

38-day strike a militant example for labor movement

Chicago Nurses Win Victory

Chicago, Ill.—Cook County and Oak Forest nurses have won a victory in their 38-day strike.

The settlement itself fell short of what the nurses had demanded, and there was a large “no” vote, making ratification very close. Despite the contract’s shortcomings, the struggle was successful.

The struggle was a victory because the nurses were able to defeat attempts by the Health and Hospitals Governing Commission (HHGC) to smash their union, eliminate paid sick days and deny health services to Chicago’s poor and working-class communities.

The strike was the longest by registered nurses in U.S. history. Their struggle reflected a firm working-class stand. The nurses stressed that they were fighting for all working people, including their right to decent health care and the right to strike. They also provided a militant example of the powerful role working women are playing in the fight against capitalism.

Hospital authorities were forced to retreat on most major issues, even though nurses lost a number of key provisions for which they had fought. According to the new agreement, nurses will get 11 sick days at full pay but only 25% for the first day absent. Because of this provision, many nurses opposed the settlement.

In addition, nurses won a 7% wage hike in each of the next two years, which is double the amount originally offered by the HHGC. They also exacted a guarantee that they would not be assigned to specialized units without adequate training—one of the main strike demands. An improved family health insurance plan was also obtained.

From the beginning of the strike, Cook County Hospital chief James Haughton swore he would never negotiate with the nurses or recognize their union. Relying on



MILITANT NURSES did not win all their demands, but the strike was successful overall. (Call photo)

court injunctions, fines, deportation threats against Filipina nurses and media slander, Haughton and the HHGC tried to drive the nurses back to work for over a month.

Rumors and threats were directed, in particular, against the large majority of Filipina nurses, who remained a backbone force throughout the strike. It was, in the end, Haughton who was forced to give in and not the nurses.

The unity among the nurses was outstanding. They were able to rally broad support among patients, other hospital workers and the doctors. Petitions were circula-

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 8)

CYO PREPARES FOR YEAR-END CONVENTION

Chapters of the Communist Youth Organization (CYO) are studying hard in preparation for their upcoming Second National Convention, to be held in Chicago Dec. 31-Jan. 1.

The CYO, which was founded in November 1975 as a mass organization of communist youth, is also consolidating its work in the mass struggles of the people to bring many of the leading fighters from these struggles to the convention.

level of its membership.

The CYO has also been firm in its criticism of revisionism, and in particular of the revisionists’ youth program and youth organizations.

The upcoming convention of the CYO is focusing on the adoption of a fighting program of its own. The draft program is currently being studied, criticized and debated by the membership. It is divided into nine sections dealing with the CYO’s principles.

The program defines the CYO as “a mass organization of advanced youth” and states as its aim the complete overthrow of imperialism and the establishment of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The program also describes the CYO as a “school of communism”

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 8)

Court ruling in GE suit

MATERNITY LEAVES DENIED

Last week’s Supreme Court ruling against paid pregnancy leave and other maternity benefits is an open attack on the rights of women workers and of the entire working class.

In a 6 to 3 vote, the high court ruled on December 7 that General Electric, the test-case company, is not required to provide any maternity benefits to women.

The decision overturns 6 previous rulings by lower courts which held that denial of these benefits was a direct violation of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Passed after decades

of struggle for equal rights. Title VII stated that employers could not discriminate because of age, sex, religion or race.

The Supreme Court argues that the bosses have the right to provide “no disability benefits at all,” if they so choose, without violating anyone’s civil rights.

Holding that it is unfair to provide coverage for “unique cases” such as pregnancy, which affect only some women and no men, the court denied that women face discrimination.

G.E.’s claim that it covers only “mutually contractable

risks” was exposed in the court’s minority report, which revealed that G.E. in fact does cover “sports accidents, prostate operations, vasectomies and circumcisions,” which affect men.

As a result of this ruling, companies can now eliminate maternity benefits they had been forced to include in previous contract settlements. As it is, no more than 16% of all contracts provide for any maternity coverage at all, and

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China’s Congress meets p.4

National People’s Congress denounces “gang of four.”

Cannon Mills union drive p.5

Textile union has betrayed workers’ organizing efforts.

SECCION EN ESPAÑOL



EDITORIALS

AMNESTY FOR WAR RESISTERS

President-elect Carter's plan to "pardon" a few thousand Vietnam War draft resisters is a sham. It serves as a reminder of the importance of building the struggle for universal and unconditional amnesty for all who opposed U.S. imperialism's criminal war in Indochina.

There are more than one million young men and women who are now paying the penalty for resisting the draft or opposing the war within the armed forces. The majority of them are from working-class families, and many of them are minorities.

Some 637,000 of them are veterans who received less-than-"honorable" discharges for their acts of resistance while in the military. As a result, they are denied G.I. benefits and are often unable to get jobs.

In addition, as many as 40,000 men deserted from the military and face long prison terms if caught. At least 7,500 men fled to Canada and other countries rather than fight, and many thousands of civilians, men and women both, went to jail for their acts of opposition to the war.

Carter's proposed "pardon" would be limited to only a few thousand of these resisters and would do nothing about upgrading the discharges, providing jobs or income, re-establishing G.I. benefits, releasing convicted resisters from jail, or clearing many of past criminal charges.

His "pardon"—as if these men and women committed a "crime" that needs to be "forgiven"—is also part of a continuing attempt to cover up

the real criminals of the Vietnam War, the U.S. imperialists themselves.

The actions of the Indochina war resisters were just actions and gave important support to the heroic struggle of the Indochinese people in their war against U.S. imperialism.

We firmly support the demand for universal and unconditional amnesty for all these men and women, including the upgrading of all less-than-"honorable" discharges and the granting of full job and veterans' benefit rights.

EXPOSE 'RECOVERY' MYTH

The latest economic news of rising unemployment and inflation demonstrates once again that there is no "recovery" from capitalism's crisis.

In an attempt to stave off a growing fightback by the working class, the big capitalists have been lying about "recovery" for over a year now. But facts show that the economy has only continued to deteriorate despite some feeble attempts to pump it up and juggle figures for election purposes.

Now even Jimmy Carter has admitted that he can't bring unemployment below 6.5% in the next year as he had previously promised. Carter is emphasizing the gloomy prospects for the economy in order to lay the groundwork for capitalism's "solution" to the crisis—a wage freeze, growing fascist attacks and frenzied preparations for a war with the Soviet Union to redivide the world.

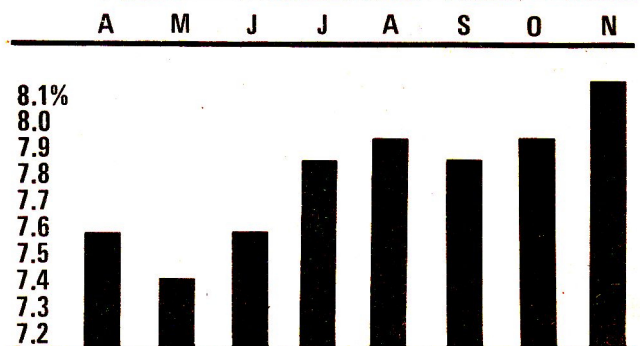
Faced with such "alternatives," the workers' movement must respond with intensified class struggle. The demands formulated by the National

Fight Back Organization at its founding meeting a year ago are even more crucial today: "Jobs or Income Now!", "End Superpower War Preparations!" and "End Attacks on Minorities and Women!" These slogans should be rallying cries for more powerful mass actions in the period ahead.

The myth of "recovery" has been advanced by the trade union bureaucrats and revisionists inside the workers' movement as well. We must intensify the workers' fightback, not only against the capitalists, but also against their agents who try to divert our struggle from its revolutionary path.

We cannot accept the myth of "recovery," nor can we accept the capitalist propaganda that blames minorities, women or third world countries for the crisis. The blame is on the capitalist system itself, and we must make the bosses pay for their crimes.

UNEMPLOYMENT—APRIL TO NOVEMBER 1976



LONG LINES continue at unemployment offices as the number of jobless increases. (Call graph)

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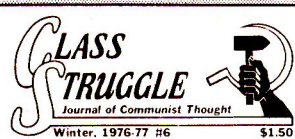
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CORRECTION: In last week's issue, several typographical errors were made in the front page article "Fight Our Two Enemies—Bosses and Bureaucrats." On page 1, first paragraph, fourth line, should read: union reformists have come forward, claiming

to speak for the rank and file. In the same article, continued on p. 8, the first column, from the seventh line on, should read: the bureaucrats hope to be a rubber stamp convention into a center of class struggle.

