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IMPERIALISM

# THE CALL

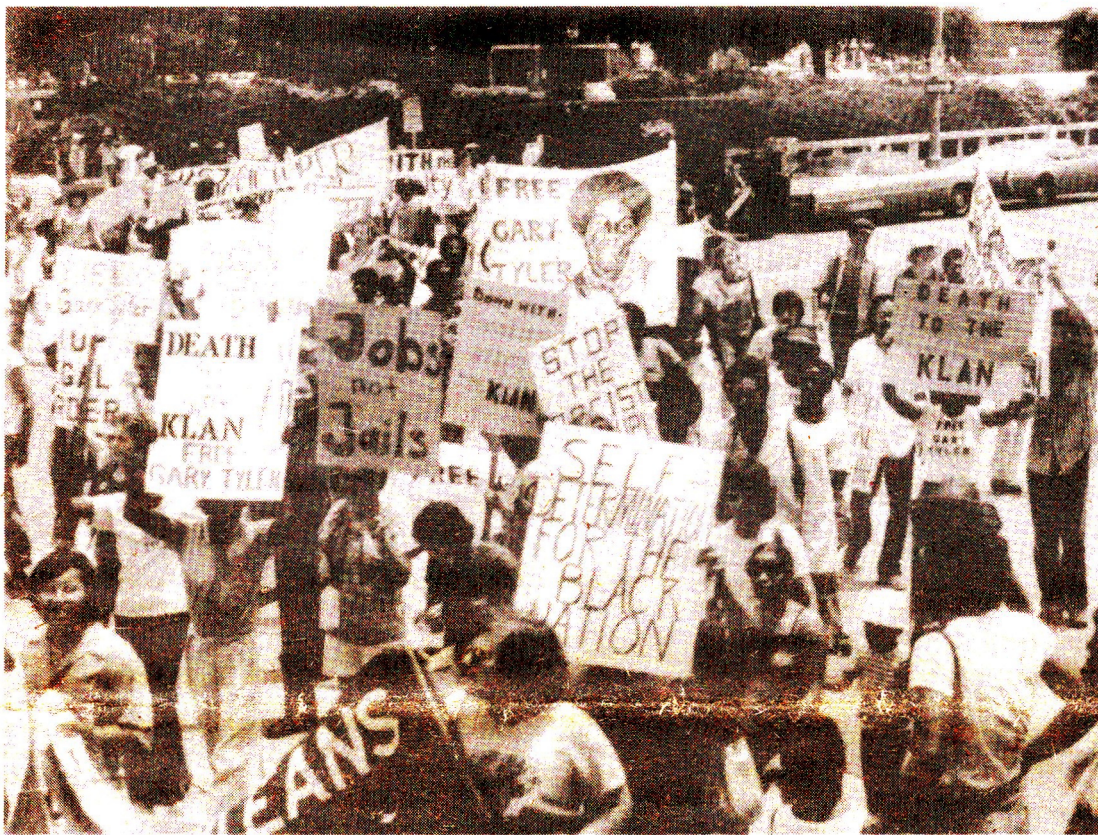
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AUGUST 2, 1976

# MINERS WILDCAT



MARCHING IN NEW ORLEANS for Tyler freedom and self-determination. (CALL photo)

## 2000 MARCH FOR GARY TYLER

New Orleans, La.—More than 2,000 people surged through this city's downtown section for the July 24 demonstration to "Free Gary Tyler!" The marchers filled the streets from edge to edge, chanting and waving banners demanding Tyler's immediate release and an end to the oppression of the Afro-American people.

The racist frame-up on murder charges of Gary Tyler, an 18-year-old Black youth, has sparked a nationwide campaign in his behalf. Besides the massive New Orleans rally,

simultaneous demonstrations on July 24 took place in a number of other cities across the country.

The New Orleans march was the largest mass action in the South in more than 30 years to openly demand self-determination for the Afro-American nation. This demand was put forward by a large contingent organized by the July 24 Southwide Coalition, made up of more than 80 trade union and civil rights groups, individuals, and communist organizations.

Led by the October League

and other communists, the Coalition mobilized over 600 people from the South and border areas to come to the demonstration.

The march itself was multinational, with more than 60% of the demonstrators Black. It proceeded over a 25-block route in an organized and militant fashion despite intense heat and the threat by the KKK a day earlier to disrupt the demonstration. As the march traveled through the

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 8)

Charleston, W. Va.—Some 60,000 coal miners have shut down mines throughout this state as well as in Ohio and southern Pennsylvania in a protest against court injunctions aimed at crippling the miners' right to strike. The wildcat was sparked by an injunction against 4,500 Cedar Coal miners imposing fines against their local union of \$50,000 and \$25,000 a day for the length of the strike.

Mass meetings of miners are taking place in counties throughout the coalfields, calling for an end to court interference (fines and injunctions) in labor disputes and demanding no reprisals against miners participating in the strike.

At a solidarity meeting of about 500 miners and supporters in Charleston on Sunday, July 25, plans were made to extend the strike to Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky. A flier handed out called on "all UMWA miners...to strike to stop the injunctions and to end all fines and sentences."

This massive wildcat began when Cedar Coal Company violated the United Mine Workers (UMW) contract by failing to post some job openings. The company had at first tried to hire non-union personnel and then claimed the right not to post such jobs. Although the UMW Local 1759 won the initial arbitration case, Cedar refused to comply, applied pressure and got a reversal from another federal arbitrator. This set off the July 19 wildcat which Cedar Coal answered with court injunctions and fines. A local battle was then transformed into a broad struggle to defend the miners' right to strike.

The strike is a continuation of the growing struggle of miners for the right to strike over local grievances. This right had been one of the main demands of the strong rank-and-file movement in the late '60s which brought about the ouster of Tony Boyle from the UMWA presidency. But in the past year in particular, the new liberal leadership headed up by Arnold Miller has followed Boyle's same footsteps, joining the coal companies in launching an attack against the miners' right to strike.

In addition to suspending two

miners from the union last May for their role in wildcats, Miller has drawn up a Ten-Point Program which lays out the union's anti-strike policies. According to the provisions, miners would be forced back to work immediately in the event of a wildcat, and district level officials would be held liable for punishment by the International Executive Board. What's more, the international has declared it would give no support or legal aid to any miners involved in wildcats and has already set up kangaroo courts to try its own members.

An official spokesman at the UMW headquarters in Washington, D.C., told *The Call* that they do not support this present wildcat and that they "will be meeting with locals to order them back to work."

But this wildcat is a strong condemnation by the rank and file of Miller's sell-out. "While we're down here fighting for our rights," one Cedar Coal Co. striker told *The Call*, "he (Miller) is in Washington, D.C., rubbing noses with the Democrats, taking away our rights."

Hayes Holstein, the president of Local 1759 that initiated the wildcat, explained that the International leadership was, in fact, becoming a target of the strike. "We want some help from the International," he declared, "something besides telegrams telling us to go back to work... If they don't do something for us, then we'll march on them, too!"

In a leaflet circulated across the West Virginia coalfields, the October League pointed out that the courts are part of the state apparatus which the coal operators along with other monopoly capi-

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 8)

Van Nuys, Calif.—A 55-year-old veteran auto worker, father of seven children, was murdered July 14 by the General Motors corporation inside the GM assembly plant in this Los Angeles suburb.

Jose Gonzalez, a Chicano with 20 years on the job, was working on a conveyor belt carrying seat cushions. Gonzalez, who had filed an overwork grievance just the week before, slipped through one of the holes between the cushions and was dragged under the belt to his death. Twenty minutes passed before his body was found.

Because they didn't know how to stop the conveyor, Gonzalez' fellow workers were forced to stand by helplessly while he was

### Murderous Speedup

## WORKER KILLED AT GM - VAN NUYS

dragged under the belt. GM keeps the workings of the line a secret from the workers in order to prevent them from shutting down the line to express their grievances.

Gonzalez' death came only a few weeks after another worker was killed in the same plant when nine tons of material fell off a hi-lo onto him. The common cause of both deaths, and of numerous injuries at the plant, is the murderous speedup, work overloading and neglect of workers' safety by

the company (see article p. 5). Hell-bent for higher profits, GM finds it cheaper to let workers die than to repair the machinery or slow the line to a tolerable pace.

Fearing rebellion from the enraged workers after Gonzalez' death, GM closed down the line for the day and tried to hide their negligence by covering up the unprotected holes in the belt. Then, adding insult to injury, they scheduled overtime for the following Saturday to make up for time lost

due to the accident.

The UAW bureaucrats responded to these outrages only by calling for a moment of silent prayer for Gonzalez at the next union meeting. They downplayed the company's responsibility for the death. Meanwhile, they have left hundreds of health, safety and over-work grievances unsettled and are doing nothing to prepare the workers to fight for protection in the current contract negotiations. A number of workers at a union

meeting blamed company speedup for Gonzalez' death and pointed out the need to have the right to strike over health and safety.

"The company can kill you in two ways: if they don't kill you in an accident, they'll do it slowly," one Van Nuys worker said.

The company's murderous drive for profits will be avenged one day. The death of Jose Gonzalez has served as a call to GM-Van Nuys workers to get organized to struggle in the period ahead.





# EDITORIALS

## PSP'S 'UNITY' WITH SOVIET MEETING

The July 18 issue of Claridad, the organ of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) with a branch in the U.S., has voiced total agreement with the recent Soviet-backed conference of European revisionist parties.

According to PSP, this conference of European "communist" parties "opens a new stage in the history of the international workers' movement." PSP adds: "We Puerto Rican socialists are in agreement with the results of the meeting of the communist and workers' parties of Europe. Their fundamental conclusions are in perfect harmony with the basic principles on which the international and national policies of our Party are founded."

We welcome the frankness and candor of the PSP who, at times like these, drops its centrist disguise and comes out fully and "totally" in support of the schemes of hegemonism and domination which the USSR cooks up.

We only wish the Claridad article would have been more specific about the many aspects of the reactionary conference with which it found "total agreement." The only one mentioned was the declaration of the various participants that they are all "independent" from the Soviet Union.

