppression of Azanian people. I see now that even selling the krugerrand is to support the South African racists.

There is also another coin I have found out about, which is made from the sweat and blood of our working-class brothers. It is the Tservonez, the Russian gold ruble piece. This gold represents the exploited labor of Russian workers for the good life of the Brezhnev clique.

From a friend of the American workers,
R.M., West Germany

SPEAKING TOUR FOR AZANIAN LEADER

DAVID SIBEKO OF PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS

Beginning February 13, workers and anti-imperialists all over the U.S. will have an opportunity to hear about the freedom struggle in Azania (South Africa) from a leading member of the national liberation organization of the Azanian people.

David Sibeko, Director of Foreign Affairs of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), will tour some 20 U.S. cities under the sponsorship of the October League, Southern Conference Education Fund, Communist Youth Organization, and the National Fight Back Organization. Sibeko is also the PAC's Permanent Observer at the United Nations. He just returned from a visit to Africa.

The Pan Africanist Congress is the organization leading the Azanian people's armed revolutionary struggle against the apartheid regime in South Africa. Since its founding in 1959, the PAC has been organizing the masses of Azanian people in the cities and in the countryside to prepare for a war of national liberation.

In a recent interview in *The Call*, PAC spokesman Theo Bidi said:

"The PAC aims at the total overthrow of white domination and western imperialism in our country; establishing a democratic, socialist, non-racial and just social order; restoring the land to its rightful owners, . . . making our contribution to mankind and the world struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism and hegemonism."

In 1960, the PAC launched the Positive Action Campaign aimed at mobilizing and organizing the Azanian working masses to oppose the apartheid regime and in particular the "Pass Laws." The mass rallies and demonstrations which occurred in the spring of 1960 were brutally attacked by the apartheid regime, leading to the infamous Sharpeville Massacre, in which at least 160 Africans were killed and hundreds wounded.

More recently, the PAC has

been a leading force in the popular resistance in the townships like Soweto, where the masses of students and workers have fought militantly against the government, raising their struggle to a new level. Hundreds of PAC leaders and members have been jailed since 1963.

PAC spokesman Theo Bidi noted in *The Call* interview that, while the U.S. imperialists are presently the most directly involved superpower in South Africa, the Soviet social-imperialists have great ambitions there.

"It is thinkable," said Bidi, "that the Soviets will do all in their power to gain a firm foothold in our country in the interests of its global expansionist drive and contention with the U.S."

So it is, he concluded, that the Azanian people will have to wage a struggle against both of the superpowers.

The tour of the Pan Africanist Congress coincides with important new developments in Africa.



The Geneva talks on Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) have just collapsed, and the armed struggle is intensifying. Andrew Young's current Africa visit is part of frantic U.S. efforts to maintain hegemony in southern Africa, spreading the notion of reliance on the superpowers to settle the national liberation struggles.

The PAC is firmly opposed to any delusions on this question and is calling on the peoples of southern Africa to intensify their armed struggle against imperialism and the white racist minority regimes.

The present PAC Tour organ-

ized by the October League will help to inform and educate thousands of people about the struggle in southern Africa and to arouse broad political support for the just cause of the Azanian people.

The tour also aims to materially aid the liberation struggle by raising needed funds at the mass meetings being planned in 20 cities. This is a concrete way in which U.S. workers and anti-imperialists can contribute directly to the Azanian people's struggle.

During the first week of the tour, Comrade Sibeko will speak in New Orleans, Houston, Dallas, Baltimore and Washington, D.C.

Details of Comrade Sibeko's speaking engagements for this week are found on page 1. The upcoming issues of *The Call* will report on the tour.

**DOWN WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIST REGIME!
SUPERPOWERS OUT OF AFRICA! SUPPORT THE PAC!**

FIGHTBACK GOING STRONG IN NEW ENGLAND

More than 100 workers attended a New England Regional Fight Back Conference in Boston, January 22 to sum up the struggles of the last year and chart the course ahead.

The delegates participated in wide-ranging discussions and exchange of experiences gained in many fronts of the class struggle. In the conference resolutions, the representatives placed their main political emphasis in the period ahead on deepening the Fight Back's ties to the mass struggle and winning many more working-class and minority fighters to a revolutionary program of struggle against capitalism.

Participating delegates to the conference came from Buffalo, N.Y., Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and Connecticut, as well as from already established chapters of the National Fight Back Organization such as the Boston

Workers United to Fight Back (BWUFB) and the Cambridge Fight Back.

Among the many speakers at the conference, a worker from Advent Corp. in Boston addressed the need to unite employed and unemployed workers in common struggle. "At last year's conference," the worker said, "I'd just been laid off. Now I'm laid off again. But I've been fighting all my life, and I'm going to keep on fighting against this system."

INCREASED ATTACKS

In addition to the increased attacks on the working class and oppressed minorities, communists and other militants have also been targeted and harassed by the capitalists. The conference heard messages from workers at St. Regis Paper, where communists were fired by the company, and from American Biltrite, where communists have been attacked by union and company goons for demanding equality of languages and exposing the union bureaucrats.

"To be attacked by the enemy is a good thing," one speaker said. "It shows you're doing good work. As we deepen our ties to the masses this year, we can expect more of the same because the capitalists understand that we're going to get rid of them."

The conference saw a successful struggle waged against an incorrect view within the fightback that had held back growth over the last few months.

One delegate explained that, although hundreds of workers had participated in BWUFB-led actions against the segregationist movement in Boston and in support of the Gary Tyler freedom movement and the fight for jobs, many of these workers had not been organized into the fightback.

The delegates criticized this and resolved to build the fightback with a working-class line and working-class leadership. With this

correct orientation, delegates felt that the fightback organizations will achieve significant advances in the months ahead.

Resolutions were adopted at each of the three conference workshops. In the "Jobs or Income Now" workshop, delegates decided that, in raising their demands, they should do broad political work among the masses to expose the imperialist system as the cause of the crisis.

The workshop on "Discrimination Against Minorities and Women" resolved to go deeply among the working people and minorities in building support for Gary Tyler and linking this work to the fight against local examples of racist oppression, such as Boston's segregationist movement. The delegates discussed ways the fightback could support the struggles of women for equality, and the whole conference endorsed International Women's Day actions on March 5.

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The "International Situation" workshop proposed increased educational work to expose superpower war preparations and the danger of a new world war. It urged support for the struggles of the peoples of the third world, for normalization of U.S.-China relations, for Puerto Rican independence, and for the fight against apartheid in South Africa. In addition, the workshop condemned Jimmy Carter's "pardon" of draft resisters and demanded full, unconditional amnesty for all deserters and resisters and the upgrading of all "less-than-honorable" discharges.

The conference took place in the midst of sharpening class struggle as the theme of "bringing the fightback to the masses" is brought into play, not only in New England, but throughout the country as well. Other recent reports from local fightback communities show a whole range of important struggles in which the NFBO has been



FIGHTBACK is developing its leadership of many mass struggles such as Philadelphia battle against transportation cuts shown above.

able to provide leadership.

In Baltimore, for instance, the Baltimore Fightback Committee, along with the October League and the Communist Youth Organization, is organizing resistance in the city's Afro-American community to a recent wave of fires that have killed at least 12 people this year alone. It has recently been exposed that over 90% of all fire deaths in the city occur in the Black communities, where bad housing, discrimination in fire department hiring and overcrowded conditions all contribute to the high death toll.

Across the country in Oakland, Calif., the Fight Don't Starve Committee (FDS) rallied at the city's municipal court building Jan. 27 in support of three of its members. They face phony charges stemming from a May Day demonstration at the unemployment office in 1974 organized by FDS. The charges were first dismissed over a year-

and-a-half ago, but prosecutors decided to raise them a second time.

A spokesman for FDS told *The Call* that, "The reactivation of these charges is intended to harass and stop the unemployed from organizing, especially at a time when the fightback campaign for 'Jobs or Income Now!' is intensifying in Oakland." The spokesman pointed out that this latest attack "will not stop the jobs campaign from growing" because "the masses need a strong organization to fight back against the system."

These concrete fightback actions, coupled with the type of political consolidation provided by the New England meeting, are helping to weld the National Fight Back Organization into a more powerful nationwide force. More regional meetings in other parts of the country are scheduled for February.

DOWN WITH THE DEATH PENALTY!

People United Against the Death Penalty is sponsoring a state-wide demonstration on February 19, in Austin, Texas. The march will be Saturday at 1:00 P.M. in East Austin, proceeding from 11th and Chicon to the State Capitol grounds. Demonstrators are expected to come from Dallas and Houston.

Speakers at the demonstration will link up the struggle against the death penalty with the struggle to free Gary Tyler and oppose the whole system of national oppression. They will show how the death penalty is used as a tool of the capitalists to intimidate the working class, especially minority people, who make up the overwhelming majority of those on death row.



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The Call is the political newspaper of the October League (Marxist-Leninist), and is published weekly with a section in Spanish, *El Clarin*.

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Make checks payable to: *The Call* Box 5597, Chicago, Ill. 60680.

'ORANGEBURG MASSACRE' - BLACK YOUTH RESIST

Nine years ago last week, police and national guardsmen at the South Carolina State College at Orangeburg opened fire on a demonstration of over 150 unarmed Black students, killing 3 and wounding 27 others.

Known as the Orangeburg Mass-

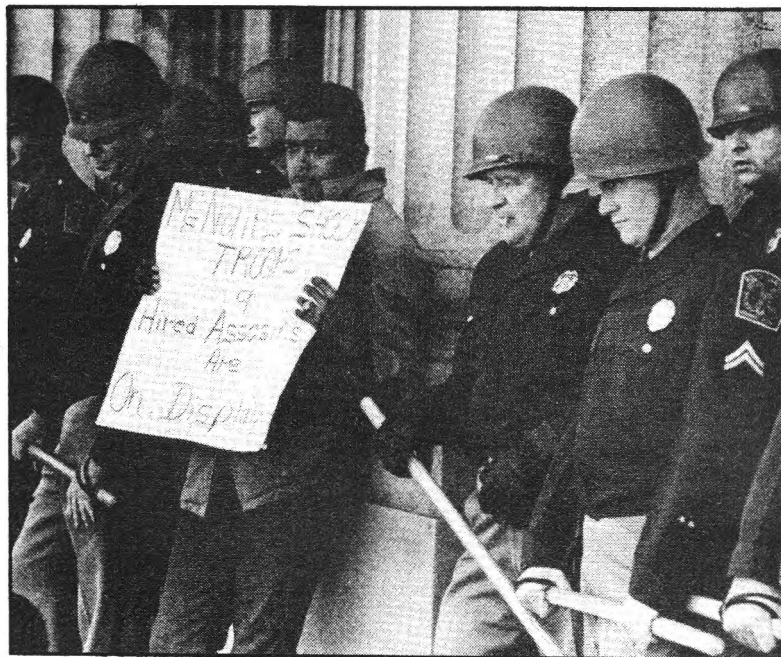
acre, this brutal police attack of Feb. 8, 1968, showed the ruthlessness of capitalism in attempting to crush Black people's struggle for equality and self-determination. But it also showed the powerful strength of the Afro-American people's resistance to oppression.

