



"The Communist's ideal should not be a trade-union secretary, but a tribune of the people, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression." Lenin

# CLP CELEBRATES FIRST ANNIVERSARY

## EAST

The Eastern Region of the USNA is facing a crisis that in many ways far outstrips the Great Depression of the 1930's. Probably more so than any other region, the East is the hardest hit in this severe economic crisis. Unlike other areas of the country that are still expanding industrially, especially the South and to a lesser extent the West, the East has begun to contract. Although capitalism first dug in and entrenched itself on the Eastern seaboard, the imperialists are now lining up to move their factories and enterprises to the paradises of cheap labor, low taxes, non-unionized shops and huge profits — the Negro Nation, the Southwest, Puerto Rico, Mexico, Taiwan and various other colonial nations.

The once booming great metropolises of Philadelphia, Boston and New York are well on the road to becoming barren wastelands as far as industry is concerned. Although New York City is the financial capital of the world, for the working class squalor, blight and anger characterizes the almost entirely urban East and its population centers. In addition, every Eastern city has an almost entirely segregated educational system and housing lay-out.

Unemployment in every area is astounding. In New York City alone, the official government figures list 936,000 people currently unemployed not including housewives, youth and those who have given up seeking employment and have sought welfare benefits. The "official" unemployment figures in almost every city exceed 10%. In actuality, there are in excess of 5 million people in the Eastern seaboard areas alone, who are seeking employment of some type.

In addition, this crisis has spread throughout the government apparatus. As a result of graft, corruption bribery and monopoly control, almost every city is near bankruptcy and is using next year's money to attempt to solve this year's crisis. The entire city structure of New York has been sold to an aggregate of Rockefeller banks. Newark, New Jersey has been voted the worst city in the country to live in by a popular magazine!

In Boston, the street gangs, fascist thugs and others have been championing segregation, and attacking Negro workers and their children. The recent "riots" on Boston's beaches and in the streets of Roxbury have exemplified the stepped-up fascist drive against our working class.

Mayor Rizzo of Philadelphia and his gestapo police department have shot down over a dozen unarmed youngsters this year.

Continued on Page D

## SOUTH

The CLP has always proceeded in its understanding of the Negro question from the standpoint of the enslavement of the Negro Nation by USNA imperialism—that this enslavement from its very beginning had a marked fascist character. The blood stained pages of the history of the Negro people's struggle for liberation and freedom is the history of the struggle against fascism which is the political face of USNA imperialism in the Negro Nation.

Imperialism has not changed its nature and cannot, it must be overthrown; and yet today we are bombarded by the media with talk of the "New South." The old "crucible of despair" is now the land of hope. Integration is working "better" in

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## MIDWEST

The burning questions facing the proletariat in the USNA today are the questions of unemployment, quality education, the danger of war, and the increasingly fascist motion of the state. The central issue facing communists in the USNA is the task of binding socialism to these burning questions of the proletariat, and to the working class movement in general, a bond which must be forged inside the factories — by the fusion of communist factory nuclei with the vanguard of the industrial proletariat. The heart of the USNA industrial proletariat, the area of its highest concentration and greatest militancy, is within the basic industries of the Midwest Region. The bourgeoisie has invested heavily in this region: the five midwestern states (Ohio, Indiana,

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## WEST

In rounding out a year's struggle and growth, our Communist Labor Party and the working class in the West and Southwest Region of the USNA can sum up certain lessons of development and set out more clearly our compelling revolutionary tasks.

The cardinal star which must guide all our work is the development of the fighting unity of the working class. This principle has been affirmed and reaffirmed over the past year of growth. The imperialists' brutal fascist drive, directed at the whole class, has been hitting most viciously at the national minority sections of the class.

The fascists cannot hit one section without attacking another. Throughout the West and Southwest, the police have murdered our youth, particularly Negro national minority youth. In Los Angeles alone, the cops have brutally killed 35 Negro workers in the first half of this year, and not one killer cop has been brought to justice. In Oakland, grieving parents tell the same story, death of their sons at the hands of the cops.

In Riverside, California, police are terrorizing the predominantly Mexican national minority community of Casa Blanca, randomly shooting into buildings and terrorizing the workers there. Today, not only are the police directing their fire against the national minority workers, but poor Anglo-Americans workers, especially young people, are daily coming up against the force of the state.

Fascist deportations are being conducted on a broader and more terroristic scale than ever before. Undocumented workers are denied even minimal legal process by federal authorities; instead, workers are herded into old buses and deported to Mexico. At the same time, the so-called "liberal" Senator from California, John Tunney, is forcing through Congress anti-working class legislation, that aims to blame unemployment on the undocumented workers, trying to pit worker against worker and divide the working class here from the struggle of the workers in Mexico.

The capitalist economic crisis which is at the root of the fascist drive is forcing the Indian peoples deeper into poverty and oppression. The unemployment rate among Indians is the highest of any peoples and every struggle of the Indians is being met with savage terror by the imperialist state. But the militancy of the struggle objectively a struggle for Regional Autonomy, cannot be crushed as was valiantly illustrated by the Indian's seizure of the Fairchild Electronics plant near Fort Defiance, Arizona, and the militant struggle of the Indian miners in the Southwest.

