

Demand Independence at Economic Summit

Thousands of demonstrators marched outside the plush Dorado Beach Hotel near San Juan, P.R., on June 27 demanding Puerto Rican independence. Inside the hotel, President Ford was telling the leaders of the capitalist world that they are doing "too much" to

raise living standards of the people. Speaking at the opening of the seven-nation economic summit conference, Ford told the representatives of West Germany, Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Canada that the main reason for the massive inflation sweeping the ca-

pitalist world is "overcommitment" to helping the poor. Ford pledged to be "doubly certain" that U.S. economic policies will "avoid undue risks of setting off another round of inflation." Since Ford believes "welfare spending" is the cause of ca-

pitalist inflation, this means that severe cutbacks in the living standards of the working people are central to the government's future economic plans. The summit conference was held in the midst of a new wave of economic disasters for the capital-

ist world. This deepening of the general crisis has harshly affected all of the lesser imperialist countries, which have been forced to bear the brunt of many of U.S. imperialism's problems. Ford's

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PEOPLE OF
THE WORLD
UNITE TO
DEFEAT
IMPERIALISM

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After 200 Years of Capitalist Slavery

NEW REVOLUTION ON THE RISE

While the Fourth of July fireworks are exploding and the Bicentennial parades are marching, a second great revolution is being born in this country. The first one, in 1776, heralded the victory of capitalism over the British feudal monarchy. But the second revolution is not being fought to replace one group of oppressors with another. Its aim is the final emancipation of all of humanity.

As the first U.S. revolution established the rule of capitalism over the country, the second will bring about the rule of the working class—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The world has always developed through the course of revolutions, pushing society from a lower to a higher stage—from early primitive communal society of the cave dwellers, through slavery, feudalism, capitalism and up to socialism.

The 1776 revolution, led by the bourgeoisie, was a great event of

earth-shaking consequences. But its celebration today by the U.S. ruling class represents a worship of everything reactionary and rotten in the world. It is being used as a propaganda tool among the people to spread support for war and fascism at the expense of the people's own enslavement.

What made the 1776 revolution great at that time was the fact that the early revolutionaries, who were mainly small farmers and working people (Black and white) were fighting a war of liberation, a war against colonialism, although it was under the leadership of the merchant bourgeoisie. It was a struggle which expounded the principles of equality of nations by demanding an end to British domination.

A small nation was fighting a big one in a violent and bloody battle for freedom and independence. This fact is easily forgotten now that U.S. imperialism stands

as one of the two giant superpowers in the world, plundering and dominating its own colonial spheres of influence from Puerto Rico to southern Africa.

The victory of the revolutionary war in 1783 and the Civil War in 1865 paved the way for the rapid development of capitalism. The principal contradiction in the country developed as one between the working class and the bourgeoisie. With the betrayal of Reconstruction, the capitalist class played out whatever revolutionary potential it historically had. By the 1880s, capitalism had attained

its highest stage—imperialism—and become thoroughly reactionary. The revolutionary struggle could no longer be for bourgeois democracy, but became a fight for the dictatorship of the working class.

The working class, with its great revolutionary capacity, came onto the stage of history as the only class capable of ending all oppression, in the course of ending its own. In establishing socialism, the working class revolution also fulfills the empty promises of the bourgeois revolution such as "all men are created equal" and "liberty and justice for all" and makes

them a reality for the vast toiling masses, while exercising firm dictatorship over the old exploiters.

For all their grand talk, the leaders of 1776 like Washington and Jefferson stopped their struggle with the victory over the British oppressors. The democracy they set up in the constitution was a democracy for the rich only. The framers of the Constitution were men of property and great wealth, many of them slave owners. Their revolutionary zeal turned to reactionary zeal when proposals to end

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SUPERPOWER CONTENTION BEHIND ITALY ELECTIONS

The Italian elections, closely watched both in Washington and Moscow, concluded last week with no clearcut victory for either the ruling Christian Democrats (DC) or the revisionist Italian Communist Party (PCI).

Although the PCI scored some gains, its votes were not sufficient to assure it a role in the government. Pre-election predictions both in Italy and the U.S. had forecast that the PCI would end up with at least some cabinet posts.

The election results are of significance not only to Italy's 60 million people but to the whole picture of superpower contention in Europe. The U.S. and the

USSR, as part of their preparations for war, are not only stepping up their arms race but are also jockeying for position in the political life of every European country.

The PCI, despite differences and contradictions with Moscow, remains committed to a political program which opens the door to Soviet penetration of Italy. The PCI opposes increases in Italy's defense budget, spreads the Soviet line of "detente" and urges salvation for Italy's deepening economic crisis through trade with the USSR.

The DC, for its part, is closely tied to U.S. and West European

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 8)

Solidarity with South Africa Struggle!

SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID was the theme of demonstrations and rallies in cities across the country last week. The October League initiated actions or joined with other groups demonstrating in Boston (right), Atlanta, Washington, D.C., Houston, San Francisco, Denver and Chicago.

At the Boston rally, an OL speaker stressed that the Black population of South Africa is showing its determination to do away with the racist system of apartheid, even in the face of the Vorster regime's brutal terror. He said that the student-led rebellions that began near Johannesburg June 16 sounded the death-knell for colonialism and apartheid in Africa. A South African freedom fighter living in the U.S. told the crowd that as many as 1,000 Blacks were killed in the last two weeks.

In Atlanta, the Coalition Against Repression in South Africa demonstrated at the Federal Reserve Bank, denouncing Kissinger's meeting with Vorster, and condemning the aggressive role of both the U.S. and USSR in southern Africa.

(CALL photo)



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Philadelphia Crisis ... P. 3

SECCION EN ESPAÑOL

Special Supplement:

MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE !



EDITORIALS

PUBLICATION OF 'MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE!'

The publication of the document "Marxist-Leninists Unite" marks the beginning of the pre-Party Congress period that will culminate with the formation of the new Marxist-Leninist party. This document, which is being issued by the newly-formed Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party, is an important weapon in the struggle to unite Marxist-Leninists.

The Unity Statement is a product of months-long discussion and struggle among a number of communist organizations and collectives. It reflects the fundamental understanding that Marxist-Leninist unity must be built on the firm foundation of a Marxist-Leninist political line. By applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of the present situation in the U.S. and by carrying out principled struggle over differences, the groups participating in the party-building efforts have raised their political unity to an even higher level.

Over the next several months, this process will be continued—concentrating on the drafting of a party program that will constitute the basic line of the new party. This method of forging the party is one which flies in the face of the sectarianism and pessimism of the "critics" and "skeptics" of Marxist-Leninist unity, as well as the revisionists, who have destroyed the party and abandoned Marxism-Leninism.

The Unity Statement provides the basis for widespread discussion among all Marxist-Leninists throughout the country to facilitate communist unity. Its primary purpose is to present, on the basis of the current objective and subjective conditions in the U.S., the principles of unity necessary for Marxist-Leninists to unite in the party-building process.

In the next period, the Organizing Committee will publish the first draft of the party program.

At that time, a second Unity Conference will be called for the purpose of summing up the unity efforts up until that time, organizing the struggle over the party program, and bringing new groups of Marxist-Leninists into the effort. The plans for the Party Congress will also be further developed.

The October League welcomes the publication of "Marxist-Leninists Unite." We call on all Marxist-Leninists to read and study this document and to actively take part in the party-building efforts, with the goal of building a new vanguard Marxist-Leninist party in the U.S.



STUDENT REBELLION in Johannesburg was joined by both Black and white students denouncing apartheid.

PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA ARE INVINCIBLE

The massive uprising sparked by Black South African students and met by the violent repression of the racist Vorster regime, marks a new development in the long struggle against apartheid.

This new upsurge signals the closing days of old colonialism and white supremacy in southern Af-

rica. The system of white minority rule which has long had the backing of world imperialism is on its last legs.

The racist regime has once again shown its fascist character and its determination to preserve its crumbling rule at any cost. Like a wounded beast it has lashed out at the people, killing more than 140 and wounding over a thousand in the uprisings.

All this violent repression has taken place while Prime Minister Vorster speaks loudly about "improving" racial relations. The mass murders by the racist troops show the reactionary dual tactics of the regime. It uses lying propaganda to weaken the organized resistance of the people while at the same time carrying out violent attacks such as the "Sharpeville massacre" in 1960, when over 70 demonstrators were killed. But the more brutal the repression, the stronger grows the resistance.

Scurrying in the background of this rapidly changing and turbulent situation are the two superpowers. Henry Kissinger's visit to Bavaria to meet with Vorster last week was nothing but an attempt to stabilize the situation and to preserve the status quo. His deceitful talk about engineering a "moderate" or "peaceful" change in southern Africa is aimed primarily at saving this collapsing paradise for U.S. corporations.

The other superpower, the USSR, is trying desperately to move in to replace the old colonialists as masters of Africa. Posing as the "natural ally" of the African people, the Soviet social-imperialists are urging the liberation movements to rely on them rather than on the revolutionary power of the African people themselves.

