



# Revolutionary Cause

POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE AUGUST 29th MOVEMENT

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COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE, NATIONS WANT LIBERATION, PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION

## OCTOBER LEAGUE

# RIGHT OPPORTUNISM IS THE MAIN DANGER

"Opportunism can be expressed in the terms of any kind of doctrine, including that of Marxism" (Lenin)

Comrades, the August Twenty-Ninth Movement is now a little more than a year and a half old. In that time we have been able to develop a correct general line on questions facing the revolutionary movement in the United States. We have developed that line further by studying hard and assimilating and applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism through its integration with the concrete conditions of the class struggle. In the course of our development we were bound to make mistakes. However, the test of any Communist organization is its attitude towards its own errors.

Perhaps one of the most fundamental errors we have committed has been our (objectively) conciliatorist stand towards the October League (M-L). The political line and practice of the OL has revealed them to be a thoroughly right opportunist organization, whose danger to our revolution cannot be underestimated.

Comrades the roots of our error lie in:

1. Not fully understanding the historical development, danger, persistence and pervasiveness of opportunism in the United States,
2. The development of imperialism, with its vast superprofits, has created a huge material basis for the bribery of sections of the working class and the petty-bourgeoisie. This is the social basis of opportunism in the United States -- we did not fully grasp this.
3. We incorrectly made a qualitative distinction between revisionism (RCP) and right opportunism (OL).

"Fight, fail, fight again. . ."

Comrades, we should not find it hard to understand the strength and "resiliency" of opportunism and revisionism. Defeated in one form it is bound to assume another shape and dimension. It has assumed the form of the old line revisionism of the Second International. With the defeat of that "brand" of opportunism, it assumed the shape of modern revisionism (CPUSA and CPUSA). When the bankruptcy of the CPUSA was revealed, opportunism inevitably had to don another mask -- it had to assume another masquerade (RCP, CLP, OL).

The entire history of the development of Marxism-Leninism confirms

that, along with its birth, development and growth, (and as an essential component in that growth) was the birth, development and growth of distortions of Marxism-- opportunism. The struggle between these two world outlooks has been the main factor in the evolution of Marxism-Leninism. The ideological soil upon which right opportunism flourishes is the soil of reformism (we refer here to the advanced capitalist countries in particular). The material basis for its growth is, of course, the vast superprofits stolen by imperialism from the oppressed nations of the world, some of which goes to bribing sections of the population to take the side of the bourgeoisie and to keep the masses "in line". The modern capitalist ruling classes long ago realized that reformism, in addition to crude force, is a more efficient method of conducting class combat. Along with their military prop the bourgeoisie reinforces their rule with social props who infect the masses with reformism (the essence of right opportunism and revisionism).

With the development of capitalism into dying and moribund imperialism came the development of democracy from a liberating mechanism into a rotting fetter upon the development of society. Whereas democracy was a necessary and progressive political weapon against the feudal monarchy -- it has now turned into its opposite, a weapon for the complete subjugation of the working class, a chain which ties down the working class by a thousand links.

What this means is that reformism, or the philosophy that the fundamental contradictions of capitalism can be resolved WITHIN the confines of capitalist society, is the most dangerous enemy of the socialist revolution. (This should not give rise to the belief that capitalism relies only on reformism -- they use it in extremely effective combination with violence). If we do not defeat this poisonous ideology we will not be able to convince the workers that it is only by breaking through the boundaries of bourgeois democracy that they can receive a revolutionary education -- can learn to make revolution.

This means that we educate the masses through street actions, strikes, political demonstrations, etc -- actions which are illegal, i.e., violate bourgeois legality. Ultimately we will be leading the workers in the highest "illegal" act -- the armed seizure of power -- training and preparation must

take place well before hand

As long as the workers retain their faith in reformism they cannot make revolution. The bourgeoisie is well aware of the value of reformism and every day, in a million and one insidious ways, tries to imbue the workers with this bourgeois spirit, to corrupt their revolutionary marrow, to sap their initiative, to channel it along the line of least resistance.

### U.S. - Cradle of Reformism

The historical development of capitalism in the United States has been almost "classical" according to Marx and Lenin. This means that the economic growth of the base worked smoothly and efficiently in inter-action with the political superstructure. Whereas in other countries, capitalism had to accommodate and supercede or compromise with a monarchical political system, here there was little of this to stand in the way of capitalist expansion.

In addition the United States has for some time been among the "great powers" which dominate and exploit vast sections of the globe. With their vast superprofits they have historically been able to respond to the working class struggle with reforms as a primary weapon in their arsenal. This is not to deny the long and bloody history of the U.S. bourgeoisie, who unhesitatingly resort to violence when they deem it necessary (especially against the oppressed nationalities of this country). However, as the representative of the vanguard of

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# SELF-DETERMINATION FOR

At a series of forums we held Sept of last year we polemicized with R U on a number of questions including R U.'s (RCP) revisionist position on the Afro-American National Question. We upheld the right of Afro-Americans to self-determination. We were asked in discussions that followed for the basis of our position. The article we are reprinting here was our response to these questions.

One of the "National forms" that opportunism has taken in this country is that of chauvinism. This opportunism has caused divisions within the working class and a split in the communist movement. ATM was born in the struggle against right opportunism, economism and great nation chauvinism, as is clearly laid out in our Unity Statement. There, we also correctly characterize the R U as revisionist.

The R.U. as we laid out in our forums (Selected Speeches-ATM 1974-1975), holds a revisionist position on the national question. Their position in a nutshell is simply this--that Afro-Americans have been dispersed from their historic homeland to the industrial centers of the North and South. That, because of this, the social composition of the Black masses has changed from overwhelmingly peasantry to overwhelmingly working class. That this change has brought about corresponding changes in the character of their demands from questions concerning land to general democratic demands. Therefore the heart of the question is now for general democratic rights and not for land nor for the right to political secession.

The R.U. makes two basic errors here: 1) they apply the revisionist theory of the productive forces and 2) they confuse the essence of the national question with the character of the National Movement (more on this later).

This then leads them to commit three more fundamental "contributions" to Marxism: 1) they resurrect the theory of American exceptionalism, 2) they are forced to revise Lenin's characterization of the nature of imperialism, and 3) they revise Stalin's definition of what constitutes a fully developed nation. As we stated before, this is stone right opportunism, chauvinism and revisionism.

## Lenin on American Negroes

It was Lenin who first put forward the position that Afro-Americans constitute a nation. In his article entitled "Statistics and Sociology" written in 1917 he wrote "In the United States, the Negroes (and also the Mulattos and Indians) account for only 11.1%. They should be classed as an oppressed nation, for the equality won in the Civil War of 1861-1865 and guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic was in many respects increasingly curtailed in the chief Negro areas (the South) in connection with the transition from the progressive, premonopoly capitalism of 1860-1870 to the reactionary, monopoly capitalism (imperialism) of the new era, which in America was especially sharply etched out by the Spanish-American imperialist war of 1898." (LCW. Vol. 23, pp. 275-76)

It is important for comrades to

read this entire article and especially the paragraphs preceding and following the above quotation because some misinterpretations of this passage have occurred which must be answered briefly here. In this article Lenin stresses that he is writing this series of essays to

1) bring out the significance of the national question, 2) lay out the importance of concreteness and historical perspective, and 3) to struggle against those who, "smuggle in every manner of contraband under cover of general phrases" "We believe a few statistics will prove anything but superfluous" (Lenin)

He struggled against those who, "tear out individual minor facts" who do not recognize that, "everything hinges on the historically concrete situation." That facts must be taken "in their entirety, in their interconnection."

Some comrades have erred in dealing with the above quote, making precisely the errors that Lenin warns against in the article. Their position is that because Lenin states, "In national composition most of these countries are homogeneous or nearly homogeneous. National inequality, as a specific political phenomenon, plays a very significant part." That therefore he is not making a case for a nation. This last passage is in the paragraph preceding his remarks about Negroes in the U.S. The comrades make three main errors.

First, when Lenin speaks of homogeneity of the U.S. he is specifically speaking of the white population. "The white population of the U.S. makes up 88.7% of the total. We know that the especially favorable conditions in America for the development of capitalism and the rapidity of this development have produced a situation in which vast national differences are speedily and fundamentally, as nowhere else in the world, smoothed out to form a single 'American nation'." (ibid, p. 276)

When writing this essay Lenin makes it a point to single out Afro-Americans and state that they do constitute a nation. The homogeneity he points to is composed of native born and foreign born whites who quickly become "Americanized." Our comrades did not understand that when a general statement is made, that there are bound to be exceptions. Lenin singles out Afro-Americans in the U.S. as just such an exception.

Secondly, these comrades pulled individual passages out of context, specifically that the national question plays "a very insignificant part." They use this to liquidate the Afro-American national question. This was not at all Lenin's intent and if the comrades will re-read the article this should become clear. When addressing the question of national homogeneity in Western Europe, Japan and then specifically the U.S. he states, "Negroes... account for only 11.1%. They should be classed as an oppressed nation..." Lenin by no means is liquidating the national question.

Third error: The comrades failed to see the necessity for "concreteness and historical perspective." It may very well be true that the national question in these capitalist countries in 1917, "as a specific political phenomenon,

plays a very insignificant part," but can we say this today? In looking at the struggles of Black people in the U.S. over the last 15 years we can see that it has been anything but insignificant. After Martin Luther King was murdered Mao-Tse-Tung made the following statement in support of the Afro-American struggle:

"...it (the assassination) has touched off a new storm in their struggle against violent repression sweeping well over a hundred cities in the U.S., 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 20 million Black Americans. It is dealing a telling blow to U.S. imperialism..."