## JOBS WITH PEACE

THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY (CLP) PUTS FORWARD THE FOLLOWING DEMANDS AS A BASIS FOR A UNITED WORKING CLASS STRUGGLE AGAINST THE PRESENT CAPITALIST CRISIS:

1. A JOB FOR EVERY WORKER AT THE EXPENSE OF THE MILITARY BUDGET.
2. SUPPORT BUSING — SMASH THE KKK, THE NAZI PARTY AND ALL OTHER FASCIST GANGS; NATIONALIZE EDUCATION!
3. END ALL DEPORTATIONS OF UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS.
4. NO USNA MILITARY INTERVENTION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA OR THE MIDDLE EAST.
5. NATIONALIZE THE ENERGY INDUSTRIES.

FELLOW WORKERS! OUR SALVATION IS NOT IN THE DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN PARTIES; IT IS NOT TRADE UNION MISLEADERS — WE MUST FREE OURSELVES!

JOBS WITH PEACE!

the South than in the North, hundreds of new Negro politicians are winning offices, people are migrating "back home". What does it all mean? The USNA imperialists have proven repeatedly that they think nothing of drowning peoples' hopes in a sea of blood if it means a penny more profit for them and this imperialist and fascist nature has not changed one bit. We must look deeper into the processes that are taking place to understand what is real.

There are two motions going on: one is industrialization and the other an increase in the open control by the comprador bourgeoisie. Both are needed and lead by the same fascist finance capitalists that unleashed the reign of terror after reconstruction.

Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin) received 28.2% of all value added by manufacturing, over \$5 billion in new capital expenditures annually — the highest of any region in the USNA. The result of this investment has been the increasing density of the industrial proletariat in the Midwest, especially in the basic industries. The Midwest Region has 26.1% of all manufacturing employment, including 35% of all workers in rubber, 40% of those in transportation (including automobiles), 36% in machinery (except electrical), 30% in electrical machinery, 39% in primary metals, 30% in fabricated metals, and 24% of all workers in stone, clay, glass, concrete and paper production. This regional proletariat is not only concentrated, but

Continued on Page C

Continued on Page B

Continued on Page D

# WHAT IS THE CLP?

The CLP is a multinational Marxist-Leninist Communist party of militant struggle for proletarian revolution in the USNA. All those who will wholeheartedly join in this struggle can be members. We are a party of militant struggle against all national privilege, a party of militant struggle for the independence of the Negro Nation, regional autonomy for the Southwest, independence for Puerto Rico, freedom for all oppressed nations and peoples, especially those oppressed by USNA imperialism. We are a party of militant struggle against the drive towards fascism and war of the USNA imperialists. We are a party of militant struggle for equal rights for women and the youth. We are a party which fights for the immediate needs of the people as we strive toward the historic goal of our class—socialism. We are a multinational party of revolutionaries based in the shops and factories throughout the USNA. Independent communist work in the factories, conducted by our factory nuclei, is the basis of all our activity.

We are a party which studies and puts into practice the science of Marxism-Leninism as a sure guide to action. We are a section of the world-wide proletarian army that is bound to overthrow and destroy all imperialism and reaction. We have picked up the banner of revolutionary struggle of the Third International, which has been discarded by the CPUSA.

The Republican and Democratic parties are both gangs of thieves, office seekers, demagogues and vested interests. They are both parties by and for the rich, united in exploitation and oppression of the people in the USNA and around the world. The rule of either of them is the rule of the bourgeoisie, which has brought war, unemployment, inflation, national oppression, moral degradation and suffering to the people of the USNA and the world, while bringing wealth and power to the rich USNA imperialists. Since Franklin Roosevelt, the Democratic party in particular has put itself forward as the "party of the people," the "party of labor," the "party of the Negro people." But it was John Kennedy who first sent USNA troops to Vietnam and who tried to destroy the Cuban revolution with the Bay of Pigs invasion; it is the "Democratic" party that directly dominates the Negro Nation and most of the big city machines; Johnson and Humphrey were the great "liberal" leaders that invaded the Dominican Republic and sent 500,000 troops and innumerable bombs to Vietnam. The Republican party's record with Watergate, Agnew taking bribes in the Vice-President's office and now Ford threatening intervention in Portugal and North Korea, is no different. Both parties are the servants of imperialism. They have 1001 faces, but behind every one is the iron fist of enslavement.

The CPUSA is a party that has betrayed its revolutionary heritage. The gang of traitors at its head has betrayed its class and the thousands of honest revolutionaries in its membership that were attracted to the CPUSA by its false promises. They have rejected revolution. They have repudiated the dictatorship of the proletariat. They deny that the Negro Nation exists. Their program calls for alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie as the "lesser evil" as the best hope for the working class. Their ranks are riddled with police agents. Their constitution prohibits the membership of anyone who stands for revolution.

