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# CHINA RALLIES BEHIND PARTY

### AFTER TIEN AN MEN REACTIONARY INCIDENT

Peking, People's Republic of China—Millions of Chinese workers, peasants, and soldiers have mobilized in a massive display of support for the recent decisions of the Chinese Communist Party in the current struggle against that country's counter-revolutionary elements. They have sent messages of support and have held large demonstrations backing the actions taken by the party against Teng Hsiao-ping and a small group of his followers.

For in-depth analysis of the class struggle in China, see page 6

This handful of reactionaries provoked a counter-revolutionary incident April 5 in Tien An Men Square in the center of the capital. The incident followed a six-month long struggle on the part of the Chinese people against the line and policies of Teng, who was actting as China's Vice-Premier. The struggle, initiated and led by the party and Chairman Mao Tsetung, exposed attempts by Teng and his followers to restore capitalism through a reversal of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which occurred 10 years ago.

The reactionary incident in Tien An Men Square was planned to support Teng Hsiao-ping. It was marked by physical attacks against members of a holiday crowd, including unarmed soldiers and youth, in a vain attempt to whip up political support for the small group of capitalist roaders.

After investigating the disturbance, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party unanimously adopted a resolution by Chairman Mao Tsetung to dismiss Teng Hsiao-ping from all posts both inside and outside the party and to appoint Hua Kuofeng to the position of First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee and Premier of the State Council. The resolution said that "the nature of the Teng Hsiao-ping problem has turned into one of antagonistic contradiction."

The incident took place at a time when thousands of people were in the square to pay tribute to the dead on the Ching Ming holiday. The small handful of reactionaries who instigated the incident especially tried to use the deepfelt grief of the people for their be-

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STRUGGLE against Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line will go on to the end, commune members pledge.

## SUPERPOWER 'DETENTE' BOILS ELECTION POT

Aggressive new moves on the part of the Soviet Union in its efforts to redivide the world have sown sharp divisions within the camp of U.S. big business.

The divisions within the ranks of the U.S. ruling class have grown sharper as Soviet military capacity and arms preparations for the inevitable world war ahead have surpassed those of the U.S. The most recent developments in the presidential election campaign, following in the wake of the Soviet intervention in Angola, reflect some setbacks for the "detente" forces.

The present election campaign recalls the days prior to World War II. At that time, the lightning aggression of Nazi Germany drove a wedge into the ranks of U.S. banking and industrial circles, separating those who appeased Hitler from those who for their own reasons opposed German expansion.

Although these differences were sharp, the main policy of the U.S. ruling circles was to appease Hitler and encourage his aggressive moves towards the then-socialist Soviet Union. Today the main spokesmen for appeasement, led by Henry Kissinger, hope to stop, or at least slow, the Soviet moves against Europe and its flanks by pacifying the new Tsars with concessions.

During the primary election campaigns the Ford-Kissinger policies have come under sharp attack from Republican challenger Ronald Reagan as well as from Democrat Henry Jackson. However, the struggle goes back long before the start of the election campaign.

It became clearly visible last November when former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger was unceremoniously dumped at Kissinger's request. Schlesinger stood openly opposed to Kissinger's "detente" strategy. He warned his imperialist bosses that the Soviet Union was rapidly overtaking the U.S. militarily and that the danger of a Soviet assault on Europe was growing daily.

Even from the viewpoint of the U.S. imperialists, Schlesinger's assessment was more realistic than Kissinger's. Kissinger spread the disproven theory that both superpowers could maintain their own "spheres of influence" without confronting each other in a war.

With the U.S. on the decline, especially since its defeat in Indochina, the Soviet Union has taken the offensive. It has fished in the troubled waters of the Mediterranean during the Cyprus war, interfered in the internal affairs of several European countries (e.g. Portugal), and finally invaded Angola.

These were the main ingredients

which got the pot boiling again during the present election campaign.

Behind the various candidates stand the giant banking and industrial interests like the Rockefeller and the Morgan banks. Each group has its own area of interest and its own strategic plans for restoring the U.S. back into a first-rate superpower. Jackson and Reagan, for example, who have long opposed Rockefeller, are backed by Rockefeller's main financial contenders.

The attacks by Reagan and Jackson on the Kissinger policy are clearly having an impact. Following primary election gains for Reagan in North Carolina, even "detente"-minded Democratic frontrunner Jimmy Carter and the fading Morris Udall took some swipes at Kissinger. Hubert Humphrey, while not officially running, remains an open supporter of Kissinger policies. He is a strong favorite to get the Democratic nomination. As one can see, the main division is not between the two ruling-class parties but exists with

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SECCION EN ESPAÑOL

## GARY TYLER DENIED RETRIAL

Hahnville, La.,—A Louisiana judge has denied Gary Tyler a new trial in a small plantation town near New Orleans. Tyler, a 17-year old Black youth, was framed for murder and is on death row resulting from a school integration battle.

The new trial hearing was ordered when key prosecution witness Natalie Blanks renounced her trial testimony. Blanks had previously testified that she saw Tyler fire a gun at a white student.

Judge Rouche J. Marino, the original trial judge, opened the hearing April 21 as 250 Tyler supporters amassed in and outside the courtroom. Blanks, a 16-year old Black girl, took the stand and told of being browbeaten and threatened by police and prosecutors who forced her to testify against Tyler. When the prosecutor asked who threatened her, Blanks pointed her finger courageously at him and said, "You did!"

Despite the Blanks' testimony and other new evidence of a frame-up, Judge Marino denied the motion for a new trial. He cited laws from the days of slavery which leave power over retrial motions in the hands of the original judge.

Marino ordered the courtroom cleared when supporters wept and shouted "racist dog" as the decision was handed down. But this new setback could not dim the determination of Tyler's supporters who have resolved to continue fighting for his freedom from outside the courtroom.

For more information on what you can do, write: Committee to Free Gary Tyler, P.O. Box 15810, New Orleans, La., 70121.

FIRST WEEKLY ISSUE



## CELEBRATE MAY DAY WORKERS HOLIDAY

May Day is a great working class holiday. It grew out of the struggles right here in the U.S. in 1886 when workers first began to organize in the fight for the eight-hour day and against wage slavery

For us, May Day is a time to restate our commitment to socialism, class struggle and revolution. In doing this, we should also sum up the progress of our cause and spell out the tasks that lie ahead

The struggle between the working class and the capitalist class is sharpening as the economic crisis continues. More than ten million workers remain jobless. Some 70,000 rubber workers are now on strike and over 400,000 Teamsters struck last month demanding wage settlements that provide protection against mounting inflation. Even with all the talk of "tax reform," the working class continues to pay for 75% of the huge government budget, or an average of one and a half day's pay a week.

Whenever workers rebel against these conditions, the capitalists call out their police to try to contain the revolt. The last year saw more workers arrested as a result of strikes and union activities than in any year since 1948.

These attempts at intimidation have not succeeded. The workers' fightback against the crisis has grown stronger, further weakening capitalism's ability to shore itself up.

This year on May Day, millions of workers around the world will demonstrate their opposi-

tion to capitalism and to the two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, who are preparing to launch another world war.

In the face of the imperialist rivalry leading ultimately to war, the working class must get prepared. It must fight the war schemes of both superpowers and unite with all the countries and peoples of the world engaged in the same battle.

But how can the working class "get prepared" for this or any other battle with imperialism when it is led by imperialism's agents?

May Day, 1976 presents us with a sharp picture of this contradiction inside the labor movement. The spontaneous fightback of the workers is mounting daily. Yet, on the other side, as the capitalists spread the lie of "recovery," the sellouts of the workers' movement like Fitzsimmons, Meany, and Abel are desperately trying to "coolout" their union members, telling them to vote rather than strike.

Joining this chorus of misleadership is the revisionist Communist Party, USA. Attaching themselves to the liberal wing of the labor aristocracy, the revisionists preach reliance on "reformers." They promote those labor leaders most favorable to "detente" while sabotaging the rank-and-file struggles.

To advance the working class struggle, the influence of these misleaders, reformists and revisionists must be smashed. In the battle with the labor aristocracy we can never submerge the rankand-file movement behind "reformers" whose real

purpose is to gain hold of the rank and file only to water down its militancy.

The trade unions must be revolutionized as fighting organizations against capitalism. They must not be allowed to continue as vehicles for the capitalists to bring the working class into line. The last year has seen a number of victories along this road. Strikes such as the six-month battle at Capitol Packaging or the wildcat at St. Regis in Boston have involved large numbers of workers in the struggle to seize hold of their unions from the bureaucrats who run them.

To break with the opportunism of the present union leadership, one of the most important tasks is to link the workers movement with the movements of the oppressed minorities in the U.S. Today's labor aristocrats have used the unions to promote opposition to busing and deportation of foreign-born workers. They have consistently refused to organize minorities and women workers.

We must fight all these attempts to split and divide the working class. With this aim, May Day is also a time to advance our demands for self-determination for Afro-Americans, regional autonomy for Chicanos, independence for Puerto Rico, and full democratic rights for all oppressed minorities.