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 U.S. to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class. It is a tremendous aid



Guardian photos by George Cohen

and inspiration to the struggle of the people throughout the world 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 U.S." (Mao-Tse-Tung, 1968)

It would appear that the Afro-American national question is anything but insignificant today. Our comrades would do well to learn from our great teachers and become imbued with the spirit of internationalism, and to NEVER take a formal approach to the national question.

In June of 1920 Lenin again expressed his support for the Afro-American nation.

"Not only must the constant violation of the equality of nations and the guaranteed rights of national minorities that takes place in all capitalist countries, despite their 'democratic' constitutions, be consistently exposed in the whole propaganda and agitation of the Communist Parties--in parliament and out of parliament--but it is necessary also, firstly, constantly to explain that only the Soviet system is capable of granting real equality of nations, by uniting at first the proletarians and then the whole mass of the working population in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, and secondly, it is necessary that all communist

# THE AFRO-AMERICAN NATION

parties render direct aid to the revolutionary movements among the dependent and subject nations (for example, in Ireland, among the Negroes of America, etc.) and in the colonies " (Preliminary Draft Thesis on the National and Colonial Questions)

Here Lenin makes it very clear that the movement of Negroes is a revolutionary national movement. Lenin placed great importance on this article. Before publishing it for the upcoming Second Congress of the Communist International, he mailed copies to leading members of the Party including Stalin who answered within a week after receiving it. Lenin also received responses to his requests for criticisms from representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party, leading members from Bashkiria, Kirghizia and Turkestan as well as other leading members of the Russian Party. It was after receiving these responses that Lenin published the 'draft thesis' (cf LCW, Vol 31, p 555, note 51)

This draft was later adopted unanimously by the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions of

the CI was correct in 1928 or 1930 in the resolutions on American Negroes and whether or not the general conclusions drawn then are applicable today

We would respond by asking, "why stop there?" Why not throw up for question Lenin's brilliant analysis in Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism. Let's all begin to reinvestigate imperialism to see if Lenin was correct. Or let's trace the development of modern Europe to see whether or not Stalin was correct in Marxism and the National Question. All cadre out of the factories' Into the libraries'

This is an absurdity often raised by anarchistic intellectuals within our ranks which liquidates the role of communist leadership in the international communist movement, in communist organizations and within the working class. And it is nothing less than chauvinism to pick out the Afro-American national question for liquidation. Historically U S opportunists and revisionists have always attacked the Afro-American nation's right to self-determination. ATM accepts the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania

It is under their leadership that we will proceed, together with all genuine Marxist-Leninists, in the struggle to build the party, and to solve the practical and theoretical problems raised in the course of proletarian revolution in the U S

## THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

On October 26, 1928 the Communist International adopted a resolution on the Negro Movement in the U S. Although it did not state that Afro-Americans constituted a nation, the CI nonetheless upheld their right of self-determination

"The various forms of oppression of the Negro masses, who are concentrated mainly in the so-called 'Black Belt', provide the necessary conditions for a national revolutionary movement among the Negroes"

In laying out the tasks of the Communist Party they state "To fight for the full rights of the oppressed Negroes and for their right to self-determination and against all forms of chauvinism, especially among the workers of the oppressing nationality"

In 1930 the Comintern again expressed its support for the Afro-American struggle and issued a resolution which expressed this support, gave direction to the CPUSA, and polemicized against the opportunist productive forces theory of Lovestone. It was in this resolution that the CI stated:

"In the interest of the utmost clarity of ideas on this question, the Negro Question in the US must be viewed from the standpoint of its peculiarity, namely, as the question of an oppressed nation, which is in a peculiar and extraordinarily distressing situation of national oppression not only in view of the prominent racial distinction (marked difference in the color of skin etc), but above all, because of considerable social antagonisms (remnants of slavery)"

And it was in this resolution that the CI took on the productive

forces theory as applied by Lovestone. "In its ranks, too, the party has relentlessly fought the slightest evidence of white chauvinism, and has purged itself of the gross opportunism of the Lovestoneites. According to the assertions of these people, the 'industrial revolution' will sweep away the remnants of slavery in the agricultural south, and will proletarianize the Negro peasantry, so that the Negro Question, would thereby presumably be solved, or could be put off until the time of the socialist revolution in America."

The CI saw that the South would be industrialized and they saw this as a good thing because it would create the class, the proletariat, which could lead the struggle of Black masses under the leadership of the CP. This is pointed out in both the 1928 and 1930 resolutions. The CI never said that industrialization would "solve" the Negro question

## CHARACTER OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT HAS CHANGED

Since the time these resolutions were written, many changes have taken place in the south. But has the national question been solved? We have only to recall the rebellions of the sixties in Atlanta, Memphis, Birmingham, Watts, Newark, Detroit--in hundreds of cities across the U S to see that it has not. (It is not unusual that many of the rebellions took place in the North as they represent more prominent political centers than the Black South.) Even today we can see the national guard troops in Boston or Louisville

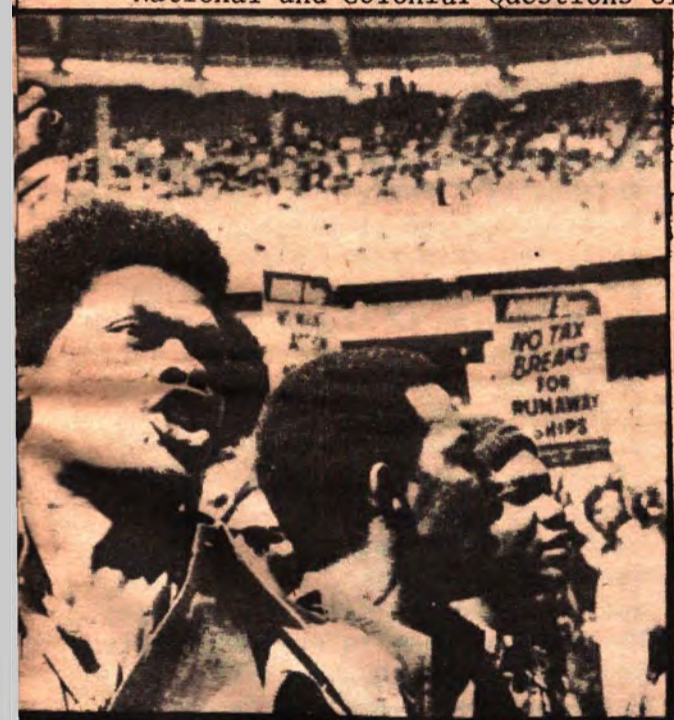
The demands of the Black masses, however, have changed since the 1930 CI resolution and there is nothing strange about this. In discussing this question in Marxism and the National Question, Stalin points out "The nature of the national movement will not everywhere be the same: it is wholly determined by the diverse demands made by the movement. In Ireland the movement bears an agrarian character, in Bohemia it is concerned with language; in one place the demand is for civil equality and religious freedom, in another for the nation's own officials or its own assembly."

The demands of the Black masses have changed from bearing "an agrarian character" to the "demand for civil equality", but this does not mean the question is solved. So while we see that the character of the movement has changed, the essence of the question has not, the essence being the oppression of the Afro-American nation by U S imperialism. And this is what the CI pointed out in 1928

"The various forms of oppression of the Negro masses, who are concentrated mainly in the so-called 'Black Belt' provide the necessary conditions for a national revolutionary movement among the Negroes"

And this is not only the essence of the Afro-American question but it is the political essence of imperialism-- the oppression of nations by a handful of imperialists. In his pamphlet "Imperialism and the split in Socialism" Lenin pointed out again that while the economic essence of imperialism is monopoly, it is national oppression

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the CI (ibid, p 240). The commission on the National and Colonial Questions was formed by the Second Congress of the Communist International and composed of representatives of the Communist Parties of Russia, Bulgaria, France, Holland, Germany, Hungary, the USA, British India, Persia, China, Korea, Britain and others.

The commission carried out its work under the guidance of Lenin, whose thesis on the national and colonial questions were adopted by the Congress on July 28' after being discussed at its fourth and fifth sessions. (cf LENIN ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS--three articles, FLP, Peking 1970, p.40, note 15)

The reason we lay so much stress on this question is to show that Lenin's reference to American Blacks was no casual remark but a seriously considered statement.

Before proceeding, we must address ourselves to the question of whether or not the communist movement in the USA is to accept the leadership of the international communist movement. This has been led by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and the CI under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. Today it is led by the Communist Party of China and the Albanian Party of Labor under Mao Tse-Tung and Enver Hoxha's leadership. Within the communist movement voices have often been raised as to whether or not

# THE TASKS OF COMMUNISTS

"The Party must exert every effort to educate the workers who belong to trade unions in the spirit of a broad understanding of the class struggle and the socialist aims of the proletariat." (Lenin)

As communists, what is our strategic objective and what are our tasks in working within the trade unions? It is to win the leadership of the mass of workers in the course of struggle, and develop the trade unions into strongholds of proletarian revolution under the leadership of the new Party. This objective can only be reached by understanding and implementing some basic principles and tasks of communist work within the trade unions.

In this article we will sum-up some of these principles and tasks. This is not to be seen as an all-embracing and in-depth analysis of Communist work within the trade unions, but is based on the study and practice of the August Twenty-Ninth Movement, and which we would like to share with other Marxist-Leninists and class conscious workers.

## Legal and Illegal Work

The method of work of Communists in the trade unions has two main aspects -- legal work and illegal work. We must first begin by placing this work into the context of a bourgeois-"democratic" society.

