

Workers, Oppressed Nations and People of the World,

# UNITE!



Marxist-Leninist  
Organizing Committee  
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**FREE GARY TYLER!**

**STOP  
LEGAL LYNCHING!**

**SELF-DETERMINATION  
FOR THE  
BLACK NATION!**

## Chicano National Question

August 29th, 1970 marked a heightening in the struggle of the Chicano people. It is remembered as an historic event in resistance to their exploitation and oppression. Yet, to this day, the Chicano people's struggle has not been placed on a scientific footing. To date, the communist movement has not provided the depth of historical investigation, analysis of current conditions, and application of Marxism-Leninism adequate to guide the Chicano Liberation Movement in its just struggle. It is not yet clear even whether the Chicano people represent an oppressed national minority or a second oppressed nation within the bounds of the oppressor nation. Objectively, the failure to provide a scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the exploitation and oppression of the Chicano people, amounts to a national chauvinist stand.

On page 14, we are presenting the first part of a series of articles on the Chicano National Question. It deals with the current conditions of exploitation and oppression in the areas of urbanization, occupation, and education. The following articles will focus on the historical development of the Chicano people in the Southwest, the growth of the national liberation movement, and the various positions on the Chicano National Question in the Marxist-Leninist and revisionist movements today. We will attempt to develop a scientific analysis of the Chicano National Movement; an analysis capable of providing an ideological and political basis for communist leadership of the Chicano National Movement, and linking the workers and national movements in the struggle against imperialism.



## Comrade Chu Teh

Comrade Chu Teh's life and energies were devoted to the Chinese Communist Party, the people of China in the building and development of the People's Liberation Army, the People's Republic of China, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution and construction.

In memory of Comrade Chu Teh, who was a great communist, fighter for the liberation of the Chinese people, and the people of the world, we are reprinting a poem which Comrade Chu Teh wrote in mid 1942. The poem pictures the great achievements of the production movement of self-sufficiency which was implemented by the Chinese Communist Party to counter the Kuomintang-Japanese blockade and attacks of the liberated areas. (Cont. p. 3)



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## GARY TYLER AND SELF-DETERMINATION

Like the Scottsboro case of the 1930's, the mobilization of progressive people to support the freeing of Gary Tyler must be linked to self-determination for the Black Nation. *Gary Tyler's case is but a single expression of the whole system of oppression of the Black Nation.* Taking place in the midst of the all-round crisis of the ruling class and the deepening militancy of the masses, this case dramatizes clearly the arbitrariness of fascist rule and its heightened implementation in the imperialist's offensive against the Black masses.

Gary Tyler's freedom, and the mobilization of progressive forces everywhere to curb the expansion of such acts in order to move towards their total elimination, must be linked up with the struggle against the whole system which breeds similar cases. By involving the broadest masses of all toilers, the Tyler case can

become an important battle on the whole front of Black liberation and proletarian revolution.

While using all possibilities, adequate legal aid to Gary Tyler, petitions, etc., communists and progressive forces must subordinate these to the organization and development of revolutionary mass action. Only by showing this case as a direct manifestation of national oppression can the most fundamental questions affecting the lives of all of the Black Nation be raised: lynching, both "legal" and illegal; semi-slave conditions such as share cropping and peonage, "Jim-Crowism" (a "pleasant" word for fascism); denial of human rights; confiscation of land; state unity; and the right of self-determination.

The struggle of the oppressed nation to achieve self-determination strikes blows against imperialism and is a component

part of the world proletarian revolution. For communists of an oppressor nation, the true mark of loyalty to the international working class movement is the attitude held toward the nations oppressed by their "own" bourgeoisie. The willingness to support national liberation movements "in general" while failing to support national liberation movements in the heartland of imperialism reflects the rankest treason to the working class movement and a sure mark of opportunism. However, upholding self-determination in words, while denying it in deeds, or liquidating it by qualifying its forms, are both equally opportunist, and perhaps are the expression of a worse kind of opportunism: that which is aimed at cutting the revolutionary heart out of the Black Liberation struggle, liquidating it, and sabotaging the revolutionary foundation of the class

struggle in the U.S.

A strict Leninist position which is aimed at defeating liberal distortions of the Black National movement must be fought for around the case of Gary Tyler and all other manifestations of national oppression.

At the same time this position will only be idle chatter if it is not put into practice. *The MLOC urges all communists and progressive forces to actively take up the struggle to Free Gary Tyler and to struggle for Self-Determination for the Black Nation.* See the article under "National Oppression and Resistance" on page 6 of this issue of UNITE! for details of who to contact for further information.

FREE GARY TYLER!  
STOP LEGAL LYNCHING!  
SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE  
BLACK NATION!

## DOWN WITH THE FASCIST KKK

DEATH TO THE KLAN!

While having undergone numerous changes in form since its re-founding December 6, 1915 as the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Atlanta, Georgia, the KKK is again beginning to show its disgusting presence in an open way. The Klan has never ceased to operate, being the most powerful vigilante organization in American history, which arose during reconstruction as an instrument of terror and repression against the struggle for democratic rights of the newly freed Black masses. At its peak in 1924, some four and a half million Americans were members of the KKK and the "Invisible Empire" was a dominant political force in Oregon, Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Indiana, Ohio, and California, to say nothing of the traditional Deep South states.

The Klan has always been a force inside the Democratic Party, with Harry Truman, later to be President of the U.S., and Hugo Black, Supreme Court Justice, having both been members of the Klan. The new wave of Klan movement is one of a continued path of terror and violence. Floggings, brandings, rape, lynchings, castrations, and other barbaric acts are all employed as the Klan's weapons of coercion.

As an un-official (yet with very real official sanction) extension of the bourgeois dictatorship, this fascist organization carries out the active day-to-day terrorism of the oppressed Black Nation in the Black Belt South. Fed on a mixture of various forms of national chauvinism, ignorance, fear, jingoism, racialism, false-patriotism, and pseudo-christianity, the Klan de-

veloped as a political force against the interests of the entire community of the South. It has assumed such power that many whites join as an outcome of the coercion brought on them by members inside. Using the oppressed Black Nation as its main target, the Klan directs the discontent and frustrations of the masses away from their real enemy, the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The Klan is an every day threat a "home-spun" expression of the imperialist domination of the Black Nation which can and will be eliminated in the course of the revolutionary struggle of the Black Liberation Movement. This will have to come about through the defeat of Great Nation chauvinism, the duty of all members of the oppressor nation, and through the merger of the National Liberation movement and the

proletarian revolution in the U.S. On its rise to state power the revolutionary movement will sweep aside this herd of cowards hidden under white sheets, and destroy the very basis for their existence. Until that day comes we must recognize the KKK as a fascist organization which has a clear vengeance for Blacks and for communists, and a special brand of venom for the combination of these two. Like any force which serves imperialism, we must not underestimate them tactically, but we should despise them strategically, while preparing for the day in which imperialism and the Klan will be eliminated and the Black Nation will exercise self-determination.

DEATH TO THE KLAN!  
SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE  
BLACK NATION!

## BUSING

Every year the beginning of September marks the opening of schools and the emergence of new battles over the question of busing. Boston, Louisville, Albuquerque, Los Angeles, and many other communities will brace themselves for another round of conflicts fed by the situation of the working class and the oppressed nationalities under the rule of the monopoly capitalist class.

While the MLOC has not developed a full programmatic statement on the question of busing, a few points are immediately clear. First, it is imperialism that oppresses nations and divides the working class, not the struggle for democratic rights. Secondly, any struggle for democratic rights and the slogans developed to lead this struggle, must be based on a concrete analysis of concrete events. These two guidelines point to the fact that there can be no absolute, blanket call and support of busing in all situations as if they were the same everywhere.

A sharp example of why this is true is the situation in Los

Angeles. For over twelve years the Black and Chicano communities have struggle for quality education through local control of neighborhood schools, and have implemented language programs and special history studies about their respective peoples. This fall this may be wiped away by the implementation of a city-wide busing program, which is causing considerable tension between the two national communities.

Even with some gains, Blacks are pushing hard for the implementation of the busing program

to gain further opportunities, while Chicanos are, in the main, struggling to maintain local control and their cultural programs. Years of hard work in both communities may be given the boot by the maneuvers of the ruling class in Los Angeles, which are designed to weaken both national communities, keep them divided and thus extend the control of the bourgeoisie over the working class a whole.