With European parties such as the French, Portuguese and Italian revisionists all fighting for a seat in Parliament, these declarations are little more than attempts to legitimize themselves in the eyes of the bourgeoisie of each country. None of these parties stands a chance of electoral success if they appear to be agents of Soviet social-imperialism, which is deeply hated and feared by the European peoples. None stands a chance if they appear to be supportive of Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia or Soviet mental hospitals for dissidents. Proclamations of independence are even more crucial since Brezhnev threatened to "burn down the house of Europe" if the European countries don't peacefully submit to Soviet hegemonism.

But PSP is not as "independent" of Soviet policy as they would like us to believe. The line of "peaceful transition" to socialism; their spreading of the myth of "detente"; their de-

fense of Soviet intervention in Angola, and their sponsorship of the Havana Conference, which sets the stage for Soviet interference in the Caribbean, all demonstrate PSP's lack of real "independence." They have shown their independence only from Marxism-Leninism, which they claim to uphold.

The PSP here in the U.S. has been working overtime in the Puerto Rican community, and among the left to spread its line of support for the Soviet Union. Whether it be on questions of the Caribbean, Europe or Angola, the PSP is exposing itself as an apologist for Soviet social-imperialism. The bone of "independence" for all revisionist parties thrown by Brezhnev will help the European parties get their electoral seats. Since the electoral road is PSP's road to "socialism" as well, it is only natural that they are in complete harmony with the aims of this opportunist conference.



TANZAM railroad completed. (Hsinhua Photo)

## SHOULDER TO SHOULDER WITH AFRICAN PEOPLE

Hacking their way through dense brush and moving millions of tons of earth, workers from Tanzania, Zambia and China have succeeded in their joint efforts to build East Africa's Tanzam Railroad.

The official completion of the railroad on July 14 was a great day in the third world's strug-

gle against imperialism, colonialism and racism. As China handed over responsibility for the railroad to the two African countries, it provided a graphic example of one of the ways in which a genuine socialist country gives aid to the revolutionary struggles in the third world.

China's role in helping to build Tanzam stands in sharp contrast to the phony "aid" of the imperialists, especially the social-imperialists, who use their "aid" as a tool for domination and exploitation in Africa and all over the world.

Tanzam is called the "Freedom Railroad" because it helps to break the blockade imposed on independent African countries by racist Rhodesia and South Africa. It links landlocked Zambia with Tanzania's ocean ports and strengthens supply lines to the guerrillas fighting in Rhodesia.

Tanzam is a symbol of independence because it will bring rapid economic advances to the interior parts of Tanzania and Zambia. The railroad was built entirely by the three third world countries without imperialist financing or technology. In fact, Tanzania and Zambia tried to get aid in building the railroad from the U.S., USSR and other imperialist countries. But the big powers either scoffed at the project or offered their aid only with long strings attached.

Only socialist China offered its aid freely. For this reason, Tanzam has also become a symbol of friendship.

China's aid to the project included large amounts of money, thousands of workers and technicians, and much of the supplies, parts and raw materials. China sought nothing in return, but gave its aid to strengthen the African countries' struggle against imperialism.

Chinese workers on the project even grew their own vegetables by the side of the road and were completely self-sufficient, providing for all their own needs in order not to be a burden on the local people.

The workers of all three countries taught each other new skills, overcame language barriers and great geographical obstacles to finish the project a year ahead of schedule.

On the railway's completion, the Times of Zambia editorialized, "The Chinese plunged into the impossible task to demonstrate a fierce resolve to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the down-trodden peoples of Africa in their struggles to break the chains of political and economic slavery."

The imperialists and social-imperialists, who said such a railroad could not be built without their capital and technology, have been powerfully refuted. The railway of freedom, independence and friendship is in operation, carrying the lessons of its construction to the intricate network of villages and towns serviced by the railroad line.

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#### CORRECTION:

In last week's issue on p. 1, Daisy Crawford, an organizer for the ACTWU textile union at Cannon Mills, was incorrectly identified as a white organizer when, in fact, she is Black.

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Dear Call:

I am an Afro-American worker from Baltimore. On July 16, I attended a forum in Washington, D.C., where Sherman Miller from the October League spoke on the Afro-American question. I want to express my view towards the attitude of another so-called communist group, Worker's Viewpoint Organization (WVO), on this question.

They are an organization that misleads the people, particularly in opposing the movement against segregationists. Their view on the Afro-American question would make it impossible to build a broad mass movement of the proletariat.

During the speech, Sherman Miller destroyed all of WVO's ideas on misleading the proletariat in party-building. But a member of WVO in the audience became violent. I was sitting next to him and heard him say to other people around him, "It's time to disrupt this forum."

Since his line had been shown to be bankrupt, he didn't dare get up at the beginning of the question part and state his views. He waited until 10:30, the time the forum was to end, to demand to be called on as a representative of WVO. He attacked the OL for criticizing his line. Everything he said was a slander on the OL, trying to keep the truth from the audience.

When the man went on and on, way over the 2 minute limit even though it was time

## Letters



to end and even though there were many other people who wanted to raise questions, he was asked to sum up. He refused. I, having faith in the OL, became very upset and helped remove him from the forum.

One question this revisionist raised was what the OL's definition is of "political line is the key link." Even though I have only recently begun to study Marxism, I have to ask *what* political line, and the key link to *what*? WVO has a political line—revisionism—which is the key link to smashing the party-building efforts. Marxism-Leninism, the line of the OL, is the key link to building a new party that will smash imperialism and all revisionism!

A.S.,  
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Call,

Last week, my brother Willie Washington died. He was old and had worked all his life, but how he died is another example of the injustice Black people and all working-class people face under this sys-

tem. He was in the hospital; the hospital wanted to discharge him to one of those musing homes we have all heard about. He refused to go, so the hospital sent him home, and he died a few days later before the visiting nurse got to see him.

If he had had money, they would have kept him there to finish his life in luxury. Instead he died alone.

Willie worked in the fields here in Florida and drove a truck most of his life. He remembered well the days when a white foreman would shoot and kill a Black worker who was standing up to him and then that foreman would get transferred to another part of the farm. That happened in the sugar cane fields of south Florida in the 1940s. Because of his experience as a Black man and a worker, Willie supported the fight to free Gary Tyler. He recognized that it was the struggle of Blacks and workers for liberation that would free Gary Tyler and all of us.

In his last days, Willie couldn't see very well, but he loved to have someone read him *The Call* newspaper with its news of the struggles and victories of the oppressed

I wish to send this contribution to the paper my brother loved and to help fight for the kind of socialist society where workers can live and die in dignity.

In Solidarity,  
M.L.B.,  
Tampa, Fla.



# DEATH PENALTY SHOWS CLASS RULE

The first executions under the Supreme Court's July 2 death penalty ruling may happen before the end of this bicentennial year, according to a lawyer familiar with the cases.

At the time of the court's ruling there were 611 persons on death row in 30 states. Of these 56% are minority nationalities: Black, Chicano, Native American and Puerto Rican in that numerical order. These facts uncover the real nature of the death penalty in our society.

Minorities are condemned to death four or five times more frequently than their share in the population. The Supreme Court's decision said nothing about this fact. The over-representation of minority nationalities on death row is the result of the chauvinist and white-supremacist character of the entire judicial system from the highest levels on down to the lowliest cop and sheriff.

While the death penalty hits minority people with special force, its victims are all working people. Among the 267 white people on death row, there are no rich people. The population of death row, of all nationalities, is made up overwhelmingly of poor people: factory workers, field workers, sharecroppers, unemployed. Many rich people have committed murder, rape and other crimes, but their friends in the capitalist class have always saved them from the electric chair or the gas chamber.

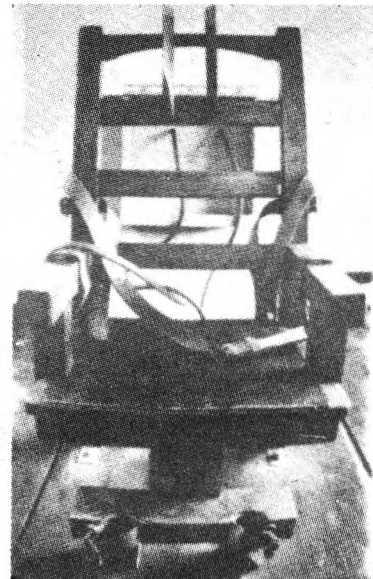
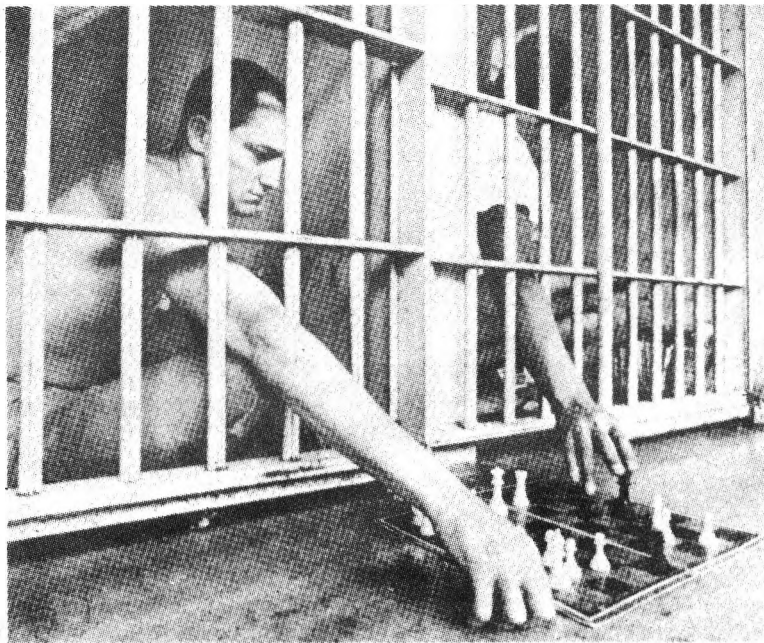
The court's decision even reinforced the class character of the death penalty by requiring courts, when weighing the sentence to be imposed, to take into consideration "the particularized characteristics of the defendant." This is just another excuse for sentencing the working people to death, while

allowing the few capitalists found guilty to go free.

