



# Revolutionary Cause

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

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COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE, NATIONS WANT LIBERATION, PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION

## Editorial

### Practice Marxism Not Revisionism ATM Cadre Reject Splitters

We live in a period of intensified class struggle. Throughout the world the working class and oppressed peoples are rising up in extensive and far reaching struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism, and especially against the two superpowers. The US is no exception to this as the proletariat launches strike after strike against the capitalists, and as all other oppressed peoples in the US rise up in action against the enemy. More and more it is becoming apparent that the superpowers are going to wage a world war to "settle" the issue of world domination. The USSR is now the greatest war monger and presents the main war danger to the world's peoples. Under such complex conditions of class struggle it is not surprising that even within communist parties and organizations the class struggle is also represented in an intensified way. Quite recently has the Communist Party of China routed and smashed the "gang of four". Socialist Albania also recently uncovered a plot for capitalist restoration planned by traitors within the Party of Labor of Albania. Their plot was, of course, thoroughly smashed by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Within the past several weeks, a small handful of revisionists has also attempted to split the August 29th Movement, with the objective of overthrowing its leadership and of instituting an ultra-right revisionist line as our general

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More and more the people of the U.S. are demanding normalization of relations with China. This demonstration took place in New York earlier this year.

## AN ANALYSIS OF U.S. - CHINA RELATIONS

# Vance's China Trip

US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance jetted off to the People's Republic of China Aug. 22. The top item on his agenda was normalizing diplomatic relations between the US and the People's Republic. On June 29, 1977 in a major foreign policy speech, Vance said that the US is committed to seeking full diplomatic relations with Peking and that this was a "central part of our foreign policy." US policy, he added "will continue to be guided by the principles of the Shanghai Communique and on that basis we shall seek to move towards full normalization

of relations." Since 1972 US government officials have made similar declarations, yet the US and China have not yet exchanged ambassadors. Why? To understand that question and Vance's current statements, we must first look at the world situation.

Around the world the USSR is gaining in its contention with the US. The US bourgeoisie realizes its own diminishing strength and is looking for ways to bolster its power. Carter, Vance and other spokesmen for the US bourgeoisie have become advocates of the "China Card" theory. They hope to use China to offset Soviet power, gain leverage in the SALT talks, and discourage Soviet war moves. They may be willing to normalize relations with China in hopes of using China as a playing card in their contention with the USSR.

The Chinese people and government have made it clear that they will never be used as a pawn by any superpower. The PRC pursues its own, independent foreign policy. The PRC and the Chinese Communist Party are forging unity with the people of the world--particularly the Third World--to oppose both superpowers. The Chinese government is willing to exchange ambassadors with the US as they do with any other country with a different social system. The US must sever military and diplomatic ties with the illegal Kuomintang (KMT) government in Taiwan. It is the US government, not the PRC, who has continually blocked full diplomatic relations.

The Carter administration didn't make its conciliatory statements about China out of the goodness of its heart. For 20 years the entire US bourgeoisie supported a policy of attempting to isolate and smash socialist China. Only after the US saw the stability and strength of socialist China, only after countries around the world supported China's entrance into the United Nations, only after the people of the world demonstrated their support for the dictatorship of the proletariat in China did the US bourgeoisie change its tactics. Since 1972 the bourgeoisie hasn't been able to ignore a growing move-

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## Wildcats Hit Medical Cuts Miners March on D.C.

--from a correspondent

WASHINGTON D.C. --On August 5th United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller was resting inside his air-conditioned office, allegedly suffering from fatigue. The same day, 1,000 rank and file miners from West Virginia and Kentucky demonstrated in Washington, D.C. marching from the UMW headquarters to the White House and the Capitol in scorching 93-degree heat, shouting "No (medical) cards, no coal!" The strength shown by the miners drew shouts of support and raised fists from onlookers along the route.

For two months over 60,000 miners, 1/3 of the UMW membership, have been out on wildcat strike protesting cutbacks in their medical and pension benefits. Their wildcats are in direct defiance of the coal operators, the courts and the top UMW bureaucracy. The miners were demanding the return of their medical benefit cards which, up until July 1, provided fully-paid health care to themselves and their families.

The coal monopolies cut down their medical benefits as punishment for a series of wildcat strikes earlier this year. Now, without cards, miners must pay the first \$250 for any hospital visit, as well as 40% of all medical bills. As one furious woman coal truck driver told the crowd, "I'd rather starve to death than send my sons into the mines under these conditions. We'll stay out until we get our cards back!"

The other demand in the strike is the reallocation of funds left over from the 1974 pension fund. As it stands now, UMW members who retired before 1974 receive only \$225 per month. Others who retired after 1974 receive \$400 per month. Demonstrators told the REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE that no one can live on that kind of income in these days of high inflation.

Several outraged miners explained that the mineowners are gradually stepping up the attack

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Today miners are among the most militant fighters for workers' rights.

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## Revolution's the Main Trend



THE 15 YEAR STRUGGLE OF THE PANAMANIAN PEOPLE for control of the Canal Zone has forced some concessions out of US imperialism. Panama forced US imperialism to give up control of the Canal by the year 2000, pay considerably more money for use of the Canal, and make Zone residents subject to Panamanian laws. Under the cover of maintaining "neutrality" of the Canal, however, US imperialism intends to keep its military presence in the area.

★ ★ ★

IN MANILA, PHILIPPINE PRESIDENT MARCOS presented United Farm Worker leader Cesar Chavez a labor rights award for "services to the trade union movement." Along with announcements he will hold "free" elections next year, the talks with Chavez are part of a public relations campaign to buy time for his regime in the face of popular opposition. According to Ang Bayan, organ of the Philippine Communist Party, under Marcos' rule "the right to strike and hold mass rallies is still forbidden." For his part, Chavez went to Manila in hopes of winning support from Philippine farmworkers in upcoming union recognition elections. But Philippine farmworkers only four years ago passed a resolution condemning martial law in the Philippines. Chavez is not only ignoring the sentiments of Philippine farmworkers, but is helping prop up the dictatorial Marcos regime.

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THERE WERE NO CHEERING CROWDS AS QUEEN ELIZABETH visited Northern Ireland last month--and for good reason. The day of her arrival marked the sixth anniversary of internment, a terror campaign of the British that summarily imprisoned 2000 anti-British activists. In response to the Queen's visit, the Irish people took to the streets in large demonstrations to oppose British colonial rule. A force of 32,000 British soldiers and police were required to "maintain peace."

★ ★ ★

SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE'S TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST ended in failure. US imperialism spread rumors that the Palestine Liberation Organization would recognize the legitimacy of the Zionist settler state of Israel. In response PLO leader Yassar Arafat stated "The conspiracy which Vance is trying to impose on the Arab nation will not succeed and is doomed to failure." The August 9 issue of Falastin Thawra, newspaper of the PLO, reported that Arafat "affirmed that the revolution will continue the battle until the Palestinian people build an independent state and freely determine their future."

# Caterpillar Strike Settles

SAN LEANDRO, CA-- The militant 3 month strike at Caterpillar Tractor is over. The 1800 members of the International Association of Machinists #284 went back to work August 8. Production workers won a wage increase of 70¢ over three years, \$1.20 for journeymen. Workers won increased medical and dental benefits and a major jump in pensions from \$7.50 per month per year of service to \$13. The company agreed to drop all court cases against workers and not to discipline anyone for strike activity.

But many rank and file workers are bitter over the CAT bosses' refusal to budge on the non-economic issues. CAT will still enforce the mandatory overtime, cycle timing (speed-up) and there was no change in the company dominated grievance procedure.

Workers are particularly angry at how the union bureaucrats ended the strike. For three months the workers had violated court injunctions, held mass pickets, demonstrated at the court house, and defied the bureaucrats' instructions to "cool it." Just before the end of the strike, over 900 workers signed a petition demanding a ratification vote at a mass meeting, not through a mail ballot. One union Business Rep even announced to the assembled workers there would be no mail ballot. Then the bureaucrats sent out the mail ballot anyway. Only by using this trickery did the bureaucrats manipulate a return to work.

Seeing the rising militancy of the workers and the respect communists had gained during the strike, the company and union officials have launched a major red-baiting campaign. During the strike, CAT bosses had threatened to shut down and move the plant to an area where there would be less labor hassles. When the strike ended, plant manager Merv Warren continued these threats by declaring "we can fight everything, but we can't fight communism." The union bureaucrats echo the red-baiting by saying communists prolonged the strike unnecessarily.