This is again an attempt to shift the people's attention away from the contradictions brought about through the General

Crisis of Capitalism as it surfaces in the municipal crisis. This is done by responding to the demand for equal education by making education equally bad for all communities, rather than upgrading education for all, and then pointing to busing as the source of this poor quality education.

Communists must come to a clear understanding of this situation in order to provide leadership to this struggle and to build multinational unity. The Chicano National Question must be understood in order to deal with this situation. Are we dealing with a conflict between two communities of oppressed national minorities, or is it a question of the rights of a national minority (Blacks) in the midst of the Chicano Nation, while both are being oppressed by U.S. imperialism? It is this complexness of day-to-day life that communists must grasp in order to lead the masses towards the overthrow of imperialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and socialist revolution.

For this reason we call upon Marxist-Leninists to deepen work on both the Black National Question and the Chicano National Question (see page 14).

AVAILABLE SOON IN PAMPHLET FORM:

## The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of Communists

RESOLUTION OF THE SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL REPRINTED BY THE MLOC AS A STEP TOWARD ARMING THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT TO EDUCATE AND MOBILIZE THE MASSES IN THEIR STRUGGLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND FOR SOCIALISM.

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## COMRADE CHU TEH

On this seven-seven memorial day,  
Old people visit one another.  
Though fighting rages fiercely,  
Rest is treasured on this day.  
A light cart leaves Yenan,  
Carrying five old men.  
At Sanshihli village  
The heat grows wearisome.  
Wind bends the distant forests,  
White clouds drift over blue mountains,  
And yellow birds nest in green foliage.  
Climbing the crest of Million Flower Mountain,  
They gaze on the sea of hills below,  
The forests above sheltering them from the sun.  
Tigers and leopards, they say, prowl here.

One year ago this was wasteland  
Without even a ruined cave as a sleeping place.  
New market towns now flourish,  
Cave homes burrow into the waists of hills.  
Good crops grow on the plains below  
And young rice gleams in water-fields.  
The wasteland blossoms.  
Fighters are warmly clad, their stomachs filled.  
Fat sheep and cattle browse on grassy meadows  
And Malan town makes beautiful paper.

Resting at Taoshihkoo  
Near enough to a clear brook to embrace it,  
The old men enjoy themselves luxuriantly,  
Refreshed in body and soul.  
A warm breeze caressing their faces,  
They recall their homes in south China  
Strolling in the evening cool they compose poetry,  
Gazing on the moon hanging in the treetops.

-1942



The death of Comrade Chu Teh is a great loss to the people of China and of all the world. We should all learn from his proletarian revolutionary spirit and noble revolutionary qualities, train ourselves as successors to the revolution, and carry forward the cause of the revolution.

Comrade Chu Teh, we dip our revolutionary banner in honor and memory of a great revolutionary fighter, and turning our grief into strength we take up the noble task of continuing in the tradition of the Chinese Communist Party and the people of China.

ETERNAL GLORY TO COMRADE  
CHU TEH!

HIS NAME WILL REMAIN IMMUTABLE  
IN HISTORY FOREVER!

## VICTORIES TO THE KOREAN PEOPLE

September 9th marks the twenty-eighth anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Under the leadership of the Korean Worker's Party, headed by their great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, the heroic people have traversed a brilliant path of militant struggle for the establishment of the freedom of their homeland, its independent and peaceful reunification, socialist construction and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Shortly after the DPRK was founded based on the democratic elections of all the Korean people, both north and south, U.S. imperialism launched a vigorous and brutal war of aggression to attempt to eliminate the Korean revolution. Fighting staunchly and resolutely, the Korean people headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, defeated the U.S. aggressors after three years of heroic fighting, winning the great victory of the Fatherland Liberation War and thus safeguarded the fruits of their revolution. The Korean people were the first to directly defeat a U.S. imperialist armed aggression after World War II, and they thus set a shining example for the world's people in their revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

Since the years of the war, the Korean people, carrying out the revolutionary line of Comrade Kim Il Sung, have healed the wounds of war and have carried out socialist construction with the speed of Chollima, a legendary winged horse which would carry those fortunate enough to mount it at great speed toward the land of happiness. The Chollima movement is the general line of the Korean Worker's Party for socialist construction in making the DPRK a socialist country with a solid independent national economy. This has been accomplished by pushing ahead the vigorous movement of revolution in three fields: ideological, technological, and cultural. Through the implementation of the Chongsanri spirit and method, which is to implement the mass line in its relationship to democratic centralism, to mobilize to a maximum, the inexhaustible creative capacity of the masses, relying on their strength and initiative to build socialism by giving conscious direction to all work in all fields on the basis of political priority.

Keeping to this spirit and method the DPRK fulfilled its 6-year (1971-76) Plan for the Development of the National Economy ahead of schedule in August 1975. In the industrial domain the 6-year plan was completed one year and four months ahead of schedule in gross output level. The

average annual rate of growth of industrial production reached 18.4%, much higher than the planned 14% per year. This has made possible an epochal advancement of the struggle for the complete victory of socialism and the further consolidation, politically, economically, and militarily of the revolutionary base in Korea. This is the fulfillment of the Juche idea of self-reliance.

With each advancement there is a further strengthening of the spirit and situation of the south Korean revolutionaries and people, inspiring greater courage and confidence in the struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the 3,000-ri beautiful land of Korea. This is the lofty aspiration of the entire Korean people. Based on the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification, and great national unity and the five-point programme to prevent a national split and to reunify the country put forth by President Kim Il Sung, the entire Korean people have firmly called for the realization of this goal. However, without the withdrawal of the U.S. imperialist influence and the occupational forces of the "United Nations command", which is the only basis for the existence of the fascist Pak Jung Hi clique in the south, the fruition of the north-south dialogue will not come about peaceably.

Keeping with the duty of proletarian internationalism, as the Korean people have carried out in opposing imperialism and colonialism, the people of the world must actively support the just demands of the entire Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. Following the teachings of President Kim Il Sung and warmly responding to the militant call of the Central Committee of the Worker's Party of Korea, the Korean people are now unfolding the vigorous Movement for Winning the Red Flag of the Three Revolutions and are working hard to speed up the socialist revolution and socialist construction. All communists and progressive people everywhere must join in lending active material support for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the DPRK, and actively support the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea; it is an irreversible trend and the will of the people that this will come about.

GREAT VICTORIES TO THE KOREAN PEOPLE!  
ALL FOREIGN TROOPS OUT OF KOREA!  
REUNIFY THE 3,000-RI BEAUTIFUL LAND OF KOREA  
UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE KOREAN WORKER'S  
PARTY, THE DPRK, AND COMRADE KIM IL SUNG!

## LYNCHING...

Cont. from p. 6

who had blackened his face and hands. There are scores of such "cork-face" crimes. No one can tell how many innocent Negroes have been burned and hanged as a result of such frame-ups.

The impression is purposely created by ruling class propaganda, and nurtured by "race leaders" of the N.A.A.C.P. and Kelly Miller type, that lynchings are the deeds of "irresponsible mobs" or the "lawless elements." Nothing could be further from the truth. An examination of the facts of many hundreds of lynchings shows what every lyncher knows full well—that every lynching is a carefully organized and thoroughly planned murder, done with the full cooperation of every ruling class agency, the police, the sheriffs, the militia, the newspapers, the entire government apparatus. Without the active leadership of the "best elements," that is, the rich and powerful landlords and bosses, without the tacit or active participation of the government and its officers, lynchings could never take place.

Here are only a few facts taken from literally thousands of similar cases. When George Hughes was horribly roasted alive in his prison cell, in 1930, at Sherman, Texas, the Governor forbade the sheriff to fire on the lynch gang, thus guaranteeing that the lynching would take place.

When John Hatfield, Negro worker, was seized by a lynch gang at Ellisville, Mississippi, the biggest newspaper in the state, the *Jackson Daily News*, carried headlines announcing the exact time and place of the coming orgy. Ten thousand people answered the paper's invitation and they were addressed by the District Attorney, T. W. Wilson, while the lynching was going on.

At Marion, Indiana, in August 1930, a lynch gang announced its intention of lynching two Negro boys who were locked up in the jail. When the mob arrived there they found the jail and cell doors wide open, the state prison authorities giving their fullest cooperation to the lynchers.

When Matt Williams was seized in Salisbury, Maryland, December, 1931, from the non-resisting hospital authorities, the sheriff and district attorney suddenly left town. And while the hideous torture was going on in one of the most crowded sections of the city, the police were directing traffic so that the lynching would not be interrupted!