To get prepared for war and to revolutionize the unions—these tasks demand the leadership of a unified Marxist-Leninist party. That such a party is now being formed makes this year's May Day especially significant.

The leadership of the party is needed far beyond the day-to-day struggles against capitalism. It is needed to lead the working class in the battle for political power, overthrowing the dictatorship of the capitalists and instituting the undivided rule of the working class.

Ninety years have passed since Chicago workers fought their historic battle for the 8-hour day which initiated May Day. But every May Day since then has had one common point. On this day, the working class makes known its determination to liberate humanity from the chains of capitalism and build a new socialist society.

## WELCOME THE MARXISTLENINIST WEEKLY

The first issue of the weekly Call has hit the streets! It is testimony to the advances Marxist-Leninists have made in the efforts to build a new communist party.

The monthly Call has been published for almost four years. During this time the revolutionary forces in the U.S. have expanded rapidly. On a world scale, the factors for both revolution and war have increased. Under these conditions, the need for revolutionary leadership of the working class struggle has never been more urgent.

During these four years, thousands of working class fighters have begun to study Marxism-Leninism. Today, The Call has a total circulation of 25,000 with a readership in factories and working class communities numbering at least twice that.

At the same time, a tremendous ideological struggle has taken place within the communist movement. Marxist-Leninists have fought to build

a new communist party and to smash the influence of the Communist Party USA, which has revised all the basic principles of Marxism. The degeneration of the C.P. into a revisionist party two decades ago temporarily left the revolutionary forces in a scattered and primitive state. But in the last period, unity against revisionism has increased as revolutionaries have deepened their ties to the masses. The appearance of the weekly Call is an indication that Marxist-Leninists have overturned the revisionist legacy of disunity and unclarity on principles of Marxism.

The developments of the last few years will lead to the actual founding of the new party later this year. Even after the party is founded, the newspaper will continue to be an essential tool in building unity around a revolutionary line and expanding the leadership of the party among the workers.

By taking Marxism-Leninism to the working class week in and week out, the newspaper can give timely guidance and direction to the class struggle, overcoming the present spontaneous character of the movement. With the weekly newspaper, the working class is much better armed to fight the poisonous propaganda spread by capitalists, revisionists, and the labor lieutenants of big business.

The world today is characterized by turmoil and upheaval and the threat of war. But this period of turmoil can only be fully turned to our advantage if a road of political clarity and leadership is charted by the new party and millions of workers are educated in Marxism.

The October League is proud of its contributions towards the establishment of a weekly revolutionary newspaper. We call on all Marxist-Leninists, all class-conscious workers, and all who are oppressed by this system to actively build the weekly press of the working class! With such support, we will be able to unite our forces around a single revolutionary line and into a single revolutionary party.

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Comrades,

Some of us who wrote the article on the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire (March '76) found out that the ILGWU sponsors a memorial service every year outside the Triangle building, which is still standing. It was there that 146 women and child workers were killed in the tragic March 25, 1911, fire. We went down for the ceremony and found only a handful of union bureaucrats and officials, in addition to two older women who had witnessed the fire.

In their speeches, the union claimed that today there are no more garment sweatshops! This should be news to the hundreds of Chinese and other garment workers organized by the ILGWU right here in this city, not to mention in the rest of the country.

But the worst thing about the ceremony was a new plaque which was placed on the building. It says: "Out of their martyrdom came new concepts of social responsibility and labor legislation that have helped make American working conditions the finest in the world,

Clearly, the union bureaucrats have turned this tragic example of capitalist greed and victimization of working people into an apology for capitalism. They don't even bring any workers to the ceremony. Next year, we will! We'll turn the ceremony into what it should be—a militant, angry and determined demonstration that vows to

end this criminal system once and for all!

N.Y. Call Committee

Dear Comrades,

I would like to comment briefly on how I feel about the OL (October League—ed.) and its call for the party. Although I think I have many points of disagreement and there are OL lines that I don't understand, I am more open to the OL than I have ever been and I would like to struggle to clarify where the OL stands.

I do think the OL's publication on the Black national question was very good, and I tend to accept what I understand of the OL's line on this crucial question. As for the OL's call for the party, I think the proposal in the March *Call* was a step forward. I also think that all honest anti-revisionist organi-

zations should be willing to at least talk with the OL.

Publication of the weekly Call is a great step forward.

F.K., Honolulu

Dear Comrades,

Have been reading The Call, shared by a comrade here, for the past three months. Until the Angolan question and that of the renegade state (Soviet Union), I have been content to wait in line for my turn with the paper. Now it's an "I can't wait" thing, and more so since sometimes my turn does not come around before the next edition is here.

Would like to be placed on your mailing list.

A.M. Indiana State Prison

2-THE CALL-MAY 1, 1976

Boston-More than 50,000 people marched from the Boston Common to City Hall April 23, in Mayor Kevin White's "Procession for Peace." But the march, which follows months of open terror on this city's Black population, promoted a sham peace, a peace which would leave segregation intact, a peace that can never be at-

tained.

Leading figures in the front of the march included Senators Edward Kennedy and Edward Brooke as well as a host of liberal politicians and clergymen. "This is an affirmation of America's great tradition of tolerance," Kennedy told the press.

But the real picture of U.S. capitalism's "great tradition of tolerance" flashed across the pages of the world press a little more than two weeks earlier on April 5, when Black attorney Theodore Landsmark was attacked by a gang of 50 racists and beaten with an American flag.

### ONLY FOUR ARRESTED

"I was just out there walking to city hall in my three-piece suit,' Landsmark said. "I was anyone." As of this date only four of the thugs have been arrested although a municipal judge witnessed the attack and pictures of the racists were in all the papers.

"Nigger! There's a nigger!" the crowd shouted as Landsmark went down amid punches and kicks. "Kill him!" they screamed.

Following the beating, Assistant Attorney General Stanley Pottinger, head of the civil rights division of the Justice Department called for an investigation but casually told reporters that the incident was an "isolated flareup" and "not part of a pattern of violence." The facts tell a different tale.

The press and supposedly "outraged" politicians have put the blame for the attacks on "white racism" of the workers in South Boston and Charlestown. But there is no way to get around the realities that show the attack on Landsmark as part and parcel of a whole

### **50,000 IN BOSTON**

## **MAYOR WHITE'S SHAM MARCH FOR PEACE'**

wave of racist violence initiated by the ruling class and its leading representatives. This wave of terror is part of the legacy of white supremacy built into the fabric of the capitalist system.

It was no accident that the Landsmark attack coincided with the Carter and Ford statements on "ethnic purity" and the "treasure" of "ethnic heritage." These statements show that the leading spokesmen for big business in the U.S. support racial segregation, the bloody banner under which the new wave of terror is being carried out. The Landsmark beating followed a city hall meeting between the gang of racist thugs and city officials Louise Day Hicks and Elvira "Pixie" Palladino. Hicks is a member of the City Council while Palladino is a member of the school committee.

Hicks later told the press that unless the efforts at school integration are stopped, more such attacks would follow. After the arrest of a youth in connection with the beating, ROAR leader James Kelly told a news conference that "outrage over the incident is more deplorable than the act itself." Kelly called "Black crime" the real issue in Boston.

"If I was an 18-year-old student, I'd do the same thing," he said of the beating. When a Boston Globe reporter asked if that meant sticking a flagpole into someone's face, a South Boston Marshal answered, "I'd like to stick it in your face!"

Another significant development has been the formation of the South Boston and Charlestown Marshals Associations. These vigilante squads have been formed to "patrol the community" in cars full of armed thugs. On April 8, a



SHAM 'PEACE' MARCH to Boston City Hall evaded problem.

crowd of racists cheered Dennis McLaughlin, leader of the newlyformed Charlestown Marshals as he promised to "fight by any means necessary to protect our community" against Blacks, who he accused of "arming themselves."

For weeks carloads of these vigilantes have driven through the Black community of Roxbury on Columbia Road and Seaver Street attacking stores and cars. A separate incident saw Edward Sears, a Black man, beaten by four thugs in broad daylight in the Boston Common. Gangs of white racists have been hurling rocks at school buses carrying Black students and vigilantes have also dynamited the office of the Boston NAACP.

In response to these attacks, mass meetings have been organized in the Black community. The question of self-defense against the vigilantes has become a mass issue. Representatives of Mayor White, the church, as well as police undercover men have been working overtime in the community trying desperately to cool out the growing Black militancy or to channel the community anger into adventurist small-group actions directed against white workers in general.

A white mechanic was beaten by a group of young Blacks after he drove into Roxbury following the Landsmark beating. Within 24 hours arrests were made of alleged attackers by police. However police failed to take any action following the beating of a Black bus driver in South Boston on April 17. Four workers for the Transit Authority, one Black and three whites were also beaten as they attempted to aid their fellow worker. On the night of April 19, there were two attacks reported against Blacks by white racist gangs near a subway station.

All this shows the fraudulent

nature of the "march for peace." How could the march be for peace when it didn't target the capitalist system and its inherent institution of white supremacy as the cause of violence? How could it blame the Black people of Roxbury along with ROAR's vigilante gang equally-the victims as well as the criminals-for breaking the peace?