There are no other political parties in the USNA today. The Trotskyites in all their many forms, from the "Socialist Workers' Party" to the "National Committee of Labor Caucuses" are not political parties at all, but are the direct agents of the state. They are gangs of thugs, traitors; dope-pushers

and cops.

The gaggle of "left" groups in all their variety are weak, isolated sectarians interested mainly in blowing their own horns. They put out much talk but little action; much theorizing, but little theory. They find much greater strength on the campuses than in the factories. They are separated from the historic Communist movement as can be seen by the fact that they call themselves the "young communist movement" as if a movement 125 years old can be called young. They are incapable of leading the working class to victory.

In 1927, Stalin put forward 12 points by which to measure the Bolshevization (or revolutionizing) of the Communist parties. We are striving to implement these points today. They are a sure yardstick for measuring revolutionary parties. They are as follows:

1) The Party must regard itself not as an appendage of the parliamentary electoral machinery, as the Social-Democratic Party in fact does, and not as a gratuitous supplement to the trade unions, as certain Anarcho-Syndicalist elements sometimes claim it should be, but as the highest form of class association of the proletariat, the function of which is to lead all the other forms of proletarian organizations, from the trade unions to the Party's group in parliament.

2) The Party, and especially its leading elements, must thoroughly master the revolutionary theory of Marxism, which is inseparably connected with revolutionary practice.

3) The Party must draw up slogans and directives not on the basis of stock formulas and historical analogies, but as the result of a careful analysis of the concrete internal and international conditions of the revolutionary movement, and it must, without fail, take into account the experience of revolutions in all countries.

4) The Party must test the correctness of these slogans and directives in the crucible of the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

5) The entire work of the Party, particularly if Social-Democratic traditions have not yet been eradicated in it, must be reorganized on new, revolutionary lines, so that every step, every action, taken by the Party should naturally serve to revolutionize the masses, to train and educate the broad masses of the working class in the revolutionary spirit.

6) In its work the Party must be able to combine the strictest adherence to principle (not to be confused with sectarianism!) with the maximum of ties and contacts with the masses (not to be confused with khvoztism-tailism!); without this, the Party will be unable not only to teach the masses but also to learn from them, it will be unable not only to lead the masses and raise them to its own level but also to heed their voice and anticipate their urgent needs.

7) In its work the Party must be able to combine an uncompromising revolutionary spirit (not to be confused with revolutionary adventurism) with the maximum of flexibility and manoeuvring ability (not to be confused with opportunism!); without this, the Party will be unable to master all the forms of struggle and organization, will be unable to link the daily interests of the proletariat, with the fundamental interests of the proletarian revolution, and to combine in its work the legal with the illegal struggle.

8) The Party must not cover up its mistakes, it must not fear criticism; it must improve and educate its cadres by learning from its own mistakes.

9) The Party must be able to recruit for its main leading group the best elements of the advanced fighters who are sufficiently devoted to the

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cause to be genuine spokesmen of the aspirations of the revolutionary proletariat, and who are sufficiently experienced to become real leaders of the proletarian revolution, capable of applying the tactics and strategy of Leninism.

10) The Party must systematically improve the social composition of its organisations and rid itself of corrupting opportunist elements with a view to achieving the utmost solidarity.

11) The Party must achieve iron proletarian discipline based on ideological solidarity, clarity concerning the aims of the movement, unity of practical action and an understanding of the Party's tasks by the mass of the Party membership.

## MIDWEST

Continued from Page A

is the most extensively organized in the country; 25.6% of the entire midwestern working class belongs to a trade union organization, while 43.8% of the industrial proletariat in these five states are labor union members. Another important characteristic of the midwestern proletariat is its high concentration of organized Negro workers; 64.8% of Negro industrial workers in the Midwest belong to trade union organizations.

The bourgeoisie and the proletariat stand face to face within the industrial heartland, and the directness of this class relationship has manifested itself in the direct attack of the capitalist class upon the industrial proletariat during the economic crisis. This direct attack upon the working class is unemployment, especially in those basic industries which are the backbone of Midwestern economy. In June, 1975, 11.7% of all manufacturing workers were unemployed, with 15.8% unemployed in auto, 12.0% in transportation equipment, 13.2% in rubber, 13.2% in machinery, 9.9% in primary metals, 12.1% in lumber, 11.6% in stone, glass and concrete and 8.7% in paper production. The Negro section of the proletariat suffering 15.4% unemployment, has clearly been the hardest hit by the attack of the bourgeoisie. Unlike the Southwest Region, where the bourgeoisie attempts to escape the implications of this economic crisis by diverting the struggle and splitting the working class with deportations of Mexican workers, double digit unemployment in the Midwest bares the face of the working class enemy and sharply outlines the target for the proletariat's counter-attack. The target against which the organized industrial proletariat of the Midwest has most consistently moved during the economic crisis has been the USNA state. The workers confronted the state in the January 17 Common Council public hearing on CETA in Detroit, in the UAW march in Washington on February 5, and during the April 26 march on Washington held by the AFL-CIO, demanding jobs and an end to layoffs. The hegemony of the trade union movement within the working class movement was clear in the two Washington demonstrations. But while the large labor organizations led the proletariat to the state, they failed to deliver a blow against the state, turning the workers over instead to an appendage of the state apparatus — the Democratic Party. This nationally televised betrayal of the working class in general and of the militant, industrial proletariat of the Midwest in particular, has weakened the influence of the trade unions in the struggle against unemployment, and has created a vacuum of leadership which must be filled by the organization and strengthening of communist nuclei inside the factories.

