



# Revolutionary Cause

POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE AUGUST 29th MOVEMENT (MARXIST-LENINIST)

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COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE, NATIONS WANT LIBERATION, PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION

## CAPITALIST ELECTIONS -- NOTHING FOR US!

### Democrats, Republicans, CPUSA -- Not a Dime's Worth of Difference

Every four years the capitalist class takes the rubber band off its bankroll, rolls out the advertising drums, and spends hundreds of millions of dollars and thousands of hours trying to convince us that we have "democracy". This farce is called the "presidential elections", (70 million voters already recognize this hypocrisy and will refuse to vote this year.) The ruling class searches its ranks for a couple of reliable politicians and puts them forward as "the change America needs", or the "leadership America wants"

What are the facts?

Simply stated, capitalist democracy is phoney democracy. The capitalists own and control almost all of the land, banks, and industry of society, and they control the state as well. The Democratic and Republican parties are owned lock, stock and barrel by the capitalists. For instance, Gerald Ford is in the hip pocket of the Rockefeller financial grouping and has a record of consistent anti-labor stands, and is mainly notable for his many vetoes of job and welfare legislation. Jimmy Carter, "That little ol' peanut farmer" is a capitalist businessman whose family is worth at least \$6 million dollars. Carter was formerly governor of Georgia (much of which is part of the oppressed Afro-American nation), one of the many "right to work" (anti-union) states of the South, which is notorious for its low wages,

"private property". The Teamsters approved and went so far as to bring their own goons down one night to intimidate the strikers. ATM doesn't mention these facts in order to make excuses. We know that the capitalists will use any means necessary to break strikes. We know that the Teamster bureaucrats will always collaborate with the capitalist class. It is our task as communists to lead the workers in overcoming these obstacles in the course of the struggle. In this case we were not successful and lost the economic battle.

#### ROLE OF COMMUNISTS -- TO GIVE A PLANNED, CONSCIOUS, CHARACTER TO THE SPONTANEOUS STRUGGLES

During a meeting at the end of the strike, one woman striker said: "Economically we lost this strike, but I feel we won politically." Despite the immediate economic setbacks, some workers became class conscious during this struggle and the vast majority were willing to follow communist leadership. Carrying our communist duty in this section of the working class, ATM (M-L) began the work of fusing the working class movement with socialism. From the beginning we brought an open communist presence to this strike although we did not have a single cadre working at Western Yarn First, we consolidated the advanced workers those who actively studied Marxism-Leninism, were recognized leaders in the plant, were class conscious and totally dedicated to proletarian struggle. An open ATM cadre assigned to the strike and these advanced workers were able to assist the mass of workers in formulating their demands, the writing of leaflets, organizing the pickets, etc. In the process of the strike some militant trade unionists became open to socialist ideas and we are now attempting to continue work with them.

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and especially for the superexploitation of its Black workers, (including those who work for Carter's farms and peanut processing plants)

As the saying goes, "there's not a dime's worth of difference" between the Democratic and Republican parties. What differences do exist are only over HOW the capitalists can continue to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the working class while keeping profits up, while at the same time preparing for fascism at home, and an imperialist war abroad with the social-imperialist USSR -- a war for world hegemony.

Under the Ford (Republican) administration we have seen unemployment soar to over 10 million, with wage-cuts, enforced contract settlements (with the help of the labor bureaucrats) to "fight inflation", intensified speed-ups to "increase productivity", huge cutbacks in social services and huge lay-offs of public service workers. At the same time, profits, taxes and utility rates mushroom, (while General Motors was making a 1200% profit on its first quarter sales, the average worker was paying out almost half of his income in various kinds of taxes. Much of the taxes go to the big capitalist banks as "interest" on the giant \$70 billion budget deficit run up by the Ford administration in 1976). The Republican regime has unleashed the forces of death against the oppressed nationalities -- with each new day bringing fresh news of another police murder (see "Stop Police Repression", RC #7, 1976), while hundreds of thousands of our fellow workers from other countries plundered by these same capitalists are forcibly uprooted and deported from the U.S. This is how the Republicans help America "recover" from economic crisis.

#### DEMOCRATS -- A PARTY OF FRAUD AND LIES

Going around the country waving the "pro-labor" flag, Jimmy Carter, with the able assistance of the bribed labor bureaucrats is preparing to help capitalism maintain its profits, while at the same time trying to smash workers' resistance.

In his acceptance speech Carter called for "increased productivity", which can only mean speed-ups for workers. And he will do this very simply by getting the capitalist, the state and the labor pimps together for what he calls "National Economic Planning" -- i.e., to set up productivity goals, to destroy the right to strike, to keep down wage demands and to drive all communists and class-conscious workers out of the trade unions. This economic planning structure is very similar to the corporate state developed by the Italian fascists in the 1920's and '30's. And by bringing the state onto this planning board the way is paved for the open subsidization of industry, to keep up sagging profits with taxes from the workers' pockets. And if workers dare to fight this "wonderful" scheme, the Democrats promise us "direct government involvement in wage and price decisions", (Democratic Party platform). This can only mean the increased use of federal court injunctions to crush strikes, forced arbitration, and possibly a re-establishment

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THE MASSES RESPOND TO PHONEY "DEMOCRACY" REPRESENTED BY FORD, CARTER, AND HALL.

## WESTERN YARN STRIKE ENDS Class Struggle Continues

(Editor's note: Last month's issue of the RC contained a report on the textile workers strike at Western Yarns factory in Los Angeles. After roughly 23 days of struggle, the strike was lost. We present here our preliminary summation of that strike, future articles will further elaborate our views.)

On September 13, 160 workers went out on strike at Western Yarns. (We incorrectly reported 200 in RC #8.) The remainder of the 200 workers at the plant did not come out because of lack of union sanction of the strike. For 23 days the strikers struggled to win their demands despite the lack of support from the Teamster bureaucrats and economic difficulties for the workers. The workers had demanded equality of languages, an end to the abuse of women, the right to strike as well as improved wages and benefits. Due in part to the errors made by the August 29th Movement (M-L), the strike was not effective in winning the immediate demands. However, as a result of our work as open communists, the workers made political advances during the strike.

During this struggle both the capitalists of Western Yarn and the Teamster leadership collaborated to smash the strike by refusing to negotiate the demands of the workers. The capitalists fired all the strikers, hired scabs to fill their jobs, and the Teamster leadership approved of these maneuvers. The capitalists hired Richardson's Security Service, infamous as strike breakers throughout California, to protect the scabs and the capitalists.



Our highest tribute to the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the contemporary era is to assimilate the wisdom of his teachings, to integrate their truth to the flesh & blood of our own revolutionary struggle.....

MAO ON AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE PG. 3

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# Profit Over Safety CAPITALISM KILLS SIX WORKERS

On October 3 six workmen were setting up a crane at a construction site in Carlsbad, California. With a terrible groaning noise the structure began to shake. Within seconds it collapsed, plunging the six victims, in a horrible tangle of metal -- 200 feet to their deaths.

These men worked for the San Diego Gas & Electric Company, a private capitalist enterprise which is building a \$110 million generator unit on the site. According to SDG&E workers the company has consistently failed to observe even minimal safety standards. One worker revealed that the company had men working on the crane the night before it collapsed with flashlights! The company was in such a rush to finish the job that they set up the crane without properly counterbalancing it, and without using guides wires or any steel reinforcement to secure it in place. Without these precautions some type of disaster was a foregone conclusion. The company is opposed to an investigation of the incident and the courts, as tools of the rich are taking their time to decide whether or not there will be an investigation.

Capitalism murdered these innocent members of the working class just as certainly as if it had put a gun to the head of each of them. San Diego Gas and Electric cared only about its contract "deadlines" and nothing for the six men crushed because of the company's blind rush for profits. The capitalist system LIVES for profit alone and it has killed and maimed thousands of workers for its blood money. But these crimes can only fuel our bitter hatred of the capitalist class. The anguished tears of the families of our stricken brothers move us more to resolve than sorrow. This criminal murder shows us plainer than a thousand pictures that Capitalism means Death for the working class. We must exert all of our efforts to destroy this

## ELECTIONS

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of the infamous "Wage-Control Board" of the Nixon era, (which Carter said he would reinstitute "if necessary"). Meanwhile, Carter and his cronies will "cut welfare rolls" by forcing millions of workers to accept jobs at sweatshop wages (if it were otherwise people would not have to be forced to accept them), and to compete for work with higher paid, usually unionized labor -- all to the benefit of capitalist profit. FRIENDS OF LABOR? Who are they kidding?

### FOREIGN POLICY -- GET READY FOR WAR

The Republicans brag that they have brought "peace" to America. In the meantime they continue to supply billions of dollars in arms to the Israeli Zionists, the South African and Rhodesian racists, the bloody Shah of Iran, the Indonesian fascists, the Marcos dictatorship, etc. Real "peace" They have increased the military budget to over \$100 billion, and have stepped-up the pace of nuclear testing and weapons development (such as the planned B-1 bomber), in preparation for a war with

## WESTERN YARN

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ATM(M-L) carried out independent political exposures of the capitalist class and their lackies the Teamster leadership. In one ATM propaganda leaflet, for example, we explained that imperialism creates super-profits which



Poster drawn by worker points out two main political demands of the strike. END NATIONAL OPPRESSION!! EQUALITY FOR WOMEN!!

corrupt system once and for all. We have only two choices. to live and die with a system which brings us joblessness, hunger, injury and death, or we can tear this system down, and build a new one on its ruins, a system run by and for the working class. Every day reveals fresh news of capitalist corruption and decay. And every day more and more class-conscious workers are choosing the second path, the path of Socialism -- a road which promises life to the working class.

TURN GRIEF INTO STRENGTH!!!

## Celebrate Jayuya INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO

On October 30, 1950 members of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico rose up in arms against U.S. imperialism in the town of Jayuya, Puerto Rico. Under the leadership of Don Pedro Albizu Campos these patriots were fighting to end the brutal U.S. colonization of their na-



their imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union. No part of the world is spared US-USSR contention -- from Angola, to Cyprus, to Portugal. Meanwhile they tell us that "detente" is working fine, in an effort to lull us to sleep while sounding the gong of patriotism in this "Bi-Centennial Year" in order to prepare U.S. workers to kill Russian workers for the sake of capitalist wealth. The Republicans want world domination.

The Democrats promise nothing less. The Democratic platform promises to defend "U.S. interests" in Israel, Taiwan, Panama and Korea. Carter "promises" to cut back in defense spending by increasing the number of combat troops, while cutting back support personnel. Carter has started to hedge on "detente", and says he will be "tougher in bargaining" with the USSR. So here we have it, continued oppression of Third world countries, while war preparations continue in a striving for world hegemony, (what Carter calls "an international framework" where the hegemonic goals of U.S. imperialism "gradually can become a global reality" (Carter's acceptance speech). The Democrats want world domination.