The court's decision was consciously aimed at trying to intimidate people from fighting back against this crisis-ridden system. This is the meaning of a revealing sentence in the court majority's opinion, which says that although the death penalty "may be unappealing to many, it is essential in an ordered society that asks its citizens to rely on legal processes rather than self-help to vindicate their wrongs."

What does "ordered society" mean? It means the present capitalist society in this decaying imperialist superpower. The wrongs inflicted on the people by this order are basic, and they are mounting daily. So is the people's urge to vindicate those wrongs, that is, to resist, to fight back, to make revolution. Amidst the sharpening conflicts in this society, the court says to the people: do not rely on yourselves, on your own power, on your own organization; but put your faith in the government and its "legal processes"—or else!

But what are these "legal processes"? They constitute a giant machinery whose fundamental purpose is to prop up this same social order that drives many peo-



DEATH ROW prisoners face electric chair.

ple to crime in the first place. By what "legal processes" are we to get an end to the mounting unemployment that daily makes more people desperate enough to kill? Where are the "legal processes" that will put an end to the combat conditions in many of our big factories, where slavedriver foremen rule by the gun? What "legal processes" will help the ghetto families in rat-infested housing, without enough to feed the children?

Some people think that the Supreme Court bases its decisions purely on "the law," without regard to social and political conditions of the moment. The death penalty decision exposes that this is not so. Four years ago the court

held, in effect, that the death penalty was unconstitutional, and all executions were stopped as a result. Now the court has decided otherwise. Yet the constitution has not changed. The court has changed.

### 'PUBLIC ATTITUDES'

In justifying their switch from four years ago, the majority of the judges plainly admitted that they were basing themselves essentially on a change in political and social conditions. Whether or not the death penalty constitutes "cruel and unusual punishment" (forbidden by the Eighth Amendment) depends in part, the court said, on "contemporary values," on "public attitudes" and "standards." These, said the court, have changed.

The return of the death penalty is timed to meet the growing resistance to the deepening capitalist crisis, to unemployment and hunger which places many workers in desperate straits.

Lenin once wrote that the capitalists rely on two main instruments of rule: the hangman and the priest. The "priest" is reformism, bourgeois liberalism, legalism, parliamentarism—the "legal process." The court's decision is a confession on the part of the ruling class that the "legal" forms of rule are losing their grip over the people. The decision is a sign of weakness, of failing legitimacy.

The court decision has provoked a feeble, ineffectual opposition from the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie. The dissenting opinions of Supreme Court justices Brennan and Marshall give the measure of this opposition. These "dissenters" do not uncover the class and national character of the death penalty ruling. They base themselves on empty abstractions, such as Brennan's "primary moral principle that the state, even as it

punishes, must treat its citizens in a manner consistent with their intrinsic worth as human beings—a punishment must not be so severe as to be degrading to human dignity."

Fine words! But every state, just because it is a state, degrades the human dignity of a certain class in order to maintain the power of another class. Whether it uses violence against its own citizens in the legal form, via the death penalty, or in the extra-legal form, by shooting strikers, demonstrators, etc. in the street, the capitalist state remains an organ of violent suppression of the working class and cannot be anything else.

### A CLASS QUESTION

The question of the death penalty is not a question of abstract principles. It is a question of by whom, by which class, and against which class this form of repression is administered. We absolutely oppose the death penalty when used by the capitalist state against the workers and minorities. We demand that the capitalist state apply the death penalty instead to those who are guilty of lynching and arson and bomb murders against Afro-Americans and other minorities, crimes which are again becoming frequent in the present crisis. The death penalty is not wrong when applied to a Calley, who committed wanton massacres, or to an Eichmann or a Hitler and similar scum.

The Supreme Court's decision is of great educational value. It teaches that political power is maintained by force and violence. Intentionally or not, the Supreme Court is pounding this lesson into the consciousness of the masses of people. The working class will never forget it. When the working class itself takes power, it will remind the big capitalists of this lesson in politics.

## NAACP Continues Down Road of Reformism

The 67th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which ended July 2, demonstrated the organization's continued commitment to the policies of gradualism and reformism which has characterized it for decades.

The deepening rifts within the NAACP, however, show mounting opposition to the old-line flunkeyism of Executive Director Roy Wilkins. A new group of leadership organizing themselves around Margaret Bush Wilson, a St. Louis lawyer and the head of the so-called Majority Caucus, have urged a shift to more militant rhetoric aimed especially at appealing to the young Blacks. At the same time the caucus maintains the essential points of Wilkins' line which has always relied on the "benevolence" of the government and big business rather than on the revolutionary potential of the 22 million Black people in the U.S.

### GRADUALISM FAILED

Many of these anti-Wilkins forces believe that the NAACP is the tool to keep young Black people within the system. Even with the decline of groups like the Black Panther Party since the late '60s it is felt by many that Wilkins' old gradualist approach has failed to draw in the young militants.

It appeared that at this convention Wilkins would finally be forced to step down. But when the Majority Caucus effectively stripped Wilkins of the power to hire and fire, which cut off all possibility of his picking a successor,

Wilkins refused to retire. He claimed that he had been made the target of a "campaign of vilification." Wilkins' decision not to step down may have also been influenced by his desire to increase his retirement benefits by staying on another year.

The decisions reached by the convention showed that with or without Wilkins at the helm, this rickety old ship is anchored to the politics of reformism and a line of begging for concessions. A resolution purportedly aimed at South Africa's apartheid and white minority rule, actually was a statement prettifying the role of U.S. imperialism. It urged the U.S. government, which has long supported the South African racist regime, to "continue (our emphasis-ed.) to take all public and diplomatic action to make evident its firm commitment in opposition to the racist policies of the South African regime . . ."

Rather than voicing support for the liberation struggles which are daily scoring new victories over the white minority regime in South Africa, the NAACP resolution objectively backed the plans of Ford and Kissinger for a settlement of the problem through "peaceful change" leaving the basic structure of political power intact. This resolution was passed at the very moment when hundreds of black South Africans were being shot down in the streets of Soweto and Alexandra.

Never mentioned was the \$800 million in foreign investments pumped into South Africa by U.S.

corporations in the face of the world-wide boycott against the Vorster regime. Some of these corporations are also the benefactors of the NAACP, such as General Motors, which bailed the organization out of debt earlier this year to the tune of \$300,000.

A second emergency resolution denounced Ford's anti-busing legislation as "blatant racism." It pointed out that "the nation and in particular the cities of Boston and Pasadena, has experienced a return to the racially violent days of the Reconstruction Era."

### LEGALISTIC POLICY

While condemning the "death threats to several NAACP leaders" and other acts of terror in Boston and elsewhere, the convention called only for more "investigations" and continued reliance on court suits and other legalisms. This legalistic policy of the NAACP proved especially treacherous on April 24 when they cancelled a march of thousands against segregation in Boston just before it was to take place.

The NAACP attacks on President Ford sounded hollow in light of the fact that he was the keynote speaker at the last convention and received the praises of the leadership at that time. First calling on Black people to rely on the ruling class for its freedom and then crying the blues when they don't deliver—this is the line of the NAACP misleaders.

The 67th NAACP Convention shows once again that this line leads down a dead-end road to defeat.

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# POLISH WORKERS FACE REPRESSION

In the wake of last month's strike by Polish workers against food price increases, the new capitalists who run that country have jailed 13 workers for terms of up to ten years and have carried out a series of measures designed to repress the workers' movement.

A dispatch from the Albanian Telegraphic Agency July 2 also reveals that the Polish authorities have now admitted to the murder of two workers and the brutalizing of many more during the June rebellion.

"The police killed two demonstrators in the strikes and demonstrations," admitted the chairman of the Radom City (Poland) executive committee in a meeting with the press. He also admitted that the demonstrations went far beyond the scope originally reported. He pointed out that 75 policemen were wounded when workers charged the party headquarters and attacked the factories and railroad lines.

The underground Polish Communist Party (PCP) issued a statement June 26 commenting both on the heroic workers' uprising and the repression by the authorities. Because the PCP is a Marxist-Leninist party which exposes Soviet social-imperialism's domination over Poland and attacks the new bourgeoisie which runs the country, it has come under sharp repression from the ruling clique of Edward Gierk.

The June 26 statement issued by the PCP said, "In the past five years, the Gierk clique has made a big step in the direction of turning Poland into a semi-colony of Russian social-imperialism. The country has been brought under the imperialist yoke of debts and turned into a cheap market of international capital. Bourgeois ideology and culture occupy a dominant position in the country."

The statement saluted the workers' uprisings against the food price increases. It pointed out that in the face of such militant action, the Gierk clique was forced to withdraw its price hikes quickly. "The decision on price increases fell flat even before it was put into effect," says the statement. "Glory to the revolutionary workers and staff of Ursus and Zeran (factories where strikes took place—ed.), to the heroic proletariat of Warsaw and all of Poland who displayed a revolutionary will of daring to fight and win victory."

The PCP statement also drew the link between the 1970 uprising of dock workers in Gdansk and the most recent struggles. Neither uprising was an "accident" nor a "desperate" strike, but a "manifestation of the consciousness and will of the whole Polish proletariat in fighting for its due political and economic rights."