The massive uprising was a stern reply to both superpowers as well as to the racist Vorster regime. It shows that the people of southern Africa are increasingly awakening to the revolutionary tasks which face them and to the fact that the liberation of the Black people of South Africa can be achieved only by overthrowing the racist system.

The crocodile tears being shed by the liberals and revisionists over the number killed are really tears of grief because the people of Africa are taking their destiny into their own hands.

The liberal-revisionist portrayal of the situation as being "bleak" and the African people as being "helpless" is full of lies. The struggle in South Africa is reaching new heights. While the casualties are many, victory is drawing nearer and nearer.

The struggle of the people of southern Africa is invincible.

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Dear Call,

Last December when Mike Klonsky, Chairman of the October League, spoke here, he urged the Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee (PWOC), a local centrist organization, to join in efforts to build the National Fight Back Organization (NFBO). A PWOC spokesman first claimed that there was no program and then later turned around and said that the OL dominated NFBO's program.

The PWOC, of course, never went any further to check out the NFBO, even after its successful convention, and the establishment of the Philadelphia Fightback Committee in February, 1976. Now, in the May newsletter of the Unemployment Committee of Philadelphia (UCP), an unemployment organization initiated and led by the PWOC, we find that the UCP (and PWOC) have found at least one "unemployment" organization that they want to work with: the Communist Party (CP) led "Committee for Full Employment."

The CP-committee's reformist and class collaborationist program places priority on lobbying to get "progressive" legislation, like the Humphrey-Hawkins fraud, passed. Nowhere does it target the whole rotten imperialist system as the cause of unemployment; on the contrary, it criticizes only the Republicans. Nowhere does it raise demands against the special oppression of minorities and women.

The PWOC had a choice before it: join with the NFBO, a mass organization which fights all oppression and exploitation and the system that causes it or work with the CP to lead the masses away from revolutionary struggle. Its choice to work with the CP shows that although the PWOC

Letters



claims to be an anti-revisionist organization, its "anti-revisionism" is just a slicker, more deceptive version of the bankrupt CP line. It is organizations like the PWOC which give life to the CP's attempts to lead the people under the wing of the "liberal bourgeoisie."

The Philadelphia Party-Building Collective

Dear Call,

I'm writing this letter to criticize a recent article you had (Great Job Fraud—May 31) on the Humphrey-Hawkins jobs bill. I think this article put forward an incorrect and unscientific view of the question of unemployment.

For one thing, you say that the "present economic system is based on unemployment." But in fact, capitalism is based on the private ownership of the means of production in contrast to social production. Unemployment is inherent in the system, not its basis.

You also say, "no unemployment, no profit." But profits come from the appropriation of surplus value produced by the workers. Unemployment adds to profits by driving down wages of employed workers—but it's not the source of the profits.

I hope you'll criticize this article and put out a more scientific analysis of unemployment to the workers. We need more propaganda on this subject.

K.D. Chicago

The Call replies: We have received a number of criticisms of the Hawkins Bill article, including yours. We agree that our article presented a superficial view of unemployment, and refer our readers to the article on page 6 of this issue. Thank you for your vigilance.

Compañeros,

The article on the BFI strike in your June 21 issue quotes one of the strike leaders as saying of the Chicano people, "We are a sleeping giant. We have slept for centuries and centuries... The giant is waking up now."

Many of our people have expressed this idea, and it does represent the rising spirit of resistance among Chicano and Mexicano people in the U.S. But it also shows a lack of knowledge of history. The "giant" has been awake before—for example, during the great strikes of the 1900-1935 period when thousands of agricultural workers and miners rose up against exploitation and racism. In fact, the "giant" has never really been asleep completely. It is important for working-class Chicanos to know that they have a long, proud tradition of struggle and to learn from mistakes made during past struggles.

B.M. Albuquerque, N.M.

Ruling Class Divided

CRISIS SHAKES BICENTENNIAL CITY

Philadelphia, Pa.—Mayor Rizzo is the hatchet-man in this Bicentennial city, but the bankers and corporations call the tune. As the crisis grows deeper, a section of these businessmen have turned against Rizzo and have launched a campaign to dump him.

In recent months, more than 146,000 signatures have been gathered for Rizzo's recall. The move to recall the infamous former "law-and-order" police chief comes in the midst of massive cutbacks, taxes, wholesale layoffs of city workers and wave after wave of police repression against this city's minority communities.

Like New York, Philadelphia's response to the deepening economic crisis has been to place the burden on the backs of the poor and working people. After Rizzo's election last fall on the basis of an anti-tax increase campaign, the facts were made known that Philadelphia was \$100 million in debt to the big banks who demanded to be paid off. Without skipping one payment to the bankers, Rizzo and the city began a widespread campaign of cutbacks in social services, destroying all chances of health care for the poor and alienating even influential sections of the ruling class itself. The Philadelphia Inquirer, one of the two giant capitalist papers here, has been the main backer behind the recall campaign.

Among other things, property taxes have been increased by 30%. Wages of city workers were frozen following the layoff of at least 1,000. General Hospital (PGH) was

ordered shut down. This is the only hospital required to take patients regardless of their ability to pay. The closing will result in 2,200 lost jobs.

The threatened PGH closing caused the biggest protest from the people of this city. Mass demonstrations have been held by unions such as AFSCME as well as various mass organizations, including the Philadelphia Fightback Committee, demanding that PGH stay open.

RACIST FIREBOMBING

Other factors intensifying the contradictions in this city include the racist firebombing of the home of a Puerto Rican family last October which resulted in the death of five people. Rizzo's cops suddenly dropped their law-and-order pose when it came to stopping this racist terror. The gang which had long been harassing the murdered Santiago family was organized by the area's Democratic Party committeeman.

In another recent struggle, this city's Black vendors have been resisting efforts by the giant department stores and big businessmen to push them off the city streets. This attempt to increase corporation profits at the expense of small street sellers led to the formation of the Black Vendors Association



FIGHTBACK builds in Philadelphia. (Call Photo)

which has received widespread backing from the people in minority and working class areas.

The campaign to recall Rizzo has much support among the people here, but it is being used by Rizzo's capitalist opponents for their own motives. Taking advantage of the mass discontent over the economic crisis, big businessmen like those behind the Inquirer are using the campaign to keep

that discontent chained to the capitalist system and within the bounds of electoral struggle.

Last summer John Bunting, the president of the First Pennsylvania Bank, backed Charles Bowser, a Black Democratic Party politician, in a third-party challenge to Rizzo. While making a few criticisms of Rizzo's overt racism, Bowser and his backers could offer no real alternative and no prospects for any

change in the city's financial situation.

Now the Philadelphia Party has been formed by the same liberal businessmen to carry out the recall campaign and oppose Rizzo's bumbling self-exposures which have led to widespread cynicism about the government in the minds of the people. Joining the campaign recently was Peter Camiel, the long-time head of the Democratic Party who turned against Rizzo after he was ousted from his position by the mayor.

Also using the dump Rizzo campaign is the revisionist Communist Party who is running its own election campaign in Philadelphia. Echoing the Democratic liberals, the CP's demand is to "make the politicians accountable to the people."

DECAY OF SYSTEM

The situation in Philadelphia, as in all of the country's urban centers, shows the decay of the capitalist system itself. With or without Rizzo, the problems of cutbacks, unemployment, racism and police terror will continue. The recall campaign is one more diversion from the task of building a revolutionary struggle of working and oppressed people in this city of three million people.

The unrest and protest against Rizzo shows the potential for such a movement under revolutionary leadership rather than the dead-end campaign of the liberals and phony misleaders.

D.C. FIGHTBACK HITS IMMIGRATION RAIDS

Washington, D.C. — Demonstrators responded to the biggest immigration raid in this city so far this year by marching on the offices of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) on June 21.

The demonstrators—Latino, African and Asian and U.S.-born workers and students—were protesting a raid involving 58 Good Humor truck drivers. The drivers were rounded up, handcuffed and hauled off to INS offices as they returned from work. The incident followed numerous previous raids on restaurants in the D.C. area.

The demonstration was organized by the D.C. Unite to Fight Back. The action is part of the fightback group's campaign to oppose the deportations in D.C., which are part of Immigration's plans to deport one million workers this year. A speaker at the rally pointed out that, in addition to blaming the immigrant workers

for "taking our jobs," the U.S. ruling class is also preparing the workers to fight another imperialist war by whipping up national chauvinism against foreigners. Another speaker called for resisting these attempts to divide the working class by building the "unity of all people against the common enemy—imperialism."

The nationwide roundups are being directed especially against Mexican workers who make up 90% of those who are forced to enter the U.S. "illegally" to look for work. Last week in Chicago, for example, 47 Mexicans were apprehended by the "migra" on their way to work as janitors and maids for the Hyatt Regency and Holiday Inn.