The sham "peace march" took place the day before another march was scheduled to take place in Boston, a march which would have mobilized thousands of people in a militant condemnation of racial segregation in education and housing. Within that scheduled march the Boston Workers United to Fight Back (BWUFB), the October League and others had organized a "Fight Back" contingent which targeted the capitalist system as the cause of racism and upheld the right of self-determination for Afro-Americans.

### MAYOR'S CIRCUS

To coincide with Mayor White's city hall eircus, the April 24th march was cancelled. The Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the leadership of the march collaborated with the liberal politicians and White's front men in the community to head off the militant support that the demonstration was attracting.

They claimed that the march might set off "a confrontation" with the ROAR forces and therefore had to be stopped. This wellplanned connivance between the Trotskyists and the liberals followed White's game plan of capitulating to racist terror and placing the blame for violence on the antisegregation forces.

### GAVE UP INITIATIVE

The BWUFB strongly opposed the cancellation of the April 24th march. As one member told The Call, "It played right into the hands of the racists and gave the initiative over to the ruling class."

The BWUFB has been making important gains in their work both within the Black and white communities. It has been actively taking up the need for community defense in Roxbury while at the same time showing the necessity for a united class approach to the struggle among Black and white work-

Last month the BWUFB mobilized over 200 workers in a march through predominantly white Dorchester under the noses of the ROAR and KKK racists. The march supported busing for integration and called for unity of Black and white workers. This type of united militant struggle of working people is showing itself to be the only just response to Boston's growing racist terror campaign. It stands in stark contrast to Mayor White's phony "peace march."

## - 'ETHNIC PURITY' CAPITALISTS' PROGRAM FOR BLACK PEOPLE

"It's disturbing, very disturbing language to hear from a presidential candidate," moaned fellow liberal presidential candidate Morris Udall following Jimmy Carter's statement in defense of "ethnic purity."

President Ford, candidates Jackson and Humphrey and even Carter's foremost Black campaigner Andrew Young, were quick to disassociate themselves from Carter's blunder. But when the electioneering ballyhoo had subsided and the proper apologies had all been made, it could be seen that all the candidates, Democratic and Republican, are closely united in their desire to maintain racial segregation in the areas of housing and education as well as in society as a whole.

Ford perhaps made this point more clearly. He called the use of the term "ethnic purity" an "unfortunate choice of words," but added that "ethnic heritage is a great national treasure that should not be destroyed by the federal government."

The underlying issue is whether or not the federal government should promote school integration and equal opportunity in housing. With all the fuss, one might have

thought that the government had begun a campaign of massive home-building for Blacks in the white suburbs. The facts show that the opposite is true. Despite a recent ruling giving federal courts the power to order the creation of low-cost public housing for minorities in a city's suburbs, no such program is now, or ever was, planned by government authorities.

Carter's statements followed the withdrawal of Alabama Governor George Wallace from the Pennsylvania primary. Carter has been bankrolled through the primaries by those sections of big business who want to undermine the growing influence of Wallace. Philadelphia Daily News columnist Chuck Stone analyzed Carter's statement saying: "Carter moved quickly to reassure white America he was still their 'good ol' boy' and called for a new kind of segregation by homogeneity."

Under conditions of growing white supremacist violence and terror in Boston and other cities, the presidential campaign platform is being used to promote racist demagoguery and criminal calls to defend segregation. Following his statement and weak apology, Carter reaffirmed that he still favored

maintaining "homogeneity of neighborhoods if they've been established in that way.'

Aside from being a further call to Boston's segregationists, Carter's statement served to expose his fellow liberals. Andrew Young, who prides himself on being a former civil rights activist and has been Carter's main vote-getter in the Black communities went so far as to admit that the term "ethnic purity" was "loaded with Hitlerian connotations." But that didn't prevent Young from continuing to support and praise Carter. Young and his like have long shown their willingness to follow numerous "Hitler" types providing they got their share of the election spoils.

A Time magazine article (April 26) summed up the situation by stating: "Neither Scoop Jackson nor Mo Udall was making much of the issue last week. Udall called Carter 'a fine and decent man.' When all the hairsplitting was done, the views of Udall and Jackson were so similar to Carter's as to be virtually indistinguishable.'

The realities show that Carter's 'unfortunate choice of words' were in fact an accurate picture of

the stand of all the leading representatives of the U.S. ruling class. Whatever campaign differences they may have on other questions, they are "virtually indistinguishable" in their support of the barbaric system of racial segregation that has become synonymous with the U.S. capitalist system.

Carter has done us all a service by dropping, for a moment, his phony mask of "friend of Black people." He pulled off some other masks in the process.

<b>SUBSCF</b>	RIBE N	<b>IOW</b>
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# **Argentina Fascist Coup Backed by Revisionists**

"In many respects the aims of the military junta are in accord with the basic aims of the people," said the revisionist Communist Party of Argentina (CPA) shortly after the Argentine military overthrew the government of Isabel Peron on March 24.

The statement was made even as the military government of General Videla moved to ban meetings and demonstrations, censor the press, and jail trade union activists. Referring to the military junta as a "step on the way" to a "government demanded by the people," the CPA explained the junta's attacks on the working class as merely "errors."

The official Soviet organ, Izvestia, quickly withdrew its initial descriptions of the junta's attacks on the working class because it became plain that the CPA had struck a desperate bargain with the military. While the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Communist Party (ML) have been outlawed along with other left groups, the CPA has managed to retain its legal status. The CPA reportedly fingered Marxist-Len-

### in brief ...

CHINA SUPPLIES ENGINES TO EGYPT: Husni Mubarak, vice-president of Egypt, signed an aid agreement in Peking April 21 through which China will supply Egypt with 30 spare jet engines for its MIG fighters. The Soviet Union tried to bully Egypt by refusing to sell its armed forces these badly needed engines. As a result, Egypt broke off its "friendship treaty" with the Soviet Union and has begun diversifying its sources of arms. The Egypt-China aid agreement is an example of Chinese support for the struggles of the Arab peoples.

ROMANIA REFUTES SONNEN-FELDT: Cornel Burtica, the secretary of the Romanian Communist Party has denounced the "Sonnenfeldt Doctrine" of U.S. foreign policy as an imperialist doctrine of "dividing spheres of influence in the world among the big powers."Sonnenfeldt wants Soviet social-imperialism to dominate East Europe and the U.S. to dominate West Europe. The Romanian leader exposed this as a violation of the right of countries to determine their own destiny free from foreign domination. Burtica concluded that Sonnenfeldt had not learned the lessons of World War II when the Munich Pact, giving Czechoslovakia to Hitler as part of his 'sphere of influence," only hastened the onset of the war.

STUDENTS STRUGGLE FRANCE: In the biggest wave of student protest since 1968, more than 100,000 French students boycotted classes and demonstrated against the government's proposed "University Reform Program." The program would keep many students from finishing their higher education.

SOUTH AFRICA-ISRAEL AXIS: South Africa's prime minister Vorster visited Israel in mid-April to discuss increased economic and political cooperation between the two racist regimes. The leaders of both the apartheid and Zionist states have been forced to rely heavily on each other since both have been denounced and condemned by the vast majority of the world's countries.

inists for arrest in the industrial center of Cordoba where 5,000 workers struck in opposition to the coup.

Even though some of the most prominent figures in the new government such as General Videla are closely tied to U.S. interests, both the U.S. and the USSR are trying to manipulate the military. The CPA's role is to promote the interests of the Soviet Union which with the new alignment of forces, hopes to step up its penetration in

The background to the coup was a steadily worsening political and economic crisis. The rate of inflation topped 300% and the government owed over \$1 billion to U.S. and European banks. In the last several years labor struggles have grown especially sharp with massive strike waves sweeping the "industrial belts" several times. Under these circumstances, the imperialist banking interests pressured the ruling class to bring about the coup and get the factories running smoothly again.

As the crisis developed, Argentinian Marxist-Leninists warned of the danger of a fascist coup. In a February issue of No Transar, the CP (ML) warned that the "Peronist government is no longer useful to the ruling class for resolving the crisis . . . For this reason they are looking openly to a

The Marxist-Leninists also exposed the CPA, even before the coup, for trying to build an alliance with the military. In a speech to the armed forces last year, revisionist leader R. Clementi wished the "Third Corps (of the army) much success in the speedy liquidation of the terrorist bands of both sides." With such talk, the revisionists held themselves out as the military's best ally in achieving "stability."

### CAMBODIA ENTERS NEW ERA SIHANOUK STEPS DOWN



CAMBODIAN salt field workers on job, contributing to country's growth. (Hsinhua)

"When we have reached the new revolutionary era, I shall retire completely...from the political scene. Because in all logic, my role should come to an end at this moment.'

With these words, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, head of state of Democratic Cambodia, voiced his desire to retire from his post and devote himself to his family

Sihanouk's affirmation that the Cambodian people have entered a "new revolutionary era," reflects the great achievements

do now in Angola?

