

YOUTH DEMAND JOBS

The Communist Youth Organization (CYO) has initiated a campaign to mobilize the thousands of jobless youth who are fighting for jobs. The immediate focus of the nation-wide struggle is around the demand for summer jobs.

Last summer's youth job situation was the worst since the Great Depression, with a record number of 3.1 million young people actively seeking but unable to find work. This year's prospects appear to be even worse. These government unemployment figures don't even take into account those who have settled for part-time work. They also overlook the thousands of youth who have become discouraged by the lack of jobs and have given up, as well as many others who have enlisted in the army rather than face another jobless summer on the streets.

Even though the number of jobless youth has risen since last year, few cities will have more jobs available than they did last year. The \$40 million rise in the govern-

ment's Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) jobs program budget will be eaten up largely in bureaucracy. Therefore, no more jobs will be available this year through that program than there were last year. According to an article in U.S. News and World Report.

Even though young people from the ages of 16-24 make up only one-fourth of the total labor force, they comprise one-half of all the unemployed. According to former Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, unemployment among youth is expected to remain at 20% even if the overall unemployment rate should somehow drop back "down" to 5%. This shows that the high rate of joblessness among youth is not a temporary phase of the economic crisis but is a permanent feature of capitalism.

Especially victimized by unemployment are the minority youth. In some minority communities, unemployment among young people runs as high as 60-80%. The

campaign of the CYO for summer jobs is being linked to the struggle against segregation and for minority rights, with special emphasis on the demand for summer jobs in Black, Asian and Latino communities.

Another victim of unemployment among youth are the Vietnam veterans between the ages of

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APPEAL SET IN MARSHALL CASE

Tampa, Fla.—The defense will appeal the frameup convictions of John and Eddie Ruth Marshall, the two fightback leaders arrested after a food stamp protest.

The two Black factory workers were convicted by an all-white affluent jury and sentenced to 60 days jail for John Marshall and 30 days for his sister Eddie Ruth. Both were also sentenced to two years probation.

Grounds for the appeal include the racially biased makeup of the jury pool, the police impersonation of newspaper reporters, and other blatant illegalities by the state during the arrest and trial itself.

"If the conviction is allowed to stand, then any woman walking on the sidewalk in broad day-

light will be under legal pressure to get into any unmarked car when a male driver in ordinary clothes tells her to," the Marshall's defense attorney Enrique Escarras said. Eddie Ruth Marshall was accosted on the way home from a food stamp demonstration by a plainclothes cop in an unmarked car, who ordered her to "get in." It was proven at the trial that the officer did not identify himself.

The long sentences, especially the long probation and the appeal bonds of \$2,500 each, were extraordinarily high, defense representatives observed.

Please send contributions for the defense to: Tampa Workers Committee, Box 4521, Tampa, Fla. 33677.

NEW ZIMBABWE GUERRILLA OFFENSIVE

Guerrilla fighters in Zimbabwe have carried out attacks deep inside the country ruled by Ian Smith's white racist regime. In early May, liberation fighters launched several attacks on strategic rail lines linking Rhodesia to South Africa and killed over a dozen government troops.

The guerrillas are battling to establish majority rule in a country which has a Black population of more than five million and a white settler population of less than 300,000.

Commenting on the development of the war, Ndabaningi Sithole, a leader of the Zimbabwe liberation movement, pointed out recently, "Armed struggle is the only way to get freedom and independence for our country." Sithole lashed out at Smith's attempts to preach "detente" and "negotiations" with the liberation movement, while carrying out massacre and assassination of Black liberation fighters.

African leaders have urged reliance on the African people themselves to smash the white supremacist regime. Zambian president Kaunda said recently, "We do not want our 'friends' from foreign countries to come to liberate Africa for us. We are going to liberate it ourselves."

Both the U.S. and the Soviet

Union have tried different tactics to gain a foothold in Zimbabwe's struggle. The Soviet Union, for its part, has hinted at its ambitions to send Soviet-Cuban troops into Zimbabwe to "liberate" it. Such "liberation" is just another word for Soviet aggression and occupation, as the example of Angola has shown.

Meanwhile, Henry Kissinger's recent Africa trip was designed to bring a halt to the armed struggle. Kissinger pleaded with African leaders to let the U.S. "negotiate" a settlement for them, fearing both the possibility of Soviet intervention and the strength of the armed liberation forces.

The continuing advances of the Zimbabwean liberation fighters have shown their capability and determination to topple the fascist regime. They need no superpower "friends" to accomplish this task.

FREE GARY TYLER!

A tide of mass support is building for the freedom of Gary Tyler, the young Black victim of a racist frame-up now facing the electric chair in Louisiana.

Rallies in a score of cities and a nationwide petition drive have brought the truth about Gary Tyler and about the system that wants to murder him to tens of thousands of people.

More than 25,000 people across the country have put their signatures on more than 1,500 petitions demanding "Stop the Execution—Free Gary Tyler!" Organizers point to a goal of 100,000 signatures by July.

A South-wide speaking tour on behalf of Tyler's freedom has been launched. (See details on page 8.)

A broad range of organizations, including the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), the Kentucky Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the National Fight Back Organization (NFBO), the October League (OL) and others are playing an active role in mobilizing people of all nationalities, especially workers, in militant support of Gary Tyler's freedom.

Gary Tyler, 17 years old, was

framed in the 1974 shooting death of a white youth during a Klan-led mob attack on a school bus of Black students in Destrehan, 40 miles north of New Orleans. Despite overwhelming evidence that he is innocent, he was convicted by an all-white jury and sentenced to die in the electric chair.

Last month, the racist judge who sentenced him denied Gary Tyler's demand for a new trial, despite the fact that the only person who had testified against Tyler revealed that she had been threatened by the prosecutor into giving false evidence.

Gary Tyler is now in solitary confinement on Death Row in Louisiana's Angola State Penitentiary. His life depends on the defense movement gathering strength across the country.

Support for Gary Tyler's freedom was a prominent part of May Day activities sponsored by the October League in Boston, Detroit, New York, Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, Atlanta, Birmingham and other cities. A participant in the Chicago action wrote *The Call*:

"On May Day, we used *The Call* to get signatures for the Gary Tyler petitions. The people really responded to the case of Gary Tyler. The rich ruling class has once again exposed itself by trying to kill an innocent youth and suppress the gains made by the struggles for civil rights."

Recent rallies for Gary Tyler in additional cities show the fighting spirit of the movement:

In Louisville, Ky., the River City Fight Back held a spirited "Free Gary Tyler" rally where Mrs. Juanita Tyler, Gary's mother, spoke about her son's case to more than 150 people.

In Charleston, W. Va., a demonstration by community people led by the Charleston Fightback Committee and the October League marched through downtown raising support for Tyler. Sharon Gillispie, regional secretary for the

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SECCION EN ESPAÑOL



EDITORIALS

WOODCOCK AND FORD ARM-IN-ARM

United Auto Workers' chief Leonard Woodcock did us all a good turn when he threw his arms around Henry Ford II and, together with this corporate boss, endorsed Jimmy Carter for president.

It was a good turn because the contract talks between the union and the Big 3 automakers open in July, and there may be some UAW members who still haven't seen through Woodcock's phony friend-of-the-working-man disguise.

Woodcock is the type of union misleader who likes to strike a liberal pose and who promotes reformism as a tool to paralyze the working class struggle. Joining hands with Henry Ford in support of Carter, the plantation owner, is perfectly natural for Woodcock. He is a long-time lapdog of the Democratic Party and one of the labor lieutenants sent into the trade unions by the millionaires who stand behind this party. His mission—to protect their interests, lull the rank and file to sleep and to moderate the class struggle to the point where it is acceptable to his masters.

Henry Ford II has his own motives in the Carter campaign. He is chairman of the board of the fourth largest multinational corporation in the world, with a yearly net product of over \$3 billion, larger than the gross national product of most of the world's countries. During the first three months of 1976 alone, Ford raked in \$343 million in profits while thousands of auto workers were still on the unemployment lines or walking the streets.

Like Woodcock, Ford poses as a radical and a "maverick" who likes Carter's campaign talk of "bringing the country close together again." To Ford and Woodcock (and also to Carter) this means bringing the class struggle to an end and making capitalist exploitation a permanent feature of history. This image of "cooperation" is especially important to both men this contract year and in this period of deepening crisis and rank and file dissatisfaction.

According to the New York Times, Ford is holding back from making a full-fledged endorsement of Carter. To this, Woodcock grinned: "I'll be trying to convince you all summer." Ford replied with a laugh: "We'll be trying to convince each other of a lot of things this summer."

It is with this spirit of labor-capitalist cooperation that Woodcock is "leading" the UAW into the July contract struggle.

Woodcock's public showing of labor-management support for the Carter campaign should serve

as a warning to those who still believe that their UAW dues make Woodcock work for the workers. As long as the union is run by these labor lieutenants, the auto workers and all working people will be fighting the class struggle with a deck that's stacked against them.