The Communist Labor Party has worked and played a leading role in each of the major battles around unemployment. Our party has marched to meet the state in Detroit and in Washington, demanding not only jobs but jobs with peace; our party has been the leading force behind the fight to build Unemployed Councils

12) The Party must systematically verify the execution of its decisions and directives; without this, these decisions and directives are in danger of becoming empty promises, which can only rob the Party of the confidence of the broad proletarian masses.

In the absence of these and similar conditions, Bolshevisation is just an empty sound.

Our Party, the Communist Labor Party stands for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. We aim to take up the historic task of the proletariat. We call upon all who are for proletarian revolution to join us!

in Chicago, Detroit, Akron, and throughout the Midwest — unemployed councils that will not only defend the daily interests of the working class, but will become a powerful offensive weapon of our class against the developing fascism of the USNA state; our party was the first to lead the workers in Detroit beyond the Common Council and directly against the bourgeoisie in the November 8 rally at the Jefferson plant gate.

The Communist Labor Party played a decisive role in the fight for busing in Detroit. As the economic crisis peaked in the Midwest and thousands of industrial workers watched their SUB funds trickle away, the bourgeoisie skillfully maneuvered their legal and extra-legal forces to prevent working class unity. First, the Federal District and Appeals courts began not only to rule in favor of NAACP suits for integrated schools, but judges like Philip Roth demanded the implementation of massive busing plans to desegregate the schools immediately. The court rulings in favor of immediate desegregation by extensive busing represented a shift away from the older court tactics of procrastination and minimal-busing desegregation plans which have been in effect for years. However, the meaning of the shift toward busing by the legal arm of the bourgeoisie cannot be understood without examining the activities of its extra-legal arm — fascist and terrorist gangs of the Ku Klux Klan, White People's Party, American Nazi Party, Breakthrough and Posse Comitatis. Each of these organizations has launched major campaigns against busing and against the Negro people. The legal arm of the bourgeoisie demands busing immediately, setting the conditions for the extra-legal arm to demand that busing must not occur, thereby attempting to divert the attention of the working class from the economic crisis while attacking and isolating the Negro people. We understand that the working class must recognize the question of quality education and the necessity of busing in order to achieve that goal as a political issue of central importance to the working class movement. Communists must strive to make clear the relationship between the fight for jobs and the fight for busing. We must strive to make clear the relationship between the political and economic questions facing the proletariat.

Continued on Page D

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# CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

We are printing the following letter of criticism from one of our leading comrades. As Stalin has stated in the 12 Points of Bolshevization, one trade-mark of a real Communist Party is their attitude toward criticism and self-criticism.

This letter correctly points out the errors that were made in the *People's Tribune* by not clearly putting forth the Communist's position on the program of the unemployment committ-

## SOUTH

Continued from Page A

Since World War II, the imperialists have been rapidly industrializing the South. In 1955, the number of people employed in non-agricultural establishments in Georgia was 927.8 thousand, in Louisiana 705.1 thousand, in Mississippi 352.7 thousand, in Alabama 684.1 thousand, and in South Carolina 518.4 thousand. By 1959, in Georgia there were 1,007,000, in Louisiana 774,000, in Mississippi 392,000, in Alabama 746,000 and in South Carolina 548,000 workers in non-agricultural establishments. (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1956-1960, ppg. 203-212)

The *Readers Digest Almanac* of 1975 states that in Alabama "growth of industry since WWII has transformed the economy into one primarily industrial;" in Georgia, "by 1970 industrialization had grown to account for nearly 80% of the states' production making it one of the most prosperous southern states"; in Louisiana, "promising economic revival, with industrial diversification and increased manufacturing."

Meanwhile the number of farms is declining as the ruined poor farmers seek work in the factories. Between 1954 and 1969 the number of farms dropped from 166,000 in Georgia to 67,431; from 251,000 in Mississippi to 72,277; from 124,000 in Louisiana to 42,269.

While the imperialists have "run away" from the North to the Negro Nation for its vast reserve of cheap labor and unorganized workers, it has been forced by its own necessities to forge together Negro and Anglo-American workers in the common co-ordinated efforts of production. In the process the proletariat of the Negro Nation is developing its social consciousness.

The needs of the imperialists in industrializing the South found temporary identity of interest with the needs of the Negro people in their fight to end segregation. For the imperialists, segregation was a barrier to the fullest proletarianization of the Negro workers and also an added expense they could do without. The movement for industrialization and civil rights joined hands to a limited degree and the Negro worker was educated in a short, living course in political and economic struggle in the streets and the factories.