What will the Soviet social-imperialists

They claim that their massive invasion

was to "drive the South African reaction-

aries out." As of March 27, all South Afri-

can racist troops were withdrawn. Yet the

Soviet Union has not taken a single step to

decrease its massive occupying force.

should come as no surprise to anyone who

has followed the developments there. While

the Soviet revisionists often clamored

about "driving South Africa out," they

never once engaged the South Africans in

battle. Some 150,000 Angolans died at the

other end of Soviet guns, but South Afri-

The continued occupation of Angola

that have been made since liberation one year ago on April 17, 1975. All over Cambodia, celebrations of the first anniversary hailed the progress in agriculture and industry and welcomed the new constitution and election of the People's Congress. In his statement requesting retirement, Sihanouk pointed out that Cambodia owed its liberation from U.S. imperialism and the Lon Nol traitors to the "heroic men and women fighters of the Cambodian Revolutionary Army, peasants, workers and other

patriotic laborers." He enthusiastically supported the constitution, the People's Congress and the Cambodian Revolutionary Organization. He pointed out that the time had come for the masses of people themselves to be "the real and sole masters of their destiny."

The first session of the People's Congress accepted Sihanouk's resignation with regret and took measures to provide for his well-being after retirement.

The People's Congress appointed a new presidium of the state with Khieu Samphan as president. A cabinet was also announced that included Polpot as prime minister and Ieng Sary as deputy prime minister in charge of foreign affairs. Other veteran liberation fighters were also named to government posts, including a number of women.

The People's Congress also took note of the development of revolutionary culture, equality among the nationalities, the advancement of the army, and the creativity of the masses. The mobilization and enthusiasm of the masses has enabled Cambodia to achieve self-sufficiency in food production and other areas.

The People's Congress further vowed to pursue Cambodia's foreign policy of opposition to imperialism, strict adherence to non-alignment and support for the third world struggles.

### WHAT WILL SOVIET **TROOPS DO NOW?**

can losses numbered only a few dozen.

The Soviet Union also tried to cover up its aggression against the Angolan people by asserting that "not a single soldier went to Angola until the South African invasion of October 23." But well-documented facts expose this lie.

All through September and October, the social-imperialists geared up for their invasion and promoted a civil war among the Angolan liberation organizations. Well

before October 23, hundreds of top military advisers were shipped in. Millions of dollars worth of arms and over 3,000 Cuban troops were dispatched under Soviet command in the early weeks of October.

The Soviet social-imperialists have dealt no blows whatsoever to the barbarous apartheid regime in South Africa. They have only used the South Africa issue as a pretext for continued aggression and interven-

Anxious to cover up its actions, the Soviet Union backed a March UN resolution which condemned South African intervention exclusively. Chinese delegate Huang Hua abstained from voting on this resolution. He explained that the Chinese delegation "strongly condemned the South African racist regime's aggression in Angola." But he noted that the resolution did not condemn Soviet interference nor call for the removal of foreign troops.

In such form, said Huang Hua, the resolution would only be used by the socialimperialists to further "legitimize" their in-

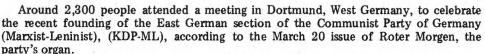
volvement in Angola.

Now the Soviet Union no longer has the mask of the South African issue to conceal its actions. Yet it is not about to withdraw from Angola, where it has won a significant victory in its imperialist rivalry with the U.S. The social-imperialists dream of pursuing their African invasion, "driving South Africans out," or using other pretexts to bring Africa under their super-

But this will not be easy, especially with the Angolan example laid bare before the world's people.

## From the World Press ROTER

### Marxist-Leninist Party **Branch in East Germany**



Roter Morgen carries excerpts from the main speech at the event by Ernst Aust, chair-

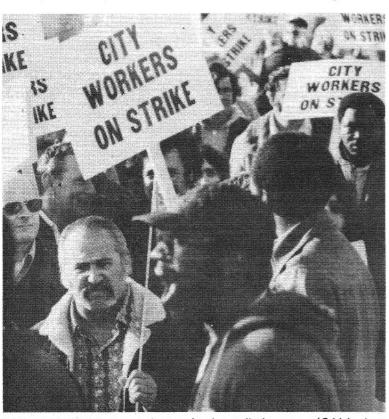
man of the KDP-ML. Aust offered "our warmest, sincerest greetings of solidarity to the comrades in the section of our common party who are fighting under the difficult conditions of illegality in the German Democratic Republic.'

'Like the founding of the KDP-ML in 1968/69, so also the recent founding of the GDR section of our party is a historic achievement, a brilliant success for Marxism-Leninism, a great step forward for the German working class in its struggle for socialist revolution in both German states and for the establishment of a unified, independent and socialist Germany."

Aust went on to review the postwar division of Germany into two separate states, the construction of socialism in the eastern part in the late 1940s, then, after the coming to power of Khrushchev in the USSR in 1956, the treacherous conversion of the GDR party and government into the lackeys of the Soviet social-imperialists. He described the years of quiet clandestine work needed to prepare the founding of the GDR section of the

"The tactics of struggle are in many ways different in West Germany and in the GDR," Aust said. "What unites us is the principles of Marxism-Leninism, our common program and the common leadership by the central committee."

## S.F. CITY WORKERS GAIN SUPPORT



SAN FRANCISCO city workers resist 'no-strike' pressure. (CALL photo)

San Francisco-Over 2,000 city workers in 14 unions, including carpenters, plumbers, street sweepers and laborers, have been on strike since March 30 against attempts by the city government to cut their wages and impose a "nostrike" agreement.

Another 2,400 bus drivers have also struck in sympathy, effectively shutting down all public transportation. Teamsters and long-shoremen are honoring the picket lines, while some city cab drivers and commuter bus drivers also struck independently for their own grievances.

The militant month-long strike has been a show of strength for the labor movement as strikers have been able to periodically shut down airport maintenance and other city electrical facilities.

Behind the strike is the economic crisis which is being felt sharply in the big cities. As in New York last summer, the big financial powers in San Francisco whipped up a hysterical campaign, blaming their problems on the working class in general and on the city workers in particular.

Over the past five years, civic officials together with bankers, have created huge budget deficits in cities like New York, Detroit and San Francisco. In San Francisco, the city government carries a debt to the banks of \$80 million a year for projects like the huge Yerba Buena convention center, airport expansion and parking lots.

The solution to this economic crisis, according to the capitalists, is to raise city taxes and cut city services. In San Francisco, big layoffs have hit office workers, teachers and maintenance workers. Detroit recently laid off 1,200 city workers. In New York, the mayor's new budget cuts would eliminate 8,000 more jobs, adding to the to-

ON THE LINE

tal of 44,000 thrown out of work over the last 15 months.

The plan of San Francisco business leaders in the current struggle is to single out the highest paid craft workers and laborers for pay cuts ranging from \$2,000 to \$7,000 a year. About half the workers involved in the pay cut plan are from the highly skilled building and metal trades craft unions

The leaders of these "aristocratic" craft unions have historically fought for their own narrow interests and privileges, opposed to the interests of the majority of workers. They have a sorry history of strike-breaking and chauvinism against minorities and women.

Resentment against past scabbing and discrimination is one reason why 17,000 non-striking city workers continue to cross the picket lines.

Now these craft unions are under attack as big business scrambles to save its profits. The whole workers movement will suffer if the plan to break the strike and drive down wages is successful. This is the reason why the strike must be built and supported.

## **Teamsters Win Strike Victory**

Rank-and-file Teamsters scored an important victory in last month's strike as they paralyzed national freight shipments and forced some major concessions from the trucking companies.

It was the first time since 1964 that a strike vote had even taken place in the Teamsters' Union and the very first time that a nation-wide truckers' strike had been called. The strike lasted only three days and the settlement left something to be desired, even causing wildcat strikes in locals in Gary, Detroit and Los Angeles.

But overall the strike was a victory for the militant Teamster rank-and-file over both the owners and their own reactionary union leadership, which was forced to call the strike under heavy pressure. The Fitzsimmons leadership, the paid agents of big business, also faced a challenge from the

Hoffa faction of the labor bureaucracy, making it impossible for them to avoid the strike.

But it was the militancy and power of the rank-and-file that won the victory, resulting in a contract that will give workers an increase of \$1.65-an-hour over the next three years. But most importantly, the new contract calls for an uncapped cost-of-living provision that allows for an increase in wages based on the percentage rise in the consumer price index.

The National Freight Agreement, affecting 60% of manufactured freight in the U.S. and over 450,000 teamsters, was the first major contract up for negotiation in a big contract year. The strike—sparked by a growing rank and file movement in the union—set an important precedent for future contract battles. (Over four

and a half million workers in rubber, electronics and auto have contracts which expire in 1976. Rubber workers are already out on strike.)

Recognizing the impact of a Teamster strike, government and industry spokesmen tried to block it, first warning that it would "cripple the economic recovery." Secretary of Labor W. J. Usery stressed in a news conference immediately after the walkout that "the overriding issue will soon become to protect the American public."

The expiration of the Teamster contract was used by all the ruling class henchmen to push the view that rising wages cause inflation. This lie hides the fact that it is their own massive drive for profits which forces prices up.