This situation recently prompted the Mexican government to take a stand opposing Immigration attacks on Mexican citizens. Early in June, the Mexican government refused to allow the INS to carry

out a plan to fly deported aliens deep inside Mexican territory. The Mexican government vetoed the plan by refusing landing rights to the U.S. planes.

Commenting on the decision, Mexican ambassador Antonio Gonzalez de Leon said that the problem of illegal immigration "is a complicated one" and that "the repatriation by airplane does nothing to solve the fundamental causes."



MEXICAN LABORERS wait for a train.

Nursing Home Fraud Exposes Rich Man's Justice

There is one justice for the rich and another for the poor. A striking illustration of this fact is the four-month prison sentence handed down June 18 to Bernard Bergman, the owner of a chain of nursing homes in New York.

Bergman was convicted on a felony count of robbing two and a half million dollars out of the mouths of thousands of elderly patients in his institutions. A year of investigations into the scandalous conditions in the nursing home industry had brought out that Bergman treated his patients like cattle to be milked. How many went to an untimely death because of this, no one has established. Bergman was also convicted on another felony count of filing fake income tax returns.

The sentencing judge stated that Bergman will serve his four months either in a "correction facility" located on Manhattan's Park Row or in another one in the Bryant Hotel, "whichever the defense prefers."

In explaining his sentence, Judge Marvin E. Frankel cited the defendant's "illustrious public life and works," and his contributions to charity. That these contributions were of stolen money went unmentioned.

The sentence caused a shock to public opinion. Scores of irate people telephoned newspapers, radio talk shows, politicians, lawyers and judges. Many people on the street likened the Bergman case to the light sentences given to many prominent Watergate crooks and to Spiro Agnew, who got no jail at all.

Amidst the public feeling of outrage, the New York Times wrote an editorial on the case. The chief organ of the liberal bourgeoisie defended the sentence as justified by the merits of the case.

It said that, to defendants of Bergman's social class, "prison is much more jarring than to criminals who live at society's economic and social margins." In other words, four months in the Bryant Hotel, for a man accustomed to

the Ritz, has the same punishment value as fifty years in a hell-hole jail for a poor man, who lives in hell-hole conditions all his life anyway. This is the bourgeois-liberal idea of justice.

The Times' chief worry was that public opinion might not agree, and that faith in the governmental system might be undermined. "At a time when the Legislature is moving toward mandatory sentences of three years for juveniles convicted of serious offenses," it said, the Bergman sentence "can only reinforce cynicism about the realities of equal justice under law."

The liberal bourgeoisie fears, in short, that more and more people will come to see that the system of "justice" and "democracy" in this country is a sham, behind which the capitalists nakedly exercise dictatorial rule in the interests of their class. The comparison of the Bergman case with the case of Gary Tyler goes a long way toward exposing this reality.

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Founding of Chinese Party Changed Course of History

Fifty-five years ago this week, 12 delegates gathered in a schoolroom within Shanghai's French-controlled section to found the Communist Party of China.

From that moment forward, the whole course of Chinese history was changed. After centuries of struggle against slavery, feudalism and colonialism, the tide of victory finally was turned in favor of the Chinese people. With a communist vanguard to lead them, they became invincible. In 1949, China was liberated.

Since liberation, the party has continued to lead the Chinese people's path-breaking construction of socialism and consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship.

Growing strong through ten major two-line struggles since 1921, as well as the recent victory over Teng Hsiao-ping, the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung has heroically upheld Marxism and opposed revisionism. Its history inspires revolutionaries all over the world and is a source of great lessons for the working class movement in the U.S. today.

At the time the party was founded in China, the Marxist-Leninist movement was scattered and numerically small. Great revolutionary upheavals such as the May Fourth Movement of 1919 had just taken place. But despite this great revolutionary

ferment, all these movements had been defeated.

When the 12 delegates convened the party congress on July 1, 1921, they represented only 70 Marxists scattered into six provincial circles and two circles among students in France and Japan. But once the party was founded and a correct general political line determined, the party grew swiftly. By 1926 it had 56,000 members and had brought 2.8 million workers and 9.1 million peasants into organizations under its leadership. The Chinese people began to win victories in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism.

AGENT BROKE IN

The congress met in the Shanghai schoolroom for four days until a plainclothes agent of the French imperialist police broke into the meeting claiming to be looking for someone named "Wan." Sensing danger, the delegates quickly left the premises. Moments later a whole squad of police arrived to arrest the communists but they had already dispersed.

To avoid the watchful eye of the French police, the delegates held the fifth day of the meetings on an excursion boat on a lake 80 miles from Shanghai. The incident of the French police served as a warning of the need to build up a strong secret organization for the party, rooted deeply among the masses.

MAO TSETUNG A DELEGATE

One of the 12 delegates to the congress was Mao Tsetung, who represented the circle of Marxists in Hunan province. He argued forcefully for the need to build up the party with deep ties to the workers and peasants. But not all the delegates supported this line.

A number of delegates were under the sway of Chen Tu-hsiu, a famous scholar who became minister of education in Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang government. Although Chen himself was not at the congress, his supporters argued for a line of "legal" Marxism. This right opportunist line held that the new party should only propagate Marxism in academic circles. It opposed any type of discipline or centralism for the party and had disdain for the struggles of the workers and peasants. In fact over the next few years, Chen increasingly advocated that the bourgeoisie should lead the Chinese revolution, while the workers should concentrate exclusively on economic struggles.

Mao Tsetung and other delegates rejected Chen Tu-hsiu's rightist line. A congress resolution on the workers' movement called on the party to send two members to every factory of more than 200 workers. It

proposed that party members set up workers clubs, journals and magazines and that communists take the lead in organizing trade unions, which hardly existed at that time. The adoption of this resolution was a blow to those who wanted to build the party as a loose grouping of intellectual circles.

The other major struggle of the first congress was against the ultra-"left" line of Chang Kuo-tao. Mao Tsetung characterized Chang's line as one of "closed-doorism." It closed the door on the peasantry, advocating only the need for communist leadership in the workers' movement. It closed the door on the united front with revolutionary nationalists such as Sun Yat-sen, declaring all parties and classes outside the working class to be enemies. Ignoring the concrete conditions of semi-feudal,

Anyan miners' strike organized by Mao Tsetung in 1922. Mao Tsetung also demonstrated the revolutionary potential of the peasantry by organizing rebellions and uprisings on a large scale.

Initiating the first major two-line struggle in the party's history around 1926, Mao Tsetung exposed Chen's abandonment of communist independence and initiative in the united front with the Kuomintang.

Chen's right-capitulationist line, however, only became fully exposed in 1927 when Chiang Kai-shek seized leadership of the Kuomintang and began a bloody reign of terror against the communists and workers. Bitter as this lesson was, it helped steel the party in the struggle against rightism and capitulationism in the period ahead.

Learning from the experiences of Chinese Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries around the world, we too must wage a battle for the correct political line in building the party against rightist and ultra-"leftist" deviations. Our party can only be built on the basis of sharp struggle against the line of today's rightists who want to turn leadership of the struggle over to the liberal la-



MAO TSETUNG leading early study circle of Chinese communists.

semi-colonial China, the ultra-"leftists" called for a one-stage revolution and opposed adopting a minimum program.

These errors of "closed-doorism" were corrected by the second and third party congresses in 1922 and 1923 which adopted Mao Tsetung's revolutionary conclusions on the peasantry, the new democratic revolution and the united front.

The ideological struggle against both right and ultra-"left" deviations at the first congress won major victories although aspects of both erroneous lines continued to exist in the party. Chen Tu-hsiu was elected party chairman largely owing to his fame and popularity.

Despite Chen's rightist line, the party's line as a whole remained basically correct and many important advances were made in the early 1920s. Between 1921 and 1923, the party led 300,000 workers in more than 100 strikes for trade union rights. One of the most significant was the

bor bureaucrats and revisionists. Our rightists, like Chen Tu-hsiu, want to rely on one or the other superpower to solve the world's problems, leaving the working class to narrow economic issues.

On the "left" we must also defeat the sectarian line of those who would restrict communist activity to narrow study circle work among a few intellectuals rather than building the party in the storm of class struggle. The Chinese party expanded from 70 members to 56,000 members in five years precisely because it was forged in the heat of the class struggle.

LESSON FOR US TODAY

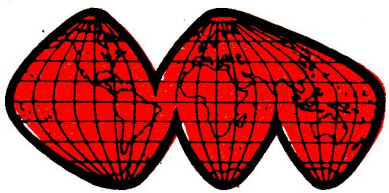
Our ultra-"leftists" like those around the "Revolutionary Wing" also seek to separate the working class from its allies, and oppose all democratic struggles of the people.

The unity of the Marxist-Leninists was another decisive question for Mao Tsetung and the delegates to the first congress and is also a lesson for us today. One of the party's first decisions was to contact a number of revolutionary groups that existed throughout China and inform them of the party's founding. Chairman Mao especially fought hard for principled unity, never ceasing the struggle against opportunist lines but always trying to unite the party's ranks.