The Orangeburg Massacre came in the midst of a high tide in the Afro-American people's struggle. Thousands of freedom riders in the South were fighting for voting rights for Blacks and against racist "Jim Crow" discrimination in restaurants and public transportation.

Hundreds of rebellions were sweeping the northern cities as Black people rose up against the national oppression and police terror that mirrored the conditions they had supposedly left behind in the South.

Inspired by this storm of struggle, Black students from South Carolina State and nearby Claflin College attempted to desegregate a "whites only" bowling alley. Led by the Black Awareness Coordinating Committee (BACC) and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a group of Black students integrated the bowling alley and were arrested.

As the word spread of the arrests, more than 400 students gathered to demand their release. The police viciously attacked the crowd and clubbed many students—both men and women—to the ground.



STANDING FIRM against harassment, this Orangeburg student denounces the murder of fellow students.



ARREST OF STUDENTS for attempting to desegregate this bowling alley touched off resistance and the Orangeburg murders.

The students refused to be beaten back in their struggle for equality. They gathered in protest at the State College campus. For several days, they resisted the threats of police and guardsmen (who had been called up by the governor), as well as the attacks of white vigilantes, who fired into campus buildings.

Finally, the police opened fire on the Black students without provocation. All but a few of the 3 killed and 27 injured had been shot either in the back, from the side, or while they were lying down. All nine cops eventually brought to trial for this massacre were acquitted by the courts.

In commemorating the Orangeburg Massacre, we should learn from the revolutionary role that students and other Black youth have played in the Afro-American people's struggle. Incidents like the Orangeburg Massacre and many others have witnessed Black youth giving their lives in the fight against national oppression.

Like the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa eight years earlier, Orangeburg served as a powerful lesson to Black and all oppressed people—that the imperialist system will never peacefully stop its murder and exploitation of its own free will. It must be overthrown and smashed.

CONVERSE WORKERS STUDY LENIN

Runaway shops: product of imperialism

This article was submitted by a group of communist and worker activists as part of their long struggle against the closing of Converse Rubber Co. in Malden, Mass.

When Converse Rubber Co. announced it was closing its Boston-based factory a few months ago, it joined a long line of New England companies that shut down to move south or overseas. Runaway shops are an inseparable part of the imperialist system, which drives companies to seek higher profits in areas where they can impose lower wages and worse working conditions.

The workings of this system are analyzed by Lenin in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. The study of this classic work makes clear why imperialism leads to problems such as runaway shops and shows why it is only the overthrow of the imperialist system that can eliminate runaways.

MONOPOLIES DEVELOP

Three of the characteristics of imperialism described by Lenin are especially helpful in understanding runaway shops. The first of these is the development of monopolies.

Smaller companies are bought out by a few larger ones to the point where only a handful control entire industries. Converse is one such monopoly. Beginning over 50 years ago as one of many small rubber shoe manufacturers, Converse bought out its major competitors, such as P.F. Flyers and Keds, and finally was itself bought out by Eltra Corp., an enormous transnational involved in many different industries.

It is only with the extremely high profits, solid financial backing and international character of production under imperialism that runaways become possible. Monopolies have the capital to invest

in new factories and to maintain overall production while moving parts of their operations to other areas. As a small struggling company, Converse could never have afforded to close down a plant to shift production thousands of miles away.

A second characteristic of imperialism is that, unlike the earlier stages of capitalism where commodity-export predominated, imperialism exports capital to countries around the world, using it to build factories and plunder raw materials.

OVERSEAS OPERATIONS

In recent years, Converse greatly expanded its overseas operations. In Taiwan and south Korea, Converse pays workers pennies a day for slaving in its plants. Workers in Converse's Puerto Rico plant are paid 30% to 40% less than what workers earn in Malden, while the cost of living in Puerto Rico is 25% higher than in the U.S. Converse products are now also produced in European countries, like Yugoslavia.

As the imperialists shift production overseas, they need an ideology to protect their interests from the rising anger of the U.S. workers, who face unemployment and a growing recession. To conceal their own responsibility and lay the basis for future wars, they promote national chauvinism. With such reactionary campaigns as "Be American, Buy American," they blame runaways and unemployment on the working classes of other countries.

A third characteristic of imperialism is the division of the world between the great powers. The two main imperialists—the super-

powers, the U.S. and USSR—are constantly trying to expand their control throughout the world, relying on their armed forces to suppress any resistance and to dominate new spheres of influence.

The profits made from foreign investment are based upon the oppression of those nations which

Belt South. The heightening of the deportation campaign is another attempt to shift the blame from the imperialists to the foreign-born workers.

Lenin also shows how the ruling class buys off a sector of the working class, the labor aristocracy, with a part of the superprofits

movement. This was in Lenin's day exemplified by Karl Kautsky, who considered imperialism only a "phase" or a policy of capitalism and not an inseparable feature.

Today, the revisionist Communist Party USA stands for the same type of opportunism. They call for an anti-monopoly coalition rather than an anti-imperialist united front and proletarian revolution, and say that reforms are the answer to runaways.

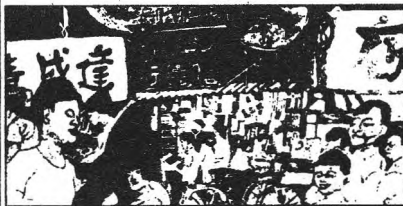
CENTRISTS PUSH REFORMISM

This reformism was also put forward by a group of centrists at Converse. Instead of struggling against the runaway, they only demanded severance pay and government aid. They opposed our work of exposing plant runaways as a necessary feature of the imperialist system, afraid this would "scare" the workers. Their narrow reformist outlook left the struggle within the framework of the system, and, by refusing to expose imperialism, they in effect promoted the Kautskyist view that runaways are only a policy of capitalism.

But such opportunists are doomed, as the true nature of imperialism is increasingly exposed and the fight against it grows stronger. Imperialism is decaying and dying capitalism. It cannot develop into a higher stage, and the only stage that will follow is socialist revolution.

The closing of Converse and other shops intensifies the contradictions in the U.S. and heightens the workers' struggle against the bourgeoisie, advancing the inevitable downfall of capitalism. Workers have learned important lessons from the loss of their jobs and their bitter struggles at Converse and are ready to spread this struggle and take these lessons to other factories.

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CONTINENTAL is a proud partner serving the military and industrial requirements of the Republic of China.

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IMPERIALISM advertises its runaway shops and exploitation on Taiwan.

have come under the imperialists' spheres of influence. The imperialists also profit greatly from national oppression within the U.S., especially in the Black Belt South and the Southwest. Converse, for example, has set up a large non-union factory in Lumberton, South Carolina, where it has effectively used national divisions between white, Black and Indian workers to keep wages down and a union out.

In Lenin's day, this national oppression had already led to widespread emigration from the oppressed nations to the more industrialized areas. We can see this today as many Puerto Ricans, Haitians and other third world workers are forced to emigrate to the U.S. and many Afro-Americans are forced to leave the Black

made from the oppression of third world nations. Even as Converse announced it was closing, we saw the labor bureaucrats sing the praises of the American system and the company's "freedom" to move. The salute to the flag was introduced at union meetings for the first time in years.

Lenin makes clear that the struggle against imperialism must be combined with a struggle against opportunism within the working class. Workers at Converse, like workers across the country, are coming to understand that it is only by fighting against the sell-out union leadership that the struggle against runaways and layoffs can be won.

The other aspect of opportunism that Lenin writes about is revisionism within the communist

MEATCUTTERS VICTORIOUS, BUT STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Los Angeles—Members of Local 274 of the Amalgamated Meatcutters Union have won a victory in their hard fought 10-week strike against companies of the Vernon Meat Dealers Association. On Jan. 30, they voted to return to work by an 18 to 1 margin.

The strike beat back an employer offensive to break the union, end protected benefits and basic rights, such as the guaranteed 40-hour week that employers had sought to delete. The new contract provides for \$1.25 in wage increases over the next three years, a cost of living clause, and other fringe benefits. In addition, the workers defeated the companies' attempt to lower the starting wage of newly hired workers by more than \$1.00-an-hour.

Above all, the strike built the fighting strength of the rank and file and united the majority against the class collaborationism of the handful of union misleaders.

During the course of the strike, the workers established broad rank-and-file organization. They organized mass picket lines of hundreds of workers outside the struck plants and a collection drive among workers throughout the meat industry to sustain the strike fund. They also set up pickets immediately when other L.A. plants attempted to take on scab production.

Self-reliance and strong multinational unity among the white, Afro-American and mainly Latino workers were crucial to the workers' victory. Throughout the strike, the company, the state and the union bureaucrats did their best to divide the workers. The bureaucrats tried to undermine the work-

ers' battle by preaching reliance on the courts, on the company's good faith and on their own collaborationist schemes.

These experiences have provided valuable lessons for the working class, especially for members of another L.A. Meatcutters Local, No. 563, whose strike against Farmer John's, one of the largest meat-packing houses in the Southwest, continues in its eighth week. Although the bureaucrats of both locals worked to undermine the workers' common struggle over the past weeks, the misleaders of Local 563 proved especially treacherous.

Local 563 president J.J. Rodriguez has used attacks on multinational unity as well as red-baiting, lies and false promises to carry out his tasks as the bosses' agent inside the union.