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October League (Marxist-Leninist)

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The Call is published weekly at \$10 for a one-year subscription, 4249 W. Division, Chicago, Illinois 60641. Application to mail at second-class rates is pending at Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrades,

We are deeply grieved to receive news of the passing of Koji Ariyoshi, a friend of the working class in Hawaii and all oppressed peoples of the world.

He was a genuine son of the working people, raised amidst the hardship and struggle of the coffee farmers in Kona. During his many years of contribution to the labor movement in Hawaii as an organizer and as editor of The Honolulu Record, Koji Ariyoshi adhered to the style of plain living and hard struggle and never complained about the tasks he shouldered to serve the people.

During the McCarthy period, he was one of the "Hawaii Seven" indicted under the witch-hunting Smith Act for his labor activities. Despite this and the degeneration of the formerly revolutionary Communist Party, Ariyoshi refused to grow bitter or discouraged. He emphasized that "the future is bright, but the road has many twists and turns."

In the past few years, he gave active leadership to the movement to build friendship between the people of the U.S. and China as a member of the National Steering Committee of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association.

Although we worked with Koji Ariyoshi only during the last few years of his life, he taught us the important lesson that the revolutionary enthusiasm and "book knowledge" of intellectual youth must be transformed into the genuine world outlook and method of the proletariat only through many years of integrating with the masses and actively participating in the class struggle.

Letters



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

Koji Ariyoshi continued to struggle for a better quality of life for the vast majority of people until he was no longer able to do so. His life is a sterling example and an inspiration to all of us. We vow to rededicate ourselves to the cause of the working class and the working people, to strive to integrate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete practice of socialist revolution in the United States and to carry the struggle through to the end.

Some aspiring Marxist-Leninists from Hawaii

Comrades,

Hearings began this week at Camp Pendleton Marine Base for the 15 Black Marines charged with assault and conspiracy in connection with an attempt on their part to break up a Klan chapter operating on that base. These charges have now been changed by the military to murder conspiracy.

The military has been doing everything in its power to cover up for the Klan and weaken the defense of the jailed Black Marines. After denying the existence of the Klan, the military has now been forced to admit that they had known about it for almost a year and is now in the process of shipping the Klan members to other bases in the country.

At the same time, the military

has weakened the defense of the 15 Black Marines by attempting to charge and try the defendants separately, using appointed military lawyers.

The activities of the Klan at Camp Pendleton and the unjust arrest of the 15 Black Marines have already raised a wave of protest across the country. The attempts at dividing the people have been met with unity.

In San Diego, organizations and individuals from the Black, Chicano and white community have organized a committee, the People United to Fight Oppression, to fight against the rising Klan activity and to struggle to free the 15 Black Marines.

A demonstration was held in Oceanside on Sat., Dec. 11, where Camp Pendleton is located. A broad coalition was involved, which included organizations and individuals from San Diego and as far away as Los Angeles.

Readers in San Diego

To The Call:

We felt that the enclosed contribution to *The Call* was the best way of celebrating the birth of several of our comrades' children. *The Call* is helping to build a bright new future for our "flowers of the Revolution."

G.D.,
Boston, Mass.

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed is a contribution to help build the 16-page paper. An expanded *Call* will be a better weapon to fight our enemies with. I've really enjoyed the 16-page issues that have been published so far and look forward to this being the regular size of the paper.

D.L.,
New York

NO REAL CHANGE FROM KISSINGER

VANCE - IMPERIALISM'S NEW TROUBLESHOOTER

Last week, Jimmy Carter selected Cyrus Vance to replace Henry Kissinger as U.S. Secretary of State. The appointment shows that while faces are being changed in Washington, the same ruling-class policies will continue—imperialist aggression and stepped-up war preparations under the guise of “detente” with the Soviet Union.

Throughout the election campaign, Carter attacked Kissinger's “personal style” of diplomacy, but supported all the main features of the “detente” policy. If there are any lingering doubts about where Carter stands on foreign

policy, his appointment of Vance should put an end to them.

Vance, a wealthy lawyer, is closely associated with the Democratic Party leadership and the Kennedy family. It was in the administrations of Kennedy and Johnson that he first emerged in the limelight and established his reputation as a “trouble-shooter” for the interests of U.S. imperialism.

Over an 8-year period, Vance managed to take charge of various aspects of all the main acts of aggression and invasion carried out by U.S. imperialism. He super-

vised the build-up of U.S. armed forces in Vietnam under Kennedy and was later dispatched to oversee the 1965 invasion of the Dominican Republic and the 1968 U.S. Marine attack on Panamanian students.

Vance also spent time in Korea shoring up the rule of dictator Pak Jung Hi. He meddled actively in the Cyprus dispute, and carried out missions in support of the Israeli Zionists.

In addition, Vance has been one of the top U.S. negotiators in numerous deals with the Soviet Union. He is tied by many threads to the section of the ruling class headed by Kennedy and Rocke-

efeller—the section most favorable to “detente.”

Vance has been an outspoken supporter of the Helsinki conference, more loans to the Soviet Union, a “go-slow” approach to normalization of relations with China and other issues which reflect a broader policy of appeasing Soviet social-imperialism.

It is significant to note that Vance was Carter's first cabinet appointment. Carter, in effect, was reassuring the powerful business interests that backed him for the presidency that he would not attempt to alter the direction of U.S. foreign policy.

U.S. News and World Report

commented on Vance's nomination, saying, “While there will be no basic shift in direction, changes in style of American foreign policy are in the offing.” This analysis sums up the imperialists' view. Carter and Vance are puppets capable of carrying out the same imperialist war preparations as Ford and Kissinger, but with a “fresh” image that is not tarnished with all the setbacks and exposures of the last few years.

The appointment of Vance exposes further Carter's campaign talk of a “humane foreign policy” and an “open State Department” as just meaningless phrases of the campaign trail.

1,500 PROTEST N.Y. POLICE MURDER

A series of demonstrations protested the coldblooded murder of Randy Evans, shot by police on Thanksgiving Day. Over 1,500 people rallied at the funeral of the 15-year-old Black youth in the Cypress Hills projects, a predominantly Black and Latin community in New York.

This Brooklyn murder, one among many by New York police, signifies the intensifying oppression by the capitalists of Afro-American and other minority people.

Evans' only “crime” was asking the police what they were doing in his building. In response, one of the six cops, Robert Tornsey, pulled his gun and fired at point-blank range, striking Evans in the head. Tornsey's pretext for being in the building was looking for a “gunman.” No gunman was ever found.

At a recent demonstration of 200 people protesting the murder, a mother of five children said she was demonstrating because “It might be my kids next.” A 14-year-old youth added, “We want justice. If we were to kill a cop, we would

get the chair. But he'll go to a prison where they have a color TV and a country club.”

As a result of fierce community protest, Tornsey has been charged with second degree murder. The Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, a fascist police support group, put up \$20,000 bail for Tornsey's freedom. The group made a big cry to the press about his “excellent police record,” pleading that the charges be dropped.

While community resentment is growing, some opportunists like the revisionist Communist Party USA (CPUSA) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) are encouraging the people to “rely on the courts” for justice. But the courts are an arm of the same capitalist system that executed Randy Evans and has woven racism into its basic fabric.

The murder of young Blacks like Evans and the legal lynching of many others will end only with the downfall of the whole capitalist system which is responsible for these crimes against the people.



DEMONSTRATORS MARCH in Dallas against the death penalty. (Photo by Kwesi Williams)

DALLAS COALITION MARCHES AGAINST DEATH PENALTY

Dallas, Texas—Mass action against the death penalty is growing as courts around the country move closer to the legal execution of death row inmates.

Shouting, “The rich go free while poor people burn,” over 100 people marched through downtown Dallas on November 21 protesting the Supreme Court's reinstatement of the death penalty.

This action was sponsored by the Dallas Coalition Against the Death Penalty, which was initiated by People United for Justice for Prisoners. Speaking at the rally were representatives of workers' organizations, student and church groups, social clubs and family members of death row prisoners.

Thelma Gonzalez, sister of Ernest Benjamin Smith, a young

Black man on death row, gave a moving speech to the crowd. She exposed Smith's frame-up on a murder charge and expressed militant support for efforts to prevent the legal execution of more than 600 people now on death rows throughout the country. Most of them are minorities and all are poor and working-class.

Kwesi Williams, president of People United for Justice for Prisoners, pointed out that the unity of Black, white and Chicano people in the demonstration showed that “a new day is coming to Dallas.” In his speech, he went on to say, “To build a strong movement, we have to point out the causes of crime! We've got to ask why unemployment and welfare lines are miles long and why only working-class and poor people fill death rows and prisons.”

Spokesmen for the Dallas Coalition told *The Call* that statewide efforts were being co-ordinated in Texas, including a march on the capitol in Austin, to demand abolition of the death penalty.