When these "patriotic" calls to protect capitalist "recovery" fell short of their mark, spokesmen indicated that the Ford administration would not wait long to invoke a Taft-Hartley injunction, imposing an 80-day "cooling-off period."

Neither Teamster president Frank Fitzsimmons, the government nor the trucking industry wanted or expected a strike. But as the March 31 deadline approached, rank and file protest grew louder. Opposition to Fitzsimmons' history of sell-out deals had been mounting throughout the union and strike sentiment was strong.

With union elections coming up in mid-June, Fitzsimmons was anxious to get the contract behind him, quiet down the rank and file with a strike, and at the same time demonstrate to the industry and the ruling class as a whole that he'll be able to keep his membership in line. But the militancy of some Teamster strikes frightened Fitzsimmons, especially when he found that he could not pressure certain locals into accepting the contract.

In an attempt to avoid an outbreak of militant wildcats, Fitz-simmons yielded to strike pressure. He hoped to dissipate the explosive situation by heading the walk-out himself and delivering a swiftly negotiated "peace."

## Steelworker Election Hits Abel

East Chicago, Ind.—Recent local elections in the United Steel Workers Union registered a sharp protest against the reactionary Abel leadership by defeating his machine-picked candidates two

In mid-April elections at Inland Steel Local 1010—USWA's largest local—reformist—candidate James Balanoff—took the presidency by 6,000 to 3,000 from Hank Lopez, the Abel-backed incumbant. It was the largest turn-out in years with over 50% of the membership voting.

District 31 chief Ed Sadlowski backed Balanoff as well as Norman Purdue, who won leadership in Local 1011, Youngstown Sheet and Tube. Sadlowski has made use of these other reform candidates as front runners in his own bid for the USWA presidency.

In analyzing Balanoff's victory, the revisionist Communist Party concluded that the "leadership of progressive forces had been restored" and that it was a victory for Sadlowski's "platform of union militancy and democracy." The revisionists preach reliance on Sadlowski as the strategy for steelworkers, and jumped onto Balanoff's bandwagon.

While the vote was a mark of steelworker rejection of the Abel machine, past experience has shown that Sadlowski is scarcely distinguishable from Abel on basic issues like job security, speed-up and discrimination. Despite all his attacks on Abel, Sadlowski is equally wedded to the capitalist system of exploitation and can provide steelworkers with no real alternative.

### Fight-Back Job Campaign

Chicago—Representatives from 22 regions across the country met together for the first time April 10-11 to form the steering committee of the recently-founded National Fight Back Organization (NFBO).

The steering committee discussed and adopted resolutions on the international situation, women, and unemployment organizing, all of which will be published soon.

The meeting proposed that the whole NFBO take up the central campaign of "Jobs or Income Now." This demand will be closely linked to the other fightback slogans which oppose imperialist war as well as discrimination against minorities and women.

### **Explosion at Biltrite**

Chelsea, Mass.—"The workers are the cheapest machinery around here. At least that's how the capitalists see it."

With that statement, one worker at American Biltrite exposed the bosses' disregard for safety that led to a powerful explosion in the plant's slab department April 9.

At 10 A.M. that morning, an explosion boomed out from the dust room, hurling fire and sending workers flying. When the smoke cleared, 10 workers were injured, five seriously with severe burns and other injuries.

Earlier that morning, Fernando Aguilar, who was working in the dust room, reported to his foreman that the dust was beginning to clog machinery and he had no barrels to put it in. He was told to go back to work. Less than three hours later, the dust room was an inferno, and Aguilar was seriously injured.

Unsafe working conditions are a regular feature at American Biltrite and, in fact, an inseparable part of the whole capitalist system. "Cut a dollar here, a dollar there. Anything to make a buck," one of the injured workers explained from his hospital bed.

## URW WORKERS STRIKE BIG 4

Decatur, III.— Seventy thousand workers truck 47 tire plants of Firestone, Goodyear, Goodrich and Uniroyal when their contract expired April 20. These four, the largest in the U.S., account for two-thirds of the nation's tire production.

Under the contract negotiated three years ago by sell-out United Rubber Workers (URW) president Peter Bommarito, rubber workers have faced deteriorating work conditions and declining wages.

Contract demands this year include a \$1.65 per hour wage boost to make up for inflation losses and an unlimited cost-of-living clause.

An example of the workers' readiness to fight for their demands with or without top leadership authorization came March 28 when 1,900 workers at a Firestone plant in Decatur, Illinois walked out in a two-days wildcat. Firestone had fired one worker and suspended another 36 in response to the rank-and-file upsurge in the plant. Union officials branded the strike illegal and refused to support the workers, but wildcat participation was practically 100%.

A big question in present negotiations is whether or not separate wage rates will be set for non-tire companies and for workers in the South and Southwest. The Big Four companies want to use the super-exploitation of non-unionized rubber workers and of Chicano and Black workers in the South and Southwest to drive down wages industry-wide.

Bommarito insists that he "won't concede" on this point which is crucial to strengthening the whole union. But his past record of selling-out the struggels of minority workers and disregarding the issues in the non-tire small shops indicates that he is not firm on this demand at all.

The URW strike continues strong as we go to press, and pressure against a sell-out is mounting. The wage demands of the rubber workers are setting an important precedent for the upcoming contract struggles in auto and other industries.

The following is a report from a leadership delegation of the October League which recently visited China and got a firsthand view of the present great struggle developing in that country. This is the first in a series of articles.

Peking, People's Republic of China—What is the key link in building socialism? Is it the class struggle or is it the need for stability and the advancement of production and technology? This question is at the heart of the present struggle in the People's Republic of China.

The struggle gained new prominence last month with the incidents at Tien An Men Square and the dismissal, two days later, of Teng Hsiao-ping (see story, p. 1). The bourgeois press reacted in a frenzy, vainly hoping that their dream of capitalist restoration in China was at hand. They thoroughly distorted the real facts and lessons of the struggle.

The struggle began last year when certain capitalist roaders and revisionists, led by then Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, began to stir up attacks on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the new revolutionary things that have emerged since its victory. Tsinghua University was the scene of the first reaction to Teng's reactionary line. In the university, these capitalist roaders launched a rightist campaign against



idea that the "Three Directives" issued by Chairman Mao, which stressed study, unity and stability, and development of the economy, were the "key link" in the work of the country. With this revisionist sleight-of-hand, Teng was trying to use Mao Tsetung's own directives to negate the essence of Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line. What is this revolutionary line?

Chairman Mao pointed out: "Never forget classes and class struggle." He said, "Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it."

Teng and his fellow capitalist roaders also promoted the line in their "program" that economics and the modernization of Chinese society were more important than revolutionary politics. Before the Cultural Revolution, Teng and Liu Shao-Chi said that it didn't matter whether the peasants organized into cooperatives or promoted individual farming instead, so long as production was increased. In this way they

socialist construction and promote capitalism.

The necessity for a cultural revolution exists because classes and class struggle continue to exist throughout the period of socialism. The Cultural Revolution is the form developed in China through which the masses can take part in defending socialism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

All capitalist roaders up to and including Teng Hsiao-ping have preached the theory that classes and class struggle were "dying out" under socialism. However, while preaching about "dying out of class struggle," they continued to wage class struggle against the working class.

In response to such reactionary views of the capitalist roaders, the students at Tsinghua rebelled against the right deviationist wind. Upon hearing about the struggle, Chairman Mao initiated a "Great Debate" last November. Under the Party's leadership, the students, workers, soldiers and party cadre began exposing and criticizing revisionism.

### REPRESENTED BOURGEOISIE

The target of this struggle was Teng Hsiao-ping because he represented the bourgeois class in China. His program reflected the aims of the new bourgeoisie that has arisen on the basis of bourgeois right; that is, the system of unequal distribution still alive within socialism. This inequality can be restricted under socialism, but it cannot be fully eliminated. To criticize Teng and his program, big character posters were put up. Soon the struggle spread to Peking University and then into factories, communes and schools throughout China. The big character posters pointed out: "The capitalist roaders are still taking the capitalist road." Many posters reflected careful study of the reactionary program of Teng as well as study of the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung. The posters criticized the theory of the productive forces and the right deviationist wind in edu-

While visiting Tsinghua, we saw many posters which referred to Teng's previous pragmatist, eclectic statement: "It doesn't matter whether a cat is black or white, as long as it catches mice." They pointed out that Teng was really saying, "it doesn't matter whether you promote Marxism-Lenin-

ism or revisionism so long as production increased."

One leading member of the Revolutionary Committee at Tsinghua, a woman who was a Red Guard during the Cultural Revolution, told us the people used to fight capitalist roaders like Teng Hsiao-ping in the Cultural Revolution. She pointed out that then the capitalist roaders were defeated, but now they are trying to reverse the correct verdicts and the masses are having to fight them again.