The PCP also pointed out the danger of disunity among Polish workers and lack of vigilance against the Gierk clique. "If the working class should believe in the demagogic propaganda of the renegades to communism and act like meek sheep, the Gierk

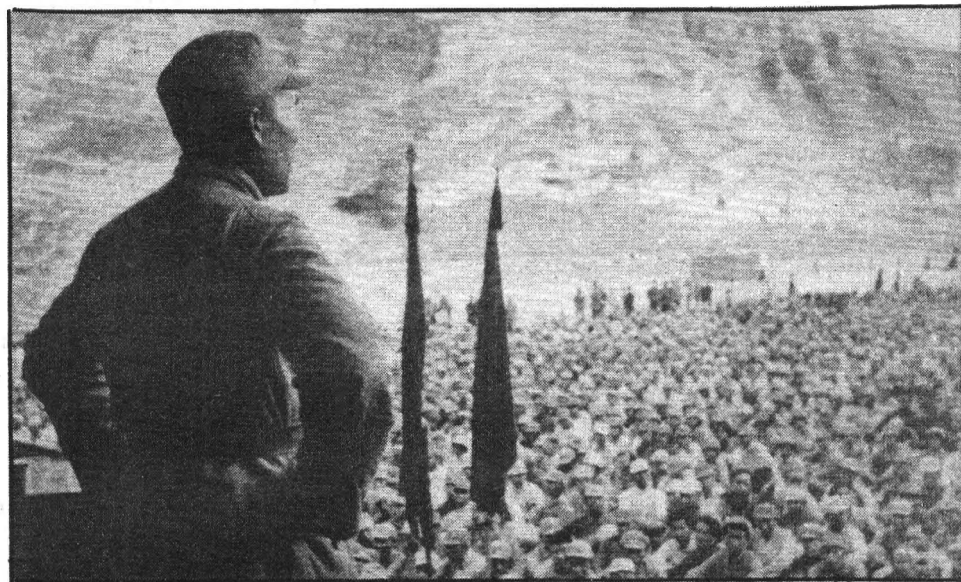
clique would seize everything you have mercilessly."

The demagogic propaganda referred to in the statement includes the barrage of lies being spread by Gierk and other officials that the workers who struck were "fringe elements" who have "no place in society." The Polish authorities have also tried to pretend that their decision on food prices was a "compromise made after consultation with many people," rather than a retreat in the face of mass anger.

The PCP statement sums up the June uprising by drawing the lesson that the Polish working class must rely on its own ef-

forts for emancipation from the Polish ruling class and the Soviet social-imperialists. It points out that the victory won on food prices was the direct result of the workers' revolutionary offensive and that such actions must be increased and expanded.

In conclusion, the statement says, "Only by organizing themselves in a revolutionary party will the Polish proletariat be able to become a powerful force. Only in this way will it be able . . . to win final victory in combating the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and grasp in its own hands the whole political power."



(Hsinhua)

## MEMORIAL FOR CHU TEH

Solemn memorial services were held on July 11 in Peking to pay last respects to comrade Chu Teh (pictured above commanding the Eighth Route Army in 1937). Chu Teh was a great hero of China's revolution and a leading member of the Communist Party and the National People's Congress.

The October League, along with many other Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, state leaders and foreign governments, presented a wreath at memorial services for Chu Teh. A delegation of the U.S. Communist Youth Organization visiting China gave its condolences to Kang Ke-ching, Chu Teh's widow and other members of his family.

In a memorial speech, Hua Kuo-feng, First Vice-Chairman of the CPC Central Committee and Premier of the State Council, said of Chu Teh, "We should learn from his revolutionary spirit of fighting the enemy staunchly and courageously. In the face of the ferocious class enemies, in the years of fiery wars and in the storm and stress of class struggle, he fought heroically, regardless of personal danger, and full of confidence in victory."

Chu Teh was best known for his work in building up the Red Army under Chairman Mao's political guidance and his brilliant leadership of military campaigns against both the Japanese invaders and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries.



## ...in brief...

**SUDAN COUP:** The facts behind the July 2 attempted coup d'état in Sudan have now come into full view. The Soviet Union is the superpower that pulled the strings on the conspiracy to overthrow the government of Jaafar Nimeri.

The Soviet social-imperialists armed and trained the conspirators. When their revolt began, the Soviet news agency Tass showered them with praise and reported that the uprising was taking place on a "large scale." But the Soviet Union quickly dropped out of the picture when the coup failed and the conspirators were captured with large quantities of Soviet-made weapons.

In a broadcast to the nation July 12, Sudanese President Nimeri said, "The stupid and crazy foreign invasion is aimed not only at undermining Sudan's security, but also at disturbing the security of the area. It aims at surrounding Egypt from the south by setting up a puppet regime in Sudan."

Five years ago, the Soviet Union sponsored another aborted coup d'état aimed at overthrowing Nimeri.

**RESISTANCE IN ARGENTINA:** The June 9 issue of No Transar, published secretly by the Communist Party (M-L) of Argentina reports widespread acts of resistance against the Videla dictatorship on the occasion of the anniversary of the Cordobazo in May. The Cordobazo was a powerful rebellion in 1969 in Cordoba, the most highly industrialized city in Argentina. On the seventh anniversary of the struggle, communist groups distributed thousands of leaflets and successfully used that day to "do conspicuous mass agitation and propaganda against the dictatorship," according to No Transar.

**RALLIES FOR LE GAL:** Rallies, marches and vigils were held throughout France June 26 to demand freedom for Romain Le Gal, imprisoned militant of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of France (PCMLF). Le Gal, a young worker from Brittany, was jailed on charges of subversion and of membership in the illegal PCMLF.

On July 11, one thousand citizens of Le Gal's home town of L'Orient rallied to demand his immediate freedom.

## New Rebellions in S. Africa

New rebellions among blacks have erupted in South Africa against the brutal apartheid system and the white supremacist regime of President John Vorster. In the coal-mining center of Witbank, some 3,000 black youths participated in a city-wide rebellion July 20 which was only broken up when government police opened machine-gun fire.

The Vorster regime closed down South Africa's black schools in June after the week-long rebellion that swept the major schools and cities. Claiming that "calm" had been restored, the authorities re-opened the schools in mid-July. The students, who have played a vital role in the black rebellion, greeted the re-opening of the schools with renewed protests and demonstrations.

In the black ghetto of Mhluzi near Witbank, students from six schools joined a protest march on government headquarters, shouting slogans against apartheid and attacking several government offices and cars. At Fort Hare, one of only three black universities, students set fire to the buildings and organized demonstrations on July 20.

In addition to these events, other spontaneous outbreaks of opposition to apartheid have increased since the June uprising. Several of the big mineral mines, as well as U.S.-owned factories like Chrysler, have been the target of work stoppages, strikes and other protests.

While the Azanian people of South Africa have been stepping up their struggle against apartheid, the Zimbabwean people in white supremacist-ruled Rhodesia have intensified their guerrilla struggle against the Ian Smith regime.

The Zimbabwean guerrillas, who have been fighting mainly in the bush and border areas of Rhodesia, carried out attacks inside the capital city of Salisbury two weeks ago. They have also killed a number of enemy troops in raids near the Mozambique border during the last two weeks.

## From the World Press



API, the organ of the Communist Party of Indonesia, carried a statement from that party's central committee on the occasion of its 56th anniversary. The statement sums up the past decade of struggle the PKI has been waging against imperialism and the reactionary Suharto regime, which took power 10 years ago in a bloody counter-revolutionary coup.

The statement calls the past 10 years "the darkest period" in the lives of the people. It says, "We are confident, however, that such a situation is transient. It was precisely in the midst of rampant fascist White terror that 10 years ago, on the 46th anniversary of the party, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PKI decided to make self-criticism and called for criticism to be launched from below. . . ." The target of the self-criticism was "the opportunist and revisionist mistakes that had been committed in the light of the old line. . . ."

Summing up and rectifying these past mistakes, the statement points out: "The main form of struggle to destroy the Suharto fascist military dictatorship completely and to install a people's democratic power cannot but be the revolutionary armed struggle of the masses of the people, a struggle which is essentially the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat."

The statement sums up the international situation as "highly favorable for the struggle of the revolutionary people of the world." It points out that: "World imperialism—which is headed by the U.S. and Soviet social-imperialists—is beset with a deep crisis."

The statement warns that: "Capitalizing on the opportunities created by the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Indochina and its declining influence in other southeast Asian countries, the Soviet social-imperialists are actively penetrating and stretching their claws into this region. While continuing their resolute struggle to overthrow the Suharto fascist regime and its master, U.S. imperialism, the Indonesian people will carry on the fight against Soviet social-imperialism's thrust."

The statement voiced strong support for the liberation struggle in East Timor led by FRETILIN, which it says, "have inflicted no small losses and casualties on Suharto's fascist aggressor troops." It concludes by stating: "In observing the 56th anniversary of the PKI, we are resolved to carry on the struggle of those Communist fighters who have fallen in glory. . . . The struggle of the PKI and the Indonesian people can never be defeated!"



# 'PLENTY TO RAISE HELL ABOUT!' SAY ANGRY AUTO WORKERS

United Auto Workers' president Leonard Woodcock clasped the hand of GM negotiator George Morris tightly as contract talks opened July 19 in Detroit. Both were optimistic, they claimed, because both agreed that no major questions divided them, and no strike need cloud the air of class collaboration that predominated at the bargaining table.

"There's no emotional issue out here that our members can raise hell about," Woodcock assured the giant auto monopolies.

"Raise hell about safety!" was the response of an October League leaflet circulated at Dodge Truck in Detroit.

In the previous week alone at this plant, a number of serious accidents had occurred. One woman twisted her neck and hip as she was thrown around in a truck that went off the line. The foreman refused her a medical pass. When another worker gashed his hand, temporary stitches were put in because no doctor was available. The foreman then put him on a heavier job, and the stitches broke open.

Last week at Warren Stamping, also in Detroit, a worker lost his hand in a press when it went out of control, and at Van Nuys in Los Angeles (see page 1) two workers have been killed and another critically electrocuted in the past few weeks alone. Yet Woodcock says there is "nothing to raise hell about."

In almost every plant in the country, the working conditions have gone from bad to worse. In the body shop line at Van Nuys GM assembly plant, workers report to *The Call* that the speed is 65 an hour—one car every 55 seconds.



WOODCOCK fronts off for Carter (left) and Henry Ford (right).

More work has been put on most jobs, and a good many have been combined. Shifts go from 9 to 14 hours a day, including 2 Saturdays a month. "Many job overload grievances have been filed, including 70 in the body shop," the report continues, "but few, if any, settled."

Injuries and deaths have been the result of these speedups and job combinations.

In an interview with *The Call*, a Chicano worker from the Ford plant in Pico Rivera, Calif., explained that "the line speed used to be 33 jobs an hour, and then they began adding work. Now they raised the line speed gradually to 50 and above per hour, and you're stuck with all the extra work."

"Recently, one guy was walking through the trim department to go home," he continued, "and he just dropped dead. They moved him to the locker area on a cement floor and tried to revive him, but they didn't have any stretcher or oxygen equipment—

or even a blanket."