(Hsinhua)

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY

May 25 is African Liberation Day—a day to welcome the historic victories won by the African peoples in the past year.

The African liberation struggle has entered a new stage, marked by the collapse of the Portuguese colonial system and the revolutionary birth of a number of newly independent states. The last strongholds of colonialism in southern Africa are being assailed from all sides by the African people.

While there are many twists and turns on the road to liberation, the main trend in Africa is that of growing unity and reliance on the armed struggle of the people to win complete independence.

The two superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, have hardly wasted a minute following the defeats of the Portuguese in their efforts to replace the old colonialists with their own domination. They have become the main enemies of the African people.

The Soviet Union, with its stirring up of civil war and its occupation of Angola, has demonstrated that it is the most dangerous of the two enemies. Meanwhile, the U.S. imperialists are promoting "detente" and "negotiations" in order to save their own African interests.

African Liberation Day 1976 is a day to renew our support for the African people in their struggle to win total independence over all foreign imperialists and colonialists. It is also a time to heighten our efforts to smash the rule of imperialism right here at home.

For us in the U.S., the task is to bring the cause of African liberation to the people and especially

the workers of this country. The African struggle has always had strong sympathies among the 22 million Afro-Americans as well as among many white workers and other progressive people in the U.S.

In 1972, more than 80,000 people, mostly Black, marched on this day in support of the common struggle of the African people. These actions showed the potential for a strong, unified mass organization with revolutionary communist leadership which could weld the sentiments for African liberation support into a powerful force against imperialism.

The African liberation struggle combined with the anti-imperialist support movement in the U.S. represents a great reserve of the working people in their struggle against capitalism and for socialism. While continuing to mobilize and raise the consciousness of this strong base of support, ALD provides a good opportunity to do special work among white workers in building international solidarity and combating the white chauvinist ideology of the ruling class.

It is more important than ever to build groups like the African Liberation Support Committee which can link the African peoples' struggle with the class struggle here in a mighty blow against imperialism and the two superpowers.

**SUPERPOWERS OUT OF ANGOLA!
TOTAL VICTORY FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA!
UNITE TO WIN STILL GREATER VICTORIES!**

EXPAND THE WEEKLY CALL

"It's great, but it's too short."

This is an often-heard comment on our transition from the monthly Call to the weekly. Everyone wants to know when we will expand beyond our present format of eight pages in English and four in Spanish.

We hope that with the support of our readers, we will be able to expand The Call to sixteen pages soon, and in doing so, expand our coverage of world and national affairs and the movement to build a new communist party.

We hope that everyone who wants to see a sixteen-page Call will become a sustainer and pledge \$5 a month or more to this effort. We hope that hundreds of new subscribers and bundle distributors will come forward to assure the enlarged Call a growing circulation from week to week.

The support built for the weekly Call in its first week of publication has surpassed our expectations. We anticipated a temporary drop in our circulation of 50% when we began printing weekly. The actual drop was half as sharp, but the loss is quickly being overcome. The response to the slogan "Read, Sell and Write for the Weekly Call," has been excellent.

With this kind of militant enthusiasm, we know our readers will do everything possible to help us expand the weekly Call!

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In the May 1 issue, page 6, the article incorrectly states that Teng Hsiao-ping was removed from his post in the "late '70s." This should read "late '60s."

To The Call,

For more than a year we have been selling *The Call* at the Denver Unemployment Office while members of Colorado Workers Unity Org. (CWUO) have been organizing among the people. The so-called "Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee" (UWOC), led by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), has been circulating their petition that says they are for jobs or income.

On May 3rd, a few *Call* sellers and members of CWUO were attacked by members of UWOC at the unemployment office. The fact that people were responding to the information from CWUO and *The Call* had been disturbing these goons for some time. So they started using thug tactics, including physically butting into conversations, calling us names, pushing women around who were selling *The Call*, and trying to prevent us from going onto their "part of the sidewalk."

This time we met them head on. First we demanded that they

Letters



back off. Their answer was that they would rather fight. We realized that if we didn't stand up for the rights of the unemployed workers to read the real news and see what was happening in the revolutionary movement, these goons would push us around even more. Both our women and men took on these thugs. And it was the UWOC that called for us to stop because they were getting beaten.

As the influence of *The Call* and CWUO grows there will be even more attempts by the ruling class and its agents to try and stop us. But we will not be intimidated or stopped. We are dedicated to selling *The Call* and plan to continue no matter what the agents of the imperialists do. We love *The Call* and want thousands

more of our brothers and sisters in Denver to be won over to the need for revolution.

BUILD THE WEEKLY CALL!!!
Call Sellers in Denver

Dear Friends,

On behalf of the Marxist-Leninist League of Colombia I send warm revolutionary greetings.

We hope that an exchange of publications and documents will contribute to building solidarity between the people of our two countries and to strengthening the united front against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, especially against the hegemony of the two superpowers, the USSR and the U.S.

We congratulate you for the step you have taken in making *The Call/EI Clarin* a weekly paper and we hope that the other tasks which you are undertaking for the formation of the party continue along a correct path.

Fraternally,
Marxist-Leninist
League of Colombia

To our Readers

The October League would like to hear from readers of *The Call/EI Clarin* about their need for materials in Spanish. We recently published "The Puerto Rican People Are Rising Up" and are currently preparing a Spanish publication of the Chicano Resolution from the OL Third Congress.

To set priorities for future publications, we need to know what translations are needed most for study and discussion. We are trying to assess the need for Spanish-language publication of Marxist-Leninist classics, the OL Afro-American Resolution, the OL pamphlet on women's liberation, and articles from *The Call* and *Class Struggle* on the international situation, Soviet social-imperialism and the communist press.

The task of building a multinational party is linked to building a multilingual party. We urge our readers to send their suggestions.

Rising Tide of Native American Resistance

FROM OREGON TO NEW YORK INDIAN STRUGGLES GAIN STRENGTH

Dennis Banks, a leader of the Native American people, is now in Oregon fighting against extradition to South Dakota. If he is brought back to South Dakota, he says, the government will have him murdered.

That isn't empty talk. A few weeks after Anna Mae Aquash was extradited from Oregon to South Dakota to stand trial, her body was found in a ditch near the Pine Ridge Reservation. She had been shot in the back of the head from close range.

Russell Means, another leading member of the American Indian Movement (AIM), was shot May 9 near Wagner, South Dakota. (See *The Call*, May 17, p. 1). He was "lucky"; he survived.

Altogether, more than 240 Native Americans have been murdered in South Dakota since the historic uprising at Wounded Knee in 1973. The killings, most of them by government agents, troops or vigilantes, are like a repeat of the old Indian massacres.

The rule of terror is part of the continuing war between the U.S. government and the Oglala Sioux on the Oglala's Pine Ridge reservation, site of the Wounded Knee confrontation. Today the reservation is an armed camp, occupied by federal troops. Marauding right-wing paramilitary groups operate with government blessing. Police, courts, judges—all are stacked against the Native American. Unemployment on the reservation is 70%. The average lifespan is 42 years. The demands for basic democratic rights, for an end to the terror, and for land to work, burn stronger than ever among the Oglala people.

South Dakota is not unique. Conditions that are perhaps even worse exist on the Navajo reservations in the Southwest. Wherever the Native American people are concentrated today, conditions are similar and the spirit of resistance is growing.



IROQUOIS at Lake Ganienkeh, N.Y., demonstrate to demand land, democratic rights, self-government.

The state of Wisconsin, for instance, abolished the Menominees' reservation in 1961 and took over the land as a county. The Menominees' fields, resources, education and health facilities, and most important, their self-government, were taken away. After a long, quiet resistance, a group of Menominees in 1975 took over the Alexian Brothers monastery, an abandoned building, to call attention to the injustice inflicted on them. More than a score of Menominees have been killed, jailed or driven underground in the struggle. Early this year, the state of Wisconsin returned the county to the Menominees, but only on paper. The struggle continues.

Near Lake Ganienkeh in upstate New York, a community of Iroquois in May 1974 took over some 9,000 acres of Adirondack land, a tiny fraction of the 9 million acres that legally belong to the Iroquois by treaty. Local big property owners—in reality, squatters on Iroquois land—and demagogic politicians have whipped up vigilante groups to try to drive the Indians out. The Iroquois are standing fast, protecting their rights and their land.

These are only a few of the struggles being waged by the Indian peoples today. The conditions under which the vast majority of Native Americans are forced to

live, especially on reservations, defy quick description. Forced emigration, the breaking up of families, sterilization of women, denial of language and cultural rights—all these and other sufferings common to oppressed nationalities under imperialist rule are the everyday lot of Indians in the U.S.