COMMUNIST PARTY U S A -- SINGING SAME OLD SONG

The Communist Party of the U S A serves two

are partly used to bribe a section of the working class. It is not a question of a "few bad leaders", we explained, but that of a large labor bureaucracy which usually emerges from this bribed labor aristocracy. We wrote "These trade union bureaucrats receive fat salaries, Tim Williams (Teamster Business Representative -- ed) gets \$26,000 per year, and have no interest in making changes. They simply want to protect their fat paycheck and therefore have as much interest in preserving capitalism as the capitalist does. These bureaucrats not only get fat salaries, but also political privileges. Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons gladly sat on Nixon's wage control board and had all his expenses paid while he helped Nixon hold down our wages." We then further explained what socialism means for the working class. We put forward the need for a new communist party and why the class conscious workers must take part in the building of such a party.

We stress that political education did not remain on paper. At every opportunity we carried out political exposures and in particular we stressed that this strike was part of a world wide class struggle against imperialism. We took politically active workers to two events commemorating the life of Mao Tse tung. At one event the strike committee presented a speech expressing solidarity between the strikers and the people of China. They linked the immediate struggles in their strike to the world wide struggle against imperialism. At plant gate rallies, community meetings and benefits, ATM and advanced workers presented communist agitation in support of the strike. ATM and worker contacts distributed the Revolutionary Cause and particularly issue number 8 with articles on the strike and Mao's death were widely read among the strikers. This communist work soon began to have its effect among the more

tion. These heroes expressed the deepest aspirations of the Puerto Rican masses for freedom and independence. They fought bravely with these words of Albizu's ringing in their ear.

"To take our nation, they will first have to take away our lives." While this uprising was defeated by the U.S. military and Puerto Rican puppet troops, the struggle of the Puerto Rican people goes on. With a cost of living higher than that of the U.S., with only one fourth the wage scale of the U.S., and with double the U.S. unemployment rate -- the Puerto Rican masses are forced to carry the burden of U.S. imperialist domination on their shoulders. But every day new forms of struggle erupt in Puerto Rico as more and more people realize that the heroes of Jayuya pointed the only way to freedom -- the revolutionary armed struggle.

Let us honor these valiant heroes by giving all-out determined support to the independence struggle of the Puerto Rican people. Let us batter the common enemy who crushes us all to its knees and win freedom and emancipation for the working people of Puerto Rico and the U.S.

INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO!!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE

## YOU CAN HELP!

WE NEED YOUR FINANCIAL HELP IN ORDER TO CARRY ON OUR WORK AMONG THE PROLETARIAT AND OPPRESSED MASSES. WE ASK THAT YOU BECOME SUSTAINERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE, WITH A DONATION OF \$20 or more per year. SUSTAINERS RECEIVE A SUBSCRIPTION TO REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE AS WELL AS COPIES OF ALL OF OUR PAMPHLETS AND PRINTED MATERIALS AS THEY ARE PUBLISHED. SEND YOUR DONATION TO ATM, PO BOX 32026, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, 90032.

masters -- the U.S. capitalists (especially the "pro-detente" sector), and the Soviet social-imperialists. They are a fifth column for the latter -- building up support for them in the trade unions and national movements while

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Everywhere they go capitalist stooges Ford and Carter have to be protected from the just anger of the people. The police are one way the capitalists maintain their rule over the working class.

politically active workers. We developed the respect of the workers and they began to see that this strike was only one form of struggle in the larger context of the class struggle.

### ATM (M-L) SELF-CRITICISM

We made errors in the course of this struggle, some of them quite serious. Our errors were both of a political and organizational nature.

First, we had an incorrect analysis of the objective conditions prior to the strike. We underestimated the influence of the union bureaucrats on the masses of workers. We did not take into account that the Teamsters had only recently been voted in by the workers and therefore had some legitimacy among a large section of the workers. The majority of workers expected Teamster support when they decided to strike. This illusion reflects a weakness in ATM's exposure of the Teamsters prior to the strike. The practical results were that many workers soon became demoralized when we were unsuccessful in forcing the Teamsters to sanction the strike. We did not take into account fully the workers history at Western Yarn -- i.e., the fact that they had not taken part in prior mass struggles of any type. This history reflected itself in a certain amount of passivity on the strike line. Our failure to train the workers in mass forms of struggle was at the root of this failure to take on the scabs. If a majority of the workers had been convinced that they could only rely on themselves and not on the Teamster bureaucrats and were convinced that mass struggle could lead to victory, the only conclusion they would have drawn was to physically stop the scabs.

Another error in our analysis was that we underestimated the effects of the fact that a

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# LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF COMRADE MAO TSETUNG!

was an exponent of non-violence. Nevertheless, the U S imperialists did not on that account show any tolerance towards him, but used counter-revolutionary violence and killed him in cold blood. This has taught the broad masses of the black people in the United States a profound lesson. It has touched off a new storm in their struggle against violent repression sweeping well over a hundred cities in the United States, a storm such as has never taken place before in the history of that country. It shows that an extremely powerful revolutionary force is latent in the more than twenty million black Americans.

The storm of Afro-American struggle taking place within the United States is a striking manifestation of the comprehensive political and economic crisis now gripping U S imperialism. It is dealing a telling blow to U.S. imperialism, which is beset with difficulties at home and abroad.

The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the United States to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class. It is a tremendous support and inspiration to the struggle of the people throughout the world against U S imperialism and to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U S imperialism. On behalf of the Chinese people, I hereby express resolute support for the just struggle of the black people in the United States.

Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the black masses in the United States and U S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States share common interests and have common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States. The struggle of the black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U S monopoly capitalist class.

In 1963, in my "Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U S Imperialism" I said that "the evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people" I still maintain this view.

At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era. The struggle of the black people in the United States for emancipation is a component part of the general struggle of all the people of the world against U S imperialism, a component part of the contemporary world revolution. I call on the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals of every country and all who are willing to fight against U S imperialism to take action and extend strong support to the struggle of the black people in the United States! People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, U S imperialism, and against its accomplices! It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off.



IN THE SPIRIT OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM Chairman Mao meets with friends from Asia, Africa, and Latin America (1959)

We reprint below Chairman Mao's world historic 1968 "Statement in Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Violent Repression" This statement clearly reveals Mao Tse tung's revolutionary genius, his profound proletarian internationalism, and is an incisive indictment of U S imperialism. Its lessons still have relevance for us today. Our highest tribute to the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the contemporary era is to assimilate the wisdom of his teachings, to integrate their truth to the flesh and blood of our own revolutionary struggle in order to overthrow "the reactionary rule of the U S. monopoly capitalist class" and to destroy "the colonialist and imperialist system" worldwide.

## STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE AGAINST VIOLENT REPRESSION (April 16, 1968)

Some days ago, Martin Luther King, the Afro-American clergyman, was suddenly assassinated by the U.S. imperialists. Martin Luther King

## PRRWO - RWL Part II 'HURLING THREATS AND INSULTS IS NOT FIGHTING'

(In the first part of this polemic we began laying out our views on the recent degeneration of the PRRWO. This article concludes our presentation.)

A few observations about PRRWO's "polemic", PRRWO and RWL feel compelled to tell us about their "advances". The communist movement is painfully aware of the current status of that once proud organization, isolated from the movement and the masses, wrecked from the top down, the Puerto Rican Student Union and the February First Movement (Puerto Rican and Black student groups) destroyed everywhere they are even touched by PRRWO-RWL. We point this out because this distorted view of reality also characterizes their entire polemic and we must keep this in mind.

### MORE ON LINE STRUGGLE

In part I of this article we began laying out our views on line struggle, its importance in the struggle to develop the line, the absolute necessity for communist organizations to allow the clashing of opinions. To stifle such struggle leads to slavishness and bureaucratism.

We also cited the experience of the Chinese and Australian communists on this question. In PALANTE #7, PRRWO quotes from one of our internal documents where we lay out that not all struggles which occur in the course of our work is "two line struggle". We hold to this. The Australian comrades, in analyzing previous errors on this question, say "No distinction was made between, on the one hand, differences in the struggle for a correct line, and on the other, outright opposition to any correct line" (WE STUDY TO PROMOTE REVOLUTION NOT TO BE KNOW-ALLS -- Communist Party of Australia, ML).

It was precisely this distinction that we were making in the document quoted by PRRWO. At the time the document was drafted, we discussed the question with the present leadership of PRRWO and they UNITED with us on this question. Today they claim it's a Menshevik view.

At the time we were vigorously promoting struggle and initiative from cadres throughout the organization, and we wanted no one to feel intimidated, but rather wanted them to feel free to express their views on every important ques-

tion facing us. This document served that purpose.

Two line struggles have developed in our organization -- with opposition taking either "left" or right forms. When this has occurred, the leadership has flushed out the chief exponents of the line (who never voluntarily reveal themselves), armed the cadre and brought whole districts or even the entire organization (when required) into the struggle against them. In the absence of repudiation we have purged the leading exponents and have struggled to remold and consolidate any cadres who might have been under their influence.

The very document which PRRWO condemns served to PROMOTE TWO LINE STRUGGLE in ATM during those struggles, which was precisely its purpose. Needless to say, PRRWO's "Bolshevik" methods of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows" only serve to intimidate cadres into silence or slavishness.

Before proceeding, we must point out that it is common practice for fraternal organizations to share documents dealing with policies or line for criticisms. Such were the documents PRRWO is quoting from. They had MONTHS to criticize them, but did not because they UNITED with much of them. It was not until Trotskyite elements assumed complete control of PRRWO that they felt secure enough to "struggle" (?) against our "Menshevism".

On page 10 of Palante #7 they again quote from one of our documents to "prove" that we belittle theory, "study Menshevism", etc. This is another interesting and extremely revealing LIE! Comrades will note that the quote starts with "1. We must change our study program to meet the needs of our movement (a) through . (and) (c) the fundamentals...." Why, there must be a "misprint" -- we notice letter b is missing! Maybe PALANTE ran out of space to print it? So we will print it here.

"(b) Collective political education to deal with the practical problems arising from the day to day work. This PE will be conducted by (various organizational levels) and should be mainly composed of those comrades actually involved in the problem. Everyone should see the necessity of writing up (briefly) the lessons drawn. We refer comrades to the two Chinese pamphlets, 'Philosophy is No Mystery', and



'Serving the People with Dialectics' as a guide."

First of all, we must clarify an important point. Many comrades in our movement are rightly concerned lest we fall into the trap of narrow practicalism. At first glance our study program may seem to reflect narrowness. But a little thought will reveal that the day to day problems of the class struggle analyzed from a communist standpoint, usually "turn out" to be the national question, how to raise and fight for the rights of women, how to carry out the exposure of the social props (direction of the main blow), how to build an illegal organization (party building), how to train cadres and the advanced (party building), etc.