Rodriguez, a Chicano, has tried to use narrow nationalism to win support for his scab activities among the local's majority Chicano and Mexicano workers. But his attempts to pose as a fighter for the rights of Latino people, while dividing the rank-and-file workers along national lines, have been repeatedly exposed. In one incident, for example, he refused to support demands of the workers to translate union meetings into Spanish.

His anti-communist attacks on strike supporters from the League

for Marxist-Leninist Unity and the October League have also been denounced. One worker told *The Call*: "Rodriguez doesn't care if we win this strike. All he is concerned about is covering up his sellout by attacking the communists who have spoken more truth than our elected 'leaders.'"

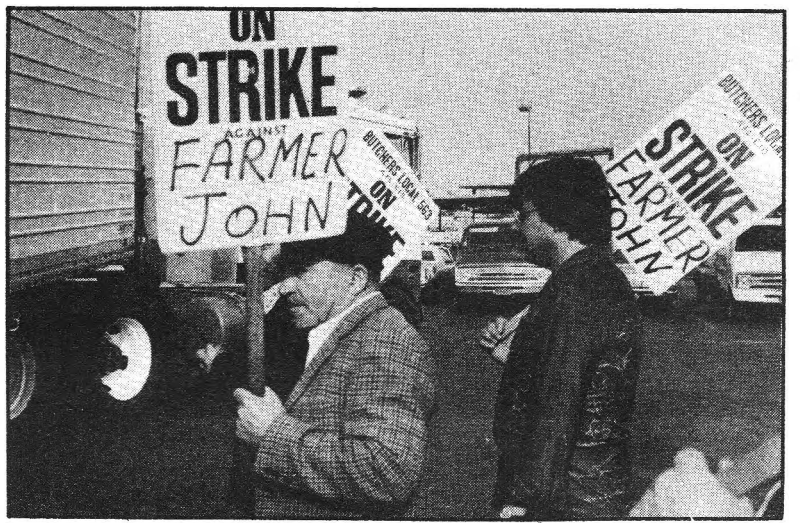
Another recent example of Rodriguez' treachery came at the regular monthly union meeting on January 14. With the strike already a month old, this meeting was the first opportunity the strikers had to confront the leadership about the progress of negotiations.

The workers were ready to fight. From the earliest weeks of the strike, they had seen the bureaucrats' capitulation to scabs, the police and a court injunction. Rodriguez sidetracked their demands by painting rosy pictures of a "great settlement" that was "just around the corner."

Four weeks after the meeting no more words have been heard about this "great settlement." In fact, recent events indicate that Rodriguez is prepared to sell out a key strike demand—no mandatory overtime for workers in the "kill floor" area.

On January 7, the company made what they called their "last offer"—\$1.05 pay raise over the next three years and continued forced overtime on the kill floor.

But this offer is unacceptable to the workers. With the support of the L.A. Labor Unity Organization, the Local 563 members



FARMER JOHN STRIKERS are determined to rely on their own efforts, not the bureaucrats, to win. (Call photo)

have launched a consumer boycott effort in the south central area of the city. More than 10,000 leaflets have been distributed urging community support for the strikers.

The boycott effort, coupled with the victory of Local 274 and

anger over the terms of the company's "final offer," have boosted the determination of the Farmer John strikers. They told *The Call*, "If we are to win this strike, we must win it as the Local 274 workers did—by relying on our strength and not on the bureaucrats."

BAKERY WORKERS DEFEND UNION

For over two months, the workers of Reising's Bakery, Inc., in New Orleans have been on strike, fighting for the existence of their union.

This is the second time in less than a year that the largely-Black work force, members of Bakery and Confectionary Workers Local 35, have been on strike. Early in 1976, the Teamster local which had represented bakery truck drivers was busted, despite a two-month long sympathy strike by members of Local 35. The company is now trying to do the same thing again, making the bakery non-union and leaving the workers defenseless.

This strike was supported by an overwhelming majority of the workers when it became clear during contract negotiations that the company had no intention of meeting any of their demands. The company offered a wage increase that was substantially less than the previously established industry standard. It also proposed a cut-back in sick leave and other benefits.

That determination has proven very strong. For the past weeks, a 24-hour-a-day picket line has been organized, despite police harassment and unseasonably cold weather. The strikers have remained firmly united in their stand of not returning to work without an improved contract.

In response to this militant spirit, Reising's has brought in scab labor and has hired dozens of "security guards" complete with vicious dogs to menace the picketers. They have even imported a "professional strike breaker" from another state.

The striking workers have also been brought face to face with the power of the state. The Louisiana legislature last year passed a so-called "right to work" law outlawing union shops. Company spokesmen have openly boasted that this means they "don't even have to let the workers back in," let alone agree to a contract providing livable wages and conditions.

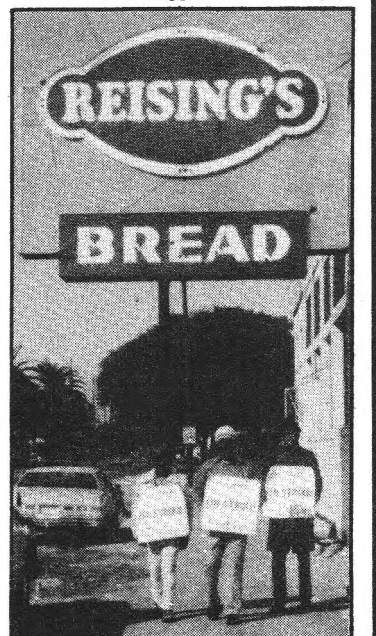
City police have also been used to harass the picketers.

One gun-wielding cop threatened to "blow the head off any troublemakers." This has made clear to many of the workers that the state—the police, courts, legislatures, etc.—exists to serve the interests of the capitalists and not those of the people whom they rule over.

In sharp contrast to the militance of the workers has been the stand of the bakery union bureaucrats. Acting in the interests of the company, they have discouraged any militancy on the picket line, spreading fear of official repression through injunctions and opposing any action to stop the scabs.

The Reising workers know that if this strike is unsuccessful and their union is busted, they will face long unemployment or at best a job with low wages and poor working conditions. Many of them are increasingly aware that, if a victory is to be won, a break must be made with the line of the labor misleaders who act as a brake on the struggle, trying to lead it into the back pockets of the Reising bosses.

A support campaign for the strikers has recently been taken up by the October League, and a demonstration will be held outside the plant on February 12. Workers from plants all over the city are expected to participate, showing their solidarity with the struggle at Reising's.



REISING STRIKERS holding the picket line. (Call photo)

WHILE AGRIBUSINESS PROFITS

MIGRANTS STARVE IN COLD WAVE

Homestead, Fla.—Tens of thousands of migrant workers here have been among the hardest hit by the severe cold wave.

An estimated 25,000 vegetable pickers in this area and up to 130,000 migrants across the state face starvation and two to three additional months without work as a result of the killing frost which devastated Florida's winter vegetable crop and ruined much of the citrus.

Already poverty-stricken and forced to work under slave-like conditions, the migrant workers organized quickly to demand relief. Ineligible for any form of compensation except foodstamps, over 1,000 workers demonstrated on January 21. The demonstrators, mainly Latinos, marched from Florida City to Homestead to demand federal assistance.

Their employers openly opposed federal aid. They hoped to force the migrants to "clean" the fields of whatever remnants of the crop survived the freeze, a job that yields next to nothing for the workers. One woman told how she paid \$1.00 for gas to drive 10 miles to pick tomatoes, only to find the field so bare she picked only one bucket in two hours. For this she got the usual per bucket rate—30 cents.

Meanwhile the growers are taking advantage of the disaster to line their own pockets. One Florida congressman explained, "When you're talking about compassion, remember we've got to help the landowners survive."

In fact, the growers' worry is



MIGRANT WORKERS earn less than a dollar a day as a result of cold wave.

not how to survive, but how to squeeze the greatest profits out of the workers and consumers. According to Newsweek magazine, many growers "consider the freeze a blessing," because it will force up the previously depressed price of citrus.

Although Jimmy Carter has promised some federal aid, a worker for the Organized Migrants in Community Action in Homestead told *The Call* that no money is expected until at least Feb. 15.

Meanwhile, residents of Dade County's huge labor camp have no money at all. They are barely subsisting on 20 cents a day in food vouchers and "volunteering" one day's labor per week to the county in place of rent.

In interviews with *The Call*, the workers talked about their current situation and also of the terrible

exploitation and national oppression which they face year in and year out. The yearly wage of an average migrant family is less than \$4,000. Families are crowded into miserable company housing for which they pay exorbitant rent.

Through rent and other "deductions" from their pay, the workers are held in virtual slavery, chained by debt and terror. On top of this, they are forced by economic necessity to follow the crops from Florida to Texas, the Carolinas and as far away as the Midwest.

The workers expressed a strong desire and determination to fight back against these conditions which the cold wave has made even more unbearable.

Florida's migrant workers are an example to the whole working class to take up the call, "Fight Don't Freeze!"

SUPERPOWERS SQUEEZE LUXEMBURG



Luxemburg is the last country to be examined in *The Call's* series of articles on the Marxist-Leninist movement in Europe. In a forthcoming issue we will sum up the series.

Luxemburg is a small country of less than 500,000 people situated in Western Europe on the borders of France, Belgium and Germany.

It is nonetheless an object of contention between the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and is seriously threatened by the danger of a new world war. Luxemburg has become well-known for the numerous CIA and KGB agents, who have attempted to use it as a base of operations in Europe.

Luxemburg is also a highly industrialized country, dominated by large steel

factories. In recent years, it has become a center for the giant banks of international finance capital. Since World War II, large numbers of unemployed Italian and Portuguese workers have immigrated there, adding their forces to the traditional militancy of the Luxemburg working people.

Recent examples of the intense class struggle in Luxemburg include the October 1974 general strike of 30,000 workers against the assault on their living standards by the capitalist economic crisis. That same year, a major struggle was launched by peasants against the devastation of the countryside by nuclear reactor plants. As many as 10,000 people joined these rural protests.

An important force in both of these struggles was the Communist League of Luxemburg (KBL). Born in the early 1970s in the struggle against modern revisionism, the KBL represents today the growing movement of Marxist-Leninists in this country. *The Call* recently interviewed Charles Doerner, member of the KBL's Political Bureau and editor of *Red Flag*, newspaper of the KBL.