Lenin reminded all communists "In every single country in the world, even the most advanced and "freest" of the bourgeois republics, bourgeois terror reigns, and there is no such thing as freedom to carry on propaganda and organizational work precisely in this sense. The Party that has not admitted this under the rule of the bourgeoisie and does not carry on systematic, all sided illegal work in spite of the laws of the bourgeoisie and of the bourgeois parliaments is a party of traitors and scoundrels who deceive the people by their recognition of revolution. ." (LCW, Vol. 29, p. 505)

In the capitalist world the U.S. is recognized as one of the freest of the bourgeois republics, yet this has not stopped the ruling class from using bourgeois terror; let's not forget the physical elimination of many of the Black Panther Party leadership; the Red squads in many city police departments; the vicious attack by the state on the anti-war and national movements, etc. For these objective reasons we must carry on alongside of our legal work, our illegal activity - this is a tactical principle of Marxism-Leninism.

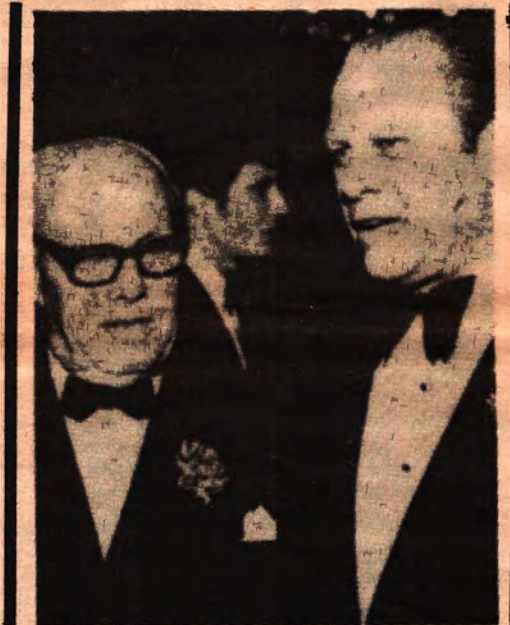
By legal work we mean simply this. the utilization of all legal possibilities to carry out our political work among the masses, including verbal and written agitation which links the immediate demands of the masses to the fundamental tasks of the revolution, the question of state power, private property, i.e., the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the seizure of state power by the proletariat, the expropriation of the means of production and the liberation of the oppressed peoples and nations.

When communists involve themselves in agitating and struggling around such issues as democracy

within the union, exposing the labor aristocracy, leading strikes, etc., this is all in the realm of legal work. However, let us not equate our legal work to economism, that is, only to the economic struggle and economic demands, agitation and exposures.

For example, when conducting a political exposure, (which is the main form of political agitation), on the reformist trade union bureaucrats - say on their chauvenism or collaboration with the capitalists - we raise the question of bribery, their economic and political privileges. We link this to its material basis which is the superprofits stolen by imperialism from the oppressed nations and colonies. Thus when we carry out this form of political agitation we raise political questions to the workers so as to raise their level of political consciousness.

This agitation is carried out in all the legal forms of organization within the trade union apparatus - the various trade union committees, the shop steward councils, the various caucuses, strike committees, etc. Guided by our political line we struggle to win over the workers



Pres Ford with reformist AFL-CIO Boss Meany-bribed from superprofits

to a correct class stand and in the process direct our main blows at the reformist and revisionist agents in order to expose, isolate and expel them from positions of leadership.

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. Our propaganda goes much deeper and unfolds much more complex ideas on the questions of state power, the nature of imperialism, the Leninist party, revisionism, bribery etc.

Study groups are developed with these workers in order to study Marxism-Leninism and receive training in the understanding and implementation of the political line in practice. This work is all illegal work, the strictest security should be maintained for we must demonstrate to the workers that we are not bungling amateurs who will jeopardize their job security and expose them to the authorities.

As the ideological, political and organizational training continues in the study group, the trade union fraction and advanced and in-

termediate workers continue the legal work among the mass of workers within the union. Through the process of this study and practice, the intermediate workers are developed into advanced, and the advanced into communists who are ready for recruitment, thus becoming part of the trade union fraction.

## The Fractional Method of Work

A fraction is an individual communist or group of communists from the same organization working within a mass organization such as a trade union. The fraction is not the basic unit of a communist organization. It does not determine the line or policy of an organization but is the organizational form by which the line and policies of the organization are carried out in the mass organization. The trade union fraction constitutes an integral part of the corresponding factory nuclei and is under its direct leadership.

The fractions, must demonstrate the greatest initiative. In their day to day work they are relatively independent and must often demonstrate creativity in the application of the line to their local conditions. The work of our fractions is inspired by the example of the fractional method of work of the Bolsheviks - "Prior to the October Revolution, and even immediately after it, when there were still mensheviks and socialist-revolutionaries in some of the non-party mass organizations, the Bolsheviks converted each newly gained position into a stronghold for the capture of the organization in the district, city, region, and nationally. They demonstrated their ability to work better than the others, prepare the questions, lead, and weld together and organize the masses of workers. That is why they succeeded in driving the mensheviks, socialist-revolutionaries and other 'socialist' and populist parties out of the mass labor organizations." (The Bolshevization of the Communist Parties of the Capitalist Countries by Means of Overcoming the Social-Democratic Traditions, Communist International, May, 1932)

We must take the lessons of the Bolsheviks to heart and turn trade union positions into strongholds for the capture of the entire organization. We must learn to utilize these positions to isolate the reformist and revisionist lines. This means to creatively demonstrate our ability to lead politically and organize the workers against the class collaborationist policies of the reformist bureaucrats. We must also learn to use these positions as forums to conduct political exposures on the burning issues of the day, raise the political consciousness of the mass of the workers, and win them to the leadership of the new party, its program, and socialism.

## Political Exposures

Comrades, based on our own experience and the experience of the communist movement in this country and internationally, we communists must implement the task of expanding our political agitation through the organization of all-sided political

# IN THE TRADE UNIONS!

exposures so that we may train and raise the political consciousness of the proletariat in our everyday mass work.

To this point Lenin said, "In no other way except by means of such exposures can the masses be trained in political consciousness and revolutionary activity." Note that Lenin says "activity" which means that we must learn how to raise these exposures in the course of struggle. Also we must guard against limiting our exposures to simply factory exposures and the struggle for the better sale of the workers' labor power to the capitalists (economism).

On this point Lenin said, "Working class consciousness cannot be genuine political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence, and abuse, no matter what class is affected -- unless they are trained moreover, to respond from a social-democratic (communist) point of view and no other." ("What is to Be Done", LSW, Vol. 1, p. 174)

Now what does this all mean for communists in practice? Since our subject is "The Tasks of Communists in the Trade Unions" we will give you an example of what we mean by political exposures in the course of the class struggle.

One particular company whose workers are members of an AFL-CIO affiliated union, announced publicly that it would support efforts to deport so-called "illegal aliens" because of high unemployment among U.S. workers. How did our fraction combat this chauvenist attempt to divide the proletariat? Using the vehicle of a caucus newsletter, the comrade wrote an agitational article which first linked unemployment to the capitalist system, that unemployment is a "regular and necessary part of capitalism."

He pointed out corporations use unemployed workers to push wages down, (here he used an example of strike breaking). The comrade brought out the role of U.S. imperialism in Mexico, by explaining that the cause of Mexican immigration to the U.S. was U.S. corporate and banking control of the Mexican economy, (backed up by guns of course) which has led to low wages, high unemployment, misery, underdevelopment, etc. for the masses of Mexican people.

The comrade then again brings out the role of the state by exposing the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). By use of this example, it was shown how the government is a tool of the capitalist class. In times of economic upswing the INS receives little funding to effectively patrol the border (for cheap labor) is maintained. In time of crisis the INS is heavily funded so as to close the border and deport excess workers.

Next the Democratic Party liberals like Ted Kennedy and Peter Rodino were exposed by explaining how the Rodino Bill served the interests of the big corporations, and under the screen of "friends of working people" they were supporting racist and chauvenist immigration laws which divides the class.

Then the task of exposing the labor aristocracy on this question was taken on. The AFL-CIO supports the Rodino Bill and deportations.

The comrade did not waste words by simply telling the workers that these people have "sold out", but took on the task of explaining why these labor lieutenants collaborate with the bosses.

Thus this comrade's article pointed to the material basis for the chauvenist and reformist policies of the top AFL-CIO leadership, i.e., the fat salaries which come from profits of joint union-company pension funds or health and welfare plans and the sops which these traitors receive from the superprofits of U.S. imperialism.

In the case of George Meany, it has come out that he has long been in the pay of the sinister CIA for the service of subverting trade union movements in Third World countries. We can see then that political exposures should aim at raising political questions in the minds of the workers and attempt to lead them to draw the correct political conclusions.

While we have made both right and "left" errors in our attempts, we

ibed, that is, they receive some fat "crumbs" from the superprofits that the majority of workers do not receive, (3) that they in practice support and carry out the outlook and class stand and policies of the bourgeoisie of the oppressor nation.

Craft unions at one time were automatically considered part of this stratum, such as those in the building trades. However, since the beginning of the general capitalist crisis we must make a closer analysis. No longer can we automatically claim that the craft unions and skilled workers are part of the labor aristocracy.

The existence of an aristocracy of labor is dealt with first by Engles in his book The Condition of the Working Class In England, then later by Lenin in Collapse of the Second International, Imperialism and the Split in Socialism, and A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism. Lenin developed the analysis in the era of imperialism.

