

C.U.N.Y. ORDERED CLOSED

New York—The only hope of a college education for thousands of this city's poor and working people went up in smoke last week when the City University of New York (CUNY) was ordered closed until further notice.

The closing of CUNY, one of

the world's largest universities, with 270,000 students and 12,000 faculty members, took place amid headlines boasting of the "new economic recovery." This university shut-down, following on the heels of massive cutbacks in New York's hospital care and the clos-

ing of 49 daycare centers, shows that while profits may be climbing for the corporations, conditions for workers and minorities are sinking to unbearable depths.

CUNY was set up in 1847 to provide some chance for higher education for the poor. Its policy

of free tuition became a matter of great pride for this city's ruling class, which, in times of prosperity, liked to show off its benevolent treatment of the poor and down-trodden.

CUNY was opened up to thousands of minorities in 1970 only after years of student protest demanding open admissions. The protests were based on evidence showing that admission standards

used racist criteria and a tracking system which channeled working class and minority youth into manual labor jobs while the upper and middle class students were admitted to college. But now, all of the meager gains made in educational opportunities are being taken back.

The closing was announced May 28 by Dr. Robert Kibbee, (PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 8)

PEOPLE OF
THE WORLD
UNITE TO
DEFEAT
IMPERIALISM

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8

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MARCHING in support of the foreign born. (Call Photo)

NEW GOV'T RAIDS HIT FOREIGN BORN

A growing number of reports to *The Call* of mass deportation raids in communities and factories across the country shows that the government's call to "deport a million in '76" is not an empty threat.

In Washington, D.C., a Colombian woman recently told an anti-deportation rally: "One worker who was picked up by the Immigration had his arm twisted until the pain forced him to tell the whereabouts of his fellow workers. The workers woke up in the middle of the night to find themselves handcuffed and surrounded by strange men." The D.C. immigration office has set an area-wide goal of 55,000 deportations for 1976.

In mid-March, two workers from Hartz Mountain, makers of pet supplies in Jersey City, N.J., were arrested by immigration agents on their way to work. Upon hearing of their arrest, the company fired them and all other workers who could not immediately produce residency papers. One of the fired workers told *The Call*, "We're not criminals, we're workers and they earned a lot off us. Many of the fired workers had a lot of seniority, six or seven years or more."

The firings go right along with numerous company attempts to prevent the workers from organi-

zing a union. Recently Hartz was forced to rehire 70 rank-and-file organizers for a new union. Now the company is trying to get rid of some of its most militant workers, create fear and divisions, and prevent further organizing.

Other deportation reports include: 317 citrus workers from Florida last week and 100 workers from the Fenton Shoe Factory in Boston, Massachusetts. In Los Angeles, 120 out of 127 garment workers in a single factory were deported in the middle of a drive to organize a union. "Walking teams" of INS agents stopping people on the streets to demand their papers were also reported in Los Angeles.

In carrying out these attacks, the U.S. ruling class and their lieutenants in the labor movement are trying to blame the scarcity of jobs on immigrant workers instead of on the capitalist system itself. The estimated eight million undocumented workers in the U.S., rather than being the cause of unemployment, are themselves the victims of severe unemployment caused by imperialist exploitation of their own countries.

A fightback against deportations is being organized by the National Fight Back Organization and its local chapters around the country. At the Washington rally, a speaker pointed out, "The system, not undocumented workers, is the cause of our problems and we will continue to fight against it and for the rights of undocumented workers."

While They Talk Peace

SUPERPOWERS ARM FOR WAR

Behind the talk of "detente" from Moscow, and behind the White House rhetoric that "our nation is at peace," the two superpowers are engaged in a colossal armaments race in preparation for the next world war.

On both sides they talk peace, but it is becoming clear to those who study the growing contention of the two superpowers that a new world war is inevitable.

The world-wide drive of military preparations has already surpassed, at least in its economic scale, the all-out actual military spending by all countries during the last world war.

This is shown in a report issued by a non-government study group in Washington, D.C., the Arms Control Association. The report, released March 1, estimates 1975 military spending world-wide at \$300 billion, on the basis of still incomplete data. That's up from \$270 billion in 1974.

In the last 15 years, war spending leaped by almost 50%, the study found. The arms drive is at an all-time record, says the report, and the world is confronted with an "arms race out of control."

More than 60% of the current military spending is done directly by the two superpowers, the study estimates. When recently revised, higher estimates of USSR spending are figured in, as well as the \$13 billion in arms sold last year by the two superpowers to other countries, the picture of the

two gigantic powers girding for world war becomes even more marked.

Which of the two superpowers is "leading" in this race toward world war? There is a growing consensus based on the cumulative evidence that it is the USSR which has been spearheading this drive in recent years. A Library of Congress study released in April concluded overall that "the quantitative military balance since 1965 has shifted substantially in favor of the Soviet Union."

During the years when the U.S. government was winding down the war to conquer Indochina, the USSR was cranking up its own military machine faster than ever, many sources point out. Former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger (in the February issue of the ruling-class magazine, *Fortune*) gives military manpower as one illustration.

From 1968 to 1976, Schlesinger says, U.S. military manpower declined by 1.5 million men. During roughly the same period, the

USSR's armed forces increased by about one million men. The outcome is that the USSR armed forces are today the biggest in the world at over 4.4 million persons in uniform—more than twice the size of the U.S. armed forces.

Another illustration is naval forces. The U.S. fleet shrank from 976 ships in 1968 to 483 ships in 1975, as old vessels from World War II were scrapped. Meanwhile the Soviet navy not only built over 700 new additional ships, doubling its tonnage, but also changed its character. From almost exclusively a coastal defense force, according to Schlesinger and others, it has become a "blue-water" navy that cruises all the world's seas and carries out offensive-type exercises.

There is a very marked disparity in the two submarine fleets, with 75 on the U.S. side vs. more than 255 for the USSR. This is of special importance in the event of a Soviet offensive against Western Europe, which would rely on submarines to cut off the Atlantic resupply line between Western Europe and the U.S.

When these and other factors are added up and put in their places on the world map, what emerges is that the USSR's top-speed

(PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 8)

URW- 8 WEEKS ON STRIKE

(CALL photo)

United Rubber Worker (URW) strikers continue picketing 47 plants of the Big Four tire companies in their eighth week of struggle for wage and cost-of-living increases.

Mass picketing has been called at numerous plants to stop office and management personnel from entering the plant to scab on the production lines. At Detroit's large Uniroyal plant, 200 militant pickets assembled last May 21 to block scabs, but were met by 32 police cars. Cops beat up and arrested two.

Despite the cut-off of strike benefits decided by URW leadership at a special convention last May 27, strikers have expressed determination to hold out.



SECCION
EN ESPAÑOL



EDITORIALS

VICTORY TO THE PALESTINIANS!

The recent mass uprisings in the West Bank have once again demonstrated the determination of the Palestinian people to liberate their homeland and carry their revolution forward to victory.

At the same time, the two superpowers and the Israeli Zionists are making use of the complicated situation in Lebanon to weaken and disarm the Palestinian revolution.

Under such circumstances it is more important than ever to strengthen the bonds of solidarity between the U.S. working class and the Arab peoples, especially the Palestinian liberation fighters.

Contradictions in Lebanon, such as those among religious groups or different Arab countries, are contradictions within the third world which should be resolved peacefully. This is the only way to insure the sovereignty of Lebanon, the independence of the Palestinian liberation movement and united vigilance against the superpowers and Israeli aggression.

In the past, Lebanon has served as one of the Palestinians' most reliable base areas for pursuing their struggle. As a result, the civil war has attracted the special attention of the superpowers. Both superpowers despise the Palestinian movement because it arms the masses to fight for liberation, rather than submitting to superpower dictates and deals.

The Palestinian struggle has also been a catalyst uniting the Arab world. This frightens both superpowers, whose foreign policies are based on main-

taining disunity in order to better penetrate the region.

At the moment, the superpowers and the Zionists are stepping up their behind-the-scenes meddling in Lebanon and the Mideast as a whole. Last week, for example, Soviet Premier Kosygin visited Syria, trying to heighten divisions between Egypt and Syria. The U.S. has also begun to menace Lebanon more openly, as shown by Ronald Reagan's suggestion to send troops and Henry Kissinger's statement about "keeping open" the option of using French troops.

The Zionists meanwhile have admitted that Israel "cannot help but enjoy" the situation in Lebanon, as Prime Minister Rabin put it. They have also threatened new aggression against Lebanon in recent days.

With superpower contention heightening in Lebanon, the key to the situation remains in building firm solidarity with the Palestinian liberation struggle, opposing the aggression of the superpowers and the Zionists, and supporting the unity of the Arab countries and peoples.



PRISON WALLS CAN'T STOP THE CALL

The circulation and influence of the new weekly Call is growing by leaps and bounds. A recent example confirms that neither prison walls nor repression can halt the rapid spread of communist ideas.

Two weeks ago, 80 prisoners at the Connecticut Correctional Institution in Somers, Conn. wrote The Call a letter asking for subscriptions. The request came on the heels of an important legal victory which overturned the long-time practice by Somers officials of suppressing The Call and revolutionary literature.

The significance of this legal decision goes beyond the constitutional rights of prisoners to read what they choose. Out of the struggle against the suppression of revolutionary literature, growing numbers of prisoners became interested in The Call. Now more than 80 prisoners at Somers will be able to read a revolutionary newspaper and learn about the struggles of people all over the world against imperialism.

Many will also start study circles to deepen their understanding of the science of Marxism-Leninism, as Call readers in many other prisons have done, thus bringing forward new communist fighters to join our ranks.

