



Revolutionary Cause

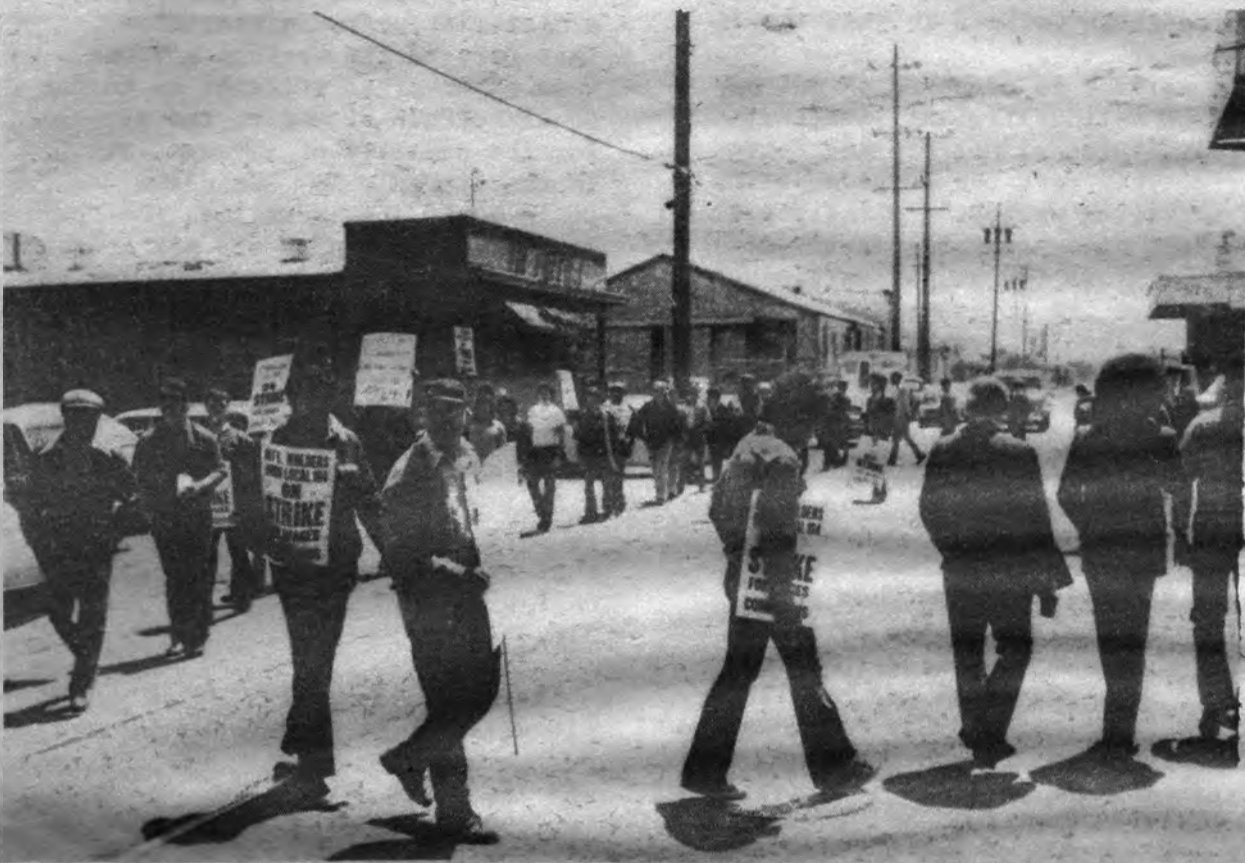
POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE AUGUST 29th MOVEMENT (MARXIST-LENINIST)

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sección en español

COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE, NATIONS WANT LIBERATION, PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION

Communists provide leadership

MOLDERS' STRIKE-VICTORY!



"Our strike isn't just against the companies we work for," said the strike leader shouting through a bullhorn to the strikers assembled for a mass rally, "our strike is against the entire capitalist class, the police and courts who represent that class." Before the strike began that worker was a militant trade unionist; his development symbolizes the development of some of the class-conscious molders in the struggle. The nine week strike of the International Molders and Allied Workers of local # 164 was a victory for the entire working class -- because one of its sectors (the northern California molders) learned to view many important questions from the standpoint of COMMUNISM. Under Communist leadership they learned that national oppression is part and parcel of the capitalist system. More importantly they began to FIGHT for the equality of peoples. Secondly, they learned about the class nature of the capitalist state and took conscious action against it. Thirdly, the workers came to understand the function of the social props, the bribed trade union bureaucrats. They learned exactly WHY capitalism buys these lackeys, and they acted upon this knowledge -- fighting the bureaucrats tooth and nail -- not just because they are bad trade unionists, but because they are capitalist props. Fourthly, and inclusive of the above questions, the Molders -- all different levels of them -- began to understand the interrelationship between their class and other classes and strata -- the role of the different class forces. Finally, and most importantly, some of the workers learned of both the inevitability and the necessity for socialist revolution. The learning

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STRUGGLE FOR PARTY IS STRUGGLE FOR REVOLUTION!

Current state of our movement

The problems posed by economic or political crisis, particularly in times when the bourgeoisie is preparing for war, brings out the best and the worst in the communist movement. Trotskyism as the outlook of unstable elements swept into a revolutionary movement almost inevitably rears its head as a revolutionary struggle intensifies. One of the tasks facing communists has been and continues to be unmasking this opportunism; learning how its forms will vary depending on the concrete historical conditions in which it arises, for it is these very conditions that will determine its "national specific" form.

No one can seriously contend that the 'leap' of PRRWO and RWL to the left represents a complete consolidation around Trotskyism, but nonetheless, aspects of their 'new' line clearly represent a form of Trotskyism, a 'nationally specific' form, and their direction points towards a complete embracing of the essence of Trotskyism. This polemic will center on this point and on various other aspects of their line.

Communists throughout the country have over these last few months noted that in reading Revolutionary Cause and Palante, two fundamentally different lines were being presented. The first question comrades will ask

will be, "what happened to that 'growing unity'?" First of all, the PRRWO we will be polemicizing with and the 'old' PRRWO we had "growing unity" with are two distinct organizations, and that should be kept in mind throughout this polemic. We will return to this question shortly. The RWL, an organization which developed over the past two years has proven incapable or unwilling to develop its line as an independent organization, standing on its own two feet. From tailing the OL, they went to tailing WVO, and now PRRWO. Find whose hand it is holding and you can determine its new line. For that reason, they will not be the focus of our polemics. The RWL's leadership has been adept at reading the Marxist classics. Unfortunately, that is not enough. Divorced from revolutionary practice (with some exceptions) with no ties to the masses (now its one of their principles) they inevitably have and will continue to flounder incapable of determining any direction for their own organization, much less the communist or working class movements.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The PRRWO's origins can be traced
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of such lessons, the actions of the workers upon them can only be seen as a victory of major importance for our class. After years of struggle Communists were able to lead the class conscious workers to break with the politics of trade unionism and to embrace the politics of socialism, (albeit at different levels)

Economically the workers won their best contract ever, (and this in the middle of the capitalists current economic crisis) -- particularly from the standpoint of the unskilled workers, whose interests were always the first to be sacrificed by the bureaucrats in the past. They won substantial wage and benefit increases. Significantly, the majority of unskilled workers are oppressed nationality or immigrant workers.

V.I. Lenin once stated that it is the essential task of communists to train the working class as the leading class in relation to all other classes in society. This is the starting point of ATM (M-L) for our work in the trade unions. By carrying out this task in the Molders Union strike we were able to train as leaders, organizers and agitators (and to a small extent as propagandists) a few advanced and intermediate workers who proved themselves able to win over the mass of workers. For this reason, and this reason alone, we were able to lay the basis, after years of struggle, for the development of factory cells within the plants, and for the expansion of our union fraction.

OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS

The unity of the working class is an essential prerequisite of its socialist revolution. No one can deny the sharp divisions along national lines within the U.S. proletariat. Because of the historical development of U.S. capitalism -- based on genocide, slavery, annexation as well as savage exploitation of the entire proletariat, and the superexploitation of the oppressed nationality workers -- the existence of national divisions is not surprising especially since the ruling class maintains them with their ideology of racism and national chauvinism. With the tremendous superprofits stolen from oppressed peoples throughout the world as well as from the oppressed peoples here, the U.S. bourgeoisie has been able to establish a system of social, economic and political privilege which divides the oppressor nation (Anglo-American) proletariat from those of the oppressed nations and peoples. Recognizing the distinction between the oppressor nation and the oppressed is the consistent stand of the proletariat -- not in order to divide, but in order to unite, their class. No analysis of our work in the Molders would be complete without an explanation of the significance of the national question, the struggle for the unity of the workers, for this work.

The Molders strike, which covered the three state area of Washington, Oregon and northern California, was waged by workers from the foundry industry which is among the most dangerous industries in the country. Workers stand in front of blazing furnaces (some of which are half a century old), they pour molten iron

and steel into molds which form the outside shells for engines, etc. The industry averages 70 deaths and 70,000 injuries a year, an incredible statistic for a small and declining industry in which the great majority of the shops employ 50 workers or less. Molders suffer a widespread occupational illness called silicosis, which develops as a result of the workers having to breathe and work with the chemically treated sand used to make the molds. No cure has been found for the disease and it is always fatal. Rather than fighting for safe working conditions the Molders Union bureaucrats have been content to send the afflicted workers to the City of Hope hospital in southern California to die. In local #164 alone unsafe conditions killed three workers in just the last year.