CYO ORGANIZES AGAINST CUTBACKS

Boston students fight tuition pressure

Boston, Mass.—Boston State College (BSC) students are planning mass protests in answer to the administration's recent announcement of a new tuition deadline and cuts in financial aid for the next semester.

According to the new deadline, tuition for next semester must be in two days after Christmas or students will not be admitted. In the past, the deadline has been the third week of January so that students could use the work-study period between semesters to earn tuition money.

But the work-study period has been dropped this year, and a recent statement from the financial aid office announced a reduction in student work programs from 20 hours to 10-15 a week.

Furthermore, the statement declared that BEOG's (Basic Education Opportunity Grants) will probably not be awarded during the spring semester. Only \$75,000 of the \$1.9 million granted by the federal government to BSC has arrived.

The Communist Youth Organization (CYO) at BSC is working actively to organize a mass coalition of students to oppose these

attacks, which are typical of the cutbacks sweeping all educational programs around the country as a result of the economic crisis.

One CYO spokesperson said, “We are trying to link the recent aid cuts and tuition hikes with the whole plan for ‘reorganizing’ BSC into a two-year vocational college. We are showing how this is all part of a nationwide attack by the ruling class in the U.S. against the right of working-class and minority peoples to an education.”

She continued, “Dropping the work-study program clearly shows who these recent attacks are aimed at. Even if working-class students could earn the money for tuition, they're now being deprived of even this chance.”

School began this year at Boston State with a 400% tuition hike—from \$150 to \$600. Various courses were cut and teachers fired.

Particularly hard hit has been Afro Studies, the only Black Studies department in the entire Massachusetts State College system. At a Nov. 19 meeting, 100 BSC teachers confronted the Massachusetts Board of Trustees demanding an end to mounting

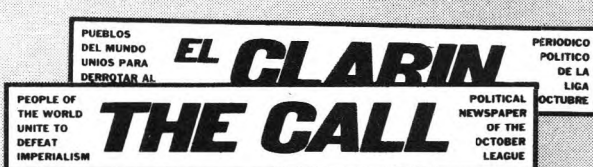
cuts. Chris Nteta, director of Afro Studies, exposed the ineffectiveness of the Affirmative Action Program and the decrease in courses and faculty of Afro Studies.

The Evening Undergraduate College, providing the only four-year degree program available to working people, is being “reorganized” to emphasize vocational and

law enforcement training.

The BSC students are opposing cutbacks, hikes and “reorganization.” The CYO is organizing around five demands: “Stop Reorganization,” “End Cutbacks and Tuition Hikes,” “Rebuild the Afro Studies Department,” “Implement Affirmative Action,” and “Rebuild the Evening Undergraduate College Program.”

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'SITUATION IS EXCELLENT'

China's People's Congress denounces 'gang of four'

Another decisive blow was dealt to the "gang of four" in China early this month when the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress denounced the traitorous actions of these four capitalist-roaders.

The Standing Committee of the Congress, China's highest organ of state power, was called together for the first time since the death of Chairman Mao by Hua Kuo-feng, the new Chairman of the Communist Party. Chairman Hua personally attended the meeting.

One of the new developments in the struggle against the "gang of four" was the specific charges brought against the four conspirators for their attacks against Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier who died earlier this year. Chou En-lai's widow, Teng Ying-chao, was nominated by the Standing Committee to be one of the vice-chairmen of the National People's Congress.

The Standing Committee agreed that the downfall of the "gang of four"—Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan—had led to an "excellent situation" throughout the country. Addressing the meeting, Vice-Chairman Wu Teh, mayor of Peking, pointed out that the huge movement to deepen the criticism of the "gang" had sparked an upsurge in the "socialist enthusiasm and initiative of the masses," with "inspiring news of victories" from all parts of the country.

The Standing Committee pointed out that mass criticism of the "gang" would

strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. Out of the struggle, the masses have already deepened their understanding of the correct relationship between the two tasks of "grasping revolution, promoting production," specified by Chairman Mao.

Posing as "leading Marxists," the "gang of four" distorted Chairman Mao's line by putting the two tasks in opposition to each other. In their attempt to overthrow leading cadres in the party, the "gang" accused everyone who saw the need to promote production of being "empiricists" who weren't taking class struggle as the key link.

The Standing Committee delegates pointed out that the struggle against the "gang" must continue in order to sharpen the people's ability to distinguish genuine from phony Marxism.

Contrary to reports from the bourgeois press, Chinese leaders have stressed the importance of continuing to take class struggle as the key link by studying revolution-



CHINESE ARMY UNIT holds mass discussion to criticize the "gang of four" and state their determination to defend the socialist motherland and the Party Central Committee, headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. (Hsinhua photo)

ary theory and especially "the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and . . . Chairman Mao's instructions concerning the criticism of the 'gang of four.'"

Wu Teh elaborated on this when he pointed out the importance of supporting the gains of the Cultural Revolution and struggling to restrict bourgeois right—the class differences left over from capitalist society which give rise to a new bourgeoisie under socialism.

In addition, Wu Teh said that, along with criticizing the "gang," it was necessary to continue the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping, the former party leader who negated class struggle as the key link in building socialism.

Continuing to make class struggle key, the Standing Committee underlined the need to promote production as well. The importance of learning from model production teams like Tachai and Taching has been stressed in the current campaign.

The Standing Committee also commended the role of Party Chairman Hua in leading the movement against the "gang." Newly nominated Vice-Chairman Teng Ying-chao said that Hua Kuo-feng's leadership in smashing the "gang" ". . . fully shows that Chairman Mao made a wise decision in

choosing his successor . . . It shows (Chairman Hua's) talent as a leader as well as his revolutionary style of work." She also said that unity of the Party Central Committee is "higher than ever."

The Standing Committee also discussed and took steps to continue to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on the international struggle against the two superpowers. They voted unanimously to appoint Huang Hua, China's UN ambassador, to be the new foreign minister, replacing Chiao Kuan-hua whom the committee voted to remove.

In another report, Vice-Chairman Ulanfu pointed out the importance of the downfall of the "gang" in carrying out a revolutionary line on foreign policy.

Now, Ulanfu said, "we will surely be able to better implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, uniting with the international proletariat and the revolutionary people in various countries, especially the people of the third world."

This important meeting showed that the splitting and wrecking of the "gang of four" has produced the opposite of what they intended. The mass criticism of the "gang" is strengthening working-class power in China.

Mexican peasants defy courts and police

The Mexican Supreme Court last week invalidated titles granting 250,000 acres of land in Sonora to 8,000 peasant families and ordered that the land be returned to a handful of capitalist owners.

The peasants had occupied these lands in militant seizures over the last month and forced the government to redistribute them.

But the court ruling showed the real essence of former President Luis Echeverria's actions during his last days in office. Echeverria agreed to "officially" redistribute the lands which had already been seized. Through this measure, he was only trying to stave off the tide of militant struggle long enough to subdue the peasants and let the courts and police take over.

Juan Rodriguez Gomez, head of the General Union of Mexican Workers and Peasants, said: "Those lands expropriated in Sonora will never be given back to the hands of the rich landowners. Those who support these land barons are provoking an armed uprising (by peasants) throughout the nation."

In northern Sinaloa, tensions remained high throughout the week as peasants began to cultivate, irrigate and settle their newly-acquired lands.

The Mexican press has reported increasing incidents of armed resistance by the peasants to growers and police, who are attempting to dislodge them.

The peasant offensive recently escalated and spread to Mexico City where two thousand peasants from all over Mexico occupied the Offices of the Department of Agrarian Reform (SRA). They occupied the building on December 8 and have sworn not to leave until their demands for land are met. The peasants denounced the Agrarian Reform Law as "hypocritical."

One of the leaders of the building occupation, Eulalio Morales, told the newspaper Excelsior, "Our struggle must continue. Not for us, but for our children. They should not have to suffer nor be humiliated or evicted the way we have been."

The increasing militancy of the Mexican peasantry comes during the worst economic crisis in many years. Recent devaluations of the peso and rising inflation, the



"LAND AND LIBERTY" has been the rallying cry since the revolution of 1910. (Taller de Grafica Popular)

results of U.S. imperialist domination of Mexico, have hit the peasantry especially hard.

The determined struggle which Mexican peasants are waging in the face of severe government repression provides a good exposure of the revisionists.

The revisionists, both in Mexico and the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) here, have gone to great length to praise Echeverria and urge reliance on the bourgeoisie. The CPUSA newspaper People's World called Echeverria a great hero of the peasants. They described his application of the Agrarian Reform Law as "the opening of a new chapter in the Mexican Revolution."

The Mexican peasants themselves don't see it this way. A leader of the current building occupation in Mexico City, Ramiro Diaz Valadez, described the Federal Agrarian Reform Law as being in the interests of the wealthy few and said that its "contents were reactionary."