### *The State and Federal Governments as "Protectors"*

But the state and federal government will be a much better protection for the Negro workers, say the liberals and the Negro bourgeois "race leaders." Let us see.

When Raymond Gunn was burned at Maryville, Missouri, in 1931, the National Guard was present during the entire lynching. The officer in charge reported that his instructions were to act only upon request from the sheriff. And since the sheriff refused to request his services, he and his regiment watched the lynching without lifting a finger.

In October, 1930, a National Guard unit was ordered to Darien, Georgia, to prevent the lynching of George Grant. But the lynch gang had no difficulty in seizing the Negro and lynching him. This commander, Colonel Neal, made a report in which he said that the guard had done its duty. He had sent *one soldier*, to guard the prisoner. The Negro was seized by the gang which entered the *unguarded rear door*. The sheriff said, "I don't know who killed the nigger and I don't give a damn." Governor Hardman of Georgia would not read the report of one of the state officials who reported these facts. He was entirely satisfied with the course of events.

The National Guard was sent to "protect" the Scottsboro boys, April, 1931, so that they could be legally lynched "with due process of law." These troops gave all the boys merciless beatings while they were "guarding" them.

When militant workers attempt to struggle against wage cuts, speed-up and starvation, the whole police and army apparatus is mobilized against them. But one rarely hears of any government action against lynchers. Grand juries, coroners' juries, and governors suddenly become strangely inactive. Hundreds of times grand juries have refused to indict any lynchers because the victim met death at the "hands of a mob, the members of which are unknown." The Governor of Mississippi accepted such a verdict in the case of Jim Ivy. Yet the town newspaper, the *News-Scimitar*, of Rocky Ford, Mississippi, carried photographs in which the faces of at least one hundred lynchers were clearly visible.

Lynchings are not the "victory of the lawless over the law." They take place not only with the complete cooperation, but in hundreds of cases, with the active participation of the whole legal and governmental machine, the sheriffs, the deputies, the district attorneys, and so forth. And this is so because the ruling class exploiters and the government are united in using lynching as a weapon in the national oppression of the Negro masses.

It is not only in the South that the Negroes are the most oppressed section of the working class. In the North, too, the Negro worker lives in Jim Crow ghettos, is forced into the worst jobs, is paid from 20 to 65% less than the miserable wages of white workers, even when he does the same work. In the North the Negroes are a minority of the population and suffer all the exploitation and added oppression of a national minority. Here, too, the bosses answer the demands of Negro workers with lynching—Matt Williams in Salisbury, Maryland; Tom Shiff and Abe Smith in Marion, Indiana; Raymond Gunn in Maryville, Missouri. (PART THREE: Next Issue of UNITE!)



## STRUGGLE FOR THE MASSES

### USW Convention-Struggle Against Bureaucrats

Late August, the United Steel Workers' Union (USW) will open its 18th National Convention--a gathering of bureaucrats whose record of service to the bourgeoisie has found few equals even among their own reactionary strata. If democracy within the USW were anything but the flimsiest of shams the steel bureaucrats would have much to answer for at the upcoming convention.

The USW bureaucrats, led by I.W. Abel, offer the working class a perfect example of the trade union bureaucracy as an integral part of the bourgeois state apparatus, especially in their role as props of the capitalist system in time of crisis. As the imperialist bourgeoisie loses its markets around the world and falls deeper into crisis they will do everything to maintain their ability to compete and their power to dominate by impoverishing their "own" working class. For true proletarian leaders, whose interests are the same as those of their class, this would clearly be a time of rising struggle, a time to move decisively in defense of the interests of the working class. The bureaucracy of the trade unions, as agents loyal to the interests of the bourgeoisie, have instead worked hand in hand with the monopolists to ensure the undermining of proletarian resistance at every opportunity. In the case of USW, this has been true to the point where Abel and the

lower steel bureaucrats can no longer even maintain a semblance of loyalty to the working class or militancy in the face of capitalist attacks.

Through the late 1960's and into the 70's, the steel industry has felt the bite of economic crisis particularly hard. Steel imported from other countries has eaten into profits and steel mills are operating way below capacity. These conditions and their continued worsening have produced two basic demands from the bourgeoisie of the steel industry, to which the USW bureaucracy has responded with complete collaboration.

Firstly, the bourgeoisie has sought to increase productivity in the steel industry through mechanization, with disastrous consequences for the USW rank and file. In 1953 the steel industry employed 509,000 workers who produced 83 million tons of steel. By 1974, employment had dropped to 393,000 while production rose to 110 million tons. The response of the USW international leadership has been that "increased productivity is the basis for future wage increases and continued job security". (!) A perfect example of what this "job security" means for steel workers is Local 1272 of Pittsburgh which has had over 2,000 workers laid off at Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation since the company began to introduce new plant machinery. The stand of local leadership has reflected the international's--

better to have a "few" laid off so the rest can work.

Since 1971, the union has taken an increasingly active part in boosting productivity for the steel companies through the work of joint committees of union and management. Such actions represent the essence of opportunist betrayal of the class, the arrogance of which is shown by the thinnest of veneers with which the steel bureaucrats have attempted to cover this betrayal--a few crumbs in the form of retirement benefits for the handful who qualify.

Secondly, the steel monopolists have demanded "labor peace" and again the bureaucrats of the USW have obliged and responded with smiles and handshakes. To raise the sinking profits of the steel industry the trade union bureaucrats instituted in 1973, the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) without debate or ratification by the rank and file. This agreement, as an attempt to deny steel workers the right to strike, represents a movement on the part of the bourgeoisie and their agents to tighten the straps on the capitalist harness and to mobilize the power of the working class to "save capitalism". Having failed to reduce strikes to harmless rituals at contract time, the bureaucrats of the labor movement--including the "reformers" of the UMW--are attempting to eliminate strikes altogether in favor of

agreements of "mutual benefit".

In 1975, over 50,000 steelworkers wildcatted in contradiction to the unions' official no-strike policy. In response to these protests I.W. Abel, chief bureaucrat of the USW, has provided the most ludicrous "justifications":

"Some say we gave up the right to strike while the companies have given up nothing. I remind those critics that the companies did give up two important prerogatives: the right to impose a lock-out and the right to take a strike."

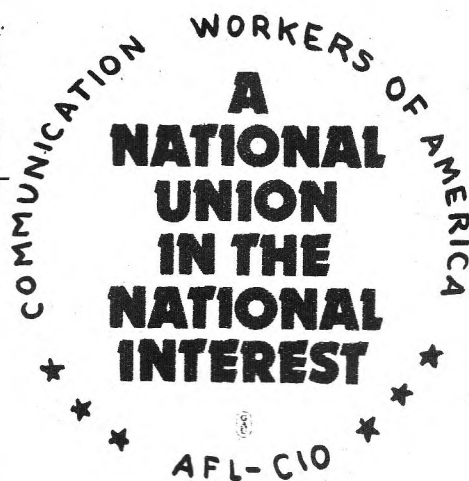
Through its collaboration, the USW bureaucracy has given up thousands of steelworkers' jobs, has sacrificed the fight for "costly" job safety measures in a dangerous industry, and has refused to take up the grievances of oppressed nationality and women workers. The Consent Decree of 1974, by placing obstacle after obstacle in the way of the fight against racist and sexist hiring, firing and promotion practices, rules in favor of workers only on the condition that they sign away all future claim to their rights. This Decree, like the bureaucracy's policy towards lay-offs and its no-strike contract bargaining is tailored to the interests of the bourgeoisie of the steel industry and not to the interests of the working class.

In response to such blatant opportunism many unions have seen the rise of "reformist" elements of various shades. Within the USW this reformist trend is headed by Ed Sadlowski, director of USW District 31. Such reformists have attempted to cash in on rank and file discontent with the old guard trade union bureaucrats like Abel, and rise to power on a populist platform of "union democracy". These reformists, whether well-wishing or

### CWA Convention "Affirms" Workers' Need For Struggle

The Communication Workers of America (CWA) had its annual convention in June, with over 2,000 delegates representing the 476,685 members. In spite of the fact that the CWA contract is up the summer of 1977 there was virtually no discussion of bargaining issues - forced reductions of staff, health care benefits, maternity benefits, wages, etc.