Local #164 is composed of 80% oppressed nationality and immigrant workers: Blacks, Mexican and Portuguese. They form the large majority of unskilled workers and their average take home pay for a family of four prior to the strike barely put them above the government's official "poverty level". Even the skilled molders and machinists, however, made \$2 an hour less than workers in similar industries. National divisions were extremely pronounced in 164 -- fanned and maintained by the capitalists and their social props. Unable to take an active part in the class struggle because they could not speak English -- the Mexicano and Portuguese workers were often viewed with suspicion and hostility by the other workers who considered the former passive and backward. The divisions were further accentuated by the discriminatory departmental seniority system of the foundry owners; a system maintained with the acquiescence of the bribed union bureaucrats. This system allows the capitalists to lay off the oppressed nationalities FIRST in times of crisis, while at the same time keeping them frozen in unskilled positions -- denying them access to skill training and promotions.

With these facts in mind, ATM had concluded that the direction of the main blow must be at the International leadership and the old-line corrupt bureaucrats from the local. These capitalist agents have fought bitterly against two important demands of the workers relating to national oppression: (1) the translation of the union contract into Spanish and Portuguese, (2) a plant-wide seniority system. These two demands were the key to drawing the Mexicano and Portuguese workers into the struggle and thus to forging working class unity.

EQUALITY OF PEOPLES!

As can be seen, the national question was an extremely important part of our work: to help unite the workers; to promote the equality of peoples; to expose the social props; to explain the essence of imperialism. ALL the other political forces involved with the strike and the local could be defined by their stand towards this question -- to stand on the side of the proletariat for the equality of the oppressed, or to stand with the capitalist oppressors and the bureaucrats. The "Communist" Party of the USA, the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Communist Labor Party and the Workers Viewpoint Organization failed not only to articulate the question and to organize the struggle around it -- but failed

to EVEN RAISE IT! The CPUSA and the CLP openly caucused during the strike and consistently tried to divert the focus of attack away from the bribed bureaucrats. While calling for "class unity" they were perfectly willing to sacrifice the interests of whole sections of that class (the oppressed nationalities). The RCP which claims to be fighting for workers power, socialism, etc., did not ONCE raise the national question. Without fighting for the equality of peoples THERE CAN BE NO SOCIALIST REVOLUTION! WVO did no organizing prior to, or during, the strike -- in fact, they gave no direction at all during the strike. They too ignored the national question, except in words where they issued a leaflet calling for socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc. Unfortunately, they offered the workers not one iota of concrete guidance as to how to link THEIR struggle, the struggle for the equality of workers, etc., to the struggle for socialism. As Lenin would say, sometimes the "pure truths" of communism are not enough. Telling the workers to fight for socialism without showing them HOW, is phrasemongering -- not leadership.

Only ATM (M-L) and the Revolutionary Workers League have formulated and fought for these demands and recognized the importance of the national question for our work. Later in this article we shall explain what this meant in practice politically.

THE STRIKE

There is a long history of struggle against the bosses and the sell-out bureaucrats of the International and the local within #164. In December 1975, partly as a result of two years of political work by ATM (M-L) the rank and file threw out a number of the most corrupt social props, (one of whom, the former business agent, immediately got a job as a foreman). The workers drove them out mostly because of trade union sentiments -- i.e., the old bureaucrats were notoriously bad even as trade unionists. However the workers were influenced to no small degree by the Political exposures of the bureaucrats done by ATM, especially around the national question and their class collaboration. These questions were explained to the workers in their interconnectedness with imperialism -- i.e., that imperialism LIVES through national oppression and BRIBES the bureaucrats in order to maintain itself as a system. We do not pretend that this was always done correctly, systematically and comprehensively. The point is, however, that we recognized our tasks as communists in an advanced capitalist country and worked to fulfill them.

In place of the old social props, the rank and file elected a slate which stood for democracy in the union, (allowing for a broader participation in the class struggle by the workers; as well as allowing a wider scope for communist work); which stood AGAINST the international bureaucrats -- which openly attacked them as tools of the capitalists. Some of these new officers are clearly on the side of communism; while others are militant trade unionists, and one is an open revisionist. This past struggle and the election victory set the stage for the strike.

True to their capitalist masters, the labor bureaucrats of the International and local -- District Re-

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STOP POLICE REPRESSION!

State terrorism on the rise

Rap Brown, a heroic Afro-American revolutionary nationalist fighter (currently in jail), once said that, "violence is as American as apple pie" Life has confirmed the truth of this statement many times over Capitalist America was initially founded, in fact, through the brutal murder of thousands of Native American Indians. This was followed by the theft of and murder of millions of Blacks from Africa as chattel slaves; followed by the robbery of the Southwest from Mexico in a bloody expansionist war. And of course the history of the working class is full of violent examples of police and capitalist-goon repression of the fighting proletariat. Nor can we forget that the United States has sent its troops all over the world in a bloody but fruitless attempt to keep many Third World countries as private reserves of U S imperialist exploitation and sources of super-profits, (Cuba, Santo Domingo, the Congo, Korea, Viet Nam, Cambodia, etc , etc.).*

Of course there is another side to this as the oppressed peoples fight back violently against their oppressors. It is indisputable that oppression inevitably breeds resistance. The Indians did not stand passively by while the English, French, Spanish and U.S. colonizers chopped them down. They took up arms and, like Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce Indians, killed hundreds of U.S. soldiers. There were literally thousands of Black slave rebellions in the Black-Belt South and even on the slave ships in transit from Africa. The historic Afro-America rebellions of the 1960's represent a continuation of these heroic traditions. The Chicano people have waged armed struggle against U.S. capitalism for over a hundred years. Coal miners in West Virginia in the early 1900's showed what the proletariat is made of when they killed in one battle, 19 capitalist assassins who fired on them and who had previously murdered some striking miners

When Rap Brown said that violence was a common feature of America, he was talking about a CAPITALIST U.S which lives through the savage exploitation of its workers and the violent repression of all the oppressed peoples -- PARTICULARLY the minority nationalities



WE DEDICATE THIS ISSUE OF REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE TO THE MEMORY OF COMRADE CHU TEH WHO RECENTLY DIED AFTER YEARS OF SELFLESS DEDICATION TO THE CAUSE OF THE OPPRESSED MASSES OF CHINA AND THE WORLD! HIS LEGACY BELONGS TO THE MASSES!



Protesting murder of Black youth, Detroit, August 1975

THE CURRENT SITUATION

Right now police and government attacks on the masses are on the rise. The oppressed nationalities in particular are feeling the brunt of this savage repression.

In New Orleans, Louisiana, Gary Tyler, a 17 year old Black youth has been framed-up on a charge of murdering a white youth who was part of a racist gang attacking some Black students. Even though the state's chief witness has admitted she was forced to lie on the stand, Tyler is scheduled to be executed in the electric chair. Not content with this frame-up, the ruling class also gunned down 19 year old Richard Dunne, a Black man, as he stood outside of a Gary Tyler fundraising dance. Dunne was murdered by gunfire from two white men speeding by in a car.

In Georgia, two Black women, Dessie X Woods and Cheryl Todd have been convicted of various charges because they defended themselves against a rape attack by a notorious racist white businessman. Unable to secure murder convictions, the state instead railroaded Dessie and Cheryl on manslaughter and theft charges. Dessie was shipped to the Central State Hospital in Georgia where she was viciously attacked by 8 men, then thrown into an unlighted cell without any clothes. Later, she was drugged against her will in an attempt to destroy her mind and break her spirit

On January 22, 1976 in San Jose, California, two cops shot to death Danny Trevino, a young Chicano. This is the 15th police murder of a Black or Chicano in San Jose since 1960. No cop has yet been convicted for any one of these killings

In Portland, Oregon Dennis Banks, an American Indian Movement leader, and three other Native American activists have been framed-up by the capitalist state on charges of possession of guns and explosives. The state of South Dakota is currently

trying to extradite the four men William Janklow, South Dakota attorney general recently stated that, "The only way to deal with A I M. leadership is to put a bullet through its head."

In San Fernando, California a 17 year old Black student Barry Evans -- was gunned down on February 10th by 2 cops from the Los Angeles Po-

lice Department.

On August 14, 1975, DeWayne "Wa-heeb" Williams, a 26 year old Black student from Northridge, California was viciously beaten by Los Angeles police who said that they had gotten a call (later proven to be erroneous) that "two Black men with guns" were standing outside an apartment building. 30 cops were sent to the scene of this "crime"!

There have been seven known police murders of Blacks and Chicanos in the Southern California area in the past year or so. In addition there have been 5 mysterious "suicides" by Blacks in Los Angeles jails in the past two years.

Two Menominee Indian activists were gunned down on February 3rd by an Indian-hating sheriff in Madison, Wisconsin. John Waubanasum and Arlin Pamanet were unarmed as they were executed by sheriff Kenneth Fish

These are just a FEW examples of the current police and government rampage against the masses. In response to these attacks, tens of thousands of people have marched in anger through the streets of San Diego, San Jose, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Madison and other cities, demanding freedom for all those who have been framed-up, and the immediate jailing of the state killers.

CAPITALISM MEANS REPRESSION!

As long as we have a system where a small class of capitalist thieves own everything of productive value, we will have to face a state which exists ONLY to keep the capitalists in power, and to keep the working class and oppressed nationalities "in their place", (making profit for the capitalists). Right now, capitalism is in a severe economic and political crisis throughout the world -- especially as the underdeveloped countries of the Third World throw out the imperialists and begin to take control of their own resources, raw materials and markets. Rather than lose their profits, the capitalists make the working class take up the slack -- i.e., get layed off, pay higher prices, higher taxes, face the loss of necessary social services, suffer a deteriorating educational system, etc. Naturally people are not going to take this lying down. The capitalists know this and so they are "honing their weapons" -- their police forces -- to put down the inevitable mass struggles that are sure to come (and are already breaking out)!