The Mexican peasants have shown in recent weeks that it is through uniting and relying on their own efforts that they can achieve their demands.

Indonesian invaders repulsed 80% OF EAST TIMOR LIBERATED

The people of East Timor are continuing their courageous struggle against Indonesia's occupation of their country. Under the leadership of FRETILIN (Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor), a number of successful armed battles have been waged recently.

Indonesia dispatched thousands of troops to subjugate the eastern half of the island over a year ago. This assault followed the departure of the Portuguese colonialists who had ruled the island previously. Ever since the first Indonesian soldiers arrived, they have faced stiff resistance. They have been unable to occupy any areas in the mountainous countryside and have lost a number of their urban strongholds.

During a five-day period at the end of October, FRETILIN-led forces killed at least 60 Indonesian troops and wounded many others. As a result, the Indonesian aggressors were forced to withdraw from several places in the southwestern part of the country. FRETILIN forces now control 80% of the countryside.

As the struggle of the people in East Timor has advanced, more and more countries have voiced support for it. At a meeting of the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations last month, a resolution was passed which "reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence, and the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve that right."

The resolution called on Indonesia to

withdraw its troops and denounced the phony "constitutional" schemes by which Indonesia has tried to justify its occupation of the island.

A recent communique from the leadership of FRETILIN summed up the present situation, saying that the people have succeeded in turning their spontaneous struggle into a conscious, organized and well-disciplined resistance. The communique further stated: "The East Timorese people will fight heroically to the last man in order to defend their sacred fatherland."

LITERATURE FROM ALBANIA

The Call is now making available to our readers several new publications from the People's Republic of Albania. These pamphlets contain important material on the development of Albania as a socialist country and the fight against modern revisionism internationally.

—"A Meeting that Sealed Revisionist Betrayal" in English and Spanish, 16 pp., 25¢

—"The Congress of the Soviet Revisionists—A Congress of Social-Imperialist Demagogy and Expansion," 24 pp., 25¢

—"A Social-Democratic Congress of the French Revisionists," 16 pp., 25¢

BUREAUCRATS BETRAY TEXTILE UNION DRIVE

Late in 1974, a young woman worker at J.P. Stevens Co. hastily fashioned a cardboard sign denouncing the company. Knowing that she would soon be fired by the bosses for her union activity, she stood on top of a work table just as the shift was getting out, showing the sign to her fellow workers. A few minutes later, the sheriff's men and company officials removed her. But she had made her point!

Such militant spirit has been displayed time and again by southern workers in their fight against the huge textile companies which dominate many parts of the Carolinas. Their stand contrasts sharply with the betrayal of the leaders of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), which has done its best to sabotage the growing union movement in the southern mills.

On August 31, 1976, the ACTWU closed its office in Kannapolis, North Carolina, home of the giant Cannon Mills. The second largest manufacturing employer in North Carolina, Cannon Mills employs 16,500 workers, the majority of whom are women. Cannon has a notorious history of the worst type of anti-worker activity.

ACTWU AIDS COMPANY

Textile union officials, however, have aided the company in its attacks. They describe Cannon as "untouchable," trying to discourage workers from taking up a union drive. Only after workers began to sign cards on their own in 1973 did the union send one token organizer there.

A record 12,000 workers signed recognition cards and demanded an election, which they lost by only 800 votes—indicating strong pro-union sentiment.

Despite this enthusiasm for

ers if they dared to rebel or form unions. Despite this, numerous strikes periodically shook the industry.

Black workers now make up over one-quarter of all textile workers in the South. They face blatant racial discrimination both from the companies and the state. Black workers have the highest lay-off rate, work in the departments which are the most filled with cotton lint, and are often denied access to company-owned houses.

NATIONAL OPPRESSION

The national oppression of Afro-Americans in the Black Belt is also at the root of low unionization in the South. Only 10% of the South's 700,000 textile workers are union members. In addition, there is a \$1.42-an-hour wage gap between southern textile workers and other manufacturing employees in the U.S. It is a gap which is growing, jumping by 31 cents over the last two years alone.

In order to perpetuate the oppression of both Black and white workers, textile magnates like Cannon use the police to repress the Black communities. Through frame-up cases like the Ronnie Long case in Concord, N.C., they try to promote divisions between whites and Blacks.

Long, a 21-year-old Black youth and militant fighter, was framed for the rape of the wife of a Cannon Mills executive. Long was sentenced to two life terms, even though there was no evidence against him.

struggle among Cannon workers, the union completely sabotaged the campaign. They opposed mobilizing mass support for fired workers, put obstacles in the way of workers who fought to establish grass-roots committees plant-by-plant, and finally ended the union drive altogether.

At a press conference held when the union pulled out of Cannon Mills, Bob Freeman, ACTWU spokesman, blamed the shameful retreat of the union on the workers themselves. "They don't want to be identified with it or accept the responsibilities of a union," he said. "I'm not leaving; they just haven't joined me."

Since the defeat of Reconstruction in the late 1800s, the South has become a major haven for runaway textile mills from the North.

The national oppression of the Afro-American people in the Black Belt keeps down the wages of all workers in the South, white and Black. As a result, the textile barons have reaped enormous profits through wage-slavery of southern workers.

Until the civil rights upsurge in the 1960s, Black workers were not even allowed by law to work in cotton mills except as "sweepers." Poor whites were constantly threatened with replacement by even lower-paid Black field labor-

This attempt by Cannon to stem the growing unity of Black and white workers backfired. Large numbers of workers have come out to fight for Long's freedom in the course of rebuilding their own drive for union rights.

In their attacks on the workers, the textile magnates have received the most effective assistance from the sellout union leadership, who work as their agents.

The ACTWU misleaders have helped maintain the South as a haven for runaway shops. Their talk of commitment to "organize the unorganized" is just that—talk. The union misleaders are far more concerned with preventing the rise of a revolutionary movement among the textile workers. They tie the workers' struggle to trade unionism and promote divisions between Black and white workers.

LABOR OFFICIALS BENEFIT

Behind such sabotage is the fact that these labor officials and a small upper stratum of labor aristocrats benefit from imperialism's plunder of the third world. They are the main support for this system in the workers' movement. Only by keeping this movement weak and divided can these labor

lieutenants continue to rule the workers' organizations.

In opposition to the ACTWU officials, revolutionaries are pointing out the need for basing unity on a consistent struggle against the imperialist policies of discrimination and racist frame-ups. Militant marches for Ronnie Long's freedom have raised the demand of "Self-Determination for the Black Nation!" This must also be a slogan in the fight for unionization at Cannon itself.

"We intend to organize Cannon," says Daisy Crawford, a Black union activist who recently won her job back after a year of protests. She was fired for union activity at Cannon along with several other workers there.

"The union leaders sold us out," she said. "They try to blame us for losing the union drive, but it was them. We will continue to organize at Cannon and link up the Ronnie Long defense with this."

Unionization at Cannon, as well as at other giant mills like J.P. Stevens, will come as a product of the struggle for multinational unity and working-class power, and against the textile barons and their labor lieutenants in the trade union movement.

L.A. MEATCUTTERS FIGHT SCABS AND MISLEADERS

Los Angeles, Calif.—Striking meatcutters are holding the line against increased attacks by police and company scabs, fighting to unite the thousands of workers in this city's huge meat industry. About 65% of the strikers are Chicanos and Mexicanos.

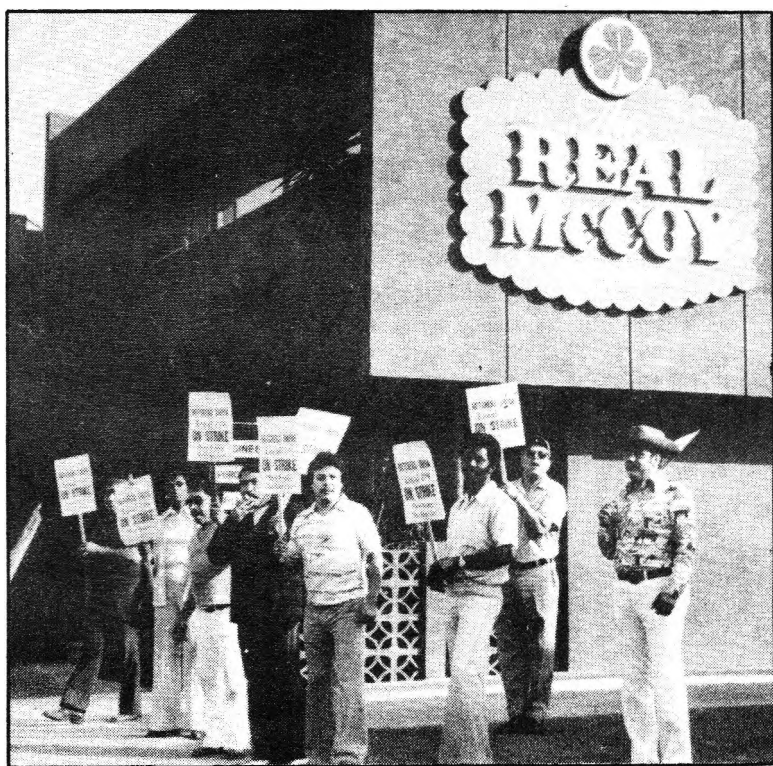
Over 1,000 members of the Provision House Workers Union Local 274 went out three weeks ago against the Vernon Meat Dealers Association (VMDA) to halt attempts to bust their union.