"Our task is to go among the workers," explained Doerner, "and to develop their political class consciousness on the question of who are their friends and who are their enemies, both nationally and internationally. Within our country, the class struggle is the key link, and our principal enemy is the bourgeoisie."

"But due to the nature of our country and its size," he continued, "this is not a simple task."

DIFFERENT GROUPS IN BOURGEOISIE

Doerner explained that the bourgeoisie consists of several different groups. The bourgeoisie of the Luxemburg nationality itself consists mainly of small and medium-sized capitalists, and is not the dominant force in the country. Far more powerful are the Belgian-French interests which control the big steel mills through a monopoly grouping known as ARBED. Other influential interests in Luxemburg include big U.S. imperialist corporations and groupings of financiers from other European countries.

As a result of recent elections, the more conservative Catholic Party was forced out of power and a social-democratic type of coalition has replaced it in the government. The coalition includes the Socialist Workers Party (based mainly among the trade union bureaucrats) and the Democratic Party (based among the Luxemburg businessmen).

Although the Socialist Workers Party has a "populist" image, Doerner said that it is really the tool of the steel monopolists. The capitalists also use the cover of this "workers' party" to attack the peasants and other strata of the population. The Socialist Workers Party, for example, has promoted a plan of "modernization"



KBL-LED DEMONSTRATION against deportations of immigrant workers in Luxemburg. (*Rote Fahne*)

and "rationalization" which means ruin for the peasantry.

The revisionist Communist Party of Luxemburg (KPL) plays right along with this plan, explained the KBL. It, too, has a base among a section of the steel workers and holds some municipal posts in the smaller towns. Its main aim is to enter into a class-collaborationist ruling coalition with the social-democrats.

"In building the party in our country," Doerner said, "we combine propaganda and agitation and carry out mass action as well. In the mobilization for the general strike, we formed a contingent of some 500 workers and activists. In the peasant movement, we organized mass meetings in the villages to popularize the lessons of the people's communes in China. And we have held demonstrations to defend the rights of the immigrant workers and oppose chauvinist attacks on them."

Turning to the international situation, Doerner explained that the KBL stressed the importance of preparing for war. "One difficulty we must overcome is developing our secret work in such a small country. In past wars, Luxemburg was occupied by foreign troops, and many communists were wiped out. In 1918-20, both French and German troops were used to crush workers' rebellions here. The Nazis were even worse."

AGREE WITH MAO'S LINE

"We agree with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line of the 'three worlds,'" explained the KBL. "The two main enemies are the U.S. and the USSR. The main force against them is the third world. But for us, the main problem in this regard is: how to win over the second world? It is complicated because many second world countries are themselves imperialists. That is why we call for an international united front against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, and not against the two superpowers alone."

"As for the relation between the superpowers," the KBL continued, "we think the USSR is more dangerous. This is because it is a rising newcomer among the imperialists and because it wears a 'socialist' mask that can fool some of the workers. We obviously fight the U.S. imperialists. They are here in our country, and we are against all lines of compromise with U.S. imperialism. But in our propaganda, we have to place even more emphasis on the Soviet social-imperialists precisely in order to unmask them."

OPPOSES NATO AND WARSAW PACT

The KBL is opposed to both NATO and the Warsaw Pact and raises the demand that Luxemburg should get out of NATO. Luxemburg's own armed forces—the police, gendarmerie and army combined—only amount to about 1,000 troops. But whenever the bourgeoisie has been in a decisive clash with the workers, it has not hesitated to call in the troops of foreign capitalists to suppress the masses.

"The people must arm and rely on themselves to make revolution," said the KBL. "They must form a people's army under the leadership of the party."

The situation with the European Economic Community (EEC), termed "Eurocrats" by the KBL, is more complex than that of NATO. "It has two sides to it," stated the KBL. "On one hand, the unity of the European bourgeoisie is directed against the working class. This we have to fight. On the other hand, the EEC to a certain extent opposes the ambitions of the two superpowers. This can be useful to the working class."

TWO-LINE STRUGGLE IN KBL

The KBL has carried out a two-line struggle on these questions within its ranks. At one point, more than a year ago, a small faction formed which pushed a line asserting that NATO should not be opposed, that West German imperialism was an "ally" against Soviet social-imperialism, and that the class struggle in Luxemburg should not be directed at the bourgeoisie. This handful was eventually expelled.

An outstanding feature of the KBL and the revolutionary movement in Luxemburg is its proletarian internationalism. The cadres who talked with *The Call* had a broad knowledge of international affairs and a firm stand on the unity of the workers and communists of all countries. Concretely, this was evident on the language question. The KBL's propaganda and agitation appear in French, German and Portuguese, as well in their own Luxemburgese. The cadre are also multilingual, often speaking two or three languages in addition to their own.

The KBL was quite modest about this achievement. "We are from a small country. Still, we will do our best to carry out our tasks as a component part of the worldwide revolutionary struggle."



...in brief...

INDIANS ORGANIZE: A Federation of Central American Indian Nations has been set up in Panama City to fight for the rights of native Indian populations in that part of the world. During the founding conference last month, delegates pointed out that Indian peoples should unite in the fight against the colonialists who "have exploited and humiliated us" and for the recovery of "our inherent rights as human beings."

In addition to Central American representatives, the meeting was also attended by observers from South America, Mexico, the U.S. and Canada.

FRENCH FIGHTBACK: Denouncing the austerity measures of Prime Minister Raymond Barre's economic program, French workers went out on a general strike January 27. Postmen, garbage collectors, hospital workers, bank clerks, airline employees and railroad workers all supported the strike in large numbers.

DUTCH WORKERS: Thousands of Dutch workers went on strike here Feb. 7 to protest the refusal of the capitalists to give automatic cost-of-living raises in 1977 contracts. The strikes affected 20% of the work force in Rotterdam and Amsterdam and involved about 30,000 workers overall.

SOLIDARITY WITH PALESTINE: Palestinians all over the world and their supporters, including nearly 200 people in the greater Boston area, celebrated the 12th anniversary of the beginning of armed struggle for the liberation of their homeland. On January 1, 1965, the first commando raid was carried out by Al Fateh inside the settler state of Israel.

The Boston celebration featured the Palestinian national anthem, a solidarity message from Lebanese supporters, and an account of the history and achievements of the revolution. Remembering the heroic resistance at Tal-al-Zaatar refugee camp in Lebanon, where the people held out to the last man, 1976 was summed up as "The Year of Standing Firm."

From the World Press



The Communist Party of Belgium (Marxist-Leninist) successfully held its Second Congress in late January. The Congress was announced in the party organ, *Clarte et L'Exploite*.

The Political Report reaffirmed the basic line of the party and recounted the struggle between two lines that had taken place over the last period including the expulsion of an anti-party clique.

In discussing the international situation, the report, which was unanimously adopted by the delegates, states: "The analysis of the international situation must highlight the theory of the three worlds elaborated by Chairman Mao. This constitutes a considerable enrichment of Marxism-Leninism. It permits us to distinguish at once who are our friends and who are our enemies in the vast class struggle on the world scale. It is a powerful weapon for the proletariat of all countries."

The Second Congress of the Belgian Party also adopted new statutes and political resolutions. It reported progress being made in the effort to unite with certain other communist organizations in the country. "A new central committee was elected," reports *Clarte et L'Exploite*, "made up mainly of workers, reflecting the social composition of the party." In addition to its message to the communist organizations and parties of all countries, the congress sent special messages to the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania.

PANAMA DEMANDS CONTROL OF CANAL ZONE

The negotiations between the U.S. and Panama for a new Canal Treaty re-opened on February 1, focusing attention on the demand of the Panamanian people for full sovereignty over their territory.

Currently, U.S. imperialism controls the waterway and occupies the Canal Zone, a 500 square mile strip of land straddling the Canal. To the U.S., Panama has always been a strategic base for the domination of Latin America, and it has become even more important in light of the growing contention for world hegemony with the Soviet Union.

The Panamanian people, however, will no longer tolerate U.S. domination. On January 9, more than 3,000 people marched through the streets of Panama City demanding "Sovereignty or Death." The demonstration commemorated the militant uprising of Panamanian students on January 9, 1964, when 22 young people were shot down by the U.S. military. Remembering these martyrs of the struggle, a student speaker proclaimed, "Over the territory of Panama, only the Panamanian flag will wave."

NEGOTIATIONS FOR 13 YEARS

Negotiations for a new Canal Treaty have been going on for 13 years, with the U.S. repeatedly stalling, conniving and swindling in an effort to maintain control of the Canal. Although Jimmy Carter has pledged to "conclude the negotiations at an early date," the Panamanian people and the government of General Omar Torrijos have flatly rejected the latest U.S. proposal on Canal sovereignty. This proposal specifies that the U.S. would control the Canal until the year 2025.

On the eve of the latest round of negotiations, the presidents of Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua and Venezuela issued a joint letter demanding the abrogation of the 1903 Panama Canal Treaty, which states that the U.S. retains control of the Canal Zone "in perpetuity." The leaders of these and other Latin American countries have come to see the battle around the Canal as a battle to overthrow U.S. domination of their continent.

The letter of the eight Latin American presidents stated that so long as a colonial enclave exists in the heart of Panama, Latin American countries will be apprehensive of the presence of the U.S. as a superpower in Pan-American affairs.

Heads of state of Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru and Jamaica have also made statements recently, putting forward a similar position on the question of Panama.

BROAD SUPPORT IN LATIN AMERICA

Faced with this broad support among Latin American and other third world countries, the Carter administration has rushed to the negotiating table, hoping to spread the lie that U.S. imperialism has become more "benevolent" and "humanitarian" since inauguration day.

But in reality, any meaningful agreement on the Canal is still far off. In addition to wanting control of the Canal well into the next century, the U.S. also seeks special provisions for naval use of the Canal and military base rights for 40 additional years. Newsweek magazine in a February 7 article also points out that even if a new treaty is worked out, there is no assurance that Congress will accept it. Only last year, the House voted 246 to 164 to deny the funds necessary to carry out negotiations over the Canal.

The Carter administration is hoping that by making a pretense of negotiating, and possibly even making some concessions to Panama, the U.S. image in Latin America can be given a face lift, and imperialist domination carried out more smoothly.