* (Today the Third World is carrying on its struggle on two fronts -- against both U.S imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism)

(Continued on p. 4)

AUGUST 29th MOVEMENT(MARXIST-LENINIST):

AT OUR RECENTLY COMPLETED 2nd CONGRESS WE ADDED "MARXIST-LENINIST" AFTER OUR NAME. WE DID THIS SO THAT OUR NAME WOULD REFLECT PRECISELY THE CHARACTER OF OUR ORGANIZATION: AS WELL AS TO MAKE CLEAR OUR UNEQUIVOCAL STAND AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM.

IN FUTURE ISSUES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE WE WILL BE PRINTING SOME OF THE RESOLUTIONS FROM OUR 2nd CONGRESS.

REPRESSION...

(Continued from p. 3)

As these mass struggles develop in scope and intensity we will begin to see that the capitalist system contains within itself the seeds of fascism. Fascism is rule by the most reactionary sections of the ruling class, a rule based on naked and open police terror. It aims its attack primarily at the organized working class, and especially, at communist organizations which stand for the revolutionary interests of that working class. We can see for instance the increasing centralization of wealth in our society -- with more and more businesses being driven to the wall to the benefit of the large monopoly capitalists. In some cases, such as with the rail industry, we can see monopoly capitalism passing into STATE monopoly capitalism (the rule under most fascist governments). As a signal of the future attacks planned on the organized movement of the working class we can point to the abolition of the right to strike in the steel industry, and compulsory arbitration by the state in almost all unions. Banning of the right to strike was the first act of the Hitler dictatorship.

Watergate served to reveal even more of the fascist embryo -- showing how willing the executive branch was to bypass even its own bourgeois legality to increase its concentration of power, and in order to avoid the Congressional "talking shop".

In the sphere of foreign relations fascism represents military aggressiveness and expansion. The U.S. capitalists openly reveal THEIR intentions by passing a military budget for 1976 totalling almost \$100 BILLION! Money for peace? Money for war with the social-imperialist Soviet Union in order to redivide the world for profit -- a world war between capitalist thieves. And of course, we have already pointed out the increasing terrorization of the oppressed nationalities by police forces armed with the most sophisticated of modern weapons. Are these weapons going to be used to stop the capitalists from exploiting us; to stop their corruption, their reactionary policies or to relieve them of some of their vast wealth? We think that the question answers itself. As our movement against capitalism begins to grow and develop, the capitalists will move closer

and closer to a fascist-type dictatorship -- trying, in the meantime to divert our struggle onto the reformist paths of the Cesar Chavez', the Jimmy Carters, the George Meanys, the Jesse Jacksons -- and all of their other puppets who have one job, and one job only -- to keep us from waging a REVOLUTIONARY struggle against our exploiters. We must keep our eyes open for these hustlers, who will even talk "revolution" if it helps them to do their work.

WE NEED OUR OWN PARTY! WE NEED SOCIALISM!

In the face of these attacks, the people must defend themselves. Just as we are correct in defending ourselves BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY against "ordinary" violence, so we are entitled to do the same when that violence comes from the police. This right can only be effective, however if it is part of an organized effort to arm all the masses, to oppose all attempts by the capitalist-state to pass "gun-control" laws (actually, people-control laws), which leave all arms in the hands of our oppressors. It is entirely correct for the oppressed masses -- the oppressed nationalities and the multinational working class to organize self-defense organizations in their neighborhoods and communities.

It is important to understand that we can never do away with police repression as long as we have capitalism. Only when we destroy this evil system once and for all will we be able to end the brutal murder of our finest sons and daughters. Destroying this crumbling edifice and establishing our own armed socialist state power will be our only guarantee that exploitation and oppression of the masses can be finally eliminated.

Unlike capitalism which maintains its state in order to preserve and expand the rule of a small handful of capitalist billionaires, socialism arms the masses, and establishes its own state for the express purpose of making sure that the exploiters can never again regain political and economic power. At the same time, the vast majority of the population, those who sweat for a living and produce all of the wealth of society enjoy real and extensive democracy -- ACTUAL control over their state and their country.

We cannot end police repression, the rule of capitalism, nor attain socialism unless the working class has the kind of leadership which can take it through all of the detours,

all the difficulties of a complicated revolutionary process -- a process which encompasses the social political, economic, cultural, military and other spheres. We are talking about a Marxist-Leninist Party. Like all other parties, it represents the most advanced representatives of the class concerned, in this case, the working class. Unlike all other parties this one stands consistently for proletarian revolution, a revolution which will smash capitalism and establish the rule of the workers and oppressed. This party is called Marxist-Leninist because it is guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism, both in its political line and in its disciplined and organized style of work. This science is a precise summation of the lessons of class struggle over the past 150 years. A Marxist-Leninist party must be able to assimilate and apply these lessons to our own historical conditions in



order to determine How our revolution is to be made -- the strategy, tactics and program for such a revolution. At this moment, the August Twenty-Ninth Movement (M-L) and other communist organizations are exerting all of their efforts to forge such a party. They are doing so, by taking up such struggles as that against police repression, integrating the truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of such struggles and utilizing the lessons learned, the revolutionary experience gained in order to develop the common set of revolutionary views necessary for the unity of all Marxists-Leninists and revolutionary workers. On a national scale, such a process will form the solid basis of unity -- both theoretical and practical -- necessary for a Party truly worthy of the title Marxist-Leninist.



FORUMS ON THE CHICANO NATIONAL QUESTION

BY THE AUGUST 29th MOVEMENT (M-L)

San Jose, California
7 PM, Friday August 27

San Diego, California
7 PM, Saturday August 28

Los Angeles, California
7 PM Sunday August 29

Denver, Colorado
7 PM Friday September 10

Albuquerque, New Mexico
7 PM Saturday September 11

El Paso, Texas
7 PM Sunday September 12



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VICTORY...

(Continued from p. 2)

representative McIntyre and International Vice-president Legg -- first delayed the strike, forcing the members to work without a contract for two weeks, hoping to diffuse their anger and militancy. Once the strike began, they did everything possible to keep it within traditional trade union/company bounds: low-profile pickets, reliance on the courts, and no rank-and-file participation in the negotiations until after an agreement was reached. It was our task, of course, to lead the workers beyond these narrow limits of struggle -- to develop mass pickets, defiance of the state and control over negotiations.

The spontaneous anger of the Molders rank-and-file has been building for years -- anger at the bosses and the sell-out union hacks. ALL of the workers were ready and eager for a strike this year. Before the contract expired everybody said, "no contract, no work". The union bureaucrats, with the complete support of the CPUSA, did their best to delay the strike as long as they could. Once the strike began, rank and file anger exploded into mass pickets, angry mass union meetings and the blocking of scab trucks. While this all constitutes a higher level of trade union activity than seen in this local for years -- it was, taken by itself, spontaneous activity. It was the task of communists to give this struggle a planned and conscious character.

As we explained earlier, our analysis showed us the significance of the national question for our work. We knew that the struggles of the workers were doomed to failure as long as the national divisions remained; that we could not win the workers away from the influence of the reformists without a correct stand on this issue.

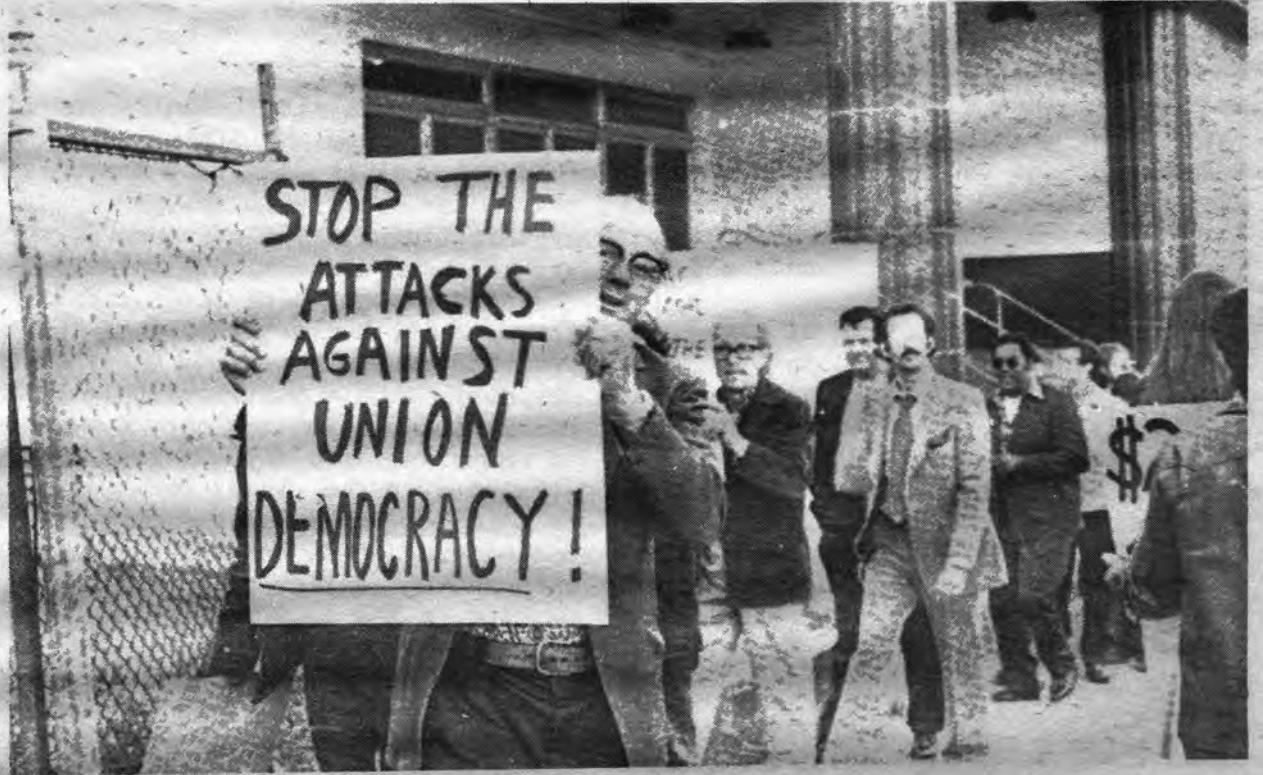
We began from our demands for translated contracts and plant-wide seniority as well as the workers demand for better wages and benefits. But we could not limit our work to these demands, because in and of themselves they reflect only trade unionism and not communism. We took the demand for translated contracts and showed to the workers that this struggle represented --