Those 80 men behind the walls at Somers have already received their first issue of The Call. But the new subscriptions, added to the hundreds of Calls we already send into U.S. prisons, are a reminder of the need for continued financial support for The Call. We call on all our readers to send in donations to help pay for these prisoner subscriptions and continue to build the weekly Call.

**CONTRIBUTE TO THE CALL'S
PRISON SUBSCRIPTION FUND!
READ, SELL, AND WRITE FOR THE
WEEKLY CALL!**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

National

Superpowers Arm for War—1
Deportations—1
CUNY Closing—1
URW—1
Chicano Struggle—3
CPUSA on ERA—3
Gary Tyler—3
Communists in the Trade Unions—5
May Unity Meeting—6
Trotskyists Herald Guardian—6
Dallas Unity Statement—7
SCLC—8

International

Panama Canal—4
Soviets Own Belgium Oil—4
Repression in Iran—4

Features

Editorials and Letters—2
International Briefs—4
World Press—4
On The Line—5
State and Revolution Study—7
Repression and Resistance—8

Join The Call Sustainers Program Now!

In the June 7 issue, an article entitled, "Kent State Victim Speaks Six Years Later," incorrectly stated that the speaker, Tom Grace, had lost his leg during the attack by the Ohio National Guard. In fact, it was part of his foot.

The Call is published weekly, at \$10 for a one-year subscription. 4249 W. Division, Chicago, Illinois 60651. Applications to mail at second-class postage rates is pending at Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Comrades,

I am a 43-year old Puerto Rican worker. For the last 20 years, I have lived in the U.S. and during that time I have worked in various factories. In each of these factories I have had the experience of being discriminated against, not only myself, but all the people of our nationality. But although all minorities are especially oppressed, I know through my own experience that the whole working class is brutally oppressed, because that's what imperialism means.

I have understood for a long time that this system isn't good for anything. This society is corrupt, full of drugs, prostitution, crime, bad schools, bad health—the list is inexhaustible. Four or six rotten dogs control all the millions and the people go hungry. Therefore I know that the working class had to unite to defeat this system. However, I didn't understand scientifically why this system was so bad, nor how we were going to put an end to it.

Not long ago I worked at Gottlieb & Co. in Northlake, Illinois. In '74 there was a union drive and the union lost. I was very active in the drive, and although I had worked there for 13 years, the company fabricated a case against me and fired me soon after we lost the union election. They said that I had low production—they needed 13 years to find this out! Luckily they fired me along with a member of the October League who had only recently been hired. Because he was white and a new worker, they used his firing so that I couldn't say that I had been fired because I was active in the union drive and because I was Puerto Rican.

I say "luckily" because it was he who introduced me to Marxism-Leninism. This science helped me to understand that capitalism is a cancer that can't be healed. I learned why and how it must be completely destroyed. The study of Marxism-Leninism taught me many things and it has changed me a lot. But even though I have studied for a year, I know that I am still green. There's much more that I have to learn.

Letters



But of one thing I am sure; the masses must be educated in the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. We have to make revolution. The world will not be peaceful nor will there be progress if we don't win socialism. And since the leaders of the Communist Party have sold themselves like hogs to the Soviet bourgeoisie, we must create a new organization for the masses. We must create a new communist party, a strong party. This party must be the party of white, Black, Latin and Asian people—of all oppressed people. That is why I support 100% the efforts of the October League to build this party. These efforts must not be of the October League alone. The masses in their millions must participate. Therefore I call on all Puerto Ricans and on all workers to study Marxism-Leninism, not to fear Marxism-Leninism, and to build the new party.

J.G.
Chicago, Ill.

To the Call staff,

We are making this contribution to the weekly Call to further the valuable work of the newspaper towards uniting Marxist-Leninists and building for socialism. We are making this contribution in the name of little Robbie, who was almost four years old when he was killed by a speeding car this month. Robbie's death grieves us all very much, but it also deepens our commitment to the fight for socialism. If we lived in a socialist society, Robbie would be with us today. Because when the working class is in power, as is the case in China, good safe daycare, with adequate play facilities away from the road is a reality for all working parents. Our children are our future.

We are determined to rid ourselves of this rotten system that values profit more than life. We are determined to build the kind of society that Robbie and all of us deserve.

Friends of The Call,
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Friends,

I finally started getting The Call in late March and it has really made me realize how out of touch with things I've gotten in Ames. I still lack clarity on certain issues, but I really think The Call presents the correct position on the international situation. I am infuriated at the amount of confusion the Guardian has been able to create on the left. They are trying to keep their foot in the door with both the revisionists and the genuine Marxist-Leninists.

If you take the only stand on social-imperialism that squares with the facts, you are made to feel "sectarian." They would have people believe that they are trying to unify the communist forces in a principled way, when in fact they are only vacillating and preventing that from happening. Now I can see that, although I disagreed with their assessment of the world situation, they were getting me to vacillate along with them. I am sure many honest people must be doing the same thing. I think we just have to take a strong stand and withdraw our support. Maybe then they will be forced to take a stand, too. That is not sectarianism.

Getting back to The Call, there are other positive features. It seems much more a workers' paper. There is a vitality and immediacy in the writing that indicates direct contact with people's day-to-day struggles. The paper going weekly should also help it to function more effectively in the party-building struggles.

On the whole, I think it's good and very readable. There are some improvements that need to be made but the political direction is good!

A.H.
Ames, Iowa

NEW GROWTH IN CHICANO STRUGGLE

The struggle of the Chicano people may not be producing the headlines it did in 1970 when 20,000 Chicanos marched against the Vietnam war, but in the barrios across the country, the struggle is continuing and showing signs of a new upsurge.

As the ruling class finds its system in crisis, they are stepping up their attacks on minorities. In the Chicano communities these attacks take the form of increased police repression; cutbacks in hard-won bilingual and bicultural education programs; dragnet deportation raids; new efforts to break the United Farm Workers' Union, and increased unemployment and other forms of discrimination on the job.

The movement to free Veronica Vigil and stop the grand jury in Denver, Colorado, is a good example of the fight against this intensified repression. Vigil, a Chicana, was imprisoned for over six months for refusing to testify before a federal grand jury investigating the May 1974 bombings in Boulder, Colorado, in which five Chicano activists were killed. Workers of different nationalities united in the Colorado Anti-Re-

pression Coalition to build a movement defending Vigil and exposing the use of the grand jury to try to smash the Chicano movement. They won a victory in April when the courts finally ordered Vigil's release.

This kind of fightback against repression in the Chicano community is being repeated in cities from California to Chicago. Last February, 2,000 people marched in San Jose, California, to protest the police murder of a Chicano, Danny Trevino, and organize against police repression in the Chicano and Black communities.

In another case of police repression against the Chicano movement, the Chicano Legal Defense Committee is organizing to free Ramon Arroyos, Ruben Ogaz, and Alfredo Espinosa, falsely charged with firebombing a department store last August in El Paso, Texas. The three are community activists and members of Chicanos Unidos, which has worked to establish free health facilities, to combat the use of drugs, and to establish El Mestizo, a local newspaper.

The police frame-up case against Ramon Chacon is an example of the growing links between the peo-



MARCHERS support BFI strike, demand an end to discrimination.

ple's movements in Mexico and the U.S. Chacon, a U.S. citizen, is jailed in Monterrey, Mexico. The police have charged him with transporting guns across the border. Chacon has participated in the organization of the Texas Farmworkers' Union and Colegio Jacinto Trevino, the country's first Chicano college. The movement to free him is gaining wide support on both sides of the border.

The struggle for recognition of

Chicano land claims in the Southwest also reflects a growing identity of interests between Chicanos and the movement of Mexico against imperialism. The "International Chicano Caravan to Mexico City" planned for this month will be a caravan of 500 cars traveling to meet with Mexican President Echeverria. Participants will ask that Echeverria present their case to the United Nations and that the U.S. government honor the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the Mexican-American War in 1848, with Mexico ceding the territory which is now the southwest United States. The Mexican negotiators at the time took care to see that the treaty also guaranteed protection of democratic rights of Mexicans who remained in the ceded territory, including rights to land and culture. But this aspect of the treaty has never been upheld. As a result, Chicanos have suffered severe oppression as a national minority, particularly in the Southwest, facing the worst conditions in housing, education and employment.

COORS BOYCOTT

The ten-year boycott against Coors Brewing Co., next to the struggle of the United Farmworkers' Union, is the best-known example of the Chicanos' fight for equality in employment. The boycott was begun in 1966 by the Colorado G.I. Forum, a Chicano veterans' organization, because of the refusal of the brewery to hire Chicano workers in its Colorado

plant. Chicano activists in Texas announced last month that they will revive the boycott now that Coors is expanding in Texas.

The 4½-month-old strike of mainly Chicano workers at Browning Ferris Industries in Santa Barbara, California, is another example of the unity between the class and national movements of Chicanos. May Day demonstrations in Santa Barbara this year brought out hundreds of BFI supporters to demand unconditional support of BFI workers and an end to the special oppression of Mexicans, Chicanos and other minorities.

Likewise, the movement to demand the rehiring of Magdalena Garcia to her job as a hospital worker in Chicago's main Chicano barrio has been strengthened by showing the connection between poor health care for community residents and discrimination against minorities in hospital employment.

WHAT ROAD?

All these and many other current struggles for democratic rights are leading more people to question what will be the road to complete liberation for the Chicano people.

At a conference early this year sponsored by UMAS (United Mexican-American Students) in Alamosa, Colorado, over 400 Chicanos discussed this question.