The red-baiting is a thin cover for company and union bureaucrats' attacks on the workers. Communists haven't speed-up the work, enforced mandatory overtime or had strikers arrested. Communists didn't manipulate a mail ballot to force a return to work. Communists were among the hardest fighters for workers rights on the job and for union democracy. Communists stood for the unity of all nationalities. Communists showed that the courts and police are tools of the capitalist owners of Caterpillar--that the fight against CAT is a fight against all of capitalism.

And that's why the capitalists at CAT are worried. Communists showed in practice that they are the hardest fighters for workers short term and long term interests. Only the unity of all workers will defeat the CAT bosses and the entire capitalist system. ★



Masses block earlier eviction attempt by police and sheriffs.

## Long Live the I-Hotel!

SAN FRANCISCO--Demonstrations continue at least twice a week in support of the International Hotel tenants brutally evicted from their rooms August 3. Since the eviction over 1000 people mobilized on short notice for a militant rally on August 6. Hundreds more demonstrated at San Francisco City Hall later in the month. For nine years the mostly elderly Filipino and Chinese residents at the I-Hotel have been fighting against eviction from their low-cost housing. The I-Hotel is located on the last remaining block of Manilatown, in San Francisco. The fight to save the I-Hotel was not only the fight of all working people for low-cost housing, but a fight against the national oppression of Asian peoples. For these reasons the I-Hotel tenants have received widespread support from workers, students and oppressed nationality communities.

The Four Seas Corporation, capitalist owners of the hotel, intend to tear down the I-Hotel in order to build a more profitable building. They got their friends in city government, particularly Mayor Moscone and Sheriff Hongisto, to carry out the evictions. On the night of August 3, 1977, hundreds of riot police on foot and horseback prepared to attack the hotel. Over 1000 demonstrators, mobilized on four hours notice, formed a human barricade 6-deep in front of the hotel. The police charged the line six times before they could break through. Inside tenants and residents of the community offices downstairs barricaded themselves in the hotel. Police used crow bars, sledgehammers, fire axes and battering rams to break in. Even so, it took until 7AM before the police could drag out the

last tenant. Throughout the night supporters outside the hotel kept up chants like "The People United Will Never Be Defeated!"

The capitalist corporations and state weren't the people's only enemies. The Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) -- a group claiming to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought--has consistently opposed mass militant struggle to stop the evictions. When the police charged into the lines on August 3, the RCP immediately broke and ran. In fact, they donned monitors armbands in an attempt to lead everyone away from the hotel. Tenants and the mass of supporters have firmly rejected the RCP's wrecking activities.

The I-Hotel struggle is far from over. Tenants and supporters are demanding that the city enforce eminent domain, take the building from Four Seas, rebuild and repair it, and turn it into low-rent public housing under tenant management.

STOP THE DESTRUCTION OF OPPRESSED NATIONALITY COMMUNITIES!  
SUPPORT THE I-HOTEL TENANTS! ★

## Revolutionary Cause Special Supplement

### L.P.R. - Caught with their 'Onlys' Showing

In this special supplement to the REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE, ATM (M-L) shows that the League for Proletarian Revolution (LPR) is a "leftist" sect with no real ability to help form a new communist party in the U.S. On every major question of party building LPR has only SHADES of difference with the line of the "Revolutionary Wing." Read our response to LPR's unprincipled attacks on ATM (M-L).

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By The August 29th Movement (ML)

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## Correction

ATM (M-L) canceled our Los Angeles event planned to celebrate the August 29th Moratorium. Because of the activities of the group attempting to split ATM, certain speakers would not have been able to attend. We also felt at this time our energies were better spent in consolidating our ranks in the struggle against the political line of the splitters. ATM will direct our efforts at building for the major anti-Bakke decision demonstration in San Francisco Oct 15.

In Revolutionary Cause, Vol 2 #5 we incorrectly listed Jose Calderon as a speaker for the August 29th event. Although we made efforts to contact him, he never agreed to speak. We are self-critical for this error.

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RED BANNER #2 was delayed at the printer for over two months. It is now being sent to all those who ordered it.

## Work Summed Up

# ATM and the UAW Convention

The United Auto Workers Union held its international convention in Los Angeles, the week of May 15. The convention was tightly controlled by the labor bureaucrats and was used mainly as a stage for capitalist politicians like Jimmy Carter and Ted Kennedy. Clearly the bureaucrats wanted to use the convention to strengthen the system of capitalism, to tie the union to the tail of the capitalist political parties.

Communists are duty-bound to expose these capitalist tricks, carry out a determined struggle to overthrow imperialism, and stand with the people of the world against both US and Soviet imperialism. Only a genuine communist party can lead the workers to smash imperialism and establish the dictatorship of the working class. The working class can never carry out these tasks unless it becomes aware of its role as the leading class in society. This knowledge can only come when the proletariat sees its relationship to all other classes and groups in society.

With this in mind, ATM assessed its tasks in regard to the autoworkers convention and concluded that it was imperative to carry out a campaign of political agitation around it--as extensive and all-sided a campaign as was possible. We set up a convention headquarters where workers could meet to discuss their common struggle. We mass distributed the REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE to hundreds of autoworkers around California and to convention delegates. We organized a daily ATM Convention Bulletin which was simultaneously distributed in 5 auto plants in California and to the convention delegates. We put out 6000 bulletins per day. The Convention Bulletin explained the daily cover-ups and sell-outs of the bureaucrats and exposed them as traitors to the working class.



Delegates from the independent parts shops hold demonstration at this year's UAW Convention. They demanded an end to plant closings.

### POLITICAL LINE IS DECISIVE

The first and foremost consideration in carrying out any action is the political and ideological line. If the line is not correct, no matter how well organized you are, you cannot be successful. Therefore we had to carefully develop our line on the convention, to see it in the context of our overall line on the trade unions and our line for work in auto in particular.

ATM views the national question as a key issue in auto, particularly the fight against the vicious national oppression faced by Black auto-

workers. We focused the attention of the autoworkers on the case of Gary Tyler, the Black youth framed for murder in Louisiana. We showed the role of the auto industry capitalists in this whole scheme of things, pointing out that General Motors has built 7 of its last 9 auto plants in the Southern US. We put before the autoworkers the tasks of fighting for the freedom of Gary Tyler, of upholding the right of the Afro-American nation to self-determination, forcing the UAW to undertake vigorous efforts to organize all auto plants in the south, and to end the national oppression of Black workers in the auto industry. In a similar fashion we called on the workers to support the struggles of the people of Azania and to demand that the UAW give material support to the liberation movement in that country.

Another critical issue for auto workers is the question of union democracy. Many auto workers spontaneously recognize the lack of democracy, indeed 50 locals submitted resolutions calling for direct election of convention delegates. Through our agitation we were able to show that the lack of union democracy was the result of the policy of the imperialists. Woodcock, Frasier and other top UAW officials are part of the labor bureaucracy--a strata of the working class which is bought off by imperialism. We showed concretely that with the extra profits the auto companies make off their workers in the Third World countries, they are able to pay Woodcock \$67,000 per year. In addition, the imperialists hand out political privileges, like Woodcock's recent appointment as US representative to China. In exchange for these bribes and privileges, the bureaucrats agree to keep the workers in line--thus the lack of union democracy. For the imperialists, any increase in union democracy means the rank and file might kick out the bureaucrats and bring in class conscious leaders. In this way we tried to link the workers' spontaneous anger at the sell-out union hacks to a class conscious understanding of imperialism.

There were, however, serious shortcomings in the line which we carried out. First of all, we did not raise the call for socialist revolution until the last convention bulletin. Throughout the convention campaign we should have helped draw workers to the conclusion that only the dictatorship of the proletariat can resolve the problems of imperialism. Failing this, the workers were left with the conclusion that the solution lies in a more democratic trade union, or in militant class struggle alone. Connected to this error was our failure to popularize the necessity for a new communist party except in the pages of the REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE. This is a serious right error which has begun to crop up throughout our trade union work, and which stands out glaringly in our work around the convention. Our political exposures should have shown that only a proletarian party, a Marxist-Leninist party, can help the working class to play its leading role in its role as the emancipator of all the oppressed in society. While each bulletin didn't have to discuss the question of socialism and the party, ATM most definitely should have been raising these questions more consistently in the course of the campaign.