Before the European settlers came, there were an estimated 35 million native inhabitants of the North American continent. Today, the Native American population is down to about 1 million. The gap

between the two sums up three centuries of territorial expansion, massacre, starvation, betrayal and other attacks on the Indians. Despite ceaseless fierce resistance, they were tricked, overpowered and overwhelmed by the capitalist system. As U.S. capitalism at the turn of the century turned imperialist, the oppression and persecution of the Native Americans intensified. All 371 treaties made between the Indians and the federal government have been broken by the government. During the

Great Depression, Washington created the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) as a permanent prison-guard agency to steal from the Indians whatever they had left, and stamp out any visible sparks of rebellion.

But as the oppression grew, so did the resistance. As part of the general high tide of resistance to U.S. imperialism in the 1960s, the Native American movement surged forward.

The Native American peoples were among the first victims of capitalism as it aggressively expanded across the continent. Today, their struggles are objectively aimed at imperialism.

Part of the struggle to bring about a socialist society in the U.S. must be the unity of all nationalities behind a fighting program for the full democratic rights for Native Americans, including the rights to their own languages, culture, and lands. Such rights can only be fully guaranteed through the establishment of autonomous self-governing regions under socialism, in the historic areas of Native American concentration.

DAYCARE VETO MEANS DOORS LOCK ON CHILDREN

The vast majority of existing federally funded daycare centers stand to be wiped out as a result of President Ford's recent veto of the Day Care Services Act. In the state of Illinois alone, 35,000 of the 40,000 children presently served by government-funded facilities will soon find those doors locked.

This marks another step in the capitalists' attempt to cut back on needed social services in the face of the present economic crisis—a measure that will have its most drastic effect on the unemployed and working class and minority women.

The federal daycare program

was established only after long years of struggle by the working class and the women's movement. But the number of centers under the program has never been close to the number needed. Even prior to Ford's veto, only about 5% of the number of families who needed low-cost daycare were able to get it. In addition to the five million working women who now have children under the age of six, there are millions more, either unemployed or on welfare, who cannot work because there is not enough low-cost daycare available.

The recent veto overruled a bill that would have provided additional daycare funds to centers so that they could meet the staff-to-child ratio requirements of Title XX (the section of the 1975 Social Security Act which allocates funds for federal daycare). Without the funds, many centers will not meet the requirements and will be shut down.

Faced with these attacks, parents and daycare workers throughout the country have been organizing militant protests. On May 5, over 1,000 parents, daycare workers and children demonstrated at New York City's Emergency Financial Control Board demanding an "end to the hatchet job on the daycare program." The demonstrators called for an increase in government funding to daycare ser-

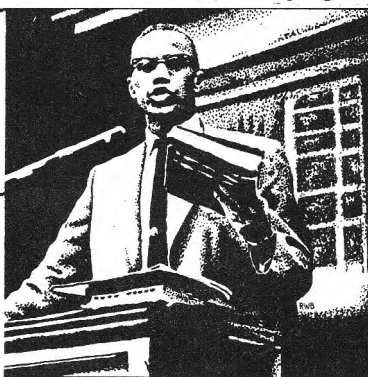
vices. The daycare cutbacks are taking place at a time when the need for women to work has become greater than ever before. As their husbands are laid off, increasing numbers of women are looking for jobs.

Women workers comprise almost one-half of the current 10 million unemployed, including an especially high percentage of minority women. The cutbacks in daycare are bound to increase this number by the thousands.

At the same time, the number of women who head their families and are the sole support of their children is steadily rising. Today, over 10 percent of working women, or almost 4 million women, find themselves in this position. Over 35% of Black families and 15% of Latino families are headed by women. Without daycare services they cannot work.

The fight for daycare clearly cannot be limited to the fight for the passage of this bill or against the veto. It must be directed at the whole capitalist system which keeps women out of the work place and tied to the home. The demand for adequate, low-cost daycare is a just demand that is central to the struggle to ensure women the right to work and to protect the living standards of the entire working class.

Malcolm X: Heroic Liberation Fighter



Malcolm's militant stand "irresponsible drivell." (Political Affairs, Aug. 1963, p. 25.)

The revisionists further opposed Malcolm's stand in support of armed self-defense, saying: "The Negro people have rejected the call for armed revolt—euphemistically called 'armed self-defense' by Robert F. Williams." Williams, along with Malcolm, was severely persecuted by the government because of his armed opposition to KKK attacks.

But the slanderous attacks by these phony allies and traitors could not dim Malcolm's will to fight. While there was no real communist party at that time to attract people like Malcolm X to scientific socialism, he saw from his own experience that racism and oppression were built into capitalism. He denounced this system with his last dying breath as he was shot down by agents of the ruling class in 1965.

May 19 marks the anniversary of the birth of the great Afro-American freedom fighter Malcolm X.

Malcolm X was a revolutionary Black nationalist and a much-feared opponent of imperialism and white supremacy. He stood for the liberation of all people throughout the world as well as for Black people.

While defending the principles of revolutionary Black nationalism, Malcolm X also stood for the unity of Blacks and whites in common struggle against oppression. Malcolm spoke of the Black revolt of the '60s in this way: "It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of Black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather, we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter."

The essence of Malcolm X's Black nationalism was his stand in support of Black and third world unity against the system. In this quest for liberation, Malcolm X was no wishy-washy liberal or pacifist. In fact, he had disdain for

this type of phony "friend" of Black people. He realized full well that nobody, including the Democratic Party liberals, would give Black people their freedom on a silver platter. He stood firmly in support of the right of Black people to arm and defend themselves against racist attacks.

Malcolm spoke sharply against liberal politicians like Kennedy. When Kennedy was killed in 1963, Malcolm shed no tears. Instead he pointed out: "The chickens have come home to roost." This naturally brought down the ire of capitalists. But it also angered the phony communists of the CPUSA who had abandoned their previous stand in support of Afro-American self-determination, becoming the opportunist tail on the dog of the Democratic Party.

The CPUSA leaders launched a vicious attack on Malcolm—an attack that they would now prefer to forget since they have been posing as a "supporter" of this Black hero now that he is dead.

But at the time when the Black revolt was sharpening and the CP was trying to channel it into the Democratic Party, they called



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SONNENFELDT DOCTRINE: APPEASEMENT AND THE WAR DANGER

In the capitals of Europe both East and West, denunciations of the "Sonnenfeldt Doctrine" are ringing out. This doctrine attempts to divide Europe into permanent spheres of influence and appease Soviet aggression. It is being condemned by all who oppose the hegemony of the superpowers and the danger of war that results from dividing the world into such spheres of influence.

The Sonnenfeldt Doctrine was first articulated by Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Henry Kissinger's chief State Department aide. Last December he and Kissinger addressed U.S. ambassadors to the European countries at a London meeting on U.S.-Soviet relations.

Sonnenfeldt's remarks, later written up into his "doctrine," called for maintaining and actually intensifying Soviet domination in Eastern Europe. Sonnenfeldt said that a "strong Soviet geopolitical influence" in Eastern Europe should be promoted by the U.S. in order to avoid a third world war.

It seemed unusual that a U.S. spokesman would advocate a "strong geopolitical influence" for its arch imperialist rival, especially in the highly industrialized, resource-rich eastern part of Europe. To understand Sonnenfeldt's remarks, it is also necessary to look at Kissinger's speech in the same meeting.

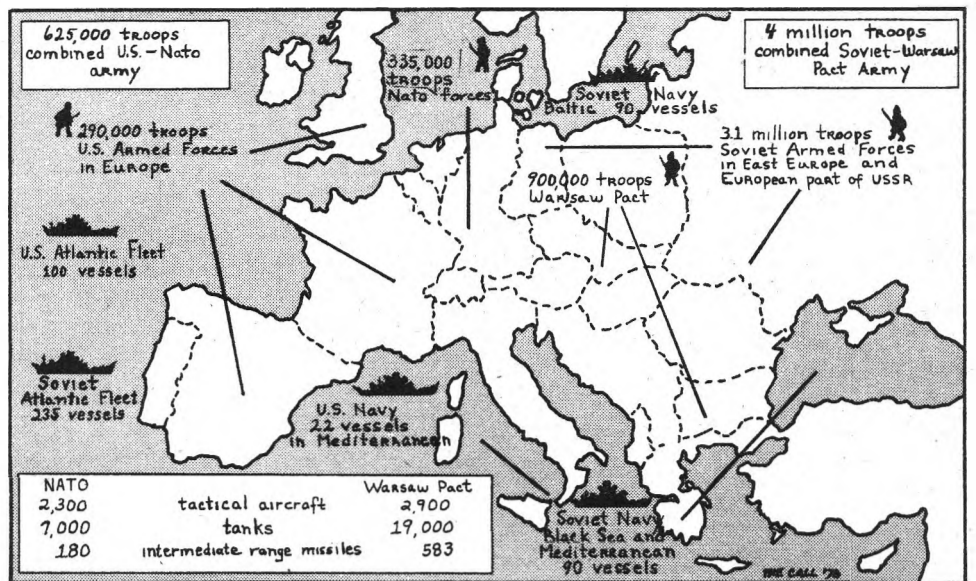
Kissinger devoted his remarks to the importance of U.S. control over Western Europe, calling it "the backbone of our foreign policy." The main obstacle to U.S. domination in West Europe, said Kissinger, is "the rising influence of communist parties," which regardless of "the degree of their independence from Russia" will force the U.S. out of Europe if they come to power.