Marxist-Leninists at the conference took a scientific approach, criticizing cultural nationalism and cultural autonomy as idealist solutions to Chicano liberation. The Marxist-Leninists put forward a program of full democratic rights for Chicano people, return of the stolen lands, honoring the 1848 Treaty, and regional autonomy for Chicanos in the Southwest. The need for a multinational communist party to lead the struggle for socialism was stressed.

The increasing role played by Marxist-Leninists in the Chicano movement is a significant break with the self-admitted policy of "serious neglect" on the part of the revisionist Communist Party. As the Chicano people continue to resist national oppression, communists must unite this powerful force with the strength of the whole working class to bring imperialism down forever.

CP--A ROADBLOCK TO WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The opposition of the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) to the proposed Equal Rights Amendment lays bare their total betrayal of the movement for the liberation of women.

The ERA states, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the U.S. or by any other state on account of sex."

What is behind the CP's opposition to this amendment? What are the reasons they give?

The CPUSA, in its journal Political Affairs, March, 1976, cites three reasons for their anti-ERA position. The first reason is that "The amendment is a mandate for equality, which... does not define what is needed to achieve full equality in life."

SYSTEM IS CAUSE

At first, this reason gives the impression of being very "left." Of course, any amendment or piece of legislation cannot achieve full equality for women under capitalism. It is the capitalist system itself that is responsible for the oppression of women, and every instance of discrimination towards women can be traced to this vicious system of exploitation and profits.

But the revisionist CPUSA never concedes this fundamental point necessary to a complete understanding of women's oppression and the road to women's liberation.

Genuine Marxist-Leninists fight for passage of the ERA, linking the struggle for reforms to a program of overthrowing capitalism and establishing socialism. This is the only road for achieving full equality for women. But the revisionists, in place of combining the fight for the ERA with the fight to overthrow capitalism, offer their "Women's Bill of Rights" as the program for full equality, which is nothing more than a laundry list of partial reforms. It is in this way the revisionists cut out the revolu-

tionary essence of the struggle for women's emancipation and channel it down the road of electoral struggle and reforms.

Another reason the CP gives for their opposition to ERA is "the amendment would wipe out all special protective legislation," and that passage of the amendment would "threaten to prohibit any future legislation" which would "guarantee equality for women." Finally, the CP says the "interpretation as to what does and does not constitute equality will rest with the courts..."

These reasons go even further to expose the revisionists' faith in the capitalist system and their commitment to preserve this system at all costs. Any reform or law that is wrested from the capitalists as a product of revolutionary struggle is bound to be up to the courts to use against the people, since the courts are a direct arm of the capitalists.

Even if the ERA is passed, a struggle will have to be waged to implement it and to defend the gains already won in the area of protective legislation. Even now, working class women must fight a daily battle to maintain the minimal rights already won. But the revisionists bow down before the attacks of the courts and the legislatures, preaching that the working class should shrink back in the face of legal decisions.

The revisionists, just like the capitalists themselves, shake in their boots at the thought of a united struggle of the working class, men and women, all nationalities, against imperialism. The battle for women's equality, one example of which is the current struggle for passage of the ERA, is of great value to the entire working class movement. It has mobilized masses of women and men and raised their political consciousness as to the nature of the inequalities that exist in the country.

The revisionist CPUSA stands opposed to this tremendous movement. Through the course of the struggle, its "communist" mask is being torn off and it is being seen as the pro-imperialist party that it is. Even its own ranks are beginning to crack as the party takes increasingly reactionary stands. CP members are finding it increasingly difficult to put forward the party's line within the women's movement. A leading spokeswoman for the party, Bettina Aptheker, has publicly voiced her differences with the CP's line. Many CP members working in the trade unions and the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) have remained silent about the party's opposition to the ERA in the face of the overwhelming support among the rank-and-file membership of those groups for the amendment.

KKK, POLICE STEP UP ATTACKS ON TYLER FAMILY

Destrehan, La.—As support continues to build for the upcoming July 17 "Free Gary Tyler" demonstration in New Orleans, the police and KKK have stepped up their repression and harassment of the Tyler family.

On May 17, Gary Tyler's younger brother, Terry, was arrested on a burglary charge. Although Terry had been out of town for two days, he was arrested and charged upon his return to Destrehan.

Police have so far refused to inform the Tyler family of when and where this "burglary" was supposed to have taken place. Terry Tyler is head of the Gary Tyler Freedom Fighters, an all-Black organization of Destrehan high school students active in Gary Tyler's defense. He is currently free on \$5,000 bond.

The weekend after Terry Tyler's

arrest, Mr. and Mrs. Tyler and some neighbors were followed by the Ku Klux Klan when they went to City Park in New Orleans. Upon their return home, their youngest son Ricky said that the Klan had been cruising by their home wearing white outfits with the KKK emblem across their chests.

The arrest of Terry Tyler and the recent open Klan activities are clear acts of repression against the

Tyler family and all who support freedom for Gary Tyler. These actions are part of the same campaign of intimidation against the growing Free Gary Tyler movement that included the March 27 murder of Richard Dunne, a 19-year-old Tyler supporter in New Orleans. But these actions will not stop the people from joining the struggle for the immediate release of Gary Tyler.

A One Year Subscription to the Weekly Call for \$10.00.

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The Call, Box 5597
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PANAMA CANAL BELONGS TO PANAMANIAN PEOPLE

The struggle of the Panamanian people for control and sovereignty over their own territory is one of today's most significant battles being waged against the ambitions of the two superpowers to dominate the third world.

Panama is a small country strategically located between North and South America and between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The canal that runs through it and the Canal Zone now occupied by the U.S. is a prize possession in the battle between the superpowers for world control. It is this battle which lies behind recent headline-making news such as Ronald Reagan's statement that the "Panama Canal is as American as my backyard" Gerald Ford's remark that "The Canal is crucial to U.S. interests;" and the Soviet-proposed plan to "internationalize" the Canal, and get a Soviet foot in the door.

But the government of General Omar Torrijos and the Panamanian people have responded to these imperialist threats with renewed militancy. "The Panama Canal belongs to the Panamanian people and we will

defend it with our lives," said Panamanian Foreign Minister Tack last year.

The history of the last century illustrates the continued efforts by imperialism to control the strategic waterway, and continued resistance of the Panamanians.

In 1880, when France was among the handful of great powers in the world, it formed the Panama Canal Co. and made a deal to dig the canal with the government of Colombia. Panama was then a province of Colombia, which had won its independence from Spain sixty years earlier.

But the French project came to an end owing to a combination of malaria and yellow fever and bankruptcy threatening the company. French capital had overextended itself and the big French millionaires were forced to concentrate their financial war with Britain and Germany on the European continent.

As a result of the Spanish-American war in 1898, the U.S. overthrew Spain as the main colonial power in Latin America and acquired new interests in both the Caribbean and the Pacific. Building a canal in Panama became essential to linking U.S. holdings in the two oceans and dominating South America and so the U.S. Congress authorized the purchase of the canal rights from Colombia.

Colombia was not anxious to sell, but U.S. imperialism could not wait. Together with French entrepreneur Bauna Varilla and some Panamanian businessmen, the U.S. army helped Panama secede from Colombia and form its own "independent nation" on November 3, 1903. Twelve days later an agreement was signed between the U.S. and Bauna Varilla, guaranteeing the U.S. a strip of land ten miles wide and fifty miles long "in perpetuity."

Under Teddy Roosevelt's direction, construction on the canal began immediately. Thousands of Panamanians were forced to dig the canal under brutal conditions. Some 4,000 Panamanians died and thousands more suffered diseases or injuries which remained with them the rest of their lives.

This bitter experience was only the beginning of decades of imperialist domination of Panama. But the Panamanians fought back in hundreds of small skirmishes with their oppressors. In 1925, Dominican workers who had originally been imported

to build the canal, held a major strike protesting miserable wages and living conditions. In 1964, thousands of Panamanian students rose up and demanded "U.S. out of Panama!" Although U.S. troops killed 20 and wounded 500 in the uprising, the students were joined by workers throughout the country. Their struggle wrote a new chapter in the history of Panama's resistance.



PANAMANIAN PEOPLE demonstrate support for return of canal to Panama.

Today, while there is debate in the U.S. ruling class over whether or not to negotiate with the Panamanian government, the whole ruling class is anxious to maintain its hold over Panama and to keep Soviet influence from penetrating the region.

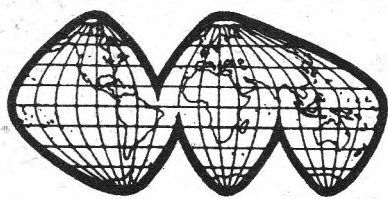
The Panama Canal benefits the U.S. imperialists directly, producing over \$270 million yearly along with the industries related to it. The U.S. also uses its military presence

in Panama to train "anti-subversion" forces from all over Latin America.

Panama, like all the narrow waterways of the world, figures in superpower naval schemes and war preparations. To the U.S., the Panama Canal represents the same strategic link between Atlantic and Pacific that was used in World War II to coordinate fleet disposition and maintain supplies.

The Soviet Union would like to minimize U.S. naval strength in this area. While supporting the "internationalization" of the canal, the USSR is posing as a "friend" of the Panamanian struggle and using Cuba as a pawn in negotiating economic deals with Panama.

But the Panamanian people, who have been under the domination of Spanish, French and U.S. imperialism for so long are yearning for genuine independence. They do not want to exchange the domination of one imperialist for another. Panama and the Panama Canal belong to the Panamanian people. Their struggle will continue until the U.S. and all imperialists are driven from their country.



...in brief...