The analysis in these great works



"Working class consciousness cannot be genuine political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence, and abuse, no matter what class is affected--unless they are trained moreover, to respond from a social-democratic (communist) point of view and no other." (What is To Be Done", LSW, Vol 1, p 174)

consistently attempt to correct these errors until we get the desired results. Our political exposures strive for simple clarity, we try to include facts, dates, names, who said what at such and such meeting, etc. Only in this manner will we be listened to by the masses of workers.

## The Labor Aristocracy

The reformist trade unions today in the U.S. are under the control of agents of the bourgeoisie, the labor aristocracy. It is this upper strata of the working class which is the social basis and channel for opportunism and the dissemination of bourgeois ideology among the workers.

Starting from the premise that the labor aristocracy includes other than the union bureaucrats, we attempt to make an analysis of the labor aristocracy by utilizing the following criteria: (1) actual members of the working class which must be determined by their relationship to the means of production - so they are part of or generally emerge from the working class, (2) they are br-

by Engles and Lenin clearly demonstrate the role of the labor aristocracy as servants of the bourgeoisie within the working class movement. Most importantly, the analysis brings out the material basis for the existence of these labor aristocrats. In his article Imperialism and the Split in Socialism Lenin writes, "Neither Marx nor Engles lived to see the imperialist epoch of world capitalism, which began not earlier than 1898-1900. But it has been a peculiar feature of England that even in the middle of the nineteenth century she already revealed at least two outstanding characteristics of imperialism: 1. vast colonies and 2. monopoly profits (due to her monopolistic position in the world market). In both respects, England at that time was an exception among capitalist countries, and Marx and Engles, analysing this exception, quite clearly and definitely indicate its connection with the (temporary) victory of opportunism in the English labor movement."

From this we learn that opportunism in the form of reformism and revisionism within the labor move-

# AFRO...

-CONT'D FROM PAGE 3

which is the political essence of imperialism

And in the "The Revolutionary Proletariat and the Right of Nations to Self Determination" he lays it out again: "... the central point in the social-Democratic programme must be the distinction between oppression and oppressed nations, which is the essence of imperialism, which is falsely evaded by the social-chauvinists and by Kautsky "

In "On Studying Some World History," the Chinese comrades support the struggles of Afro-Americans "Since World War II, Asia, Africa, and Latin America have become the focal point of the contradictions of the present-day world and are seething with struggles on an unprecedented scale against imperialism and colonialism and neo-colonialism. The ever-growing national democratic revolutionary movements in the heartland of capitalism, such as the Afro-Americans against racial discrimination and the struggle of the people of Northern Ireland for independence, all have profound historical origins."

The Chinese here distinguish between the essence of the national question as part of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism and the character of the two national movements they cite. They, too, have seen a change in the character of both the Afro-American and Irish struggles from agrarian to a struggle against racial discrimination for the former and for independence for the latter. But the essence of the question has remained the same. Both are now part of the "focal point of the contradictions of the present day world .."

The R U as we pointed out before has been forced to revise Lenin on imperialism and the national question. To do this they resurrect the productive forces theory. Pointing to the social composition of the Black masses they conclude that the national question in the U S (only in the U S ) is again an internal state problem. But doesn't this contradict Lenin on the national question?

The R U 's (RCP) dialecticians point out that just as the first period of the national question was negated by the second period, that we are in a new third period which represents a negation of the negation.

Comrades, the only negation we could find was the RCP's negation of Marxism-Leninism (We refer comrades to Selected Speeches-ATM 1974-1975 for a fuller polemic on the R.U.'s position on the national question )

**O L. : "SELF-DETERMINATION-YES  
SECESSION-NO"**

The R U is not alone on this question. Another line which does not revise Marxism but which nonetheless represents an opportunist and chauvinist position on this question is the line of the October League. In words O L upholds the right of Afro-Americans to self-determination but states that politically it must "oppose secession" (We have not seen any repudiation of this second Congress position coming out of their third Congress)

The second congress position while not very concrete is much clearer than the position of the third congress reported in the Call.

This line of opposing secession invariably leads back to the productive forces theory, "The overwhelming majority of Afro-Americans are workers, living in industrial center " The Comintern very clearly saw that industrialization was taking place in the South but still upheld the following position

"As long as capitalism rules in the U S the Communists cannot come out against governmental separation of the Negro zone of the U S. They recognize that this separation from the imperialist U S would be preferable, from the standpoint of the national interests of the Negro population, to their present oppressed state, and therefore, the communists are ready at any time to offer all their support if only the working masses of the Negro population are ready to take up the struggle for governmental independence of the Black Belt." (1930 Comintern Resolution, quoted in C L 's Negro National and Colonial Question )

The O L sees the demand for secession as one which "objectively



Homes searched for weapons, Plainsfield, N J , July 1967

"Part of the 'focal point of the contradictions of the present day world' "

pushes the national bourgeoisie into the leadership " No, comrades, it is the white chauvinism of people like the O L, R U and the CPUSA which betrays the fundamental interests of the Black masses. They stand as guardians of the frontiers of the multinational U S state, which belittles the significance of the national question. It is this social-chauvinism which allows bourgeois nationalists to take leadership of the Black masses.

But even if the Black bourgeoisie did lead a movement for secession, would O L be justified in opposing this?

"Moreover, the Party cannot make its stand for this slogan dependent upon any condition, even the condition that the proletariat has the hegemony in the national revolutionary Negro movement or that the majority of the Negro population in the Black Belt adopts the Soviet form (as Pepper demanded), etc " (Comintern 1930 resolution on the Negro Question)

So what is the basis for O L's stand? The basis is its social-chauvinist, thoroughly opportunist line, class stand and outlook. (An example of this is the practice of the O L in the Greg Jones Defense

Committee in Oakland, California. This committee has been set-up to defend a Black worker, a rank and file leader in his shop, who is accused of murder.

Here the O L has refused, in the course of this struggle, to link it to the historical oppression of Afro-Americans and has refused to raise the slogan of the right of Afro-Americans to self-determination. In fact, when the Greg Jones Defense Committee refused to endorse the O L's Fight Back Conference, the O L threatened to pull out of the committee. So much for having the interests of the Afro-Americans at heart!

Here we must ask: what changes in the nature of imperialism have taken place to make secession a "backward slogan", if raised by the Black masses, thus necessitating that communists "oppose secession"? Was Lenin wrong when he repeatedly stated that imperialism represents the further intensification of all the contradictions of capitalism?

Was he wrong when he repeatedly stated that class oppression, national oppression and the oppression of women are not resolved under imperialism but are instead further aggravated? This question is not answered by the O L. Instead we get the following from their third congress

"In demonstrating how upholding the right of self-determination is not the equivalent of advocating separation or secession the document says that 'by making the struggle for democracy and self-determination of oppressed nations a component part of the working class program for struggle, each victory of the class as a whole becomes equally a victory of the oppressed nations ' In presenting the importance of the right of self-determination in the struggle for democracy, it becomes clear how the working class struggle for self-determination eliminates the desire for separation in a practical sense " (CALL, October, 1975)

## IN CONCLUSION

Comrades, this article is our position on the Afro-American National Question as we have developed it thus far. We are continuing our work on this very important question. As communists within this imperialist country we recognize that chauvinism and racism have a long history here dating back to the colonization of the U.S. We have also seen the corrosive effect this has had within the working class and communist movements historically.

We must struggle against this poison and be vigilant for its many signs and forms. We must imbue the working class and communist movements with the spirit of proletarian internationalism and a most bitter hatred for all forms of chauvinism and racism.

"The territory of the Deep South belongs to the Negro people. They have earned it, as no other people have earned a homeland. This is the meaning of self-determination that the Negro people, in full possession of their homeland, have the right to decide the political future of that area." - Harry Haywood

**LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!!!  
SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE AFRO-AMERICAN NATION!!!  
MARXISTS-LENINISTS UNITE!!!**

CONT'D FROM PAGE 1

the imperialist capitalists of this country have "perfected" the use of reformism.

What this means for communists is that (1) we must understand the economic and political development of reformism as an international phenomena and in its national particularities, (2) we must grasp the relationship between the historical development of reformism and the degeneration of the CPUSA into a revisionist party. The CPUSA, even when it was a Marxist-Leninist party never completely broke with reformism, often leading valiant struggles for reforms but failing to link them with the ultimate aim, and HOW this aim was to be achieved (by breaking with bourgeois legality, and ultimately armed struggle); (3) we have to understand that this poison is always permeating our ranks and is bound to assume many different forms in order to corrupt us, (4) reformism is not a "type" of socialism, or a step towards socialism, but is an ideology hostile to socialist ideology -- its opposite, (5) we will have no socialist revolution in this country unless and until we win the working class and oppressed masses away from reformism

"Not liberalism versus socialism, but reformism versus socialist revolution -- is the formula of the modern, 'advanced' educated bourgeoisie. And the higher the development of capitalism in a given country, the more unadulterated the rule of the bourgeoisie, and the greater the political liberty, the more extensive is the application of the 'most up-to-date' bourgeois slogan: reform versus revolution, the partial patching up of the doomed regime with the object of dividing and weakening the working class, and of maintaining the rule of the bourgeoisie, versus the revolutionary overthrow of that rule."