As a result of the way the 10 two-line struggles have been carried out, a handful of renegades and opportunists have been expelled while the great majority of party members have been united, deepening their understanding of Marxism.

We should learn from this great revolutionary example and pursue our battle for the correct political line of the party with the same boldness in criticizing opportunism and the same patient efforts to unite the majority of the Marxist-Leninists.

The anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party is a great inspiration to us as well as to all communists around the world.



...in brief...

DENOUNCE KISSINGER-VORSTER: A demonstration led by the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) was viciously attacked by police outside the hotel where Kissinger and Voster were meeting. Demonstrators demanding "Kissinger and Voster get out of Germany," and supporting the struggle of the Azanian people were beaten by police.

Meanwhile a neo-Nazi demonstration denouncing Kissinger for not giving enough aid to Vorster was untouched and encouraged by police.

STRIKES IN POLAND: Polish workers rebelled with strikes and demonstrations June 25 denouncing government plans to raise food prices. In the face of massive protests the Polish government retracted price increases the next day.

Several times in the last few years the capitalists who now run Poland have tried to raise prices, but workers have consistently resisted. In the latest uprising, railway workers reportedly blew up tracks and sit-ins were staged at government offices in several places.

SUPERPOWERS EYE LEBANON: More Soviet gunboats entered the Mediterranean near the Lebanese coast last week in addition to 17 warships dispatched earlier. The latest ships to enter the eastern Mediterranean were observed carrying a considerable number of marines, tanks and armored personnel carriers, Turkish newsmen reported. Soviet landing craft vessels were also observed.

The U.S. Navy is also keeping close watch on Lebanon. In the last month, a sizeable number of U.S. marines have been stationed on British bases in Cyprus, less than 100 miles from Lebanon. The activity of the U.S. Sixth Fleet has also been increasingly adjusted in the direction of Lebanon.

Both superpowers are preparing to supplement their political intrigues in the Mideast with military aggression as their rivalry heightens.

BOLIVIA MINERS: Bolivian miners concluded their two-week strike which had paralyzed the country's mining industry, settling for wage increases of up to 30%. Students who had struck in sympathy continued their boycott of classes to protest the dictatorship of the Banzer regime.

OL MESSAGE TO CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

(excerpts)

Today there is particular cause to celebrate the birth date of this great party. That is the recent victories over Teng Hsiao-ping and the right-deviationist wind and the Central Committee's appointment of Comrade Hua Kuo-feng to the posts of First Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee and as Premier of the State Council.

This struggle, led by Mao Tsetung and the Party, has deep meaning for us in the U.S. It has affirmed again that class struggle is the key to victory. It has shown people around the world, including the U.S., that with a communist party armed with Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought at its head, the people's revolutionary struggle can win, defeating all sorts of plots to restore capitalism. Today, the peoples of the world are preparing for new battles with imperialism, especially as the two superpowers ready themselves for world war. The Chinese Communist Party has led the Chinese people in defending their independence and building up socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat, while promoting proletarian internationalism and solidarity among the peoples and countries of the world. This is a great example to people everywhere in the fight for national liberation and socialism.

Michael Klonsky,
Chairman of the Central Committee
October League (Marxist-Leninist)

ULAB - RACIST SCAB ORGANIZATION

Louisville, Ky.—The reactionary trade union bureaucracy has unleashed a new weapon aimed at splitting the working class and promoting racism within its ranks. Union Labor Against Busing (ULAB) has become their tool to fight any attempts at building working class unity.

ULAB has emerged on the national scene leading marches on Washington calling for racial segregation and presenting itself as "the voice of the working man." Under confederate flags, ULAB demonstrations have included beatings of Black workers and hurling of racist insults.

Far from being the spokesmen for working people, ULAB is a scab organization based in the bureaucratic hierarchy of the big union locals of Louisville's UAW and IUE, in the skilled trades of sheet metal workers, pipefitters, boiler-makers, machinists and the IBEW. Building support in their unions among the labor aristocrats, ULAB works hand-in-glove with the bosses to pull the rug out from under the unified struggle of the workers during this present economic crisis.

mic crisis.

Black members of the IUE have been ordered silent at union meetings when they voiced opposition to ULAB. When a Black woman member of the IUE sued the union over the use of union dues to sponsor the racist organization, the union bureaucrats tried to bar her from the union for 50 years.

With unemployment doubling in Louisville during the past year and major contract battles coming up in late summer, ULAB has joined with the Okalona Businessmen's Assoc., the KKK and the Birch Society in coalition efforts to split the labor movement. Their coalition has not only opposed busing for integration, but the observance of Martin Luther King's birthday and the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) for women as well.

One of the clearest examples of how ULAB's racist scabs have tried to split the ranks of the working class occurred last November at Louisville's Philip Morris plant. When the company tried to fire a shop steward, over 300 workers walked off the job and set up a

strong, unified picket line. This was the first time in years that a rank-and-file protest had succeeded in drawing such broad support among both white and Black workers.

On the third day of the strike, however, ULAB sent one of its skilled mechanics onto the picket line with a "Stop Forced Busing" sign. "To me," said one Black worker, "right there, that took most of the Black support away from the thing. The anti-busing movement has really hurt the union at the plant." Following this incident, most Black workers went back into the plant.

In a more recent incident at Philip Morris, six labor aristocrat goons, some wearing ULAB buttons, attacked two Call sellers in front of the plant. But their attack backfired. Not only did other workers, white and Black, crowd around to pull off and denounce these racists, but they also demanded to read the newspaper that the ULAB-KKK agents were so anxious to suppress.

Workers, both Black and white,



The KKK is the closest ally of the ULAB scabs.

are beginning to see through the trickery of agents of the companies who crawl around at the top of the union structure.

Many unions have been forced to withdraw official endorsement from ULAB because of rank-and-file opposition. ULAB's April march on Washington only turned out 2,000 of their predicted 40,000. School attendance in Louisville has been up over 95%

since the first weeks of school and the segregationist private schools have been weakened from lack of support.

ULAB's stand in favor of racial segregation is being exposed for what it is—a trick aimed at breaking the unity of the workers' struggle. This racist treachery shows ULAB to be the agent of the capitalists rather than the spokesman for the workers that it claims to be.

CAPITOL WORKERS RESIST HAZARDOUS CONDITIONS

Melrose Park, Ill.—A near-explosion of a dangerous chemical threatened the lives of Capitol Packaging workers on June 22 and injured many in a panicked evacuation.

The company, which was the scene of a major strike last year, has recently been running a highly explosive product on worn machinery. The facts about this particular product, a highly unstable gum solvent, got around to the workers despite company efforts to present this killer-product as "harmless." If temperatures rise even a little over the -25° temperature at which the solvent is supposed to be kept, it will explode.

The night of June 22, a line next to the explosive solvent began to jam up. Workers, knowing the danger, fled the plant. As they desperately tried to get out of the only exit, a number were injured. One 17-year-old worker crashed through a plate-glass door, slicing his arm. He was treated with 47 stitches, but still may never be able to use one of his fingers again.

The company tried to blame the injuries on the workers' panic. But the worker most seriously injured insisted: "There's no way it was any worker's fault. It was clearly the company's." It is Capitol Packaging that has provided only one exit door and that runs such deadly products, jeopardizing the workers' lives.

The only supervisor on night shift was out of the plant drinking at the time of the incident, but returned to the plant in time to order workers back inside. Several workers, however, stood their ground and refused to go back into the plant. One worker told *The Call* afterwards, "We weren't going back in there. The company has no regard for workers at all. They didn't want to lose a night's production, but we were not about to lose our lives."

Workers called and woke up the chief union steward, who arrived

at the plant in ten minutes and, backed up by many angry workers, shut down production.

Capitol's callousness towards the workers stands in contrast to their concern for property. The Capitol bosses have taken many "security" measures like locks on lockers, searching bags and purses, assigning parking spaces, and harassing *Call* sellers at the entrances. But when it comes to the real security of the workers, like emergency exits or fire drills, the company turns the other way.

The plant is now in an uproar. Workers are demanding safety exits throughout the plant, and an end to running highly explosive material and other health-hazardous products.

An October League leaflet, exposing the company's attacks on the workers' safety, was eagerly distributed inside. The husband of

one Capitol worker asked for leaflets for his own plant—"We've got the same problems there."

This kind of united rank-and-file struggle is not new at Capitol. The six-month long strike, which ended last January and had active communist participation and support, strengthened organization among the workers, increased multinational unity and showed that the struggle at Capitol is part of the larger working class battle to put an end to the capitalist system.

Capitol workers have been fighting since the end of the strike to organize against the deteriorating health and safety conditions, the speed-ups, and the introduction of extremely dangerous products.

"We have to organize ourselves to beat these kinds of attacks," a Capitol worker explained. "We did it during the strike, and we have to learn to do it every day."