### TWO LINE STRUGGLE WITHIN ATM

To arrive at a correct line, ATM went through a process of two-line struggle. For example we confronted the question: what is the relationship between the politics of mass and communist organizations? ATM for some time has worked with a rank and file caucus that included militant trade unionists as well as Marxist-Leninists. The caucus is organized in militant opposition to the

## Learn from Working Class History

# The Great 1919 Steel Strike

September 22 marks the anniversary of the Great 1919 Steel Strike. On that date 367,000 workers in 50 cities walked off the job in the largest and longest nationwide steel strike in US history. For nearly 4 months strikers battled scabs, police, National Guard and the US Army for their right to unionize and for the 8-hour day. Although the steel monopolies defeated the strike itself, many class-conscious workers emerged during the battle and later went on to join the newly-founded Communist Party USA. The 1919 strike was not simply a trade union battle, it was the angry cry of the poor and oppressed against the entire system of capitalist slavery.

### WORLD WAR I WORKERS DIE FOR IMPERIALIST PROFITS

The strike broke out shortly after the end of World War I. That war wasn't fought to "make the world safe for democracy" as claimed by then President Wilson. The two great superpowers of that time--Germany and England--went to war in order to redivide the world's markets and resources. Each power wanted the other's colonies and they were willing to engage in mass slaughter to get them. Before this inter-imperialist conflict was over 9 million people were dead, 5 million reported missing, 7 million permanently disabled and 15 million seriously wounded.

What were the results for US capitalists? The war created 20,000 new millionaires. US Steel Corporation's profits rose from \$81 million in 1913 to \$224 million in 1917. Bethlehem Steel's stock dividends jumped by 200%, Dupont Powder Corporation's by 458%. US monopoly capitalism became even more highly concentrated

economically and politically.

It was another story for the working class in the US. Over 53,000 sons of workers and farmers were killed on the battlefields of Europe. War-caused inflation drove real wages down by 12%. The monopolists in government and in the press worked up a patriotic hysteria against strikes and labor organizing because it "would hurt the war effort."

But many US workers refused to fight their working class brothers of other countries. Socialist Eugene Debbs proclaimed that "the master class has always declared the war, the subject class has always fought the battles." The working class, he continued, "has nothing to gain and all to lose--especially their lives." The Industrial Workers of the World and left wing socialists held large anti-war rallies and called on workers to turn the imperialist war into a civil war.

And in one country the workers did just that. In 1917 the Bolsheviks led a successful socialist revolution which inspired workers throughout the world. Writing about the effect of the Russian Revolution on the steel strikers of 1919, the Interchurch World Movement wrote "They have a vague idea that big rich people who run things 'arbitrarily' even in mills, are coming down in the world. Russia, moreover, means to them the rise of workingmen to power. They have a vague idea that poor people who have been run for a long time, on farms and mills, are coming up in the world and are beginning to run themselves." ★



Steelworkers of 1919 stood up against the huge monopoly corporations, the government and the AF of L bureaucrats to demand an 8-hour day and the right to organize.

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# Superpowers Out of Ethiopia Ethiopian Masses Struggle

In the last six months the two superpowers have significantly increased their contention in the "Horn of Africa"—particularly Ethiopia. Four countries near the Red Sea make up the Horn: Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Djibouti. The area is a key region in the world. Whoever controls the Red Sea and the Suez Canal controls the vital shipping lanes to Europe. In particular, much of the Mid-East oil bound for Europe must pass around the Horn. As a result the US and USSR have increased their efforts to exploit the area for their own imperialist interests.

After the end of World War II, the US became the main imperialist supporter of the Haile Selassie regime in Ethiopia. Since 1952 the US supplied Ethiopia with \$600 million in military aid. In return Ethiopia allowed the US to set up its last remaining military base in Africa and a series of "communication centers" used to monitor telecommunications throughout Africa and the Mid-East. The US first backed the reactionary Selassie government and later threw its support to sectors of the ruling military council—the Dergue—after they seized power in 1974. Throughout this period, the US supported and instigated the suppression of the workers and oppressed people of Ethiopia—including the wholesale arrests and murders of revolutionary students and peasants. Only now—when the USSR has gained the upper hand in Ethiopia and shut down the US military installations—has the US government denounced the "human rights violations" of the Ethiopian government and cut off military aid.

For its part the USSR has long meddled in the affairs of the Horn. The USSR signed a "friendship" treaty with the Somali Republic in 1974, sent upwards of 6000 military "advisors" to that country, and set up a string of military bases. Since February of this year the USSR got another foothold in the area. A bloody battle broke out within the Dergue and the Mengistu Haile Mariam faction emerged triumphant. The Dergue had already signed a secret military pact with the USSR last December for purchase of \$100 million in arms. Since February the USSR has moved rapidly to solidify their control in Ethiopia. The USSR is supplying the Dergue with \$600 million in military hardware, including tanks and armed personnel carriers. Two hundred Cuban "advisors" arrived to train a militia to prop up the new government. When Ethiopian students studying in the USSR demonstrated against Mengistu's fascist rule, the USSR promptly deported them back to Ethiopia to

face almost certain imprisonment and torture

## RESULTS OF SOVIET "AID"

Around the world the USSR lavishes great praise on itself for upholding "proletarian internationalism." Within the US, groups like the Communist Party USA, CASA and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party are quick to rush to the USSR's defense. What exactly has been the results of Soviet aid to Ethiopia? It is quite true that the Mengistu government speaks of developing "Ethiopian Socialism," building a "Peoples Army", and features giant pictures of Marx, Engels, and Lenin at its military parades. But that is about as close as it gets to Marxism.

Under the Soviet-supported Dergue's rule the average per capita income in Ethiopia is \$60/year. Inflation is 50% a year, life expectancy is 35 years and 93% of the people are illiterate. Unemployment is rampant. Famine is widespread. The Dergue has denied all democratic freedoms to the people. There is no right to strike; workers are denied the right to join their own trade unions, there is no minimum wage, all progressive organizations of workers, women and students have been forced underground. There is no freedom of speech or right to assemble for demonstrations. The Dergue has stopped all land reform and has disarmed the peasants.

Nowhere is the reactionary policy of the Dergue and the USSR more clear than in their oppression of Eritrea. Eritrea is an oppressed nation forcibly annexed by Ethiopia in 1952. Eritrea is of vital importance because it contains one of Ethiopia's main ports. To forcibly keep Eritrea annexed, the Dergue has rounded up peasants into strategic hamlets and carried out indiscriminate aerial bombings of the civilian population.

Since March 23, Mengistu imposed a state of emergency in all Ethiopia, instituted a military curfew and requires everyone to carry ID cards. Hundreds of bodies of political opponents of the Dergue turn up daily on roadsides and in unmarked graves. What is the response of the USSR and its allies to these atrocities? "Let me repeat that I think Mengistu is a true revolutionary", said Fidel Castro after a recent visit to Ethiopia, "and that the revolution now being developed in Ethiopia is a true revolution."

## THE ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE ARE RISING

Spurred on by the wave of repression, increasing numbers of Ethiopian people are rebelling. Revolutionary groups are gaining strength



among the Ethiopian, Eritrean and other oppressed nationality peoples. The Dergue has attempted to organize parades of support, which revolutionary groups turned into massive protests demanding democratic rights. Workers, students and peasants shouted slogans such as "Down with the Military Junta" and "Establish a Provisional Popular Government." On May Day of this year thousands took to the streets denouncing Mengistu's phony socialism. Underground workers organizations have led demonstrations for price controls, jobs, freedom of speech and press, and the right to form anti-imperialist organizations.

The people of Eritrea are rising up against the Mengistu government. Increasing numbers of Eritreans are joining the two liberation fronts in that oppressed nation. There is a growing awareness among the Eritrean people of the role of Soviet Social-Imperialism and its support for the fascist Ethiopian regime. Revolutionary groups inside Ethiopia firmly uphold the right of self-determination for Eritrea.