The present struggle is a further continuation of the Cultural Revolution. In some



BIG-CHARACTER POSTERS written by peasants denounce rightist wind. (Hsinhua)

ways, however, it is different and on a higher level. For one thing, the masses have summed up their experience and learned how to carry out the struggle more effectively. During the height of the Cultural Revolution, in 1966, Liu Shao-chi had succeeded in splitting the party into two headquarters. Under these conditions, the Red Guard fanned out all over China and made contacts with students at other universities and schools, as well as with workers and peasants. During some points of the struggle "fighting groups" were formed and some sections of the masses were misled into fighting other sections of the masses while the capitalist roaders went unharmed, fomenting confusion and rumors. Often it was difficult to tell who the enemy was.

Recently Chairman Mao pointed out: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the communist party—those in power taking the capitalist road. The ca-



PEOPLES LIBERATION Army unit that took part in battle to defend China's Chenpao Island against USSR aggression denounces Teng Hsiao-ping, acclaims his ouster. (Hsinhua)

China's revolutionary education program.

The campaign, named the "right deviationist wind" by the Party, attacked such socialist new things as "open-door education," which closely integrates classroom learning with practical activity and manual labor. Other socialist new things under attack were giving priority in college entrance quotas to workers, peasants and soldiers as well as the general principle that education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labor.

### COMPLAINS OF STANDARDS

In August and again in October, Liu Ping, the head of Tsinghua, sent letters to the Central Committee complaining that the standards for students were too low. He said that having so many workers, peasants and soldiers at Tsinghua was holding back the level of academic standards. Liu Ping had backing from Chou Jung-hsin, the Minister of Education. When Liu's letters were criticized he also claimed to be supported by some "high official" in the party.

It turned out that this official was none other than Teng Hsiao-ping. Teng was a follower of the revisionist Liu Shao-chi during the Cultural Revolution. For this he had been criticized and removed from his posts in the late '70s. He was allowed to resume a leadership role in 1974 only after making a thorough-going self-criticism and promising that he would never reverse the verdicts arrived at through the struggle.

He did not keep this promise. In education, science, literature and art, and throughout the society, he and his followers began an attack on the Cultural Revolution. The "right deviationist wind" at Tsinghua was no accident. It came at the same time that Teng Hsiao-ping began making speeches and putting forth articles entitled, "On the General Program for All Work of the Party and the Country."

In this "program" Teng put forth the

succeeded in holding back collectivization in more than 200,000 cooperatives during the 1950s.

A leading party member at Tsinghua told us that Teng was following the same line today. According to this cadre, Teng said it didn't matter whether scientific research took the road of bourgeois expertise or not-so long as research advanced. He added that if China followed Teng's line, the Four Modernizations couldn't be realized. (These are the need to modernize industry, agriculture, national defense, and science and technology.) Or, he explained, that even if they were realized it would be the same as in the USSR. There the line of bourgeois expertise has meant sending a satellite into the sky while trampling the red flag into the dust.

Teng tried his best to distort the Cultural Revolution through trickery, by posing as an opponent of Lin Piao. Lin was another capitalist roader who tried to derail China's revolution in 1971. Teng described Lin as an "ultra-leftist." This was a way of covering up the fact that Lin was a rightist.

In fact, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping pushed the same "theory of the productive forces." This theory holds that the growth of technology and production must take first place over politics. This is a rightist line both in form and content. But with ulterior motives in mind, Teng called it "ultra-leftist." In this way, he tried to misdirect the struggle towards ultra-"leftism" instead of against revisionism, which was and continues to be the main danger.

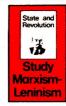
Teng also attacked the Cultural Revolution as an "ultra-left" mistake, claiming that it harmed "experienced cadres" of the party. In fact, the Cultural Revolution was an unprecedented great mass movement in which the masses themselves had been mobilized as never before to rebel against attempts to restore capitalism. Those "harmed" were those actively trying to sabotage

For the last few months, the October League has conducted a national study campaign of Lenin's book, The State and Revolution. The book contains the fundamental Marxist teachings on the question of the state and clearly distinguishes the scientific, revolutionary understanding of the state from all the reformist and opportunist views. In the next issues we will be publishing reports from the study and discussions of some of the most important questions.

The first and most fundamental point Lenin makes in Chapter 1 of State and Revolution is that the antagonisms between classes in society cannot be "reconciled" by the state. Lenin said:

"The state is the product and the manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms. The state arises when, where and to the extent that class antagonisms objectively cannot be reconciled. And conversely, the existence of the state proves that the class antagonisms are irreconcilable."

Examining the U.S. today, we can see the truth of Lenin's statement. At the points of capitalist production, such as the factories, this basic antagonism between the working class and the capitalist class can be clearly seen. Factory workers perform all the work, sweating and slaving to churn out steel, automobiles or other products. Yet capitalists who own these factories sell the workers' products and put



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the profits in their pockets.

For this reason, the interests of the workers and the capitalists are antagonistic. On every question, whether it be taxes, integration, or war, tens of millions who make up the working class have one set of interests, while the small handful of capitalists have opposing interests.

How is it then, that the interests of capitalism dominate society?

Lenin answers this question by pointing out that as differing classes first came into existence in primitive society, it was necessary to create a power above society which could prevent a state of permanent anarchy and civil war. But this "power" which Engels spoke of was never "above" society in the sense of being impartial to the warring classes below it. In fact, this "power" (the state) was in the hands of one class, and was used as "an organ for class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another" (Marx).

The capitalists'hold over the state rests on their "special bodies of armed men" as Lenin pointed out. In the U.S. some five million "armed men" are at the service of the capitalists in the armed forces, police,

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pitalist roaders are still taking the capitalist road." He also called the masses to follow the leadership of the party and not to establish inter-unit ties or to form fighting groups or factions. Through the course of this present struggle, production has actually been on the rise and important advances are being made in science, education, literature and the arts.

The capitalist roaders have so far been unrepentant. Given the opportunity to put up their own big character posters, they declined. In spite of this unrepentant attitude, Teng Hsiao-ping was allowed to hold his position as Vice-Premier until early last month. Until then, a distinction was being made between Teng and the renegades, scabs, and saboteurs like Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. Unlike these alien elements who sneaked into the party, Teng was viewed as a bourgeois democrat who joined the party during the stage of the New Democratic Revolution. At that stage of the bourgeois revolution, these bourgeois democrats played a positive role. But when the stage changed to the socialist revolution, many of them failed to remold their outlook. This was the case with Teng Hsiao-ping.

### **REFUSED SELF-CRITICISM**

When they were criticized, Lin Piao and Liu Shao-chi refused to criticize themselves. Teng, on the other hand, criticized himself and then went against his own self-criticism in which he had promised "never to reverse the correct verdicts" of the Cultural Revolution. Still Teng was allowed to remain in his post for months. While all the people we spoke with referred to him by name, the Chinese press referred to him until April 7, only as "that unrepentant capitalist roader." The purpose of this form of struggle was to give him every last chance to rectify his mistakes and rejoin the re-

Finally Teng launched an open attack on the party and instigated the counter-revolutionary incident in Tien An Men Square. This incident changed the nature of the struggle with Teng into an antagonistic contradiction. It was only after this incident that Teng was taken out of all his responsible positions.

The present struggle in China is a great event which is writing a new chapter into the revolutionary history of the working class. Under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have been armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, which is an invincible weapon. This new and deeper phase of the Cultural Revolution is paving an historic pathway for the future of socialism with class struggle as the main driving force.



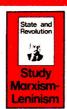
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## **'THE STATE AND** REVOLUTION' STUDY [1]

the profits in their pockets.

For this reason, the interests of the workers and the capitalists are antagonistic. On every question, whether it be taxes, integration, or war, tens of millions who make up the working class have one interests, while the small handful of capitalists have opposing interests.

How is it then, that the interests of capitalism dominate society?

Lenin answers this question by pointing out that as differing classes first came into existence in primitive society, it was necessary to create a power above society which could prevent a state of permanent anarchy and civil war. But this "power" which Engels spoke of was never "above" society in the sense of being impartial to the warring classes below it. In fact, this "power" (the state) was in the hands of one class, and was used as "an organ for class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another" (Marx).

The capitalists'hold over the state rests on their "special bodies of armed men" as Lenin pointed out. In the U.S. some five million "armed men" are at the service of the capitalists in the armed forces, police,

national guard, etc. When the truck drivers struck during the "energy crisis," the national guard was called out to break their strike. When the student and Black liberation movement of the 1960s began to develop, the CIA and FBI were sent in to destroy them from the inside while police gunned down Black Panthers and other militant leaders.

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For the last few months, the October League has conducted a national study campaign of Lenin's book, The State and Revolution. The book contains the fundamental Marxist teachings on the question of the state and clearly distinguishes the scientific, revolutionary understanding of the state from all the reformist and opportunist views. In the next issues we will be publishing reports from the study and discussions of some of the most important questions.

The first and most fundamental point Lenin makes in Chapter 1 of State and Revolution is that the antagonisms between classes in society cannot be "reconciled" by the state. Lenin said:

'The state is the product and the manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms. The state arises when, where and to the extent that class antagonisms objectively cannot be reconciled. And conversely, the existence of the state proves that the class antagonisms are irreconcilable."