In discussions around the contract, a resolution was introduced that a strike vote should be taken two weeks before the expiration date of the contract, and if it was approved, then a strike would begin within 48 hours--in effect, NO CONTRACT, NO WORK. At the same time, the international was asking that 50¢ per capita be taken from the strike fund, which now only holds eight and a half million dollars (or \$17.00 dollars per member). Of course the labor aristocrats and trade union bureaucrats voted for the diversion of funds, since they can afford to be out of work without relying on this strike fund, but an operator with a family mak-



ing only \$175. a week or a clerk making \$210. a week cannot survive without some back-up during a strike.

The bankruptcy of the CWA leadership is even more revealing when it is noted that the Bell System is the largest employer of women in the U.S. The company brags about its affirmative action program, in which it places women in "non-traditional" jobs such as frames, installers, and repair. In actuality, however, women are

not able to transfer into these jobs because of automation and subsequent cut-backs. The struggle for equality with men in types of work, wage, and working conditions are just demands, but they must be struggled for along with the material conditions making them realizable. Equality is no equality without the possibility of exercising it.

We have seen the same sham "affirmative action" programs applied repeatedly to both women and national minorities. Whether the issue is non-traditional jobs, preferential hiring, seniority policy, or another demand, without the possibility of exercising that right, it is empty. In practice, this serves to deepen the already existing divisions in the working class along sexual or national lines.

An affirmative action program is initiated, with "special" consideration for a particular group within the working class. However, the material requirements of the people are not taken care of so that they can take advantage of the program.

Often, such programs are then cut back or eliminated all together, on the basis that no one took advantage of them, when in fact, the capitalist class has ensured that the programs will fail. The bourgeoisie has no interest in helping women enter socialized production. Rather, they need for women to remain in the most backward and degraded positions in the work place and in the household. Doomed affirmative action programs such as these have the potential of deepening mistrust between men and women workers. Men, also working under the conditions of capitalist exploitation, may wonder at the special treatment of women, and women, unable to correctly see their role in the service of the bourgeoisie, may place the blame on men, instead. Clearly, this is what the Telephone Company is promoting when it insists upon focusing women's problems to the question of male supremacy. At the convention program on women, the theme was "Male Chauvinism--Men's Attitudes toward Women", and not the material exploita-

not, offer nothing to the working class but illusions.

To offer the working class plans for reform at a time when the international situation stinks of super-power preparations for war and the U.S. bourgeoisie is moving toward the implementation of fascism, is nothing less than class treason. The fight for the interests of the proletariat must be made a fight against the class rule of the bourgeoisie. The fight for democratic rights, safety, jobs, etc. falls short of the needs of the working class unless it is linked to the fight for its complete emancipation from capitalist wage-slavery through the establishment of socialism.

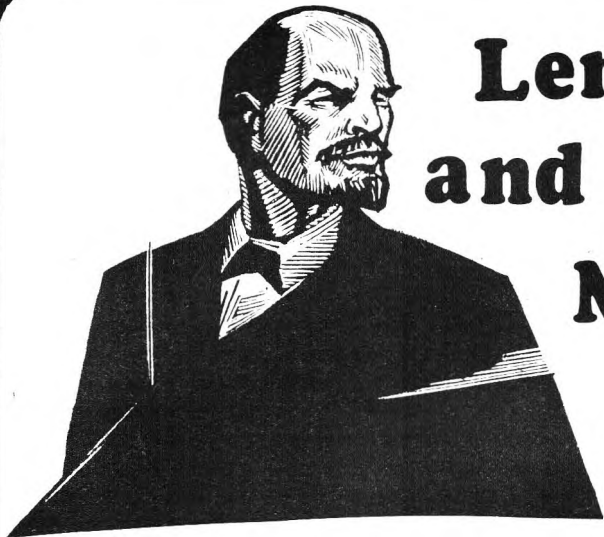
The question immediately confronting the U.S. proletariat is that of state power, of the defeat of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of its own dictatorship. Leadership which falls short of these demands and attempts to replace the tasks of socialist revolution with democratic tasks is objectively class collaborationist.

The 945,000 workers of the USW represent a powerful class force and are increasingly rising to protest and reject their union's reactionary leadership in spite of the bureaucratic attempts to stifle democracy in the USW. When Abel was elected in 1965 it was in the guise of spokesman for the rank and file in opposition to David McDonald's union machinery. In 1976, if the voice of the rank and file is to be heard at the USW convention it will only be because steelworkers are willing to struggle against the traitors in their own ranks. For the most part, it will be a gathering of the same bureaucrats from the USW's 600 locals that ratified Abel's strike-breaking ENA—a gathering of traitors whose sole purpose for meeting is to plan the next three years of betrayal. ♦

tion of women in class society, which is the basis of their special position in the proletariat as a whole.

These are only two aspects of the CWA-Telephone Company collusion which became clear through the course of the convention. The entire activities of this year's convention point to the role of the trade union bureaucrats and the labor aristocracy in the working class struggle. They are part of the working class materially, in that they do not own the means of production. But socially, they are certainly part of the bourgeoisie, sharing in the profits of capitalism, and thus being good servants of the ruling class.

At one time trade unions were in the hands of the workers, and at this time, were a vehicle of struggle for their interests. Today, through the labor aristocrats - and especially the trade union bureaucrats among them - the trade unions have been captured for the interests of the capitalist class. Communists must work for the recapture of these organiza-



# Lenin and the Trade Union Movement

By A. LOSOVSKY

*In this issue of UNITE! we are beginning the serialization of Lenin and the Trade Unions by Arnold Losovsky, the head of the Red International of Trade Unions. It contains valuable lessons for the development of a Marxist-Leninist position on trade union work by drawing out the importance of the Bolshevik experience and Lenin's position on trade unions, for building the proletarian revolution in the rest of the capitalist world.*

In reading Lenin's works, in examining the fruits of his thirty years of activity, one comes to see that what Vladimir Ilyich has done represents an integral whole, and that only conditionally can any individual question be extracted from it and viewed in its horizontal sections. In order clearly to understand Lenin's attitude towards the trade union movement, his approach towards its various issues and tasks, we must consider primarily the conditions of the time when Lenin appeared as a political figure. He entered on the scene in the nineties, when in Russia the trade union movement was just beginning to dawn and the leaders of the Russian labor movement were confronted above all with the question of how to set into motion the laboring masses which alone had the power to destroy the main evil, autocracy.

Lenin's initial stand on questions connected with the trade union movement should be viewed primarily from the angle of the historical position of the labor movement of Russia in the early nineties. We would be mistaken to think that Lenin's views on trade union questions underwent no changes during the 25-30 years of his activity. This would have meant that Lenin learned very little from the constantly growing class struggle. Lenin not only taught, but studied as well. He saw the processes in the labor movement which were obscure to the rank and file and even to many of its leaders. While making a certain prognosis and frequently foreseeing events, he learned from these events. A correct analysis of the events, an ability to draw lessons from them and to find a basis for class action, were the most characteristic peculiarities of Lenin's political genius.

With the growth of the spontaneous economic struggle, the widely scattered circles of revolutionary Marxists became more and more acutely confronted, at the end of the nineties, with the question of what their attitude towards this spontaneous struggle must be and how a plan and a conscious purpose were to be infused into it. The early attempts to create a party, an organized whole, out of the scattered Social Democratic Marxian groups, the first attempts to weld together the various Marxists scattered throughout Russia who were fighting the old populist groups, culminated in the First Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party, which took place at Minsk, in 1898. This congress laid the foundation for the party out of which later grew the Russian Communist Party. These initial attempts to gather the scattered groups of Social Democrats on a national, All-Russian scale, to get them together on the basis of a definite program, to draw concrete conclusions from the work that had been carried on by the separate circles; these attempts met with a series of difficulties which constituted the basis for the future developments within the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, the formation of various tendencies within it and the crystallization of that tendency which became known under the name of Bolshevism.

What were the issues of the struggle of the late nineties and of the early years of the twentieth century, following upon the first congress? What questions agitated the revolutionists who laid the corner stone of the revolutionary illegal party? It was the question of the attitude of the Social Democratic circles towards the strike movement, how to utilize this movement, how to utilize the illegal sick benefit funds, what forms the illegal work was to take. It was only after the Russian Social Democratic Party had been formally created that there began to develop and take shape within its womb various tendencies which ultimately constituted themselves into an opportunist wing of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, on the one hand, and a revolutionary wing on the other.

(To be continued in next issue of UNITE!)

## The Struggle Against the LABOR ARISTOCRACY

"America's future depends on the faith that its people have in their society - a faith crucial to the very preservation of our freedom. Shaken by events of the recent past, such faith must be revived...and soon...for we are today a nation which is a tinderbox of social and economic discontent that is in danger of ignition by political extremism or demagoguery."