MEXICO: The Mexican government has established an economic zone within the Gulf of California restricting foreign exploitation of the resources lying within it. The action, which will safeguard Mexican oil and fish from imperialist plunder, is part of the growing movement in the third world to protect the seas from superpower domination.

UPSURGE IN BRITAIN: The capitalist crisis in Britain is continuing and deepening, showing no signs of recovery at all. The pound has slipped to its lowest rate in history and more than 1,500 British firms filed for bankruptcy in the first quarter of this year. But the workers are refusing to pay for this crisis. On May 26, tens of thousands of workers took to the streets to demand jobs in London, Liverpool and other cities. The demonstrators also denounced the labor government's wage limitations.

LAND SEIZURES: Landless peasants in Honduras began a new campaign of land-seizures in mid-May, storming big plantations and demanding that they be given sufficient land to cultivate. Last year, some 10,000 peasants participated in militant actions during the sowing season and even more are expected to join this year's actions in spite of brutal repression.

UNCTAD MEETING: The U.N. Conference on Trade and Development meeting in Nairobi, Kenya adopted a number of significant resolutions strengthening the unity of the third world and opposing superpower economic domination. Stress was placed on easing the debt of third world countries, diversifying their economies, and cooperating especially in the production and marketing of key exports. The conference produced widespread criticism of Henry Kissinger's phony plan for "economic development" which was nothing more than a plan for U.S. capital export and third world debt. The Soviet Union also came under sharp criticism for its "international division of labor" which only benefits social-imperialism. Two Soviet proposals on economic relations were resoundingly defeated. Soviet attempts to pass off another resolution as having the backing of various third world countries was exposed, and the revisionists were forced to withdraw the proposal.

PATRIOTS HIT BY REPRESSION IN IRAN

A new wave of repression is taking place in Iran aimed at revolutionary activists and patriots in the struggle against imperialist penetration of their country and the struggle for democratic rights.

The New York Times reported May 16 that 11 activists had been shot by SAVAK secret police in various parts of the capital city of Tehran.

Reports from Iranian student organizations in the U.S. and Europe indicate that up to 35 more activists were killed in May, including several prominent Marxist-Leninists. By official government statistics, more than 60 workers and revolutionaries have been assassinated or executed since the first of the year. Among those who have been killed by the SAVAK were three women, the first ever known to be tortured to death by the government.

The massacre of these Iranian patriots comes at a time when the strength of the workers' movement has been showing itself with large scale strikes and other protests, and the demand for land reform has become much more forceful among the peasantry.

Around the world, Iranian patriots have condemned the acts of repression and called for protest actions. Iranian students led several demonstrations in the U.S., including actions in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Washington, D.C. and New York.

SOVIET CAPITALISTS OWN BELGIAN OIL

The biggest oil corporation in Belgium today is not a U.S. or British monopoly, but a Russian one, according to official data uncovered by the Belgian Marxist-Leninist weekly *Clarité et L'Exploite*.

The facts exposed by the paper furnish valuable data for understanding some of the techniques used by Soviet social-imperialism to penetrate the economies of other countries.

The Soviet oil corporation "Nafta B" was established in Antwerp, Belgium's chief port, in 1967. Its starting capital of 3 million francs formed the down payment for buying up the existing petroleum loading and storage facilities of a Belgian company.

Nafta B's capital stock was rapidly increased to 202 million francs by 1972. Two years later, Nafta B's annual sales volume of over 20 billion francs surpassed that of Chevron and of Shell, and Nafta B became Number One in the Belgian oil business. Nafta B, in fact, is the second-biggest corporation in all of Belgian in-

dustry, the paper estimates.

Apart from a symbolic share held by Belgian interests, the total capital of Nafta B is owned by four Soviet state monopolies: Soyuznefexport, Soyuzpromexport, Avtoexport and Soyuzimexport.

The figurehead president is a Belgian businessman, Pierre Stoop, who is also a director of several other Soviet corporations in Belgium. Stoop has close ties to the leadership of the Belgian revisionist party. The other top executives of Nafta B are Russians.

Just as the local executives who are tied to U.S. corporations become compradors (agents) of U.S. imperialism in their country's internal political life, Soviet capital export also creates compradors of its own, who quite naturally congregate with the leadership of the revisionist party.

Another noteworthy aspect of this case is that Nafta B has among its customers the Belgian army, which, says the paper, "gives Soviet social-imperialism the possibility of cutting off fuel to the Belgian army at a moment's notice."

From The World Press

APEP

AGENCIA DE PRENSA ESPAÑA POPULAR

adherencia a la CONVENCIÓN REPUBLICANA de los pueblos de España

A Convention of the Peoples of Spain for the Republic took place May 22-23 in Paris, reports the June 2 issue of the bulletin of the Spanish People's Press Agency (APEP). The 233 delegates represented a broad range of old and new fighters for the cause of a democratic republic in Spain.

Among the participants were the Anti-Fascist Popular Resistance Front (FRAP) and the Communist Party of Spain, Marxist-Leninist (CPE-ML).

Brief excerpts from the main political resolution adopted by the convention follow: "Repression of the people, centralist oppression of the nationalities, denial of all democratic rights and liberties... strangulation of all progressive ideas, such is the legacy of Francoism. Such is the legacy which the monarchy [of Juan Carlos, currently visiting the U.S.—ed.], imposed on the Spanish people, is carrying on in order to perpetuate the absolute power of the same classes who have held it since 1939..."

"Regarding our national independence, today sold out by the regime to U.S. imperialism, the Convention declares that the recovery of independence is indissolubly linked... to the struggle for liberty and democracy. National independence in the present period requires non-participation in either of the two military, political and economic blocs constituted and headed by the U.S. and by the USSR (which is as imperialist and as much an enemy of the peoples as the U.S.). National independence requires unswerving opposition to all efforts by any foreign power which would tend to restrict or limit our independence, in order not to substitute the domination of one superpower for the other."

The APEP bulletin is published at 45 rue Dunois, Paris 13, France.

THE FIGHT FOR COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP

The task of communists is to win the trade unions to the cause of socialist revolution, transforming them into organizing and training centers able to draw large numbers of workers into the struggle against capitalism. To accomplish this task, the present stranglehold of the labor aristocracy over the organized trade union movement must be smashed and the labor lieutenants of capital driven from the ranks of the working class movement.

In the difficult battles to revolutionize the trade unions, it may sometimes be necessary to make tactical alliances with certain labor leaders. But it is never permissible for communists within such an alliance to abandon independent communist agitation and propaganda, to rely on these leaders, or to liquidate the tasks of building and consolidating revolutionary organization in the form of party cells and networks. The experience of the Communist Party in the '30s, which at the time was the vanguard party of the working class, brings out clearly these fundamental lessons.

GREATEST ADVANCES

In the late '20s and '30s, the then revolutionary Communist Party led the whole working class movement in the U.S. in achieving its greatest advances in history. The Party took the lead in the drive to build the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) and challenged the labor aristocracy for leadership of the trade unions. But at the end of the '30s, the revisionist forces in the Party's leadership, headed by Earl Browder, sabotaged this work, leading the Party and the workers into an unprincipled alliance with the labor misleaders and suppressing the independent work of the Party. As a result, the great advances were turned into setbacks.

To deepen the struggle against revisionism today, the lessons from the '30s must be summed up and applied. What was correct and what erroneous in the CP's trade union work?

PROGRAM FOR WORK

The Party developed its program for work in the trade unions in the course of the struggle against dual unionism and syndicalism. During the first decades of the century, under the leadership of organizations like the Syndicalist League of North America and the International Workers of the World (IWW), revolutionaries concentrated on organizing unions independent of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and refused to affiliate or wage a struggle within this federation against the leadership. Their erroneous policy was to draw the more revolutionary-minded and advanced workers away from the AFL and other established unions, which left an open field for the misleaders to maintain their sway over the main body of organized labor. At the same time, this dual unionist approach led to the isolation of the revolutionary forces within the working class.

Communists such as William Z. Foster, who earlier had been a founding member of the Syndicalist League, learned through their own experiences the dangers of "left" sectarianism, a deviation clearly criticized by Lenin in the early days of the Third International.



The period of the great upsurge among the workers during the '30s increased the dangers of reformism.

The Communist Party, founded in 1919, waged a largely successful struggle to break with dual unionism. Party members were directed to work inside the AFL unions and to fight to transform the character of those unions.

During the '20s, the CP placed emphasis on building the Party in industry, carrying on a special campaign from 1925 to 1929 to root itself in the large plants and mills across the country. The CP developed its factory networks and an expanded system of shop organizations and shop newspapers in the course of union drives, strikes and in the day-to-day work in the plants. Concentrated efforts were aimed at consolidating the more advanced fighters from among the workers and building the backbone of a rank-and-file movement through the Trade Union Educational League, later the Trade Union Unity League.

STRONG BASE

From this strong base in major industry, the CP led the battle against the most powerful of the monopoly capitalists. This strong base of support was also essential in the fight to defeat the endless efforts of the labor aristocrats to isolate the communists through red-baiting, expulsions and, in cooperation with the companies, firings and arrests.

To transform the character of the trade unions, the CP put as the cornerstone of its program the fight for multinational unity based on a consistent battle against Jim Crow unionism.

The CP's fight against discrimination was reflected in the drive to extend unionization to the millions of unskilled workers and to make the unions a fighting force for the interests of the unemployed.

COMMUNISTS INDISPENSABLE

In all the key CIO drives, it was communists who organized the workers, planned strike strategy and mobilized support in workers' communities. Even CIO misleaders like John L. Lewis and Phillip Murray, who had been part of the old guard officialdom of the AFL until 1935, were forced to acknowledge that communists were indispensable to CIO campaigns.