But this identity of interests could only be temporary and relative because the imperialists had to retain control of the movement, to prevent it from going too far, to curb its revolutionary character. This danger was met in many ways, primarily by imbuing the Civil Rights movement with a non-violent character, but also by subverting the movement from within with bribery, chicanery, and co-optation and finally by political assassination.

The tactics of open terror against the Negro Nation needed to be tempered at this time, as the cities of the North were going up in flames at the hands of the Negro national minority workers, the direct links in the Anglo-American nation with the Negro Nation. This did not mean fascism no longer ruled the Negro Nation. The comprador bourgeois of the Negro Nation are the absolute agents of finance capital of the North. This is so because the market of the comprador is imperialism. The comprador of the Negro Nation has nothing to sell

ees and the role of the communist in the mass struggle.

In this special supplement of our *People's Tribune* we have made note of the various activities that we as a Party have been engaged in and the successes that we have had. This letter however, clearly points to the weaknesses in our Party press and our Party as a whole.

The Editorial Board of the *People's Tribune* sincerely criticizes itself for

except the people. The Negro majority will not follow an Anglo-American traitor. That traitor must be Negro. The comprador politicians are entirely dependent on the imperialist government of the USNA and as the struggle of the Negro people increases, this class will undoubtedly grow in order to maintain, for the USNA imperialists, control over the Negro Nation. In fact, the numbers of Negroes elected to political office in the eleven Southern states has jumped from 72 in 1964 to 1,587 in 1975 including 46 Negro mayors.

At the 1973 Second Conference of Southern Black Mayors, George Wallace, the honored guest received a standing ovation. How are these mayors delivering their campaign promises? To quote *Newsweek*: "... these new black leaders have turned their backs on old racial hostilities to work with white leadership." "For Tuskegee's Mayor Ford, playing politics means pledging black support to Alabama's white politicians and to the Nixon Administration (a Democrat, he nevertheless supported Mr. Nixon in last years elections)."

The "New South" with all its Negro elected officials pledges allegiance to the same imperialist ruling class that has enslaved it since its inception. The job of all these public officials is to keep the working class down and at this time in history they must attempt to appease both the Negro and Anglo-American minority workers. What else could explain Wallace making statements to the effect that "We are all God's children and all God's children are equal" to an all Negro audience while on the other hand, Negro politicians must make the Anglo-American worker feel he will not lose his privileges by having a Negro mayor, etc.

All these politicians be they Negro or Anglo-American are playing the same role that the populist demagogues Tom Watson and Ben Tillman played during and after Reconstruction. That role is to channel the aspirations of the Negro people for liberation and freedom behind phoney leaders who are leading them to fascist defeat. What else can be said for the host of Negro Southern mayors who gave George Wallace a standing ovation? And what have they given us? "The gains have come in health, education and political power. The losses have been in employment and income." (*U.S. News*, August 11, 1975)

The meaning of the "New South" can only be to divert and attack when necessary, the independent movement of the Negro people for national liberation and socialism.

The CLP sees as its tasks the exposure of all these fascist elements. The Negro people's movement can only move forward under the leadership of a new class, under the vanguard leadership of the proletariat. The bourgeois politicians, Negro and Anglo-American, can only ultimately serve the bourgeoisie. What is needed is class conscious proletarian leadership to carry the glorious banner of the Negro people's national liberation movement onward to socialism. A real "New South" can only be built upon the ruins of imperialism!

FREE THE NEGRO NATION

the confusion that was sown as a result of the articles that our comrade points out. We, as the rest of the Party can learn a great deal from this excellent criticism.

Comradely,  
National Editorial Board

Dear Comrades,

I want to raise some points with you regarding the *People's Tribune*, Vol. 2, No. 15.

First off, let me say that I am in complete agreement with the program put forth in the article "Labor Day Rallies". This program is one which not just tails after the spontaneous movement but one which can develop the class consciousness of the working class. Communists can't afford to leave the spontaneous movement where it is today and expect that that movement will bring forth a revolution. The spontaneous movement, as Lenin says over and over again, must be brought from under the wing of the bourgeoisie to under the wing of the revolutionary movement. We cannot accomplish this task if we simply send a comrade into the NAACP and have him be the best fighter for equal rights; a comrade into the PTA and have him be the best fighter for education; or a comrade into the plant and have him be the best fighter for the trade union. This is syndicalism pure and simple, because the underlying basis of this is to become the leadership of each mass organization until we are in a position to pass a "directive" for a revolution.

Revolution is not a "directive" from above, however. It is a motion of an entire class against the class which opposes it. This is the essence of the united front from below.

I know we have talked about these principles many times and everyone agrees with this theoretical projection. What I want to raise is how we are carrying this out in our work.