Around the world anti-imperialist Ethiopian and Eritrean student groups are demonstrating against the Mengistu regime and superpower domination of their country. Both the Ethiopian Students Union of North America (ESUNA) and the Eritreans for Liberation in North America (EFLNA) are carrying out programs of revolutionary education and action inside the US. The American working class and all oppressed people must take up support for the people of Ethiopia. We must demand:

USSR OUT OF ETHIOPIA!  
NO U S INTERFERENCE IN ETHIOPIA!  
DOWN WITH THE MENGISTU REGIME!  
UPHOLD THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ERITREA!

(For further information contact ESUNA, P O Box 6462, Washington DC 20009 or EFLNA, P O Box 1247, N Y., New York 10027) ★

## Grasp Marxist-Leninist Theory

# A Study Guide for Lenin's What Is To Be Done? - Ch.3

Marxist-Leninist theory can only develop in struggle. Lenin wrote *What Is To Be Done* in struggle against the opportunists who sought to chain the working class movement to the capitalist system. They did this by advocating that the workers only take up the politics of trade unionism. Lenin, on the other hand, advocated the politics of socialism and the revolutionary overthrow of Czarism for the working class movement. Without a determined struggle against the Economists and terrorists, Lenin could never have built the Bolshevik Party and the revolution could never have triumphed in Russia. In the same way, socialist revolution in the U.S. can never win without a consistent and determined struggle against opportunism, and especially against right opportunism and revisionism.

How do workers become class conscious? This is a key question addressed by Lenin in this chapter. Through their spontaneous everyday struggle workers are able to develop trade union consciousness, that is, an awareness of the need to unite to fight for better terms in the sale of their labor power. This is not class consciousness, no matter how militantly the workers may wage their trade union struggle, even though they may make political trade union demands upon the state (e.g. an end to court injunctions). Workers become class conscious only when they realize their relationship to all other classes and groups in society, and that of all these other classes, they are the leading class in the fight for socialist revolution. Only communists can bring them this knowledge.

Communists are duty bound to train the workers in class consciousness by organizing frequent, consistent and nationwide political agitation which exposes all the features of imperialism. A new communist party cannot be built without taking up this task and creating an organization to carry it out. We can only unite Marxist-Leninists on the basis of the party program and on the basis of carrying out the work necessary to train the workers in class consciousness.

Lenin addressed the question of agitation and propaganda. He defines agitation as simply one or a few ideas presented to many people. Prop-



aganda is a complex of ideas presented as an integral whole, which may not be understood in its entirety except by a few people. (e.g. the theory of imperialism.) Lenin never counterposes agitation against propaganda. Agitation and propaganda are both necessary to train the class, and are our main method of educating it in class consciousness. Only the organization of nationwide political agitation can educate the working class on its role in society and arm it to intervene in every struggle of every class and strata which opposes imperialism. In turn this agitation will stimulate a desire for a deeper understanding of the complexities of capitalism, especially on the part of the advanced workers. We must meet this demand with a constantly expanding supply of Marxist-Leninist propaganda. While agitation and propaganda can be developed for lower strata and intermediate workers, we must emphasize our work among the advanced workers so that they can be trained as the future leaders and cadres of the party.

One of Lenin's most important lessons in this book is that the root of all opportunism lies in bowing to spontaneity. The Economists bowed to the spontaneity of the trade union movement, pure and simple. The revisionist communist party, today, bows to the spontaneity of the most backwards workers who desire only better wages and

working conditions—most especially to the labor aristocracy, those highly paid and highly skilled and privileged workers who "have a stake" in capitalism. Thus the CPUSA advocates only reformism and trade unionism and condemns those who advocate socialist revolution.

The terrorists of Lenin's time bowed to spontaneity from the "left." They worshipped the "passionate indignation of the intellectual." Today the terrorists and other ultra-leftists like the Symbionese Liberation Army and various Trotskyite groupings base themselves among the radical intelligentsia and petty bourgeoisie. They separate themselves from the masses of workers, fail to bring them class consciousness and thus allow the working class to continue without direction. Both the revisionists and ultra-leftists leave the working class to purely reform struggle, while reserving political struggle for the intellectuals.

In conclusion Lenin explains that the working class must be the leading class in the struggle for democracy and an end to the oppression of the majority of society. In our time this means that the workers must take up the struggles of all the oppressed—and especially of the oppressed nationalities—and show them that only socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can create the conditions for real democracy to flourish and for oppression to end. It is the task of communists to educate the workers so that they can carry out their role and so that they can turn their political knowledge into the action which will prove that they are the leading class in society.

## STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What role does political agitation play in the class struggle? Economic agitation? Communist propaganda?
2. What is the difference between economic and political struggle? Give examples from your own areas of mass work.
3. What is spontaneity? How is it different from disorganization?
4. How do communists educate the working class in its role as vanguard fighter for democracy?

NEXT MONTH: Chapter 4 ★

# Growing Women's Resistance

## COURTS JUSTIFY RAPE!

In Madison, Wisconsin, Judge Archie Simonson said that rape is a "normal reaction" to women who wear provocative clothing. In California a State Appeals Court wrote that a man picking up a woman hitchhiker is justified in thinking she desires sexual relations. Although the state court later dropped the controversial passages in its decision, across the US the bourgeoisie is making its point very clear: rape is the woman's fault.

Rape is a criminal act of assault, no woman volunteers to be raped. The bourgeoisie poses the problem as a conflict between men and women. But rape is not just a crime of individuals, it is rooted in the system of capitalism.

Under capitalism everything of value becomes the private property of the bourgeoisie: land, water, natural resources, etc. Workers, men and women become private property to be bought (hired) when workers are needed for production and sold (laid-off) when production slacks off. Women, too, become private property. In the labor market, they are "bought and sold" like any other workers. But women are also oppressed as domestic slaves. Capitalism keeps women as domestic slaves in order to provide services for men workers (cooking, cleaning, etc.) and to produce the next generation of workers. Under capitalism women are thus dependent on men for survival.

Capitalism teaches a man that women exist only for his pleasure. Prostitution and sexual attacks on women are simply extensions of their status as private property. As prostitutes, women are literally bought and sold.

Thus the act of rape is merely an extreme form of the relations that capitalism establishes between men and women. Rape and sex crimes will continue as long as capitalism exists.

When any class society is young and developing, it maintains rigid moral standards (in early days of US capitalism it was called "puritanism"). But as class society enters its stage of decline, a manner of moral and sexual vice become rampant. Drugs, pornography, homosexuality and other perversions have noticeably increased in the US in the last few years. Movies, books and advertising all aim at stimulating the sex drive for the greater profits of the capitalist. With this constant bombardment of sexual stimulation, it's no wonder that in the last few years the number of rapes and sex crimes have increased. As imperialism enters its final decaying years, the oppression of women intensifies.

The bourgeoisie recognizes the explosive impact of increased crime, particularly rape. Always interested in maintaining their profit-making system, the bourgeoisie uses the issue to further divide the working class.

The traditional way the US bourgeoisie has dealt with rape is to put the burden on working class women to prove they were raped. Most police departments put women through humiliating interviews which are almost as bad as the rape itself. The Madison and California court decisions were following this historic pattern.

### WOMEN'S MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

In response to the growing attacks on their rights, poor and working women across the US are fighting back. Women's groups have protested the way the courts and prosecutors handle rape cases. Women's rights groups gathered over 30,000 signatures on a petition to recall Judge Simonson. Loud protests from women forced the California State Appeals Court to modify its anti-women statements. Mass protests won freedom for Inez Garcia and Joanne Little, both accused of killing the men who sexually assaulted them. Thousands of working women have protested against cutbacks in childcare and medical services. Women have played an important role in organizing union drives at Oneita Mills and J.P. Stevens.

### RESPONSE OF THE BOURGEOISIE

Faced with these kinds of protest, the bourgeoisie is willing to modify its stand--so long as it continues keeping the working class divided. Instead of putting all the blame on women, they call for lynch mob justice against accused rapists and sex offenders. Various reactionaries have demanded the death penalty for certain kinds of rape and surgical castration for sex offenders. Historically the bourgeoisie has used the issue of rape to attack oppressed nationality men. To whip up national chauvinism in the 1930's, the state falsely accused the Black Scottsboro youths of raping 2 white women. Similarly, some reactionaries are using Judge Simonson's case to attack Blacks. When Judge Simonson made his infamous remarks, it was in sentencing a Black teenager for sexually molesting a white girl. He gave the youth probation and the reactionaries are clamoring for a harsher penalty.