"The problem of our age is how to manage the emergence of the Soviet Union as a superpower," said Kissinger. Sonnenfeldt went on to say that Soviet influence is based almost entirely on military power. "What do you do in the face of increased Soviet power?" asked Sonnenfeldt.

Speaking for a certain section of the U.S. ruling class, Sonnenfeldt and Kissinger answered this question in London. Their strategy is to appease the USSR by giving it a free run of East Europe, while at the same time maintaining U.S. domination of Western Europe and fighting all attempts of the USSR to penetrate it.

The Sonnenfeldt Doctrine itself finds echo among the Soviet social-imperialists in the theory of "limited sovereignty." This doctrine of Brezhnev's also preaches that East Europe is a Soviet sphere of influence and that the interests of those countries should be subordinated to Soviet "geopolitical influence."

The theory of "spheres of influence" is common to all imperialists—and the Kissinger-Sonnenfeldt strategy of appeasement is nothing new either. Not quite forty years ago, Adolph Hitler claimed that Czechoslo-



vakia was part of Germany's sphere of influence. At the Munich Conference, the British and French imperialists appeased Hitler by acknowledging his claim and giving Czechoslovakia to him. They did this in the hope that it would pacify him and keep him out of their own sphere of influence in Western Europe.

The result of this policy of appeasement is a well-known fact. The gift of Czechoslovakia whetted Hitler's appetite for new possessions and strengthened his strategic position for attacking West Europe.

Imperialists simply can't divide up the world and then leave it that way. As Lenin pointed out, the great powers always strive for hegemony and for a redivision of the world. The Soviet Union, a rising superpower, will not be content with East Europe. It is already challenging U.S. power in West Europe through its military forces as well as economic and political maneuvers, and it is not capable of giving up.

Sonnenfeldt preaches the theory that war between the big powers can be avoided by creating a balance of power between the spheres of influence. Refuting this, Cornel Burtica, a leader of Romania—one of the countries where Sonnenfeldt advocates Soviet domination—pointed out, "It seems that Mr. Sonnenfeldt and the followers of his doctrine have not drawn the necessary conclusions from the events prior to the

second world war when the policy of division and redivision of spheres of influence and domination was precisely one of the chief factors for unleashing the conflagration."

Yugoslavian leaders have also replied to Sonnenfeldt's statement that they should be "less obnoxious" in their struggle for independence from the Soviet Union. A Yugoslavian newspaper charged that the essence of the Sonnenfeldt doctrine is to support and legitimize Soviet control of Eastern Europe. Yugoslavian president Tito stated that Yugoslavia will not be intimidated. It will continue on its course of independence and non-alignment.

The Sonnenfeldt Doctrine and the accompanying statements by Kissinger are the clearest articulation yet of the foreign policy strategy put forward by the section of big business they represent. Another section of the U.S. ruling class opposes this strategy and favors increased confrontation with the Soviet Union.

The fact that all the imperialists are advancing strategies for dealing with the war danger shows clearly that we are not living in an era of "peace" or "detente." The fact that the section of the ruling class now on top is openly abandoning half of Europe to the Soviet Union shows that the situation is changing rapidly and the war danger is increasing.



...in brief...

WEST BANK: Israeli soldiers killed three Palestinian demonstrators in as many days last week including a young girl and two teenage students. All three were killed during protests of Zionist occupation of the West Bank area.

MAY DAY: Klassekampen, the newspaper of the Norwegian Worker's Communist Party (M-L), reported that revolutionary May Day demonstrations were held in 110 villages and cities. These actions denounced the superpowers, the government and the trade union leadership. Some actions featured speakers from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, the FRAP of Spain, and the Pan African Congress of Azania. In Oslo, party chairman Pal Steigan addressed 10,000 demonstrators, including a contingent of 4,000 immigrant workers. The Oslo demonstration was more than twice the size of the May Day action sponsored jointly by the ruling social democrats and the revisionists.

MAY 7 DIRECTIVE: All over China, the anniversary of Chairman Mao's May 7 Directive of 1966 was celebrated as a blow against revisionism and bourgeois right. The directive called for narrowing the differences that still exist in socialist China between industry and agriculture; town and country; and mental and manual labor.

GUINEA-BISSAU: The First National People's Assembly concluded May 3 after two weeks of deliberation. The assembly adopted a program for the development of agriculture in the country which was impoverished through 500 years of Portuguese colonial rule until its 1973 independence. President Luis Cabral affirmed Guinea-Bissau's policy of non-alignment and stressed support for the liberation struggles still being waged in Africa.

THIRD WORLD UNITY: Mexico has announced that it plans to join OPEC and unite with the efforts of other third world oil producers in establishing common policy. After the discovery of the oil-rich fields in Tobasco and Chiapas, U.S. officials had voiced the hope that they could keep Mexico out of OPEC and thus weaken the bargaining position of all oil producers.

Romanian Leader Refutes New Tsars

Nicolae Ceausescu, the President of Romania and General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, recently gave a stinging answer to Leonid Brezhnev, the Soviet revisionist chief. Addressing the congress of Romanian trade unions April 27, Ceausescu took aim at the idea that "nations are dying out," that "narrow nationalism is the main danger," and that "sovereignty is limited"—all fallacies expounded by the Soviet social-imperialists. Excerpts from Ceausescu's speech follow:

At present, some people are unleashing a fierce offensive against the free and independent development of the peoples...

The reactionary forces, in their attempt to stop the enormous revolutionary process

of the contemporary world, direct their main attack at the policy of national independence and sovereignty of the peoples. To this end, they are trying to advertise the thesis according to which the nation and national independence are outdated social categories no longer corresponding to the present stage of historical development...

We cannot overlook the fact that lately some people who call themselves Marxist-Leninists underestimated and even negated the role of the nation, the principles of independence and national sovereignty. In their talk about the Marxist-Leninist conception of proletarian internationalism, some philosophers and theorists try to demonstrate that the nation has concluded its

historical mission and has no longer any perspective in socialism, that the policy of defending national independence is a violation of Marxism-Leninism, a shift towards the position of bourgeois nationalism, and that the confirmation of the principles of equality and independence is the main danger in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

It is clear that these arguments are completely wrong, and in complete contradiction with reality, with the generally valid principles and truths, and with the all-conquering concept of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, with Marxism-Leninism...

The development of international solidarity of the working people by no means implies the denial of the interests and aspirations of one's own people... To ignore the necessity of safeguarding national independence and accept the violation of the sovereignty of the people to whom the working class and the communist party belong, is synonymous in the last analysis with the abdication from revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principles.

Lenin said, "Nobody is to be blamed for being born a slave; but a slave who not only eschews a striving for freedom but justifies and eulogises his slavery—such a slave is a lickspittle and a boor, who arouses a legitimate feeling of indignation, contempt and loathing." Indeed, Lenin is right one thousand times: one who does not rise to fight to defend his dignity and his right to freedom and independence and affirm his national entity fully deserves his fate of a slave and the contempt of his own nation and the peoples.

History and life testify day by day to the old Marxist truth that no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations or does not recognize their right to independence...

From the World Press



"It is unfortunate that important sections of the left have been taken in by the world-wide revisionist propaganda" regarding the USSR's role in Angola, writes the journal IKWEZI, published by exiled revolutionary South Africans and Southern Africans in London.

"The Portuguese colonialists withdrew, recognizing the legitimacy of the three liberation organizations," the journal says in its March 1976 issue. "Three agreements, one in Lusaka, Zambia, another in Nakurri in Kenya and a third in Alvor in Portugal recognized that the three organizations should form a transitional government..."

"But foreign intervention scuttled all this; consequently the transitional government was broken up and the country was plunged into a civil war in which thousands of Angolans lost their lives... The main interventionists were the South Africans and the Soviet Union, and of the two we have no hesitation in saying the Soviet Union was the real mischief maker. Using the cover of the South African intervention and its leper status in the world community and particularly among African states, it intervened massively on behalf of the MPLA and brought it to power. In other words the Soviet Union decided who was going to rule Angola and not the Angolan people..."

"No, the Soviet intervention in Angola can in no way be justified. It is sheer arrogance for it to tell Angolan liberation movements that they have no right to participate in a national government of unity... Let the Angolan people decide that..."

"A country that has abandoned socialism cannot bring liberation to others." IKWEZI is published at 103 Gower Street, London W.C. 1, England.

New York, N.Y.—City and private hospital workers are being told that the only way to salvage New York's deteriorating health care system is to take wage and benefit cuts, while doubling up on jobs.