In other words, as Mao has said the universality of contradiction resides in the particularity of contradiction. "The burning questions of our movement" are just that because they permeate and determine every aspect of the class struggle, and therefore we are bound to "run into them" if we have any practical connection at all with that struggle.

In discussing part b with PRRWO and RWL we explained that the study program would be centered around it and the main areas of study were laid out to them. We pointed out that the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung were all included in this section. PRRWO knew this and yet left it out of their paper, preferring instead to "boldly" LIF to the communist movement, saying that our rank and file study only our printed documents, leaving the study of the classics to leadership. In a future issue of our paper we will reprint our entire study program.

But for now we would like to mention the areas of study and point out that the readings are from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tsetung and other marxist-leninists. The program covers Party Building, the National Question, Work in Factories and Trade Unions, the State, Political Economy, the International Situation, the Woman Question, Reforms, the Struggle Against Opportunism, United Front and Mass Work, Organization, and Analysis.

But, the methods used are not those of book worshippers. And that was why the study program which we previously had (pedantic to the bone and rightly criticized as such by the old PRRWO), was changed to this one -- to answer the practical questions of the revolution.

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One hundred workers--mostly Mexicanos, Chicanos, and Blacks--went out on strike at Major Safe in Los Angeles on Oct. 12. These members of United Steelworkers of America #1981 are demanding a 70¢/hr. raise in the first year, no cap on the cost-of-living wage increase, no forced overtime, and a better medical plan. The workers raised some important political demands. The capitalists at Major Safe won't allow Spanish speaking workers to bid for certain jobs and refuse to translate the contract - the workers demanded equality of languages. The capitalists don't want any "trouble" from the workers for the three year contract, so they want to tighten up the no strike clause. The workers demanded the right to strike over grievances and the right for the rank and file to control the grievance procedure.

While the strike was only two weeks old, support had come in already from workers at Western Yarn, La Raza Unida Party (La Puente Chapter), other USW locals, and communist organizations like ATM. At mass rallies and pickets in front of the plant, members of the strike committee pointed out that workers face both class and national oppression. The capitalists exploit all workers, but they are able to pay national minority workers even less. While other steel plants make as much as \$7.00 an hour, most Major Safe workers make under \$4.00 an hour. At one plant rally a Western Yarn worker said: "You see that fat capitalist over there," pointing to the rather plump company president, "he gets fat off our labor. Our labor makes him profit and the only way to stop the exploitation by fat capitalists is to get rid of them." Much to the embarrassment of the company president, the workers burst out in applause.

## Workers Strike at Major Safe

The bureaucrats have made a show of supporting the strike, talking militantly at union meetings. But Rito Valencia, USW International Representative showed his true colors when on his own he removed from negotiations one of the strikers demands for commitment to decide whether a grievance goes to arbitration.

Local business rep Litke has done little better. He's showed up on the picket line once and then it was to bring down portable toilets.

The workers are learning that these men are indeed Business Representatives--they represent the interests of the capitalists within our ranks. Bribed by imperialism with fat salaries and political privileges, they will make every effort to hold back the strikers politically and economically.

The workers at Major Safe have a long history of struggle. Their militant activities are well known to the Chicano national movement and workers movements in L.A. Class conscious workers and communists helped bring in a union for the first time in 1972. Since then, workers have had wildcat strikes in support of militant unionists and communists. Some Major Safe workers are beginning to realize that only socialist revolution will eliminate the exploitation of all workers and the oppression of national minorities.

In the course of this struggle, the Major

Safe workers will learn to fight not only for their own immediate demands, but for the political demands of the entire working class.

Major Safe workers need your support. If you live in the L.A. area, come to the picket lines weekdays from 6AM-6PM. The plant is located on 3600 E. Olympic Blvd., Los Angeles. Contributions can be sent to: Major Safe Strike Committee, PO Box 54927, L.A., Calif. If you are interested in a speaker for your union, community or student group, contact the strike committee by visiting the picket line.



## W. Yarn

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large percentage of the workers were undocumented. Many undocumented workers did not take an active part in the strike nor were they willing to stop scabs for fear of arrest and deportation. Instead of carrying out political education among the undocumented workers and making necessary preparations to protect their physical safety, we objectively approached the strike as if all the strikers were citizens.

The picket line reflected the overall weakness of the strike. The line was badly organized. It lacked discipline and militancy and thus failed to keep out the scabs. Worse still, not all of the approximately 160 strikers actively took part in picketing or other strike activities. At the height, the strike involved 55-60 workers with an even smaller number on the picket line. This reflected a lack of proper organization of the strike. It also reflected a failure to consolidate the strikers around the political issues involved in the strike. There was an overestimation on our part as to how much the masses of workers understood the political demands -- i.e., equality of languages and equal rights for women.

The lesson we've drawn from the strike is that before taking an action of this type where complete reliance on one's own strength is the key to victory we must do a deep going investigation of the level of political and organizational preparedness of the rank and file. (Remember in this strike there was no strike fund, no sanction from the Teamster truck drivers local, nothing -- but the power of the striking workers.) Looking back, we should have urged the workers to delay their strike in order to consolidate the masses of workers politically and organizationally around the need for a strike. We stress that the question of an official Teamster strike sanction doesn't have any bearing on choosing whether to strike or not. For us the decisive question was whether the workers were prepared.

Despite the fact that one of our major demands was equal rights for women, we did not correctly carry out ATM's line on the woman question. We failed to consistently link the partial demands for equal wages and an end to company harassment with the basic demand for full equality. We did not consistently show that woman's oppression stems from imperialism and that under socialism women will gain true equality. In our day-to-day work we did not see the importance of child care for all meetings, nor did we consistently combat the male supremacist attitudes of some men strikers. For example, we said nothing when men whistled at a woman strike leader during the elections for the strike committee. We did take some steps to correct these errors. ATM agitational and propaganda did begin to regularly raise the woman question and by the end of the strike we helped promote women to leadership in the strike committee.

### ORGANIZED RETREAT

Midway through the strike, the weaknesses became apparent to everyone. All attempts to turn the situation around were unsuccessful. We then developed a plan for an orderly retreat. The political objectives of the retreat were to have all the workers return to the plant with discipline and unity. We hoped to

have as few workers fired as possible. We hoped to rebuild the momentum once again, and continue the class struggle in other forms. At this writing it is unclear how successful the retreat was. The company is gradually laying off the scabs and rehiring the strikers -- although many strike activists will never get their jobs back. In a future article we will return to this question of retreat and deepen our analysis.

### OPPORTUNISM OF THE WORKERS CONGRESS (M-L)

It is easy to talk like a communist, it is another thing to act like one. We will examine the stands of the Workers Congress (M-L) in this strike and we urge comrades to draw their own conclusions as to whether the WC deserves the title communist.

First, they voted against the strike because it was "illegal", i.e., not sanctioned by the Teamsters. In fact, the workers were without a contract for three months and therefore not tied down by any legally binding contract clauses. The strike was not a wildcat. The WC, however, raised this question as a smokescreen to cover up the fact that they wanted workers to rely on the Teamster bureaucrats for leadership. The WC will hotly deny this in print and scream that we are distorting their position, but facts are facts. Besides there were 50 workers in the meeting where they voted against the strike on the grounds that it was an illegal strike.

Secondly, one would expect that a communist once losing in a democratic vote, would unite with the majority and go all out to win the strike. In fact, from the first day, the WC attempted to demoralize the strikers and lead a back-to-work movement. They gave no hint to the workers that they were communists -- they did no communist agitation or propaganda. They consistently put forward the view that only the trade union bureaucrats could help us win the strike. This position demoralized a number of workers even further since they saw no union support.

Thirdly, one of their more outrageous positions was that the police can "be tactically used" in the interest of strikers! This position came out when Richardson's Security guards assaulted a woman worker. Some workers called the police and the cops promptly arrested the woman's husband for threatening the life of the security guard. We pointed out that the police sided with the interest of the capitalists by defending their private goons. To our amazement WC consistently tailed behind the views of a number of workers who out of naivness believed the police were "their friends". The WC went so far as to openly say they would call the police if the workers continued to get harassed. In these situations communists must struggle to expose the police and advocate self-defense, not reliance on the state.

Finally, we must repeat that WC as an organization did not lift a finger to help this strike towards victory. They carried out no independent agitation or propaganda, organized no support for the picket lines, did no outside support work, etc. By their actions, the WC was politically isolated by the end of the strike. They were never able to win a majority for their positions at any mass meeting. The WC seeks to build a M-L party of the new type. We must ask just what kind of party will this be based on the opportunist practice of WC?

### THE TASKS AHEAD

Class struggle takes many forms. The Western Yarns workers are laying plans now to continue work inside the plant, continue the struggles to get food stamps and unemployment denied them during the strike.

During the strike the advanced workers developed as agitators and propagandists, in turn they are attempting to bring forward new workers to the study and practice of Marxism-Leninism. We have all learned important lessons in the struggle for socialism and to build a new communist party. The development of political line as the key link in this period takes place not only on paper, but in the heat of giving communist leadership to mass struggles. For instance, ATM(M-L) consciously applied its political line in this struggle, i.e., working with the advanced, fighting for democratic demands, linking these demands to socialism and party building. By testing our line in practice, we saw its strengths and weaknesses. Without communist participation in the struggles of the working class there can be no verification of the strengths and weaknesses of our political and organizational work. For that reason, the lessons of Western Yarns must be clearly grasped by all.

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# OPENING STATEMENT TO THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE AUGUST 29TH MOVEMENT (M-L)

The following are excerpts from the opening address of the historic Second Congress of the August 29th Movement (M-L). This Congress was held in the summer.

Since the time of our historic Unity Congress much change has occurred in the world. The crisis which we pointed to in our documents has intensified to an unprecedented degree resulting in tremendous unemployment and mass suffering, comparable only to the "Great Depression" of the 1930's. By the capitalists own admission millions of workers remain jobless in spite of all their chatter about "recovery". However the working class has not taken this situation lying down. The use of the strike as the principal means of workers struggle is on the rise -- witness the recent San Francisco City workers strike, the Teamsters strike, the Rubber Workers Strike, and the inspirational strike and struggle of the BFI workers. Let us applaud their determination and their will to win!

The only "recovery" that we have witnessed in the past two years is the "recovery" of the capitalists blood money -- their profits. For instance, General Motors has had a profit increase of 1200% this year. Meanwhile more than 27% of U.S. industrial plant capacity sits idle -- not because people have enough to satisfy their basic wants, but because to open these plants to production, to provide jobs for the unemployed would cut into capitalist profits -- such is the contradiction of capitalism which makes its overthrow inevitable and necessary!