The bourgeoisie is slick. First they blame women for the rise in rapes. If that doesn't work, then they blame oppressed nationality men. In both cases, the real source of the crime--the capitalist system--is ignored.

### STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS IS A STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

All workers must take up the struggle for women's democratic rights: equality on the job, company or government paid child care, free abortions on demand, and many more. We must fight for women's right of armed self-defense against attack. But these struggles must be linked to the broader struggle against capitalism. Anti-busing groups like ROAR in Boston, for example, teach women karate only to use it against Blacks, in order to divide Blacks and Whites, to strengthen the rule of capitalism. Full equality for women will only come with the armed overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. Women's right to self-defense is not an end in itself. It is only a step on the road toward the working class'



Like Inez Garcia and Joanne Little, the masses of working women are fighting against capitalist oppression.

## 1919 Steel Strike . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

### THE STEEL STRIKE

Immediately after the war, a strike wave hit the whole country. Frustrated with years of wartime inflation and political suppression, the working class rebelled. Under the leadership of an organizer for the Chicago Federation of Labor named William Z. Foster, the steel strike was organized in less than two months. 15,000 steel workers in Gary, Indiana attended the first organizing meeting and within a month thousands had joined the union. The organizing drive continued to Youngstown, Cleveland, Buffalo, Sharon, Johnstown, Wheeling and Pittsburgh. Rank and file steelworkers demanded a strike over the objections of the American Federation of Labor bureaucrats. On Sept. 22, 1919 the 367,000 steelworkers hit the bricks.

The steel monopolies, led by US Steel, launched an all-out drive to break the strike. On the pretext of fighting "Bolshevism" local governments outlawed public meetings and arrested hundreds--releasing them only when they promised to return to work. In Gary, the Mayor called in the US Army to suppress the strike. The monopolies--which had previously refused to hire Blacks--imported thousands from the Black Belt South to scab on the strike. Faced with massive repression and open sabotage by reactionary AFL leaders like Samuel Gompers, the workers were forced to return to work on Jan. 8, 1920. Even in defeat, the workers won some important concessions like a wage increase, improved working conditions and final abolition of the 12-hour day.

Class-conscious workers played a decisive role in the 1919 strike. Men like Foster considered themselves revolutionaries and were consciously trying to organize a struggle against capitalism. They were able to carry out nationwide agitation and mass working class action, even in the absence of a communist party. Masses of workers came to see not only their own employers as the enemy, but the entire capitalist class and its government as well.

But the strike was also limited by the absence of a genuine communist party. Foster was at that time a syndicalist. He believed the workers could seize power through a general strike and didn't need a vanguard communist party to lead their struggles. So even if the strike had been successful economically, it could not have helped spark a socialist revolution. Similarly Foster and the other leaders did not yet have a scientific understanding of the Black National Question. While they opposed the racist practices of the steel capitalists, they did not yet recognize the source of Black oppression: the occupation of the Black Belt Nation by US imperialism.

Within a few years, however, Foster and other veterans of the 1919 strike helped found the Communist Party USA. The CPUSA was built in the heat of class struggle: the practical struggle for workers rights and the theoretical struggle

armed fight for state power.

Only the destruction of capitalism will eliminate rape as a social crime. In the Peoples Republics of China and Albania, women have no fear of walking the streets. Significant numbers of rapes disappeared almost immediately after the successful socialist revolutions. Because the entire system of capitalist private property is destroyed, there is no longer the material basis for the continued exploitation of women. With the end of domestic slavery comes the end of sex crimes as a serious social problem. True equality for women can only be achieved when the entire working class takes up their struggles and wins the fight for socialist revolution.

FULL EQUALITY FOR WOMEN THROUGH SOCIALIST REVOLUTION! ★

against left and right opportunism. Foster was able to sum-up the lessons of the 1919 strike and help the American workers movement break with the dual unionism and syndicalism that had long influenced it. Foster later became the National Chairman of the CPUSA and led it during the CP's revolutionary period.

Today, like in 1919, the working class lacks its vanguard party. Long ago the CPUSA abandoned its revolutionary theory and practice. It is our duty to build an anti-revisionist communist party which can lead the working class to socialism. Today, workers face the danger of a new world war. The contention between the US and USSR is not the same as that between England and Germany during World War I. The USSR is clearly the main war danger and is acting more like fascist Germany in the days before World War II. Nevertheless, we can learn much from the heroic resistance of the US working class during World War I. Then, as today, workers have the duty of refusing to fight an imperialist war--and turning it into a war against the US capitalist class.

Fifty-eight years ago this month our working class brothers in steel fought valiantly against imperialism. We must learn the lessons of history and move forward to socialist revolution!★



In the first seven months after America's entrance into this war for human freedom, enemy agitators in our midst caused 283,402 workers to lose 6,285,519 days of production. Our war industries were heavily handicapped by this unpatriotic strife.

LET US ALL PULL TOGETHER TO WIN THE WAR QUICKLY

The capitalists printed up posters, like the one above to stir up patriotic hysteria against strikes.

# Marxism not Revisionism . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

line In this, the splitters can be seen as part of an international opportunist trend opposed to the growth and development of new Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations. In particular these splitters have consistently ignored the struggle against Soviet Social Imperialism and have objectively called for a united front only against U S Imperialism. It is important to understand that ATM's struggle against the revisionists who have attacked us is not just an internal question, but is part of the worldwide struggle against revisionism and opportunism

A small group of four stand at the head of the attempt to wreck ATM, including two former members of our central committee They have held and promoted a revisionist line within our ranks, which we will be unfolding extensively in future issues of the REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE They have attempted to pit leaders against leaders, cadres against leaders, and cadres against cadres They have undertaken a widespread effort to travel around the country and to spread their poison among comrades outside the organization as well While they have had some small success, they have been soundly rebuffed by the majority of ATM leadership and cadres No collectives previously working with ATM or comrade organizations of ATM wants anything to do with the splitters They are a small few who have only temporarily succeeded in confusing some honest people, but who are already finding the going difficult Even among the "4" there are factional differences and some of the people who have been duped by them are already seeing through their opportunism

Future issues of the REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE will explain our full differences with the splitters In this editorial we take up two of the main differences

## THE CHICANO NATIONAL QUESTION

One of the fundamental line differences between the splitters and ATM is on the Chicano National Question Pushing a hidden line which advocated secession for the Chicano Nation, the splitters only succeeded in isolating themselves from the masses in the Southwest Their line represented narrow nationalism and revisionism In a "Campaign Plan" developed by one of the leading splitters for work in the Southwest, we can see this very clearly. He wrote.

"The Afro-American revolutionary movement is part of the world revolutionary movement against U S imperialism (Therefore) Secession of the Black Belt South would weaken U S imperialism, politically, economically and militarily "

First, the splitters completely fail to recognize the danger of Soviet Social-Imperialism (a failure which extends throughout the plan) Communists must examine any possible secessionist movement concretely to see if it genuinely opposes imperialism and Social-Imperialism ATM has always held that we could not support a secessionist movement which aided the USSR (See Red Banner #1, p 49) The splitter's political line in this campaign plan, consistent with their general line and practice, objectively calls for a united front only against US imperialism Secondly, the splitters advocate secession After all, if secession will "weaken" US imperialism politically, then why not advocate it for the Black Belt South and the Chicano Nation? Of course, one trifle is missing. Would not a socialist revolution "weaken" imperialism even more, a revolution which would really solve the national question, as no secessionist movement can? What also stands out in this campaign plan is the almost complete lack of mention of the Anglo-American proletariat All of the work in the "plan" centers almost solely among Chi-

canos, with some small mention of work among Afro-Americans.