A confidential study, commissioned by the city's Health and Hospitals Corporation, calls on the city board not to close municipal hospitals, as earlier announced, but instead to make up gaping deficits by "increasing productivity" of workers.

At the same time, the private hospitals prepared for their upcoming contract negotiations by

'Equality of Sacrifices'

SCREWS TIGHTEN ON HOSPITAL WORKERS

demanding that workers accept wage and benefit reductions. They handed a list of 26 cutback demands to the 40,000-member Drug and Hospital Workers Union, District 1199. The 1199 contract expires June 30 along with an AFSCME contract covering 200,000 city clerical and hospital workers, all members of District 37, headed up by misleader Victor

Gotbaum.

Both 1199 and District 37 have tough contract battles ahead, even to maintain present wage and benefit levels. New York's year-long union-busting campaign has set grim precedents, ranging from the sweeping layoffs of almost 50,000 workers to the strike-breaking deals made with the sanitation union last summer and the Trans-

port Workers union last April.

In all these attacks, the city's ruling circle of capitalists has had help from the labor fakers like Gotbaum. The District 37 president even announced his own proposal last July for deferred wage increases for city workers, as part of the "equality of sacrifices" scheme put forward by New York mayor Beame. In the face of cutbacks and freezes, misleaders like Gotbaum have continued to oppose city-wide and class actions on the part of workers.

Although hospital workers have contracts expiring on the same day, Gotbaum and Leon Davis, head of 1199, have historically promoted disunity between the two unions. Last year when 1199 had a strike action, Dist. 37 refused to lend support. When Dist. 37 called for a demonstration against city cutbacks last June 4, 1199 boycotted it.

Influential in Local 1199 is the

revisionist Communist Party, the worst traitor to the working class. In a leaflet put out by their front group, the United Members Committee, the CP discouraged workers from striking, and placed the blame for disunity not on the sell-out leadership but on the militant rank and file. We "oppose," they wrote, "the oversimplistic notion that strike action is the only method for dealing with our problems. This approach, coupled with anti-leadership attacks, is both divisive and disruptive." The CP leaflet ignored the crucial question of unity among unions and workers.

The main demands being put forward by rank-and-file hospital workers include a broad fight against all cutbacks, restoration of jobs for laid-off workers, wage increases to get ahead of inflation, and an end to all discrimination against women and minority workers.

PROFIT DRIVE BEHIND YOUNGSTOWN EXPLOSION

East Chicago, Ind.—Pressure for profits caused a giant explosion May 9 at the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co.'s Basic Oxygen Furnace, injuring six workers, one critically.

The force of the blast blew out the entire east wall of the furnace and threw heavy chunks of metal more than 200 yards. The shock wave knocked a crane operator off his chair, half a mile away.

A cracked mold that leaked molten steel into a water ditch triggered the explosion. The cause of the cracked mold was that the company has been re-using old molds over and over again, instead of making new ones—to save money.

"The company wants so much production they don't care what they have to do to get it," a worker at the BOF (Basic Oxygen Furnace) said angrily. "If they kill somebody, all they care about is if they can get somebody else to fill the job."

In recent months the company has set new production records in the BOF as well as in the blast furnaces that feed iron to the BOF. Behind these records has been ruthless speedup of the workers and cutting corners of all kinds. While production is whipped forward, hundreds of workers from the shop remain laid off. Some have been out for over 13 months, with all their unemployment and SUB

money gone.

The union leadership's response has been to cover up for the company. Danny Nolan, outgoing chairman of the Grievors and a member of the Abel wing in Local 1011, told *The Call*, "This is just one of those things. It was a freak accident. The only way to avoid the hazard is not to do the work. It's just part of the game."

Ray O'Malley, second in command to reformer Sadlowski, in District 31, had no comment on the blast. Asked what the district leadership was going to do about the speedup that led to the explosion, O'Malley's assistant said: "Explosion? Oh, yeah, I read about it in the newspaper."

Special Convention Called

INJUNCTION HITS RUBBER STRIKE

The year's most significant labor struggle, the strike of 70,000 URW workers, has now entered its fifth week. Picket lines are up around the country on a 24-hour basis, and the union has continued firm in its original demand for \$1.65-an-hour wage increase and an uncapped cost-of-living adjustment.

In Akron, the center of the tire industry, an injunction was issued limiting pickets to four strikers per gate. At Uniroyal's Los Angeles plant last week, Local 44 held a one-day mass picketing, which brought out some 100 workers as well as police, who arrested a number of the picketers.

To prepare for the long battle ahead, the URW has called its first special convention in history for May 27 in Chicago, where members will vote on a special dues supplement from non-striking workers to go into the strike fund.

A number of *The Call/El Clarin*

readers have written letters supporting URW strikers. We include excerpts from two:

Letter of Solidarity from Members of Local 724, URW, to all URW strikers:

Brothers and Sisters:

We are members of URW Local 724 (Samsonite Corp., Denver, Col.) and we want to express our support for your strike, which we read about in *The Call*.

The strike is one of the weapons that the working class has to use in our struggle against the bosses. We know that this is serious business—class struggle—and our enemy is a strong one. The Big Four Tire companies have all the power of their international financial resources, political connections, the police and the courts, but we have the power to produce. Without our labor, they cannot keep the lines running. Our strength is our unity.

We are strongly in favor of a

contract that wins uniform wage agreements for non-tire companies and workers in the South and Southwest. Here in Denver the labor movement is not very strong, and it's a common practice for capitalists to run away to unorganized areas in order to reap high profits. A victory in the major rubber plants will give workers in our area a better chance of winning gains. Stronger organized shops in the Southwest will also strike a blow against the capitalists and strengthen the workers movement nationwide.

We are behind you all the way, and we see your struggle as ours. Members of Local 724, URW

From a UAW Worker Correspondent:

I work at the GM plant at Norwood, Ohio. Recently I went to Akron to check out the rubber strike. This was in the midst of increasing rumors that our plant would be shut down in two weeks because of the strike. The UAW backed the strike officially but did nothing to build support among the members. In fact, Woodcock said he's afraid a huge wage increase for the rubber workers will increase rank-and-file pressure for one in auto this fall.

All the workers I talked to on the strike line called the '73 rubber contract a complete sell-out, because there's no cost-of-living clause and they've fallen way behind in wages. But it's right for workers to demand that their wages keep up with inflation. We have to feed our families and live decently. And it's not higher wages that cause inflation. Just look at GM's huge profits.

I support the rubber workers in all their demands, to get their laid-off people back to work and to get the just living they deserve.

J.H., Auto worker
Norwood, Ohio



(CALL photo)

Jobs are scarce in construction trades, and minority workers are last hired, first fired. Discrimination by contractors, craft union leadership and government provoked this May 10 protest at a job site in Roxbury, Boston. Liberal Mayor White sent riot cops, who looked on as segregationist thugs harassed 200 demonstrators. The racist Construction Trades Council bosses blame unemployment on minorities. But minority construction workers, organized by Third World Workers Association, with support from Boston Workers United to Fight Back and the October League, are determined to carry the fight for jobs and justice to victory.



BFI Workers Close Ranks

Santa Barbara, Ca.—Striking sanitation workers at Browning Ferris Industries (BFI) have closed ranks with supporters against city-company attempts to isolate them through police harassment, red-baiting as well as a May 5 court injunction restricting picketing.

Santa Barbara police are trying to press "conspiracy" charges against student and community supporters, following the large May 1 demonstration of 300 supporters and strikers at BFI. Riot police had charged demonstrators, brutally beating them and arresting 33. "The bloody confrontation was planned by the police," BFI strikers explained in a letter to the Santa Barbara News-Press, "to discredit our supporters, and to weaken our fight against BFI."

Seventy BFI workers, mainly Latinos, have been on strike since January 21, when their contract expired. Their former contract, a Teamster sweetheart, provided for daily pay rates, with no compensation for overtime. Neither seniority nor grievance procedures were enforced. "We will not allow ourselves to be sold out again by crooked union officials or politicians," BFI workers insisted. "Our fight is for justice and dignity as workers... We plan to see this struggle through to the end."

DeKalb Strikers Fired

Atlanta, Ga.—The DeKalb County government fired 230 striking workers last week in an attempt to break a drive for recognition of the Laborers' International Union (LIU). About 90% of the strikers are Black.

DeKalb County, a suburb of Atlanta and one of the wealthiest in the nation, claims it is illegal to organize county workers, and has used the police and the courts to fight the drive. After an injunction was issued to limit picketers to two per site, 28 feet apart, police moved in to arrest 40 protesters on May 6. On May 10, 150 striking workers staged a protest march.

LIU leaders have made little effort to rally support. When the attacks got strong, they began backing down. The community, however, has lent strong backing. Both the Atlanta Workers Committee and the October League have also been mobilizing support for strikers.