Union Hacks Oppose Spanish Contract

By Stewart-Warner worker correspondents—

Chicago, Ill.—After more than two years of struggle, Stewart-Warner workers won the right to a contract in Spanish. This was last December. But now, six months later, we don't have it.

Maurice Perlin, president of our union (IBEW local 1031) said that the local doesn't have enough money to translate it. The union, a giant amalgamated local, takes at least \$1.25 a week in dues from thousands of members, but there "isn't enough money." Perlin gets a salary of \$80,000 a year (from the union and a city judgeship) but he asked the Latino stewards at Stewart-Warner to translate the contract free!

The refusal of Perlin and the other union hacks to pay for getting our contract translated is part of their tradition of racism. A clear example of their chauvinism

came out when S-W was raided by agents from the Immigration Service in January 1975. The agents, helped by S-W bosses, Chicago cops and FBI agents, terrorized and arrested Latino workers. The company wanted to get rid of workers without papers and not pay them any benefits or the two weeks' pay they had coming. The raid was horrible—like Nazi Germany. But the union leaders ignored it until angry S-W workers forced them to find out what had happened to the arrested workers and to get them their checks.

Like all labor aristocrats, Perlin and the other IBEW leaders are bribed by the imperialists. The money for the bribes comes from superexploitation of third world countries. So Perlin and the rest have to help their ruling class bosses maintain discrimination and attacks on national minorities. It pays their way.

ON THE LINE



Court Attacks Gov't Workers

The U.S. Supreme Court struck a blow last week against government workers' efforts to organize and bargain collectively. The decision exempts state and local governments from federal pay and hours standards, and strengthens their powers to dictate terms to the workers.

The court's ruling comes in a period of militant upsurge by state and municipal workers, such as the recent San Francisco city strike and the Massachusetts government workers' walkout which ended after 3 days, when outrageous fines were threatened. It also hits at the New York city workers whose contracts are now being negotiated.

Government workers in many cities have become scapegoats in the fiscal crisis. The big financial groups who own the government's bonds have put on enormous pressure to force wage cuts and layoffs, and to crush unions. The court decision strengthens the bankers' hands.

An effect of the decision is to doom the chances of a bill now before Congress which, if passed, would have legalized state and city workers' unionization and strikes. The court virtually declared such a bill unconstitutional. This bill had been touted by AFSCME bureaucrats and others as the answer to the government workers' problems.

Farmworker Unions Merge

The announced merger of the United Farm Workers Union (UFW) and the Asociacion de Trabajadores Agricolas (ATA, Association of Agricultural Workers) represents a step forward in building one national union of farm workers.

The 20,000-member UFW has been based in the West and Southwest, among Mexican, Chicano, Filipino and Portuguese farm workers, as well as in the South among mainly Black workers. The 6,000-member ATA, founded in 1973, has been organizing among Puerto Rican migrant farm labor in the northeastern states.

Defeat Speedup at Nabisco

Atlanta, Ga.—Workers at Nabisco Bakery defeated a company attempt to use the Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union bureaucrats to sell them a "Quality of Work" program that would have meant more speedup and job combination. The workers overwhelmingly voted down the plan for a joint company-union committee that supposedly would allow workers and bosses to decide together how to run the factory.

The bureaucrats even tried to take credit for the plan at a union meeting, but workers exposed the fact that the idea came from the National Quality of Work Center, financially backed by government agencies and big-money foundations like the Ford Foundation. Nabisco, the biggest cookie and cracker bakery in the world, volunteered to pay 95% of the plan's cost.

Interview with Loy Lock

'A DRAGON UNLEASHING POWER FOR LIBERATION'

The Call recently conducted the following interview with Loy Lock, a 71-year-old Chinese-American worker, whose life has been bound up with the anti-imperialist struggles in both the U.S. and China.

Call: What was the experience of your family in the U.S.?

My father came here to work on the railroads in 1871. Many thousands of Chinese came to the U.S. from China because China

was a country that was under the imperialist domination of Britain. It was impossible for the masses of people to survive there.

Chinese labor was used to open up the West Coast of the U.S. for capitalist expansion. But the Chinese were poorly paid and victims of racist attacks. My father witnessed a forced march of hundreds of Chinese from Seattle to Portland in 1882. There was a depression at that time. Jobs

were scarce. In order to divert the anger of the people, racist slogans blaming the Chinese workers for the depression were raised and encouraged by the bourgeoisie and the leadership of the skilled trade unions, such as "Chinks must go." Many Chinese died in lynchings and riots during this time, up and down the West Coast.

What were your experiences in China?

I went to China first when I was nine years old to gain an education. This was in 1914. One of my first impressions was seeing a Chinese vendor beaten and his goods thrown into the sea in Hong Kong. This was done by the British police. I did not understand why.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a leader of the revolutionary movement, explained that China was oppressed because of imperialism. He said that China was worse off than other oppressed countries because she had six masters, including Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Japan and the U.S. He said that the only solution was to get rid of them.

So I participated in anti-imperialist demonstrations from 1920-22. I went back to the U.S. and then returned again to China in 1929, when the student movement was at its height. I saw the oppressive policy of Chiang Kai-shek, lackey of the imperialists, at a demonstration in Shanghai that year. Chiang Kai-shek's gangster thugs stabbed almost a dozen of the student leaders to death at one of our demonstrations. These experiences and others left me with a strong determination that the imperialist system must be destroyed.

When I returned to China in 1971, after an absence of 40 years, it was as though the world had been turned upside down. Socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat had swept away the oppression I had known before. In its place was a new China. From having six masters to mastering their own country—this is the change I have seen in my lifetime.

What did you do when you returned to the U.S. after studying in China?

I returned in 1930 to the middle of the depression. It was particularly hard for minorities to find work, and so like many other Chinese, I worked as a house boy. I did this for several years. Then I went to the University of Washington in Seattle.

It was during this time I became involved in the anti-imperialist movement in the U.S. to oppose the shipment of scrap iron from the U.S. to Japan. This scrap iron was being used by the Japanese imperialists to attempt to colonize all of China. In order to help the cause of Chinese liberation, many Chinese-Americans joined this movement. There were multinational demonstrations of hundreds of people in Seattle at this time to stop the scrap iron.

The Vanguard, a progressive publication written by the Chinese Laundry workers of New York, was also active in this movement. I wrote a poem for their 8th anniversary.

After publication of the first poem, I wrote other articles for them and also collected donations in the Northwest for the Eighth Route Army in China, which was being led by Chu Teh and Mao Tsetung.

I became involved in trying to organize Chinese restaurant workers in 1938 in Seattle. When World War II came, I worked in the Seattle Shipyards and at Boeing Aircraft. We had a long strike at Boeing after the war. I was fired after that for being "undesirable." During the 1950s, this followed me and it was impossible to get a steady



LOY LOCK (right) is shown protesting the sale of scrap iron to the Japanese fascists in 1938.



State and Revolution (5)

TRANSITION TO COMMUNISM

Lenin's *State and Revolution* shows the road the working class must take after the seizure of power and the establishment of socialism toward the end of classes, class domination and the elimination of the state itself. This is the road toward communism.

Socialism lies between capitalism and communism. It is a transitional period which is necessary due to the "antagonistic interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie." The irreconcilable contradictions between these two classes do not just disappear after a socialist revolution. Classes and class struggle continue to exist throughout the whole period of socialism. Socialism gives the working class the political power to end exploitation and crush the resistance of the former capitalist ruling class and its new emerging representatives. Communism can only arise when there are no classes, when the state has completely withered away.

China is an excellent example of socialism in action. The current struggles against Teng Hsiao-ping, a capitalist roader, illustrate the necessity of the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to suppress the bourgeoisie and defeat its old system and ideology. Since its liberation in 1949, China has undergone many struggles with both the overthrown bourgeoisie and its newly-emerged representatives.

The main aspect of the socialist state is that it is no longer a state for the suppression of the working-class majority by the capitalist minority. In fact, it is just the opposite. The majority of working people suppresses the minority of exploiters or would-be exploiters and prevents them from making a comeback.

The aim of socialist development toward communism, however, is to do away with even this suppression. It is to abolish any form of state, to eliminate "all organized and systematic violence, all use of violence against man in general." (p. 97, Foreign Languages Press edition, Peking).

Thus even democracy, as a form of state through which the majority rules the minority, eventually withers away. It disappears by becoming so complete and universal that a special body of armed men (i.e., a state) to suppress anybody is no longer needed to maintain it. "The more complete the democracy, the nearer the moment approaches when it becomes unnecessary." (p. 121).

Lenin said, "only communism makes the state absolutely unnecessary, for there is nobody to be suppressed." He goes on to say that "no special machine, no special apparatus of suppression is needed... this will be done by the armed people itself, as simply and as readily as any crowd of civilized people, even in modern society, interferes to put a stop to a scuffle or to prevent a woman from being assaulted." (p. 108).