("Reformism in the Social-Democratic Movement, LCW, Vol 17, p 229)

As Lenin repeatedly stressed, opportunism is not an accidental phenomenon, chance occurrence, or merely the question of evil or misguided individuals. Opportunism is closely bound up with the whole development of capitalism itself --

## next ISSUE

1 — O L'S PARTY BUILDING PLAN

2 — ALAMOSA CONFERENCE:  
CHICANO MOVEMENT

3 — INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

it is a "protective mechanism" which helps it to maintain itself as a system. Communists who fail to understand that the combination of reformism and coercive violence is the concrete reality that we must solve if we are to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat are bound to fall into opportunism. It is our duty to win the masses away from the dominance of reformism, and it is to the extent that we are able to do this that we will be able to lead the masses in armed insurrection against the capitalist class. We must stress that the process of winning the masses away from the influence of reformism can only be done through the revolutionary struggle for reforms

No Marxist rejects the struggle for reforms, but they realize (1) reforms are a by-product of revolutionary struggle, and (2) it is their duty to link the concrete struggle with the ultimate socialist aim. Moreover we must educate the masses to carry out their struggle in a revolutionary way, that is, by breaking beyond the boundaries of bourgeois legality as we have said. To carry out these tasks it is necessary to recognize the extent and depth of illusions about bourgeois democracy within the working class. Reformism, trade unionism, economism all have a long and involved history in the United States and it is inevitable that they will make themselves felt as ideological tendencies within the communist movement. So it is not a question of nasty Bob Avakian, or misguided Michel Klonsky but of definite tendencies that capitalism is bound to breed. This is not a small point comrades.

At this very moment in history the forces of revolution and counter-revolution are contending most sharply. The danger of a world war between the two superpowers is gaining on a daily basis. It is just such a "turn" in the revolutionary process that brings opportunism to full maturity, that reveals all of its rottenness and corruption and social chauvenism. We must realize that if we do not wage an unrelenting, consistent and ruthless struggle (to the dismay of those bleeding heart "friends of the people" who blanch at the thought of open and honest ideological conflict), we shall be defaulting the leadership of the working class to opportunism.

War has the distinct advantage of bringing out the best and the worst in mankind

"(Wars) ruthlessly reveal, unmask and destroy much that is corrupt, outworn and dead in human institutions" (Lenin)

War will bring even more to the fore the question of practical leadership of the struggle -- the forces of Marxism-Leninism and the forces of opportunism will reveal all of their strengths and weaknesses in the case of war. We cannot wait for war to wage battle with the mealy-mouthed liberals who couch their cowardice with Marxist phrases and pithy homilies about "ties with the masses" (which translates into fear of giving the masses a revolutionary education, of helping them to break with reformism)

### What is the Main Danger?

We want to address ourselves to the question of what is the main danger to revolution in this country

(In late 1975 the OL changed its position that "Ultra-leftism" is the main danger. They claim that, with the formation of the RCP ultra-leftism had isolated itself and that centrism had become the "main roadblock" to party building. We will deal with this new position in future articles, and show how in practice their position has not changed) There are some comrades who hold that "left" sectarianism is the main danger to our movement. There are also opportunists like the OL who pushed this position. We make a dis



The OL calls for the National Guard and police to "protect" the Afro-American masses, negating that they are part of the bourgeois state apparatus and have a history of fascist attacks on the Afro-American masses.

inction between those who hold to this position out of confusion; those who cling to it because of a lack of revolutionary spine and who would conciliate opportunism and Marxism-Leninism; and those, like the October League, whose position flowed from, and served, their opportunism. In any case the absolute incorrectness and danger of the position is the same

### One Line Covers Another

The October League pointed to "ultra-leftism" (or "neo-trotskyism") not in order to wage a struggle against it, but to call attention away from their own right opportunism. As friends of ATM have rightly pointed out, opportunism inevitably had to take the form of the October League.

With the defeat of modern revisionism did not come the death of opportunism. It was forced to assume a new mask, to cover itself ever more cleverly and insidiously with the cloak (but not the essence) of Marxism. Opportunists who talk about "peaceful transition" and "party of the whole people", etc., etc., were obviously not going to be able to get over as easily with the advanced elements who were receiving their baptism in the rebellions and mass movements of the '60's and '70's

No, to succeed in their task opportunism had to wave the flag of Marxism, to shout about "armed struggle", and "building a new communist party", and attacking the CPUSA. But attacking revisionism does not make one anti-revisionist.

# O.L....

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We need only look at the trotskyst Communist Labor Party to see the truth of this as they continue their shameful grovelling at the feet of Soviet social-imperialism and attack the correct leadership of the Communist Party of China. In our Unity Statement we refer to this latest brand of opportunism as the "new revisionists" (We are referring here to a tendency, not necessarily the out-front revisionism of Marxist-Leninist principles)

We do not doubt that this is an international phenomenon which is likely to coalesce at some point in the future. It is no accident that in many countries we have a variety of "M-L" groups -- undoubtedly some of these represent the same retrograde trend as the RCP and the OL. This is not surprising -- both Trotskyism, old revisionism and modern revisionism are international trends, the same is bound to hold true for the "new revisionism". Understanding that the old tactics were no longer sufficient, opportunism had to do everything it could do to prevent a close examination of its program, line and practice.

The easiest and best way was to focus the attention of revolutionaries on "ultra-leftism". And the neatest (and most opportunist) way to do this was by seizing on questions of style of work, of form, and to ignore the question of the general content of the line of the movement. So the OL attacks the RU for being dual unionist, but ignores completely the fact of the political content of RU's "intermediate workers organizations". If they did they would see that whether or not the RU worked within the trade union structure they would only bring the workers economism. And THAT is the main problem, the main danger that we refer to.

To have brought up this unpleasant fact would have raised the inevitable comparison to OL's "workers unity" and "Fight-Back" committees which reek with the same reformism and economism as the "mass" organizations of the RU(RCP). To point the finger at RU's right opportunism would also have been to point the finger at OL's opportunism on Watergate, where they said that

the task facing the revolutionary proletariat was to "unparalyze Congress". Or perhaps it would have pointed the finger at their position that federal troops would protect the black masses in Boston. Or it would have revealed the basic chauvenism of their position on Boston, where the OL continually refers to the forced busing of Black children, but ignores the question of the forced busing of whites.

"Even" the liberals support forced busing of Blacks, but it is another question when it comes to busing white children. ATM stands in favor of forced busing in Boston, (although we believe the Blacks have the right to choose whether they wish to be bused or not), but its starting point is not simply the question of getting Black children a better education but a question of breaking the historically developed segregation pattern with all of its attendant political, economic and social ramifications. However, the October League wants the Black masses to get the STATE to defend their interests.

It is up to communists to sum-up the historical role the state has played in this country, or point to the experience of the '60's, where the state has revealed its ugliest features, to educate the masses, based on their own experience (it need not always be direct -- or must everyone get clubbed or shot?). Of course, like the devious opportunists that they are, the OL now puts forward "boldly" that the Black masses should protect themselves by "any means necessary". Avoiding the issue of breaking through the chains of bourgeois legality and calling for the armed self-defense of Blacks, the OL contents itself with vague and wishy-washy calls, while neglecting to carry out any systematic revolutionary work among the masses of Boston.

To show the extent of their disgusting liberalism, we can point to the march on Carson Beach in Boston. The OL correctly lays out that it was the task of communists to participate in this anti-segregation march. It was a mass undertaking initiated by the NAACP. The task of communists was to participate in this event, and in the course of it to expose reformists such as the leaders of the NAACP. The issue around which this exposure could have been done was around the self-defense of the demonstrators against police or white mob attack.

How did the OL develop its tactics? By asking Atkins of the NAACP if he had any contingency plan in case of physical confrontation. He said that he expected no trouble, but in any did occur he expected the police to protect them. The OL SAID NOTHING. Why? Because they thought that Atkins had a contingency plan to meet with the possibility of violence, but that he just wasn't revealing it. Talk about your faith in reformism. They actually believed that the mass organization which has built itself through its service to reformism was going to go beyond it. When the confrontation did occur, the OL was totally unprepared to provide revolutionary leadership (if they had wanted to). And these are the communists who are now strutting around as a "vanguard" organization. We can see it is no accident that the OL wants us to look only at "ultra-leftism".

Why did we make our conciliationist error regarding the OL? We made it because we were taken in by the fact that they did not crudely revise Marxist-Leninist principles. They were not so gross as the RU to come up with a theory of "nation of a new type". They were not so cloddish as to say that the central task was to build the "revolutionary unity, consciousness and organization" of the working class instead of party building. No, they said that party building was the central task, they claimed to uphold the Comintern position on the Afro-American national question. So, we were taken in.

We knew that they were economist and reformist. We knew that by coming out against secession of the Afro-American nation that they were chauvenist (or perhaps it is preferable for Blacks to remain "attached" to the oppressor nation under present conditions). Yet, since they were not blatant in revising Marxism-Leninism we said that they were still Marxist-Leninist.

Yes comrades, we said that they were right opportunist, economist and chauvenist but still Marxist-Leninists! Now this is a neat trick if you can do it, and we're sure that most opportunists would like to do it, but it cannot be done.



Marxism-Leninism and opportunism are irreconcilable -- they co-exist only in struggle. Failing to understand this created the following dangers:

1. We helped to give the October League credibility among some forces where we had influence,
2. We confused many revolutionary forces;
3. It weakened the solidarity of the revolutionary wing in the struggle against right opportunism;
4. This gave the OL the opportunity to zero its fire in on Workers Viewpoint, while pretending that it had a "close" relationship with ATM;
5. We confused our own cadre who consistently ran into the right opportunism of the OL in the course of their practice with them.

(We understand that when different organizations work together there are bound to be errors and conflicts -- this is true of even revolutionary organizations. However with the OL it was not a question of mistakes, but of an opportunist political line).