Why is the program of the united front — as represented in the article on May Day and now the September 1 rallies — so important to our work? Because it is the vehicle for uniting all the most progressive aspects of the spontaneous movement. Not that we expect every organization to adopt readily the program put forth in the article. But we do expect our comrades to fight consistently in every way possible for its implementation. This is the antidote to syndicalism in our party.

Not that we should stop with this 5-point program. Our whole task is on the one hand to develop class consciousness within the spontaneous movement and on the other hand to link this movement with socialism.

The *Tribune* represents centralism within our organization. Therefore every party member is obligated to fight for the full implementation of the *Tribune*. It is not their choice to pick out which aspect of the program they will fight for and which they will not. Naturally this does not take away the right of every comrade to disagree with the *Tribune* as long as it is done in the proper way.

Comrades, I have to preface this criticism with all of this because this is the whole essence of the struggle we are involved in throughout the party. The comrades are getting involved in the mass struggle and this is a good motion. But in many cases they are not getting involved with this movement for the purpose of developing class consciousness and with the idea of combining this with socialism. It is futile to get involved in the spontaneous movement if we tail after it and liquidate the party in the process.

Yet this is objectively what has happened in many cases. Take the article "Steel Workers Organize," starting with the section from Los Angeles. In this article you state the following—and here, let me repeat that it doesn't matter who or where this article was written; this article re-

presents the line—"The Program of the Bethlehem Unemployed Committee is a progressive one and can win broad support from other Unemployment Committees, community groups, organizations of national minorities and other progressive people." In other words, the *People's Tribune* supports this program.

Well, let's see what this program is all about. There are 7 points. The first 6 are strictly economic demands. And in this "environment," even point 7, Jobs for all workers, becomes an economic demand. Is the demand for bus-ing and the smashing of the KKK included? No. Is the demand of no USNA troops in Southeast Asia or the Middle East included? No. Is the demand for nationalization of the energy industry included? No.

Comrades, we are in an intense struggle in the Party and what is printed in the *People's Tribune* influences the whole party; so I have to be blunt. Do you take your own program seriously? Don't you wonder what in the hell is going on when our comrades send you an article that reflects economism? Do you realize that by printing such an article, especially with the quote above, that you are confusing the Party, that you are supporting this economist trend? What about Lenin's statement "the belittling of the role of the 'conscious element', of the role of Social-Democracy, means, whether one likes it or not, growth of influence of the bourgeois ideology among the workers." [What Is To Be Done?]

If we do not carry out a militant struggle for all aspects of our program, is this progressive? No, comrades, this is aiding and abetting the growth of bourgeois ideology. It would be one thing if it was reported that a local unemployment committee had been formed around such and such a program and that it was a good start but lacked certain things—namely all the other demands of the "Labor Day Rallies" article. That would be leading the spontaneous movement. But you have not only given the Party's wholehearted support to such a limited program; you are encouraging the formation of more committees and councils on the basis of a similar program!

This is indeed a dangerous situation because you are collectively organizing a worship of the spontaneous movement!

Let's go to another aspect of this "program." It is built around the line—which many, many comrades believe—that the economic struggle is the best method of bringing the workers into the revolutionary movement. And by saying that this is a program everyone can unite around, you yourselves are advocating this same line. What did Lenin say on this score?

"Economic concessions (or pseudo-concessions) are, of course, the cheapest and most advantageous concessions to make from the government's point of view, because by these means it hopes to win the confidence of the masses of the workers. Precisely for this reason, Social-Democrats must under no circumstances create grounds for the belief (or the misunderstanding) that we attach greater value to economic reforms than to political reforms, or that we regard them as being particularly important, etc." [What Is To Be Done?]

If we allow such situations to develop, particularly if they are encouraged in or way or another by the Central Organ, then we will have a line developing such as the one Lenin described in What Is To Be Done?

"... the programme of the whole tendency, i.e. the program which R.M. (in the Special Supplement to *Rabocheye Mysl*) expressed in the words: 'that struggle is desirable which is possible, and the struggle which is possible is the one that is going on now.'

Continued on Page D

## WEST

Continued from Page A

The critical busing issue is a point of sharp struggle in the Western Region, with future battles beginning to shape up. The Gitelson decision ordering desegregation of the Los Angeles school district was reversed by an Appeals court in a reactionary decision. This decision which, in effect, legalizes segregation, is being resisted by workers and progressives throughout the West through resolutions, petitions, and demands at Jobs with Peace rallies and marches.

In San Jose, California, fascists and reactionaries are mobilizing against busing in a bold move to drive the national minority workers by terror into second class citizenship. This motion is bringing out from under their rocks fascist gangs like the KKK and Nazi Party who must be crushed if we are to turn back these shock troops of fascism.

In San Francisco and Los Angeles, and in many parts of the West and Southwest, busing is being attacked through cutbacks in educational funding, a position advocated by California's Governor Brown. This attack cannot but help to be directed against bilingual education as well, a critical question for our class especially here in the West and Southwest.

In San Diego, where the military and right-wing have had a base, the KKK and Nazi Party have openly surfaced, threatening to "help" the Immigration Service terrorize the undocumented workers, smash bilingual education, and murder Negroes under the guise of fighting against busing.