(I.W. Abel, Steel Labor, 7/75)

"The widely publicized "strikes" in recent years in the trucking industry were nothing more than boycotts by non-union owner-operators and marked by considerable "hoodlumism" and violence. They were totally irresponsible actions which received no support from Teamsters Unions or their members. The stark contrast between these actions and the dramatic decrease in strikes in the organized trucking industry makes manifest the benefits which the National Agreement has conferred on our members and on the American public. And remember, one fact stands out above all the diatribe: Since the inauguration of National Collective Bargaining by the Teamsters in 1974 there has never been a national strike in the over-the-road transportation industry."

(Frank Fitzsimmons, International Teamster, 5/76)



### PIVOT OF OUR TACTICS in the Labor Movement



## National Oppression & RESISTANCE!

### FREE Gary Tyler!

In September of 1974, Gary Tyler, a Black youth, started attending a newly desegregated high school in St. Charles Parish, Louisiana. Every day he and Black schoolmates were bused to school, and almost every day they were met with insult and attack, stones and bricks, by white segregationists. State authorities and local police made no genuine effort to end these brutal attacks on unarmed school children, but the Black students continued to come to school, intent on a decent education.

On October 7, 1974, during one of these confrontations, a 14 year old white student was shot and killed. Segregationist forces backed by the Klan, the police, the courts, State of Louisiana, and the white bourgeoisie, all saw the opportunity to terrorize the Black community into submission and continued segregation. One of the "peculiar institutions" of national oppression, "legal" lynching, went into operation: Its innocent victim in this case was Gary Tyler.

The facts of the case stand in clear contradiction to the lies and distortions of the state. The state says that Gary Tyler is a murderer. The facts speak differently.

The police, who had been so unwilling to protect the lives of many Black youth, swiftly moved into action with the killing of one white teenager who favored segregation. The Black students, Gary Tyler included, were forced to kneel on concrete for two hours as they and the bus were searched. No weapon was found. In this period however, Gary Tyler was arrested for resisting this infliction of brutality.

The charges against him were changed from interference with the law to first degree murder when a gun was "found" in a second search of the schoolbus, hours later. This weapon was a police gun, which had allegedly been stolen from a police firing range. The gun was not reported stolen until after it was so conveniently "found" on the schoolbus.

Ballistics tests could not be made, as the bullet which had killed the white

youth was "missing".

Gary Tyler was nonetheless tried and found guilty of first degree murder by an all-white jury, and was sentenced to death by the notoriously racist Judge Marino.

Months after the trial, Natalie Blanks, a schoolmate of Gary Tyler, recanted her previous testimony, which had stated that she saw Tyler fire a gun at a white student. She signed a sworn affidavit which stated that she had originally testified under pressure and intimidation by the police and state prosecutors. Everyone else on the schoolbus, including the driver, had testified that the shot came from outside the bus.

A retrial was denied by the original trial judge, however, on the grounds that defense witnesses were lying, and had been intimidated by the Tyler family.

As a vehicle of national oppression, the trial included many such acts of blatant great nation chauvinism.

Other agencies of the bourgeoisie, other arms of the state apparatus which perpetuate the rule of the bourgeoisie over the working class and oppressed nations have also swung into action around Gary Tyler's case. The Klan, originally in support of the segregationist forces in St. Charles Parish, has stepped up its propaganda and terrorist actions around the area. In addition to holding anti-busing-anti-integration, anti-Black rallies and recruiting members openly, they have intimidated and attacked the Tyler family. In this connection, Richard Dunn, a Black youth, was murdered by two white men, outside a benefit dance for Gary Tyler's defense. All over the country, the Klan is using cases like Gary Tyler's to mobilize anti-busing and segregationist support.

The Supreme Court has also displayed its sense of timing and its nature as a tool of the bourgeoisie by ruling that the death sentence is legal. The "high" court has tried to make this decision acceptable by outlawing mandatory death sentences. In fact, this servant of bourgeois "justice" has

only made the murder of Black and working class people easier especially in the oppressed Black Nation.

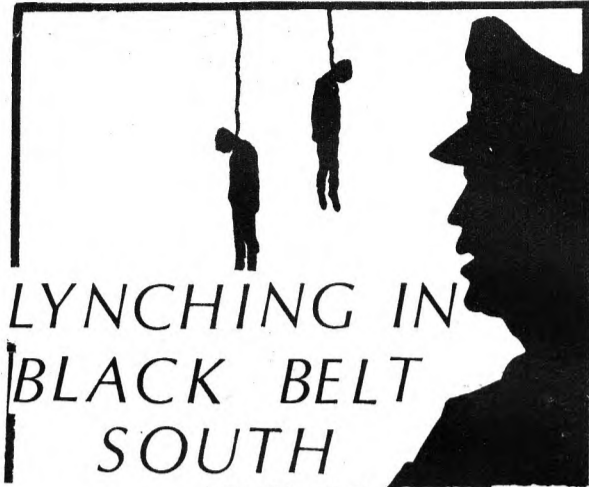
How smoothly these agencies work together toward the same bloody end! In this case, their united goal is to make an example of Gary Tyler, to paralyze the Black national liberation movement by fascist terror. Through violent suppression of the national and working class movements, the bourgeoisie aims to prop up its disintegrating rule over the oppressed Black Nation and to reinforce the division of the working class along national lines. The nature of the state as the apparatus of civil war and bourgeois rule over the working class and oppressed nations, is clearly visible behind every action against Gary Tyler, his family, and supporters.

But there is one feature of Gary Tyler's case which is encouraging. That is the wide and vocal support which this case is receiving worldwide from a broad stratum of people. International attention focusing on Tyler is spilling over to the cases of other unknown or less well-known victims of Southern "justice". Led by forces within the Black national liberation movement and the communist movement, people all over the country are combating bourgeois terror to demand FREEDOM FOR GARY TYLER!

Gary Tyler's case revealed again the most brutal manifestations of national oppression and racism. The facts themselves speak eloquently to his innocence, and the vicious barbarity of the class rule of the state. In the face of reality the state and its agencies have developed a network of shoddy lies based on outright national chauvinism, in their attempt to suppress Gary Tyler's individual expression of growing resistance to national oppression.

The MLOC urges all progressive and revolutionary people to unite with the efforts to defend and free Gary Tyler, by contacting SCEF, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, KY, 40211, for information about activities in their states.

The following article is the second part of a pamphlet called Lynching: A Weapon of National Oppression, by Harry Haywood and Milton Howard. Written in 1932 at the height of the Depression, the conditions in the Black Belt which the pamphlet describes closely parallel those of the present as the capitalist world falls deeper into general crisis. The first part of this article can be found by comrades and friends in the June-July issue of UNITE!.



### LYNCING IN BLACK BELT SOUTH

The "Rape" Lie

To incite the white workers against the Negroes and to further build the myth of "white superiority," the white ruling class has coined the poisonous and insane lie that Negroes are "rapists." Today, American imperialism is using this same "rape" lie against the masses of Hawaii as it proceeds to place this important naval base under iron rule in preparation for war against the Chinese people and the Soviet Union. In defending the white lynchers of Hawaii, Clarence Darrow, of the Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P., aided in this war preparation and in spreading the "rape" lie.

It is only necessary to remember a few facts to see the utter falsity of this ruling class slander.

The first fact is that of the 2,522 Negroes lynched during the period 1889-1918, only 19%, or one in five victims, were ever charged with rape. When we remember that this charge is invoked whenever possible as the traditional excuse for every kind of murder, the fact that the lynchers themselves could only charge 19% of their victims with "rape" reveals how base is the lynchers' lie that they murder Negro workers to "protect white womanhood." As in the above-mentioned case of Dave Tillis, who was lynched for demanding an accounting from his landlord, the cry of "rape" is raised whenever any Negro worker begins to rise from his knees. We may be certain that of the Negro workers lynched for "rape," practically none, if any, were guilty of a crime committed innumerable times by whites against Negro women, and punished, if ever at all, by a few months in jail.