The recent speedups and job overloading have come on the heels of massive layoffs and great hardships for auto workers. At its peak, the layoff hit 212,000 workers. Some were off the job for as much as a year or two. Autoworkers are still faced with steep bills and back payments at home, left over from the time they were off the job. They are also aware that another slump period lies ahead after the first big wave of new models comes off the lines in late fall. This has made many workers understandably hesitant to strike when the contract expires Sept. 14.

But the UAW misleaders are trying to use the crisis hardships and threat of layoffs to discourage militancy among workers and push through a sell-out contract. "I think we'd be able to sell the members a package this year that wouldn't have been accepted in 1970 or 1973," commented one UAW official.

"We didn't come in with guns

blazing," was Woodcock's way of describing his own negotiating position. "Tough talk would paint us into a corner," he said.

Liberal reformists like Woodcock and his UAW cronies usually strike a more militant pose as they enter negotiations and at least pay lip service to the most pressing demands of the rank and file. But Woodcock, in particular, is shooting to be Jimmy Carter's Secretary of Labor, and is making an extra effort to protect the interests of the capitalists and their "recovery" this year.

But all the trade union bureaucrats have a stake in defending capitalism, the system that puts company profits ahead of workers' safety. By speeding up the line, millions more in profits are squeezed out of auto workers. (GM made \$800 million last year). It's these millions, along with the even larger superprofits gained through exploiting workers in the third world,

which go in small part to bribe and corrupt the labor bureaucrats, who are now meeting in cozy quarters negotiating with their benefactors for a contract.

UAW's negotiator at GM, Irving Bluestone, even assured the company that they can meet the union's meager demands for the 1976 contract and "still make enviable profits."

"How long will we workers tolerate the sell-out, the bloodshed, the accidents which could have been avoided, the speedups that help cause accidents, the system that puts profits ahead of human life and limb?" asks an OL leaflet passed out at Warren Stamping in Detroit.

Is this really a contract year with no burning demands? Health and safety? Job security? Forced overtime? Speedup? Job combination? Discrimination? Pension benefits? Wages?

"We got to organize the people to 'raise hell' about our contract demands," said one Black auto worker to *The Call* in Detroit. "Organize the people to get rid of the union bureaucrats and to fight the system itself."

## California Canneries Shut Down

Oakland, Ca.—Some 30,000 cannery workers throughout the state shut down 74 plants owned by 28 canning companies when they walked out July 20. Demands include a wage increase of \$3.00-an-hour to make up for a 13% decline in real income since the last contract and a reduction in the number of hours needed to qualify for regular benefits.

The media has launched a slander campaign against the strikers, trying to turn the public, along with small farmers and independent truckers, against the workers. Ronald Reagan called on the President to invoke the Taft-Hartley against strikers immediately, saying, "This strike threatens to bring disaster to California agriculture and fuel a new round of inflated food prices."

Chairman of the Canning Peach Association told the press July 26: "I don't give a damn whether they settle the strike right away. If it goes 3 to 4 weeks," he added, "it will be such a disaster that they'll pass a law outlawing strikes at harvest time."

An important issue which has sparked rank-and-file activity in the strike is the so-called 'consent decree' pushed through the courts last month and backed by major canning companies, the government and the Teamster misleadership. By creating separate seniority categories for skilled and unskilled workers, this decree intensifies discrimination against the large numbers of minority and women workers in the canning industry.

Workers have demanded one straight seniority list for all workers. Demonstrations of some 6,000 workers have taken place at Lodi and Stockton, aimed mainly against this consent decree. The leadership of these rallies, however, has been criticized by rank-and-file strikers for "trying to limit the struggle to legalist maneuvers."

Cannery workers are represented by the Teamsters in 13 union locals across the state. These misleaders backed the consent decree and have also kept workers in the dark about strike tactics and negotiations. One woman cannery worker told *The Call* that the "Teamsters have also limited picketing as part of their plan to make the rank and file as powerless as possible." But, she added, "by relying on ourselves and organizing mass actions, we can fight to overturn their treacherous leadership."

## Martial Law Declared in Ohio IUE Strike

Sidney, Ohio—Fierce police repression and even martial law have not dampened the militant spirit of 2,600 striking workers at Copeland Corporation in this city.

When their contract expired on June 1, members of Local 725 of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), went on strike. They are demanding higher wages, a cost-of-living clause and an end to a 45-hour week with mandatory overtime.

The local's strike was opposed by both the company and the international union, who claimed it was a wildcat. They base their claim on a ten-day cooling off period allegedly written into the contract. Although the local had never heard of this clause, militant workers were fired. The demand to rehire them has become a real focus of the strike, according to the local's vice-president in an interview with *The Call*.

In defiance of a court injunction, 1,500 strikers staged a mass picket July 16 to prevent scabbing. The picketers were attacked by police, hosed down, and some 25 arrested, thrown into police vans.

When these angry workers regrouped at police headquarters to protest, they were met with more brutality. Hundreds of townspeople joined in the defense of the strikers and retaliated against local police harassment.

Martial law was declared, closing all the stores and forbidding gatherings of five or more people.

Three hundred policemen were brought in from neighboring counties to "preserve the peace."

These actions by police only served to strengthen the unity of the strikers and broaden community support. The following Monday, July 19, 1,000 people marched on Sidney's city hall, including the October League and other supporters from around Ohio. Many residents have contributed to the strike, and most local grocery stores are allowing strikers to purchase their goods at wholesale prices and on credit.

The international union sent a lawyer to cool out the strike. She urged strikers to rely on the legal system, opposing mass picketing.

But the strikers were not taken in. "The main thing I learned is to stick together and get the people behind you," explained Jeanne Brooks to *The Call*. Sarah Keister, another striker, summed up a political lesson of the strike so far. "The police and the courts in Sidney belong to Copeland," she said. "But it's not just in Sidney—it's all over. The whole judicial system is bought."

### Oppose Beatty Sell-out

## RANK & FILE MOVE AT ST. LUKE'S

Milwaukee, Wis.—Over 200 members of Local 150 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) have ended a six-week strike at St. Luke's Hospital. They walked out May 24 when no agreement was reached on a new contract.

Union misleaders at first tried to prevent the strike. The day after the walkout began, Don Beatty, president of statewide Local 150, sent a letter to all strikers urging them to go back to work. But strikers ignored this letter.

Later, without the consent of the local bargaining team, Beatty signed a sweetheart agreement with the hospital. Again, workers stood firm. Although they were

not receiving strike benefits promised by Beatty, they voted to reject the contract and continue the strike. When the hospital threatened to fire all the strikers, however, workers decided to end the strike and continue the struggle inside.

"I know we have to fight the company, but since when do you have to fight your own union brothers?" said one frustrated member of the bargaining team about Beatty's leadership. "I think Beatty is trying to break the union," said another.

In fact, Beatty was acting like every other trade union bureaucrat. He got a raise for his supporters—the higher paid workers like those in maintenance—at the expense of

the unskilled workers, who make up the vast majority of union members.

Beatty sold out all the demands of the rank and file. In particular, he made sure to keep out an amnesty clause that would protect workers from being fired for strike-related actions. Already, four of the strongest leaders have been fired.

Beatty's leadership is one reason why wages have remained so low and discrimination so rampant for hospital and service workers all over Wisconsin. Women and minorities are mainly confined to the unskilled jobs. The work force at St. Luke's is 90% women, 40% Black and 30% Latino. They work

in jobs like housekeeping, laundry and food services, where the starting pay before the strike was \$2.48 for many. Even when they are working full time, 35% of the workers must rely on welfare to support their families.

In spite of the union leadership's stand, workers demanded an end to these conditions. While their demands were not met, a strong rank-and-file movement is being built at St. Luke's.

"We're going to begin fighting from the inside now," said one worker. "The strike has made us stronger in many ways, and we're going to get ourselves ready to turn this union inside out and win our rights."



# REPORT FROM ORGANIZING COMMITTEE



The following is a report from the first meeting of the recently formed Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party which was formed out of the May Unity Meeting.

On July 17, 1976, the Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party (OC) met in Chicago to decide on principles and guidelines for writing the draft program for the new party and to develop a policy toward Marxist-Leninists not participating in the OC at this time.

The OC was formed last May and is composed of one representative from each group which has joined the unity trend. The OC is responsible for drafting a program and constitution and establishing rules for the founding Congress of the new party. The OC recently issued a call, "Marxist-Leninists Unite," which represents the views and principles of the unity trend.

The OC decided that "our program

must be an indictment of U.S. imperialism and a declaration of war against it." It must vividly and scientifically indicate the party's views and aims while demonstrating the revolutionary essence of the U.S. working class and the inevitability of proletarian revolution here. It must be a concise statement of a fighting communist party.

In working on the draft program, many important political questions have already been raised. This initial discussion of the program revealed that it will be primarily through the program debate that the political line of the new party will be struggled out. All the draft sections of the program will be widely circulated in order to give all Marxist-Leninists the opportunity to write commentaries expressing their views on the political questions central to the development of the program. In this way we will sharpen and clarify our political differences and heighten our unity.

The OC established the policy of "walking the extra mile without giving up an inch in principles" to govern its liaison work. The OC stands for Marxist-Leninist unity. It is therefore our duty to unite all Marxist-Leninists on the basis of our call to unite—to "go out of our way"—to seek out Marxist-Leninists and unite with them. The more firmly we stand on our principles and the more diligently we seek to unite, the easier it will be to draw out and expose the opportunists in our movement and draw clear lines of demarcation with them.

The OC voted to accept the request of a recently formed Marxist-Leninist collective in San Diego to join the OC. It also decided to establish responsibility for liaison work on a regional basis and set plans for a nationwide speaking tour to begin next month.

## Hinton's Folly

# A 'NEUTRA

In this world dominated by two rival superpowers, anti-imperialists are constantly being solicited by various "friends" who propose an alliance with one superpower against the other.

In our movement, the most dangerous and strongest tendency of this type is that of the CPUSA revisionists and centrists like the Guardian, who prettify the Soviet Union as a socialist country and call on the revolutionary movement in the U.S. and around the world to ally with the USSR to fight the U.S.