To achieve this requires eliminating the "social cause of excesses," not only the exploitation of the masses, their want and their poverty, but also all social inequality in general.

Under socialism, inequalities take the form of "bourgeois right." Bourgeois right means the formally legal rights individuals still have, which violate actual social equality. For example, the principle of distribution under socialism is "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." But different individuals can perform different amounts of work, depending on strength and skill; and they have different needs (a big family vs. a small family, etc.). Thus a degree of social inequality still exists, and may even become quite serious if unchecked. In the course of socialist development, these and other sources of social inequality, such as the contradiction between mental and manual work, are gradually restricted and eventually eliminated altogether.

Thus socialism is a process of "advancing farther, from formal equality to actual equality, i.e., to the operation of the rule, 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.'" (p. 118-19). This is the rule under communism, and is the social basis on which the state becomes unnecessary.

There are not yet any communist countries in this sense in the world, nor will there be for a long time. The flourishing development of countries which are socialist, however, such as China and Albania, shows more clearly Lenin's statement that classless society is not a "utopia" (p. 97), but a stage of development which grows up, via the socialist transition, out of capitalism itself.

Communism is the ultimate aim of the revolutionary struggle. Part of this struggle at every step is to combat the opportunist views of various kinds which distort Marxism-Leninism on the question of the state.

(To be continued)

KARL MARX ON

Despite the recent relative upswing in production, unemployment is still very high, and the bourgeois politicians are making big campaign promises like the Humphrey-Hawkins bill supposedly designed to get rid of it.

Reviewing the scientific analysis of unemployment provided by Karl Marx, we can see that unemployment is an inherent feature of capitalism. The existence of an unemployed population is a necessary condition as well as an inevitable product of capitalist accumulation. The continuing growth of unemployment with all its misery is an absolute general law of capitalism.

The working class as a whole is like a great industrial army. This army is divided into two contingents, an active one and a reserve, corresponding to the employed and unemployed.

The labor of the active contingent is the source of the capitalists' profit, interest and land rent. The secret of how the capitalists exploit the workers' labor is fully exposed in Marx's immortal work, *Capital*, and other writings. There Marx also explains how and why the capitalist system requires a reserve contingent of the industrial army, the unemployed.

The existence of a greater population of workers than there are jobs is "a condition of existence of the capitalist mode of production," writes Marx, and indeed a "necessary condition." (*Capital*, Vol. 1, pp. 632-3). This is the case for several reasons.

The industrial reserve army is necessary, firstly, for capitalism to expand. Capitalism moves in cycles of boom and bust. In order for a boom to take place, the capitalists must have a reserve of workers whom they can quickly draw into production. "There must be the possibility of throwing great masses of men suddenly on the decisive points (of industry—ed.) without injury to the scale of production in other spheres." (*Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 632).

In recent years the reserve of workers has been large, but still no capitalist "boom" has yet taken place. The failure of unemployment to decline is due to the growing feebleness of monopoly capitalism, and illustrates Lenin's statement that monopoly capitalism is "moribund capitalism"—cap-

italism in decay and on its deathbed.

Capitalism requires a reserve army of labor also for a second reason. This is to help depress the general level of wages of the employed. "Out of 1,000 workers of equal skill, the wage is determined not by the 950 employed, but by the 50 unemployed," Marx wrote in "Wage-Labor and Capital."

So vital is this role of the reserve that



The capitalist system needs a large reserve army of labor in order to best exploit the working class.

capitalist accumulation comes to a halt if unemployment drops below a certain minimum. This can be seen during a typical "boom." As more and more of the unemployed are drawn into production, thus shrinking the industrial reserve army, the wages of the employed will tend to rise. As Marx said, "Taking them as a whole, the general movements of wages are exclusively regulated by the expansion and contraction of the industrial reserve army..." (*Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 637). A rise in the workers' wages, however, will bring a decline in the capitalists' profit. When this decline reaches a certain point, the capitalists respond by shutting down production.

'UNLEASHING LIBERATION'

were scarce. In order to divert the anger of the people, racist slogans blaming the Chinese workers for the depression were raised and encouraged by the bourgeoisie and the leadership of the skilled trade unions, such as "Chinks must go." Many Chinese died in lynchings and riots during this time, up and down the West Coast.

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FIGHTBACK POSTER by Loy Lock was inspired by last December's conference.

job, so I worked on and off for many years as a cook.

Why did you make your fightback poster?

I first saw *The Call* newspaper last year. I had seen many papers before, but *The Call* was the first one I thought had the correct line. I became more involved with the work of the October League. It was through the OL that I heard about the National Fight Back Conference held in December, 1975. I wanted to express my conception of the power that the people have. The poster, to me, was to represent the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism. This year, 1976, is the Year of the Dragon in China. The dragon has special significance for the Chinese people. During a much earlier period in history there were many war-

ring tribes in China. When they finally united, the dragon was created as a symbol of that unity: the head of a cow, body of a snake, horns of a deer and claws of a chicken.

In the claws of the dragon I placed a globe, with a star over the People's Republic of China. This, to me, symbolizes a country where the masses of people, under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party, have achieved liberation. The poster represents the way I feel about the struggle of the people. I feel that the people are like a dragon, a dragon that will some day soon unleash all its power and achieve its liberation. I feel that the new communist party that is presently being built in this country will help lead to this liberation.

KARL MARX ON UNEMPLOYMENT

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The capitalists therefore lay off workers in large numbers, in this way replenishing the industrial reserve army again. This occurs independently of the capitalists' desire or will.

On the one hand unemployment is an essential condition without which capitalist accumulation cannot proceed. On the other hand, an upswing in accumulation reduces unemployment. But at the point

ample, in the auto industry in recent months some plants have been running 10, even 12 hours a day, six days a week at top speed, while more than 50,000 auto workers are unemployed.

Marx records the same thing going on in English industry, and the workers' bitter complaints against it over 110 years ago. "The condemnation of one part of the working class to enforced idleness by the overwork of the other, and the converse," Marx wrote, "becomes a means of enriching the individual capitalists." (*Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 636). Along with speedup goes all the rest of the capitalists' abuse and tyranny over the workers.

In short, the existence of the industrial reserve army is an essential condition for capitalism to expand, to depress wages so as to maintain the rate of profit, and to raise the rate of profit by intensifying the workers' exploitation. It follows that the capitalists not only can have no interest in eliminating unemployment, but also and even more so, that their basic interests dictate keeping the rate of unemployment as high as possible.

Over the long course of capitalist development, the problem of unemployment and its miseries only grows worse, not better. The higher the development of capitalism, the more extensive will be the industrial reserve army, and the worse its condition. Marx called this process and its outcome "the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation." (*Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 644).

This law is being confirmed by the reality before our eyes, and by the statistics. In the period right after World War II, an unemployment rate of 3% was considered officially tolerable. To the Kennedy administration, the maximum tolerable was 4%, to Johnson, 5%. Under Nixon, the "ideal" was 6%, and today the government's prediction is that unemployment is liable to stay around 7% for the foreseeable future.

These trends show the truth of Marx's analysis and the emptiness of the promises made by demagogues to abolish unemployment yet retain capitalism. Only a fundamentally different system, socialism, can achieve the end of unemployment.

FIGHT BACK!

Inspired by the revolutionary spirit of the people at the National Fight Back Conference held on December 27 and 28, 1975

Oppressed 10,000 years deep within the ocean
Now awaking, Roaring
Roaring, Roaring
With a thunder that shakes the heavens
Determined to struggle with all its might
Against the enemies of the People
To participate in the Fight Back movement
And bring an end to the oppression of the People

L. Lock
in the year of the Dragon, 1976

JOBS OR INCOME!

END DISCRIMINATION OF MINORITIES AND WOMEN!

JOBS NOT WAR



FIGHTBACK POSTER by Loy Lock was inspired by last December's conference.

job, so I worked on and off for many years as a cook.

Why did you make your fightback poster?

I first saw *The Call* newspaper last year. I had seen many papers before, but *The Call* was the first one I thought had the correct line. I became more involved with the work of the October League. It was through the OL that I heard about the National Fight Back Conference held in December, 1975. I wanted to express my conception of the power that the people have. The poster, to me, was to represent the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism. This year, 1976, is the Year of the Dragon in China. The dragon has special significance for the Chinese people. During a much earlier period in history there were many war-

ring tribes in China. When they finally united, the dragon was created as a symbol of that unity: the head of a cow, body of a snake, horns of a deer and claws of a chicken.

In the claws of the dragon I placed a globe, with a star over the People's Republic of China. This, to me, symbolizes a country where the masses of people, under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party, have achieved liberation. The poster represents the way I feel about the struggle of the people. I feel that the people are like a dragon, a dragon that will some day soon unleash all its power and achieve its liberation. I feel that the new communist party that is presently being built in this country will help lead to this liberation.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The capitalists therefore lay off workers in large numbers, in this way replenishing the industrial reserve army again. This occurs independently of the capitalists' desire or will.