The second fact even more incisively than the first, tears the "rape" lie to pieces. Whenever the reader hears the cry of "rape" to justify the lynching of a Negro worker, let him but call to mind this profoundly illuminating historical fact: that Negroes have been in this country for three hundred years; that during the first 200 years not one was ever accused of "rape," though hundreds of thousands of Negro workers lived in the closest proximity to the whites. For 200 years, for eight generations, not the slightest hint about the Negroes as "rapists." The first time we hear this lie is about the year 1830, two hundred years after the Negroes were first unloaded from the slave ships in Virginia. Why did it appear at this time? *Because this year marks the beginning of the abolition movement in the North, and the sharpening struggle of the slaves themselves for freedom.* For 200 years the Negro workers were not "rapists." But as soon as their position as valuable slaves was endangered, then they suddenly became "rapists."

In the last 50 years, 76 Negro women were lynched, some with bestial cruelty. Were they, too, "rapists"?

The Southern landlords and their henchmen consider all Negro women as legitimate prey. Many Negroes have died for objecting to the rape of Negro girls and women by whites. Mrs. Wise was lynched at Frankfort, Virginia, May, 1931, for objecting to her daughter's being taken out for "rides" by white Klansmen. Clyde Payne was murdered in Florida, September, 1931, by the employer of his wife, when he tried to protect her from attack. In Georgia, an aged Negro was lynched for trying to prevent the rape of two colored girls by two white men.

Many whites take advantage of the capitalist "rape" lie to protect themselves. In New Jersey, in 1927, a man was killed while riding in an automobile with his wife. She told the police that two Negroes had murdered him as he tried to protect her from rape. Under cross examination it was brought out that she and her lover had committed the crime. In Philadelphia, in 1930, a 17-year-old girl stayed out all night with her companions. Next morning she reported she had been abducted and assaulted by two Negroes. Pressed by questioners, she confessed that she had invented this story to deceive her mother. In Norfolk, Virginia, November, 1930, a white woman, struggling with a "black" assailant, tore open his shirt and discovered that he was a white man

(continued on page three)

**Uphold the  
Right of Self-Determination  
for the Black Nation!**

## WOMAN—Subject of Savage Oppression and Slavery in Capitalist—Revisionist World

Tirana, March 8 (ATA) - One of the aspects clearly revealing the criminal, oppressive and exploiting character of the capitalist order is the grave situation of women in the capitalist and revisionist countries. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: "The capitalist system which consecrates the private property, the exploitation of man by man, the economic and spiritual enslavement of man, has weighed down on all, but especially and in the most barbarous way on woman."

Though a series of bourgeois and revisionist constitutions present woman as equal to man in all fields, these are nothing else but empty promises. Reality clearly proves that the capitalist order is the source of all the evils weighing down on the shoulders of millions of women. Their situation has been aggravated particularly in the situation of the grave economic crisis which has gripped all the capitalist countries. They are the first to be laid off, increasing the multi-million army of the unemployed further. This has brought about the increase at faster rates of the percentage of women unemployed in the total number of the unemployed in all the capitalist countries as compared with men. Thus, for example, now in the U.S.A. there are over 3 million unemployed women, in the German Federal Republic about 600,000 unemployed women, and so on. In the U.S.A. unemployment among women over 16 years old is 9.7%

as compared with 8.2% of all the nation. Unemployment is 11% among Black women and other national minorities. The U.S. weekly "Newsweek" admitted some time ago that almost one million women have been laid off in the retail-sale trade alone. Women employed are compelled by the capitalists to work in the most difficult sectors and jobs, who by paying them lower wages increase their profits more. Wage discrimination has become today a law for all the capitalist and revisionist countries. Thus, in the U.S.A., according to press data, for equal work, the average wage of women is two times lower than that of men. More lamentable is the situation of Black women who receive 50% the wage of a white woman and one-fourth the wage of a man, though they do the same job. According to the U.S. press, the employers draw an annual profit of 60 billion dollars through not paying properly the women for their job. "Nowhere in Western Europe," "Le Monde" admits, "woman is equal with man." In the German Federal Republic, from the unpaid work of women, the capitalist bosses draw 8 billion marks profit annually. In Britain, over 90% of women receive 50% of the wage of men for the same work.

The small wage not only fails to meet the needs of workers families and particularly those in which women are responsible, but it cannot meet the minimum demands of working

women themselves. Thus, the British newspaper "The Daily Telegraph" admitted some time ago, that over 3.3 million girls and women receive such a low weekly wage that it is insufficient for their own living. In France, about 3 million working women receive wages lower than the admitted minimum.

A marked discrimination exists in the field of education and professional training. The capitalist has raised many obstacles in this field and he does not give the mass of women education and culture. On the contrary, he tries to keep them in ignorance. In Italy, 43% of girls from 14 to 24 years old cannot attend school. In the German Federal Republic, 50% of girls have to leave school because they cannot afford it and because of other conditions. The marked discrimination of women continues also in the political field where the bourgeoisie does its best to keep woman, this great force, out of the political life.

The woman's situation is becoming ever more difficult in the revisionist countries. The revisionist bourgeoisie considers them simply as subject of exploitation, out of whom it can draw more money. It does not care at all for their working and living conditions and gives them lower wages than men for equal work. One notices in the situation of woman in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries the same characteristics of the grave

situation of women in the western capitalist countries. This is the result of the same oppressive capitalist system reigning in those countries. According to a poll organized in Leningrad, about 70% of working women complained of extreme fatigue at work and that the percentage of diseases (in them) was twice as high as that of men working in the same branch. In those countries, too, the lack of kindergartens and nurseries is another chronic disease. According to the very admissions of the revisionist press, during a whole decade, none of the Soviet regions has fulfilled the "plans" for the construction of kindergartens and nurseries.

Likewise, in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries the lower wage for women as compared with men is common occurrence. For example, in the Soviet Union in 1967, the average wage of women in education was 7 rubles under the national average, whereas 5 years later, this difference doubled reaching to 14.1 rubles. In Hungary, the women who have graduated from the university receive a wage which is 22% lower than that of men of the same trade whereas those with secondary education, 29% less than the men of the same trade. In industry the worker women receive only 66.3% of the wage of men. of men.



We have reprinted an article from the Albanian Telegraph Agency to give comrades and friends an overall picture of the current conditions of women in capitalist and revisionist countries. It presents very starkly the nature of women's position in society in the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism. Dying capitalism is finding expression in every aspect of society, and the bourgeoisie is attacking the working class on all fronts in order to shift the burden of the crisis off their own backs. As the article points out, these attacks are falling hardest on women and the oppressed nations and national minorities.

The problems of both the exploitation and oppression of women and the oppressed nations and national minorities are part of the class struggle, the struggle against private property society. The struggles of the women's movement, the national liberation movement, and of the proletariat are connected in their common oppressor and in their common goal. They must be viewed in their interconnectedness, and, at the same time, in their particularity.

The Woman Question and the National Question are class questions, as both are based on private property society. Both the Woman Question and National Question are of a particular nature, differentiated from the struggle of the working class as a whole. The exploitation and oppression of women crosses class lines, and as such, expresses itself in different forms. National oppression has a profound effect on the women

of those nations. Black women, for example, are faced with a qualitatively different set of problems in their day to day life. This dates back to chattel slavery with its peculiar 3-fold combination of economic and social systems: slave relations, feudal land-ownership, and capitalist production for profit, which laid the basis for the future strangulation of the Black Nation in relation to the rapidly developing economy of the oppressor nation. Lenin describes the effects of the combined feudal and capitalist relations upon working women:

"In agriculture the working woman—the proletarian woman and peasant woman—must exert herself to the utmost, must toil at her work to the detriment of her health and the health of her children, in order to keep up as far as possible with the male worker in large-scale capitalist production.

It signifies that petty production keeps going under capitalism only by squeezing out of the worker a larger amount of work than is squeezed out of the worker in large-scale production." (The Emancipation of Women, International Publishers, 1972, p.34.)

The nature of the exploitation and oppression of Black women must be viewed in this particular historical context. It is the historically evolved political and economic foundation laying the basis for present day exploitation and oppression of Black women living both inside and outside the Black Nation. It underlies the

large number of Black families that have been forced to split apart in order to stay alive, for the increasing number of Black women as heads of households, and on welfare. Statistics from BLACK NEWS DIGEST, (7/5/76) reveal these trends:

"One in three families headed by a woman is living at or below the poverty level. By contrast, only one in 18 families headed by a man lives at or below the poverty level.

Black women accounted for a third of the overall increase in the number of female family heads since 1960. Their percentage share of female family heads grew from 21.1 percent to 26.8 percent.

More than half (54.3%) of all women heading families were in the labor force in 1975, compared with just over 2/5 (44.4%) of wives. The overall unemployment rate of women who head families (10%) was higher than the rate for wives (8.5%), mainly because of the higher unemployment rate of Black women heading families (14%).