### Opportunism "On the Line"

To see this opportunism most clearly we refer comrades to the section of OL's paper, the CALL, entitled "On the Line" which pur-

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ports to be a summary of workers struggles from around the country

What do we find here? We find that, according to the OL, Arnold Miller, the head of the United Mineworkers, is leading the mineworkers against the Ku Klux Klan (October, 1975). Rather than exposing to the workers that THEY must deal with the Klan, and that Miller is bound to, at best, wage a half-hearted struggle against the Klan -- the OL article creates the idea that the mineworkers should rely on Miller to crush the Klan. The OL "conveniently" forgot to mention to the workers that they must develop their own independent and revolutionary struggle, (in spite of reformists such as Miller). We also find facts such as this:

"If fighting this system is communism," one striker said emphatically, "then I want to be a communist!"

("Capital Strike Enters Fourth Month" -- CALL, Nov 1975)

It is exactly the duty of communists to explain to the workers that striking for the better sale of their labor power is not communism, but trade unionism, and that it is only by going beyond trade unionism, that they can end their wage-slavery. But the October League, by their own words, is content "to have brought home some of these lessons about working class unity and solidarity." (ibid)

We remind the leadership of the OL that it is the task of communists to link the immediate struggles of the class to the ultimate aim. For those who do not know, or care to know, that aim is the dictatorship of the proletariat. But when an organization is shot through with reformism and illusions about bourgeois democracy it is no wonder that they are content with keeping the workers under the hegemony of trade unionist (bourgeois) ideology.

As one of the Capital strikers said (quoted in the CALL) -- "They call anyone who fights back a communist." This striker could have been referring to the October League who seem to think that anyone who "Fights Back" (it is so bold to put it in capital letters) is a communist.

Another interesting article in "On the Line" (CALL, Nov, 1975) is entitled "UFW Hits New Labor Relations Board". This article echos the demand of the leadership of the United Farmworkers that the general counsel of the new California Agricultural Labor Relations Board be fired, or that he resign. The UFW leadership doesn't think that the general counsel is acting vigorously enough on their unfair labor practices complaints.

We understand very well that it was only the militancy and struggle of the farmworkers themselves which forced the new California Farm Labor Law from the bourgeoisie.

However, we always thought that it was the task of communists to expose and explain to the proletariat that the state serves the interest of the bourgeoisie, and that they must smash this state and set up their own state -- the dictatorship of the proletariat. One thing that we know for sure (maybe the OL will say that it comes from reading too many books), is that only opportunists preach reliance on the state.

In the entire article the October

League never once mentions a thing about the class character of the state, or about any possible alternative to this state. They polemicize with the CPUSA about WHO will implement the new Farm Labor Law -- the leadership of the UFW or the "politicians and big labor leaders". Only the most craven opportunists would want the farmworkers to believe that the state is going to resolve their problems for them.

It is our task to reveal this state in the face of all the reformists who would obscure its class nature -- Cesar Chavez included. But the OL sees no problem with echoing the line of a garden-variety liberal. "Oh no, we're not opportunists, you must be talking about someone else."

Undoubtedly, the OL will respond to this by claiming to have written other articles on the ALRB which expose its class nature. But what kind of communist organization prints any articles of opportunist nature, or devoid of revolutionary political content?

As well as the pablum to which we have referred, one will find in the pages of the CALL articles of a propaganda nature, or good articles like "The 1931 Strike of the Readers" which told the story of a strike which was linked up to the struggle against capitalism. But we must judge a communist organ by its general content, and how they explain to the workers the processes involved in their own struggles. And it is in doing this that we show the workers that their only salvation (from a historical and practical and not a moral standpoint) is socialist revolution. Examining the OL from this perspective we see their opportunism clearly, or at least only barely disguised by the thin veil of Marxism which they attempt to cover themselves in.

One other point we want to make is that the OL seems to have succeeded in confusing some honest elements to some extent, with their chatter that "ultra-leftism" as the main danger. To some of these comrades even the OL is "left" because they have put forward a hegemonic scheme for party building (build the CALL, our Fight Back Organization, Our Communist Youth League and you can join the "party").

Don't be confused comrades, the OL is uniting only with comrades who will accept their right opportunist political line. They have no intention of "struggling out differences" within the party, anymore than the CL intended to struggle out differences with their "left" opportunist-trotskyist line "within the ranks of the party".

We must not focus attention only on the scheme put forward, but must look closely at the content of the line which an organization represents. Otherwise we will confuse form with content and lose our bearings in the struggle against opportunism.

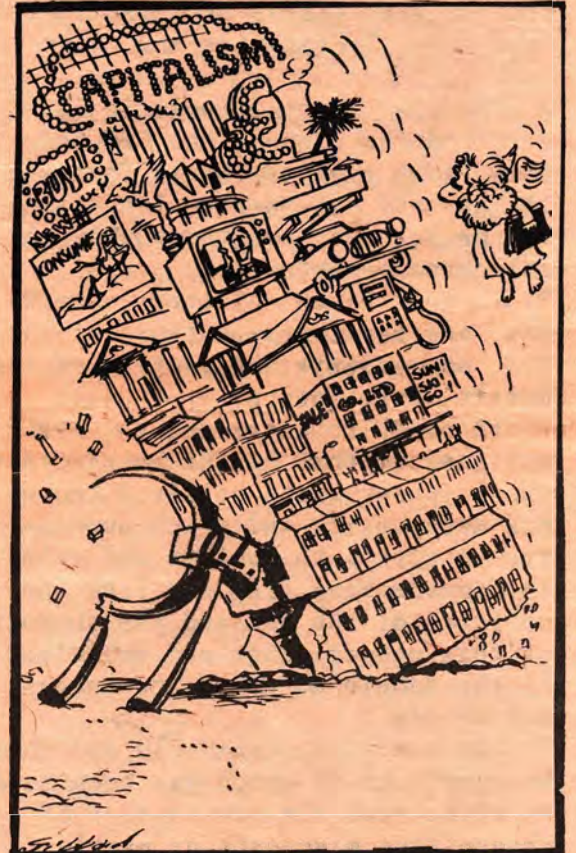
The October League, as an explanation for their line that "ultra-leftism" is the main danger, is always referring to the petty-bourgeois social base of the anti-revisionist communist movement.

"In part, it ("leftism") reflects the social base of the communist movement at the present time. The fact that a great deal of the present day communists come from the ranks of the mid-

dle classes or the intelligentsia is only natural." ("Party building in the U.S.", OL, page 8)

The only thing "natural" about this statement is the opportunism. When the OL refers to organizations with a petty-bourgeois social base they are referring only to themselves and the RU. Their chauvenism and paternalism leads them to neglect those communist organizations which developed from the movement of the oppressed nationalities, and which have a working class social base. Or maybe it would surprise the OL to learn that workers and oppressed nationalities are also capable of assimilating Marxism-Leninism.

Secondly, in advanced capitalist countries like the U.S. (which has advanced to superpower status), not only a section of the working class is bribed and corrupted with reformism, but also a section of the petty-bourgeoisie, its upper strata -- who also do not lag in assimilating and propagating reformist illusion.



It is not only ultra-leftism which the petty-bourgeoisie breeds, but also the spirit of "getting on", of becoming junior partners to the bourgeoisie -- of right opportunism. But of course the OL would not want to refer to this, someone just might draw the logical conclusion. Nothing reflects their social base better than OL's own history.

In the beginning, the October League carried out a truly ultra-"left" sectarian and dogmatic line. For years in the Los Angeles area they would shake WHAT IS TO BE DONE at us for participating in strikes. They use to tell us that even to participate in strikes was economist, that we should be studying so that we could build the party. They NEVER told us to bring Marxism-Leninism to the advanced workers in the course of strikes or struggle. No. -- they told us to lock ourselves in closets and to study, completely divorced from the struggles of the working class.

But this "left" opportunist line was only covering the strong right opportunist tendency which existed in the OL from the beginning, and which finally "defeated" their left opportunism. This change should not surprise us, it is quite characteristic for the petty bourgeoisie to jump this way and that, to go

# C.L.P.-SOCIAL PROP OF THE BOURGEOISIE

In the December, 1975 issue of the "Peoples Tribune", the thoroughly opportunist "Communist" Labor Party leveled a vicious attack on vice-premier Teng Hsiao-ping which in essence was but a cover for an attack on the Communist Party of China and the general line of the international Communist movement. We will quote from the so-called "Peoples Tribune", "Teng who has clearly emerged as China's Kruschev" and "we are firmly convinced that Mr Teng and his cohorts will only be a footnote in the history of the Chinese Revolution".

Just as the modern revisionists of the CPSU launched their attack on Marxism-Leninism by attacking an individual, Josef Stalin, the bankrupt CLP, under the cover of an attack on Comrade Teng, is doing the same. One of the points of departure between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism is the recognition of the leadership of the Communist Party of China in the international Communist movement. On this score, and a number of others, CLP has long ago revealed itself as consolidated renegades, Trotskyites and opportunists.

The CLP has opportunistically attacked the line of the CPC and this flows from two basic factors:

- 1) They are not Marxist-Leninists, nor principled, but thoroughly consolidated opportunists.
- 2) Their role as splitters, wreckers, and agent-provocateurs of the U.S. Bourgeoisie and lackeys of the Soviet-Revisionists.

In order to carry out the tasks assigned to them by the bourgeoisie these opportunists utilized bourgeois metaphysics and slick sophistry in trying to isolate and detach Comrade Teng from the line and policies of the CPC and the support of this general line and policies by the people of China and internationally.

This comrades, is an old and cheap bourgeois trick which has been used to attack and slander leaders of progressive movements or parties in order to splinter, wreck, and confuse honest forces.

## The Aim of These Opportunist Attacks

The aim of these opportunists is to sow the seeds of doubt; speculation, and confusion within the Communist, Labor, and national movements, as to the revolutionary character and leading role of the CPC internationally. This is to be done by depicting the CPC as "degenerating", "headed by Revisionists", and colluding with mean old U.S. Imperialism against the innocent and peace loving Soviet-Revisionists and peoples of the world. Their hope is to win friends and influence people by appearing more pure and super-revolutionary than "even" the CPC.