But another dangerous tendency has now appeared, hinting at alliance with U.S. imperialism to fight the Soviet Union. This line is being suggested by William Hinton, the national chairman of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association (USCPFA) and others within that organization. They hold the view that U.S. imperialism should be "neutralized," rather than be the target of all-out class struggle.

In an article in China and Us (March-April) which was reprinted by the Guardian (May 5), Hinton writes, for example,

The October League is a communist organization working along with other Marxist-Leninists towards the formation of a new party. Part of this process includes summing up areas of our work in order to learn the necessary lessons from our advances and our setbacks.

For communists in the U.S., the trade union movement is an essential area of work and a testing ground for the development of a correct political line. As part of our efforts to unite in a party with communists on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, we have written the series "A Communist View of the Trade Unions" (of which this is the concluding part). In these articles, we have summed up our understanding of this question and our experience.

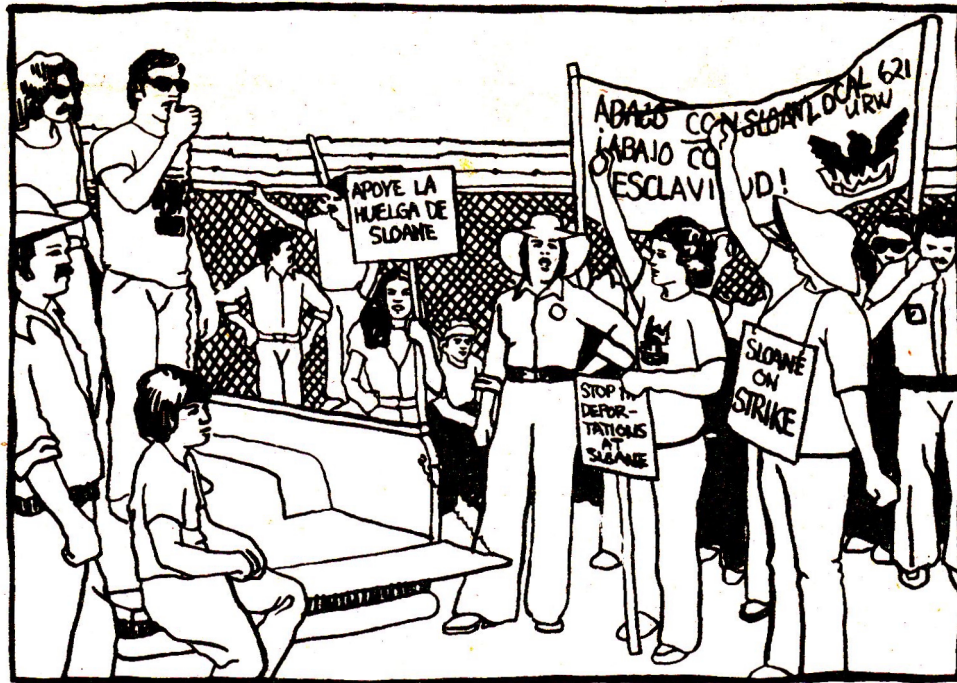
It is only through this process of practice, criticism, and transformation that our work can improve and that communism can develop in the heat of mass struggle.

During its five years of existence, the October League has consistently placed great emphasis on working inside the trade unions. The OL has waged a continuous fight against opportunists of all stripes who preach standing outside the trade union struggle.

These opportunists attack work within the unions from two angles. On one side are groups like the Revolutionary Union (now the Revolutionary Communist Party) who have promoted the dual unionist line of "jamming the trade unions" and building a pure "revolutionary workers' movement" rather than waging the struggle within the unions. On the other side are those like the "Revolutionary Wing" and the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee (MLOC) who have promoted the theory of "first build the party—then work in the mass struggle." This line calls for building a new party based exclusively on narrow

stands the anti-working class bias of petty-bourgeois radicals. They go against the rising Marxist-Leninist trend towards fusion between communism and the working-class movement.

The OL's view from the very beginning was that, despite the backwardness of the trade unions and the reactionary character of their leadership, the unions are still the most basic form of working-class organization. Especially in an advanced capitalist country like the U.S., no communist party



SLOANE STRIKE—merged working class and Chicano national movements.

worthy of the name can be built apart from the trade union struggle.

At its First Congress in 1972, the October League adopted the principles of building party organization at the point of production and carrying out work through the factory nucleus and trade union fraction. With little in the way of practical experience, the OL set about the task of integrating itself with the movement of the working class. In this early period, the OL mainly carried out investigations and engaged in limited forms of agitation and propaganda.

Since there was no national newspaper and no national organization, the OL began its work through the form of local shop newspapers such as "Blowout" (among the rubber workers), "Ignition" (among International Harvester workers), and "The Scoop" (among Nabisco workers).

These papers were aimed primarily at the advanced workers. They tried to teach communist ideas based on the workers' own experiences in the unions. They waged sharp struggle against the union bureaucrats and revisionists of the Communist Party

(CPUSA). They took a revolutionary stand in support of the Afro-American and other minority struggles and against white chauvinism. They were also influential in a

workers' movement set good conditions for future work.

During this early period, many nuclei of communist workers were formed, and the OL placed itself firmly within the working-class movement, both ideologically and organizationally. The OL also organized mass labor conferences to sum up the experiences of communists in the unions and to develop working unity with other communists.

In October 1972, the October League first published its monthly communist newspaper, *The Call*. This also marked the development of the OL as a national organization and a period of expanded work within the trade unions.

That same month, a strike of great significance broke out in Atlanta at Mead Packaging Corporation, where the OL had one of its nuclei. It was the first strike openly led by communists in many years. Under this communist leadership, the Mead workers stood up against mass jailings and violent attacks by police. They also fought the betrayal of their strike by their own union leaders and the reformists like Hosea Williams of SCLC. Both these opportunists tried unsuccessfully for weeks to get the workers back into the factory.

The Mead strike also demonstrated a theme that OL has pushed forward in all



SELLING *The Call* at U.S. Steel.

propaganda circle work, ignoring communist tasks in the trade unions and other areas of mass work.

Behind both incorrect views, as well as the view of the right-opportunists and arm-chair revolutionaries like the Guardian,

small number of strikes by giving tactical guidance to the struggle and winning respect for communist leadership among a small section of workers.

This attempt to establish a network of local communist shop newspapers produced many positive results. However, in many ways, it was premature. Without a national newspaper or a party to tie these separate struggles together into a nationwide class struggle for socialism, this shop paper work served to disperse the efforts of a small organization. In some places, propaganda and agitation work through shop papers was carried out to the exclusion of work inside the unions. As a result, the communists and the shop papers became isolated from the masses of workers.

The main achievement of this early period of factory work was the recruitment of a strong group of advanced workers into the OL. As a result of the initial attempts at political agitation and propaganda, these workers came forward. They participated in and led plant struggles and soon joined communist study groups and later the OL itself. These initial and small links to the



MEAD wildcat strike, 1972.

its work—that the labor struggle and the movements of the Afro-American and others must be merged. Through the course of this mostly-Black strike, the communists pointed the way forward towards working-class unity which led the strike to victory.

Despite widespread red-baiting, the communists were able to win broad support from the rank and file and were openly elected to strike leadership. Many workers were mobilized to demand the release



# A 'NEUTRAL' U. S. IMPERIALISM?



In this world dominated by two rival superpowers, anti-imperialists are constantly being solicited by various "friends" who propose an alliance with one superpower against the other.

In our movement, the most dangerous and strongest tendency of this type is that of the CPUSA revisionists and centrists like the Guardian, who prettify the Soviet Union as a socialist country and call on the revolutionary movement in the U.S. and around the world to ally with the USSR to fight the U.S.

But another dangerous tendency has now appeared, hinting at alliance with U.S. imperialism to fight the Soviet Union. This line is being suggested by William Hinton, the national chairman of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association (USCPFA) and others within that organization. They hold the view that U.S. imperialism should be "neutralized," rather than be the target of all-out class struggle.

In an article in China and Us (March-April) which was reprinted by the Guardian (May 5), Hinton writes, for example,

that the correct policy today is to "neutralize the U.S." He incorrectly attributes this policy to China and then goes on to make his own appeal for "American leaders" to "choose the broad highway of a united resistance, of collective security." He further speculates that U.S. imperialism could enter a united front with the countries, nations and peoples of the world and abandon its striving for world hegemony. He suggests that U.S. imperialism play the role of "friend and ally to the people of the world."

Furthermore, the published minutes of the National Steering Committee meeting of the USCPFA (April 9-11, 1976) record Hinton as stating that there is "an important possible basis of unity with the big American leaders," and that reaching out to the working class and minority nationality peoples in the U.S. "is a bad yardstick" for judging the Association's work. All these statements and others reflect a political line leading to the view of a united front with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union.

Since the revisionists are using Hinton's

view of "neutralizing the U.S." to attack China and the U.S. Marxist-Leninists, it is necessary to affirm that under today's conditions, both superpowers remain the main enemies of the world's people. Both aggress, bully and exploit internationally. They are the only powers capable of launching a new world war. It is impossible for either to remain "neutral" as the U.S. did for a time at the start of WWII.

Neither the Chinese Communist Party nor the October League, nor any Marxist-Leninist party we know today calls for "neutralizing" the U.S. or allying with the U.S. to build a united front against the Soviet Union alone.

The correct policy is to build the international united front against imperialism headed by both superpowers. In the course of building this united front, it is also correct and essential to deal the main blow at the Soviet Union.

The USSR is the main source of war. It is a superpower on the rise, while the U.S. is on the decline. It now possesses the largest military fortress, especially in

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## Communist View of Trade Unions

# SUMMARY OF OCTOBER LEAGUE WORK

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The Mead strike also demonstrated a theme that OL has pushed forward in all

of the communists when they were jailed. Through the course of this strike, a leading core of workers was won to the OL who later assumed leading positions in the organization.

In addition to the strike at Mead, the OL in that period played a role in organizing mass struggle in the basic industries like steel and auto against the reactionary leadership of those unions. In auto, the rank-and-file Brotherhood Caucus with some 2,000 members was built at General Motors (Fremont, Calif.) against the reactionary Woodcock leadership.