This period of the building of the CIO was one of great upsurge in the mass movement, which greatly increased the dangers of rightism, of getting swept up by these mass struggles, overestimating the consciousness of the masses and underestimating the decisive importance of independent communist work.

In the course of the CIO drives, serious errors were made under the growing influence of Browder, then CP general secretary. Browder cultivated and then consolidated the rightist errors which had begun to emerge when the party turned to mass agitation in the late '20s and early '30s. The downplaying of communist aims and independence served as fertile ground for Browder's revisionism. Browder opposed communist work on the basis that it would "antagonize" the CIO bureaucrats. To advance his treacherous objectives, Browder spread illusions about the CIO misleaders, praising them as well as Roosevelt new-dealers as saviors and heroes of working people.

RESULT OF BROWDERISM

As a result of Browderism, party recruitment was halted; the party suspended publication of shop papers, silenced all criticism of the CIO misleaders, cut back independent propaganda and agitation, ended independent work in union elections and didn't even struggle for leadership positions in the steel union it had done the work to build. Browder called these measures "concessions" to show the "spirit of cooperation" of the Party.

The CIO leadership had opposed the AFL craft-union line and leadership with the opportunist aim of building a separate center for the trade union movement, equally wedded to the capitalist system, but under their control. The big capitalists, realizing that unions were a fact of life, began to rely more and more on reformists to keep the unions under class-collaborationist leadership, to go along with their anti-labor violence, police and thugs. The CIO industrial unions clearly created more favorable conditions to carry out class struggle, but even greater vigilance and struggle were needed against reformism and narrow trade unionism. These ideologies were to chain the struggles of the workers within the bounds of capitalism for some time to come.

REVISIONIST LINE

The revisionist line on trade union work peddled by Browder has emerged today, typified in the revisionist Communist Party but also present within the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist organizations. For example, communists, including the October League, made rightist mistakes in the Arnold Miller reform campaign in the United Mine Workers Union. Rightism took the form of downplaying the importance of communist independence and initiative.

it is essential that this work be based on communist independence and initiative as well as on a consistent fight against the political and organizational influences of reformism and revisionism. It means a protracted struggle to win communist leadership in the course of sharp class struggle.

The right opportunist line of relying on one sector of the labor aristocracy against another while abandoning communist aims and independent work leads the working class into the arms of its enemies. This is what the Browder betrayal did in the late 1930s, and in this betrayal lie the roots of the present weakened workers' movement and the consolidated position of the labor aristocracy.

To reverse the consequences of this betrayal, the most urgent task for communists is to build a new vanguard party, rooted in the major industries and unions, which will revolutionize the trade unions.

(To be continued)

ON THE LINE



GM Workers Hit Racist Firings

Norwood, Ohio—Workers from the GMAD plant here marched through downtown on their lunch hour on May 26 protesting discriminatory firings of Black workers and racist harassment by foremen. In particular, they demanded that five recently fired workers be re-instated. Union officials met with the workers two days later but refused to take up the demands, stating: "There is no discrimination in the plant." Later, the UAW bureaucrats offered to defend one worker but not the rest. Protests are continuing, and the workers involved have said they will not accept any solution but the return to work of all five with back pay.

Unions Merge - Begin Drive

The Textile Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union merged their 500,000 members last week to form the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. At the founding ceremony, the union announced the goal of organizing the 43,000 workers at J.P. Stevens' 85 plants.

The former TWUA had been waging a battle against Stevens for 13 years and in 1974 won a union election at the plants in Roanoke, N.C. But to date, Stevens has refused to negotiate a contract. The new amalgamated union indicated it will use a consumer boycott in its present campaign to help break Stevens' reactionary anti-union opposition.

Brown Gets Gallo Money

California Gov. Jerry Brown, who has posed as a "friend" of the farmworkers for years, has just padded his presidential campaign coffers with a contribution from the vice-president of the E&J Gallo Winery as well as from the president of the Cal. State Board of Agriculture.

Brown has worked to get the United Farm Workers (UFW) leadership to rely on his administration instead of on militant strike actions in the battle with the growers. This approach has tied the hands of the farmworkers and given free reign to the growers. It's no surprise Gallo likes Brown. But this sign of grower support for Brown should be a warning to farmworkers that they have no "friend" in this capitalist politician.

Flintkote Victory

Three Flintkote Worker Correspondents—

Jersey City, N.J.—Workers at Flintkote Company overwhelmingly voted for union representation at their plant on April 8, bringing in the United Paper Workers International Union (UPIU). While we are elated over the victory, we are aware that this is only the first step in a long struggle.

Our fight for union representation was a long, uphill battle that had its casualties along the way. Workers that were union organizers were arbitrarily dismissed. But after a time, new organizers picked up where their brothers had left off.

Many of the workers at Flintkote are foreign born. To the shock of management, some of these workers were among the leaders and strongest supporters of the union drive. This type of multinational unity proved to be one key to success.

We encourage workers at Flintkote to read *The Call* newspaper so that we can learn from the struggles of other workers and disadvantaged peoples throughout the nation and the world.

MAY MEETING SETS CON



Communist program must take a revolutionary stand on the national question. (Call Photo)

Representatives from Marxist-Leninist organizations and collectives spent the Memorial Day weekend hammering out a unified line and laying the groundwork for the formation of a new communist party.

The unity meeting succeeded in drafting a new statement of unity and formed the Organizing Committee for a New Marxist-Leninist Party. This committee will have the responsibility of guiding the writing of a draft program and organizational rules which will then be debated and discussed in the period leading up to the first party congress.

Taking part in this first of several unity meetings prior to the congress were: Bridgeport Workers Organization (M-L), Buffalo Marxist-Leninist Organization, Dallas Collective, League for Marxist-Leninist Unity, Marxist-Leninist Student Collective, October League (M-L), Philadelphia Party-Building Collective, Tallahassee Socialist League, W. Jean Pierre (a former leader of the Black Workers Congress and the Revolutionary Workers Congress) and Clay Claiborne, a former leader of the Federation of Marxist Organizations. Veteran communist leader Harry Haywood also attended the meeting and delivered a statement.

The unity meeting heard an opening presentation from October League Chairman Michael Klonsky who summed up the main features of the growing communist unity trend. Klonsky pointed out that unity was the main trend in the communist movement and criticized those who saw only disunity and division. He said that the unity trend was having a profound impact on every group in the communist movement and that the forces for unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism were coming forward within each organization.

This could be seen, Klonsky said, in the disarray of the anti-unity forces such as the

"Revolutionary Wing" and the centrists who are grouped around the Guardian. Both of these anti-party trends are wracked with splits and divisions as rank-and-file forces are expressing opposition to their opportunist lines.

Klonsky pointed out that the trend towards Marxist-Leninist unity was also growing internationally. He said that "to better understand the growing unity trend we must view our movement in the context of the international movement of which we are an integral part." He cited the examples of Portugal, France, Germany, Italy, the

Dominican Republic and other Latin American and European countries where the communist forces were scattered and where several parties or communist organizations existed. "In all these countries," he said, "concrete efforts are being made to forge one single unified party."

Much of the discussion within the unity meeting centered around how to evaluate the communist movement today. Unity was reached on the need for the Organizing Committee to boldly arouse all the Marxist-Leninist organizations and to struggle with them to unite. It was agreed that this could

only be done in the course of struggle and polemics against the various opportunist trends. Lines were drawn to distinguish between the revisionist Communist Party, the Trotskyists, the Communist Labor Party and the centrists such as the Guardian, on the one hand, and the Marxist-Leninist organizations who had not yet united in the unity efforts, on the other. While sharp differences exist between the Marxist-Leninists, the need to handle those contradictions differently from those with the revisionists, centrists and Trotskyists was clearly expressed.

The discussion was made concrete in the course of drafting a new unity statement to take the place of OL's call for "Marxist-Leninists Unite to Build the New Party" which was published in the November 1975 issue of *The Call*. The new unity statement reflects the basis of unity established by all the groups present at the meeting. It will be published in the near future.

Struggle developed in the meeting over a number of questions, most of which were resolved with unanimity. Could a party congress be called and a definite date set? Were lines of demarcation sufficiently drawn with the opportunist anti-party groups such as the "Wing" and the centrists? What kind of concessions could be made in the unity statement to broaden our unity trend?

On these questions, the meeting decided: 1) A date for a congress could and would be set before next year; 2) While the lines of demarcation would have to be further drawn through polemics and in the course of the revolutionary struggle, definite trends had clearly emerged and the basis existed to form the party as a first step towards a single unified party; 3) We have to combine flexibility around secondary questions with firmness on matters of principle to unite the broadest forces of Marxist-Leninists.

Harry Haywood addressed the meeting and summed up his own experiences in trying to build a new party since his break with the revisionist Communist Party USA in 1959. Haywood said, "This is a happy day for me. For the past 25 years the masses

GUARDIAN'S CHINA ATTACK HAILED BY OPPORTUNISTS

The centrist Guardian's recent call for a "discussion" of foreign policy is winning applause from both the revisionists of the CPUSA and the Trotskyists.

While the revisionist Daily World has been hailing the Guardian's attacks on Marxism for several months, the Trotskyists joined this chorus with a May 28 article in the *Militant*, newspaper of the Socialist Workers' Party. The paper devotes an entire page to "welcoming" this "discussion" of China's foreign policy. "Readers of the *Militant* will want to follow it closely," it adds, concluding, "the *Militant* also plans to pursue this discussion."