The bankruptcy of the splitters' position is clear in the second part of the "plan" entitled "Plan for Concrete Allocation of Forces" This "plan" states

"... we cannot create a wall between the CNM (Chicano National Movement) and the Chicano proletariat, as the Chicano proletariat is part of both the multi-national US proletariat and the CNM "

The Chicano proletariat is FIRST AND FOREMOST a part of the US working class Yes, we must "create a wall" between the interests of the working class and the interests of the Chicano National Movement which includes different classes and strata If the interests of the two movements conflict -- the national interests must always give way to the interests of the proletariat This is not surprising since only the proletariat truly represents the interests of all the oppressed in society But the line of the splitters sought to blur the distinction between the interests of the working class movement (socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat), and the interests of the Chicano people (their right to self-determination) All democratic demands, including the demand for the right of self-determination are subservient to the socialist tasks of the proletariat Under the cover of this "Marxist" sounding line the splitters hoped to sneak in their nationalist baggage

What did the revisionist line of the splitters lead to in practice? Their narrow nationalist line led them to glorify the role of the peasantry, ignoring the leading role of the proletariat and Marxist-Leninists In the Chilili land struggle, for example, they never distributed the REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE or any other Marxist-Leninist literature, the role of the proletariat was reduced to support resolutions by a few unions. They never once even mentioned the worldwide danger of Soviet Social Imperialism Flowing naturally from their line, the splitters completely failed to bring class consciousness to the people of Chilili After many months of supposed "Communist" work by ATM, the villagers of Chilili told us they were only fighting for their land grand and did not understand the question of a Chicano Nation and Communism

Since the original roadblock incident in May, the splitters had done nothing to prepare the villagers for their court trials At the last minute one of the leading splitters came up with a brainstorm Have some of the defendants represent themselves, "show a strong class stand", "put the state on trial", etc No one bothered to consult with the villagers to find out their opinions On July 27, this adventurist and showboating posture led to confusion in the courtroom, contributed to the eventual arrest of 8 more people, and to the complete isolation of the Communists.

(In RC Vol 2, #5 because of misinformation fed us by those associated with the splitters, we incorrectly reported that there was a mass turnout July 28 in support of those arrested in court July 27 In fact, few people showed up The splitters have completely abandoned any attempt at mobilizing the masses to support many honest people who were beaten and arrested that day )

To the discredit of ATM, a member of our leadership went along with this opportunist farce and even aggravated it by his own adventurist actions While the main burden for the opportunism must fall upon the splitters, we cannot condone the actions of this comrade who must be thoroughly criticized by our rank and file and by the masses in order to grasp thoroughly the incorrectness of his actions, which represent putting his individual interests above those of the masses

In conclusion, we point out that the splitters have now claimed to repudiate their line on secession. But their repudiation consists of blaming the line on ATM and its Central Committee for their own opportunism! They claim that all along ATM held to the line of secession They completely ignore over a year of struggle against their nationalist deviation within the ranks of ATM But their rantings and attacks on ATM are ultimately a good thing Throughout ATM we are seriously examining the influence of the line of the splitters and its effect on our general line and practice We will be closely studying FAN THE FLAMES because we feel there are the seeds of their opportunist position in that document. We will lay out the results of this study and investigation to the workers and Communist movements. Their wrecking activities will result in a stronger and more unified ATM!

In summary, then,  
THE LINE OF THE SPLITTERS Secession will automatically weaken US imperialism, therefore it is correct for Communists to lead a secessionist movement. Since the analysis of secession ignores the role of Soviet Social-Imperialism, they call for a united front only against US Imperialism

THE LINE OF ATM Any secessionist movement must be examined concretely to determine if it weakens both US and Soviet Imperialism. The duty of communists is to help build the worldwide united front against both superpowers

## TWO LINE STRUGGLE

In 1974-75 ATM held a position that 2-line

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## Commemorate Passing of Mao Tse Tung

"WE SOLEMNLY PROCLAIM TO THE WHOLE WORLD  
TAIWAN IS CHINA'S TERRITORY THE CHINESE PEOPLE  
ARE DETERMINED TO LIBERATE TAIWAN "

--Mao Tse-tung, August 22, 1954

One year ago on Sept 9, Chairman Mao Tse-tung passed away Mao was always a staunch fighter for the liberation of all of China One year after his death, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism still conspire to keep China divided. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP), under the leadership of Hua Kuo-feng, has continued the course of revolution charted by Mao Mao's analysis of the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and the theory of the three worlds continue to guide the CCP and revolutionaries throughout the world There can be no greater memorial to Chairman Mao than to continue the struggle for world revolution.

## China Trip . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

ment inside the US for normalization of relations with China. After Vance's trip, the US bourgeoisie is at a crossroads. accept the verdict of the people of the world or continue its reactionary "two-China policy". To date, the bourgeoisie has chosen to continue support for the KMT.

### WHY NO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS SINCE 1972?

In 1972 the US and PRC signed the Shanghai Communique where they agreed to move toward full normalization of relations. In that communique both the PRC and US agreed that Taiwan is part of China and that the Taiwan question must be settled by the Chinese people without outside interference. The communique promises the reduction of US military forces on Taiwan and eventually, complete withdrawal.

But powerful sectors of the US bourgeoisie reap millions of dollars in profits annually from investments in Taiwan Ford Motor Co. and Union Carbide, for example, have recently set up large operations in Taiwan Some US banks have recently set up new branches on the island. US imperialists profit from the KMT-enforced low wages, tax concessions and foreign exchange favors These imperialists stand to lose their profits if the dictatorship on Taiwan falls

Although normalization of relations between the US and PRC won't mean the immediate collapse of the KMT government, it would be the first step to ending US domination of Taiwan. So for the last 5 years, the US imperialists have actually been increasing their economic, military and diplomatic support of Taiwan--in direct violation of the Shanghai accords. There are still 5000 military personnel in Taiwan, the US has steadily increased its military aid to the dictatorship. In 1973 they gave \$45 million in military aid to the KMT, in 1974 they gave \$60 million and \$80 million in 1975. The US government encouraged Northrop Corp. to build 100 F-5E fighters on Taiwan, fighters that could only be used to attack mainland China. While

the US government is supposed to be moving towards severing diplomatic relations with the KMT, in fact, 5 new Taiwan consulates opened in the US!

### TASKS OF THE US PROLETARIAT

Opinion polls show that the majority of American people support full diplomatic ties between the PRC and US. The Peoples Republic is the only legitimate government of China and has been since 1949 The PRC is recognized by 95 countries around the world Communists and advanced workers have a duty to educate the US working class about socialist China, to show the working class that socialism can succeed The promotion of people-to-people friendship between the US and Chinese masses is part of our proletarian internationalist duty. Normalized diplomatic relations will facilitate both these tasks

We must show our support for the workers and oppressed people of Taiwan The people of Taiwan live under a brutal dictatorship, where strikes are outlawed and civil liberties non-existent. The same US corporations who exploit US workers rake in huge superprofits from their Taiwan investments Many US corporations have eliminated jobs of US workers by "running away" to factories in Taiwan. Withdrawal of US diplomatic and military support to Taiwan would enable the Chinese people to liberate themselves from the reactionary KMT government and reunite with the mainland

There is a growing mass movement in the US in support of the People's Republic of China. A mass movement from below can and will force the normalization of relations and extend the hand of proletarian internationalism to the people of Taiwan and the PRC. In various parts of the US, increasing numbers of people are celebrating Oct 1 to commemorate the Chinese Revolution. The US-China People's Friendship Association has nearly 100 chapters across the US and is still growing. Larger numbers of people are demonstrating each year on Feb 28, the anniversary of the anti-KMT uprising on Taiwan The US working class and oppressed people must continue to build this movement and take up the demands: US Out of Taiwan! Normalize Relations with the PRC! Oppose Superpower War Preparations!



# Revisionism . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

struggle always occurred within a communist organization. However, a deviation developed in practice and every disagreement in the organization among comrades was seen as an antagonistic contradiction—even being late to a meeting. The Central Committee incorrectly summed-up that the line was wrong, rather than it was being implemented incorrectly. We were concerned that real line struggle was being stifled. Cadres were afraid to speak up for fear of being labeled "opportunists". So, for the past 1½ years we have held that 2-line struggle within a communist organization is the exception, not the rule. We said that "line struggle", struggle for clarity and struggle to consolidate the cadres goes on constantly.

Our intention was to make it easier for cadres to struggle out line differences, if the struggle was for "line clarity", then not every disagreement would be seen as antagonistic. But an incorrect political line always subverts the best of intentions. The existence of 2-line struggle, our new position said, meant the existence of an opposition line. So when struggle got sharp, someone was sure to be labeled as holding an opposition line. So, once again, line struggle within ATM became stifled.

Both the splitters and ATM now recognize this line as opportunist. (This line had been originally formulated by one of the splitters.) It denies the existence of class struggle within a Communist organization. Every idea is marked with the stamp of a class, every idea represents the line of one class or another. Two-line struggle goes on constantly within society, so why not within a Communist organization? The error which we made in implementing our original position was in failing to distinguish between antagonistic and non-antagonistic 2-line struggle.