- (1) a struggle for the equality of languages;
- (2) that this is part of their struggle for equality as a people;
- (3) That the workers common enemy, the U.S. capitalist class, is the source of national oppression and superexploitation of our class brothers.
- (4) that the workers must therefore fight to end ALL national oppression;
- (5) that the social-props work hand-in-glove with our common enemy in opposing the translated contracts, equality of languages and equality of peoples. (We also showed the workers WHY the social props do this -- International Molders president Trizna gets his \$41,000 yearly salary as well as "expenses" from the International's \$700,000 investments in capitalist corporations).

We made these same connections with the demand for plant seniority. We used the demands for wages and benefits to expose capitalism as a SYSTEM of wage-slavery which exists

worldwide. We then drew the conclusion that the workers had common cause with all the workers and oppressed peoples of the world in fighting this system.

A major failure in our work, a serious right error, was in our failure to raise and explain to the workers in a consistent and systematic way the necessity for the armed overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. We did this work only sporadically, and not to the masses of workers (with the exception of one leaflet). We also failed to raise the question of the necessity for a Marxist-Leninist party except by way of exception. These failures are due partly from a failure to train our cadre HOW to raise these questions; but more so from our tendency in the recent past to limit the scope of our propaganda



to only the most advanced workers. These ideas belong to the class and communists have the duty to explain them to the masses. Later in this article we will quote from a propaganda leaflet which we did issue and which raised these questions and got some positive responses. This was however the only propaganda leaflet we issued during a 9 week strike.

Our work in the strike was carried out by our fraction -- made up of our cadres in the local, who worked with some advanced and intermediate workers (the latter are political fighters but are not yet independent leaders of the class. However they have proven the truth of Lenin's words: "they ardently strive for socialism."). The fraction has the task of implementing our political line, of giving tactical leadership to our work. They function clandestinely and were charged with utilizing the strike in order to: "place the Communists in the leadership of the struggle, to strengthen every aspect of the fighting capacity of the proletariat, to raise its level of consciousness through struggle, while leading the class to arrive at the proper conclusions, and to win the proletariat to the side of communism." (ATM Unity Statement, pg. 21). In order to be able to do this our cadres had to learn how to train the most politically active worker comrades who worked with us. Key to their training was our ability to explain, using the theory of Marxism-Leninism as our guide, our analysis of the situation in Local #164. This meant explaining to them our view of imperialism, the national question, and imperialism's creation of a

labor aristocracy and social props. For instance, to help them get a grasp of our strategic conceptions we studied Stalin's writings on this question. But all of this study would have been meaningless had we not been able to connect it to the struggle of the workers. We studied for one reason, and one reason only -- to answer the questions which the practical movement was putting before us, (how to unite the workers, expose the social props, etc.). Based upon this study, our practical experience and our analysis we then were able to determine how we were going to utilize the different forms of organization and forms of struggle which developed during the strike. This meant that we had to determine WHAT QUESTIONS and HOW we were going to raise them at mass pickets, rallies, sup-

port activities (e.g., by CLUW), negotiating committee meetings, on the strike committee, in the rank-and-file caucuses, etc. Each had to be analyzed to determine the political character of its makeup and then the workers had to learn how to both put their political ideas across, and how to organize the work (mass pickets for example). ATM has no blueprint for such training -- most of it occurred during the strike itself -- and it will usually happen that way. Marxism-Leninism is not a "how-to-do-it" manual -- it is a guide which we must learn to apply by APPLYING IT. As Mao said, you learn to fight a war by fighting a war.

Our main problem was in showing our contacts how to raise political questions in a popular and concrete way as propagandists -- these comrades were hard put to conduct CONCRETE one to one propaganda with other relatively advanced workers. Of course this task is very difficult and will require consistent training connected with struggle, over a long period of time. Our second major problem was in training them as effective organizers, who can integrate communist politics with the actual organization of the struggle.

In addition to the most politically conscious workers, there were a number of active fighters who were open to socialist ideas. Many of them provided spontaneous leadership to the strike, and, while they did not determine its political character -- they determined its militancy. These workers jammed the picket lines, participated in a sit-in of the bureaucrats office, fought the scab trucks, etc.

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VICTORY...

(Continued from p. 5)

By the end of the strike, the workers concretely expressed their grasp of our politics by UNANIMOUSLY passing the following at a union meeting.

- (1) Keep the International out of our business -- get rid of McIntyre and Legg.
- (2) We want to elect our own International officers.
- (3) Lower all International and local officers salaries to no higher than that of the highest paid worker.
- (4) Translate all contracts and union documents into Spanish or any other language when over 10% of the membership speaks another language and so requests.

While the workers did not win the demands for contract translations and plant-wide seniority, they took the correct stand, the stand of the proletariat, on the national question and they FOUGHT FOR the equality of peoples. This is the best expression of communist influence and leadership.

Negatively, the training of the masses of workers on the complete class nature of the state was not completely accomplished as evidenced by the fact that a motion demanding that the FBI stay out of local affairs and terminate its "investigation" of the local lost by a close vote. Nevertheless, large numbers of workers voted for the motion and struggled against the state during the strike.

COUNTERATTACK BY THE INTERNATIONAL

Near the end of the strike, the International counterattacked by threatening the local with trusteeship and by filing charges against three of the new local officers. They directly attacked the Communists in the local by writing

"These people are sure that with a different political system all of our problems will be solved. We still feel that democracy along with our present economic system is the best in the world -- and the most productive or the trade union member would not enjoy the best general standard of living in the world. Perhaps working to improve the system would be better than adopting a new system."

In response to the threatened trusteeship, 150 workers and supporters picketed and briefly occupied the San Francisco union hall. Speakers at that rally denounced the collaboration of the International with the capitalists, their bribery by imperialism and their splitting tactics of red-baiting. Speakers pointed to other cases of capitalist oppression like the police murders of Danny Trevino in San Jose, and of Tyrone Guyton in Emoryville (one a Chicano, the other a Black), and pointed to the necessity for a common struggle of workers and oppressed nationalities against imperialism. (By the end of the strike, most strikers recognized the Danny Trevino and Tyrone Guyton cases as part of the same fight against capitalism. They also recognized the local Congress of Labor Union Women chapter as active allies in their fight. The latter is particularly important because there are only 12 women in the local. Although agitation and

propaganda on the woman's question was not consistently raised, all of the strikers supported an anti-discrimination clause in the contract which "legally" bars discrimination against national minorities and women. Communists have the task of fighting to get women hired in the foundries -- to give content and meaning to the anti-discrimination clause by mobilizing the workers to fight against women's oppression.)

Faced with this response the International had to temporarily withdraw the charges. Once the strike was over, however, they refiled the charges and the rank and file once again picketed the hall. The struggle against trusteeship and for union democracy continued, and the bureaucrats were forced to abandon their efforts.

PROPAGANDA

To build a Marxist-Leninist party we must continue the struggle to fuse the working class and communist movements. A party is not merely an organizational union of communists and advanced workers, but is a real living organism which leads and influences all the activities of the proletariat and oppressed masses. Obviously such a party can only be built, such fusion can only occur, if communists are able to lead the struggles of the class. Indispensable to this leadership is the correct use of propaganda and agitation. We have spoken earlier of how propaganda came to the forefront of our training of the most politically conscious workers. But there is more to it than that. Propaganda is not meant only for the advanced. Only fools consciously and deliberately restrict the scope of propaganda. It is the task of communists to utilize all opportunities to BROADEN the scope of propaganda, to develop forms of propaganda comprehensible to the advanced, intermediate and lower strata workers. How else are we to train a class for its tasks? How else do they learn about the ideas of communism if we don't do this work in the course of their struggles? And it is precisely THIS training that the advanced need and that they DEMAND! We have already stated our failure in this regard earlier and we shall expand upon this and the roots of our errors in Part II of this article. We would like, however, to show one example of the type of propaganda that we did. During the strike we passed out one propaganda leaflet to the masses. Although we don't claim it got an overwhelmingly positive response, a number of workers united with it. We quote some sections to show how communists can raise the national question and socialism in a popular manner:

"While the mostly minority Molders Union workers make between \$4.45-\$6.05 an hour, workers mostly in white CMTA shops and factories make \$5.50-\$9.10 an hour. How come? The capitalists pay Blacks, Mexicans, Chicanos and Portugues less in order to make greater profits -- superprofits. Thirty to forty years ago most of our families were small farmers in Mexico, Portugal, the deep South and the Southwest. The capitalists bought up the land and drove us out of our homelands. We had to look for work in the big cities like Oakland...."