Buffalo Forge Runs Away

Buffalo, N.Y.—Buffalo Forge (BF), a steel foundry, announced last month it would open a new plant in Virginia rather than expand its N.Y. facilities. BF claimed it could expand "more economically and effectively" in Virginia, one of ten southern states with open-shop laws.

BF's announcement came shortly after 1,000 steel workers shut down the plant during a 165-day stormy strike, the longest in the area's recent history.

BF had threatened strikers all along that it would cancel Buffalo expansion plans unless workers ended their strike. Finally BF claimed it would stop operations completely. Under pressure, workers voted to accept the company's final offer. A month later, BF disclosed its plans to build a Virginia plant and cancel expansion in N.Y.

Buffalo has lost over 50,000 industrial jobs in the past two decades due to runaway shops.



CHOU EN-LAI, here speaking at Bandung talks, was a staunch foe of social-imperialism. The Guardian's slick effort to "use" Chou against Chairman Mao will get nowhere.

(Hsinhua)

'Revolutionary Wing' in Shambles

The so-called "Revolutionary Wing" is in shambles. Racked by internal divisions and splits, the remaining leadership of the "Wing" is resorting to purges and physical assaults on its own leaders and rank-and-file members in a vain effort to halt the growing trend toward Marxist-Leninist unity.

The May issue of *Palante*, organ of the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers' Organization (PRRWO) reveals the sectarian and "left"-opportunist form as well as the rightist essence of this anti-party bloc.

PRRWO along with the Revolutionary Worker's League (RWL) and August 29 Movement (ATM) currently make up the "Wing." In a fit of name-calling in February which amounted to little more than thieves falling out, the "Wing" expelled the Worker's Viewpoint Organization. Now PRRWO has turned its guns on itself, blaming the rank and file for its own failures and rapid decline. According to *Palante*, PRRWO "has purged the unrepentant renegades... who attempted to wreck the party building motion from within."

PHYSICALLY ATTACKED

According to reports from New York, a number of those expelled were physically beaten and had to be hospitalized. What were the main issues in the debate that led to these expulsions and beatings, and what do they mean to the future of the "Wing"?

The first charge is that those now expelled from PRRWO wanted to "build the mass movement." The remaining PRRWO leadership accuses them of wanting to combine propaganda with agitation and to build the party simultaneously with the united front against imperialism. PRRWO, on the other hand, has held that party-building is the "central and only task of communist and advanced workers in this period." (*Palante*, May 1, p. 5).

PRRWO and their partners in the "Wing" have long opposed the October League's line of linking party building with the struggle of the masses. They falsely maintain that the struggle for immediate demands is to be put off until after the party is formed and that any struggle involving reforms is opportunist. PRRWO's remaining leaders claim that those expelled committed the crime of being "busy... building the mass movement around open admissions at Brooklyn College, etc..." In fact it appears in *Palante* as though these "mensheviks" had the nerve to say that the advanced workers had to be won to the party through the course of mass struggle and that the workers had to learn in part through their own experience.

The "Wing" has always stood opposed to practicing the mass line ("from the masses to the masses") which is the real communist method.

In place of the Leninist style of combining propaganda with broad agitation, they promote the line of "propaganda only." Their newspaper *Palante* is void of any agitation as a matter of "principle." This "principle" is false. Even in a period

such as this one when party building is the central and immediate task and when propaganda (directing a great many complex ideas towards a relatively small number of advanced workers) has a crucial role to play, broad agitation among the masses is necessary as well. It is this broad agitation that gives life to propaganda and that links the work among the advanced workers with the broad masses.

PRRWO's method is to isolate the advanced workers from the masses, to look at them individually rather than seeing them as an advanced group among millions, and winning them through the class struggle. As a result their groups are practically void of any advanced workers and confined almost exclusively to former students and intellectuals.

The dogmatist style of these ultra-"left" sectarians can be seen in their attack on those purged. They accuse their hospitalized victims of attacking "the directive laid out by the Comintern that especially in advanced capitalist countries, communist parties must organize themselves along factory nuclei." The October League strongly agrees with the line of basing our party on the organizational lines of factory nuclei but not because the Comintern (which hasn't existed since 1943) directed us to. Instead we uphold this Leninist method of party building because it is in accord with the concrete conditions in this country.

ISOLATED CIRCLE

In PRRWO's view, however, the factory nucleus is a haven apart from the class struggle and from the masses of workers. Rather than using the nucleus to train and develop communist workers in the heat of revolutionary struggle, they view the nucleus as a small isolated study circle of intellectuals.

Finally, we must comment on the method used by the "Wing" to resolve their contradictions. Brutal beatings of comrades who disagree are a poor substitute for real communist ideological struggle, which the "Wing" claims to stand for. PRRWO's sinking to the goon mentality can be seen from the fact that those expelled were accused of "attempts to blunt the two-line struggle by calling for peaceful debates."

PRRWO confuses the two types of contradictions—those among ourselves and those between ourselves and the enemy. The only thing their frenzied attacks against the October League and their own members has exposed is their own degeneration into anarchism and left-wing infantilism.

Their activities are a cover for their essentially rightist line which opposes party building in the concrete and has led the way into "united action" with the revisionists on a number of occasions. At the same time, the antics of the "Wing" help people see their petty-bourgeois line and show many that they offer no alternative to the genuine efforts being made to build Marxist-Leninist unity and a new party in the near future.

WITH FRIENDS LIKE THE CHINA NEEDS NO EN

After hinting around for months, the centrist weekly *The Guardian* has finally made its open break with China.

In an article by its correspondent Wilfred Burchett and in an editorial (May 5), *The Guardian* opens its pages to all the major and most of the minor anti-China slanders fabricated by the Soviet revisionists.

Though purportedly limited to disagreement on the question of Angola, the *Guardian's* attack in fact is on the whole general line of Chinese foreign policy. Under the guise of "initiating a discussion of China's foreign policy," the *Guardian* editors launch a rhetorical and demagogic broadside against the sound scientific principles underlying the Chinese Marxist-Leninist comrades' analysis of the world situation.

This is a lesson to all who are tempted to adopt the *Guardian's* path of centrism—of trying to reconcile Marxism-Leninism with revisionism, to downplay the struggle against revisionism under cover of "unity" or "independence," or any other cover. That road inevitably leads to surrender to the revisionist and Soviet social-imperialist camp.

Burchett (who prides himself on his journalistic reputation) and the *Guardian* swear up and down that they are "long-time friends of China" and that they have "always supported the Chinese revolution," as if all this shouting to the heavens could make it so.

What follows is an all-out attack, not just on China's socialist foreign policy, but on the whole foundation of the revolutionary line of the Communist Party and its leader, Chairman Mao Tsetung. Burchett even goes so far as to portray the late Premier Chou En-lai as a defender of the

"The Guardian's road leads to surrender to the social-imperialist camp."

Guardian's pro-Soviet line and as an opponent of Chairman Mao.

In a slick attempt to compare China's revolutionary line on foreign affairs, which is being carried out under Chairman Mao's close supervision, with Teng Hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary line, Burchett says: "...many of China's closest supporters would breathe a sigh of relief if this (investigation of Teng's rightist line) included a review of such errors in the field of foreign policy."

What "errors" is Burchett referring to? He explains: "China's error in Angola stems from the nature of its struggle with the Soviet Union. It views the USSR as a fascist capitalist imperialist power bent on world domination, at least equal to if not far worse than the U.S. Such an analysis can lead one into a policy-making cul de sac (dead end—ed.)..."

The only sighs of relief at the substitution of Burchett's line for Chairman Mao's would be sighs emanating from Moscow.

What Burchett is calling for is a reconciliation with the Soviet social-imperialists and an end to China's principled opposition to the Soviet revisionists. Here he exposes the *Guardian's* evasive stand that the Soviet Union is "neither socialist nor capitalist." Burchett makes it clear that in reality this evasiveness was just a cover for a defense of the "socialist" character of the USSR. Both Chairman Mao and Premier Chou have long been staunch fighters against Soviet revisionism and social-imperialism. Let's see what these two great leaders of the Chinese revolution (which Burchett and the *Guardian* "have long supported") have to say:

RESTORED CAPITALISM

"Over the last two decades, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, from Khrushchov to Brezhnev, has made a socialist country degenerate into a social-imperialist country. Internally, it has restored capitalism, enforced a fascist dictatorship and enslaved the people of all nationalities..." (Chou En-lai, "Report to the 10th Party Congress").

Chairman Mao put it this way as early as 1962: "The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the Hitler type."

Burchett's attempt to pose Chou En-lai against Mao Tsetung on this question will lead him nowhere. This expert "journalist" tries to paint Chou En-lai as a "moderate" and turn this great anti-revisionist fighter into a harmless icon now that he is dead.

Next Burchett slanders China's fraternal aid to the liberation movements and oppressed countries, asserting without any evidence that China makes this aid "conditional on their denunciation of 'social-imperialism.'" He then goes on to brand those countries and movements which have opposed both superpowers as "opportunist riff-raff."