The reasons for the applause are not far to seek. Under the guise of "discussion," the Guardian editors have launched a wide-open campaign of distortion and slander against the general line of China's foreign (and domestic) policies.

With their slander that China as well as U.S. "Maoists" are practicing a "united front with U.S. imperialism," the Guardian editors are dipping deep into the Trotskyite and revisionist chamber pot for things to throw at Marxism-Leninism.

The Trotskyite reactionaries, who have long collaborated with every kind of imperialism and are well-known as wreckers and saboteurs of everything revolutionary, are naturally pleased that the centrist Guardian has come to lend them aid.

It isn't the first time the Guardian editors have borrowed something from Trotskyism. Over a year ago, *The Call* exposed that the Guardian printed a well-known Trotskyite's "analysis" of the Middle East (Feb. 12, 1975), removing the author's byline to hide the source. There are earlier cases as well.

More recently, the Guardian editors united with open Trotskyite organizations in numerous demonstrations and other events around Angola. They accept open Trotskyite display advertisements and feature front-page photos week after week of Trotskyite contingents in demonstrations.

The fact that the Guardian's attacks on China are being so warmly welcomed in both revisionist and Trotskyist circles shows how far the Guardian has departed from Marxism-Leninism.

Burchett Exposed in Iceland

Dear Comrades,

The daily paper of the revisionist party in Iceland has published an article under the heading: "The World Famous Journalist Wilfred Burchett Says: 'China has to Change its Course.'" This revisionist paper is known to all Icelandic China friends as an arch-enemy of the Chinese revolution. Burchett's article is just one in a long list of anti-China slanders published in the paper.

For a long time, we Icelandic Marxist-Leninists were fooled by the Guardian and we thought it was a Marxist-Leninist paper. But now the centrist standpoint and pro-revisionist line has come out in the open. Here in Iceland the Marxist-Leninists have

stood firm defending the revolutionary foreign policy of China. On the Angola question both the revisionists and Trotskyists have attacked China's line with lies, telling Moscow's story all the time. Now, when the revolutionaries in Angola are being put in jail, the revisionists and Trotskyists keep telling stories of "socialism" in Angola.

The article in the revisionist paper is not a direct translation of Burchett's article in the Guardian—which we have not yet seen. But the revisionists use it to "certify" all their previous lies.

Hjalmtyr Heiddal
Central Committee member,
Communist Party of Iceland (M-L)

From Women's Day to Angola

Comrades,

A line of "centrism" in relation to the Soviet Union is being openly promoted by the so-called "independent" Guardian newspaper. The Guardian along with the CPUSA has turned itself into an apologist for the Soviet Union and the revisionist parties throughout the world.

In 1975 two coalitions were formed to plan for mass activities on International Women's Day. One, an anti-imperialist coalition aimed at bringing in the working class, oppressed nationalities and third world communities and uniting around the principle of no united action with revisionists; the other led by the CPUSA characterized by its revisionism in full support of the Soviet social-imperialists, and also their opportunist reformist line in relation to the U.S. monopoly capitalist position. The Guardian, clearly and openly united with the revisionist CPUSA.

At the conference on the independence of Puerto Rico, Sept. 5-7, 1975, held in Havana, Cuba, the Guardian, while it vacillated and did not subscribe fully to the conference's basic principle—which was not

genuine support for independence of Puerto Rico but dependence on Soviet social-imperialism—was clearly on the side of the revisionists. Wavering between one side and the other is a basic tactic of "centrism," i.e., it keeps its door open to both sides—Marxism-Leninism and revisionism.

In Angola, the Guardian went all the way, pulled out all the stops and welcomed the Soviet social-imperialist and Cuban intervention. In this way it exposed its true nature of being squarely in the camp of revisionism and social-imperialism and exposed its chauvinistic role in regard to the question of self-determination for the third world. Thus the "centrists" play the role of agent and recruiter for the Soviet imperialist offensive and in this way break up the unity of the anti-imperialist ranks in Angola.

The influence of the Guardian with its "centrist" position is to split the anti-imperialist ranks. It uses the guise of Marxism to confuse and befuddle the masses. The Guardian's "centrist," chauvinist, unprincipled capitulation to the enemy must be exposed.

M.L.
Washington, D.C.

UNITY OF DALLAS

The following is a statement by the Dallas Collective, expressing its support for the unity trend of Marxist-Leninists in building a new party. The collective, which participated in the May Unity Meeting, includes a number of activists from the civil rights movement of the '60s and former leaders of SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) in Texas. The collective has been especially active in the prisoners' movement and other struggles of the working class and oppressed peoples in Texas.

The Dallas Collective has only just recently formed to study Marxism-Leninism. We seek to unite the great wealth of international revolutionary experience with our work in the mass struggle. We are very late in joining the ranks of those who by their words and deeds have already begun to fashion the struggle towards a pointed and decisive attack upon the plunderers and keepers of our stolen labor.

We firmly believe that the efforts toward building a new communist party are needed. Not only is the need for a new party the urgent priority for the American working class (which has been without revolutionary leadership for too many years), but we contend that without such a party, only imperialist designs are benefited. The imperialists, being hell-bent on unleashing a



MEETING SETS CONGRESS



itionary stand on the national question. (Call Photo)

ists Dominican Republic and other Latin American and European countries where the communist forces were scattered and where several parties or communist organizations existed. "In all these countries," he said, "concrete efforts are being made to forge one single unified party."

Much of the discussion within the unity meeting centered around how to evaluate the communist movement today. Unity was reached on the need for the Organizing Committee to boldly arouse all the Marxist-Leninist organizations and to struggle with them to unite. It was agreed that this could

only be done in the course of struggle and polemics against the various opportunist trends. Lines were drawn to distinguish between the revisionist Communist Party, the Trotskyists, the Communist Labor Party and the centrists such as the Guardian, on the one hand, and the Marxist-Leninist organizations who had not yet united in the unity efforts, on the other. While sharp differences exist between the Marxist-Leninists, the need to handle those contradictions differently from those with the revisionists, centrists and Trotskyists was clearly expressed.

The discussion was made concrete in the course of drafting a new unity statement to take the place of OL's call for "Marxist-Leninists Unite to Build the New Party" which was published in the November 1975 issue of *The Call*. The new unity statement reflects the basis of unity established by all the groups present at the meeting. It will be published in the near future.

Struggle developed in the meeting over a number of questions, most of which were resolved with unanimity. Could a party congress be called and a definite date set? Were lines of demarcation sufficiently drawn with the opportunist anti-party groups such as the "Wing" and the centrists? What kind of concessions could be made in the unity statement to broaden our unity trend?

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Harry Haywood addressed the meeting and summed up his own experiences in trying to build a new party since his break with the revisionist Communist Party USA in 1959. Haywood said, "This is a happy day for me. For the past 25 years the masses

have been without a communist party to lead them. At last we're on the verge of forming a new party. Why did it take so long?"

Haywood showed how early attempts, such as those of the Provisional Organizing Committee (POC), "fell prey to sectarianism." Those who fought for a mass program to keep the Leninist forces from turning inward and becoming isolated from the masses, he said, "were condemned for not being 'pure' enough." He added, "We started with broad support inside the CP. Instead of using their influence inside the CP, the sectarians forced a premature split, playing into the hand of revisionist leaders like Eugene Dennis, who used this as an excuse to expel the Marxist-Leninists."

Haywood concluded: "It is essential to struggle against 'left' as well as right opportunism."

AFRO-AMERICAN QUESTION

Haywood also spoke in depth on the importance of the Afro-American question within the program of the new party. "When the CP abandoned the revolutionary principle of the right of Afro-American self-determination, they opened the floodgates to chauvinism inside the party."

Haywood added: "Our opponents distort the right of self-determination and say it is identical to calling for separation. But separation is only one of the options available to a liberated nation. Which option communists support depends on what will best advance working class unity... This unity is the overriding goal of our program on the national question."

The discussion around the draft of the new unity statement summed up the development of the present communist movement as having risen in the struggle against right and "left" opportunism. Groups like the POC and Progressive Labor Party (PLP) were early attempts at building a new party in the '50s and '60s. Both of these efforts failed primarily because of ultra-"leftism" and neo-trotskyism. Presently, the main danger in our movement is right opportun-

ism and those who conciliate to the modern revisionists. The new statement focuses on right opportunism as the main danger and also opposes the "left"-opportunism of the "Revolutionary Wing."

The Organizing Committee was selected on the basis of one representative from each organization. Eileen Klehr, the vice-chairman of the October League, was selected as the head of the committee and will have the responsibility of coordinating its work.

The Organizing Committee was given authority to bring in new organizations if they were in agreement with the principles of unity. The necessity of winning the honest Marxist-Leninists was greatly stressed. The committee was also given editorial authority in the publication of common literature and a bulletin which will be used to carry on the pre-congress debate around program. It was assigned to organize speaking tours, to carry on liaison work, raise funds, organize joint study and direct the polemics against opportunism.

While the committee will represent the unity forces as a whole, each organization will continue to maintain its independent forms as well as its own organs.

A draft program will be written prior to the second unity meeting. The next unity meeting will be held within three months, after which the draft will be published and widely circulated during the period immediately preceding the congress. The rules and agenda for the founding congress will also be formulated by the Organizing Committee.

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A ATTACK TUNISTS

osed in Iceland

stood firm defending the revolutionary foreign policy of China. On the Angola question both the revisionists and Trotskyists have attacked China's line with lies, telling Moscow's story all the time. Now, when the revolutionaries in Angola are being put in jail, the revisionists and Trotskyists keep telling stories of "socialism" in Angola.