The leaflet then goes on to describe

the oppression of national minorities, not only on the job but in every facet of social life. The leaflet continues:

"That's why unity and strength of this strike is so important. The capitalists try to split us up everyway they can. Blacks, Chicanos, Mexicans, Portugues and white workers have stuck together. Workers from other industries, from the Danny Trevino Committee and CLUW have marched in the Molders picket lines. The Molders have the same fight as all workers and oppressed people. We have a common enemy: not just the capitalists in our particular company, but the entire capitalist class."

The leaflet then explains the question of socialism:

"It will take more than strikes and militant reforms to defeat the capitalists and their government. The masses of workers will have to overthrow the tiny number of capitalists who profit off our labor. We must make a socialist revolution. Socialism means that the working people control the political and economic system. In the Peoples Republic of China workers don't face murderous speed-ups, unsafe conditions, racist bosses and police murders. By eliminating capitalism, the Chinese people eliminated exploitation and are wiping out racism and national oppression."

The failure of the leaflet is in not raising the question of the party -- the indispensable vehicle for uniting the class, the achievement of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The CPUSA and the CLP did no propaganda and we have already characterized their role during the strike. Neither organization has a mass base or mass political influence in the local, although we must maintain our vigilance against them, and combat them at every turn.

The RCP liquidates the national question in both theory and practice. They hold that to raise this question "divides the class" (!). Therefore they refused to fight for the special demands of the oppressed nationality workers, calling instead, for class unity. Who else holds that "all men are equal", that there are no distinctions between oppressor nations and the oppressed? THE IMPERIALISTS!! And these chauvinists have the nerve to parade their views under the signboard of communism; to blacken the name of an ideology which stands first and foremost for the fight against any system of privilege, and for the equality of peoples.

While the RWL cadre did good agitation during the strike, they failed to grasp correctly the communist use of propaganda. They, too, failed to carry out mass propaganda during the strike -- purposely limiting it to a few of their contacts. What is opportunist however, is that now RWL says they should have done less agitation and more of their closed propaganda. Usually it is the state which forces us to limit the scope of our work. RWL, however, does it purposely, as part of their line. Needless to say they too have developed little political influence in the local.

AGITATION AND STRUGGLE

During the course of the strike, we and our contacts, agitated around

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back to the volital decade of the 1960's which found all social forces in motion. In particular, its origins are found in the spontaneous upsurges of the Puerto Rican national minority, especially its working class. The Y.L.P. and HRUM of those days dedicated every minute of their lives to agitating and mobilizing the masses, leading them in struggle, taking them 'beyond the bounds of bourgeois legality', and giving them a revolutionary education on the basis of their experiences. Yes, they were nationalists -- eclectic, at times adventurist -- but they were revolutionaries. They represented the finest elements the masses produce -- those slaves who rebel against their masters, who show contempt for law and contempt for death, who harbor a most bitter hatred for the ruling class, who have an unswerving faith and love for the oppressed masses, rely on them and lead them into revolutionary battles. Yet today when we point this history out to PRRWO, they claim ATM is appealing to their "backward national sentiments." No way. For there are no national sentiments left in PRRWO. We recognize national nihilists when we see them, such as their chauvinist cousins in WVO who slap the entire movement of the Puerto Rican national minority in the face, by referring to this history and Y.L.P.'s role of leadership as the actions of 'shock troops' (WVO Journal #4, p.11) Of course we mustn't forget that when the masses were in the streets fighting the state's forces, one of WVO's leaders were in PLP condemning them for "bourgeois nationalism". He has since left the PLP, but has layed its baggage "on the threshold of the party" to quote Trotsky. Let him deny it in print.

Through struggle the Y.L.P. became 'national in form' communist organization, later repudiating the 'national in form' line. They united with the R.U. on the NLC later breaking with them on the question of party building and the national question. They immediately drew les-

sons from this and opened polemics with the R.U. Through this struggle, the 'lefts' gained hegemony within PRRWO and pushed for joining the NCC. This left line was struggled against but not completely rooted out. After breaking with the NCC (and CLP), the 'lefts' began pushing the 'merger' line again, this time for an ATM-BWC-PRRWO 'merger', not on the basis of line but on the basis of necessity for a "bigger democratic centralist organization". This line was struggled against by ATM, who laid out what it saw as the basis for unity. Inside BWC, the 'lefts' degenerated the struggle and led the organization into a four way

contain solely 'propaganda to the advanced'. The 'left' line won out. The Trots in PRRWO could not openly call for a theory of cadres, for pulling the advanced out of mass struggle in order to "hammer out the line", they could not openly call for "cadrefying" mass organizations, after all, these positions had been exposed in early 1975 as 'left', as the main danger inside PRRWO. In that struggle against the 'lefts', they had opposed 'party building as the only task' and characterized this 'left' deviation as one which liquidated the struggle for the party. They opposed "a 'left' mechanical application" on party building.



split. Inside PRRWO, the 'lefts' were finally defeated in early 1975, but the organization was never consolidated. The struggle against the right opportunists in PRRWO sidetracked them from consolidating against the main danger inside PRRWO -- the 'left' danger. By the time the struggle was taken up again, a trivial one at that by now, it remained in the realm of ideas. In practice, it came up again in a new form.

For example, under the 'left' line, shop newsletters had been liquidated. This was later rectified in the struggle against the left. But soon after these newsletters were revived, a two line struggle ensued. Were they to contain agitation and propaganda to the masses or were they to

They upheld testing "our unities on implementation of line" i.e., practice. They opposed the 'left' line of "our main work must be theoretical" and upheld "train in the heat of class struggle..(not)..train apart from class struggle". At that time they 'defeated' the 'left' line which wanted to steer PRRWO away from mass work by upholding that "it's massive, so it's bowing". That was PRRWO emerging into 1975 in struggle against the main danger inside PRRWO -- the 'left' danger. So if the Trots were to emerge in 1976 they had to assume a new cover.

First, all newsletters had to be propaganda, not propaganda to the masses but propaganda to the 'advanced'. And since the advanced had to take part in "hammering out the line of the party" they obviously could not take up nor lead the day to day struggles of the masses, much less link them up to the struggle for socialism. To have the advanced dirty their hands with the mass work is to "belittle the role of the advanced in this period". Naturally those cadre at all levels of leadership who had any history of revolutionary struggle were bound to struggle against this Trot distortion of Marxism. The leadership of PRRWO unfolded the struggle taking as its starting point not to cure the disease to save the patient, not to win over through the course of principled struggle those who disagreed with the new line, but rather the starting point for struggle became the purge. From the stand point of the Trots it could be no other way, for principled struggle would only serve to expose their distortions of Marxism. And so the purges began, employing the most unprincipled methods to date, beatings which sent cadre to the hospital with broken ribs, visits to cadres homes to terrorize them, forcing former cadre to quit their jobs and move. The stories about the hospitalization of cadre beat up by PRRWO and about PRRWO

VICTORY...

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many different political questions -- some of which we have already mentioned. We can judge its effectiveness by the STANDS the workers took, and their ACTIONS.

In the previous strike there was little, if any, mass participation by the rank and file, no political questions were taken up by the workers. During this strike, mostly due to communist agitation and organization, the strikers took up mass actions, often deliberately breaking the bounds of bourgeois legality -- and not in the ordinary trade unionist sense, but more class conscious because communists had taught them that the state is a tool used by the capitalists to protect their riches and keep themselves in power; that the social props are agents of imperialism (i.e., labor bureaucrats are agents of imperialism within the working class), that as long as imperialism exists there will be national oppression because it is from

the oppressed nationalities that the capitalist-imperialists reap their superprofits; and about other questions.

At the plant gate picket lines where workers were arrested, communists and class conscious workers pointed out how the state always will arrest workers, but never arrest the capitalists for unsafe factory conditions which literally kill some workers. In this way, we showed them that the state is a tool of the capitalists -- not some impartial body. Also, when the rank and file occupied the union hall and the bureaucrats called the police, we immediately explained the role of the state as a tool of the capitalist class and the labor bureaucrats. Such exposures must be done at the "point of action" as Lenin called it; under communist leadership the workers began to understand through their own experience that there are two opposing classes in society -- the working class and its allies; and the capitalist class, its state and their lackeys from the labor aristocracy.

(To be continued in Part II)

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attending a forum at Brooklyn College then disrupting it and physically attacking the people there, these stories have proven to be true and were only scratching the surface. This is how PRRWO struggles against "social-pacifism in two-line struggle", this is how they show "no mercy for the mensheviks". And this is how PRRWO exposes its own bankruptcy.

We must here defend the actions of those Marxist-Leninist forces in PRRWO who refused to betray Marxism, who fought for Marxism to the end, and who, in spite of the reactionary terrorism imposed by PRRWO upheld the principles of Marxism-Leninism. These were the cadre who had a history past and present of revolutionary struggle. When PRRWO purged them, they purged their revolutionary history, their revolutionary practice and their ties to the masses. And this is precisely why we speak of the 'new' PRRWO, for it has nothing in common with the PRRWO of recent history, that history of struggle has been purged. What we have today is a PRRWO which is an isolated sect, "a group of intellectuals and a few workers who imitate the worst features of intellectualism".