CLP's line of social-chauvinism and social-pacifism holds:

- 1) that the U.S.S.R. is still a socialist country and that capitalism has not been fully restored.
- 2) that the U.S.S.R. is not a social imperialist and fascist state.
- 3) that there are no two superpowers, no United Front Against Imperialism nor any third world, but only the socialist and imperialist camps.
- 4) that there is only a need for a one stage revolution in the colon-

ies and neo-colonies (A straight-up Trotskyite theory)

5) that all revolutionary and progressive forces should support the Soviet "Peace" proposal (Read. De-tente).

6) that the U.S.S.R. is still a friend of the peoples of the world, and its only a couple of misleaders at the top who are the problem. This line is in essence that of the CPUSA.

The CLP denies the contradiction between/among the imperialist and social-imperialist countries, and the contradiction between the socialist countries on the one hand and the imperialists and social-imperialist on the other. In doing this, these opportunists deny the possibility of using these contradictions among the imperialists (contradictions, conflicts, and wars among the imperialist states) as indirect reserves in order to strengthen the United Front against Imperialism and isolate and smash the two superpowers one by one.

By liquidating the principal contradiction worldwide between imperialism and soviet-social imperialism on the one hand, and the oppressed nations on the other, these social-chauvinists try to re-channel the support for just wars of national liberation to a social-pacifist

## CLP STATEMENT ON SOVIET PROPOSAL

We call on all honest, progressive workers and militants in the struggle to unite behind this appeal of the CPSU, to expose the war mongering of Washington to the masses of people, defend peace and fight for the liberation of mankind from imperialism.

and capitulationist policy. Nowhere in this article from the "Peoples Tribune" is the traitorous role of the Soviet-social-imperialists in Asia mentioned such as in India, Cambodia, the Philippines, etc.

There are two other nauseating articles in this same issue of their worthless rag in which the CLP states their support of the Revisionist Portuguese Communist Party as "the leader of the Portuguese Proletariat". This is the same PCP who collaborated with the military to repress and jail the real Marxist-Leninist forces.

The other gem in this particular issue describes two "comrades" who took a two week tour of the U.S.S.R. who sound more like two bourgeois tourists on a vacation. They are totally excited because the streets had no garbage, people were well dressed, and there were re-built museums which indicated socialism still existed. This is the bourgeois metaphysical approach and method in only seeing the appearance of things and not the essence of Soviet society being the restoration of capitalism with a new Soviet Bourgeoisie, appropriation of the surplus value of the working-class, etc.

The aim of these two articles is to try and win support for Soviet influence, expansionism, and hegemonism in West Europe, and con people into believing a proletarian workers' state still exists in the U.S.S.R. because of streets without

garbage, people with clothes, and re-built museums. We should refer CLP and their two roving tourists to the fact that these things can also be found in other capitalist countries such as Sweden.

## Historical Roots of This Opportunism and Our Tasks

Understanding that imperialism itself is bound to give rise to a continuous stream of different types of opportunism to corrupt the revolutionary movement, we can see that CLP is the deformed offspring of the old "left" opportunist Provisional Organizing Committee which attempted to reconstitute the CPUSA, but which ended up attacking Stalin, the Communist Party of China and Marxism-Leninism. The bourgeois method of deception and the different forms of opportunism it creates are laid out by the Albanian Comrades.

"When the first signs of Krushchovite opportunism became apparent, imperialism, without neglecting the means of violence, began to practice on a wider scale the tactics of deception, of undermining the communist and workers movement, of revolution and socialism from within, a tactic which it had begun to use many years before in various capitalist countries." (Some Questions of Socialist Construction in Albania and of the Struggle Against Revisionism -- Party of Labor of Albania).

The "dialectics of the development of the CLP", not "from the standpoint of pure reason" as they see things, but in real life, is that of increasingly throwing off their "left" cover and essentially jumping into bed with the CPUSA as lackeys of the Soviet social-imperialists and agents and social props of the bourgeoisie within the labor and national movements.

Our tasks in regard to this and other shades of opportunism is to tear off their "ultra-revolutionary" cover and expose their right essence, and in the process expose the dying bourgeoisie which becomes ever slicker in its tactics of deception. We must uphold the principle of proletarian internationalism and actively support the United Front against Imperialism and the struggle against the two superpowers, the national liberation struggles, and the leading role of the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania, and the general line of the international communist movement.

The decadent CLP is going out of being since it represents the dying forces in bourgeois society, but it will not go out on its own accord, nor can they be simply "declared" defeated and out of existence in a voluntarist manner. We must direct our blows at these bribed elements, these social props of imperialism, and in the process of struggle, expose, defeat and expel them from the ranks of the labor and national movements.

DEATH TO OPPORTUNISM!!!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA!!!

# CHOU EN LAI-PROLETARIAN HERO

## HIS LEGACY BELONGS TO THE MASSES

On Friday, January 8th, 1976 Comrade Chou En-Lai, the Premier of the People's Republic of China, died at the age of 77. The workers and oppressed people of the world have lost one of their outstanding leaders and proletarian fighters

## A LIFETIME OF STRUGGLE

Since the time of his youth Comrade Chou En-Lai had dedicated his life to serving the people. Active in the May 4th Movement in China, which was a mass student struggle against imperialism, he learned early in life that imperialism was the main enemy of the people of China and of the whole world. Based on his own revolutionary baptism in the May 4th Movement, Comrade Chou became an active member of the Communist Party of China

Through his experience in fight-



Sent January, 1976

TO THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA  
AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA.

FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE-- THE  
AUGUST TWENTY-NINTH MOVEMENT

We send our condolences to the people of China for their loss of Comrade Chou En-Lai. The working and oppressed people of the world have lost one of their most valiant fighters against imperialism -- particularly the two superpowers. In tribute to his memory we pledge to redouble our efforts to develop the struggle here in the United States in support of the working people of the world and against the war-mongering superpowers.

working majority began, for the first time to control the destiny of their country. No longer would foreign moneybags rule over China and force the workers of that country to sweat and die for their profit

Passing from the New Democratic stage to the stage of Socialist revolution, Comrade Chou En-Lai continued to adhere to Marxism-Leninism, to dedicate all of his energies to serving the people of China, and the oppressed masses of the world. He was instrumental in providing leadership to the incredible socialist construction which has seen China develop from a poor and backward country into a powerful socialist state, a state where the working people exercise absolute control over their country and where the only people who are oppressed are exploiters.

Most importantly, Comrade Chou has helped to lead the Chinese people in making the principle of proletarian internationalism a living reality--China providing political, military and economic assistance to the oppressed people of the world in their struggle against the two superpowers--the United States and the social-imperialist USSR.

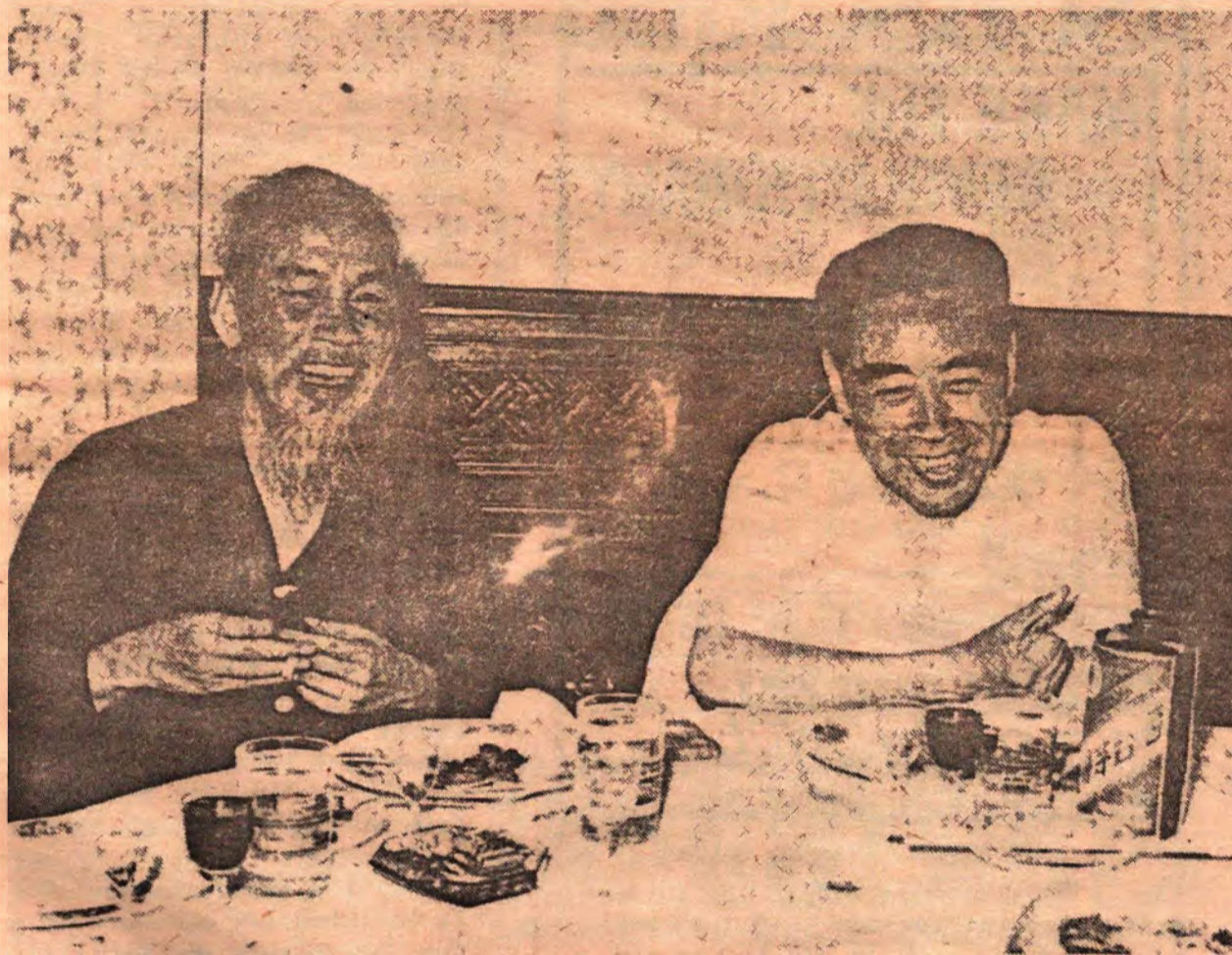
## UPHOLD THE BANNER OF CLASS STRUGGLE

Perhaps the most important struggle in which Comrade Chou En-Lai and the Chinese people have been involved was the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, Chou and the masses of Party members unfolded a mass struggle such as has never been seen before in the world --the struggle was against the capitalist elements inside both the Party and the socialist state who wanted to lead China onto the backward path of capitalism and revisionism.