The article in the revisionist paper is not a direct translation of Burchett's article in the Guardian—which we have not yet seen. But the revisionists use it to "certify" all their previous lies.

Hjalmtyr Heiddal
Central Committee member,
Communist Party of Iceland (M-L)

's Day to Angola

genuine support for independence of Puerto Rico but dependence on Soviet social-imperialism—was clearly on the side of the revisionists. Wavering between one side and the other is a basic tactic of "centrism," i.e., it keeps its door open to both sides—Marxism-Leninism and revisionism.

In Angola, the Guardian went all the way, pulled out all the stops and welcomed the Soviet social-imperialist and Cuban intervention. In this way it exposed its true nature of being squarely in the camp of revisionism and social-imperialism and exposed its chauvinistic role in regard to the question of self-determination for the third world. Thus the "centrists" play the role of agent and recruiter for the Soviet imperialist offensive and in this way break up the unity of the anti-imperialist ranks in Angola.

The influence of the Guardian with its "centrist" position is to split the anti-imperialist ranks. It uses the guise of Marxism to confuse and befuddle the masses. The Guardian's "centrist," chauvinist, unprincipled capitulation to the enemy must be exposed.

M.L.
Washington, D.C.

The following is a statement by the Dallas Collective, expressing its support for the unity trend of Marxist-Leninists in building a new party. The collective, which participated in the May Unity Meeting, includes a number of activists from the civil rights movement of the '60s and former leaders of SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) in Texas. The collective has been especially active in the prisoners' movement and other struggles of the working class and oppressed peoples in Texas.

The Dallas Collective has only just recently formed to study Marxism-Leninism. We seek to unite the great wealth of international revolutionary experience with our work in the mass struggle. We are very late in joining the ranks of those who by their words and deeds have already begun to fashion the struggle towards a pointed and decisive attack upon the plunderers and keepers of our stolen labor.

We firmly believe that the efforts toward building a new communist party are needed. Not only is the need for a new party the urgent priority for the American working class (which has been without revolutionary leadership for too many years), but we contend that without such a party, only imperialist designs are benefited. The imperialists, being hell-bent on unleashing a

UNITY STATEMENT OF DALLAS COLLECTIVE

new world war and pushing the advances of people back, fear and despise the existence of a communist party.

The Dallas Collective wants our party to be inherently capable of leading the entire working class and the great masses forward to a successful revolution. To do so requires a minimum set of principles.

1) Our party must be firmly rooted with the people; it must be based in the factory

on the objective conditions and actual circumstances we face.

3) Our party must be thoroughly working class in ideology, character and approach. We must master Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and "shoot the arrow" of that knowledge to our particular struggles. In all that we do, the class stance, interests, and ideology of the whole working class must be consistently reflected. Petty-

bourgeois thinking represents enemy forces within our own ranks; we must never cease to carry out ideological struggle to root them out.

Once these three principles become a solid and living part of our party's foundation, we will have greatly enriched our fighting capacity and provided a basis for

great unity and advance. All objective conditions irreversibly point to the birth of a socialist and revolutionary new society. Each day aids the struggle, creating new allies and friends, educating more and more people to the final solution, and alienating the rulers farther and farther from the interests and aspirations of world society. With the party finally on the scene, the progress will be even greater and the quality of work much higher. Our future is bright. We must be resolved to struggle, resolved to win.



or work place, yet involved in every area of life, it must be anti-sectarian, recognizing that its style of work and organization be truly reflective of the actual conditions and history of this country.

2) Our party must be able to function well legally and extra-legally. It must view the open visible and mass work as essential and primary, but not fail to construct a widespread and effective secret network. Our party should be able and prepared to shift from legal work to the illegal, based

GRESS

ave been without a communist party to ad them. At last we're on the verge of forming a new party. Why did it take so long?"

Haywood showed how early attempts, such as those of the Provisional Organizing Committee (POC), "fell prey to sectarianism." Those who fought for a mass program keep the Leninist forces from turning inward and becoming isolated from the masses," he said, "were condemned for not being 'pure' enough." He added, "We started with broad support inside the CP. Instead of using their influence inside the CP, the centrarians forced a premature split, playing to the hand of revisionist leaders like Eugene Dennis, who used this as an excuse to expel the Marxist-Leninists."

Haywood concluded: "It is essential to struggle against 'left' as well as right opportunism."

AFRO-AMERICAN QUESTION

Haywood also spoke in depth on the importance of the Afro-American question within the program of the new party. "When the CP abandoned the revolutionary principle of the right of Afro-American self-determination, they opened the floodgates to chauvinism inside the party."

Haywood added: "Our opponents distort the right of self-determination and say it is identical to calling for separation. But separation is only one of the options available to a liberated nation. Which option communists support depends on what will best advance working class unity... This unity is the overriding goal of our program on the national question."

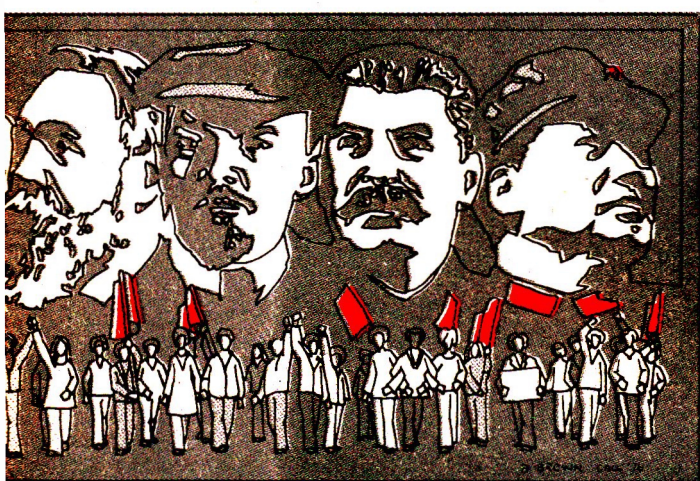
The discussion around the draft of the new unity statement summed up the development of the present communist movement as having risen in the struggle against right and "left" opportunism. Groups like the POC and Progressive Labor Party (PLP) are early attempts at building a new party in the '50s and '60s. Both of these efforts failed primarily because of ultra-"leftism" and neo-trotskyism. Presently, the main danger in our movement is right opportun-

Y STATEMENT LAS COLLECTIVE

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ism and those who conciliate to the modern revisionists. The new statement focuses on right opportunism as the main danger and also opposes the "left"-opportunism of the "Revolutionary Wing."

The Organizing Committee was selected on the basis of one representative from each organization. Eileen Klehr, the vice-chairman of the October League, was selected as the head of the committee and will have the responsibility of coordinating its work.

The Organizing Committee was given authority to bring in new organizations if they were in agreement with the principles of unity. The necessity of winning the honest Marxist-Leninists was greatly stressed. The committee was also given editorial authority in the publication of common literature and a bulletin which will be used to carry on the pre-congress debate around program. It was assigned to organize speaking tours, to carry on liaison work, raise funds, organize joint study and direct the polemics against opportunism.

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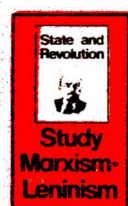
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RUSSIAN REVOLUTION of 1917 showed that the bourgeois state had to be smashed.

State and Revolution (4)

NO 'PEACEFUL PATH' TO SOCIALISM



The murder of strikers on the picket lines, the assassination of Malcolm X and scores of others, the 1973 massacre in Chile and countless other bloody deeds—what do they prove?

They prove that the modern revisionists lie when they preach "peaceful transition to socialism," and that Lenin in *State and Revolution* spoke the truth when he defiantly proclaimed "the inevitability of violent revolution." (Peking ed., p. 24).

"The supersession of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state is impossible without a violent revolution," said Lenin (pp.24-25).

This crystal-clear teaching is the only guide to ensuring that the masses will not be set up for a massacre, as the revisionists set the Chilean masses up to be butchered by U.S. imperialism. Lenin in 1917 rightly charged those who spread illusions about a "peaceful path" with "betrayal." Furthermore, the revisionist line is a bloody betrayal, which has cost hundreds of thousands of people their lives.

PREPARE TO SEIZE POWER

The working class in a country such as the U.S. must prepare itself to seize power by mass armed insurrection under the centralized leadership of a genuine communist party. That is Lenin's teaching. Any attempt to slip or slide around its principles can only lead to disaster.

But the working class must do more than seize state power. The state machinery it will seize, established by the bourgeoisie, is a "filthy, bloody morass of bureaucratic-military institutions" (p. 45), an "engine of class despotism." (p. 48) It is fit for nothing but bleeding and oppressing the people. The working class "cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes." (p. 43)

Generations of liberals, reformers and other opportunists, including the revisionists, have devoted themselves merely to "perfecting" the bourgeois state machine. The working class, however, "must set itself the aim, not of perfecting the state machine, but of smashing and destroying it." (p. 36) Lenin terms this "the chief and fundamental point in the Marxian teaching on the state." (p. 33)

Leninists, however, are not anarchists. Anarchists give the working class the suicidal advice to give up state power the moment it has smashed the old state, and try to survive without any state at all. The proletariat must and will form its own state: the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What, concretely, does this form of state look like? Marx and Lenin's view was not drawn from abstract reasoning, but from the historical experience of the first such state, the Paris Commune of 1871. This experience of the French workers 100 years ago

has been greatly enriched by the lessons, both positive and negative, of the USSR and the class struggles in socialist China, Albania and other countries. The revolution in the U.S. no doubt will enrich these lessons further still. But the basic elements outlined by Lenin remain fully valid.