The present crisis finds the capitalists in a mad scramble to protect their markets and spheres of influence. The current international situation has undergone some very important changes since our last Congress. While the revolutionary struggle against imperialism remains the main trend, the contention between the two superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, has heightened to a dangerous degree making a world war between them highly probable.

Since 1974 the USSR, because of its aggressiveness and militaristic and fascist government has become the MAIN danger to world peace. In the face of all of this we must get prepared. It is no longer sufficient to merely talk about the war danger, we must begin now to warn and mobilize the masses against this danger. Especially must we intensify our efforts to build our new revolutionary Bolshevik Party in close conjunction with our efforts to rouse the masses against imperialist war preparations.

Comrades, let us rejoice! Since our last Congress the heroic peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos have lifted the mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism off of their backs. THEIR VICTORIES BELONG TO US ALL!



We have more reasons to rejoice. In Peoples China the masses, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China under the wise guidance of (the late) Chairman Mao, have rooted out and exposed the capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping, brought his reactionary and revisionist line out into the light of day and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. Let us applaud this wonderful victory of the Chinese people, of the Chinese Communist Party, and of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

In Albania the working masses are celebrating their development as the PEOPLES SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA. They have overcome capitalist and revisionist encirclement and blockade to build a thriving socialist land. LET US APPLAUD THE VALIANT ALBANIAN PEOPLE, and the Marxist-Leninist Party of Labor of Albania under the firm and correct leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Since our Congress last convened the fascist forces in this country have continued to grow. THE DANGER OF FASCISM HAS INCREASED! As the capitalists witness their own death they be-

come desperate to survive. Realizing that the stormy decade of the 60's provided just a taste of what is to come, they are getting prepared. Let us have no illusions comrades. Communists will be the first and hardest hit by the fascist onslaught. Therefore we must be prepared. Since the movements of the oppressed nationalities for their rights have historically dealt the sharpest blows to imperialism, the capitalists make special efforts to contain and suppress those struggles. The wanton killing of oppressed nationalities has undergone a serious increase in scope and breadth since our last Congress. ALL COMMUNISTS MUST TAKE UP THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE INCREASING REPRESSION



OF THE OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES. Refusal to do so exposes as hypocrites all those who call themselves "revolutionaries" and "Communists"! In May 1974 we laid out that the central task of all Marxist-Leninists in the U.S. was to struggle to build a new anti-revisionist communist party. What has been the progress of this struggle since that time?

First of all we were forced to undertake this task because the once proud revolutionary Party -- the Communist Party of the USA has been taken over by the revisionists who accepted the revisionist road charted by the CPUSA, applying to U.S. conditions the revisionist strategy and tactics all under the guise of "creative Marxism". Our experience, and the experience of other comrades, in the trade union movements in the last two years brings home the urgency of exposing revisionism. The CPUSA is not isolated or "dead". They are very much alive and spreading their poison among the masses. WE CAN HAVE NO REVOLUTION WITHOUT THE COMPLETE IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL DEFEAT OF THE CPUSA! Nor can we have a party worthy of the title of Bolshevik unless we carry out a consistent and ruthless campaign of exposure and struggle against these social-scum!

Within the ranks of the anti-revisionist movement, there have been various attempts to build the new Party. Unfortunately it has been the opportunists who have led these vain attempts. It is important to examine these efforts and to draw the correct lessons from them.

In September of 1974 the Communist League changed its name to the Communist Labor Party. Proceeding from the standpoint of Trotskyism, they failed to unite the honest forces of our movement. The lesson to be learned? A party can be forged only through principled ideological and political struggle and the forging of unity on the political line -- WHICH UNITY IS TESTED IN PRACTICE OVER A PROTRACTED PERIOD OF TIME! The building of the party is a long and involved and often tortuous process, just as revolution is a difficult and protracted struggle -- our party will be firm only if Marxist-Leninists forge their unity in the heat of mass struggle, as well as in the ideological struggle with opportunism.

The second opportunist attempt to build an anti-revisionist party was that of the Revolutionary Union. We warned the movement back in 1974 about the danger posed by the RU. True to what we said the RU eventually formed their party based on a line of economism and disgusting national chauvinism. The lessons? We must wage a resolute fight against all manifestations of economism and chauvinism lest we too degenerate into the same swamp as the RCP who now carry on their class struggle by collaborating with city councilmen and district attorneys, (their practice in the BFI strike). Furthermore we must never belittle the role of Marxist-Leninist theory in the manner of the RCP. Theory is as important to us as the air

we breathe and the food we eat.

Over the past couple of years the October League has gone from a secondary danger in the anti-revisionist movement into the principal danger. Growing in strength and influence they have developed an extensive apparatus for disseminating their opportunist political line and for organizing around it. This fall they will declare themselves the "party". They too, will have failed to unite with any national groups -- forging their unity with a few collectives and individuals instead. And they will base this unity on reformism and trade unionism and chauvinism. Comrades, we waited much too long to expose these social-chauvinists. Ignoring the demands of our cadre and comrades we helped the OL escape a searching analysis until much too late in the game. We must rectify our error through intensified theoretical and practical struggle against them in the mass movements and in the communist movement.

Comrades, in the last two years we have made many errors in our party building efforts. What we failed to recognize was that this was going to be a long and difficult struggle. We became impetuous and wanted to build a party without the requisite process of forging solid unity tested in political practice over an extended period of time. How else are we to test words and deeds, line and practice? There is no other way. We must strive to lead the communist movement in the development of the party.

What this means is that we must do the following:

1. Develop a plan for party building
2. Develop a systematic training plan for our cadre
3. Expand our mass work
4. Expand the distribution of our newspaper
6. Intensify the struggle with opportunism -- particularly the October League and the CPUSA
7. Develop and lay out clearly our line on the most important political questions, along with summations of how we carry it out in practice

The movement places many responsibilities before this Congress. LET US BE BOLD IN FACING THEM, BOLD IN SHOULDERING THEM AND BOLD IN CARRYING THEM OUT! COMRADES -- ONWARD TO THE PARTY!



## PRRWO - RWL

CONTINUED FROM P. 3

Party building, for example, is NOT merely a theoretical question anymore and the polemics in the communist movement prove this. It is also a practical question that demands a real grasp of the complexity and all-sidedness of our central task and THIS is what our movement is addressing itself to.

PRRWO-RWL were well aware of the areas of study in section b but decided to substitute Trotskyite methods of distortion and lies for Bolshevism, by purposely leaving this out of their "polemic".

### ON PARTY BUILDING

On page 10 of Palante #7 PRRWO-RWL again quotes us out of context. "The initial roots of our errors can be traced back to our Unity Congress, which failed to clearly define the tasks facing us -- instead saying that all of our tasks must be put into the context of party building -- rather than saying that party building had to be put into the context of solving the questions put in front of the communists by the mass movement" (ATM internal paper).

PRRWO then deletes the next sentence. "This error was to lead later to more fundamental problems in regard to carrying out our tasks of uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning over the advanced, as well as in our approach to study, the struggle against opportunism, etc." (ibid.) So ATM was hardly putting forward any "build the mass movement" line as PRRWO would have people believe. Again they act with the honesty of revisionists and Trotskyites.

CONTINUED ON P. 8



"COMRADES, AS YOU KNOW, CADRE RECEIVE THEIR BEST TRAINING IN THE PROCESS OF STRUGGLE, IN SURMOUNTING DIFFICULTIES AND WITHSTANDING TESTS, IN STUDYING FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE EXAMPLES OF CONDUCT. WE HAVE HUNDREDS OF EXAMPLES OF SPLENDID CONDUCT IN TIMES OF STRIKES, DURING DEMONSTRATIONS, IN JAIL, IN COURT SUCH WORTHY EXAMPLES OF PROLETARIAN HEROISM MUST BE POPULARIZED, MUST BE CONTRASTED WITH MANIFESTATIONS OF FAINTHEARTEDNESS PHILISTINISM, AND EVERY KIND OF ROT AND FRAILITY IN OUR RANKS AND THE RANKS OF THE WORKING CLASS."

-Georgi Dimitroff-

# COMMUNISTS IN COURT

## THE ROLE OF THE O.L. AND THE R.C.P.

Recently 25 persons were arrested during a mass confrontation with cops in a small town in Southern California. The demonstration was held in support of a local strike which has been going on for about 7 months. Various misdemeanor charges were filed against those arrested, and after several weeks of mass pressure, both inside and outside the courtroom -- the state was forced to drop all of the charges. This article concerns some incidents which occurred during the course of the courtroom proceedings.

The trial of the 25 persons arrested at the demonstration was scheduled for the end of July, after several hearings had been held. Before dropping the charges completely the prosecutor (with the encouragement of the presiding judge) had offered to drop the charges on all or most of the defendants if the latter would agree to not bring charges against the cops. This offer was refused. An "independent investigation" into the demonstration and arrests instigated by the local City Council was met with mass protest and a boycott of its proceedings. On Saturday, July 3rd the striking workers lead another mass picket that forced the company to hide its trucks from the

**"Your Honor, my client supports the district attorney's motion for severance as he has philosophical differences with some of the defendants"**

-Attorney for RCP member -

strikers. Workers in uniform attended the courtroom proceedings from beginning to end. The mass pressure and the actions of the workers struck fear into the state and they were finally forced to release all of the defendants without charges.

### TWO VIEWS OF THE STATE!

Among those arrested or who participated in the case were members of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), and the August Twenty-Ninth Movement (ATM), and a person admittedly "close to" the line of the October League (OL) (Whether or not the person is actually a member of the October League is not the most important question. The important issue is the influence of OL's line!) Right from the start, the lines of demarcation were drawn over the approach we should take to the court. These different approaches actually represent fundamental differences over the attitude of revolutionaries towards the state. Specifically, whether we in practice view the state as an organ of class rule or as a mediator between classes -- as something to be relied upon.

The RCP and the OL claim to be for the armed overthrow of the state. And of course, it is relatively easy for them to talk of armed overthrow when it is not an immediate question. But the task of communists at this time is to train the masses as to the class nature of the state, HOW it is to be confronted and combated. It is THIS training which helps to prepare them for the ACTUAL overthrow of the state.

But the conduct of the RCP and OL in this case has been directly opposite of what they WRITE in their newspapers and programs. A hint of what the RCP would do later can be found in the solemn statement made by their cadre early in the defendants meetings, that the state (talking about the CAPITALIST state) has a "dual nature", and that it is sometimes progressive (!) to use it. What this meant in practice was for the RCP to strike a cozy bargain with the state by severing his case from that of the other defendants. The prosecutor himself announced in court that he was being joined in a motion to sever by the defendant (from RCP), who had "philosophical differences" (we'll say!) with some of the other defendants (that is, with the revolutionaries), and who didn't like the way some of the other defendants (the revolutionaries) were conducting themselves in court. This shameful and disgusting cowardice from a member of "the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat", as the RCP likes to call itself!