The VMDA is attempting to cutback wages for laborers by one dollar-an-hour and deny workers a guaranteed 40-hour week, which was a main provision in their last contract.

To compete with the larger meat monopolies, these smaller companies in the VMDA are trying to break the pattern of industry-wide contracts. They want their workforce to pay with speedup, wage cuts, and forced overtime, followed by periods of massive layoffs.

The VMDA has called out police to accompany scabs into the struck plants, which resulted in police violence and the arrest of one Mexican striker at McCoy meat company. These capitalists have also transferred production to other companies.

But this maneuver was met with strong resistance from workers in Local 563 of the Amalgamated Meatcutters Union. Even though their contract had also expired, Local 563 bureaucrats kept the workers on the line as a scab



MEATCUTTERS HOLD THE LINE in front of The Real McCoy in the packing-house district of L.A. (Call photo)

force.

On Dec. 8, over 800 members of Local 563 crowded into a union meeting and voted unanimously to strike. After the meeting was adjourned, however, Local 563 bureaucrats overturned the vote, claiming that great progress was being made in negotiations and that a strike could be avoided.

Workers were outraged and gathered two days later to hear their misleaders' scab reasoning. But these agents for the capitalists refused to show their faces, and in-

stead sent a flunkey to try to silence the workers. When workers began to demand action, this flunkey closed the meeting and fled.

Faced with the bureaucrats' outright sabotage and the meat companies' vicious speedup and overtime to carry the scab production load, workers in Local 563 are intensifying their struggle. If they have their way, they will join their class brothers and sisters in 274 on strike.

ON THE LINE



86-day UPS strike settled

The 86-day strike of United Parcel Service (UPS) workers which hit 15 Eastern states ended Dec. 13, but the Teamsters Union sold out some of the most important demands in this hard-fought battle.

Discriminatory wages and benefits for part-time workers are part of this new agreement. In fact, inequality in wages will increase. The settlement awards a \$1.65 wage boost to full-time workers over three years but only \$1 to part-time workers over the same period. The Teamsters did gain a provision preventing UPS from eliminating more full-time positions through attrition, but equality between full and part-time workers is the only basis for protecting the living standards of UPS workers.

Teamster bureaucrat Fitzsimmons bargained an increase in UPS pension benefit payments also, swelling the huge pension fund which is a source of vast profit for the ruling Teamster clique. Workers will pay for this pension gift, however, because the Teamster misleaders obtained it by trading off rank-and-file demands around work conditions. UPS maintained the right to discipline workers for "poor performance" as well as the right to impose forced overtime.

Protest INS soccer raid

Washington, D.C.—Some 65 demonstrators rallied at the Carter Barron soccer field to protest a dragnet raid against foreign-born workers three weeks ago in the middle of a soccer match. During the raid, immigration officials and park police descended on the crowd, scattering hundreds of spectators and arresting 26 workers.

Speakers at the rally included a Salvadorean soccer player, witness to the raid, as well as representatives of the D.C. Unite to Fight Back and the October League. They called for an end to deportations and fascist attacks on foreign-born workers. The speeches, given in Spanish and English, stressed that capitalism, not third world workers, were to blame for unemployment and the present crisis.

Workers fight apartheid

Gary, Indiana—In a raging snowstorm, steel workers and supporters picketed U.S. Steel in Gary demanding "Superpowers Out of South Africa!" and "Stop the Attacks on the Workers and Minorities Here!" This action was part of a week-long preparation for Anti-Repression Day, connecting imperialist repression against the people and their revolutionary movements here with the liberation struggles in Africa and elsewhere in the world. The picket line was called for by the October League and Steelworkers for Justice, an organization in the mill.

Continuing our series on the Marxist-Leninist movement in Europe, we present the second part of an interview with Jacques Jurquet, the leader of the Marxist-Leninist Communists of France and director of *L'Humanité Rouge*, the daily newspaper which reflects the line of the illegal Communist Party of France (Marxist-Leninist).

The previous part of the interview (*The Call*, Dec. 6), focused primarily on Jurquet's view of the international situation. This part centers on the class struggle inside France, especially the fight against modern revisionism.

The revisionist Communist Party of France (PCF) has a very powerful position in the leadership of the largest trade union confederation, the CGT (General Confederation of Labor.) How does this affect Marxist-Leninist activity in the trade unions?

Only a small part of the labor force in France is unionized—about 20%. But at the same time, the trade unions influence 80% to 90% of the workers in various workplace elections.

The CGT, led by the revisionist party, numbers around 2,200,000 members. The CFDT (French Democratic Federation of Labor), led by reformists, especially from the Socialist Party, has about 700,000 members.

The French Marxist-Leninists are actively fighting in the most important unions, the CFDT and the CGT. Despite repressive attacks by the leaders of the confederations, Marxist-Leninists have come into the leadership of union sections and are leading them on the path of class struggle, rather than class collaboration.

What forms of organization do you build within the trade unions?

In the factories and other workplaces, the French Marxist-Leninists put a priority on building workplace cells. Their principal activity is to do political work inside their plant and in their union. The cells study and organize the work of their members in the trade union sections at their place of work.

The main task of Marxist-Leninists in the unions is to free the working class from the influence of modern revisionism. In the course of struggle, the Marxist-Leninists build ties with the masses of workers.

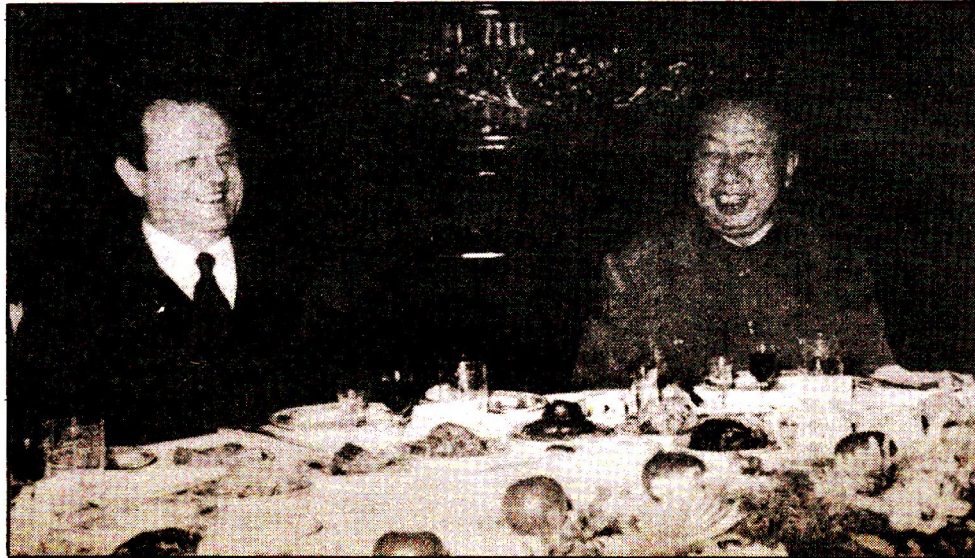
The Marxist-Leninists of France keep politics in command. They systematically oppose all reformist practices which separate the economic and social struggles from political struggle. In the workers' struggles, they are presently combating the mystifications spread by the Union de Gauche ("Union of the Left," an electoral coalition of the Socialist Party and the revisionist Communist Party—ed.) and are denouncing completely its "Common Program," opposing it with their own revolutionary, working-class program.

If the revisionist PCF were to come into the government, how would this affect

superpower contention, particularly Soviet interests, in France?

The French Marxist-Leninists do not for a moment foresee a situation where the PCF could come to power on its own. In such an event, the PCF would undoubtedly have to rely on the social-imperialists in order to hold onto power, and its policy would correspond completely to Soviet interests. This situation would only aggravate the rivalry of interests between the two superpowers.