Unleashing the revolutionary initiative of the Chinese masses in their millions, the Party, with Chairman Mao and Comrade Chou, at the head succeeded in smashing the bourgeois headquarters of the Liu-Shao-chi and Lin Piao cliques. The Chinese people had succeeded in further consolidating their dictatorship over the bloodsuckers who wanted a return to their former "paradise" of exploitation and oppression.

## LEARN FROM HIS EXAMPLE

To the end of his days Comrade Chou persisted in struggling to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. He refused to let his illness deter him from serving the people with everything that he had. Let us not weep but learn from his glorious example. Let us not only praise him but do as he did. Let us rejoice that the working masses of the world have produced such a hero for us to follow. Let us learn from this man of supreme principle to always follow the line of Marxism-Leninism. Let us learn to devote our whole lives to the cause of the working masses. Let us fear no hardship to accomplish our noble objective of revolution and socialism. This is our wonderful legacy from Comrade Chou En-Lai. Of him it can truly be said. "He did good for the people all of his life"



CHOU EN-LAI (RIGHT) ON A VISIT TO HANOI AND PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH IN 1960

ing for the people he had come to realize that it was only by learning and applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of the Chinese Revolution that the Chinese people could lift the burdens of feudalism and imperialism from their shoulders. Adherence to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism is the distinguishing feature of the life of Comrade Chou En-Lai.

Along with Chairman Mao Tse-Tung he led the whole Party and the heroic Red army on the historic Long March. This epic march of over a 9000 miles symbolized victory for the correct line of Chairman Mao and the defeat for the "left" and right opportunists in the Party whose adventurism and capitulationism had caused defeat and misery. Despite incredible hardships Comrade Chou and the Chinese masses persevered in the struggle and

brought the Long March to a victorious conclusion.

Comrade Chou En-Lai was also instrumental in helping to lead the Party in its successful war against Japanese imperialism, which tried to subdue and plunder the Chinese nation and which was soundly defeated by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. Following this glorious victory, the Party, with Chairman Mao and Comrade Chou providing leadership, led the masses to another victory over the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique which hoped to plunge China back into the darkness of feudal oppression and capitalist exploitation.

This victory made the culmination of the struggle for New Democracy and ushered in a new historical era in China in which the vast

# O.L. . . .

CONT'D FROM PAGE 9

from one extreme to another. But in this case what we have is not only flip-flopping, but pragmatism to boot.

The OL's change in line was not motivated by principle, otherwise we would have seen some analysis and repudiation of their former line. It was simply a case of their "leftism" not working, of keeping them isolated. They had to find something which would "work" -- and it was not Marxism-Leninism which they found, but economism. In either case the name of the game is opportunism -- it was born, went through its adolescence, and now struts across the stage of history as a full blown adult.

In the course of this development other events were occurring. Other organizations were being born -- particularly out of the struggles of the oppressed nationalities. These organizations have had to fight every inch of the way for Marxism-Leninism. They have grown up (and grown strong) in the struggle against opportunism and revisionism. Out of this struggle was born and developed the two wings in the communist movement. An opportunist wing made up of OL, Guardian, RCP and others; and a revolutionary wing consisting of a number of groups and collectives throughout the country among which are ATM and PRRWO. Moreover the revolutionary wing has developed in the face of attack of MARXIST-LENINIST principles by the crude hucksters of the RU and CL type, and the nickelslick con men of the OL type.

These two wings of our movement are no accidental product of history, but are a natural occurrence of the class struggle. The dying and decadent bourgeoisie is bound to try and prettify its stinking flesh with fresh make-up and new clothes. It is the task of the revolutionary class to pull the mask off, to reveal to all the oppressed masses the true face of the enemy, in order that we may more quickly place the body in its coffin and nail on the lid.

Finally, we challenge the October League to answer our arguments on their merits. We fully expect the OL to resort to the same type of name-calling, slander and invective that they did when responding to WVO's polemic against them. Rather than dealing with the principles that we raise we anticipate that the OL will isolate in on mistakes we have made, or personalities, or errors in our line -- anything to avoid confronting the issue of their opportunism.

Well, we say to our erstwhile comrades from the OL "Pongale!! Fire your best shot", you will only further reveal yourself to all the honest, selfless and dedicated revolutionaries of the United States.

[In future issues we will go into some of our history with the OL, the roots and development of our conciliationism, their party building plan, and the national question.]



## COMMUNISTS IN UNIONS . . .

ment of the U.S. cannot be separated from U.S. imperialist exploitation and the reaping of huge superprofits from the second and third world countries and the oppressed nationalities at home. These superprofits are the material basis for the existence of a labor aristocracy in this country.

The policies of the AFL-CIO, for instance their support of deportations and their past support of U.S. imperialism in the Viet Nam War, are a result of the bribery the leaders of the AFL-CIO receive. The Albanian comrade Filip Kota in his pamphlet "Two Opposing Lines in the World Trade Union Movement" writes, "Trade Union bureaucracy has spread its roots not only within but also outside the trade union, becoming the zealous collaborator and tool of the capitalist state and monopolist. This type of trade union takes an active part in all organs set up by the capitalist state and the employers."

many years. It is necessary to change the entire character of union contracts, to end the web of legal entanglements in which the workers' interests are ensnared" ("Our Nation's Crisis and How to Solve It", main political resolution, CPUSA, 1972). So to the "C" PUSA class struggle means changing the character of contracts.

The RCP (revisionist) is, in essence, no different. Under the cover of militant trade unionist rhetoric they do nothing except tail behind the economic struggle. In the October 1975 issue of *Revolution* they carried an article summing up the struggle in the miner's strike. This is how they "expose" the labor aristocracy "from the beginning the union leadership worked to sabotage the strike. But with over 80,000 miners out solidly at the high point, severely hurting the coal operations and threatening what control the union misleaders have over the miners, union leadership was forced to change their tactics."

The "Revolutionary" Communist Party has thus "exposed" to all the workers the class collaboration of the labor aristocracy. These revisionists have told the workers nothing! Any worker could have drawn the same conclusions. By refusing to raise the political level of the working class these revisionists and social-fascists are opening the doors to the fascist forces in this country. Comrades, this is why we say the main danger in the communist and working class movement is right opportunism in the form of revisionism and reformism.

### Our Ongoing Tasks

We understand that for the fractions to carry out their tasks they must be armed with a clearly formulated political line, which it is their duty to test in practice, in the process of winning the advanced and intermediate workers to communism in the course of struggle. Another task of communists is to wage a ruthless struggle against the reformist labor bureaucrats and the revisionists and right opportunists within the trade unions. Our task is to intensify our work of educating, organizing and mobilizing the workers to break with reformism (in the form of trade unionism pure and simple), and to go beyond the bounds of narrow bourgeois legality.

We must expose the bureaucrats not only on the basis of what they say but also by what they do. Our third task is to link our propaganda and agitation to the course of the day-to-day struggle and to provide tactical leadership to this struggle. This means providing revolutionary leadership as to the forms of struggle and organization which best correspond to the objective situation, so that we lay the basis in the present period for carrying out our objective of bringing the unions under the influence and leadership of communists.

Comrades, the trade unions, as schools of communism, must become, in the course of revolutionary struggle, strongholds of proletarian revolution where the struggle is broadened, organization is strengthened, and joint action is raised to a revolutionary level. It is our task as communists to lead the workers in making this goal a reality.

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It is therefore not strange to see Arthur Goldberg, a former representative of the AFL-CIO in Indonesia, being a permanent U.S. representative to the United Nations, or George Meany being a willing collaborator with the CIA. It's all part of the business, and as an English capitalist once told the social imperialist named Hyndman in her appraisal of his and other bribed stooges' work of training workers in bourgeois ideology -- "You train 'em and we buy 'em."

Along with exposing the labor aristocracy we must continue to combat the revisionists, in particular the "C" PUSA. The revisionist role as agents and social-fascists, who push bourgeois reformism onto the workers under the cover of "Marxism" objectively leaves the door open to the ideology of fascism and its most degenerate aspect, national chauvenism, to gain ground among the more backward workers.

Take for example the "C" PUSA's idea of class struggle. "an essential part of the fight for a class struggle policy is a drive to remove all the legal and contractual road blocks to struggle which class collaborationism had built up over