In practice our line of "two line struggle the exception" led to the stifling of line struggle within ATM, to it having to assume disguised forms. Cadres could ask questions "for clarity" but not genuinely struggle that the line itself was correct or incorrect, this out of fear of holding an "opposition line". This helped promote passivity among many cadres. Because cadres are not involved in fully developing our major line questions, they were not always consolidated around the line, did not always understand it, and of course, were not always enthusiastic in carrying it out. There were constant problems doing correct sum-ups and evaluations of the work -- because there was no room to challenge the correctness of the line itself. When struggle did occur it usually revolved around questions of tactics. The 2-line struggle that did occur was mostly kept within the ranks of leadership, and even there it was often submerged, major line questions were not debated among the cadres. In essence we had two policies: 2-line struggle for leadership, struggle for "line clarity" for the cadres.

What then distinguishes us from the splitters? To the splitters, all 2-line struggle is antagonistic. Anyone who dares challenge their views is "failing to repudiate revisionism and opportunism". They make no distinctions between "contradictions between the people and the enemy", and "contradictions among the people". They put all those who disagree with them, or who even question them, into the opportunist (enemy) camp. They have subjected some people to 6-8 hour "criticism" sessions, forcing them to admit that they are "opportunists", leaving them completely demoralized. In fact, their methods of mental and psychological intimidation are very similar to those used to wreck the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization and the Revolutionary Workers League.

The methods of struggle, along with other facts, show that police agents have been active within the ranks of the splitters. For some time police have been opening mail, harassing and

## Miners Wildcat Grows . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

on the miners' standard of living and working conditions. The wages, benefits and working conditions miners have now only come through years of bitter struggle. They said that the BCOA (Bituminous Coal Operators Association) attack is coming at this particular time in order to weaken the worker's position when their nationwide contract expires in December. One militant rank and filer told the others that the key issue in the union was organizing the unorganized, uniting miners in all parts of the country in order to fight against illegal fines, court injunctions, inadequate safety regulations and other day-to-day problems. As he spoke he clearly pointed his finger at the BCOA who, he said, "is out to break our union," and at Arnold Miller and the union leaders who are collaborating in that effort.

The wildcats and march on Washington were mainly organized by local union officials in defiance of Miller and other top union bureaucrats. There was a mood of militancy and anger during the whole march. But some of these local officials want to make sure the struggle stays

even arresting people associated with ATM in the Southwest. The security in that area was a joke. Everyone knew everyone else, home phones were commonly used to discuss internal business, and much, much more. These kind of conditions make it very easy for police agents to become active.

With a political line that makes all internal 2-line struggle antagonistic, police agents can easily split and wreck even more. There are absolutely no attempts to re-group the former cadres. There is no new organization, no collective meetings, no mass work, no plans for a position paper. The leaders of the splitters play on the weaknesses of different individuals in order to demoralize them even more. When some ex-cadres wanted to prepare mass action for upcoming trials around the Chilili incident, for example, one of the leading splitters told them, "We'll worry about that later, right now get yourself a good lawyer." ATM believes that at least one police agent has participated in the splitting activity.

Our view is that 2-line struggle goes on constantly within a Communist organization, but that we resolve our contradictions as contradictions among the people, through the method of democratic discussion and persuasion. Comrades may at times even advocate an opportunist line, a line which stands in antagonistic contradiction to the line of the proletariat. Even then, the METHODS which we use to resolve this contradiction remains democratic. If, after repeated struggle, someone refuses to renounce their opportunist view and to correct their mistakes, then the contradiction may become antagonistic and the person will be purged from the organization. The key is being able to distinguish between contradictions among the people and contradictions between ourselves and the enemy.

In conclusion, then, LINE OF THE SPLITTERS: All 2-line struggle within a Communist organization is antagonistic, anyone holding a mistaken view is holding an opportunist line.

LINE OF ATM: 2-line struggle goes on constantly in society and within a Communist organization. We must distinguish, however, between "contradictions among the people" and "contradictions between the people and the enemy."



### THE ROAD AHEAD

We are now in the process of unfolding the current two line struggle throughout ATM. It has aroused the enthusiasm of our cadres, and new leadership is shooting forward as the 2-line struggle against the line of the "4" develops. The chains of "line clarity" are being broken and all comrades are eager to wage the fight for the Marxist-Leninist line. In future articles we will be unfolding the entire 2-line struggle with the splitters. We will show that they held a revisionist line on a series of questions, and that they have confirmed the truth that "revisionism is the source of all splittism". We call on all comrades to join us in this struggle to sum up how the line of the splitters has affected their work, to criticize the REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE where the line of the splitters has had influence, to submit articles detailing their own experience in the two line struggle and to comment on the 2-line struggle being unfolded in our ranks. This campaign is not ATM's alone but is a part of the campaign which all Communists must undertake to drive all opportunists out of our movement. This struggle is a component part of the international struggle against modern revisionism and opportunism which is being waged by genuine communist parties throughout the world. Especially as the danger of war grows will this struggle intensify on all fronts. The struggle is a part and parcel of the struggle for a new Communist Party and for socialist revolution. ★

within the bounds of militant trade unionism. They say meetings with government officials are the way to resolve the coal miners' grievances. Some of the local bureaucrats are viciously anti-communist. After the march these bureaucrats and their goons organized attacks on some people selling left-wing literature. They hope to channel the miners' anger against communists as was done during the blistering red-baiting attack at last year's UMW Convention.

But the UMW rank and file will not be sidetracked. More and more miners are beginning to see capitalism as their enemy. While no Marxist-Leninist organization has a base among the miners, the conditions are ripe for bringing socialist consciousness to the rank and file. As long as capitalists produce coal only for profits, coal miners will never receive justice. Only a socialist society can provide miners with a decent standard of living and human working conditions. It is only a matter of time before the coal miners join workers in other industries and the oppressed nationalities in making such a revolution. ★



Throughout the world communists are struggling against opportunism. Chinese masses (above) criticize "Gang of Four".

## ATM-UAW . . .

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

auto companies and the union bureaucrats. Some ATM comrades advocated putting out the bulletin in the name of the caucus and at its political level. They argued that we would be more likely to involve workers and develop nationwide contacts. Other comrades said that it was decisive for ATM to put out the bulletin in its own name. After doing a concrete investigation, we assessed that the caucus wasn't sufficiently unified politically or organizationally to put out a daily bulletin. Even more importantly, the situation called for a communist analysis of all the issues facing workers in the UAW--from the role of the Democratic Party to the need for socialist revolution. No mass caucus could honestly put forward such an analysis. For ATM to do so in the name of the caucus would have destroyed our relationship with them in the long run. In principle we would have supported the distribution of both ATM and caucus literature had this been practical, but we opposed substituting trade unionist politics for communist politics.

We also had a two-line struggle on whether we were even capable of publishing the bulletin and distributing it statewide. Some comrades argued that we are too small, didn't have the forces for such a massive undertaking, lacked sufficient time to prepare, lacked the funds, etc. Perhaps, they argued, we could scale it down to one or two leaflets. Other comrades pointed out that we would remain small and continue to lack forces unless we seriously took up our nationwide tasks. We have a developing base in auto and thus could follow-up with workers after the convention. We have to break with the small circle spirit which still sees our tasks as limited to one plant, one city or one region. Once the comrades grasped the political significance, many new people volunteered to help distribute, workers came forward to donate money, we overcame the technical and organizational problems.

### RESULTS OF THE CONVENTION WORK

During the convention workers greeted the daily bulletins and issues of the RC with great enthusiasm. For one thing, they were quite amazed to see the same people back every morning with fresh news of the convention. More importantly, many workers commented favorably on the bulletins, particularly the exposures of the union leadership. A number of advanced workers and militant trade unionists took up secret distribution of the bulletins inside their plant. In one plant, a regular distribution network was set up to get the bulletin out to most departments. Since the convention, the regular distribution of the RC has increased significantly at several auto plants.

Through mass distribution of our agitation, class conscious workers came forward--anxious to get a deeper understanding of the questions raised in the bulletin and REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE. After the convention, ATM carried out propaganda work and recruited a number of workers into study groups.