It is important not to confuse the possible rise to power of the Union of the Left with that of the PCF on its own. The participation of the PCF in a government of



PEKING MEETING saw toasts exchanged between Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Comrade Jacques Jurquet. (Hsinhua photo)

the Union of the Left would contribute to the sharpening of the class struggle in France. It would further provoke the workers' opposition.

Under such circumstances, the workers will realize that it is not enough to change the government—the entire political, economic and social system must be changed. The French Marxist-Leninists are fighting to open the eyes of the workers and broad masses to this reality. Even now, it is certain that the revisionists are encountering greater and greater difficulties in carrying out their strategy.

What are your tactics and policy for defeating the PCF revisionists?

The movement of Marxist-Leninist Communists in France grew out of

the irreconcilable contradiction between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. It represents a complete break with the ideology, politics and revisionist organizations of the PCF. We fight continually to unmask and demystify the PCF before the working class and to expose their fraud in calling themselves Marxist-Leninists.

We make a distinction between the leaders, traitors and renegades, and the rank-and-file members and sympathizers whom they have deceived. We struggle to win these people over from the influence of modern revisionism, without compromising or making concessions over principles.

The revisionist leaders have also launched violent attacks on supporters of *L'Humanité Rouge* and support the bourgeoisie's repression against the Marxist-Leninists. How are the Marxist-Leninists responding to these attacks?

The revisionist leaders of the PCF and

of the proletariat, but unfortunately, they believe that today it is represented by the USSR!

Presently, several Marxist-Leninist militants, such as Romain Le Gal, are being persecuted by the French government and are charged with "reconstituting the PCMLF," the party which is now illegal. For what reasons is this repression taking place?

The repression against the members of the PCMLF, such as Romain Le Gal, is repression by the bourgeoisie, which is disturbed by the growing influence of the Marxist-Leninists among the workers and small peasantry. Political repression always has as its primary objective intimidating the weakest elements, with the aim of ending all Marxist-Leninist activity. But this is a poor calculation on the part of the ruling class. It is precisely under difficulties that the best revolutionaries are forged and the spirit of true communists develops.

Within five months after Romain Le Gal was imprisoned, the mass protests brought about his release. The attitude of this militant communist before the police and the capitalist courts has been exemplary and has contributed to the important victory which his release represents. In the struggle against repression, the French Marxist-Leninists rely on the mass struggle, leading the workers, small peasants, representatives of other social strata of the people, and personalities from various sectors.

Could you tell us something about the present struggle of immigrant workers in France?

The immigrant workers comprise an integral part of the French working class. The Marxist-Leninists consistently support their struggles. These struggles deserve proletarian internationalist solidarity inasmuch as they are not only workers in France, but representatives of the third world and victims of racism as well.

More than 20,000 immigrant workers are presently waging a rent strike against the Foyers Sonacotra, a prison-like immigrant housing project. Since its start, their strike has had the political, ideological and material support of the Marxist-Leninists. As a result, the immigrant workers have been able to compare the treacherous activities of the revisionist leaders and have now publicly and clearly rejected them.

What is more, most of the leaders of the immigrant workers' struggle are becoming Marxist-Leninists themselves. In their support of the immigrant workers, Marxist-Leninists have always followed a fundamental principle—absolute non-interference in the workers' decisions and internal affairs. In this regard, the Trotskyist sects are completely discredited among the immigrant workers for trying to impose

Jacques Jurquet meets Chairman Hua Kuo-feng

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng personally met with Jacques Jurquet during his recent visit to China and held a banquet December 5 in honor of the delegation of the Marxist-Leninist Communists of France, headed by Jurquet.

A report from the Hsinhua News Agency carried excerpts from the banquet toasts exchanged between Jurquet and Li Hsien-Nien, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee.

In his toast, Li Hsien-Nien pointed out: "The Marxist-Leninist Communists of France have endeavored to combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the French revolution and waged unswerving struggles to oppose modern revisionism and the two superpowers, to oppose the monopoly bourgeoisie in their own country and to strive for the realization of socialism. We heartily rejoice at all this and extend our warm congratulations to you."

In his toast, Jacques Jurquet extended proletarian internationalist greetings to Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and hailed the smashing of the "gang of four." Jurquet said that this event "historically guarantees that under the leadership of the CPC, headed by Chairman Hua, China remains and will always remain red."

Elaborating on the present international situation, Jurquet also observed that: "The analysis which Chairman Mao made of the present international situation points to the existence of three world forces. This analysis is the result of a scientific application of Marxist-Leninist principles and constitutes the most effective weapon for the proletariat and the peoples of the whole world to define their respective strategies and to advance the world revolution."

What happened inside the PCF when the revisionist leadership declared their abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat last year?

The reaction of the rank-and-file members of the PCF was quite weak because this was only the official recognition of a line which had been put into practice for a very long time. The social composition of the PCF has undergone a major change in the last 10 years.

The increasingly bourgeois character of its ranks explains the absence of interest in this matter of fundamental principle. However, this is consistent with our aim of winning over the rank and file from the PCF, to the extent that its younger members—many of whom are of petty-bourgeois origin, and fewer of worker origin—sincerely desire socialist revolution, even though they have been taught it can only come "peacefully." A tiny percentage of members of the PCF still remain attached to the concept of the dictatorship



"PEASANTS AND WORKERS, united in the sa

MARKSIST-LENINISTS STEELED AGAINST REVISIONISM



JACQUES JURQUET

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

Opportunists

The International Situation Conference, organized recently by the opportunists of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), has drawn condemnation from many revolutionary circles but has been praised to the skies by Trotskyists and the Guardian centrists.

In the Dec. 1 issue of the Guardian, a newspaper exposed for its anti-Marxist and anti-China stands, the editors called the RCP conference "a step in the direction of intelligence and proletarian internationalism."

Of course, the Guardian has long used the principle of "proletarian internationalism" in an opportunist way. The Soviet intervention in Angola, for example, was praised as proletarian internationalism, as were other forms of so-called revisionist "aid."

The Guardian's use of these terms to describe the recent conference can only confirm the RCP's continued drift rightward into the arms of anti-China conciliators of modern revisionism.

The conference, billed in advance as a debate between the "four lines" on the international situation in our movement, turned out to be a platform for Trotskyists and other opportunists to attack China's foreign policy. RCP leaders themselves referred to the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in degrading and insulting terms.

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of the proletariat, but unfortunately, they believe that today it is represented by the USSR!

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their own point of view. The immigrant workers do not wish to be manipulated, and the Marxist-Leninists do their utmost to avoid such practices. For several months now, the relations between the immigrant workers and the French Marxist-Leninists have been excellent.

Today there is more than one party calling itself Marxist-Leninist in France. What efforts have been made to unite into a single party of the proletariat?

The unification of groups who identify themselves as Marxist-Leninist began some time ago, but has taken on new dimensions in the last year or so.

Naturally, this process cannot avoid intense class struggle. The various Trotskyist formations in France made a tremendous effort to obstruct the development and prevent the formation of a single Marxist-Leninist party. Except for the inevitable persistence of certain small groups dominated by petty-bourgeois ideology, particularly around certain universities, the unification process is advancing concretely and positively.

At this time, the two most important formations are the PCMLF (Communist Party of France, Marxist-Leninist) and the PCRML (Revolutionary Communist Party, Marxist-Leninist), which originated from a split in 1970. They are making effective efforts to reach unity. They have jointly organized various demonstrations, the most recent being a memorial march paying homage to Chairman Mao at the Wall of the Martyrs where the revolutionaries of the Paris Commune were executed. They are engaged in political discussions in order to draw clear lines of demarcation.

What are some of the lessons you have drawn so far in this struggle for Marxist-Leninist unity?

Here are some lessons derived so far. Marxist-Leninists must systematically reject all subjectivity in order to understand each other and make their discussions concrete. They must practice the method prescribed by Mao Tsetung: "unity-criticism-unity." They must not fear the criticism of others and must know how to make their own sincere self-criticism.

The formation of a single, unified Marxist-Leninist party in France is on the way. This corresponds to the express will of the working class and the masses of the people. The problems which still face us are no longer fundamental problems—they are tactical problems, which should be overcome in the coming year.

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Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Comrade

CGT resort to physical violence and violate proletarian democracy against the Marxist-Leninists, whose work is exposing them. But more and more, they are lifting rocks only to drop them on their own feet. Many members of their own rank and file object to these methods and want to understand our positions.

Illegal expulsions of Marxist-Leninists from the CGT have increased communist influence among the people. In September of 1975, the revisionist leaders of the PCF and the CGT tried through violence to prevent the demonstrations of solidarity with the Marxist-Leninists comrades in Spain who were condemned to death. But their security squads were outflanked and overwhelmed, and they could not prevent the Marxist-Leninists from leading the masses in struggle. The masses used revolutionary counter-violence against the counter-revolutionary violence of the revisionist leaders.