Examining the U.S. today, we can see the truth of Lenin's statement. At the points of capitalist production, such as the factories, this basic antagonism between the working class and the capitalist class can be clearly seen. Factory workers perform all the work, sweating and slaving to churn out steel, automobiles or other products. Yet capitalists who own these factories sell the workers' products and put

tagonisms between class

pitalist roaders are still taking the capitalist road." He also called the masses to follow the leadership of the party and not to establish inter-unit ties or to form fighting groups or factions. Through the course of this present struggle, production has actually been on the rise and important advances are being made in science, education, literature and the arts.

The capitalist roaders have so far been unrepentant. Given the opportunity to put up their own big character posters, they declined. In spite of this unrepentant attitude, Teng Hsiao-ping was allowed to hold his position as Vice-Premier until early last month. Until then, a distinction was being made between Teng and the renegades, scabs, and saboteurs like Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. Unlike these alien elements who sneaked into the party, Teng was viewed as a bourgeois democrat who joined the party during the stage of the New Democratic Revolution. At that stage of the bourgeois revolution, these bourgeois democrats played a positive role. But when the stage changed to the socialist revolution, many of them failed to remold their outlook. This was the case with Teng Hsiao-ping.

### REFUSED SELF-CRITICISM

When they were criticized, Lin Piao and Liu Shao-chi refused to criticize themselves. Teng, on the other hand, criticized himself and then went against his own self-criticism in which he had promised "never to reverse the correct verdicts" of the Cultural Revolution. Still Teng was allowed to remain in his post for months. While all the people we spoke with referred to him by name, the Chinese press referred to him until April 7, only as "that unrepentant capitalist roader." The purpose of this form of struggle was to give him every last chance to rectify his mistakes and rejoin the revolution.

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## Statement of Former BWC/RWC Leader Calls for Marxist-Leninist Unity

Many groups and individuals have responded to the call for Marxist-Leninist unity. In this and future issues of The Call, we will reprint these statements. They reflect the unity trend in the struggle to forge a single Marxist-Leninist party in the U.S.

In the statement below, W.Jean Pierre, a former leader of the Black Workers Congress and the Revolutionary Workers Congress sums up the experiences of those organizations and declares his support for the May Unity Meeting.

In face of the ever-growing danger of world war between the two superpowers and the deepening crisis of capitalism, the most urgent and pressing need of the working class in the U.S. is a united and consolidated communist movement. Only by building a Marxist-Leninist communist party can such unity be achieved, solidified and turned into a material force capable of leading the masses in their struggles.

The present situation puts a tremendous responsibility on all communists. The actual formation of the party can no longer be an item of endless debate over coffee and tea. The organizational formation of the party must also go hand-in-hand with the following:

-continuing to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in opposition to modern revisionism, centrism and all forms of opportunism.

called Communist Party USA. They say that the state can be used to reconcile antagonisms between classes.

Typical of their revisions of Marxist principles is the statement: "...the democratic will of the people can be brought to expression by relatively peaceful means, that is without armed insurrection, without civil war" (New Program of the CPUSA, 1970).

The CPUSA asserts that "the democratic will of the people" can triumph over capitalism without a shot being fired. Their whole program is simply designed to "curb monopoly" step by step, until class antagonisms are reconciled and "the people" eventually "run society democratically."

This view runs completely against the principles of Marxism, and was directly criticized by Lenin.

In State and Revolution, Lenin criticizes the "petty bourgeois democrats" who said openly that classes could be reconciled by the state. He also attacks the followers of Kautsky who agreed that class antagonisms were irreconcilable, but opposed smashing the old state apparatus.

In opposition to these views, Lenin affirmed the lessons Marx and Engels drew from their study of classes and class struggle—that class antagonisms could not be "reconciled" by any state; that the working class would have to seize hold of the capitalist state and forcibly smash it, and that it would have to institute a proletarian dictatorship in its place.

-continuing to develop a correct political line by applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of the U.S.

-continuing to develop deep ties with the working class and oppressed masses, leading their day-to-day struggle and winning the advanced to communism.

The Unity Meeting of communists around the country is a great leap forward in the direction of enabling us to sum-up the gains made on the above tasks as well as to press forward with the job of laying a firm foundation for a Party Congress. The Unity Meeting, called on the initiative of the October League and Marxist-Leninist groups is more than timely—not only because the need for unity has never been more pressing, but also because the majority of the communist movement wants an end to the scattered, disorganized and sectarian activity of the past.

The party-building process in this country has been long and tortuous. But it has also allowed us to distinguish words from deeds—to distinguish between those groups and individuals who preach party building and Marxism but practice sectarianism and revisionism, from those who combine theory with practice. This becomes clear when we examine the lines of various party-building forces around the country.

### CENTRISM MAIN DANGER

The right/centrist line, which is proving to be the main danger in the present period, preaches spontaneity in regards to party building. In essence they believe that the party will arise automatically out of the mass struggle rather than being built by the most conscious representatives of the working class, i.e., Marxist-Leninists. They belittle ideological struggle as "sectarianism" while advocating unity with the modern revisionists-the most dangerous enemies of the working class movement. In organizational matters they advocate that each and every little circle and collective should "strengthen their own independence" thus condemning the communist movement to continued amateurishness and vulnerability to the state apparatus.

The "left" opportunists on the other hand, the so-called "Revolutionary Wing" are part of a rapidly sinking trend of dedicated sectarians. Their principle motto is: "split and do not unite." You cannot even be a part of this "Wing" if you have not had some splits. In regard to party building, no group has talked more and done less, except in the negative sense. Considering themselves on a "high theoretical level" they spend their time branding genuine Marxist-Leninists as opportunists, but themselves as "most correct" and "most honest." While they pretend to be great Marxist theoreticians," they have no political line on many important questions such as the national question. They raise isolation from mass struggle to a principle, defining mass work as "reformism." Because of the extreme backwardness and confusion of their views, their ranks are dwindling rapidly. Though no longer the main danger, they still constitute a very disruptive force and must be resolutely struggled against to win the remaining honest elements from their ranks.

Whether coming from the right or "left," singing praises to Soviet social-imperialism, or waving the red flag in order to oppose the red flag, neither the centrists nor the "leftists" can seriously take up the task of party building. These groups represent the past and not the future of the new communist movement. As Enver Hoxha states, "Their former situation is shaken, but the new situation has not yet entered their heads, so they carry on in the old spirit, outside of and away from what is developing and progressive" (Vol. 1, Selected Works, Enver Hoxha).

### UNITY IS MAIN TREND

Despite the antics of the opportunists, the main trend is unity based on Marxism-Leninism. The proletariat will have its party in spite of them. As a former leading member of the BWC/RWC I know many other former cadres of this and other groups have arrived at the same conclusions I have presented here. We were once part of the "leftist" tendency in the new communist movement. We experienced first hand how an erroneous political line and isolation from the masses can destroy an organization. Being a part of an all-Black organization, we had to wage a long struggle against narrow nationalism especially in regard to the need for a multi-national organization of communists. In regard to the communist press, we had to wage a struggle against a line which saw a communist newspaper as a theoretical journal which addressed itself to the "advanced of the advanced" and separated propaganda from agitation.

In regard to party building we had to wage a fight on two fronts-first in regard to a "leftist" line which isolated party building from mass struggle, theory from practice, and put forward all struggle and no unity-then later, against a right centrist line which wanted to forget about party building altogether, and "go to the masses" but without taking Marxism-Leninism to them. That is why we are determined not to allow the errors of the past to persist. We no longer want to be part of a small circle, or an "independent collective," or a "national form organization," but a truly unified, multi-national communist party with a correct political line, supported by the proletariat and thus capable of i luencing and changing the real world.

We urge all comrades, inside and outside of organizations, those still actue and those temporarily on the "retired" list, to participate in the Marxist-Leninist unity efforts and help lay the foundations of a communist party which will lead the proletariat to final victory.

## TATE AND JN' STUDY (1)

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MAY 1, 1976-THE CALL-7



New York City- Thousands of angry students in the city college system (CUNY) continue to battle police, administrators and slashed school budgets. The struggles involve mainly working class and minority students.

At Hostos College, 46 students were arrested on April 12 for defying an injunction requiring them to end their takeover which began March 25.

Hostos, in the predominantly Latino South Bronx community, is one of only two bilingual colleges in the U.S. The student body is two-thirds Latino and one-third Black. To the majority of students,

## STUDENTS PROTEST CUTBACKS

Hostos represents the only chance for higher education.

Hostos students therefore are determined to fight the proposed closing of their school-part of chancellor Robert Kibbee's plan to chop whole schools and programs from the CUNY system to save money and save New York from financial crisis. In spite of the arrests, students are making plans to continue the fight.

On the same day as the Hostos arrests, police moved to break the student takeover at Lehman College, another college in the CUNY system, arresting 19. Students at Lehman had held the classroom building since March 31 to protest plans to end open admissions and free tuition and to cut health care and daycare programs.