In the Southwest region of the USNA the struggle for the unity of the working class means to a very real degree the concrete struggle to unify the Negro and Mexican national minority sections. This can only be done through active defense of the entire working class against the fascist drive. The first line of defense against fascism is the defense of the Negro worker because for political as well as historical reasons he is most vulnerable. It is no accident, for instance, that the cops who are training for "food riots" in Los Angeles are told to concentrate their activities on the predominantly Negro Southcentral part of the city.

It is clear from our experiences over the past year that the fascists cannot hit the Negro worker without also assaulting the Mexican national and Mexican national minority workers and in turn become entangled with larger sections of the class. In the Southwest the struggle for equality of the Mexican national minority takes the form of a struggle for regional autonomy, against national oppression and for the democratic control of their land and institutions. This battle can only be won if the industrial proletariat in all its nationalities, concentrated in the plants and factories, take up this struggle, and if the battle is seen as an integral part of the struggle for Socialism.

Over the past year, we have graphically seen the correctness of Lenin's teaching that the Party must base itself in the large factories. In the struggle to unify the class, the multinational industrial proletariat concentrated in the factories, is the key, the base of strength into the movements of the various nationalities—for it is in the factories that workers of all nationalities toil and struggle together. We have seen through the struggle of the workers of Bethlehem Steel in Los Angeles, NAASCO Shipyards in San Diego, the auto plants in San Jose and other plants throughout the region that the industrial proletariat must spearhead our work. It is here, on the basis of the political struggle, that the unity of workers of all nationalities will become possible.

Our class, which is under fierce attack by the fascists, is beginning to respond in a more militant manner as can be witnessed by the uprising in Riverside and the militant People's Defense Committee rally held recent-

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ly in Los Angeles to demand that killer cops be brought to justice. Our party must be able to change with this change in the mood of the masses. Our line, as developed in the Communist Press, the **People's Tribune** and **Tribuna Popular**, has been shown time and again to be correct. Though small, our Communist Labor Party in the West and Southwest has led the fight for jobs and the formation of unemployment councils like the one in Los Angeles, is leading the fight for busing in San Jose, leading the fight against the police in Los Angeles, and throughout the region is the only organization raising the issue of the Klan and Nazi Party. Our party in the West and Southwest, is gaining strength in the growing movement of the farmworkers from Seattle to California to Texas. Much work remains to be done in fighting for the unity of the rural and urban workers and defense of our undocumented brothers and sisters.

The task of our Communist Labor Party, if we are to be more than a party in name, must be to become actively engaged in all manifestations of the class struggle, organizing the resistance into one united whole, and developing the socialist consciousness and organization of the proletariat through expanded use of the Communist Press, independent communist work in the factories and communities and recruitment of these vanguard fighters. This can only be really done if we direct the main aspect of the struggle against the bourgeois state.

To unite the different aspects of the struggle, we must be able to grasp hold of the key link that can tie the various aspects of the struggle together. Everywhere, unemployment and the fight for jobs is this connecting link. The building of unemployment councils which concretely tie the different aspects together is one key form of the united front against fascism. One of the best examples of this is the struggle against unemployment waged by the communists and vanguard workers in Los Angeles. This struggle which developed from the formation of an employment committee in the Steelworkers Local at the Bethlehem Steel plant has led to the formation of a city-wide unemployed council.

This same kind of development is taking place throughout the Region where unemployed committees and councils are being formed that fight not only for jobs, but against the KKK, against deportations, against military intervention by the USNA in Southeast Asia or the Middle East and for busing and the nationalization of the energy industry. The experiences in Los Angeles show that committees and councils must be based on the spontaneous struggle of the class, from the existing organizations of the class, and that their real strength comes from an industrial base.

Our experience has shown also that the fascist drive cannot be blunted by relying simply on trade union leaders or leaders of mass organizations. The United Front of the Working Class against Fascism must be built from below, independent from the bourgeoisie and its lackeys. In order to build a steered united front, we must build our Party into a force of millions. We must recruit into our ranks the multi-national vanguard of the proletariat and train these workers in the science of Marxism-Leninism.

When the vanguard has been won over, when the ideals of socialism are united with the working class movement, no force on earth will be able to stop this mighty movement from sweeping the evil system of capitalism from the face of the globe and establishing a government that serves the interests of the toilers not only in this country, but of the entire world.

**WIN THE VANGUARD OF THE PROLETARIAT TO THE CAUSE OF COMMUNISM!**

## EAST

Continued from Page A

As is the case throughout the country, the police have traded in their "community relations" smiles for hollow nose bullets. We have now grown accustomed to the feeble police apology for murder, "I thought he had a gun."

Everywhere social reforms have been replaced by harassment, intimidation and cutbacks. For the more than 1 million welfare recipients in New York City, a dandy little program entitled Face-to-Face Recertification has been devised forcing already approved welfare recipients to recertify and prove once again that they are eligible for welfare, every few months. These recipients must wait sometimes days to be seen and they are abruptly cut-off if even a few days tardy. Almost every state is beginning to institute such programs.