While the struggle over the negotiations continues, the Soviet social-imperialists are also trying to get into the act. They have proposed a scheme for "internationalizing" the Canal which would make it more accessible to Soviet penetration, but would do nothing to restore sovereignty to the Panamanian people.

But the people of Panama have also shown opposition to social-imperialist schemes. The Ministry of Foreign Relations of Panama issued a communique rejecting the idea of "internationalization" of the Canal, saying that it "was contrary to the national interests of the Republic of Panama."

Last month, China's People's Daily also issued a commentary supporting the Panamanian people's just struggle and condemning both superpowers. The article pointed out that Chairman Mao's statement of 13 years ago in support of Panama's anti-U.S. struggle still holds true. At that time, Chairman Mao said, "U.S. imperialism has made itself the enemy of the people of the world and has increasingly isolated itself."

The People's Daily article noted that af-

ter years of protracted struggle against U.S. imperialism, the Panamanian people are also vigilant against Soviet social-imperialism.

The struggle of the Panamanian people for sovereignty is an important factor in the struggle of third world peoples against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism. At this time, as the negotiations begin, the working people of the U.S. must unite with the struggle of the Panamanian people to demand that the imperialists get out of Panama.



AFTER LIBERATION, the Cambodian people are rebuilding their country, emphasizing agricultural development. (Hsinhua photo)

Chinese journalists report on Kampuchea

A delegation of Chinese journalists has recently returned to China from Democratic Kampuchea (Cambodia) after an extensive visit through the recently liberated country.

Their reports, which have been printed in many bulletins from the Hsinhua News Agency, provide a vivid first-hand account of the sweeping changes that have taken place in Kampuchea since the defeat of the U.S. imperialists and the Lon Nol puppets in April 1975. This article is taken from some of those reports.

Despite the fact that at least one-third of the population in Cambodia went hungry under Lon Nol, the country has now achieved full self-sufficiency in food grain supplies and has met the basic nutritional requirements of the whole people.

Over 200 factories destroyed or idled during the war against U.S. aggression have now been put into operation. The rubber industry, which had been almost completely destroyed by U.S. bombs, has been rebuilt due to tireless efforts of the rubber workers. Although much work remains to be done to overcome the devastation of war, more than 40 tons of rubber are now being produced daily.

The leading force in mobilizing the masses of people to carry out these seemingly incredible tasks is the Kampuchean Revolutionary Organization. Practicing a modest style of life and maintaining deep concern for the well-being of the people, cadres of the organization have gone out to every part of the country. They lead the work of wiping out the remnants of capitalism, imperialism and feudalism and in building a strong, healthy and independent Democratic Kampuchea.

The situation in agriculture is a good example of the changes since liberation. The Chinese journalists commented in one report, "Standing atop a city building, we saw a delightful landscape: agricultural co-op members working in rows in the fields, lush green paddy fields and a network of irrigation canals with newly-built houses neatly lining the roadsides. The people of Democratic Kampuchea are building the homeland with their own hands

on the war ruins."

Under the leadership of the Revolutionary Organization, many co-ops have been formed, and a big movement has developed among the peasants to pool their resources. Mechanized farm techniques are being introduced, and scientific farming has replaced much of the old feudal ways and superstitions. All this work has been accomplished by practicing the revolutionary policy of taking agriculture as the basis of a country's economy and pursuing the road of independence and self-reliance.

The people of Kampuchea are full of revolutionary enthusiasm and the spirit of self-sacrifice and hard work. Many women and youth are in the front ranks of the construction work in all fields. The people have firmly grasped the government's slogans of "Transform the Mountains and the Rivers of Kampuchea!" and "Be the Masters of the Water!" As a result, advanced engineering and irrigation feats have been accomplished in a short space of time.

The visit of the Chinese delegation also helped affirm the great friendship between the two peoples and the militant solidarity of the two countries. Kampuchean leaders Khieu Samphan, Nuon Chea and Ieng Sary all met with the Chinese delegation. They expressed their firmest support for China, its Communist Party and Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. The Kampuchean leaders spoke out against the crimes of the "gang of four" in China and said that the defeat of the "gang" was a victory for the Kampuchean people as well as the Chinese people.

Summing up their visit and all they had seen in Kampuchea, the Chinese journalists concluded, "The historic victory of national liberation was won by the great Kampuchean people through arduous and heroic struggle. In a little over one year after a five-year war, they have achieved outstanding successes in restoring and developing production. Our visit has firmly convinced us that in a relatively short period a well-fed, well-clothed, prospering and thriving Kampuchea will stand firmly before the world."

IPANA HITS INDIA'S STERILIZATIONS

IPANA, the Indian People's Association in North America, has called two actions to oppose the fascist policy of forced sterilizations in India. The actions will denounce the massive program of forced sterilizations initiated last November by the Gandhi regime. The program has stirred widespread militant opposition throughout the country, and over 50 persons have been killed by police in anti-sterilization demonstrations.

A protest demonstration will be held at the offices of Air India, 52nd Street

and 5th Avenue in Manhattan, Saturday, February 19 at 3:00 P.M.

That same evening a forum on forced sterilizations will be held at New York University Tishman Auditorium, 40 Washington Square South, at 7:00 P.M. Speakers at the forum will include representatives of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association, IPANA, the South Asian Students' Committee, the Coalition to End Sterilization Abuse, and the October League.



INDIAN PEOPLE are forced to submit to sterilizations under fascist population control program.

In building the new communist party, it is essential to correctly grasp the different periods of its development and the chief tasks and forms of communist work in each period.

Martin Nicolaus, the opportunist recently expelled from the October League, preached a revisionist line on the question of periods and communist tasks as well as on other matters of principle.

Nicolaus' line called for abandoning the ideological and organizational work necessary to win over, consolidate and train the advanced workers in communism and the party. Under the thesis that "agitation should be the chief form of work," Nicolaus severed the bond between the masses and the party, denied the decisive character of propaganda work and completely liquidated the task of winning the advanced workers to Marxism-Leninism and the party.

In order to fully criticize and root out this dangerous line from our movement, it is first necessary to establish a scientific, Marxist-Leninist view of the present period

COMMUNIST TASKS IN P

and our tasks. The first part of this article is an outline statement on the tasks of communists in this period, and the second part is an analysis of Nicolaus' revisionism on this question.

I.

The party, like everything else in the world, develops from a lower to a higher level. It must develop from an initial period of mainly preparation to a second period of leading the masses in large-scale action.

Today, while there is widespread spontaneous struggle by the masses of people, there is no party to lead it. For many years now, the central task of U.S. Marxist-Leninists has been to overcome the betrayal of modern revisionism and establish a new

vanguard party of the working class.

The founding congress of the new party is now on the horizon. But formally establishing the party will not mean that this first period of its development is over. The task will still remain to plant the party firmly on its feet.

What are the key tasks that must be accomplished in this period? First and foremost, the advanced workers (those workers who respond most rapidly to Marxism-Leninism and are the most active and dedicated to the cause of the proletariat) must be won to the science of communism and to membership in the party. Obviously no party can function as a vanguard of the proletariat if the best elements of the working class are not counted among its ranks. Without winning many of these advanced workers, of whom there are thousands in this country, the party will be cut off from the broad masses and will not successfully be able to develop proletarian leadership for the revolutionary struggle.

In addition to winning the advanced, this is also a period of deepening the ideological break with modern revisionism and uniting into a single, unified Marxist-Leninist party all the genuine Marxist-Leninists who now exist in several different organizations. A core of cadres must also be trained in this period and the basic structure of the party-type organization developed.

All these tasks must be accomplished before our party can fully and successfully pass over to the second period of its development, a period in which it will win the masses in their millions and lead them in revolutionary action up to the seizure of state power.

While communists engage in mass action today (ranging from the Gary Tyler defense to the trade union struggle and the

fightback against the crisis), the chief form of communist work in the present period is not mass action but revolutionary education. This political education of the masses, especially the most advanced workers, is carried out primarily through agitation and propaganda work.

To downplay the significance of this task, or to advance too hastily to mass action as the chief form of work, objectively means weakening the ideological foundations of the party. Such errors will lead to building a party unable to withstand either the onslaught of repression or the "sugar bullets" of reformism and revision-

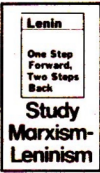
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While our tasks in this period are dictated by the concrete conditions of our struggle, the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung provide a good guide to understanding the development of the party from a theoretical viewpoint. Stalin, for example, summed up the history of the development of the Bolshevik Party in Russia, describing the two periods as follows:

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STUDY CONCLUSION



LENIN WAGED CLASS STRUGGLE INSIDE PARTY

This is the last in a series of Call articles summing up the main lessons of One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, written by V.I. Lenin in 1904. The Progress Publishers edition of this work is still available from The Call for \$1.50 each, or it can be found in Vol. 7 of Lenin's Collected Works.

The study of *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* is significant for our movement for several reasons. In the first place, this study enabled all the member groups of the Organizing Committee for a New Marxist-Leninist Party (OC), as well as our readers, to learn the lessons of Lenin's struggle against opportunism during and after the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party in 1903.

Taking place as a new communist party in the U.S. is about to be formed, the collective study of Lenin's classic work has provided valuable insights on how opportunism on questions of organization is inseparably linked to opportunism in political line, program and tactics. From this study, the OC organizations have been able to further draw lines of demarcation between Marxism and revisionism, between the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces building the new communist party and the various anti-party opportunists in our movement.

Secondly, the study of *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* shows the correct orientation that communists take to political struggle within the party. While always seeking to build unity, communists recognize that inner-party struggle—whether on organizational or programmatic questions—is a reflection of the class struggle in society at large. As such, it is both inevitable and necessary if the party is to grow strong, to purge itself of non-proletarian elements, and be able to lead the masses of people in achieving the final aim—the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In *One Step Forward*, Lenin firmly defends the principle of one, unified and tightly-organized communist party against the line of maintaining the many disorganized and primitive local circles that existed in Russia at that time. He sums up the fundamental communist principles of organization which were instrumental in enabling the Russian Bolsheviks to become the first party to successfully lead the masses in overthrowing capitalism.

Lenin documents how the opportunist Mensheviks, led by Martov, built an unprincipled coalition at the Second Congress which put forward an opportunist line on every major question of organization.