And our "friend of the people" from the October League protested against the "speech-making" by the communists and revolutionaries in court. These comrades acted EXACTLY as communists are supposed to act in court -- to use it as a forum from which to expose the rottenness of capitalism and its state -- including its courts. Later this "comrade" of the OL confessed that maybe his protest was a "petty-bourgeois hang-up about respect for the court". This phoney self-criticism was more induced by the outrage of the other defendants at the action of the RCP, than by any honest motivation to seek the roots of his error, (typical, we might add, of the entire history of the October League). This "comrade" finally admitted that the RCP should be "severely criticised", and that, in fact, the proper conduct of the revolutionaries helped to strengthen the defense. ATM and other revolutionaries startled our OL "comrade" (and the pitiful cadre from the RCP) by pointing out that the latter's act amounted to nothing less than treason to the cause of revolution, and among the masses one never gets away with such actions a second

**"Court is not a place for speechmaking or airing your political views. It might alienate the judge"**

- Attorney "close" to the OL-

time. Naturally, to the petty-bourgeois pacifists from the RCP and OL, unused to and unprepared for any of the violent aspects of revolutionary struggle, such truisms are hard to swallow.

Struggle later developed over whether we should rely on our own resources, or to work with state-appointed public defenders. The OL said, (and this from the organization which brags weekly about the "vanguard revolutionary (!) party" they are building) that we should "use" the public defenders and rely on the judge to cancel them out and appoint in their place "liberal" or "radical" (OL we presume) lawyers. And, of course, we would really "burn" the state by having it pay large sums of money for "good" defense lawyers. (Coincidentally, the OL "comrade" just happened to be

an attorney.)

ATM and the other revolutionaries fought tooth and nail against this scheme of relying on the state, but was unfortunately not able to win over all of the defendants away from this line.

And the happy result of this "grand strategy"

- 1) Naturally, the judge did not appoint the lawyers the OL expected him to,
- 2) Several defendants were stuck with public defenders,
- 3) These public defenders consistently OPPOSED all those who defended themselves in court, (the communists and other revolutionaries),
- 4) The OL "comrade" was appointed by the judge and therefore declared that "his plan (i.e., to rely on the state) has worked perfectly"

And of course, the plan did "work perfectly" from the standpoint of the OL -- that is, the standpoint of reformism and opportunism (which this time even managed to put a few bucks in

**Judge: "How do you plead? Guilty or not guilty?"**  
**ATM member: "The police and the company are the guilty ones! They are the ones who should be here! The police are but tools of the rich used to separate strikers from supporters-----"(cut by judge)**

their pockets) Rather than utilizing EVERY OPPORTUNITY to expose the capitalist state, both the OL and the RCP, BY THEIR ACTIONS, tried to create illusions about it, preached reliance on it. And this is not surprising, especially for the OL, which wanted Federal troops to "protect" the Black masses of Boston, and which tells the masses of oppressed women to "fight" for the E.R.A. by going to court! (This was exactly their practice with the women laid-off in 1974 at the General Motors plant in Fremont, California.)

### CONCLUSION

It is the task of all communists brought before the capitalist courts for political reasons to use those forums to lay out clearly their communist convictions and to expose to the masses the nature of the bourgeois state. Our comrades involved in this trial upheld their duty with honor. We have shown how the OL and RCP behaved in the same situation. In fact, when the RCP's treachery was exposed they completely stopped attending the defendants meetings, (more out of chauvinism than shame we would suppose). The October League, while printing articles about the strike and the mass actions which resulted in the arrests, has not issued a single piece of propaganda or agitation to the strikers or their supporters during the entire strike, (maybe they want the strikers to "read all about it in the CALL") Their articles "neglect" to mention that they opposed the mass action which resulted in the arrests because "that is no way to stop production", (after all we can always get a court injunction). In any case we think that these simple facts clearly reveal who acted like revolutionaries, like communists, and who acted like the opportunists they are.



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# LETTER FROM THE CHICANO NATION

## Introduction

The Revolutionary Cause received this letter from a correspondent in El Paso, Texas. This letter, from the heartland of the oppressed Chicano nation, details a rally against police repression held on August 29th. Hundreds of people from all over Texas and other parts of the Chicano nation and outside the Southwest gathered to express their support for "Los Tres de El Paso", three Chicano revolutionaries being railroaded into jail by the capitalist state. The letter shines the light of truth on this glaring example of national oppression. These outrages only serve to stroke higher the fiery discontent of the Chicano masses who are pushing forward their struggle for self-determination. The rally revealed the growing socialist awareness among the Chicano activists and brings out in bold relief the need for intensified work by communists in this area to guarantee that this national movement is brought into firm alliance with the working class movement in the struggle for socialism.

The correspondent also points out the opportunist role played by the October League, as well as the weaknesses in the leadership of ATM, i.e., its failure to do consistent work in the Chicano national movement, and its failure to raise the basic demands of that movement (state unity, confiscation of the land and natural resources of the bourgeoisie, self-determination) in connection with the call for socialist revolution made in our speech at the rally.

We must also criticize ourselves for our sectarianism, our earlier failure to support Los Tres because we dismissed them as "terrorists". They are revolutionaries and it was our duty to support them.

We must emphatically express our disagreement with the comrade's assessment of cultural nationalism, which he says has a progressive aspect. We see two aspects to the bourgeois ideology of nationalism -- a reactionary narrow nationalist aspect, and a progressive revolutionary nationalist aspect. We must, however, always make a distinction in our work between the opportunist cultural nationalist leaders, whom we must expose, and those honest people who are temporarily under their influence and whom we must try and win over. (Some members of ATM were formerly revolutionary nationalists, NOT cultural nationalists.)

Lastly, although we support the right of political secession for the Chicano nation, as put forward by Chicanos Unidos, we do not advocate secession under present circumstances. Letter

"What remains the same is the basis of the revolutionary national movement -- the severe national oppression of the Chicano people, the denial of their basic democratic rights. Like the '60's, the movement will again involve every oppressed class and strata of the Chicano people -- the workers, the campesinos, the students, the intellectuals, the youth, the women, etc. What will make this movement different will be its even broader scope and depth." (ATM- Resolution on the Chicano National Question)

On August 29th, 1976 nearly 600 Chicanos gathered in El Paso to support three Chicano activists (Freddie Espinoza, Ramon Arroyos and Ruben Ogaz) being falsely charged with the firebombing of a downtown department store. They are members of Chicanos Unidos a revolutionary nationalist organization which has for the past six years struggled for the democratic rights of Chicanos in El Paso, and has often agitated around the question of secession for the Chicano nation.

Los Tres' leadership has brought about many reforms in El Paso such as the building of recreation facilities in their community, an emergency health clinic, progressive programs on local TV exposing police brutality, etc. Three years ago Chicanos Unidos led a high school walkout in protest against racism and the lack of Chicano studies programs. While doing this work, they have consistently agitated that the "final solution" to the Chicano's problems is to secede and form a nation of their own. But in a recent article in an El Paso revolutionary newspaper (El Mestizo) they called for "the dictatorship of the working class" as long as Chicanos have the right to form their own nation-state. This position, by the way, has caused the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party to withdraw active support for their case. The CLP has even agitated among the Farah workers against Los Tres saying that although they should be supported, the workers shouldn't work with them "because they are not from the working class but lumpen-proletariat." This is a sheer lie! Chicanos Unidos primarily is made up of working class youth. They do not take hostile attitudes toward Marxist-Leninists, but

they fight tooth and nail against racist, phoney "communist" organizations. In the past months they have aided the Farah workers in exposing the opportunism of the RCP through the Mestizo.

## THE CASE

It was a late Friday night (August 6, 1975) Los Tres were driving through the freeway when they were stopped by police as they were coming off an exit. After searching their car, the police found copies of El Mestizo. One cop "identified" their car as the one he saw leaving the scene of a firebombing in a downtown area. They were arrested and charged with arson. The evidence? Police claim that the firebomb wick used were pages from the Mestizo and one cop had seen the car in the area of the bombing.

With that "proof" they were charged with arson and held on a \$10,000 bond each. Before being released they were subjected to harassment over the weekend while being detained.

This is not the first time the Chicanos Unidos face repression. In 1973, the police went to Alfredo Espinoza's house. Upon coming out, they put a gun to his head and made him watch as they beat up his comrade, Joe Rey, also of Chicanos Unidos.



WHY LOS TRES?

The case of Los Tres de El Paso is not an isolated instance but rather part of the trend of the bourgeoisie to strengthen the state in order to shift the burden of the economic and political crisis on the backs of the working class and especially on the oppressed nationalities.

The oppressed nationalities are facing the brunt of the crisis as well as the fascist moves of the state. The case of Los Tres de El Paso is one of national oppression manifested in police repression.

El Paso, being in the heart of the Chicano nation, faces increased national oppression. The capitalists have moved to shift the present crisis on the people's backs. As a result El Paso, with a proletariat that is 90% Chicano, has an official unemployment rate of 11%!

## A MOVEMENT A RE-SURGENCY

A revolutionary precept is "where there is oppression there is resistance." The growing national oppression in El Paso and all over the Chicano nation has produced a re-surgency of the national movement.

In El Paso, in January, the police murdered 19 year old Fernando Campos. This youth's only "crime" was being Chicano. He was "confused" for a robber at a local Pizza Hut. Although there were anglos there, none of them were "confused" (The robber, although unseen by police, had to be Chicano (?)).

This murder was challenged by the community with a march and demonstration, the first in months in El Paso. 200 attended.

Then, in July, the Farah workers called on the people to march and rally in support of their struggle to stop the layoffs at Farah which were being used to break their union. 80 people were being fired a day -- among them the union's stronger rank and file fighters. 200 workers, students and community people responded.

On August 29, La Causa Legal Defense called upon the Chicano people to rally support. They came nearly 600 strong from El Paso, San Antonio, Austin, Lubbock, Albuquerque, Los Angeles, Denver and all over the Chicano Nation.

At each of these mass events, the spirit of the national movement was high and its perspective wider. Chants of Raza Si, Gringo No! were replaced with Raza Si, Rico No! Speaker after speaker at the rally for Los Tres, as well as the other rallies, challenged the system as being one where the state serves the capitalist class. The national question was raised as a challenge to imperialism. Many speakers openly called for socialist revolution as the only real solution.

The response of the masses? Not one of rejection or antagonisms but of sincere interest, many applauding verbal attacks at capitalism, most cheering at the call for national liberation.

However, this only shows that the objective conditions in the Chicano national movement are favorable to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism not that the national movement has picked it up. But there is still great apprehension among Chicano activists towards Marxism-Leninism due largely to the opportunist work of the CPUSA, RCP, CLP and OL. Also, there is a die-hard section of cultural nationalists who strongly fight against communism. These forces spoke at the rally for Los Tres and, although they received very little favorable response, they did not receive a negative one which shows that these people add to the apprehension of the masses toward socialism.