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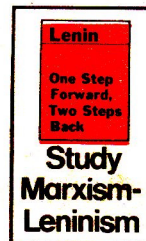


"PEASANTS AND WORKERS, united in the same cause," reads banner.

L'Humanité Rouge

ONE STEP

Lenin ou



This is the fourth in a series of Call articles summing up the main lessons of One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, written by V.I. Lenin in 1904. All the member groups of the Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party are now studying this book. Readers are invited to send in their comments, questions and articles based on their own study.

Pages cited in this study are from the Progress Publishers edition, which is available from The Call for \$1.50 each. See also Lenin's Collected Works, Vol. 7, p. 203.

This section of the study focuses on Section I, pp. 55-77, "Paragraph 1 of the Rules."

The main struggle that unfolded at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party in 1903 centered around what kind of organization the party was to be and which class interests it would serve. The congress had been called to restore organizational unity in the party and put an end to a period of small circles and internal disunity. Without a single strong center, Lenin argued, without unity of will and action, the party would be unable to bring the most class conscious fighters into its ranks and lead the working class to victory.

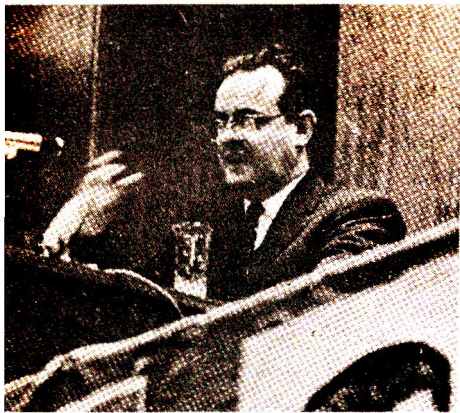
The debate over Paragraph 1 of the rules, between the majority (Bolsheviks) led by Lenin and the opportunist minority (Mensheviks) led by Martov, hit at this central question. Lenin maintained that the party should be as "organized as possible," admitting into its ranks only "such elements as allow at least a minimum of organization."

Martov, in opposition, proposed that individuals be allowed to "proclaim themselves" party members. This would have opened the door to an array of intellectuals and professors who, in fact, would not have submitted to party discipline.

It is in this section of One Step Forward—which refutes the Menshevik line on party

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

Opportunists praise RCP conference



JACQUES JURQUET

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The International Situation Conference, organized recently by the opportunists of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), has drawn condemnation from many revolutionary circles but has been praised to the skies by Trotskyists and the Guardian centrists.

In the Dec. 1 issue of the Guardian, a newspaper exposed for its anti-Marxist and anti-China stands, the editors called the RCP conference "a step in the direction of intelligence and proletarian internationalism."

Of course, the Guardian has long used the principle of "proletarian internationalism" in an opportunist way. The Soviet intervention in Angola, for example, was praised as proletarian internationalism, as were other forms of so-called revisionist "aid."

The Guardian's use of these terms to describe the recent conference can only confirm the RCP's continued drift rightward into the arms of anti-China conciliators of modern revisionism.

The conference, billed in advance as a debate between the "four lines" on the international situation in our movement, turned out to be a platform for Trotskyists and other opportunists to attack China's foreign policy. RCP leaders themselves referred to the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in degrading and insulting terms.

The third world countries were de-

scribed in workshops as "puppets of imperialism," and Marxist-Leninist parties in Europe and other parts of the world were openly slandered.

Even long-time spokesman for international Trotskyism, Ralph Shoenman, gave one of the main speeches. Shoenman prefaced his denunciation of China with congratulations for RCP's "democracy" and the "breadth of the conference."

Marxist-Leninists, including the October League and other members of the Organizing Committee for a New Communist Party, were not granted this same kind of "democracy." Instead, RCP leadership whipped up cheering sections to hoot and howl at every defense of Marxism-Leninism, China and the third world.

What really brought forth the applause from the Guardian centrists, who for some unexplained reason refused to openly endorse the conference, was the RCP's line that the international movement should direct its main blow at the U.S. rather than at the Soviet social-imperialists.

RCP's view is that the working class in the U.S. has only its own national tasks and is not part of the international movement against the two superpowers. This view is connected to its generally chauvinist stand on domestic matters, such as their defense of the anti-busing movement for school segregation.

The OL opposed the RCP's view of the

"main blow" at the conference. While showing that the overthrow of U.S. imperialism is the aim of our revolution, OL speakers and other communists and anti-imperialists exposed the USSR as the more dangerous of the two superpowers.

The RCP line, which also aims its attack on the genuine communists of various countries, is an echo of the stand that the Guardian centrists have held for years. It is characterized by paying lip service to opposing the Soviet social-imperialists but in practice defending their aggression and attacks on the third world.

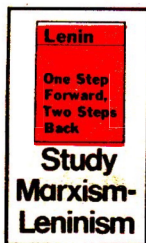
The Guardian editors were also pleased to hear representatives of groups like Italy's Il Manifesto and Party for Democratic Unity of the Proletariat (PDUP). Both groups, comprised of centrists and Trotskyists, were invited by the RCP to speak for the Italian workers.

This uncomfortable but growing alliance between the RCP phony anti-revisionists and the Guardian centrists is revealing the overall bankruptcy of the line of the RCP to many people, including a section of the RCP's own rank and file.

The praise being heaped upon the RCP by some of the worst enemies of the working class should serve to educate those who still place their hopes on the RCP leadership to build a real Marxist-Leninist party in the U.S.

ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK (4)

Lenin outlined basic principles of communist organization



This is the fourth in a series of Call articles summing up the main lessons of One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, written by V.I. Lenin in 1904. All the member groups of the Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party are now studying this book. Readers are invited to send in their comments, questions and articles based on their own study.

Pages cited in this study are from the Progress Publishers edition, which is available from The Call for \$1.50 each. See also Lenin's Collected Works, Vol. 7, p. 203.

This section of the study focuses on Section I, pp. 55-77, "Paragraph 1 of the Rules."

The main struggle that unfolded at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party in 1903 centered around what kind of organization the party was to be and which class interests it would serve. The congress had been called to restore organizational unity in the party and put an end to a period of small circles and internal disunity. Without a single strong center, Lenin argued, without unity of will and action, the party would be unable to bring the most class conscious fighters into its ranks and lead the working class to victory.

The debate over Paragraph 1 of the rules, between the majority (Bolsheviks) led by Lenin and the opportunist minority (Mensheviks) led by Martov, hit at this central question. Lenin maintained that the party should be as "organized as possible," admitting into its ranks only "such elements as allow at least a minimum of organization."

Martov, in opposition, proposed that individuals be allowed to "proclaim themselves" party members. This would have opened the door to an array of intellectuals and professors who, in fact, would not have submitted to party discipline.

It is in this section of One Step Forward—which refutes the Menshevik line on party

membership—that Lenin outlined the basic principles of communist organization. These are the very principles which guide our work today in building a new party.

Stressing the objective differences in degrees of consciousness and activity among the workers, Lenin explained that the party "must not be confused" with the entire working class. The party must be a vanguard organization, like the general staff of an army, made up of the most far-sighted, active and class-conscious fighters.

To fail to make this distinction between the party and the class, as the opportunist Martov did, was to negate the leadership role of the party and downgrade communist tasks. The vanguard's constant duty, Lenin emphasized, was to raise the consciousness of the masses and to carry out revolutionary education, continually training new leaders and preparing the masses for revolutionary struggle.

Lenin further pointed out that Martov's right opportunist line, by confusing the party with the class and letting "every striker" be a party member, would weaken the trade unions. The trade unions had to be built as the broadest possible organization of workers who could be united in struggle. Through communist work in the unions, Lenin said, the party can exert influence over the broad masses and can win them to follow and support the party's leadership. The broader the unions, Lenin stressed, "the broader will be our influence over them."

As the Marxist-Leninists in this country unite in order to build a new vanguard party, opportunists like the Menshevik Martov have come forward to oppose the unity trend and the efforts of the Organizing Committee.

These modern-day Mensheviks, like MLOC and Workers' Viewpoint, have cooked up party-building schemes which reflect their fear and contempt for proletarian organization and discipline. MLOC's

call for "joint program-writing," for example, is an open invitation to intellectuals to "proclaim themselves" members, just as in Martov's Paragraph 1. Similarly, Workers' Viewpoint has insisted that the party be built "on the ideological plane," liquidating the difficult and necessary task of forging concrete organizational unity.

Both these opportunist groups insist on the obvious truth that political line is decisive in building organization, but, like Martov, they use this as the pretext for liquidating the crucial organizational tasks of party building in this period.

The opposition raised by today's anti-party bloc stems from their petty-bourgeois class outlook. Like the Mensheviks against whom Lenin argued, these intellectuals seek to defend the interests of their own class, the petty-bourgeoisie, which is characterized "by individualism and incapacity for discipline and organization."