As Lenin pointed out, "In its struggle for power, the proletariat has no other

weapon but organization." However, the Mensheviks disregarded this truth and succeeded in inflicting some setbacks on the party through their splittist tactics and opportunist maneuvering. This was the reason Lenin titled his book *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*.

In the face of the principled struggle that the Bolsheviks waged against this opportunist line, the Mensheviks cried that they were "injured" from "false accusations." The real objections of Martov and his opportunist bloc were that Lenin dragged their bourgeois line into the light of day where it could be exposed and ultimately defeated.

SHADES OF DIFFERENCES

What initially appeared as "shades of difference" between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks later assumed crucial importance for the revolution. The Mensheviks, first opposing one or two particular points, degenerated after the Second Congress into a reactionary wing of the party. In the end, they openly opposed the revolution and took their stand with the bourgeoisie.

The differences within the communist movement in the U.S. today are also very sharp, assuming the shape of a struggle between the unity trend of genuine Marxist-Leninists and an anti-party bloc, which everyday sinks deeper into the swamp of opportunism and degeneration. The Mensheviks of yesterday, the anti-party opportunists of today and the modern revisionists, who have betrayed communism and sided with imperialism, share a fierce hatred for a communist party of the Bolshevik-type to lead the struggle of the working class.

The struggle between two lines, between Marxism and revisionism, will continue even after our party is formed. But this struggle will be carried out within the party structure, where incorrect lines can be defeated through debate and discussion and the party unified around the correct Marxist-Leninist line. Our party must be vigilant against those who would try to destroy it from within as the Mensheviks tried to do. We must grasp the lesson pointed out by Chairman Mao: "The bourgeoisie exists right inside the Communist Party."

The need to carry out class struggle within the party and to always seek unity while drawing sharp lines of demarcation on questions of principle are clearly explained in Lenin's *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*. These lessons are especially relevant today as we stand on the verge of the actual founding of our party.

CHIANG CHING'S R ON THE WOM

China's "Liberation Army Daily" recently carried an article by Tung Chin of a unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army showing how the counter-revolutionary careerist Chiang Ching pretended to be concerned with the emancipation of women to further her dream of becoming a temporary empress of China.

For a long time, Chiang Ching travelled around trying to win a popular following by claiming to be a champion of women's rights and "fighting to raise women's status" and the "emancipation of women."

Marxism lays bare the class root of the oppression of women. In the old society, the proletariat, including working women, were harshly oppressed by the exploiting classes. Since the beginning of recorded history, they were discriminated against

and looked down on as slaves and chattel.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "These four authorities—political, clan, religious and masculine—are the embodiment of the whole feudal-patriarchal ideology and system, and are the four thick ropes binding the Chinese people, particularly the peasants."

This clearly states the class root of women's oppression and also the road to the emancipation of women: abolition of the system of private ownership and overthrow of the exploiting classes and the domination of their ideology.

Working women can win real emancipation only when the proletariat has won victory in the revolution. That is why it is necessary for proletarian women and the women of all other exploited classes to uni-



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UNIST TASKS IN PRESENT PERIOD

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It is necessary to grasp this bond of unity between agitation and propaganda and also to distinguish between them. While agitation should quantitatively dominate our work (*The Call*, for example, is made up mainly of agitational articles), propaganda plays the decisive role—the most important tool in consolidating the advanced workers in order to win them to the party.

CHIANG CHING'S REACTIONARY LINE ON THE WOMAN QUESTION

China's "Liberation Army Daily" recently carried an article by Tung Chin of a unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army showing how the counter-revolutionary careerist Chiang Ching pretended to be concerned with the emancipation of women to further her dream of becoming a contemporary empress of China.

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But Chiang Ching tried to present the question as a struggle of "women" versus "men." The Marxist teaching, "The greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself," in her view was reduced to a biological statement: "Women constitute the most essential part of productive power." Confusing class alignment with other matters, she was trying to weaken and split the strength of the proletariat.

When Chiang Ching clamored: "Men should give way to women who will take over administration," it is clear that she meant not the working women but women bourgeois careerists like her who ride roughshod over the laboring people, women as well as men. If such "women" took over "administration," the working women would suffer again.

Chiang Ching never wearied of talking about "matriarchal society." "Women managed the home in clan society. State affairs will be managed by women as the productive forces develop." But the matriarchy is a stage of primitive society when the productive forces were extremely low. Men were hunters and fishermen, but catches were uncertain. Women, as the gatherers of nuts and wild grains and primitive agriculturalists, provided a more reliable source of food, leading to the significant role that women occupied in primitive society.

What meaning did "freedom" have for women in that primitive state of ignorance and daily struggle for physical survival? The dictatorship of the proletariat, which ends the class basis for discrimination against women, opens the road for the complete emancipation of working women. Socialist China has enabled women to stand up politically, economically and culturally. The ideas of all exploiting classes that

men are superior to women and that women are incompetent outside the home are criticized. Women are encouraged to work in all fields and to take initiative. A great number of women cadres are steadily maturing. Women cadres already account for a certain proportion in leading groups at various levels, from the central organs to the grassroots.

There is equal pay for equal work in industry, agriculture and all other fields. Women "hold up half the sky" in the socialist system. Chiang Ching's purpose in talking glibly about the matriarchy was to negate the great advances that the women of new China have made in less than three decades and to reverse the wheel of history.

AMBITIOUS CAREERIST

Her main theme on this question was "women can also become rulers. There will be empresses even in communist society." This talk in the name of raising the status of women throws in sharp relief the ambition of the careerist who dreamed of becoming China's empress. Chiang Ching colluded with Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan in a counter-revolutionary "gang of four" to try to usurp party and state power.

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To say that propaganda should play a decisive role means that a great deal of attention should be paid to developing comprehensive propaganda on the most important questions facing the working class. Propaganda materials should be carefully studied, discussed and applied by the cadres and advanced workers.

Propaganda, in this strict sense, should be our main tool for training cadres and consolidating the advanced workers. It should be at the heart of our organizational structure, in party units and the networks of workers built around them.

Propaganda is the chief weapon for polemicizing against the opportunists and fighting for Marxist-Leninist unity. It is best suited to deepening our program, analyzing class forces, strategy and tactics, the world situation and other burning questions facing us.

This type of propaganda should be supplemented by agitation like flesh on a skeleton. This is the sense in which agitation and propaganda are combined, with propaganda as the decisive element.

II.

Nicolaus opposed and denounced the elaboration of this line on agitation and propaganda work. In an internal polemic against the OL's line written last September, Nicolaus said, "Within the combination of agitation and propaganda, the party's line ought *not* to be to make propaganda chief. . . Political agitation should be chief during the party's whole first period of development. . . Political agitation is a higher form of work than propaganda."

These revisionist conclusions could only serve to disarm and undermine the party if they were adopted. Nicolaus' line is a fundamentally anti-working-class line because it holds that the workers are incapable of grasping Marxist-Leninist propaganda and should simply be given agitation.

Nicolaus claimed that the "basic tasks" of party building could be accomplished in the next "six to nine months." This liquidated all the painstaking work of the first period of party building. He vehemently

opposed making propaganda central to the work of factory nuclei, networks and Call committees.

Nicolaus tried to justify this line in another paper he wrote last fall by claiming that "hardly any advanced workers exist in the U.S." From this, he concluded that winning the advanced was "not a priority." He said that since "no vanguard presently exists among the workers, we must raise one up, step by step, through political agitation chiefly."

But Nicolaus was not really interested in "creating a vanguard" of the proletariat at all. Behind his erroneous views on agitation and propaganda lay his revisionist theory of reliance on the liberal bourgeoisie.

This could be seen in the type of "political agitation" he wrote. It focused on the latest happenings in Washington, from sex scandals to congressional bills. It was aimed at portraying the liberal imperialists as "half-hearted" allies of the workers'

Lenin stressed the inseparable connection between agitation and propaganda.

struggle, who could be forced into taking a "better" stand by agitational exposures. Most of these articles had to be rejected by *The Call* because they were barely distinguishable from those of the liberal columnists in the bourgeois press.

Nicolaus thought that he could use the form of political agitation to best spread his revisionist line on the liberals. He covered up this intention by simultaneously pretending to be the greatest champion of "purity" in propaganda work—going so far as to argue that propaganda articles should consist mainly of "stating and re-

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 10)

REACTIONARY LINE AN QUESTION

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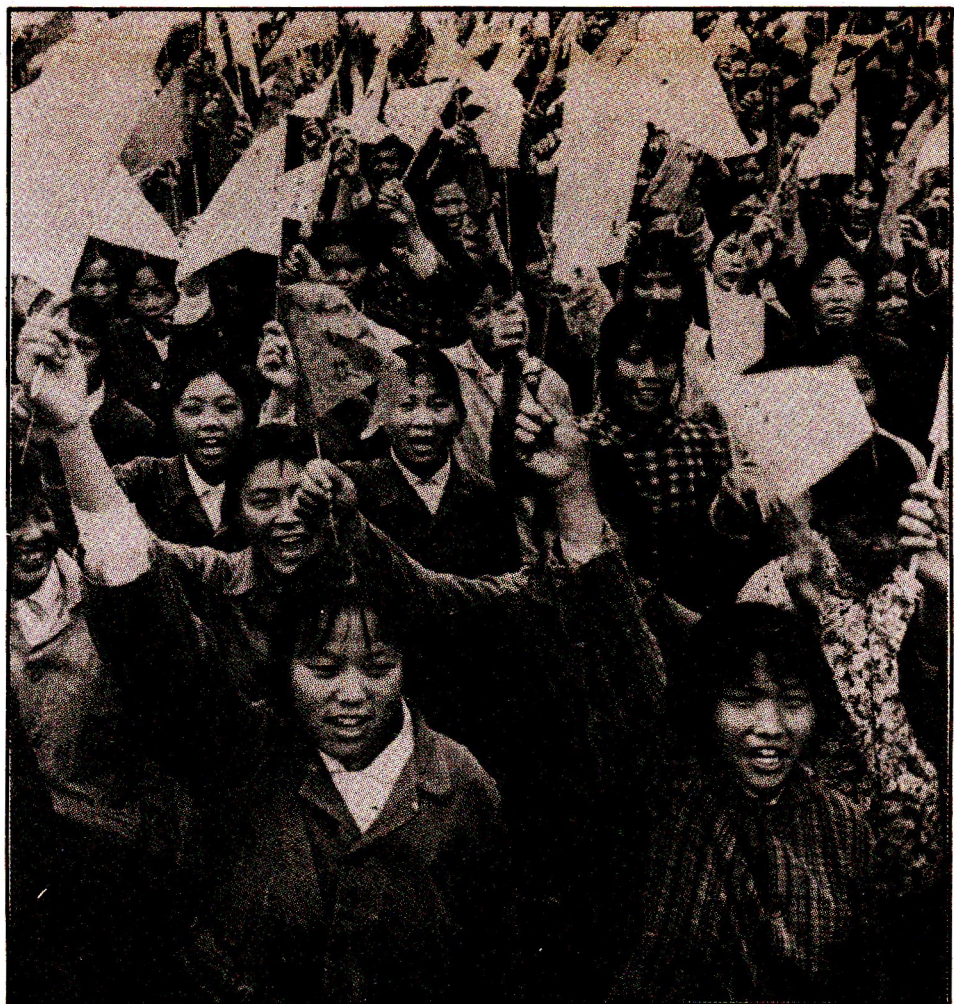
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CHINESE PEOPLE demonstrate their joy at downfall of "gang of four," especially Chiang Ching, who was much hated for the way she tried to lord it over the masses.

the struggle between the Confucianists and legalists and talked glibly that "after the death of Liu Pang (an emperor of the Han dynasty of China over 2,000 years ago), his wife Empress Lu ruled."