But let's examine for a moment what the leadership of these movements and countries have to say about China's aid.

The Angolan MPLA leadership itself, upon their return from a visit to China last year also commented on aid from China. "In fact," said Lucio Lara, an MPLA Political Bureau member, "China is one of the first countries that gave assistance to the struggle for liberation. Our relations with China did not start a year ago, nor a few years ago, but from the beginning of armed struggle... In fact China helped us materially from all points of view... We have been glad to learn that China is very interested to see a united action between the three liberation movements." (Interview with Algerian Journal *El Moujahid*.)

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AFRICAN AND CHINESE WORKERS built Uhuru (Tan-Zam) Railway side by side.

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As can be clearly seen from this inter-

view, China has made its aid principled and without any "strings." China has also made clear its view to all concerned that it supported all three liberation groups in Angola. It always opposed foreign intervention in Angola's internal affairs and resolutely supported the Alvor Agreement which united all three groups in Angola following the defeat of the Portuguese.

Burchett on the other hand repeats the Soviet line which arbitrarily declared one of the groups to be "revolutionary" and "socialist" and the others to be "CIA agents" and U.S. "puppets." In one sentence he praises the Alvor Agreement while in the next he says that the agreement was only an "experiment" and therefore implies that the Soviet Union had every right to pressure MPLA into breaking the unity and establishing themselves as the "only representative" of the Angolan people.

It is Burchett and not the Chinese who plays the dangerous game of branding any group who has taken aid from one of the imperialists as a "CIA creation" while in fact all three groups have in the past received aid from various imperialists. Fol-

"What is the Soviet-Cuban army doing in Angola now? Burchett doesn't answer."

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This is the actual record of events, known and admitted by all, and no amount of lies and distortions can cover it up.

Furthermore, Burchett doesn't even try to answer the questions that people all over Africa are asking now. What is the Soviet-Cuban army doing in Angola at present? Why didn't they engage the South African racists in battle when they were in Angola? Why instead did they direct their main fire at the Angolan people who identified with the other liberation groups? Why was all their "fraternal aid" not coming during the anti-Portuguese war? And finally, how long will these occupation forces stay in Angola now that South Africa has left?

CONSIDER THE RECORD

These seem like legitimate questions, especially when you consider the past record of the Soviet Union. In 1968 its troops marched into Czechoslovakia, supposedly to put down a western-inspired takeover. Now it is 1976 and the occupation troops remain.

Burchett also justifies the present Angolan occupation on the grounds that "most of the Cuban troops are Black." Is he so taken in by the revisionists that he can't see through this old colonialist trick? In the past it was the French and British, whose foreign legions were filled with third-world peoples who they sent to shed their blood in colonial wars. We know full well why the Soviet Union sent Black Cubans to do their fighting in Africa. It is the same reason that it invaded Czechoslovakia disguised as the "Warsaw Pact." Its chief competition, U.S. imperialism, called this same murderous policy "Vietnamization" of the war in Indochina, using Asians to fight Asians.

The weakness in the Guardian's anti-China attack is evidenced by the fact that they are forced to lie and distort China's policies in order to vilify them. These "professional journalists" use cheap tricks, such as printing William Hinton's own interpretation of China's policy alongside their polemic, which Hinton's interview was obviously never intended to refute. Even under these conditions the Guardian distorts Hinton's own words on the front page of their paper. The Guardian implies that the policy of China is one of a "united front against the Soviet Union," even though Hinton himself clearly points out

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The State and

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AFRICAN AND CHINESE WORKERS built Uhuru (Tan-Zam) Railway side by side.

GUARDIAN ENEMIES

view, China has made its aid principled and without any "strings." China has also made clear its view to all concerned that it supported all three liberation groups in Angola. It always opposed foreign intervention in Angola's internal affairs and resolutely supported the Alvor Agreement which united all three groups in Angola following the defeat of the Portuguese.

Burchett on the other hand repeats the Soviet line which arbitrarily declared one of the groups to be "revolutionary" and "socialist" and the others to be "CIA agents" and U.S. "puppets." In one sentence he praises the Alvor Agreement while in the next he says that the agreement was only an "experiment" and therefore implies that the Soviet Union had every right to pressure MPLA into breaking the unity and establishing themselves as the "only representative" of the Angolan people.

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'Unity is the Main Trend' Bridgeport Workers Organization (M-L)

This statement was written by the Bridgeport Workers Organization (Marxist-Leninist). The Bridgeport, Conn. collective is one of several organizations which has joined in the unity efforts to build a new Marxist-Leninist party.

The Bridgeport Workers Organization (Marxist-Leninist) has studied the Call to Unite published last November, and the revised plan of organization published this March, both by the October League (M-L). We warmly support these unifying efforts. The question of party building has become a matter of immediate urgency.

We see that, on the whole, the ideological level of the Marxist-Leninist movement has moved forward rapidly over the past few years. Beyond this, the struggle to build the new communist party will greatly deepen and broaden our ideological preparation.

Furthermore, through the mass work of the past few years, a stable and experienced body of cadres has developed within the Marxist-Leninist movement. This body of cadres will be the backbone of our new party. We believe that all honest and class conscious cadres, regardless of organizational affiliation, presently demand the formation of the new communist party.

Unity is the main trend in the Marxist-Leninist movement. It is the next step in the development of Marxism-Leninism in our country. Some organizations and individuals want to maintain the present disorganization of our movement. But all attempts to obstruct progress under the cover of "going against the tide" will only lead to isolation and wasted effort.

For local collectives such as ours, and for individual communists, the Call to Unite is of special significance. Our work will be tremendously advanced through the struggle to build the new communist party. Among the benefits of this struggle, the following are the most important:

Through the struggle for ideological and programmatic unity, mistaken and one-

sided views will be discarded, dogmatism combatted, and the ideological level of our movement will be greatly advanced.

Building the new communist party makes possible a rapid ideological development through the struggle for programmatic unity. Each local collective and individual communist has the opportunity and the obligation to play a leading role in the struggle for a common program. We must increase our study, sum up our practice, and be prepared to wage struggles within the coming unity discussions for a correct program.

The new party will struggle against all forms of localism and small-circle mentality. No present organization, whether large or small, will exist within the new communist party.

We need a national newspaper capable of organizing through political exposures at the national level, yet being an instrument of local agitation and action. In our work, we successfully use *The Call*. It is easy for us to sell and stimulates discussion because it successfully combines propaganda and an agitation at the international, national and local levels.

Through our struggle for correct practice, we have found that chauvinist, sexist and economist errors and an inadequate understanding of party-building represent an incomplete break with revisionism. The main way to eliminate these errors is through ideological struggle, strengthening of democratic centralism, raising communist politics within our mass work, and recruitment of workers and people of oppressed nationalities.

In this next period, we Marxist-Leninists must do our part to strengthen the world wide united front against imperialism. Concretely that means expanding our mass influence and our understanding of the tasks before us. Central to this is the struggle for the new communist party. Marxist-Leninists, Unite to Build the New Party!

Lenin's "The State and Revolution" has very instructive lessons for the working class on the question of elections under our current system.

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The State and Revolution (2)

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How does capitalism turn the election system and the officials into its instruments? Engels, whom Lenin quotes, already pointed to the essential features: "In a democratic republic, wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely," first by means of the "direct corruption of of-

officials" and second, by means of "an alliance between the government and the Stock Exchange." In other words, the big money simply buys up the candidates, by supplying them with the millions it takes to run for office and get elected, and it runs and manipulates the whole government through its financial power, its control of the banks, corporations, stocks, bonds, etc.

Despite the theoretical existence of the right to vote, Lenin points out in actual practice that there are numerous barriers and restrictions to the exercise of this right. In the first place, there are barriers against voting. In the second place, the act of voting itself is not the same thing as actually participating in the running of state affairs, which the workers do in a socialist society, such as China.

The present form of democracy, Lenin says, "is always hemmed in by the narrow limits set by capitalist exploitation, and consequently, always remains, in reality, a democracy for the minority, only for the propertied classes, only for the rich. Freedom in capitalist society always remains about the same as it was in the ancient Greek republics: freedom for the slave-

owners. Owing to the conditions of capitalist exploitation, the modern wage slaves are so crushed by want and poverty that 'they cannot be bothered with democracy,' 'they cannot be bothered with politics'; in the ordinary peaceful course of events, the majority of the population is debarred from participation in public and political life" (p. 103-104).

The numerous legal and practical barriers that exclude the masses of people from active participation in democracy, Lenin points out, are not accidental features of the system that can be fully eliminated through reforms under the capitalist system. On the contrary, "fully consistent democracy is impossible under capitalism" (p. 93).