The party-building schemes of the anti-party bloc would lead to a flabby, unstable and anarchistic party, a Menshevik party. Only a centralized and organized vanguard, made up of the most conscious working-class fighters of all nationalities, can successfully lead the fight for socialism.

Questions:

1. What does Lenin mean when he describes a communist party as being the "sum of organizations"? How does this contrast with the Mensheviks?
2. How do Lenin's organizational policies embody the view of the party as the vanguard or "advanced detachment" of the working class?
3. Martov and the opportunists argued that Lenin's organizational policies would cut the party off from the masses. What is the correct relationship of the party to the masses and to mass organizations, especially the trade unions?

CYO . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

and as a reserve of the new Marxist-Leninist party among the youth. The relationship between the CYO and the new party which is presently being formed will be a central focus for discussion at the convention.

The draft program also clearly demarcates the CYO as part of the international trend of Marxist-Leninists who are opposed to the revisionists, social-imperialists and their various youth fronts, such as the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL) here in the U.S.

The proposed program puts forward militant opposition to both superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and characterizes Soviet social-imperialism as the "main source of a new world war" because it is "a newcomer to the imperialist feast." It gives full support to the revolutionary struggles of

the third world countries and to workers and oppressed people everywhere.

The CYO draft program upholds the right of self-determination for all oppressed nations and full democratic rights for all oppressed nationalities, and specifically supports self-determination for the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South and regional autonomy for the Chicano people in the Southwest.

In the section on women, the program puts forth the demand for an end to "every instance of oppression of women" and views this oppression as "a product of class society which can only be eliminated with the abolition of classes." It states that the struggle for women's equality is a "component part of the struggle for socialism."

The program also has sections on education, jobs and culture for

young people as part of its overall struggle against capitalism.

While the program is only in draft form, the hundreds of CYO members and supporters around the country are working to sharpen it, adding their own amendments and criticisms. The various proposals will be discussed fully during the convention workshops. These will focus on such topics as the International Situation, Party

Building and the CYO, Gary Tyler and Culture. Other workshops will be held on the CYO Newsletter, Building a Local CYO Chapter and the Struggles of Young Workers.

Speakers at the convention will include representatives of several international parties and organizations, including a representative of Azania's Pan African Congress, which is leading the struggle

against white minority rule in South Africa.

The CYO's second convention is shaping up as the most important meeting in its history and one of great significance for the whole communist movement.

Messages of greetings can be sent to: Communist Youth Organization, P.O. Box 5698, Chicago, Ill. 60680.

NURSES VICTORY . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

ing among in-hospital patients and, at one point, a small crowd of 30 patients charged the administration office demanding a settlement favorable to the nurses.

In an interview with *The Call* just prior to the settlement, a Filipina nurse with 18 years on the job, stressed the lessons workers had been learning in the course of the strike. "This kind of strike is healthy for the working class," she explained, "because it shows that the working class has power, that they need us, and that we have a lot of support from other working-class people."

The final negotiations began on Dec. 9 supervised by Circuit Court Judge Raymond K. Berg who literally held the nurses' representatives hostage. He threatened them with further contempt charges if

a settlement was not reached.

Even while negotiations continued, the media hailed the settlement proposal. Papers like the Chicago Sun Times ran headlines declaring, "The strike is over!" This maneuver was aimed at undermining what was expected to be a very strong opposition to the contract offer by the nurses.

Haughton and his allies also praised the settlement to accelerate a back-to-work movement. Chief among Haughton's scab allies was the revisionist Communist Party, who echoed his line. Revisionist spokesman and doctor Peter Orris jumped on the news of a possible settlement and immediately began congratulating the nurses for ending their strike.

But the leading fighters in this strike weren't buying his revisionist trash. "I voted against ratification," said one striker, "and so

did most of the Filipina nurses I talked to. We were united and real militant. We gave up a lot and weren't ready to settle for what they offered."

An October League leaflet distributed just prior to the vote denounced the forced bargaining methods and united with the strong opposition sentiment among the nurses.

"We forced a lot of concessions from Haughton," another nurse observed, "and even though I was against ratification, going in as a unified group is a victory, too. We're going to keep ward organization going, and if they take reprisals, we'll take action."

The battle for decent health care and union rights at Cook County is far from over, but the nurses have set a militant example for workers here and around the country.

MATERNITY BENEFITS . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

the average benefits fall drastically below standard benefits for any other kind of injury or illness.

The denial of benefits has its greatest impact on working-class families. Women in many of these families, especially among the oppressed nationalities, are either heads of households or provide an essential portion of their family income.

For this reason, the demand for paid pregnancy leave and other maternity benefits has won strong support among workers. Recent polls show that a large majority of both men and women workers favor company-paid maternity

benefits. Such protection is clearly in the interests of the working class and is provided in socialist countries where the workers hold state power.

In China, for example, women receive paid maternity leaves before and after childbirth and free hospital care. Infant nurseries and childcare in the factories permit them to re-enter production without hardship.

The U.S. capitalist class, by contrast, uses pregnancy to attack women's rights. The Supreme Court decision, just as last month's decision to deny women the right to bring a sex discrimination suit against an employer for sexual assault, is only one part of a pat-

tern of increasing attacks on women.

The capitalists, in this period of crisis, are trying to drive women out of the work force. Legal decisions of this type can only increase women's burden as "last hired and first fired."

Inequality and discrimination are increasing during the present economic crisis because they are basic to the capitalists' drive for profits. In spite of courtroom setbacks, however, women workers at G.E. have vowed to continue pressing their demands. Their fight for maternity benefits is an important front in the struggle for women's equality.

Black students strike in South Carolina

St. Matthews, S.C.—Over 2,000 Black students have been out on strike since November 2 at St. John's and St. Matthew's high schools here. They are protesting the administration's selection of two white homecoming queens to represent the schools which are 89% Black. Usually one Black and one white representative are chosen for activities.

Students have maintained that they will not go back until the principals at both schools and the superintendent of the Calhoun County School District have been dismissed.

Black students have also demanded that teachers whose children are enrolled in the exclusive, all-white Calhoun Academy, set up in 1971 to avoid school integration, not be allowed to teach in the public schools. Many white students at the schools also back this demand.

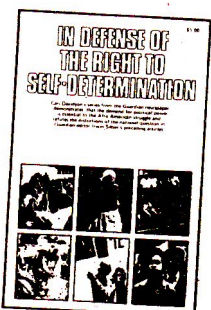
To graduate, students can miss no more than 30 days of school. This absentee limit will expire this week. Federal funds were cut off to the schools Dec. 7. But students are remaining firm in their demands despite pressure from the state at all levels.

HOLIDAY GIFTS AVAILABLE FROM LIBERATOR PRESS

In Defense of the Right to Self-Determination

by Carl Davidson

Carl Davidson's series from the Guardian newspaper demonstrates that the demand for political power is essential to the Afro-American struggle and refutes the distortions of the national question in Guardian editor Irwin Silber's earlier articles. \$1.25



Negro Liberation

by Harry Haywood

Originally published in 1948, this important work by a leading Afro-American communist examines the conditions of exploitation and oppression of Black people and traces the root cause to their existence as an oppressed nation. \$3.00

NEGRO LIBERATION HARRY HAYWOOD

Include 25¢ per item for handling.



Box 7128, Chicago, Ill. 60680



'Walter Birdwell's Free Again'

Walter Birdwell's free again, did you read it in *The Call*? They dropped the trumped-up charges, dropped them one and all. The people won a victory, we set our comrade free. Support came in from all the land, support from you and me.

The meeting was in Houston town, one September night, To pay respects to Chairman Mao, and carry on the fight. The Klan attacked with rocks and guns, the people answered back. Wounded one slimy Klansman, and drove off the fascist pack.

The cops brought charges on our friends, called a Grand Jury in to meet. They got no facts from the comrades there—no one would even speak. The cops and mayor made it clear: they didn't mind the Klan. They wanted to stop our movement's growth, and Birdwell was their man.

A brave Chicano lad stood up, Godinez was his name. Went to jail for keeping mum, but kept mum all the same. The *Call* began a mass campaign, and messages rolled in: "Free Walter Birdwell, Mayor, Investigate the Klan!"

Walter Birdwell's free again, I read it just today. This shows the people's power against the system's way. The victory's for the working class, for folks like me and you. Keep fighting now. Let's raise our voice: "Free Gary Tyler, too!"

Free Gary Tyler, Ronnie Long, free the Marshalls right away. Victims of national oppression, we want them free today. We won't stop there, we'll organize, and before we're through, We'll build the Fight Back, CYO, and the new red party too!