While Chairman Mao was seriously ill and after he passed away, this careerist, obsessed with the notion of becoming an empress, was unable to restrain herself and, together with the others in the "gang of four," stepped up the tempo of their plots, assumed all kinds of airs and prepared to mount the stage in full regalia.

However, history is inexorable. Chairman

Mao said: "In China, since the overthrow of the emperor in 1911 no reactionary has been able to stay in power long."

The warlord Yuan Shih-kai, with the support of imperialist powers, proclaimed himself emperor, but he died in 1916, having failed. Lin Piao, who put himself under the wing of the Soviet revisionists and attempted to become a puppet emperor of China, died an ignominious death. The latest pretender is Chiang Ching, who attempted to be the "Chinese empress" in the '70s of the twentieth century.

BUILDING CHINA INTO A POWERFUL SOCIALIST COUNTRY

The publication in December of Mao Tsetung's important work "On the Ten Major Relationships" (recently reprinted in *The Call*, January 24) was greeted enthusiastically by revolutionaries throughout the world.

The speech, given by Chairman Mao before an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1956, is a brilliant contribution to the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It is currently being studied in China and throughout the world both as a guide to the dialectical materialist method of solving the contradictions within socialist society and as a polemic against the bankrupt line of the "gang of four."

This article is the product of one such study. It focuses on the questions: what are some of the problems of socialist construction and how does the socialist system solve them? In the future, *The Call* will print articles which discuss other lessons of this great work. We urge our readers to contribute to this series.

In his speech, Chairman Mao identified the 10 major problems in transforming China from a backward, exploited feudal country to an advanced, independent socialist country.

Chairman Mao pointed out that in leading this struggle to transform China, the Communist Party should follow the same general policy it followed in leading the movement to overthrow imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. This basic policy, he said, was to "mobilize all positive factors, internal and external, to serve the cause of socialism." Now that victory had been won and the working class was in power, he pointed out, all positive factors should be mobilized to "build China

into a powerful socialist country."

Chairman Mao's 1956 speech pointed out that the Chinese people should study and learn from the experiences of the Soviet Union, the first country in history to face the task of resolving these contradictions. China could benefit from the Soviet experience, he said, and avoid certain mistakes that were made there.

One problem faced both in the USSR and in China was the question of how to develop "heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other." This problem was especially acute in these countries because of the extremely backward state of the productive forces at the time of the revolution (the low degree of industrialization), accompanied by a relatively small working class and large peasantry.

MODERN INDUSTRIAL COUNTRY

In order to develop China into a modern industrial country, a priority had to be placed on the development of heavy industry. Large investments had to be made in producing machinery and basic materials like steel and rubber, which in the long run would contribute greatly to raising the standard of living of the masses and assure the country's independence from the world-wide imperialist economic system.

At the same time, it was necessary to meet the day-to-day needs of the 600 million Chinese people for food, clothing and shelter, no small task in a country where mass starvation was widespread before the revolution. This could only be accomplished by the further development of agriculture and light industry to produce consumer goods.

Here was the problem: the need to transform the economic base from mainly



LIGHT INDUSTRY, such as textile production, is crucial to the development of a well-rounded socialist economy and the well-being of the people. (Hsinhua photo)

agricultural to mainly industrial by developing heavy industry, versus the immediate need to provide the basic necessities of life for the broad masses.

The capitalist system resolves this contradiction only at great expense to the working people. Industrialization of the United States and other advanced capitalist countries was carried out by forcing people off the land to become wage slaves in the cities. Under capitalism, investment funds for developing heavy industry are accumulated through the brutal exploitation and virtual starvation of the workers and national minority peoples.

The superiority of socialism is shown by its ability to accumulate capital for industrial investment while at the same time taking care of the well-being of the masses. This is because it has a planned economy in the hands of the working class.

EMPHASIS ON HEAVY INDUSTRY

In his speech, Chairman Mao explained that, although the modernization of China required that emphasis be placed on developing heavy industry, this could never be done by neglecting the development of light industry and agriculture. In fact, he pointed out, that being genuinely serious about developing heavy industry meant increasing the development of light industry and agriculture. Not only would this assure a more rapid increase of capital, he said, but it would ensure the livelihood of the people. As a result, this policy would "lay a more solid foundation for the development of heavy industry."

The question of paying careful attention to the needs of the people was also stressed by Chairman Mao in his analysis of "the relationship between the state, the units of production and the producers."

A socialist economic plan must not only take into consideration the needs of the state to develop the country overall, it must also pay careful attention to the needs of the collective (the factories and agricultural cooperatives) and of the individual. The plan must strike the correct balance between developing the enthusiasm of the workers and peasants to work for the good of the whole country

and, at the same time, constantly aim to improve their material conditions of life.

For example, under a socialist economic plan, the earnings from collective farming are divided between the state, the cooperative and the individual peasant. Determining the correct proportion of this division is very important for promoting the development of agriculture along a socialist path.

MATERIAL INCENTIVES

If too much emphasis is placed on material incentives and individual gain, capitalist relations of production will thrive and socialism will be weakened. If, on the other hand, the well-being of the peasants is considered unimportant, they will quite naturally lose their confidence in socialism.

Chairman Mao pointed out, for example, that the Soviet Union made serious mistakes in handling this contradiction. The USSR, he said, took measures which "squeezed the peasants very hard... (and) dampened their enthusiasm for socialism."

In his speech, Chairman Mao incisively developed the great truth that socialism is not a utopian scheme, but rather a society in which classes and class struggle still exist. The speech is both a concise analysis of how to resolve this struggle in the interest of the working class and socialist construction, as well as a sharp polemic against those who would handle the contradiction incorrectly in order to turn China back on the road to capitalism. This is exactly what the "gang of four" tried to do.

The "gang's" disdain for the peasants at the model commune Tachai, their lack of concern for the masses after last year's earthquake and their attack against Chou En-lai and other veteran party cadres showed how they opposed all "positive factors" under socialism. In this way, they hoped to throw China into turmoil and restore capitalism.

Although formulated over two decades ago, Chairman Mao's teachings on the ten relationships still light the path toward the final victory of communism in China and inspire workers and oppressed people around the world to fight for socialism as the way to liberation.



AGRICULTURAL ADVANCEMENT helps to provide the capital necessary for industrial development under socialism. (Hsinhua photo)

COMMUNIST TASKS . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

stating the ABC's of Marxism," instead of making living applications of Marxism to the concrete conditions.

Behind all Nicolaus' demagogic arguments, however, lay a classical economist line on the working-class struggle. At bottom, this line amounted to giving rightist agitation to the workers, while reserving propaganda for the intellectuals.

Driving this wedge between agitation and propaganda and limiting the scope of each are common threads which run through the entire anti-party opposition in the communist movement today, from Nicolaus to the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), from the Guardian centrists to the "Revolutionary Wing." While they take a slightly different form in each case,

the similarity lies in an incorrect characterization of the present period and the tasks of communists, and, consequently, an erroneous line on party building.

The RCP line dovetails almost exactly with Nicolaus. The RCP has gone so far in their separation of agitation and propaganda as to publish two different newspapers, an agitational newspaper for the workers and a propaganda newspaper for the communists. Like Nicolaus, they claimed at one point that the party-building process would only take a "brief period."

The RCP has been notorious for their failure to educate even those workers closest to them in the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. Now that their party is built, they have drifted steadily rightward into the worst type of opportunism and economism under the banner of "mass action."

Their all-out support for the liberal misleader Sadlowski is an example of their view that "drawing the masses into activity" is the most important task of communists, instead of providing the workers with the political education necessary to see through Sadlowski's liberalism.

The Guardian centrists hold Nicolaus' line as well. They too believe that no advanced workers exist in the U.S. and that the only way to "create a vanguard" is to do agitation in support of the liberal and revisionist misleaders, hoping somehow to "propel the masses into action." This is exactly what Nicolaus was arguing for in his call to "make agitation chief."

This common thread running through Nicolaus, RCP and the centrists also extends to the groups formerly in the "Revolutionary Wing." Despite all their "left" posturing and frenzied tirades about propaganda work, these opportunists have also posed agitation in opposition to pro-

paganda. Some of the "Wing" groups have gone so far as to call for "propaganda only." Others are a little more slick and pay lip service to agitation while ignoring it in practice.

All these groups refuse to carry out party-building work in the heat of the class struggle and have nothing but disdain for the mass struggles of the people. Their line is in essence the same as the line of Nicolaus and the other rightists. It is objectively an anti-party line which, where implemented, can only isolate the communists and prevent the building of a genuine vanguard party.

The struggle against Nicolaus has helped raise the theoretical level of the OL and the entire unity trend. It has heightened our struggle against the opportunists of all stripes who distort the correct relationships between agitation and propaganda and between the party and the masses.

'ROOTS' REVIEW . . .