The Communist movement must draw this lesson, that in the absence of revolutionary practice there can be no talk of "hammering out the line of the party". In the absence of practice there can be no consolidation on line. The comrades who were purged from PRRWO were correct in holding that the line of an organization cannot remain solely on the pages of its newspaper, for if they had struggled to carry out the lessons of the struggle against the 'lefts' they would have forced the Trotskyites in PRRWO to expose themselves, the Trots would have been isolated and in the absence of any repudiation, purged. The sin of the honest forces was that they carried out the struggle too late.

OUR UNITIES WITH PRRWO

Much unprincipled hay will be made of the split in PRRWO, particularly by the OL and WVO. The OL who has refused historically to answer any of PRRWO's valid criticisms, who has refused to take on PRRWO head on in a principled polemic, preferring to dodge and side step them in a most opportunist manner, will now seize the opportunity to yell "I told you so!" CRAP! Pure, unadulterated crap! OL who has never admitted to any of PRRWO's valid contributions to the Communist movement, and who has refused to take a principled stand based on the theory of Marxism-Leninism on any of the burning questions facing the communist movement, and who has replaced polemics with slanders, sitting on the sidelines of the theoretical struggle yelling "Neo-Trotskyites!!", for them to now yell "I told you so!" is stone hypocrisy. They told what to the communist movement? How to move the trade unions gradually to the left? Which in practice meant working hand in glove with slick trade union bureaucrats -- the social props of imperialism. After having been used by them, it was no longer practical to continue with this line, so (switch hats) we then find OL trying to compensate for this by supertrade union

militancy -- militant economism. They also showed the communist movement by example, how to be evasive on the Black National Question and how to spread social chauvinism within the working class and communist movements. For example, while communists cannot make a stand either for nor against secession, a principle covering the whole course of the revolution, (this stand is determined by the concrete historical conditions facing the proletariat at each stage of the revolution) the basis for their stand is chauvinist to the core. They claim that secession would divide the working class! First they proceed from the fantasy that divisions along national lines do not, in fact, already exist! In fact, it is our duty to unite the class on the principled basis of equality of all nationalities in the struggle for proletarian revolution, which includes the right to political secession of Afro-Americans. The OL claims that secession will divide the working class. On what do they base this? Simply on the chauvinist prejudices of its leadership, for what proof do they offer? None! They make an assertion and rest content as if that is proof enough. But let us assume that the Anglo-American proletariat were to react negatively to a secessionist struggle in the Black Belt South. What is the task of communists under those circumstances -- to wage a determined struggle to win the multi-national proletariat to uphold the right of Afro-Americans to political secession or to run around the Black liberation movement trying to make that movement "come to its senses" and blaming that movement for "dividing the working class"? The OL has made its stand clear, and this is how it "educated" the working class in social chauvinism. So when OL claimed to be sounding the alarm, warning of the ultra "left" danger, they were in fact trying to cover their own social chauvinist tracks.

WVO, too, is traveling the country portending fundamental differences with PRRWO and RWL. While at times they take positions which in form appear antithetical, in essence they are identical. Their work in coalitions is a case in point, particularly around the October 27th and their work around I.W.D. The WVO will unite with anyone, "the masses", which to them are made up of revisionists, Trots, bureaucrats and poverty pimps, etc. and possibly some advanced who they manage to pull in. Do they begin on a principled basis and in the course of struggle win over the advanced? No, around the October 27th action, for instance, WVO never raised the question of revisionism in the coalition itself. Instead they replaced line struggle with maneuvering and some forums held outside of the coalition. Then, on the day of the mass action, they jump up and "condemn" soviet social-imperialism, revisionism, etc.

After months of conciliations, no struggle and no exposures, they jump up to expose through proclamations over microphones the enemies of the class. Who is won over? No one. Neither by example nor line struggle do they win the masses away from the opportunists. PRRWO is the other side of the same coin, in their coalition work. They purge all 'mensheviks' and 'backward' masses who are not won over to the necessity for any purges at all. They then end up talking to themselves about how well they exposed and isolated the opportunists. They have but to look

around themselves to see who it is that is truly isolated.

They fail to understand that the struggle to win the masses away from the opportunists is an all sided struggle waged in every sphere of political work -- economic, political and theoretical. To limit the struggle to polemics in coalitions and newspapers is the politics of sects, not the politics of Marxist-Leninists.

But their unities go further. Both 'uphold' the right of Afro-Americans to self-determination in words. In practice, neither takes up the struggle against the national oppression of Afro-Americans, isolating polemics from practice. As for their polemics neither organization has shown itself capable of leadership here either. Their polemics consist of phrasemongering and unproven assertions interspersed with long quotes from the classics, taken out of context. They then call this "theoretical struggle". WVO condemns PRRWO and RWL for wrecking mass organizations like FFM and PRSU. Yet WVO too, holds to cadre-fying mass organizations (turning mass organizations into "cadre" organizations) -- only cadre-fying them around WVO's line as shown by their June speaking tour with a spokesman for the Boston chapter of February First Movement. The FFM representative was merely an echo of WVO's line on party building and was completely unable to explain how party building is to be integrated with the revolutionary struggle of the students. Where then are the principled differences? If comrades find any, let us know.

RIGHT OPPORTUNISM IS STILL THE MAIN DANGER

As we have laid out repeatedly, the historical material conditions facing the communist movement provide the fertile ground for right opportunism as the main danger. Our assertion has proven sound theoretically and the historical practice of the communist movement in the U.S. has confirmed it. Whether taking the blatant right form of the RCP and OL, or the eclectic form of the CLP and WVO, right opportunism continues to be the main danger. The current struggle within the 'wing' should not cause us to lose our bearings. "Left" opportunism is not the main danger. The sectarian line of the 'new' PRRWO and RWL as well as their splitting and wrecking practice has served to condemn them to become mere fly specks in the history of the communist movement. Right opportunism continues to be the main danger.

OUR UNITIES WITH PRRWO

Was there a basis for eventual political unity with the old PRRWO? We hold that there in fact was. What were our unities?

First we united on our approach to party building, that it was a task which encompassed all our other tasks of propaganda and agitation, polemics and mass work etc., and that it was our central task, not our "only" task.

We united on an analysis of the Communist movement, particularly since the betrayal of the CPUSA, how the mass upsurges of the sixties brought forward the advanced, revolutionaries who saw the necessity for an armed overthrow of the state but were yet unclear as to the character of the revolution in the U.S. It was in struggling to answer the questions

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PARTY...

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posed by the U.S. revolution that the advanced rejected the petty-bourgeois theories of revolution and united with the general theory of proletarian revolution. This understanding went from a lower to a higher level and in the struggle to carry out the central task of party building, and in particular the relation of the conscious element to the spontaneous movement, two trends emerged, though not fully crystallized at first. From this point forward, the key link in the development of the party was no longer the repudiation of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois theories of revolution nor the general theory of proletarian revolution, the key link now became the unity of the communist and workers' movements on the basis of the application of the general theory of proletarian revolution to the U.S. revolution, i.e., political line became the key link. We also had unity that political line on paper, in the absence of practice, meant nothing. That communists who did not match words with deeds were not communists at all, that unity must be based on line and practice, which also included but was by no means restricted to the theoretical and political struggle against opportunism, and it has been precisely on this basis that we had united on the fact that MLOC's line was opportunist. MLOC writes and speaks very pretty but one thing they cannot address themselves to is any history of struggle nor any current practice -- they have none! Only polemics and "line struggle" in coalitions -- so this is the only "practice" they can speak of, and then act as if that is enough testing of genuine communists.

We also united on the analysis of the international situation and in spite of particular differences we had general unity on the national situation, and the two main questions confronting the communist and working class movements around which it is our duty to mobilize the masses in struggle:

- 1) The shifting of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working class and
- 2) The increasing repression of the oppressed nationalities.

We united on the tasks facing the communist movement in struggle for the party which we shall go into below. We did not base our unities with PRRWO solely on what they said or wrote, but also on their history of revolutionary struggle and their practice and leadership in the struggles of the masses at their work places, students on the universities and in the community struggles. In the absence of this practice, there would have been no basis for unity with PRRWO, and it is precisely their history of practice which PRRWO purged itself of.

We should also point out here that we also had disunities with PRRWO around how communists struggle for reforms (ERA, Boston busing). Before we had fully struggled out these questions, PRRWO had split. Also on the Afro-American national question, we have not taken the position that the entire Black bourgeoisie is comprador.

"TWO WINGS"

ATM and PRRWO struggled out an analysis of the development of the communist movement since the betrayal of the CPUSA. Our analysis was correct and sharpened our views on a number of questions including the question of "political line is the key link!" But, after making this analysis we draw some incorrect conclusions, specifically, that two wings existed in the anti-revisionist communist movement. This position, a 'left' sectarian, subjective and idealist view, lead to a number of errors. By over estimating the development of the subjective fac-



tor, the clarity and unity within the communist movement on the basis of line, we concluded that two clearly defined wings had crystallized - one an opportunist wing, the other, the revolutionary wing. Having arrived at this conclusion, what naturally followed was to determine who was in the "revolutionary wing" and who was not. This then lead to sectarian errors on our part. The fact that each organization in the "revolutionary wing" had different "criteria" for defining who was in the "wing" and that the "wing" seemed to have a revolving door with organizations going in and out, all attests to the idealist conclusions we drew.

A wing usually develops from a split or the development of factions in an organization or in the communist movement, after having initially (over a period of time) united on systematic programmatic views. The wings develop over concrete questions on which one of the wings takes a communist stand, for example, the split in the international communist movement on the question of the first imperialist world war. But when we are speaking of the communist movement over the last 10 years, we do not see such a phenomenon. What we in fact had were two trends in their development, one trend characterized by economism, chauvinism and a contempt for theory, the other trend characterized by upholding the leading role of revolutionary theory as a guide to revolutionary practice.