## FORCES AT THE RALLY

The forces at the rally can be characterized as 1) the progressive-nationalists 2) the cultural-nationalists 3) sham Marxist-Leninists 4) genuine Marxist-Leninists, with the revolutionary and cultural nationalists being in leadership while the sham and genuine were tailing.

It should be pointed out that being a cultural nationalist does not necessarily mean that someone is not progressive. Cultural nationalism can be seen in two aspects: 1) a level of political development (many ATM members were once cultural nationalists), 2) a cover for opportunism (liquidating concrete political struggle with idealism). There are many cultural nationalists that must be won over and it would be a fatal mistake to fail to distinguish between their leaders and the rank and file.

## THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT

Two questions were the main topic of almost every speaker: 1) the national question, 2) the question of the state. Raising these questions showed two things: 1) the high level of political consciousness of the Chicano activists, 2) their need for Marxist-Leninist theoretical guidance on this question. For although these questions were raised (all recognizing the Chicano as an oppressed nation and the state as a servant of the imperialists) they did not put forth revolutionary demands, i.e. armed self-defense, peoples' control of police, expropriation of land and resources, etc.

## "O L SHAM SUPPORT"

The October League spoke and did agitation and propaganda at the rally. The OL elements were young and apparently sincere (about making socialist revolution). They were confronted by other M-L and nationalist forces. They

CONTINUED ON P.10

## FAN THE FLAMES!!

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY POSITION ON THE CHICANO NATIONAL QUESTION!



AFTER DECADES OF OPPORTUNISM ON THIS MOST VITAL OF QUESTIONS, A MARXIST-LENINIST POSITION HAS FINALLY BEEN DEVELOPED! THIS PAMPHLET PROVIDES A CLEAR ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT OF AN OPPRESSED CHICANO NATION AND EXPLAINS CLEARLY WHY IT IS THE DUTY OF COMMUNISTS TO UPHOLD THE RIGHT OF THAT NATION TO SELF-DETERMINATION -- ITS RIGHT TO POLITICAL SECESSION!

BY THE AUGUST 29th MOVEMENT (M-L)

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# PRRWO - RWL

CONTINUED FROM P.5

But lets go back again to our position of "solving the questions put in front of communists by the mass movement." We referred briefly to the meaning and importance of this above but we would like to explore it a little further. This position can be interpreted either in a mechanical way (which is the only way that PRRWO and RWL can interpret anything), or as Marxist-Leninists.

Mechanically this would mean limiting the struggle to those questions or demands arising SPONTANEOUSLY from the mass movement, i.e. higher wages, bilingual education, jobs, etc This is how PRRWO-RWL interpret it

Communists don't view it this way The communist movement can be united solely on the basis of line as TESTED IN PRACTICE. Without this revolutionary practice, there is no (real) basis for unity. This calls for giving communist leadership, a planned conscious character to the spontaneous struggles of the masses in the U S Today when the building of a new Marxist-Leninist party is our central task, this question of fusing the workers' and communist movements assumes paramount importance

The mass movements spontaneously raise demands of the type we enumerated above, our task is to link every manifestation of exploitation and oppression to the struggle for socialist revolution, to take up these demands and lead these struggles towards socialist revolution, to develop the forms of propaganda and agitation and organization necessary to give these struggles a consistently revolutionary direction. Without our ability to learn to do this, (and we must unite on the basis of our ability to do this)--there will be no party.

When we say that "party building had to be put into the context of solving the questions put in front of communists by the mass movement we mean that we must build that party, its program, tactics and organization, by correctly analyzing current historical conditions, testing our views in the actual struggle, training cadres to change those conditions, and building an organization along illegal revolutionary lines so that it is capable of operating under all conditions of struggle

## TWO TACTICAL TASKS

In REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE #1 we laid out two tactical tasks to party building, and that of the two, "Marxist-Leninists Unite" and "Win over the Advanced", the former was necessarily our primary one

This was a "left" sectarian error on our part. In practice it lead to focusing our work almost exclusively to work with other communists on the basis of struggling for unity on line (in the general sense) without concerning ourselves about the question of common work, i.e. revolutionary practice Although we were proceeding from an honest desire for the unity of Marxist-Leninists, this "left" position worked against us and our movement

Like it or not, it inevitably led us (and will lead others) to detach the question of Marxist-Leninist unity from the question of winning over the advanced in mass struggle, of the training of the advanced in an all-sided way, of training ones own cadres for this work

We have discussed this question with the League for Proletarian Revolution and we see them repeating some of our same mistakes It seems that much of their cadre training revolves around teaching them to polemicize

Their cadres are sharp -- up on the political line of the different organizations They are good in polemical struggle. But these same cadres are extremely hard put to sum-up their mass work, and seem little trained for this work. LPR can sum-up a forum the day following its occurrence, but has not been able to thoroughly sum-up their mass work for over 6 months

Party cadres will never be trained in this way. We think that LPR's emphasis on this type of training, flows from their line that Marxist-Leninists Unite is the primary task of party building, and that everything must be seen in the context of party building

We believe that, unchecked, this will lead them to a completely one-sided emphasis on forums, polemics and study at the expense of all-sided cadre training in the course of the economic and political struggle The narrowness will inevitably show itself in a narrow and subjective development of political line Our view is that the two tactical tasks must be seen as equally essential to our purpose They must be carried out simultaneously and interconnectedly.

## BRIBERY AND PRIVILEGES

On page 13 of PALANTE #7, PRRWO again quotes from an internal document on bribery and privileges within the working class Although this was an early attempt by ATM to deal with this question PRRWO never criticised it until now

The section they print in PALANTE is still basically correct. PRRWO - RWL seemingly can make no distinction between the question of the bribery of a "few" (social props), the labor aristocracy, and the system of privileges es-

tablished by US imperialism.

We do NOT hold that there is a broad sector of the proletariat that is bribed But we maintain that the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations must not be blurred over

To do so is to liquidate both the national question and the task of placing before the class the principled basis of unity of all nationalities The workers of the oppressor nation are not bribed but they do enjoy political and social (as well as often times economic) privileges not accorded to oppressed nationality workers. This can be the right to speak their native tongue, English, whereas in the Southwest Chicanos cannot speak their own Spanish language

It may take the form of freedom of discriminatory hiring practices, etc. Remember comrades, that only recently, in the last decade, Black Americans were still struggling just to cast a simple vote at the polls So privilege objectively exists

This is an inherent characteristic of imperialist oppression What we must do is show ALL workers their common class interest in destroying any and all systems of privilege We cannot do this by pretending such a system does not exist, (a fact which every class conscious oppressed nationality worker would find very interesting), but rather by breaking it down by struggling for such things as preferential hiring, preferential promotion, equality of language and training, etc.

## AGAIN ON PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION

The first mistake of PRRWO and RWL is that



The Communist Movement can be united solely on the basis of line as TESTED IN PRACTICE. Without this revolutionary practice, there is no (real) basis for unity. This calls for giving communist leadership, a planned conscious character to the spontaneous struggles of the masses in the United States Today when the building of a new Marxist-Leninist party is our central task, this question of fusing the workers' and communist movements assumes paramount importance.

of belittling the role of political agitation. As we said in part I, Lenin never said that agitation and economism were the same thing He said that a failure to have communist political content made EITHER propaganda or agitation economist Lenin never directed the movement to do either propaganda or agitation first, or in stages.

As the comrades from the League for Proletarian Revolution have pointed out (c f , RESISTENCIA, vol 7, #6), that is determined by an examination of the concrete conditions, and not by formula In fact, far from belittling agitation as economist, Lenin devotes all of chapter three of WHAT IS TO BE DONE to the struggle to broaden and deepen its scope, to make it "all-sided", "all encompassing"

But PRRWO - RWL, the great defenders of "the fundamentals" would not know this, they study a very narrow spectrum of Marxist-Leninist works, and those divorced from class struggle Therefore they understand nothing of what they read Here is what Lenin says

"A basic condition for the necessary expansion of political agitation is the organization of COMPREHENSIVE political exposures IN NO WAY except by means of such exposures CAN the masses be trained in political consciousness and political activity In order to become a Social-Democrat, the worker must have a clear picture in his mind of the economic nature and the social and political features of the landlord and the priest, the high state official and the peasant the student and the vagabond he must understand what interests are reflected by certain institutions and certain laws and how they are reflected. But this 'clear picture' cannot be obtained from any book. It can be obtained only from living examples and from exposures that follow close upon what is going on about us at a given moment.... These comprehensive political exposures are an essential and fundamental condition for training the masses in revolutionary activity..." (LCW, VOL 5, pp 413-414)

It is easy to see the importance Lenin placed on agitation A "slight" bit of difference, we would say, with the new PRRWO's view of ONLY propaganda, ONLY to the advanced, etc. And again, Lenin wrote this in a pre-party period, which will undoubtedly earn him the scorn of the "wing"

## THE CONCLUSION, BUT NOT THE END

We could not go into every aspect of the PRRWO-RWL "polemic" without dedicating this entire issue of our paper to them. They don't rate it One of our readers summed up the situation concisely and clearly "I have seen the recent PRRWO paper on ATM I believe that the paper and degenerate style of the article exposes PRRWO sufficiently There are some alleged quotes in the article by ATM that need to be explained though, in their full context." Our sentiments exactly

It is only fitting to end this section on PRRWO-RWL with a very fitting quote, it wouldn't seem right any other way.

"Let Trotsky amuse himself by uniting with it in the columns of his 'own' sheet, let the vyper odists and Trotskyists play at being 'powers', 'trends', and contracting parties. This is simply the childish make believe of people who, by uttering pompous phrases, want to conceal the fact that their 'groups' are mere bubbles .. (LCW, vol 20, pp 492-493)

AS to the reasons for the degeneration of the PRRWO, we laid out some of our ideas on this in our last paper, but we must address an extremely important aspect of the question Throughout its history, even at its highest level of Marxist-Leninist development the PRRWO had only weak connections with the industrial proletariat Moreover, the social basis of their organization, as they once explained to us, was of people from families new to the working class in it for only a generation or two.

This meant that while they did have a prole-

tarian origin to much of their membership, less than 10% were in factories - most in professional or semi-professional positions. This, combined with their coming out of a movement of an oppressed nationality provide the fertile social base for "leftism".