The Brotherhood Caucus, in which OL played an active role, ran a slate in the union elections in 1973. It included many open communists as well as reformists and won a significant election victory. In steel, a mass rank-and-file movement was built with OL's participation. This movement hit hard at the Abel leadership. Standing in league with the steel companies, the Abel leadership has defended their racist hiring and promotion policies and attacks on the right-to-strike.

### ORGANIZING DRIVES

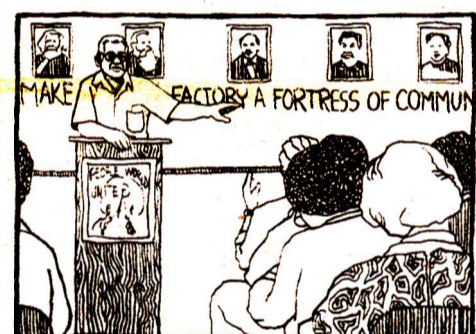
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In the course of this period leading up to OL's Second Congress in 1973, many breakthroughs were made. Communists began to deepen their ties to the workers' movement and win recognition from the most advanced and militant workers. The circulation of *The Call* among factory workers increased many times over. But in summing up this period, it is important to look at the errors that were made as well as the advances.

While the OL's trade union line was only in the process of development, a strong rightist deviation appeared in the midst of a generally sound approach to the labor work. The rightist deviation took the form of tailing sections of the reformist union leadership. It preached gradualism as opposed to revolutionizing the trade unions. It blurred over the task of turning the unions into organizations which fight for the total emancipation of the working class.

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LABOR Conference in Atlanta.

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The OL opposes all fascist measures aimed at the working class and the broad masses. But the main enemy of the workers in the trade unions is the reformist and revisionist union leaders. It is these opportunists who have the greatest hold on the workers ideologically and organizationally. They have turned the trade unions into flabby, bureaucratic organizations based on class collaboration rather than class struggle.

As the danger of fascism and open terror attacks on the unions increases, it will be these opportunists who leave the working class disarmed. The different wings of the reactionary union leaders have their contradictions, which must be used to our advantage. In general, however, this whole bu-



g class and Chicano national movements.

small number of strikes by giving tactical guidance to the struggle and winning respect for communist leadership among a small section of workers.

This attempt to establish a network of local communist shop newspapers produced many positive results. However, in many ways, it was premature. Without a national newspaper or a party to tie these separate struggles together into a nationwide class struggle for socialism, this shop paper work served to disperse the efforts of a small organization. In some places, propaganda and agitation work through shop papers was carried out to the exclusion of work inside the unions. As a result, the communists and the shop papers became isolated from the masses of workers.

The main achievement of this early period of factory work was the recruitment of a strong group of advanced workers into the OL. As a result of the initial attempts at political agitation and propaganda, these workers came forward. They participated in and led plant struggles and soon joined communist study groups and later the OL itself. These initial and small links to the



MEAD wildcat strike, 1972.

its work—that the labor struggle and the movements of the Afro-American and others must be merged. Through the course of this mostly-Black strike, the communists pointed the way forward towards working-class unity which led the strike to victory.

Despite widespread red-baiting, the communists were able to win broad support from the rank and file and were openly elected to strike leadership. Many workers were mobilized to demand the release



# L' U. S. IMPERIALISM?

that the correct policy today is to "neutralize the U.S." He incorrectly attributes this policy to China and then goes on to make his own appeal for "American leaders" to "choose the broad highway of a united resistance, of collective security." He further speculates that U.S. imperialism could enter a united front with the countries, nations and peoples of the world and abandon its striving for world hegemony. He suggests that U.S. imperialism play the role of "friend and ally to the people of the world."

Furthermore, the published minutes of the National Steering Committee meeting of the USCPFA (April 9-11, 1976) record Hinton as stating that there is "an important possible basis of unity with the big American leaders," and that reaching out to the working class and minority nationality peoples in the U.S. "is a bad yardstick" for judging the Association's work. All these statements and others reflect a political line leading to the view of a united front with U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union.

Since the revisionists are using Hinton's

view of "neutralizing the U.S." to attack China and the U.S. Marxist-Leninists, it is necessary to affirm that under today's conditions, both superpowers remain the main enemies of the world's people. Both aggress, bully and exploit internationally. They are the only powers capable of launching a new world war. It is impossible for either to remain "neutral" as the U.S. did for a time at the start of WWII.

Neither the Chinese Communist Party, nor the October League, nor any Marxist-Leninist party we know today calls for "neutralizing" the U.S. or allying with the U.S. to build a united front against the Soviet Union alone.

The correct policy is to build the international united front against imperialism headed by both superpowers. In the course of building this united front, it is also correct and essential to deal the main blow at the Soviet Union.

The USSR is the main source of war. It is a superpower on the rise, while the U.S. is on the decline. It now possesses the largest military fortress, especially in

Europe, which is the focus of the rivalry, and is expanding its military strength at the greatest pace. It disguises and hides its imperialist actions under the signboard of socialism. In order to expose the Soviet Union and strengthen vigilance against it, we must deal it the main blow.

But aiming the main blow of our exposure at Soviet social-imperialism in no way constitutes any kind of alliance, objective or subjective, with U.S. imperialism, nor is it in any way contradictory to our immediate strategic aim of overthrowing U.S. imperialism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the contrary, it is centrism and revisionism, with its line of reformism, which tail the bourgeoisie and practice alliance with U.S. imperialism; and it is only by aiming the main blow against the revisionists and their Soviet social-imperialist masters that the fight to overthrow U.S. imperialism can be brought to a victorious conclusion.

Today, the conditions for a united front against the Soviet Union which could include the U.S. imperialists do not exist. This is not to say that they will never exist in the future. But in any event, Hinton's view of such a united front, which puts the bourgeoisie in leadership and abandons communist independence and initiative, is never applicable on principle. In this sense there is an historical parallel between Hin-

ton's emphasis on unity with "big American leaders" and the revisionism of Earl Browder during the Second World War.

During the war years, when a united front including the U.S. imperialists against the fascist Axis was the policy of the whole world communist movement (1941-45), Browder, as leader of the Communist Party in the U.S., liquidated the class struggle for the sake of closer "unity" with the U.S. imperialists. Even after the war was over and the conditions for the united front against the Axis no longer existed, Browder continued to peddle a line of working class submission to the imperialists.

The struggle to smash the revisionists, who urge us to "rely on the Soviet Union" in the revolutionary struggle must be intensified. But in dealing the main blow at the Soviet Union, we must never forget that we are still living in a world in which both superpowers constitute the main enemy.

Within the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association, Hinton's line of reliance on the U.S. imperialists represents a danger that could harm the cause of friendship between the peoples of the two countries. USCPFA must promote friendship between the broad masses of American people, who are overwhelmingly workers and minorities, and the Chinese people. Such friendship is part of the worldwide struggle against both superpowers.

## of Trade Unions

# BER LEAGUE WORK

of the communists when they were jailed. Through the course of this strike, a leading core of workers was won to the OL who later assumed leading positions in the organization.

In addition to the strike at Mead, the OL in that period played a role in organizing mass struggle in the basic industries like steel and auto against the reactionary leadership of those unions. In auto, the rank-and-file Brotherhood Caucus with some 2,000 members was built at General Motors (Fremont, Calif.) against the reactionary Woodcock leadership.

The Brotherhood Caucus, in which OL played an active role, ran a slate in the union elections in 1973. It included many open communists as well as reformists and won a significant election victory. In steel, a mass rank-and-file movement was built with OL's participation. This movement hit hard at the Abel leadership. Standing in league with the steel companies, the Abel leadership has defended their racist hiring and promotion policies and attacks on the right-to-strike.

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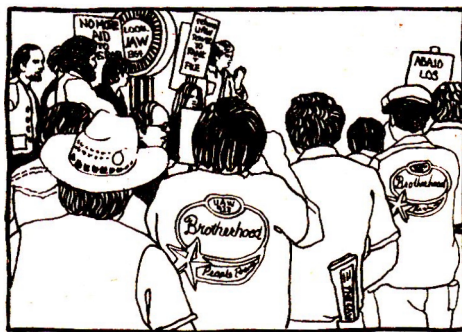
reaucacy, and the labor aristocracy on which it is based, stands as the enemy of the working class.

OL's earlier incorrect view led at times to alliances with Arnold Miller and Cesar Chavez and their like, based not on class struggle, but on tailing spontaneity and trade unionism.

Summing up these experiences, we can see that, in carrying out their work, communists are often forced to make tactical alliances with sections of the union leadership. This is done to deepen the ties between communists and workers under the influence of the reformists. Such tactical alliances can also be used to widen the contradictions between the rank and file and the reactionary leadership, creating the conditions for the isolation and ouster of the bureaucrats. But such alliances must be based upon the independence and initiative of the communists. To form such alliances from a position of weakness, without the right and ability to criticize the reformists, amounts to tailing behind these reformist leaders. This was the essence of the line of "pushing the unions to the left."

Through its work in building the Brotherhood Caucus and other rank-and-file caucus work, the OL gained rich experience in fighting the reformist trade union leaders. A participant in the Fremont struggle summed up that experience in *The Call* this way:

"One of the best forms that the working class has come up with in its fight against these misleaders has been the caucuses within the unions. These caucuses provide a concrete organization of struggle... with the ultimate goal of isolating them (the misleaders—ed.) and kicking them out of the union. Caucuses provide a mass organi-



BROTHERHOOD Caucus, G.M., Fremont.

zation for communists to win the masses to see the need for revolution, to struggle with other strata for political leadership of the class, to exert revolutionary influence on the whole union, and to work toward revolutionizing the unions."

The comrades in the Brotherhood criticized their work on three grounds: first, "propaganda work was much too limited."

This, it was pointed out, made the OL weak in linking the caucus struggle to the final goal of socialism and distinguishing the communists from the opportunists.



CAPITOL strike, 1975-76.

Secondly, the "task of building a strong communist organization in the plant was not always taken up" and, thirdly, "we did not struggle as we should have within the united front." This meant that Early Mays and other opportunists within the Brotherhood were able to wrest control of the caucus and destroy it following the election campaign victory.