What should have been our stand on this question? We should have recognized that the revolutionary trend was still young and developing and that while it was our duty to draw lines of demarcation with the leading exponents of opportunism, it was just as much our duty to dedicate ourselves to the theoretical, political and organizational development of the revolutionary trend. The struggle against opportunism must take place in the process of answering the questions raised by the com-

munist, workers and national movements and by giving revolutionary leadership to those struggles. This is the course upon which we are moving and it has been and will continue to be reflected in our organ, REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE.

OUR DISUNITY WITH PRRWO

We briefly outlined PRRWO's degeneration, how the 'left' line was never completely exposed and isolated, how the Trots later emerged with more clever arguments and purged the ranks primarily of Marxists-Leninists and undoubtedly a few mensheviks. But we should not get confused here, the line was the target of the purges, the few mensheviks who were purged were used as a cover for the real attack. Here we will lay out our line differences with the 'new' PRRWO and where the shoe fits lay out why they unite with Trotskyism.

ON PURGES AND SPLITS

Like Trotskyites the world over, PRRWO and RWL make a fetish out of purges and in fact, raise splits to a principle, as they lay out in Palante (vol. 6 #3 p. 6). They distort Marxism on the question, distorting Stalin, Mao Tse-tung and Chou En Lai. True, the party grows stronger by purging itself of all opportunists, but does it follow that all comrades who make errors are opportunists? Does it follow that every struggle over line necessarily leads to a split? Only Trotskyites hold to this proposition and PRRWO and RWL conveniently forget that Trotsky too, was a menshevik -- a 'left' menshevik. But to raise this now would only expose them.

They conveniently forget Chairman Mao's directive "unite, don't split", they forget Stalin's vows at the time of Lenin's death, "Departing from us, Comrade Lenin enjoined us to guard the unity of our party as the apple of our eye. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest too, we shall fulfill with honour!"

How do we see the question of line struggle and purges inside ATM? We proceed from Mao Tse-tung's principle, "cure the disease and save the patient". All communists and communist organizations will make errors, but the point is to analyze what lead to the error, learning from this and moving to correct it. With comrades we lay out why they are in error, show them what this leads to and in the course of struggle consolidate them. If comrades cannot be immediately consolidated, they are

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nonetheless required to uphold, defend and carry out the line of ATM. At no time do we allow the existence of an opposition line in ATM. This policy has proven correct and comrades who made errors in the past are among our finest cadre today.

We also purge, but generally it is on the basis that a comrade cannot unite with the general line of ATM and cannot carry it out. We purge anyone who put forward an opposition line, tries to carry it out or factionalizes. First we lay out the comrades error, show the comrade what it leads to or has led to and, in the absence of repudiation, we purge. As in any communist organization we also purge passive elements or those who have developed any degenerate, alien class tendencies. But in all cases, our policy is to cure the sickness to save the patient as the starting point.

Two lines -- PRRWO-RWL hold that cadre who fail to immediately unite with the central committee are vacillators and "mensheviks (who) are objectively agents of the bourgeoisie." ATM holds that cadre as well as leadership will commit errors, that our policy should be "cure the disease to save the patient", and our practice has confirmed that cadre are indeed our "gold reserves".

We will end this section with the following excerpt from an interview with Chou En-Lai, published in New China, Jan. 1976, and reprinted in Palante (vol. 6 #2).

"Line is the lifeblood of our party. Fifty years of experience prove that as long as we persist in struggle for the correct line we will win...

The Example of Peng Te-huai ". . . When he came back from Korea, he became minister of National Defence. Then he began to oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the general line for socialist construction. He made serious line mistakes. People no longer followed him. In 1959, he became a rightist. No one in the army followed him. But we still went according to the principle of Mao Tse-tung, a part of our party-building policy -- cure the disease and save the patient. One should criticize one's past mistakes and make corrections. If Peng had done that he could still have done responsible work for the party. (Our emphasis -- ATM)

"...You can trust our party under Mao Tse-tung's leadership. The correct line has always been the main current. There are mistakes and failures but those are side cur-

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rents. Our party won't split.

"As long as we explain everything to the masses of people, the great majority of them will stand with the revolutionary line. The people understand that we want Marxism not revisionism, that we want unity and not a split.

"I hope our American friends will believe us. In this field of line struggle we have rich experience. We will always adhere to the correct line. We will always adhere to Marxism and will march from victory to victory. Whoever violates this line, whoever departs from this line, will fail.

"The special character of our Party's 50-year struggle is this: The wrong line always fails. Lines that split the Party have always failed. In the end we have always united. The desire of the Chinese people for liberation, oppressed by imperialism as they were for 100 years, is reflected inside the Party. Our people need a Party to lead and a leader. Even though our struggle is by no means ended, we can see that the victories grow greater day by day, and that we will continue to win. Our line is out in the open, clear and open. Schemers can never win."

TWO LINES ON PURGES AND SPLITS

Purges -- PRRWO and RWL. The starting point for line struggle is the purge, this has led to wrecking their own organizations as well as mass organizations like FFM and PRSU and to a great extent ALSC.

PRRWO and RWL approach the question of line struggle as if all line struggle is for the purpose of exposing and purging opportunists. What this leads to in any Marxist-Leninist organization is the stifling of struggle, and bureaucratism. We will here quote from the experiences of the Communist Party of Australia (M-L) on this question:

"The suppression of different standpoints is a very bad thing. It was characteristic of the Communist Party of previous times. He who was 'off the line' or dared to raise a different standpoint from some 'authoritative' pronouncement was frowned upon as a dissident. (Almost every contribution in the

old stereotyped party meetings was prefaced by the statement 'I agree with the report'. When in 1961-2 some said they didn't agree with the report it was almost unheard of.) No distinction was made between, on the one hand, differences in the struggle for a correct line, and on the other, outright opposition to any correct line. Today the situation has changed. But still, there is not full understanding of how to handle differences. Some do not fully understand that the very vigour and manner of their activity and expression of ideas, their style of study and work, does intimidate others and does not fully contribute to personal ease of mind among revolutionaries and liveliness in putting forward ideas. On the other hand those who feel suppressed or intimidated have an equal responsibility to acquire ease of mind and liveliness and to speak up about their views. In short, this very problem is one that must be studied earnestly together. Criticism and self-criticism is the method of handling differences. By criticism and self-criticism, we do not mean its improper use. It requires proper practice of criticism and self-criticism. Chairman Mao said 'We can never succeed if we just let ourselves go, and lash out at him. In treating an ideological or a political malady, one must never be rough and rash but must adopt the approach of 'curing the sickness to save the patient', which is the only correct method'...To one degree or another WE ALL suffer from the sickness of imperfection in style of work and study. We are therefore talking of ourselves." (We Study to Promote Revolution -- Not to Be Know-alls, the Communist Party of Australia (M-L))

ATM -- The starting point is to cure the disease to save the patient. Splits -- PRRWO and RWL splits are a "Bolshevik" principle (Palante 6 #3, p.6).

ATM -- We uphold principled unity of communists and oppose the Trot principal that splits are a principal of every genuine bolshevik organization.

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PARTY...

(Continued from p 10)

PARTY BUILDING

a) The Trotskyite theory of cadres. PRRWO and RWL hold that the tasks of communists are not to lead the spontaneous struggle of the masses, which they see as "whipping up the masses", "worshipping spontaneity", but to "win the advanced" only through propaganda divorced from struggle which deals with our "central and only task" and not with the struggles the advanced, if they are truly advanced, are leading. To train the advanced in the course of struggle and to lead these spontaneous struggles now, is to "belittle the role of the advanced." Therefore all propaganda must be to the "advanced" explaining to them why they should not lead the masses in struggle but instead "build the party", why, if they do lead the masses they are automatically "backward" Mensheviks, etc. That true "Bolsheviks" will someday lead the spontaneous movement, someday, but not now. Now we must "hammer out the line of our party" in the absence of revolutionary practice. The class struggle "in this period" means only theoretical struggle and does not include economic or political struggle. Therefore, we must take care of our cadres, shelter them from the mass struggle, train them without practice and someday they will emerge as the true "Bolshevik" leaders of the class. This is reminiscent of the CL's line in 1971-74, a line PRRWO once held to be opportunist.

ATM's position: Our tasks are to win the advanced in the course of the struggle. To train the advanced in the science of Marxism-Leninism, to teach them their role as the leaders of the most revolutionary class in modern society and the relationship of their class to all other classes and strata, and train them to lead the revolutionary struggles of the masses. This is not done in "stages" but must be done inseparably from the practical struggle. We prepare the advanced but their real education occurs in the field of combat, in all spheres, political, economic and theoretical. What PRRWO-RWL hold to is what the Albanians characterize as the Trotskyite theory of cadres.

"They had adopted the Trotskyite theory of educating and preserving cadres. They considered connections and work with the masses as dangerous, for that would endanger the cadres". (History of the PLA, p.75)

This is precisely their line. They cannot come out with ridiculous positions like "there is no proletariat" in the U.S., etc., as Trots in less developed countries generally assert. But they can take phrases out of the classics to confuse the movement. This is why we must continue our exposure.

Communists are people of action, in any and every period. In History of the CPSU (B), Stalin characterizes Lenin's work and the work of the St Petersburg League for us. We strongly recommend that comrades read this as it clearly refutes PRRWO-RWL's line. Here we will pull out a few lines which stand out in contradiction to PRRWO's-RWL's distortions of Russia's pre-party history.