We undoubtedly erred in not struggling this question out with PRRWO, of stressing the absolute strategic importance of rooting ourselves in the industrial proletariat, of ensuring that the social composition of our organization is solidly proletarian We did not grasp in time the connection between their history, their social composition, their relative lack of theoretical development and the growing development of the "left" trend in their organization

Their political history was written in the "left" (revolutionary) wing of the Puerto Rican national minority's heroic struggle. They too were part of the often ultra 'left', but still revolutionary part of that movement This, in combination with their social basis of youth, intellectuals, and workers relatively new to the class made for the incomplete assimilation of Marxism-Leninism of certain of its aspects, and in a sense it contributed to the final instability which led to their collapse

## OUR TASKS

What does the split with PRRWO signify? Is it a good thing as PRRWO maintains today? We must answer NO. Throughout the anti-revisionist communist movement the contributions made by PRRWO and ATM (ML) against revisionism and right opportunism were recognized as valuable to the development of that movement and earned us the bitter hatred of the RCP, the OL and other opportunists

While the opportunists feared like the plague our growing unity, many comrades around the country were inspired by our example and our leadership. The split in PRRWO, their consequent turn towards trotskyism, their splitting and wrecking activities were bound to have a temporarily demoralizing effect on many good comrades. But the split holds important lessons for us as well, lessons which will help to make our party as strong as steel

We have learned the bitter and painful lesson of the necessity of the "fight on two fronts" -- against "left" and right opportunism. And, we have learned how easily one incorrect tendency can cover another, as the "left" line

CONTINUED ON P 10

# PROPAGANDA, AGITATION, AND WINNING OVER THE VANGUARD

## RESPONSE TO THE WORKER'S CONGRESS

One of the important questions confronting our movement is that of winning over the advanced workers, and their training as a vanguard -- how this is to be done, and the relationship of these tasks to the mass movement.

First of all, we think that it is important to clarify why it is a necessity to win over the advanced workers. The reason is simply this: the advanced workers have historically determined the character of the working class movement (This is also true for other mass movements, such as the national movements, students, etc.) Therefore, since it is the task of communists to change the world profoundly (i.e., overthrow capitalism, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and begin the construction of socialist society), and since such a task can only be the result of a truly mass struggle, then it only makes sense that the leading organization of such a struggle must be composed of those (the advanced) who can "determine" that the mass movement takes direction of socialist revolution. We will return later in the article to our view of how we go about winning over such elements, and the importance of training them to carry out their historic mission.

In the April issue of the COMMUNIST (the political organ of the Workers Congress), an article entitled "Lenin on Propaganda and Agitation" was printed. Part of this article contained a criticism of ATM for allegedly holding to an economist view of the tasks of communists. The criticism stated:

"Recently comrades from WC (ML) and several comrades from the August Twenty-Ninth Movement (ATM), who we are working with in a factory engaged in some comradely struggle around what in fact should be the character of propaganda and agitation work done by communists. The ATM cadre put forth the line that agitation is for the workers in the plant (meaning only economic agitation) and propaganda is for the 'advanced'. By emphasizing the former, they ignore political agitation and limiting the scope of the latter, they reduce propaganda to only study circles instead of recognizing it as a mechanism for spreading class consciousness in general."

The WC goes on to further criticize ATM for allegedly saying that the working class will not "understand" Marxism-Leninism. Before going into our response we should like to clarify a few small points.

1. The comrades in the factory referred to by WC are not ATM cadre. They are worker contacts that we have in that particular factory. Nevertheless we do take responsibility for what people under our guidance say or do. We have all had previous bitter experiences with OL and the RCP -- where people "close" to their line, are scapegoated when the opportunism of that line becomes clear in the course of practical struggle.

2. It is not correct for WC to make the claim that the struggle they had with our contacts was always comradely -- WC spent much of their time slandering us to other workers in the plant as "right opportunists". When we would confront them with this, hot denials were the order of the day. We have yet to hear a self-criticism from the WC for this unprincipled practice.

Now, on to the criticisms. First, ATM is accused of limiting agitation to only economic agitation. This was never the issue in dispute. The struggle which we had with WC was not over whether communists must first put out economic agitation or political agitation -- but over the political content of communist agitation and propaganda. ATM has never held to the theory of stages (i.e., first the economic struggle must be attended to, and then the political), although we cannot deny that we have, at times, fallen into economist work. But in this case the view put forward by our worker comrades was that the political work of the communists must give revolutionary direction to the workers struggle, and not proclaim to the workers (as did the WC propaganda), that a communist must "do political exposures" among them, so that they can get a "political education" (words of the WC propaganda). The workers did not want to hear about socialism in the abstract (and many of the workers are definitely open to socialism), but they wanted to know concretely how THEIR STRUGGLE can become part of the struggle for socialism. Our task as communists was to give political DIRECTION to the struggle in that factory. So, in other words,

WC, there should be no need to tell the workers you are going to do a political exposure, rather DO A POLITICAL EXPOSURE! In a while we will discuss the actual content of WC's newsletter, but first we must respond to the criticism that we "limit the scope of our propaganda to the advanced". The ATM must accept this criticism.

Until fairly recently, our organization had viewed propaganda work in the narrowest sense -- that is, as strictly illegal work confined to the advanced elements, mostly in a study circle setting. Based upon the experience of our political work, our study, and upon this, as well as other criticisms of our erroneous view, we were able to see the incorrectness of the position published in our article "The Tasks of Communists in the Trade Unions" (Revolutionary Cause #3). "As a result of this political agitation and struggle, the workers will come forward and unite around our views, and in particular the advanced and intermediate workers. With these workers begins the emphasis on the illegal aspect of political work, i.e., propaganda and training."

Comrades, this is WRONG. To view propaganda as only illegal work leads not only to narrowing the scope of propaganda, but also to a type of theory of stages -- first political agitation among the masses of workers, then propaganda to the advanced. This error flowed from a deviation from our line on party building -- i.e., seeing this task in the most restricted sense of study circle work with the advanced workers.

Lenin made very clear that communists have the task of imbuing the workers in the trade unions with the "spirit" of the class struggle and the socialist aims of the proletariat. It is clear that communists cannot accomplish such a task through political agitation alone. While this task requires a myriad of tools for accomplishment, (and its final accomplishment

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"BUT OUR MAIN POINT IS THAT WE MUST NEVER RESTRICT THE SCOPE OF OUR PROPAGANDA TO THE ADVANCED ALONE, RATHER WE MUST BROADEN ITS SCOPE SO THAT THE ADVANCED CAN TRULY CARRY OUT THEIR ROLE AS THE VANGUARD OF THEIR CLASS. THESE TASKS (THE WIDE SPREAD DISSEMINATION OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA AND THE TRAINING OF THE ADVANCED TO CARRY ON THIS DISSEMINATION), ARE CRUCIAL ASPECT OF OUR WORK IN CARRYING OUT THE CENTRAL TASK"

--ATM(M-L)

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must, of course, be based upon the workers' own experience) -- propaganda has a very important role to play in fulfilling our communist obligations.

It is propaganda which explains the inner workings and complexities of capitalism and the class struggle. It reveals to the advanced workers (and to the rest of the class as well), the historical experience of the class struggle. It brings forth the lessons of that experience, and points to the leading role of the proletariat in directing that struggle towards proletarian dictatorship.

A further error in our article is the view which it presents of training. The implication of the article is that the communist fractions deal with the advanced workers only within the sterile confines of the study circle. Nothing could be further from the truth, unless of course we equate training textmongers with training a vanguard. The actual consolidation and training of the advanced workers takes place in the course of struggle, in the APPLICATION of Marxist-Leninist theory, in carrying out the line in practice.

In fact it is precisely our task to train the advanced to organize the class struggle so that they are ABLE to popularize the "socialist aims of the proletariat" among the middle and lower strata workers. This means that we must train the advanced to do widespread propaganda and agitation on a day to day basis around the economic and political questions facing the workers. Lacking this training, all of our talk about party building, building a vanguard, Bolshevikization, etc., etc. amounts to nothing more than the most banal phrasemongering.

### WORKING CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

As we stated earlier, there is no validity to WC's claim that we limit our agitation to strictly economic agitation. This argument is based on the "logic" that, since we narrowed the scope of our propaganda WE MUST therefore also narrow the scope of our agitation to the economic sphere. However, facts being the extremely stubborn things that they are, reveal exactly the opposite of WC's assertions. We will refer to two examples of our political agitation. Both of them concerned the firing of shop stewards, and certain other shop issues. STARTING from these is-

sues our comrades explained to the workers that they were merely manifestations of a deepening capitalist crisis, which itself flowed from the fact that a capitalist CLASS controlled the means of production (not the exact wording) in society. They then laid out to the workers that the ills of their own shop, as well as all the ills of society flowed from capitalism. They then pointed out to the workers that it was only through a united and INTENSIFIED class struggle that they would secure their partial demands, as well as achieving a society which put the means of production into the hands of the working class.

Admittedly, the ideas expressed in our agitation could have been expressed more clearly, and the socialist aims made much more definite, this comes with training -- but we can see that the comrades understood their tasks as communists, and they understood that the ideals of communism must be spread in concrete fashion, utilizing not only our ideas, but also our ability to answer the practical questions of the class. This means mastering the difficult skill of being able to organize the struggle so that our political agitation becomes a part of it -- is not detached from it.

To return to the errors of the WC (at this plant) The WC printed a plant newsletter "Working Class Consciousness" (?). While this newsletter contained an abundance of revolutionary language; and was salted with the phrases, "capitalist class", "labor power", etc., it provided the workers with absolutely no revolutionary direction. It did however call upon the workers to "raise their political consciousness and recognize the moves and inner workings of the capitalist system." But we will quote directly from the newsletter and let the reader judge for himself.

"In the thrust of our newsletter, we call upon all class conscious workers and advanced elements to join with us in taking up the task that we are confronted with. Only by the undivided support of the workers of X factory can we make our significance felt. Only by raising our political consciousness and recognizing the moves and inner workings of the capitalist system can we convince ourselves that our unity lies with our class brothers and sisters across the U.S. We must unswervingly train ourselves to respond to every grievance and outburst at X factory in an organized fashion. History teaches us that the proletariat must work in its own

class interest. In organizing itself, not as workers against a single factory but as a class struggle directed against the whole capitalist class and the government that supports it. Workers must see this newsletter as their own, and use it in order to expose conditions in the factory. The greedy appetite of the bourgeoisie for bigger and bigger profits at the expense of the working class will teach us through our own experience for the necessity for a new social system, that is, a socialist system. The workers that are struggling in X must not see their struggle isolated from the struggle of the workers in general."

Ah, would that it were so easy! If all that we had to do to train the working class was to quote from the Communist Manifesto we certainly would not need a Communist Party. If all that we have to do is proclaim the historical mission of the proletariat and nothing more, then how simple our task (and life itself) would be. If only we did not have to make the struggle for socialism a concrete struggle, requiring concrete communist leadership then we could be perfectly satisfied with the work of the WC. But unfortunately life is too cruel -- it puts rather stringent requirements upon us.