The convention bulletin and convention center also provided an opportunity for different rank and file caucuses to meet. As a result, two caucuses are coordinating California-wide activity. They met later and issued their own leaflet summing up the convention and urging unity between workers in the two plants.

ATM is proud of our work around the UAW convention, particularly of the long, hard hours put in by dozens of dedicated comrades who wrote, printed, translated and distributed the Daily Bulletin. On the whole we believe that we were successful in carrying out some of our nationwide tasks, bringing class consciousness to the workers, exposing the labor bureaucracy, and helping to establish on-going organizational forms which will continue the struggle in the future. In this small way we hope to have contributed to the larger struggle for socialist revolution and the building of a genuine communist party. ★

# State Attacks Puerto Ricans



Hundreds rally in New York City this year demanding freedom for the 5 nationalist prisoners and independence for Puerto Rico.

NEW YORK--At 3 P M on August 5, 20 New York police and FBI agents smashed down the door of long time Puerto Rican activist, Vincent "Panama" Alba. Earlier that day, a Puerto Rican pro-independence group, the FALN (Armed Forces for National Liberation), set off two bombs at offices of the Department of Defense and Mobil Oil. Without search warrants, police broke down Alba's door and ransacked his apartment looking for explosives. They found none. Police claimed to have found two guns, but couldn't find anything that even remotely linked Alba with the FALN. Police also arrested former Young Lords Party leader David Perez on similar trumped up charges. Under the guise of investigating the FALN, police revealed they were watching many former leaders of the YLP and leaders of the Committee to Free the Five Nationalist Prisoners (a defense committee for 5 Puerto Rican patriots held in US jails since the 1950's).

New York Mayor Beame, the city's press and police officials have tried to portray all Puerto Rican freedom fighters as mindless terrorists bent on killing innocent civilians. By portraying everyone as a terrorist, the bourgeoisie hopes to deepen the divisions between the Puerto Rican and American working people.

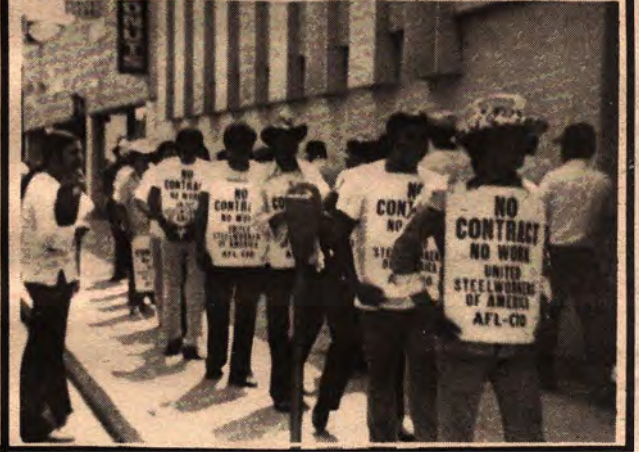
For example, while the press played up the death of Charles Steinberg in the Mobil Oil office bombing, they failed to mention that the FALN had phoned in an advance warning. The capitalist managers of the office building failed to evacuate the building, thus causing the loss of human life.

In this period of the development of the revolutionary movement, the August 29th Movement opposes terrorism. Bombings and political kidnappings only serve to separate revolutionaries from the masses of working and oppressed people. But we even more strongly oppose the terrorism of the capitalists--whether the brutal exploitation of the people of Puerto Rico or the cruel imprisonment of thousands during the New York City power blackout. Marxist-Leninists and all workers must stand firm in their support of Puerto Rican independence and for the democratic rights of the Puerto Rican national minority.

The state's blatant attack on Perez and Alba has blown up in their faces. On August 9 over 100 veterans of the Puerto Rican national movement and community supporters set up a picket line to protest the arrest of Perez and Alba. Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary nationalists

# Bell Foundry on Strike

South Gate, Ca -- One hundred-fifty members of the United Steelworkers of America #2018 are out on strike at Bell Foundry in this industrial town near Los Angeles. The mostly Mexican and a few Black workers have been striking since July 21 for a new contract. The Bell Foundry bosses have hired 40 scabs, South Gate police daily escort them into the plant, and the company got a court injunction limiting the number of pickets. In response the workers have waged a militant struggle. About 50 Bell Foundry workers and their supporters picketed the USWA offices on August 4 to protest the lack of union support for the strike. Again on August 18 the strike committee mobilized over 80 workers and supporters for a militant picket line near the plant. The rank and file strike committee and many Bell Foundry workers realize that they have to fight not only the Bell Foundry bosses, but the sell-out union bureaucrats as well.



plan to continue their support and oppose any new attacks on the Puerto Rican movement. One activist told the Revolutionary Cause "this is just the beginning of rebuilding the movement we had in the 1960's" ★

# Free the Dawson 5

DAWSON, GA.--The Dawson cops stripped Roosevelt Watson naked and took him out to the coldwater swamp. "Where'd you all throw the gun at?" said one of the cops. "Nigger, I'm gonna throw you out of this car and leave you in this swamp if you don't tell us where the gun is." The burly cop was threatening Watson in an attempt to force a confession out of him for the murder of a ranch foreman in a small grocery January 22, 1976. Watson is one of five Black youths framed on the murder charge in this rural town not far from Plains, Georgia. For over a year Watson, his brother Henderson Watson, J.D. Davenport, Johnny Jackson and James Jackson have been protesting their innocence, explaining they were miles away at the time of the murder.

With the trial to begin August 29, mass support is growing. On July 2 over 600 people packed the Sardis Baptist Church for a free the Dawson 5 rally. In preliminary hearings, the court has been filled to capacity as people traveled from miles around to see the case. The national media has begun to focus on the trial and the local police and court officials are getting worried. A former Dawson policeman, officer Ruckers has now testified in court confirming Watson's story of the swamp incident and much, much more.

Ruckers' testimony revealed what has been common knowledge among Dawson's Black community for many years. The Dawson Police Department, judges and District Attorney have waged a systematic campaign of harassment and terror against Blacks. The police and courts have regularly set high bails on all Blacks arrested. The bail on each of the Dawson 5, for example, is \$100,000--despite the fact that none have ever been arrested before. Ruckers testified that the Dawson police had broken into white clubs and later blamed Blacks for the incidents. And on one night, the police systematically poisoned 100 dogs belonging to Blacks--as an act of pure harassment.

Dawson, Georgia lies in the oppressed Black Nation in the Southern U.S. The police and court repression they face is no different than the fate of millions of other Blacks throughout the South. The capitalists maintain the Black Belt as a low wage, non-union area to further their own profits. The Dawson 5 and their families are no strangers to the misery and oppression of the Black Belt. Roosevelt Watson, for example, at age 17 has already worked the fields picking cotton and peanuts to help support his family. Finishing only 8th grade he went to work for the Drew Hill peanut processing plant for \$2.50/hour. For Blacks he has one of the town's better paying jobs that means only one thing for the imperialists' superprofits.

To maintain these profits, companies like Drew Hill make sure the government keeps the workers in line. Whether it's police escorting scabs in

to striking plants or the terrorizing of Black communities, the cops and courts carry out the capitalists' dirty work. That's why real equality for Blacks will never exist until the system of imperialism is overthrown and Blacks achieve their right to self-determination--the right to form their own independent nation if they chose.

Caught in an obvious frame-up, the whole capitalist judicial system is trying desperately to convict the Dawson 5. Only the support of the people of Dawson and from throughout the state has prevented a legal lynching so far. Mass protests and publicity have already forced the D.A. to drop his request for the death penalty. The Dawson 5 defense expects the courtroom to be packed throughout the lengthy trial. The Dawson 5, their families and supporters are determined to free the youths and fight the racism effecting all Blacks in the U.S.

UPHOLD THE RIGHT TO POLITICAL SECESSION FOR THE AFRO-AMERICAN NATION! ★



The case of the Dawson 5 (pictured above) is but one more example of the brutal oppression of Blacks in the Afro-American Nation.

# STRUGGLE AT KENT STATE



In 1970 Kent State University officials ordered out National Guard troops to suppress student demonstrations against US imperialist invasion of Cambodia. The National Guard killed four students and wounded others in the bloodiest incident in the history of the anti-Vietnam War movement. Today, Kent State students (above) are protesting the building of a new gym on the site of the massacre. Their militant protests and support from around the country have forced at least a temporary halt in construction. The growing student movement around the US will play an important role in overthrowing US imperialism.