Other schools affected by the cutbacks are Medgar Evers Senior College in the Black ghetto of Bedford Stuyvesant, and York College located in the rapidly deteriorating Jamaica Queens area. Both are battling conversion to two-year "vocational" status. Richmond College, the only four-year college on Staten Island, is also threatened with closing.

Students and residents in these communities have built strong unity in their efforts to stop the ruling class attacks on the rights of minority and working class students to an education. Students from the cutback-ridden State University System (SUNY) have joined forces with CUNY students in a state-wide united action. Now parents and children in New York City's public schools are also joining this fightback as the city moves to shorten school days in the public schools.

### 'DETENTE' KEEPS POT BOILING

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE I)

The impact of the Reagan and Jackson challenge is even more visible in the administration's conduct. Ford announced in March that he was scratching the word "detente" from his vocabulary. The proper term now is "peace through strength." The Congressional debate on the military budget shows that the change is more than a rhetorical one.

### MILITARY BUILDUP

Reagan and Jackson made a big issue out of the recent and continuing Soviet military buildup. In the past 10 years the size of the Soviet Army was increased from 3.4 million to 4.4 million with more than three-fourths of these troops stationed in Europe.

The outcome of the heated debate was the first major hike in the U.S. war buildup since the winding down of the war in Indochina. President Ford was prompted to propose the highest defense budget in history (\$113.3 billion). In contrast to last year when 8% was chopped from the final budget by "detente"-minded Democrats, Congress cut a mere \$1.3 billion from this year's budget.

The China question has also figured prominently in the "detente" debate. Concrete moves towards normalization of U.S.-China relations have been sacrificed by Ford and Kissinger in order to preserve "detente" with the Soviet Union. Following Nixon's March visit to the People's Republic, the debate was reopened. Ford was forced to from the greedy, expansionist

make further withdrawals of troops from Taiwan and to reaffirm his commitment to the Shanghai Communique which Nixon signed in 1972.

Another point of struggle within the ruling circles is the so-called "Sonnenfeldt Doctrine" on Eastern Europe. Helmut Sonnenfeldt is counselor to the U.S. State Department and Kissinger's righthand man. In London last December, he stated that U.S. policy must "strive for an evolution that makes the relationship between the Eastern Europeans and the Soviet Union an organic one" so that Soviet-Eastern European relations "will not sooner or later explode, causing World War III."

According to the Sonnenfeldt Doctrine, which U.S. press reports say "faithfully reflects Kissinger's own views on foreign policy," Eastern Europe should remain permanently under the sphere of the Soviet Union while Western Europe should stay in the U.S. orbit.

**GLOBAL SUPERPOWER** 

Sonnenfeldt began his December remarks by saying: "We are witnessing the emergence of the Soviet Union as a superpower on a global scale." The USSR, says Sonnenfeldt, is now making "its thrust as an imperial power." This statement is quite accurate. However the reasons for its accuracy cannot be understood by Sonnenfeldt.

From the October Revolution of 1917 until recent years, the USSR was not an imperialist power. but rather a socialist country, free drives built into capitalism. With the coming to power of Khrushchov following Stalin's death, the USSR changed color. Capitalism has been fully restored there. This is why that country has emerged as a latecomer to the imperialist feast.

According to a Time magazine report (April 19) of the London meeting, Kissinger himself argued that the U.S. efforts to foster "stability" in Europe meant keeping pro-Soviet parties out of power in Western Europe while accepting Soviet domination over the East European bloc. Sonnenfeldt added: "There is no way to prevent the emergence of the Soviet Union as a superpower. What we can do is to affect the way in which that power is developed and used" by "making the base more natural and organic.

#### SHARP REACTION

The "Sonnenfeldt Doctrine" has caused sharp reaction both among Ford's election rivals and within the European countries. The San Francisco Examiner carried a special dispatch from Paris pointing out that French, West German and other European diplomats considered Sonnenfeldt's views to be "alarming to the extent that they may reflect increased Washington passivity in the face of Soviet pressure."

To many of the European countries, the U.S. is no longer a strong force that can be used to counter the threatening power of the Soviet Union. Despite feelings among most European governments favoring NATO military strength, there is also growing opposition to the idea of an "organic" relationship between themselves and the U.S.

The weakening influence of the U.S. in Europe has made many former backers of Kissinger's policies within the circles of big business increasingly dissatisfied. There is much talk around Washington that, regardless of the outcome of the elections, Kissinger is on the way out.

The current in-fighting within the ruling class has many parallels with the strife in big business circles before WWII. For a long time the U.S. ruling circles, along with those of Britain and France, followed a policy of appeasement towards the German, Italian and Japanese fascists. Making multi-million dollar deals with fascist Germany, the leading sections of U.S. capitalism strengthened the Nazi military machine and hastened the outbreak of world war.

### **MUNICH POLICY**

They followed the Munich policy of making ever-larger concessions to the aggressor power, claiming this would bring peace. Their real aim was to help the Nazis smash the European labor movement and then encourage Germany to march eastward against the then-socialist USSR. The fact is that appearement did not turn the man-eating tiger into a pussycat but only made it a bigger menace. History shows that the Munich policy only gave the aggressor a stronger position when the inevitable all-out war began.

The U.S. imperialists appeased and are appeasing imperialist aggression because they themselves are imperialist aggressors. None of the contenders for the presidency are "doves" or peacemakers. None are capable of opposing aggression. Despite their differences, which are bound to grow sharper, their common starting point is the preservation of the capitalist system and the domination of the world | by U.S. military and economic power. This class position will inevitably lead them to make war.

The present struggle is a fight within the camp of the enemy of all working people. The struggle between the two superpowers is likewise a conflict between imperialists, all bent on redividing the world among themselves. It is this contention that is driving the world to the brink of a new world war.

There is no imperialist solution to the danger of war, whether it be Kissinger's or Reagan's. Siding with one superpower against the other likewise means only hastening the war while leaving the working class defenseless and weak at a time when great prospects exist for revolutionary struggle.

### **NEITHER HAS ANSWER**

Neither of the competing groups within the ruling class of this country is capable of solving the problems that give rise to war or any of the other problems faced by the people today. The appeasement policies of Kissinger and Sonnenfeldt which now predominate are the most dangerous of the two wings. This is true because they bring on the war that much more rapidly and, secondly, because they lull the people into slumber. They cover over the real war danger exactly when we should be heightening our vigilance and revolutionary fighting capacity.

While war is inevitable under imperialism, it can be delayed through revolutionary mass struggle of the working class and the oppressed nations and countries throughout the world. In fact, the masses of workers and oppressed people are the only force capable of waging a consistent struggle against imperialism and aggression.

In the face of the deepening economic crisis and the growing war threat it is important to take note of the contradictions developing within the ranks of the ruling circles. We must use the contradictions to expose the growing war danger and the reactionary role of the two superpowers. But no friends of the people can be found

## CHINA SUPPORTS PARTY

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

loved Premier Chou En-lai, who died in January, to cause confusion and to try to split the leadership of the party. Using rumors and demagogy, they provoked a part of the crowd into a fight with another part, caused damage to some buildings and set fire to some cars.

The incident followed the routine removal by officials of wreaths from the square; the wreaths honored the late Chou Enlai. The troublemakers tried to make it appear as if the removal was an act against the former premier. The ridiculous charge tried to portry. Chou in opposition to Chairm i lao, a charge that the whole has pry of the Chinese revolution : ates.

Follows, g this arrogant display on the part of Teng and the capitalist roaders, the party leadership took decisive action. At the initiative of Chairman Mao, the whole

country mobilized against the rightists. Millions marched in demonstrations in support of the party leadership and have demanded severe punishment for the provacateurs. It is now clear that this test of strength by Teng has ended in failure. The exposure further showed Teng's reactionary nature to millions of people. The struggle was a great victory for the party and Chairman Mao's line.

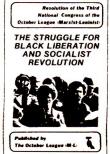
In a statement issued by the party following the incident, the leadership called on the people of China to "Firmly keep to the general orientation of the struggle.'

The statement said: "It is imperative to exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over the handful of class enemies who fabricate political rumors in an attempt to confuse and poison people's minds and attack and split the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, track them down sternly and deal resolute blows at them." The statement pointed out that the struggle was being carried out under the unified leadership of the party and that inter-unit ties should not be established, nor should fighting groups be formed.

The statement added: "We should have faith in the masses and rely on them. We should educate the few people who are misled and duped by rumors and do ideological work well among them."

Messages sent from units of the People's Liberation Army from different areas of China give their complete backing to the decisions of the Central Committee. The messages summed up the Tien An Men incident saying; "All this fully shows that class struggle during the historical period of socialism is protracted, complex and acute, and that the current struggle initiated and led by Chairman Mao against the right-deviationist attempt is entirely correct and necessary." The messages pledge to carry the struggle through to the end.

### **New Literature from** The October League (M-L)



The Call, Box 5597 Chicago, Ill. 60680

THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK LIBERA-TION AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTION is the resolution of the October League's Third Congress on the Afro-American question. It traces the historical develop-ment of the Afro-American people as an oppressed nation in the Black Belt, and puts forward the revolutionary call of selfdetermination for Afro-Americans.

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