Rightist errors of this type became evident in OL's work in the UMW and USWA and weakened the struggle against the reformist and revisionist trade union leaders.

Following the OL's Third Congress, a campaign of intensified struggle and study was directed against right-opportunism as the "main danger within the communist movement." This campaign focused heavily on work within the trade unions and has led to significant new breakthroughs. The main principles of trade union work have already been summed up in this series.

In the course of the past few months, OL has continued to give leadership to some of the most important struggles within the labor movement. The National Fight Back Organization was established with OL's leadership. This organization is uniting hundreds of employed and unemployed workers in the fight against capitalism and its attempt to make the working class pay the price for the economic crisis.

Recently, the OL's role in struggles such as the protracted Sloane strike, the six-month-long Capitol Packaging strike, and many others, has shown what communist leadership means in practice. Working consistently to educate the workers, to integrate the science of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions and basing work on the workers' own experiences and understanding, the October League has been able to play a vanguard role in these struggles. The OL has been able to promote more and more workers into the advanced

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 8)



# BINGO LONG'S ALL-STARS

The game of baseball has been played professionally in the United States for one hundred years. But for the first seventy of those years, it was played separately by all-white, heavily financed teams in northern industrial cities and by impoverished Black teams in the rural areas of the South and Midwest.

"The Bingo Long Traveling All-Stars and Motor Kings" is a movie that graphically depicts the period of Jim Crow segregation that is as much a part of baseball's history as Babe Ruth.

The movie is set in the late 1930s and focuses on one of the many Black teams that barn-stormed across the country playing local teams for whatever money they could make. Based on the true experiences of Black ballplayers such as Satchel Paige and Josh Gibson, the movie reveals a chapter of history that has been conveniently forgotten amid all the hoopla about baseball's 100th year.

The plight of Black ballplayers is vividly seen in the character of Charlie Snow (played by Richard Pryor). In the movie, Snow pretends to be Cuban, thinking he will

get into the 'White Leagues' where fame and money are to be found. When this fails, he pretends to be an Indian. The incident is based on the true story of Charlie Grant, who played for the Baltimore Orioles under the name "Chief Takahoma." When Grant's team played in Chicago, thousands of Black people showed up at the game to cheer him on. The manager then realized that Grant was not an Indian and fired him on the spot.

"Bingo Long," however, leaves you with the feeling that segregation and national oppression were things of the past. Like many of the liberal new Black films, it covers over the real causes of past and present racial discrimination. In this case, the white baseball fans and Black team owners are targeted while the liberal white team owner opens the doors to equality for the young Black athletes. (The white team owner in the film is modeled on Branch Rickey, who signed Jackie Robinson to the Dodgers in 1947 as the first Black player in the big leagues.)

In one scene, Leon (James Earl Jones) quotes the Black communist W.E.B. DuBois about the need

to "seize hold of the means of production." But this is mistaken by Bingo Long (Billy Dee Williams) to mean starting a separate independent team to get away from the domination of the owners.

The nostalgic and light way the question of segregation is dealt with gives no clue to the present-day situation, where only one Black is seen fit to manage a big-league team and militant ball players are blacklisted as "trouble-makers."



ALL-STARS recruit new player Esquire Joe.

## MINERS STRIKE . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

talists control to protect their class interests and assure their continued rule. The leaflet went on to show how the UMW leadership "would like us to depend on the very courts and legal system which have tied us like slaves to the mines."

The trade union bureaucrats,

the leaflet explains, call on miners "to reform a system designed to oppress us. . . These misleaders are selling us out and are themselves tied hand and foot to the ruling class."

The OL leaflet stressed the need to rebuild the rank-and-file movement under revolutionary leadership in order to break completely with the reformism of

Miller and other trade union bureaucrats.

The mushrooming support for this strike reflects the rank-and-file miners' solid backing and willingness to fight for the right to strike.

Since the start of the strike on July 19, at least 213 miners have been hit with contempt charges, although a scheduled July 17 hearing has been postponed indefinitely. As one miner told *The Call*: "If those men are sent to jail, fired or both, these coalfields will blow up!"

## TYLER MARCH . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

downtown area, crowds of shoppers enthusiastically welcomed it. Hundreds of people left the sidewalks and joined the march.

The march was preceded by a rally on the steps of the New Orleans City Hall, where the demonstrators listened to several speakers.

Mrs. Juanita Tyler, Gary's mother, recounted the facts of her son's case. She exposed the vicious frame-up and its racist character, and called on the people to redouble their efforts to free her son and other victims of "legal" lynching.

Bill Hampton, brother of slain Chicago Black Panther Party

leader, pointed out that both his brother and Gary Tyler were singled out because they took a firm stand in defense of the rights of Black people. He called on the people to unite and oppose the system which creates this oppression.

Ron Carter, a member of the October League, spoke for the July 24 Southwide Coalition. He called the struggle to free Gary Tyler a part of the struggle against the capitalist system and for socialism. He also exposed the vicious national oppression of the Afro-American people in the Black Belt South. "They kept us enslaved on the plantations for 200 years and as sharecroppers for 80 years more," he said, "and now when

the profits are gone from that, they've driven us off the land. Now they won't give us jobs!"

Carter demanded the right of self-determination for the Afro-American nation—including the right to secession as part of the overthrow of capitalism.

Carter's speech was a blow against the influence of opportunists involved in the Tyler campaign, such as the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and those allied with them, who try to limit the scope of the struggle to narrow reforms.

The demonstration was the culmination of many weeks of organizing work across the South, including New Orleans. There were petition drives, rallies, fundraisers and motorcades in many areas to spread the word about the Tyler case and mobilize people for the demonstration. The main base for these efforts was among workers in the shops and mills and on the docks. In New Orleans, for instance, longshoremen rallied in front of their hiring hall in support of Tyler the day before the march. Many workers in the garment industry, the hospitals and other plants united together for the July 24 march.

For those cities that couldn't send bus caravans to New Orleans, local actions were held that linked up the Tyler case with similar cases of racist injustice in their areas. A Boston demonstration, for instance, drew more than 200 people to demand freedom for Gary Tyler, while a march in Denver saw 175 people take to the streets.

Summing up the July 24 demonstration at a meeting of the Southwide Coalition after the march, Sherman Miller, a member of the Central Committee of the October League, reiterated the need for a socialist revolution and self-determination for Afro-Americans. He drew attention to the significance of the demand for self-determination raised by the Coalition, and said, "Not since the CPUSA abandoned its revolutionary stand in the 1940s has this demand for self-determination been raised in such a mass action. The response of the people today showed that they took up this demand as their own."

## BOOKSELLERS LEARN FROM CHINESE

In May, a delegation of U.S. Marxist-Leninist booksellers visited the People's Republic of China at the invitation of Guozi Shudian, the international distributor of Chinese books and periodicals. They visited printing presses, bookstores, and libraries to learn about the production and distribution of books under the dictatorship of the proletariat. One of the delegates, from Prairie Fire Bookstore in Houston, Texas, records some impressions:

"Before the Cultural Revolution, we had to print candy wrappers, because they were more profitable. . . Now we print Chairman Mao's works in large numbers to promote the struggle between proletarian and bourgeois ideology."

This statement by a worker at Hsinhua Press, China's largest publishing company, sums up the development of production and distribution of Chinese literature in the last decade. Everywhere we went, printers, booksellers, writers and ordinary workers and peasants told us about the flourishing of literature since the Cultural Revolution.

Before the Cultural Revolution, only intellectuals and scholars could be writers. They were encouraged to write about outmoded themes such as romantic love and the virtues of Confucius. These themes represented the viewpoint of the slave-owning, feudal and capitalist classes. But in the 1960s, a movement developed among workers and peasants to "take up the pen" and promote revolution.

Today, many factories have their own writers' and artists' groups. In Sian, we visited a meter works and saw dozens of novels, short stories, poems and

paintings which workers in the plant had produced.

Workers at Hsinhua Press angrily described the ways in which the rightist line was enforced in the printing plant before the Cultural Revolution. "The quality standards of Chairman Mao's works were kept so strict that only a few presses could print them, while Liu Shao-chi's books, such as *Self-Cultivation*, could be printed on all the presses."

During the Cultural Revolution, press workers worked overtime to print millions of copies of Chairman Mao's works and Marxist-Leninist classics so that the people could use them in their struggle against the new bourgeoisie. From 1961-1971, several hundred million copies were printed so that every family and study group could have their own set.

Bookstores themselves have changed since the Cultural Revolution. Now, booksellers pursue an "open-door" approach of going wherever the people are to distribute literature. At every store we visited, workers described their methods of getting books out to the people: opening lending libraries and reading rooms in the store, sending around bookmobiles, holding public lectures and study groups on new books, mailing books free of charge to people in the distant border regions, and opening special stores for early morning and late evening customers.

Our tour taught us that China's book industry is a "socialist new thing"—another way in which workers and peasants have taken control over the culture of their society to guarantee that they will always be the masters of their country.



NEW ORLEANS marchers demand Tyler's freedom. (Call photo)

## TRADE UNIONS . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

detachment of the class struggle and deepen its still-developing ties to intermediate workers and even sections of the backward workers.

Summing up the experiences of communists, the nucleus that worked in the Capitol strike wrote an article for *The Call* which pointed the way forward during this period:

"In this present period of bringing a new Marxist-Leninist party into existence, we must strengthen the base for this party among the workers themselves. The advanced workers who came forward in the leadership of the Capitol strike are exactly the kind of cadres needed by the new party—workers won to the science of revolution on the basis of their own experiences, tied closely to hundreds of other workers in the plant, and respected for their dedication in the fight against

all oppression."

This is exactly the kind of work OL is carrying out in its party-building efforts. Basing itself on the factory nucleus as its form of organization; developing an extensive agitation and propaganda network in dozens of factories, mills, and mines; and winning the best elements of the working class to communism and the party, the OL's line has shown itself to be strong in practice.

Waging a consistent struggle against all forms of opportunism, the communist movement is developing in the heat of struggle. With the formation of the new party, the fight against the reformist and revisionist leaders and the fight to revolutionize the trade unions and turn them into instruments of liberation for the working class will take a giant step forward.