The number of children living in families headed by women has risen sharply. From March 1970 to March 1975, the proportion of children under age 19 in families without fathers has grown from 1 out of 10 to 1 out of 7."

This only begins to describe the particularity of the exploitation and oppression of Black women. The same must be done regarding Chicano, Chinese, Puerto Rican, Native American and other national minority women. The sexual exploitation and oppression of all women of national minorities and oppres-

sed nations is clearly intensified by national oppression.

The particular circumstances of the domination of a nation, colony, or neo-colony determines the form that the exploitation and oppression of its women will take. At the same time, women of all nationalities experience second-class status in political, economic and social spheres. Women have much to gain by sharing their experiences, in the context of developing class consciousness. All oppressed and exploited people of the world have much to gain from the participation of women in the revolutionary movement.

The stand of Marxist-Leninists on the National Question and the Woman Question is of strategic importance to the success of the revolution in the U.S., to the struggle for self-determination of the Black Nation, and the emancipation of women. The brutal nature of triple exploitation and oppression can only be understood by a thorough exposition of national and sexual oppression, and of every way that imperialism makes its attacks upon the people. Clarity on the relationship of the National Question and the Woman Question, and the development of a revolutionary program based on this understanding will greatly aid in building multi-national unity as this program is fought for in the struggle for proletarian revolution and national liberation.



The task of training successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, in the course of our struggle for the seizure of state power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, must be placed as a vital ideological, political and organizational question. This is a question of strategic significance.

The conscious training of the most advanced leaders of the working class struggle is essential to carry forward the fusion of the communist and workers movements. Just as the communist and workers movements must be consciously fused, so the most advanced fighters of the revolution must be consciously trained, breaking with the limits of bourgeois ideology, breaking with the spontaneity of purely trade union consciousness.

The current state of the fusion of the workers and the communist movements is being held back by both the right economist trend and the left infantile trend. In the first case, what we have here are what Comrade Stalin referred to as "skin deep" communists, while on the other hand we have the obscene self-styled "super-Bolsheviks". In their world outlook, their strategy and tactics, their methods of work and in every aspect of the class struggle on a day to day basis, neither right nor "left" opportunism carries forward the great tradition of the revolutionary proletariat. We must neither tail the masses nor pull ahead of them as if tugging at a dog on a chain. To practice Marxism and not revisionism, to learn from the masses and to lead them into struggle against the bourgeoisie, means that we struggle not only to transform society, but in the process to transform ourselves.

Here in UNITE! we reprint the CODE OF THE PRINCIPLES AND NORMS OF WORK AND LIFE OF THE COMMUNISTS, OR SOCIALIST ETHICS AND EQUITY, adopted by the Eleventh Congress of the Romanian Communist Party. These provisions are an inherent part of the programme of the Romanian Communist Party in its advance towards socialist construction and communism. The Romanian people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Romania and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu are advancing step by step in socialist construction and for a self-reliant Europe. It is important for comrades to take note of the contributions of our Romanian comrades, parts of which the MLOC will be reproducing in the future.

Excerpts from

## CODE

### of the Principles and Norms of Work and Life of the Communists, of Socialist Ethics and Equity

The Eleventh Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, adopting the Code of the Principles and Norms of Work and

Life of the Communists, of Socialist Ethics and Equity, established that its provisions be considered as an inherent part of the Programme of the Romanian Communist Party of Building the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Romania's Advance Toward Communism.

Organizing and leading the grandiose historical work of building socialism and communism in Romania, the Romanian Communist Party pays primordial attention to the shaping of a new man, with an advanced consciousness and lofty moral features, to the promotion of new relationships among people, to the full assertion in all spheres of social life of the principles of socialist ethics and equity. The norms and principles of ethics of our society set out from the fact that capitalist exploitation has been definitively liquidated in the socialist system, that an end has been put to social and national inequalities; they are grounded on socialist ownership of the means of production, on the principles of socialist distribution, on equality and social justice, on the common goal of building the whole people's welfare and happiness.

These lofty norms and principles have to become the code of work and life, a guide to conduct in society of the communists, of the revolutionary youth, of all working people in our homeland.

1. It is the fundamental duty of Party members, of the members of the Union of Communist Youth to loyally serve the cause of the Party and of the people, to dedicate everything they have best, all their energies, working capacity and skills to the implementation of the Programme of the Romanian Communist Party of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism. Every communist has to place the material and spiritual flourishing of the socialist homeland above all, the steady growth of the people's welfare and civilization, the ever stronger assertion of our country among the nations of the world.

2. The Party members and the members of the Union of Communist Youth have to assimilate dialectical and historical materialism — the revolutionary outlook on the world and life of the proletariat — the Programme of the Romanian Communist Party which constitutes the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific-historic conditions prevailing in this country and offers clear prospects to the struggle for building the socialist and communist system in Romania.

3. All the communists have to know and assimilate the home and foreign policy of the Party and of the State, the documents, the decisions of the Party. They are in duty bound to be untiring propagandists of the Party policy, to actively contribute to the elaboration and discussion of the Party and State decisions, to firmly and self-denyingly fight for their translation into life.

4. Every communist must unhesitatingly fulfil the tasks he is entrusted with by the Party, to fulfil with a high spirit of responsibility all the duties incumbent on him in the function he holds, at his place of work, in his whole activity.

The communist has to strictly observe

## Five Requirements for Successors to the Cause of the Proletariat

The five requirements laid down by Chairman Mao for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat are:

**They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists and not revisionists like Khrushchov wearing the cloak of Marxism-Leninism.**

**They must be revolutionaries who wholeheartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the whole world, and must not be like Khrushchov who serves both the interests of the handful of members of the privileged bourgeois stratum in his own country and the interests of foreign imperialism and reaction.**

**They must be proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree with them, even with those who formerly opposed them and who have since been proved wrong in practice.**

Party discipline — one and the same for all Party members, regardless of the position they have in society, of the functions and attributions entrusted by the Party and the State. All the communists have to respect to the letter the norms and rules of Party work, the principles of inner democracy and collective management — which envisage the discussion of problems within an organized framework and, at the same time, the assumption of direct responsibility for the fulfilment of the measures taken.

5. It is the sacred duty, of paramount importance, of every communist to keep like the apple of one's eye the monolithic unity of the Party — a guarantee for the successful implementation of the Party's historic mission of leader of our nation on the path of socialism and communism.

6. All the communists are in duty bound to campaign for continuously strengthening the Party's links with the masses, for the correct solution of the proposals and demands of the working people, for pooling the efforts of all the working people in the struggle for the implementation of the Party Programme.

7. The Party members, the members of the Union of Communist Youth, all working people must manifest greatest concern with, and responsibility for the steady development and protection of socialist, State-owned and cooperative property, of our national wealth — the groundwork for raising the whole people's well-being. They have to act for the most efficient administration of the means and resources of society, to fight against any kind of waste, of carelessness in keeping and managing public goods, against all manifestations leading to squandering public property.

8. The Party members, the members of the Union of Communist Youth, all working people have the patriotic obligation to fight with full determination against thefts from public property, against any embezzlements from socialist property, any appropriation of goods from

the national wealth, against any actions which harm the interests of the people, of every citizen, to contribute to the strengthening and improvement of the socialist system against such manifestations at every place.

9. The members of the Communist Party, of the Union of Communist Youth, all working people must take permanent care for the improvement of the land, water, and the protection of the health and beauty spots, for the improvement of the work organization, to resolutely struggle against the deterioration of the socialist system.

10. Work is the duty of honour for every citizen. It is a proof of lofty political competence, creative energy and passion in the work, of combativity and discipline, of responsibility in the work.

11. The members of the Communist Party, of the Union of Communist Youth, all working people must steadily improve their speciality training, to raise their cultural and political level.

12. Defence is the revolutionary duty of every citizen. It is the loftiest obligation of the Romanian Communist Party, of the Union of Communist Youth, of the working people of the country to be ready at any time, at the cost of any sacrifice, to defend the integrity, national independence and sovereignty of the Romanian People's Republic. In regard of this the Party members must resort to action against the socialist system, against the bourgeoisie, against the imperialists, against the people, against the revisionists, against the Party.