In sum, the 'voting game' and all the electoral machinery of capitalist "democracy" are really a disguise—and a very effective one from the capitalist standpoint—for maintaining the day-in, day-out dictatorship of the big capitalist bosses. But does this mean that the working class should be indifferent to this form of "democracy," or to democracy as such? Not at all, Lenin teaches. Its strategic aim should be, rather, to transform "bourgeois democracy into proletarian democracy" (p. 50). This leads to the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. (To be continued).



EULOGY FOR A BLACK MINER



Bruce died today.
A one-eyed Black man from Alabama,
called "Mister Bruce" by his wife and neighbors,
a legacy from the Old South and respect for his age.

At the simple funeral,
no one, save the Catholic father, spoke as if they had
known him.
Even the padre dared not speak
How his life was fashioned by the oppression of
Black people.
How he knew this oppression
and resisted it with a fighting spirit.

No one spoke about the years he worked
in the Alabama coal mines.
No one spoke about the lung disease,
that killed him,
that had crippled him for years.
Lung disease from the Alabama coal dust,
crippled his body,
but not his spirit!

No one spoke about his hatred for the Klan.
No one spoke of the time he ripped the hood from
a Klansman's head.
Exposed him to the light of the sun
and his Black neighbors' justice.

Even the padre didn't tell how Bruce played catcher
to the famous Satchel Paige
in the Negro Baseball League.
Benign enough.
But to say this would have raised
the Jim Crow system,
Where a Black man was banned from playing on a
white man's baseball team.

No one noted that he died on May Day,
That he loved to talk about socialism,
That he wanted to hear how his people,
and all working people were standing up,
and fighting-back,
would some day rule.

Oh, the padre thought him meek and gentle,
But he didn't know him,
didn't want to really know him.
Didn't want to know, tho weak in body,
Bruce was fierce in spirit!

By E. Graham

FIGHTBACK GAINS MOMENTUM IN BOSTON

The New England region of the National Fight Back Organization (NFBO) has grown by leaps and bounds since the national organization was founded in Chicago last December. Starting with eight people a year ago, the Boston fightback organization—Boston Workers United To Fight Back (BWUFB) and its Cambridge Fight Back Caucus—has grown into an organization of 200 active members.

One of the reasons for its success has been that it has made good use of the nationwide structure of the NFBO. A manager at the big St. Regis paper plant made this "discovery" the hard way when the company was suddenly hit with pressure not only in Boston but

elsewhere, too.

Two workers at the St. Regis plant in Boston, October League members Paul Moskowitz and Steve Carlson, had been fired, sparking a wildcat strike in their defense. The BWUFB not only took up the demand to rehire them; it contacted NFBO chapters in New York, Seattle, Louisville, Los Angeles and Chicago about the situation. Several of them swung into action against St. Regis.

But linking up with the NFBO can't be done without a struggle, fightback activists in the Cambridge Fight Back Caucus found. This caucus was originally part of the Cambridge Homeowners and Tenants' Association (CHTA), a group that had endorsed the Na-

tional Fight Back Conference and sent 20 delegates to it.

Right after that conference, a struggle broke out within the CHTA over whether or not to affiliate formally with NFBO. Most of the working-class activists in the CHTA said yes. They saw the advantages in taking up the NFBO's national campaigns as well as the local Cambridge issues. They agreed that the capitalist system has to be exposed as the source of the crisis, and they welcomed the leadership of the October League in initiating the fightback movement.

A handful of people in CHTA opposed this view. They preached the idea that the workers are too backward and "aren't ready for

this type of thing." Among those peddling this nonsense were some associated with the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee. This group combines support for individual terrorist actions with reformist programs aimed only at patching up the system and not overthrowing it. Inside CHTA, these people wanted to keep the organization focused only on local issues. They wanted to keep control over the organization and feared that if workers began to study Marxism and take on positions of leadership, their small clique would collapse.

Ultimately, the Cambridge Fight Back Caucus had to part ways with CHTA, but many of CHTA's most experienced fighters joined up with the caucus. These workers criticized the narrow, reformist approach of CHTA in the

past. They were eager to link the fight they were waging around tenants' demands to the battle against segregation, to the demand for jobs or income, and to opposition to superpower war preparations.

Political education is a regular part of Boston fightback meetings and a key reason for the BWUFB's growth. A recent educational presentation on the role of factory workers in the fightback movement, for example, was well received.

Boston fightback activists give *The Call/EI Clarin* a prominent role in their work. "We welcome the weekly *Call*," several members said. "It's our best tool in explaining to people how to fight back, and in showing that if we dare to struggle, we can build a socialist society free from the evils of capitalism."

FREE TYLER...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

National Fight Back Organization, reported that "In West Virginia, we have gotten well over 8,000 signatures on the Gary Tyler petition campaign."

In Buffalo, N.Y., Lorraine Yaeger of the Buffalo Call Committee spoke for Gary Tyler's freedom at a gathering of 170 people. She linked the persecution of Martin Sostre, the recently released Black Puerto Rican political prisoner, with the frame-up conviction of Gary Tyler.

The perspective of building broad, multinational unity and militant mass actions involving thousands of workers has been a hallmark of the campaign to free Gary Tyler. But some elements who have entered the campaign refuse to unite with this view. In particular, the so-called Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and some other opportunists are trying to narrow the defense campaign to purely legal action and are promoting the false and divisive notion that the blame for racial injustice lies on white workers, not on the U.S. ruling class. They oppose mass actions that mobilize the people, and even went so far as to exclude the New Orleans Fightback Committee from the local New Orleans defense commit-

tee when the Fightback proposed a mass rally at the courthouse on the day of Gary Tyler's retrial hearing.

The plan these opportunists put forth is to rely on the same racist, capitalist courts that sentenced Tyler to death in the first place to now set him free. They have conveniently forgotten that it was only the mobilization of thousands of workers of all nationalities in militant struggle that freed political prisoners like the Scottsboro Boys years ago and Joan Little more recently. The power of the people that was so effective in these cases must also be concentrated and unleashed in the effort to free Gary Tyler.

GUARDIAN ATTACKS CHINA ...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

that this is not the policy of China.

What is written in the pages of the Guardian is no "friendly criticism" of China. It is a direct attack on the Marxist-Leninist line and heroic stand that the Chinese have taken in the face of growing superpower rivalry and expansionism.

China has stood firmly, against great odds, in defense of the countries of the third world. There isn't any independent country in Africa who hasn't benefited from the "no-strings" aid of the People's Republic of China. From the construction of the Tan-Zam railway to the arming and training of guerrilla fighters throughout southern Africa, China has served as a reliable rear area for all people who dare to stand up and struggle in defense of their freedom and independence.

The Guardian has turned truth upside-down. They portray China as a bully, and as hegemonists. They call the Chinese liars for exposing what the Soviet troops did in Angola. They praise the Soviet-Cuban invasion and justify Soviet expansionism in various parts of the world as an act of "proletarian internationalism." Burchett claims that the USSR is "rendering aid" to Angola while China is supporting

"CIA agents." This is the "friendly criticism" of the Guardian opportunists who stand truth on its head and make criminals into heroes and vice-versa.

China has done its duty of pointing to the danger of both superpowers as the enemies of all the world's peoples regardless of where they live. It is these two superpowers who represent the greatest threat of war and especially the

Soviet Union which is the most aggressive, the strongest militarily and even more dangerous because of its "socialist" disguise.

The latest slanders against the People's Republic of China show that the Guardian and Burchett have moved on to the role of open apologists and mouthpieces for hegemonism and Soviet social-imperialism. With "friends" like this, China needs no enemies.

DEMAND JOBS...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

20 and 24, about one-fifth of whom were unemployed in 1975.

Benefiting greatly from the vast pool of untapped youth labor will be the fast food chains like McDonald's. McDonald's is owned by Ray Kroc, who has been an outspoken opponent of the minimum wage law. The CYO is demanding an increase in the minimum wage to \$3 an hour and making it applicable to all workers.

On April 26, the CYO organized a picket line at the Urban Progress Center in Chicago's multinational Humboldt Park community. They

were protesting the fact that the city's summer jobs program has been cut in half from last year's. The jobs that are being given will only last for a few weeks.

Caren Levy, a member of the coordinating committee for the CYO "Jobs for Youth" campaign, told *The Call*: "This system has nothing to offer its young people but unemployment, lack of training and an insecure future. If we build the fightback now, we can not only force more jobs out of them, but bring thousands of young workers and unemployed youth into the struggle against capitalism."

Speaking Tour

The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) and the New Orleans Workers Fightback (NOWFB) announced last week a joint speaking tour to publicize the frame-up case of Gary Tyler.

Sat., May 22—Atlanta, Ga.
Mon., May 24—Kannapolis, N.C.
Wed., May 26—Washington D.C.
Thurs., May 27—Baltimore, Md.
Sat., May 29—Charleston, W.Va.
Sat., May 29—Omar, W.Va.

For further information contact SCEF, 321 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211. (502) 778-3348.