For example, it requires that we show the class exactly what to fight for -- both in the realm of politics and economics -- so that they can really get a political education. They must know exactly what slogans to fight for, how the class struggle is to be conducted, how the social props are to be isolated, whom to ally with, etc. These questions are posed daily by the mass movement in general, and by the particular struggles that communists are involved in.

We must train ourselves and the advanced to be able to answer just these type of questions -- otherwise socialism will remain a few words printed in "Working Class Consciousness". The newsletter should have, for instance, taken the partial demands of the workers such as those around safety conditions and shown them that bad safety conditions are an inevitable by-product of capitalism, that they are worse in X factory because the bulk of the work force is made up

CONTINUED ON P 10

# ELECTIONS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

they spread the lie of "detente" far and wide, saying that "detente means jobs" FACT "detente" means preparation for war Secondly, over the past four years of "detente policy" the U S has faced the highest unemployment since the Depression of the 1930's The CPUSA hides the ugly face of the fascist USSR, and disarms the masses in the face of impending imperialist war

In their presidential election campaign for CP general secretary Gus Hall, the Communist Party says "we are ("frankly") for socialism " A flyer entitled "Turned Off?" lays out the program of the CPUSA. They mention socialism ONCE The rest of the pamphlet is devoted to meefing "the needs of the day". According to this gem, if we only elect the "communists" to power we can "outlaw racism", end the U S imperialist drive for world hegemony ("end all cold war policies"), and actually put the Pentagon out of business ("slash the bloated military budget by 80%"). And they would have us believe that all of this is possible without overthrowing capitalism -- that the world's greatest exploiters will peacefully let the people vote an end to their foreign exploitation, national oppression, etc. Maybe if Hall gets enough votes ("mandate") Rockefeller will move out of his mansion, give his billions to the working class and get a job in a steel mill. Is it any wonder that we say that the CPUSA helps to prop up capitalism?

## REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE INSTEAD

We must tear off the mask from the capitalist and revisionist parties, expose them as tools of capital There's nothing in the '76 elections for us -- we must boycott them At the same time we must intensify our struggle to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the fat carcasses of the imperialists, while actively opposing the increased state terror being unleashed on the oppressed nationalities

We must also organize and prepare to smash the imperialist war preparations, while at the same time supporting the liberation struggles throughout the world and here at home Stand up workers, defy capitalist legality, throw the bootlickers out of our unions, unite with the national movements and march forward in revolutionary struggle against the entire hated capitalist class!

-BUILD THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS!!!  
-WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES UNITE!!!

# WORKER'S CONGRESS

CONTINUED FROM P 9

of oppressed nationality women -- and that monopoly capitalism can live in no other way than by the superexploitation of oppressed nationalities and women

From there the question of democratic rights for oppressed nationalities and the question of the Equal Rights Amendment could have been brought in as concrete demands for the workers to fight for -- demands beyond the narrow limits of their own particular factory conditions, but definitely within the scope of a CLASS struggle

The struggle for these demands can then be linked to the overall struggle for socialism (which alone resolves the national question and the women's question). And of course, such an approach not only makes greater demands upon both communists and workers, but also sharpens the inevitable conflict with the trade union bureaucrats (social props) into a political one

We believe that if our propaganda and agitation is approached in this way that the struggle for socialism is linked to the workers own conditions and is not an abstract ideal. But more importantly, if we fail to carry out training on this approach, we must ask ourselves what TYPE of vanguard we are training?

If the WC believes that the work carried on in X factory is satisfactory and sufficient we could only conclude that they are not serious about really training the advanced -- which training calls for much more than agitation and propaganda; and certainly doesn't call for the type of propaganda done by the WC

## PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION

What is the relationship between propaganda and agitation in regard to carrying out our central task? In the words of Lenin "As long as the question was, (and insofar as it still is) one of winning over the vanguard of the proletariat to communism, so long, and to that extent, propaganda was in the forefront, even propaganda circles, with all the defects of the circle spirit, are useful under these conditions and produce fruitful results "

Lenin states that "propaganda was in the forefront " The forefront of what

# CHICANO NATION

CONTINUED FROM P.7

listened and found it impossible to counter the demands made of their organization, i e , why does the OL have no revolutionary program for Chicanos, only a reformist one? Why does the OL say there is no Chicano nation? Why does the OL say we must have socialism before Chicanos can control their homeland, (regional autonomy)? One OL member went so far as to admit that there were a lot of criticisms of OL about their program for Chicanos and especially about OL's conduct at the Alamosa Conference last January. In essence what these people said was "we defend OL's line because we are from OL, but don't ask us specific questions" Mike Klonsky and company, are you listening?!!

As a result the OL speaker gave a very general statement of support for Los Tres and against national oppression and saying all this will be gone under socialism There was a sentence or two about "needing a new communist party", and then they said, "thank you" OL raised the question of the state in a reformist manner, liquidated the national question and raised the need for a party and socialism in the abstract, not the concrete That happens when you follow OL's line By the way, the OL was the only organization at the rally who did not translate their speech into Spanish (some high regard for national sentiments!)

## ATM MISTAKES

ATM tailed the issue at hand by having earlier refused support to Chicanos Unidos on the grounds that they were "terrorists" and by not having made a thorough enough analysis of the Chicano national movement in El Paso Also they were wrong in earlier concentrating only on winning the advanced rather than in active participation in the national movement struggles

"Capitalism cannot be overthrown and socialism established without an alliance between the working class and the national movements in this country " (ATM)

may we ask? Propaganda comes to the forefront in consolidating and training the advanced workers as they are drawn forward in response to the communist leadership we provide to the mass struggles Propaganda is an essential tool with which to teach the advanced a scientific understanding of their tasks It is one of our important educational tools for giving the advanced orientation and direction in changing the world -- of making their mass leadership a consistently revolutionary, communist leadership This training can take place within the study circle, in forums, in communist journals and newspapers, in special conferences, etc It also plays a crucial role in developing the unity of communists - giving them theoretical clarity, sharpening differences and bringing the "light of theory" to the important questions of our revolution

In addition to our propaganda work with the advanced, Lenin made clear that communists have propaganda tasks with the middle and lower strata workers as well He said

"The Socialist activities of Russia and Social-Democrats consist in spreading by propaganda the teachings of scientific socialism In spreading among the workers a proper understanding of the present social and economic system, its basis and its development, and understanding of the various classes in society, of their interrelations, of the struggle between these classes, of the role of the working class in this struggle, of its attitude toward the declining and developing classes, towards the past and future of capitalism, and understanding of the historical tasks of (communism) and of the working class." (Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats, LCW Vol 5).

What this means to us is that we must utilize different forms of propaganda to reach the middle and lower strata workers. And this, too, is part of training the advanced -- for both communists and the advanced must master this task if we want to fulfill our historic obligations.

But our main point is that we must never restrict the scope of our propaganda to the advanced alone, rather we must broaden its scope so that the advanced can truly carry out their role as the vanguard of their class These tasks (the wide spread dissemination of communist propaganda and the training of the advanced to carry on this dissemination), are crucial aspects of our work in carrying out the central task

## PROPAGANDA AS THE CHIEF FORM

Is our formulation of "propaganda in the forefront" any different from our earlier formulation of "propaganda as the chief form of activity"? We see no essential difference. We use the former formulation, however, because our practice has shown that some comrades, our own cadre included, interpreted "chief form" to mean the "only form" of political activity, and it led to belittling the importance of political agitation And as far as political agitation and its importance, our view has been summed up by Stalin

"Lenin put before the League of Struggle the task of forming closer connections with the working class movement and giving it political leadership (our emphasis - ATM) Lenin proposed to pass from the propaganda among a few politically advanced workers who gathered in the propaganda

# PRRWO - RWL

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of the PRRWO got new life, was allowed to revive under the cover of the struggle against the right line.

## THE OCTOBER LEAGUE

The October League will gain temporarily from the split Some honest but confused comrades, strongly desirous of unity will become demoralized by it, and may turn to the OL We have, unfortunately, contributed to these circumstances by our failure to print our views on the split until months after it occurred

The OL, for its part, has become much more dangerous. They have formed an unprincipled bloc with groups like the Marxist-Leninist Unity League even though on many fundamental questions --for example, on the nature of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the characterization of advanced worker -- they stand at opposite poles

At the same time the OL "re-shapes" its line on trade union work with a "left" cover, while hiding behind the shallowest of self-criticisms for their old right opportunist trade union position (At a forum in San Diego, California the chairman of the OL said the change was due to changes in objective conditions )

But this is only phenomena, the OL stands by their social chauvinist position on the Black National Question -- vigorously opposing any secessionist movement in the Black-Belt South (An interesting picture of the "democratic-centralism" in OL. At the recent forum in San Diego, Michael Klonsky stated that the OL "had seen in practice" the negative effect of the Black bourgeoisie leading the secessionist movement and therefore they continue to oppose secession A week or so later, at a forum in Los Angeles, S Miller, a member of the OL central committee tells us that "we have never said " that we oppose secession because the Black bourgeoisie is leading that movement.)

On the Chicano National Question, where the purity of OL's reformism and opportunism shines clearest, they haven't changed at all, even though they were practically chased out of the southwest (at public forums) for their chauvinist position They sneeringly taunted us for "overemphasizing" the land question, a week or so after a hundred armed peasants in Chiliti, New Mexico had forcibly stopped a capitalist development project across their land, the third time they have done this in the last eight months

On the international situation, the OL continues to support (objectively) the Shah of Iran against the Iranian people

Comrades, the OL has not changed Their recent forum tour was very revealing of their attitude towards the movement Abandoning his old facade of "humility", the OL chairman, in particular, handled all opposition to the OL line with demogogy rather than principled struggle -- labeling all opponents as "agents", "splitters", "wreckers", "opportunists", etc By the end of the tour, they had borrowed a page from Gerald Ford and wanted to limit all questions at their forums to written questions, or else a 2 minute speaking limit for question and response

These spoiled-brat and bogarting antics only succeeded in further isolating "the unity trend", (from 1/2 to 3/4 of the audience at most OL forums was opposed to the OL OL cadres, wake up!

Comrades the time has come to stiffen up, to intensify the ideological and political struggle against the OL, to struggle harder for principled unity and to redouble our efforts to link communism with the working class movement MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE AND WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!!



circles to political agitation among the broad masses of the working class on issues of the day This turn towards mass agitation was of profound importance for the subsequent development of the working class movement in Russia." (History of the CPSU (B), p 20)

Stalin goes on to say that the League of Struggle was the first group in Russia which began to unite socialism with the working class movement, and he refers to the League as the prototype of the proletarian party Therefore, communists must always recognize the importance of political agitation Carrying out this agitation in connection with the mass struggles which we must lead will develop the fusion of the working class movement with communism, which must crystallize in the winning over, consolidation and training of the advanced and the formation of the new communist party, which will be a party truly linked "by a thousand threads to the working class masses"