On the one hand unemployment is an essential condition without which capitalist accumulation cannot proceed. On the other hand, an upswing in accumulation reduces unemployment. But at the point



where the reduction in unemployment might threaten the system by reducing profits, the system at once throws millions of workers out on the street. It thereby re-creates the essential condition for accumulation to proceed again.

A third and closely related role played by unemployment under capitalism is as the basic means to intensify the exploitation of the employed workers. The reserve army is the material basis on which the capitalists stand when they force the employed to speed up and work themselves half to death. Unemployment and speedup go hand in hand and reinforce each other, to the advantage of the capitalists. For ex-

ample, in the auto industry in recent months some plants have been running 10, even 12 hours a day, six days a week at top speed, while more than 50,000 auto workers are unemployed.

Marx records the same thing going on in English industry, and the workers' bitter complaints against it over 110 years ago. "The condemnation of one part of the working class to enforced idleness by the overwork of the other, and the converse," Marx wrote, "becomes a means of enriching the individual capitalists." (*Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 636). Along with speedup goes all the rest of the capitalists' abuse and tyranny over the workers.

In short, the existence of the industrial reserve army is an essential condition for capitalism to expand, to depress wages so as to maintain the rate of profit, and to raise the rate of profit by intensifying the workers' exploitation. It follows that the capitalists not only can have no interest in eliminating unemployment, but also and even more so, that their basic interests dictate keeping the rate of unemployment as high as possible.

Over the long course of capitalist development, the problem of unemployment and its miseries only grows worse, not better. The higher the development of capitalism, the more extensive will be the industrial reserve army, and the worse its condition. Marx called this process and its outcome "the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation." (*Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 644).

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July Fourth Demonstrations Trying to Save Capitalism

On the Fourth of July, two demonstrations have been called in Philadelphia under slogans which reflect attempts at reforming the system of capitalism.

The largest of these demonstrations is being organized by the July 4th Coalition, a broad group ranging from a few honest reformers to such reactionary opportunists as the revisionist Communist Party, the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, the centrist Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), and the various Trotskyist groupings. The other demonstration is being called by a few groups based around the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), which last year declared itself to be the "only" communist organization in the U.S.

What all of these forces have in common is a program aimed not at revolution but at "saving" capitalism from itself. To the main organizers of the July 4th Coalition, such as PSP and the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, the questions of war, exploitation and national oppression of Black and other minority people all stem from unexplainable "mistakes" being made by faulty leadership. In effect, the slogans they are putting forward on July 4 serve to prettify the very system of capitalism which has caused these centuries of oppression.

For example, the Coalition claims in their July 4th Bulletin: "It is time to end the irrational squandering of our resources on weapons of war and in the pursuit of profits." But war and profits are not the product of "irrationality." Rather, they are inherent features of a system which was built upon the exploitation of man by man. War has become synonymous with imperialism, and as long as imperialism exists, there will be wars.

Rather than uniting with the cause of the working and oppressed people throughout the world to do away with this system, the Coalition puts forth the notion that the working class should fight only "to recover a share of the wealth that is stolen from us daily and used in the interests of a privileged few." But the truth is that, after 200 years of exploitation and oppression, the working class struggle has to be aimed at taking all the wealth and not just "a share."

The same belief in the positive potentials of imperialism are reflected in the Coalition's demands of "A Bicentennial Without Colonies" and a "Bicentennial Without Repression" which originated with PSP. Both of these slogans spread the illusion that imperialism can end its colonial policies towards other countries as well as its repression of the people this year—in other words, under the present system. Unless the demand for the freedom of colonies like Puerto Rico is linked to the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, it is reduced to reformist appeals to the liberal politicians. No country has ever been freed in this way.

MYTH OF 'DETENTE'

Finally, the demonstration spreads the myth of "detente" by putting forth the view that war is another "irrational" policy and also by failing to prepare or warn people of the approach of a new imperialist war. While correctly calling for an end to CIA and U.S. military intervention in other nations, such as Angola, the opportunist Coalition leaders, following the lead of the CPUSA, make no mention of the Soviet Union, which stands today as the main source of a new world war.

In effect, this demonstration, while taking in many honest people who are quite justifiably fed up with the conditions of life under capitalism, is really building nothing more than a loyal opposition to the ruling class. It is a safe opposition, armed only with a few band-aids to patch up a thoroughly diseased and cancerous system.

The second demonstration in Philadelphia is being sponsored by the "Rich Off Our Backs Coalition." This coalition is headed by the RCP in league with groups it

has influence over, such as Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee and the Revolutionary Student Brigade. The significance of this march is that the RCP is using it as its first major test of organizational strength. Their narrow, incorrect view of party building can be seen in the fact that they chose to build the demonstration in isolation from the hundreds of other communist forces who are working to build a single unified party in the U.S.

RCP LINE DOMINATES

As a result, the opportunist line of the RCP leadership dominates the slogans and line of the demonstration. It therefore fails to provide a real alternative to the reformist July 4th Coalition. Aside from their general slogan ("We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years—Let's Get Them Off Our Backs") RCP, VVAW and the rest pose the same type of reformist answers to the problems of war and exploitation.

The propaganda of the "Rich Off Our Backs" Coalition claims that it is posing "the real demands" of the people. Yet their neglect of the demands of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano and other oppressed nationalities exposed the deep chauvinism of the RCP. This has been seen time and time again in RCP's opposition to integration in Boston.

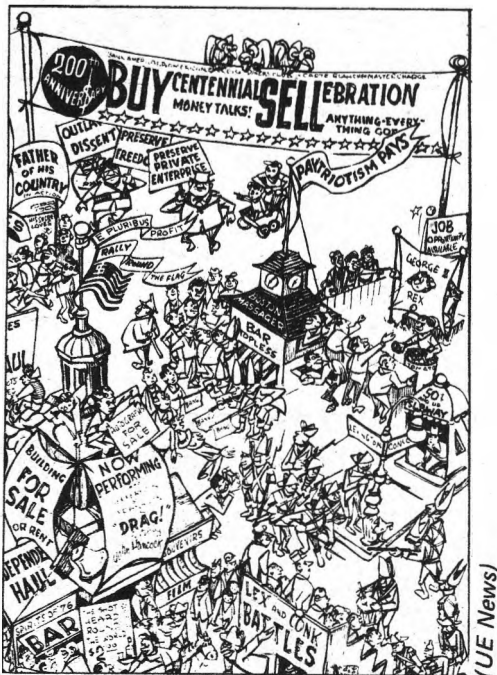
Their slogan about the war danger ("We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War") poses non-participation as a solution. This is a social-pacifist line rather than a line of class struggle. By opposing the very real preparations of the two superpowers today, we must prepare the working people and soldiers to turn the imperialist war into a revolutionary war against capitalism.

Like the July 4th Coalition, the RCP-led coalition also focuses only on the U.S. imperialists, letting Soviet social-imperialism off the hook. From the centrists and revisionist CPUSA this is not surprising. They have long covered for the Moscow revisionists. But from the RCP, which stands as an anti-revisionist organization, it is a shock.

Along with these aspects of opportunism, the RCP raises the struggle for jobs in the same reformist way as the July 4th Coalition's "share the wealth" plan. Nowhere, around its demand for jobs or anywhere else, does the coalition or RCP raise the final aim of the struggle—socialism. This is true even while RCP bills this march as "the first communist-led workers' demonstration in decades."

The lack of a communist-led demonstration on July 4 (RCP turns around and poses VVAW as the initiators of the march) is in many ways a reflection of the present period when our party is just in the process of formation.

A real alternative to reformism is in the making. A revolutionary leadership for the people's struggle against imperialism is being born.





REPRESSION and RESISTANCE

Charlotte 3 Out on Bail

"This has to be conveyed to everyone... It was a people's victory!"

These were the words of Jim Grant, one of the Charlotte 3, who was released on bond along with T.J. Reddy June 25 after nearly 4 years in North Carolina prisons. The third member of the Charlotte 3, Charles Parker, had already been released on parole.

The Black activists were finally granted bond and released pending a ruling on their motion for a retrial. The Charlotte 3 were originally convicted of a phony "arson" charge in order to stop their organizing activities in the Black liberation movement.

Jim Grant, a correspondent for *The Call* while in prison, spoke shortly after his release about the significance of this victory. "Were it not for the fact that many, many people all over the country and all over the world struggled and protested around our case, we would still be in jail. There's no doubt about that."

As for his future plans, Grant told *The Call*, "I'll be taking part in local organizing, around such cases as the Gary Tyler case."

Protest Police Murder

Maplewood, Mo.—One hundred people demonstrated at police headquarters here June 26 to protest the police murder of James Cleveland, a 20-year-old Black veteran. The demonstration was called by the James Cleveland Justice Committee, a coalition of several groups including the St. Louis *Call* Committee and People Fighting Repression.