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Afro-American history. Enough scientific historical work has been done, however, to show that the view of Haley and ABC is in many ways a distortion, filled with half-truths and many outright lies. "Roots" promotes a view reflecting the class outlook of its author. It is a view serving the capitalists—the very class responsible for the continued oppression of Black and all working people during and since slave times.

Malcolm X, in his famous speech "Message to the Grass Roots," referred to two strata of Black slaves, "the house Negro" and "the field Negro." Haley's story is the story of the "house Negro." His family is one of the few Black families who managed

to become landowners, capitalists and part of the bourgeois intelligentsia. "Roots" reflects the world outlook of that upper class among Blacks and can be traced through Haley's family history to slavery. His forebears, working in the homes of the slavemasters, labored apart from the millions of slaves who picked the cotton and tobacco and were the backbone of the liberation struggle.

Haley's family history starts in Africa with Kunte Kinte, whose resistance to slavery could find no path to victory at the time. Kinte, Haley's great-great-grandfather, married a "big-house" cook. Through her influence with the "Massa," Kunta Kinte becomes a driver for the slave owners. Their daughter Kizzy becomes the "pet" for the master's niece.

Kunta Kinte resents this, but thinks to himself that Kizzy's "being a toubob's (white's) pet was better than having to spend her life in the fields." Bell, his wife, tells her daughter as she neared the age of seven, "Field hand young'uns be already out dere workin' every day . . . so you going start being some use to me in the big house."

Kizzy, sold for forging a pass to help a young boyfriend escape, is raped by her second master. Her son, Chicken George, becomes a cock fighter and goes to England where he earns enough money to buy land in Tennessee when he returns. George's son Tom becomes a blacksmith and also doesn't have to work in the fields.

After slavery, Tom's daughter Cynthia marries Will Palmer, who

becomes the owner of the town lumber mill. They certainly don't have to pick tobacco. Will's and Cynthia's daughter Bertha marries Simon Haley, who becomes an agricultural professor. Bertha's son Alex, the author, is the third generation of his family to get a college education. He had a 20-year career in the Coast Guard, was a presidential appointee to the Bicentennial Commission and is now the president of the Kinte Foundation and the Kinte Corporation, while earning millions of dollars from his writings and lectures.

All this is not to say that Haley's family was not forced to contend with national oppression. All Black people in the U.S., past and present, must do that to one degree or another. However, it is also clear that Haley's story is not the story of the Black masses, the "field Negroes" or the Black workers, and his outlook shows it.

Haley portrays the masses of Black slaves as the objects of history rather than the makers of it. His hatred of slavery is combined with a "humanistic" view of the slave master. From life in Africa to the Black Belt South, the extreme hardships and sun-up until sun-down toil is covered up. The role of the masses, both Black and poor white, in liberating themselves is missing.

BLACKS IN CIVIL WAR

The tens of thousands of Blacks who fought in the Civil War with guns in hand turned the tide of battle away from the Confederacy. "Roots," however, portrays liberation as the result of Lincoln's decree. The slaves receive a telegram saying that the war is over and freedom has come.

The Reconstruction Period, when the Black majority in the plantation South held political power, has mysteriously disappeared in the TV series. Suddenly the Civil War ends and Haley's family gets land, declaring "We're free at last!"

This is not the real history of

the more than 20 million Afro-Americans in the U.S. today. Mostly impoverished farmers and workers, Black people were forced from the land into the urban ghettos. The end of slavery and the smashing of Black Reconstruction without the transfer of land from the plantation owners to the masses meant only a continuation of severe national oppression.

LIBERALISM DISARMS

In the same way that armed slaves and poor whites were disarmed after the Civil War, Haley's liberalism serves to disarm the struggle for Black liberation, the struggle for political power and the working class movement against imperialism. Blurring the economic and social causes of slavery, "Roots" gives no clue that it is the capitalist system that stands behind Black oppression today. It is the liberalism of Jimmy Carter rather than the revolutionary stand of Nat Turner, Malcolm X or W.E.B. DuBois that is shown in "Roots."

In *The Call's* series of articles in future issues we will go deeper into "Roots" and its liberal view of Black oppression. We will examine some of the rich history of Black liberation and class struggle which Haley omitted and compare ABC's presentation of the question with that of some of the foremost writers of Black history, such as DuBois, Harry Haywood, William Z. Foster and others. We will also examine the Black liberation movement today and its tasks, as well as the view that Haley puts forth for the present period.

The fact that 130 million people viewed "Roots" and are discussing it daily presents us with a chance to show the other side, the revolutionary side, of the question. It is a side that runs completely counter to Haley's pacifism and assimilationism and one that instead poses socialism and self-determination as the road to Black liberation.

AFRICAN LIBERATION . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

ment called "Doing Business with a Blacker Africa." "The way to assure continued access to the raw materials and the sea lanes . . . is to support the demands for racial equality in hopes that black governments that come to power will be friendly to the U.S." Business Week adds that Young's trip is designed to "head off" the outbreak of "civil war"—i.e., armed struggle for liberation.

Young provided an interesting glimpse of U.S. tactics in southern Africa during a recent interview about Angola. He stressed that it did not matter if Angola called itself "communist" as long as Gulf Oil and other big U.S. interests continued to operate there.

While U.S. imperialism supports the white supremacist regimes, there is a growing recognition that independence for the black majorities is an inevitability. For the U.S., the question has now become one of insuring economic domination and political influence after a black majority government comes to power.

For this reason, the imperialists are especially fearful of the armed struggle, which places the initiative in the hands of the masses of people and creates the best conditions for driving out imperialism and colonialism once victory is achieved.

On arrival in Tanzania, Young began spreading the theory coined by Kissinger of "peaceful transition to majority rule." He told re-

porters that the same "non-violence" he had used as an activist in the U.S. civil rights movement "should be used in southern Africa."

To further promote this liberal view, Young commented extensively in his tour about the U.S. television series "Roots." The show portrayed the struggle of Black slaves as primarily one of passive resistance, culminating in "freedom" presented on a silver platter by Yankee troops. "It's really great that this trip follows after the success of 'Roots,'" said Young in Zanzibar.

While Young was traveling, his Soviet counterparts were also busy maneuvering for control in southern Africa. Numerous Western press accounts indicated that Soviet-Cuban troops were being readied for use in Zimbabwe.

For many months, the Soviet Union has been pressuring the five "front-line" African countries to support a Soviet-Cuban expedition to "liberate" Zimbabwe. The African leaders have rejected this scheme, having already seen the Soviet Union become a new colonial master in Angola under the guise of "liberating" it. But the social-imperialists, anxious to gain another African foothold in Zimbabwe, are continuing to press for their Soviet-Cuban expedition there.

The imperialists and reactionaries have grown more frenzied recently in their efforts to turn back the wheel of history. They are concocting fantastic tales of "mur-

dered missionaries" and "kidnaping of small children" in order to discredit Zimbabwe's liberation fighters and turn world support against them.

This propaganda campaign is nothing but a thin veil attempting to cover up the real facts—the brutal exploitation and slaughter of the black masses that goes on every day at the hands of the racist regimes in southern Africa.

All across southern Africa, the people are rising up in new outbursts of rebellion and armed struggle. They are seizing their destiny in their own hands and overthrowing the centuries of oppression and domination which have enslaved them. No matter what tricks the superpowers cook up and no matter what barbaric atrocities the reactionaries may commit, the people of southern Africa have shown they will not be stopped in their quest for liberation.

PHONY GAS SHORTAGE . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

available supply" is also largely a myth. As soon as Jimmy Carter's energy legislation went through Congress last week, lifting the \$1.44 per thousand cubic feet ceiling on the price of natural gas shipped between states, gas began to flow in abundance.

The reason so little gas is available and so much hardship is being forced on the people has little to do with shortage of supplies. The real reason is the profit-drive, planlessness and anarchy of the capitalist system.

The gas companies are for the most part owned and controlled by the oil companies, which in turn are owned and controlled by some of the biggest and most powerful of all the capitalists. It can safely be said that about 200 men control this highly monopolized, crucial section of the economy. It is for their profit that millions of workers are suffering.

OIL PRICES UP

Over the last decade, as oil prices have gone up, more and more factory managers and home-builders have converted to natural gas as their principal fuel. As one would expect under capitalism, this increased demand has had the effect of driving up its price.

Faced with skyrocketing gas prices, which were having an inflationary effect on the whole economy, the government took steps

last year to place minor curbs on the price of natural gas. The Federal Power Commission ruled that when producers sold gas outside their state, they could not charge more than \$1.44 per thousand cubic feet for it. But this in itself represented a 300% increase over the previous 52 cents ceiling on inter-state sales!

Even this price tripling was not enough to satisfy the monopolists, who were already selling natural gas within a single state at prices over \$2.00 per thousand cubic feet. They simply sat on discoveries of vast natural gas fields, waiting to drive the prices still higher before they admitted publicly to having "discovered" them, thus subjecting them to controls.

Over the last three years, evidence has come to light that more than 24 trillion cubic feet of natural gas have been deliberately kept off the market by the gas producers, who have been waiting for prices to go up. To understand the significance of this figure it should be noted that only about 5 trillion cubic feet are necessary to get all the shut-down plants running again.

Now as the cold wave continues, the energy monopolists have found the right moment to begin selling this gas at fantastically inflated prices. They have instructed their lackeys in Congress to lift the curbs on prices if the badly needed gas is to flow.

For companies like El Paso Na-

tural Gas (53% profit increase in 1976), Texas Gas Transmission (32% profit increase in 1976) and others, 1977 promises to be a year in which their profits increase several hundred percent. Authoritative government sources are already talking about \$15 billion extra in heating costs being paid by the masses of people as a result of the cold weather and the increased prices.

NEW CONTRADICTIONS

With the gas price ceilings lifted, new contradictions have begun to develop. For example, some of the gas-producing states are running low on supplies, because their biggest reserves are being shipped to other states where the gas will now bring a higher price.

The only effect of Carter's "emergency legislation" has been to create the conditions for these windfall profits. Meanwhile, workers continue to be laid-off, schools continue to close and landlords and factory owners continue to freeze the workers as a "patriotic gesture." In eleven states, factories will not re-open for at least two weeks, and in some southern states a sizeable percentage of the work force will be laid-off throughout the month.

All this shows that capitalism is unable to respond to the needs of the people. It can only respond to the dictates of profit.

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