—The proletariat's own state will mean a vast increase of democracy for the majority of the people, and at the same time a sharp dictatorship over the minority who are capitalists. Lenin says, for example, "*Simultaneously with an immense expansion of democracy, which for the first time becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the moneybags, the dictatorship of the proletariat imposes a series of restrictions on the freedom of the oppressors, the exploiters, the capitalists. We must suppress them in order to free humanity from wage slavery, their resistance must be crushed by force.*" (p. 105)

—In place of the standing army, "the armed masses of workers who develop into a militia in which the entire population takes part." (p. 119)

—"Expropriation of the expropriators," "transformation of capitalist private ownership of the means of production into social ownership." (p. 52)

—The "pig-sty" of Congress and similar bodies to be replaced by new representative institutions that are not "talk shops" but "working bodies." All representatives to be workers or recognized deputies of the workers. All elected, subject to recall at any time, and paid no more than the average worker. (pp. 52-56)

INDEPENDENT PART

—In place of the bureaucracy, immediate measures to ensure that "the mass of the population will rise to the level of taking an independent part, not only in voting and in elections, but also in the everyday administration of affairs." (p. 140)

These measures show what Lenin meant by "the turn from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy, from the democracy of the oppressors to the democracy of the oppressed classes, from the state as a 'special force' for the suppression of a particular class to the suppression of the oppressors by the general force of the majority of the people—the workers and the peasants." (p. 51)

Such, in skeleton outline, are the elementary measures taken by "the proletariat organized as the ruling class." The new state institutions, however, are themselves not permanent. They are the indispensable means to make the transition to a still higher stage of society, communism, in which the state as such "withers away."

(To be continued)

Copies of *The State and Revolution* are available from Unidos Books, 918 S. McBride, Los Angeles, Calif. 90022, \$1.00 postpaid.



REPRESSION and RESISTANCE

Report on Inmate Struggle

By James Jackson, a Black steelworker sentenced to 15-25 years at the Indiana Reformatory for killing a racist foreman in self-defense.

Pendleton, Ind.—About 50 of us Black prisoners barricaded ourselves in a cell house May 22 to protest inadequate recreation and shower privileges.

Prison guards smashed into the cell house and tear-gassed us for more than 30 minutes, also shooting their riot guns and old rabbit-hunting shotguns. Six prisoners were injured—one seriously. Others were hurt, too, but they refused medical attention because if you're treated, you go directly to isolation.

Reportedly, three guards were injured and, hopefully, they slipped on the bars of soap thrown on the floor. About twenty prisoners have been taken to isolation so far, and they are still selecting people for "investigation."

America is truly a bird of prey, and she has attacked your sons and brothers here. Help stop police repression both inside and outside of prisons. Remember, we really have nothing to lose but our chains!

Demand Justice in Ruiz Death

Jersey City, N.J.—The murder trial of the cop who murdered Ramon Ruiz, a 19-year-old Puerto Rican, last summer began amid mounting protests here May 10.

On May 8, and again on May 10, the Committee for Justice for Ramon Ruiz (CJRR) and the New Jersey Fightback Committee organized militant rallies to demand that Howard Mount, the killer cop, be convicted of murder. In response, the judge barred two members of the CJRR from the courtroom.

The CJRR then called another mass picket at the courthouse to show the police and judge that they weren't going to be intimidated. This time the judge detained all the picketers and issued an injunction against further demonstrations.

The CJRR and the N.J. Fightback Committee intend to continue exposing police repression and court injustice, despite the harassment they've received. They want Mount convicted and forced to pay for his crime. They demand an end to national oppression and discrimination against all Puerto Rican people.

Indians Resist Sterilization

Submitted by a Native American woman, a worker correspondent in New York.

The U.S. government's policy has always been to wipe out Native American people. In the past and also today, the U.S. imperialists follow a policy that states: "The only good Indian is a dead Indian."

Because in recent years our people have a renewed determination to fight back, U.S. imperialism has increased its attacks against us, breaking up our families with "special schools," "foster" programs, and forms of genocide like forced sterilization.

In Pittsburgh, Pa., Mrs. Norma Jean Serena had three of her five children taken away from her, and then she was forcibly sterilized. Welfare officials, claiming her home wasn't "adequate," arranged for sterilization and put her three children in foster homes.

Native American people are being sterilized in growing numbers. At the Indian Health Service Hospital at Claremore, Oklahoma, one woman is sterilized for every seven births.

These forced sterilizations are not just policies of one hospital or a few doctors, but of the U.S. government, an imperialist government that has tried for hundreds of years to take away the land, livelihood, and culture of Indian people and to kill them. The attacks against Native American women are part of the oppression of national minorities. The injustices done to our people are injustices to all oppressed people. Together, all of us, everywhere, we must fight back against them.

ARMING FOR WAR ..

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

arms drive of recent years has equalled or outstripped its rival across the board in most categories. The new imbalance is especially sharp and concentrated in Europe, which is more clearly than ever the focus of contention between the two superpowers. A British government "white paper" issued in March said that "in conventional ground and air forces the imbalance in Central Europe has moved further in the Warsaw Pact's favor" in the past year. This holds equally, if not more strongly, for the northern and southern European regions.

It is broad trends such as these which this year have provoked a sizeable counter-escalation of the arms drive by the U.S. government. The Congress this year is clearing a war budget of \$106 billion, up a big \$15.5 billion from last year, and is making the smallest cuts in a decade in this part of the overall federal budget. This increase is to lay the basis for further rises to a \$150 billion military budget by 1980. This stepped-up war drive is why, according to the May 23 New York Times, "the

outlook for the U.S. military production industry is more cheerful today than in years," and profits are "booming."

The same "cheer" no doubt prevails on the Soviet side, heightened by last month's appointment of Dmitri Ustinov to the post of defense minister. Ustinov had been head of the entire military industrial complex in the USSR, and has long been known in the USSR as a "steel eater"—a hard-line advocate of "guns" over "butter." Soviet revisionist party chief Brezhnev's May 8 promotion of himself to the rank of field marshal was a further consolidation of the chain of command in preparation for war.

For the masses of the people of both countries, however, the spiraling drive toward a new world war is anything but cheerful. In the USSR the militarization push has meant a new five-year "plan" with the lowest priority on consumer needs since the revisionists overthrew socialism some twenty years ago.

Militarization is also a chief contributor to the country's repeated crop disasters, which have brought smaller buns and "Meatless Thursdays" to the USSR's working class and peasantry. These

cutbacks have their parallels in the U.S., with the rising wave of fund cutoffs for every basic social service from food stamps to education, medical care, child care, welfare, etc., even in the midst of the alleged "recovery." The outlook in both countries is for more of the same as the drive toward war escalates further.

Today the USSR occupies the same role held by Germany before the first and second world wars. It is a late-coming, upstart imperialist power challenging the established, decaying U.S. imperialists in their semi-colonies (Angola, for example) and spheres of influence (Western Europe). This drive inevitably leads to war.

History also teaches, however, that in war it is not armaments but people who are decisive. The first world war gave birth to the first socialist revolution in Russia, and out of the second world war came the liberation of a still greater area of the world, including China, from imperialism. The third world war is certain to produce not only enormous devastation and suffering, but also, and above all, a mortal blow to the whole imperialist system headed by the two superpowers.

CUNY ORDERED CLOSED ...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

CUNY chancellor, who called the closing "a terrible action" while at the same time refusing to meet the payroll for this month. Mayor Beame added that the action to deprive thousands of an education was "most unfortunate" and then stated that he would favor reopening CUNY only on the basis of tuition charges of up to \$1,000 added to the "general fee" that students already pay. This tuition would make it virtually impossible for thousands of students to enter college.

Governor Carey, giving a speech at Fordham University, said that "tuition is a very unpopular subject as far as the City University is

concerned, but it is an unavoidable subject." Three members of the Board of Higher Education immediately resigned rather than support tuition.

The closing caught thousands of students in the middle of final exams and posed financial and career threats to both students and teachers. Many of the students needed their grades this week to take job examinations. Not a single day's notice was given.

Along with tuition, the government has done away with the open admission policies, which will, in effect, make CUNY one more lily-white middle class college. The CUNY shut-down followed the recent closing of Hostos Community College, which had a predominantly Latino student body and a bilingual curriculum. Massive demonstrations are continuing to force the reopening of Hostos, and

new protests are already being planned around the shutdown of CUNY and the brutal cuts in daycare centers.

Education and other services are being cut back as a way of finding funds to repay last year's \$2.3 billion federal loan to New York. The loan was made to pay the banks and bondholders who were threatening to foreclose on the city. This shows that the cutbacks are a class question—with the working class paying the price for the bankers' giant profits.

But the shutdown of CUNY and other educational facilities for the city's poor and minorities shows even more clearly the depths to which the capitalist system has sunk. New York, once the symbol of wealth and capitalist development, is proving daily that capitalism is a system which offers no hope and no future to the people.

'STOPPING MARCH WAS MISTAKE'

Speaking at Boston University, Rev. Bernard Lee, the national vice-president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), denounced the cancellation of the March against Racism in Boston last April 24.

"April 24 was a mistake for you, brothers and sisters," said Lee. "Don't you ever yield to fear if... you're marching for the right of people to live in this society."

The April 24 march was cancelled by the NAACP liberals and the Trotskyist Socialist Workers' Party (SWP). Both backed away from holding the action at an extremely crucial time in the battle for school integration and Afro-American rights because they "feared violence." The cancellation of the march only encouraged further racist violence and played into the hands of Mayor White's appeals for "peace" and his attempts to place the blame for violence on Blacks.

Previous to Lee's statement, the October League and the Boston Fightback had condemned the cancellation of the march.

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