"Lenin put before the League of Struggle the task of forming clos-

er connections with the mass working class movement and of giving it political leadership. Lenin proposed to pass from the propaganda of Marxism among the few politically advanced workers who gathered in the propaganda circles to political agitation among the broad masses of the working class on issues of the day. This turn towards mass agitation was of profound importance for the subsequent development of the working class movement in Russia. (pp. 16-17)

"Under Lenin's guidance, the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class linked up the struggle of the workers for economic demands -- improvement of working conditions, shorter hours and higher wages -- with the political struggle against tsardom. The League of Struggle educated the workers politically.

"In a short space of time, the League of Struggle printed dozens of such leaflets and appeals to the workers of various factories. Every leaflet greatly helped to stiffen the spirit of the workers. They saw that the Socialists were helping and defending them.

"In the summer of 1896 a strike of 30,000 textile workers, led by the League of Struggle, took place in St. Petersburg. The chief demand was for shorter hours. This strike forced the tsarist government to pass, on June 2, 1897, a law limiting the working day to 11 1/2 hours. Prior to this, the working day was not limited in any way.

"In December 1895 Lenin was arrested by the tsarist government. But even in prison he did not discontinue his revolutionary work. He assisted the League of Struggle with advice and direction and wrote pamphlets and leaflets for it. There he wrote the pamphlet entitled On Strikes and a leaflet entitled "To the Tsarist Government", exposing its savage despotism."

In summing up this first chapter, Stalin concludes.

"...But the Marxist circles and groups only carried on propaganda and did not realize the necessity for passing to mass agitation among the working class; they therefore still had no practical connection with the working class movement and did not lead it.

"The St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, which Lenin formed in 1895 and which started mass agitation among the workers and led mass strikes, marked a new stage -- the transition to mass agitation among the workers and the union of Marxism with the working class movement. The St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class was the rudiment of a revolutionary proletarian party in Russia."

We repeat, Communists are people of action, not talmudists of the PRRWO-RWL type. Following PRRWO's-RWL's logic (we use the term loosely here) one would have to conclude that Lenin was an economist, worshipping the spontaneous struggle "whipping up the masses" and, of course, since the 1896 textile workers strike for shorter hours "forced the tsarist government to pass a law limiting the working day" the PRRWO should criticize Lenin for "the belief of whipping up so many numbers so that the bourgeoisie will listen to what they have to say and give more re-

form concessions..." (Palante, vol. 6 #5, p. 2). And of course, following PRRWO's 'logic', Lenin's worst sin is having done this when party building was the "central and only task". Lenin! "shame on you!" Read Palante, not Marx. Comrades, we hope you will excuse these long quotes but when these Trots distort the history of Bolshevism, we feel we had better go back to the original source.

On the question of the advanced workers, PRRWO and RWL claim to uphold Lenin's characterization of the advanced in A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social Democracy. But flowing from their Trot theory of cadres the PRRWO-RWL fall into a contradiction. If they uphold that the advanced are those "who can win the confidence of the labouring masses, who devote themselves entirely to the education and organization of the proletariat", (note, not "only" the party but the proletariat) then how is this to be done in the absence of leading the practical struggles of the class? If their "only" task is to "hammer out the line" of the party? If PRRWO upholds "the fact that the advanced workers, as always and everywhere, determine the character of the movement" (ibid), then how can they do so without "whipping up the masses"? The PRRWO and RWL should be out front with their line and boldly tell the communist movement that Lenin's characterization of the advanced is not applicable "in this period". That we must now add a new feature -- that the advanced must not lead the practical struggles of the masses -- they must be "educated" and "preserved" by PRRWO and RWL, lest they fall into the marsh of political and economic struggle. We should not think that just WVO and the OL reject Lenin from the 'right', by claiming conditions are so different that Lenin's characterization no longer applies, or by characterizing militant trade unionists as the advanced, the "real fighters" to quote OL; PRRWO and RWL reject Lenin from the 'left' by rejecting the leadership role of the advanced among the working class masses in essence, they all belittle the role of the advanced.

Lenin laid important significance on the question of the advanced for one reason and one reason only - these workers, the most politically advanced of the working class, determine the character of the working class movement. If we are to speak of a party as the fusion of the communist and workers movement, then we must win over precisely those politically advanced leaders of the class.

b) Political line is the key link! But how does PRRWO-RWL view this? Since party building is "our central and only task" (Palante, vol. 6 #6, p. 1), we must not be torn away from the task by 'refusing to hammer out the Party's basic line' (ibid). Where does testing of the line come in? Why that's a dirty trick of trying "to play on honest comrades' empiricist views". (Palante, vol 6 #5, p. 9). "Testing line to the OL means organic contact, flowing from how they see organizing the masses, leeching on those organic contacts." (ibid. p. 10). This ridiculous "criticism" of OL exposes PRRWO-RWL's line. Rather than exposing OL for the right opportunist-social chauvinist line they bring into the class, they criticize OL for going among the masses at all! For gaining "organic contact" and "organizing the

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PARTY...

(Continued from p. 11)

masses" How else are communist to carry out political line if not in leading the struggles of the class? In fact, it is the fact that the OL spreads its right opportunist, social-chauvinist line, appealing to the backward sentiments of the masses, that makes it all the more dangerous. PRRWO-RWL's line has nothing in common with Marxism on this question. Where did Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, or Mao Tse-tung ever put forward such a proposition? In fact, they condemned such views as those of pedants and book worshippers.

ATM views this question differently. The political line is hammered out, guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and based on the revolutionary experiences of the communist and mass movements, taking into account the concrete historical conditions facing the revolutionary movement. Inseparably connected with this is the implementation and testing of the political line, regardless of the degree of its development. Communists who have come forward in the course of struggle bring with them limited but invaluable revolutionary experience. The role of theory should never be seen as one which restricts or narrows the scope of political work as PRRWO-RWL maintain with (as Resistencia has dubbed it), their "only" line (party building as the "only" task, "only" propaganda, "only" to the advanced, "only" theoretical struggle, etc.). On the contrary, giving the spontaneous movement a planned and conscious character serves to broaden and deepen the scope of political work. This in turn serves the further development of the political line, testing and verifying it.

Like the anti-Iskra economists who tried to restrict the scope of political work from the right, the PRRWO-RWL attempt to restrict it from the 'left'. How can the unity of Marxists-Leninists, on the basis of line be hammered out in the absence of practice -- in the absence of matching words with deeds? We hold it can not. We judge communists on the basis of both words and deeds.

c) Propaganda as the chief form of activity. The PRRWO-RWL line on propaganda as the chief form can be summed up as follows:

1. ALL propaganda must be geared to the advanced in this period (Palante, vol. 6 #3, p. 10-11)
2. ALL propaganda must raise the question of the party at all times, all places, under all circumstances, making it the central theme of all propaganda.
3. That to fail to raise the question of the party makes propaganda & agitation economist.
4. Since propaganda is the chief form of activity, and since the advanced should not waste their time "whipping up the masses" but must "hammer out the line of the party", then what logically follows is that propaganda is the only form of activity.

At no time do communists restrict their propaganda to any one segment of the working class. PRRWO and RWL are fond of quoting from A Retrograde Trend, but forget that even here Lenin spoke to the necessity of developing forms of propaganda for workers at all levels of political development, not "only" to the ad-



vanced. Restricting propaganda solely to the advanced is the contribution of PRRWO and the trend they represent.

To hold that all propaganda must be restricted to raising only the question of the party and this question alone is to, in fact, liquidate the central task. We do not build a party by simply "raising" the question nor by mystifying it as a panacea for every struggle. It is in the process of giving communist leadership to the spontaneous movement that fusion takes place and which in practice lays the basis for the unity of Marxists-Leninists. As we stated above, party building is an all sided struggle and cannot be narrowed to simply "raising" the question of the party. But in the process of giving communist leadership, of training the class to view every question from the stand of communism that we raise, concretely, the necessity to build a Marxist-Leninist party. What PRRWO's line leads to is to make propaganda the only form of political activity. PRRWO-RWL hold that to fail to raise the party makes propaganda economist! More inventions from PRRWO-RWL. Economism was the narrowing of political work to simple trade unionism, to the economic relation between capitalists and workers, to restricting political work so as to not raise the question of political power and the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution -- it meant in essence, condemning the working class to perpetual wage slavery. If PRRWO-RWL were to read LENIN's articles in the Iskra period, they would have to

conclude, (from PRRWO-RWL's line) that Lenin was an economist since he failed to "raise" the question of the party in every article. In fact, the real economists are PRRWO and RWL, "left" economists who restrict and narrow the question of party building to mere proclamations, "raising" the question of the party in theoretical abstractions, divorced from the actual struggle of the class.

A final word on propaganda. In the past we had seen propaganda's role as restricted to the advanced, a part only of our illegal work. This was a 'left' deviation from our line which we shall discuss more fully in subsequent issues of Revolutionary Cause. After internal struggle as well as valid criticisms of our views on propaganda from other communists (IWK and Resistencia) we recognized this error. Today, we see that the role of propaganda must continually be broadened and deepened, and that the very conditions of the struggle for proletarian revolution continue to bring propaganda to the fore, not only for the indispensable purpose of winning the advanced and uniting Marxist-Leninists but also to train the broad strata of the working class masses to view all questions, from shop issues to the international situation and party building, from the stand of communism. This calls for consistent, systematic, patient, explanatory and inflammatory propaganda work, legal as well as illegal.

End -- Part I

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