James Cleveland was shot in the back by police on the steps of his mother's home the night of June 3. The police claim that they chased Cleveland from the scene of a burglarized store, but the truth is, he had nothing to do with the burglary.

Many people joined the June 26 demonstration while it was in progress. One white worker, almost shot by police once himself, said, "When the police start gunning down people for no reason, it's everyone's problem—regardless of race."

Resist L.A. Cross Burnings

Los Angeles, Calif.—Over the last two months there have been approximately 15 Klan-type cross-burnings throughout this city. The targets for these racist cross-burnings have mainly been Black families living in predominately white areas.

L.A. police chief Ed Davis claims that the incidents are "unrelated," and has called for a media blackout. But these cross-burnings occur amidst a controversy over a proposed busing program for L.A. city schools and are clearly linked to ruling class attempts to beat back the Black liberation struggle.

While Davis' call for a "blackout" has been dutifully followed by the bourgeois press, the racist attacks have been exposed by several meetings and demonstrations. All-night guards have been posted at a number of the attacked homes.

The L.A. Labor Unity Organization (LALUO) has pledged to fight back against the Klan, linking this fight to the campaign to free Gary Tyler.

Unidos Reopens

East Los Angeles—Unidos Bookstore, this community's only Marxist-Leninist bookstore, opened its doors June 8 after being closed down for two and one half months.

Unidos was closed when the L.A. County Sheriff's Department conspired with the county tax assessor's office to deny the store its 1976 sales license renewal. Support from the largely Chicano community was instrumental in forcing the Sheriff's Department to back down.

A representative from Unidos told *The Call* that in view of two prior bombings—admitted to by Nazis and CIA-trained Cuban exiles—"It is clear that the state will resort to any means to stop the development of a center for revolutionary theory and action in the Chicano community."

Unidos is located at 918 S. McBride, Los Angeles, Ca. 90022. Mail orders can be made for Marxist-Leninist literature and books in Spanish and English about the Chicano people's struggle.



LETTER TO
AMERICAN WORKERS
by V.I. Lenin

Written by Lenin in 1918 to express the solidarity of the Russian revolution with the struggle of the American working class, this pamphlet exposes the myth of "democracy" in the U.S. Lenin's "Letter to American Workers" serves as a call for us to fully understand our revolutionary history in order to oppose imperialism and the preparations for a new world war. \$.50 postpaid



LIBERATOR PRESS, BOX 7128, CHICAGO, ILL. 60680

NEW REVOLUTION

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

slavery and the concentration of wealth were raised by the masses.

Quite expectedly, the thousands of working people and Black slaves who had shouldered the burden of fighting the revolution and were the real heroes, were legally excluded from the state power that was set up following the victory. The gap between the living standards of the masses and the handful of capitalist rulers grew wider and wider. The workers and farmers who had joined in the struggle against the British colonial oppressors, became the cannon fodder for the capitalists in the expansionist Indian war, the Mexican war of 1848 and in battles to crush the rebellions of their fellow workers.

Now the voices of U.S. big business are combining their 1776 nostalgia with imperialist war propaganda as they prepare for a world war with Soviet social-imperialism for a new division of the world. With the aid of their flunkies in the trade union leadership, who have grown fat from the crumbs of the colonies, they are calling on the workers to "save the country" by "working together" with the capitalists. But "saving the country" means only saving the wealth of imperialism and its right to make profits at the expense of the working class. It means that work-

ers will have to get back into uniform once again or speed up to a back-breaking pace on the assembly lines.

Chiming in with bourgeois patriotic propaganda of their own are all the phony "communists" and "revolutionaries" headed by the revisionist Communist Party USA (CPUSA). These flag-wavers are only trying to legitimize themselves in the eyes of the ruling class. In a recent speech in Milwaukee, revisionist spokeswoman Angela Davis called on the predominantly-Black audience, who expressed their justifiable contempt at the Bicentennial, to join in with the patriotic crusade. The essence of the CP program is the further development of the "democratic potentials" of capitalism.

To the revisionists, who long ago wrote the dictatorship of the proletariat out of their program, the revolution being fought today is simply an extension of the bourgeois revolution which began 200 years ago. They, along with such liberal groups as the so-called "People's Bicentennial," seek only to "expand" democracy further and deeper.

In the words of the CPUSA: "This calls for a new, more active role of the working class and people's forces in the democratic process, directed toward halting the decay of democracy and towards making democratic institutions

and processes serve the people against the monopolies." (21st Convention Draft Resolution)

The revisionists want to make capitalism's institutions "help the people." They spread the illusion that bourgeois democracy can be perfected at a time when the struggle must be directed towards the overthrow of capitalism altogether. This is the task dictated by the conditions which the present stage of society has brought about. This is no longer the era of bourgeois democratic revolution, but rather the era of proletarian revolution.

Draping themselves in the American flag, the revisionists are trying to hide the fact that they are lined up behind the Soviet social-imperialists. When it comes to the socialist revolution which has been sweeping the world since 1917, they are counter-revolutionary and want to turn back the hands of time, helping to bring on war and fascism if necessary, as has been done in the Soviet Union.

Whether it is put forth in red, white and blue—or disguised in "socialist" red—the Bicentennial is a grand fraud being played on the people. It is the corpse of another era being dragged up again to save U.S. monopoly capitalism from its doom. Even with the help of the phony communists and trade union bureaucrats, it is a hopeless task.

Capitalism cannot be saved.

ECONOMIC SUMMIT...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

aim in San Juan is two-fold. First, he is trying to keep the major industrial countries open to the flood of U.S. goods and capital. Secondly, he is pushing for more "cooperative decisions" between them and the U.S. in determining the direction these countries take economically.

Ford's policy of close "cooperation" with the U.S. is aimed at combating the growing self-reliance of the second-world countries of Europe, Canada and Japan and the development of their economic ties with the third world.

Since the summit meeting was held in Puerto Rico, independence

organizations had a chance to demonstrate the massive support that exists for independence among the people of this one-time U.S. colony.

Under the leadership of the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), thousands of people marched on the conference site. Another mass meeting organized by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) drew thousands more demanding independence.

In the summit welcoming ceremonies, Ford said he was "proud" of the U.S.'s colonial relationship with Puerto Rico, calling it one that was based on "the right of the people." He also warned Cuba and indirectly the Soviet Union about

intervention in Puerto Rican affairs, saying that such interference would be considered as "intervention in the domestic affairs of Puerto Rico and the United States."

Ford's statements show that rivalry between the superpowers is developing right alongside of the genuine independence movement, even in this historic stronghold of U.S. imperialism.

The summit was marked by an open insult to Puerto Rico when White House aides declared that the flag of that country could not be flown and the Puerto Rican anthem could not be played during the welcoming ceremonies.

ITALIAN ELECTIONS...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

interests and is an active supporter of the NATO alliance. Much of the DC's campaign platform was directed at showing the danger of Soviet influence in Italy if the PCI were to gain a share of the government. As in past elections, the U.S. government funneled large amounts of money into the DC campaign.

The elections left the PCI with 34.5% of the vote and the DC with 38.8%. The DC leadership is now continuing to wrangle with minority parties, trying to patch together a coalition excluding the PCI.

PCI leader Enrico Berlinguer is still demanding that the DC form a coalition with his party. Throughout the elections, Berlinguer emphasized the revisionists' rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat and peddled his line of "historic compromise." The essence of this "compromise," according to Berlinguer, is that there is a "fundamental unity" between the PCI and the DC, and that the two of them should share power. The compromise is a tactic design-

ed to get the revisionists into government at all costs.

On the campaign-trail, Berlinguer provided a clear example of revisionism in action. Aside from denouncing the proletarian dictatorship, he also attacked the rank-and-file workers' movement as "terroristic," opposed the right to abortions in order to gain favor with the Church, and offered his party's services to solve capitalism's crisis with economic austerity measures.

One of the key issues in the campaign was the question of NATO. DC leaders, along with U.S. spokesmen like Henry Kissinger, warned that cabinet status for the PCI would seriously cripple NATO. Italy, the most important naval country in NATO's Mediterranean strategy, could "not be trusted," according to Kissinger, if members of the PCI were part of the government.

The PCI responded to this issue by declaring its "commitment to NATO." Although the USSR constantly attacks NATO's existence and the PCI formerly opposed Italy's membership in it, Berlin-

guer even became enthusiastic about the Atlantic alliance at points in the campaign.

The newspapers of the DC charged that the PCI had no intention of supporting NATO and would break its commitments as soon as it entered the government. A June 20 New York Times article added that, although the Soviet leadership does not approve of Berlinguer's "independent" stance, Brezhnev could not help but enjoy seeing NATO split and weakened over the question of PCI participation in government. "It might even serve to soften the line of the Alliance," speculated the article.

The Italian elections, with their decisive results, indicate that governmental instability will continue in Italy. With mounting unemployment, inflation, and political scandals sweeping the country, any coalition that is formed is unlikely to last. Both superpowers will try to make use of these turbulent conditions to advance their own political fortunes.