Given these conditions, we are assured that the workers in this region have fought back. The Eastern Region was the gathering place for two large demonstrations against unemployment. Both the UAW march and the AFL-CIO march took place in Washington D.C. The AFL-CIO march saw the workers so angry they practically tossed the Republicans and Democrats out of the stadium. In May the NAACP held its pro-busing march which was well attended and kicked-off the progressive and revolutionary struggle for quality, equal education. June saw an anti-Klan rally in Baltimore, Maryland, where workers from all across the city attended to pledge

## MIDWEST

Continued from Page B

Most recently, Federal District Judge DeMascio ruled that massive busing would not occur in Detroit in September. A similar ruling was handed down by a federal judge in Los Angeles. How are we to understand this tactical shift by the legal arm of the bourgeoisie? It is not year clear that this tactical maneuver will be employed nationwide. At present, the shift against massive busing in particular areas should be viewed as the result of the objective conditions in those areas. In the Detroit area, the CLP has emerged as a powerful, well-disciplined force capable of mobilizing the militant, industrial proletariat in support of busing and leading direct attacks against the fascist, anti-busing forces. Our region has has counter-demonstrated against the fascists, spearheaded an anti-fascist, probusing coalition and defended the workers who participated in physical attacks against members of the Nazi Party.

The bourgeoisie's tactic of preventing working class unity around unemployment through fascist terror on the busing question violently backfired in Detroit—the workers united against the fascists under the leadership of the CLP. Likewise, in Los Angeles, a strong working class movement and the leadership of the CLP prohibited the bourgeoisie from continuing to fan the flames of fascism around the issue of busing. However, since the unemployment rate in the Midwest appears to have leveled out near the bottom, the desperation of the bourgeoisie to divert the attention of the working class from impending economic disaster has lessened somewhat, and the tactical retreat of the bourgeoisie from a pro-busing stand in certain localities will give the fascists time to attempt to consolidate and expand their forces before the next unemployment crisis begins to peak in 1976.

The tasks before the CLP for the next year are very clear. We must consolidate the influence of our party in the struggle against unemployment and in the fight for busing and against fascist terror. We have seen that the emergence of the CLP as a political force to be reckoned with

their support against the rising fascist attacks by the Klan and in support of the Negro people.

The Eastern Region of the USNA has seen much ferment and activity by the working class. A day doesn't go by in New York City when a demonstration of anywhere from 100 to 10,000 people doesn't explode. Our Party, in many ways, has made important contributions in the struggles of the workers in this part of the country. Although small and young, we have understood the key questions facing the working class and gone about to rally our class around these issues.

We have and will continue to raise the burning issues of our class and take our program, our line into our class and fight to extend our influence. In the Eastern Region as well as across the country, the proletariat needs an independent voice, a voice which fights in its interests. Our Party, only one year old this month, vows to be that voice. Our program which will build the unity of our class, which is the prerequisite to the socialist revolution, has guided and instigated many of the political struggles that our class has been involved in.

On this first anniversary of the CLP we recognize the enormous tasks that lie ahead of us. And yet we go into the battle against this capitalist system with the spirit and militancy that we proclaimed one year ago. Our working class can and must be won to the cause of communism. Basing ourselves in the millions of factories and building independent units in which to disseminate the ideas of communism, the proletariat will be won over to its historic duty—the freedom of all of humanity.

has forced the bourgeoisie in Detroit into a tactical retreat on the busing issue. The CLP has demonstrated to the working class that the question of busing, and quality education are not only questions facing the Negro people, but are political questions confronting the whole of the working class. The CLP must continue to initiate and sustain direct attacks upon the fascists, both in the legislature and in the streets. The Unemployed Councils must also take up the fight against fascism if they are to become the main organization form of the United Front in the Midwest Region, and must link the anti-fascist mobilization to their primary struggle for jobs with peace. In order to further these goals, the Unemployed Councils should immediately begin to call for joint Labor Day/Anti-Klan rallies and demonstrations throughout the USNA and particularly within the Midwest.

Our most important task, however, the task without which the working class cannot prevent the onslaught of fascism and bind itself to the goals of socialism, is the task of building our factory nuclei. We must resolutely turn our faces away from trade union economism, and concentrate our best forces within the heart of the industrial proletariat, within the factories, and then, with consistent communist work, make every factory our fortress.

## CRITICISM

Continued from Page C

It is the tendency of unbounded opportunism, which passively adapts itself to spontaneity."

I do not know the specifics of the situation in Chicago [referring to the other section of the same article, ed.] but I know that the article on their committee also gives a program which omits the same two points; and that the article does not direct the struggle to include them in the program.

I am not advocating "pure" councils. Quite the contrary. I am advocating councils which bring in thousands of people, many of whom may not agree with the full program—but councils and committees where our comrades can struggle for the program and where the Party and its press lead this struggle.