# TRAINING SUCCESSORS TO THE REVOLUTION

## Five Requirements for Successors to the Revolutionary Cause of the Proletariat

The five requirements laid down by Chairman Mao for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat are:

**They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists and not revisionists like Khrushchov wearing the cloak of Marxism-Leninism.**

**They must be revolutionaries who wholeheartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the whole world, and must not be like Khrushchov who serves both the interests of the handful of members of the privileged bourgeois stratum in his own country and those of foreign imperialism and reaction.**

**They must be proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proved wrong in practice. But**

**they must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level.**

**They must be models in applying the Party's democratic centralism, must master the method of leadership based on the principle of "from the masses, to the masses," and must cultivate a democratic style and be good at listening to the masses. They must not be despotic like Khrushchov and violate the Party's democratic centralism, make surprise attacks on comrades or act arbitrarily and dictatorially.**

**They must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work. They must never cover up their errors like Khrushchov, and claim all the credit for themselves and shift all the blame on others.**

Party discipline — one and the same for all Party members, regardless of the position they have in society, of the functions and attributions entrusted by the Party and the State. All the communists have to respect to the letter the norms and rules of Party work, the principles of inner democracy and collective management — which envisage the discussion of problems within an organized framework and, at the same time, the assumption of direct responsibility for the fulfilment of the measures taken.

5. It is the sacred duty, of paramount importance, of every communist to keep like the apple of one's eye the monolithic unity of the Party — a guarantee for the successful implementation of the Party's historic mission of leader of our nation on the path of socialism and communism.

6. All the communists are in duty bound to campaign for continuously strengthening the Party's links with the masses, for the correct solution of the proposals and demands of the working people, for pooling the efforts of all the working people in the struggle for the implementation of the Party Programme.

7. The Party members, the members of the Union of Communist Youth, all working people must manifest greatest concern with, and responsibility for the steady development and protection of socialist, State-owned and cooperative property, of our national wealth — the groundwork for raising the whole people's well-being. They have to act for the most efficient administration of the means and resources of society, to fight against any kind of waste, of carelessness in keeping and managing public goods, against all manifestations leading to squandering public property.

8. The Party members, the members of the Union of Communist Youth, all working people have the patriotic obligation to fight with full determination against thefts from public property, against any embezzlements from socialist property, any appropriation of goods from

the national wealth — deeply anti-social actions which harm the interests of the people, of every citizen. They have to contribute to the development of a strong and intransigent mass opinion against such manifestations in each unit, at every place of work.

9. The members of the Romanian Communist Party, of the Union of Communist Youth, all citizens must show permanent care for the good husbanding of the land, waters, forests, for the protection of the homeland's natural wealth and beauty spots, to actively participate in the work organized for their protection, to resolutely struggle against the deterioration of the environment.

10. Work is a fundamental duty, a duty of honour for every communist, for every citizen. Everyone has to give proof of lofty professional consciousness, competence, creative spirit, abnegation and passion in work; at the same time, combativity and exactingness have to be shown against manifestations of indiscipline, superficiality and lack of responsibility in work.

11. The members of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Union of Communist Youth are in duty bound to steadily improve their professional and speciality training, to permanently enrich their cultural and scientific horizon.

12. Defence of the homeland, of the revolutionary gains of the people is the loftiest obligation of the members of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Union of Communist Youth, of all citizens of the country. Their supreme duty is to be ready at any time to defend at the cost of any sacrifice, even with the cost of their lives, the homeland's integrity, national and State independence and sovereignty, the socialist achievements of the Romanian people. Any disregard of this lofty obligation, any compact with the enemy, with those who resort to actions or deeds hostile to our socialist system, with those who scheme against the homeland's freedom and independence, against the vital interests of the people, constitute acts of treason against the Party and people, against our

socialist nation and are punished in conformity with the country's laws.

13. All the communists are obliged to safeguard the Party and State secret, to permanently give proof of high vigilance and revolutionary combativity. To supply to a foreign person information that is Party or State secret means to betray the Party, to betray the country, to harm the interests of the whole nation; those who make themselves guilty of such acts must feel the justified wrath of the people.

14. It is the lofty duty of every communist to militate for the strengthening of the moral and political unity of the people, for cementing the fraternal friendship among all the working people — Romanians, Magyars, Germans and other nationalities — to struggle against all expressions of nationalism and chauvinism, to act in close unity for the progress of the common homeland, the Socialist Republic of Romania.

15. The communists, all working people have to know, popularize and most strictly observe the laws of the country, act in the spirit of socialist legality, take resolute stand against any attempt at disregarding or violating the laws of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

16. The communists have to campaign permanently for the promotion in the whole social life of the principles of socialist ethics and equity, of the relations of cooperation and comradesly inter-assistance, of solidarity, mutual esteem, confidence and respect. They must be unreconciled enemies of petty-bourgeois individualism, of expressions of selfishness, of tendencies to subordinate the general interests to narrow-minded personal profits, of tendencies to pretend from society more than one deserves in keeping with the principles of socialist distribution.

17. The communist has to be honest, sincere, principled and correct, must not tolerate lies, falsehood, hypocrisy, he must combat the attempts at misleading higher organs, work-mates, at eluding responsibilities and duties.

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17. The communist has to be honest, sincere, principled and correct, must not tolerate lies, falsehood, hypocrisy, he must combat the attempts at misleading higher organs, work-mates, at eluding responsibilities and duties.

18. The communists must act in all firmness to prevent and combat any manifestation of abuse of power, any traffic of influence, tendency to use in one's own interest and to the detriment of the working people functions or positions of responsibility entrusted by society.

19. All communists, particularly those who hold leading jobs in economic and social life, in the Party and State apparatus, in mass and public organizations, have to campaign, in the spirit of the principles of socialist democracy, for the creation of a climate favourable to the free expression and confrontation of opinions, to the masses broad participation in the discussion and solving of problems, in decision-making, in elaborating and implementing the general policy of our Party and State.

20. The communists have to militate to establish in each collectivity a climate favourable to the promotion of people exclusively according to their contribution to the implementation of the Party policy, to the fulfilment of the plan of the country's economic and social development, according to their behaviour and to their moral and political attitude. They have to resolutely fight subjectivism and arbitrariness in appreciating and promoting cadres, take firm attitude against favouritism, nepotism, servilism and manifestations of self-seeking.

21. All communists have to manifest courage and initiative in the struggle for the promotion of the revolutionary spirit, of what is new in production, in economic and social activity, firmly act against inertia, bureaucratism, routine and conservatism, against everything that is obsolete and could hamper the progress of our socialist society.

22. The spirit of criticism and self-criticism, combativity towards shortcomings and deficiencies have to characterize each member of the Party, each member of the Union of Communist Youth. In any circumstance, in the collectivities they work the communists must promote a climate of exacting debates over shortcomings, stimulate and create conditions for the formation and assertion of a strong critical spirit of the working people mass.

23. The communists have to act so that in each collectivity be established a climate favourable to the free manifestation of the spirit of initiative of the masses, for the materialization of their experience and competence, for the participation of all working people in running the activity of the enterprises and institutions, for the development and strengthening of working-class, socialist democracy.

24. The members of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Union of Communist Youth have to manifest highest intransigence against the bourgeois conception on life, against the influence of mentalities of the capitalist world. They have to combat firmly the tendencies of self-seeking, parasitism, cheating, speculation, and bribery, any form of obtaining illicit incomes, of assimilating the fruit of someone else's activity by abusive or dishonest means.

30. A communist, whatever his position in society, must give proof of modesty; he must fight against haughtiness,

arrogance, contempt of his fellow men. The communists who hold responsible offices in the Party, in social life generally, have to gain their authority by an exemplary moral and professional behaviour from all points of view. Every communist has to contribute by his conduct in political and professional life, in society and in the family, to the continuous strengthening of the Party's authority and prestige with the masses, to enhancing its leading role in society.

31. The members of the Romanian Communist Party and the Union of Communist Youth, all citizens of the homeland have to give proof, in any circumstance, of ardent love of the homeland, of national dignity and pride, as also respect for other peoples. They have to reject and condemn most firmly both national exclusivism and kowtowing to foreign countries.

32. All the members of the Party and of the Union of Communist Youth have to campaign, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, for the strengthening of friendship and solidarity of our Party with all the communist and workers' parties, contribute to the development of fraternal collaboration with the peoples of the other socialist countries, to the strengthening of solidarity with the working class, with all progressive, anti-imperialist forces of the world, with the national liberation movements, with the peoples that have recently won their independence, with all those who are fighting for social justice, for progress, with all the peoples of the world.

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By adopting the Code of the Principles and Norms of Work and Life of the Communists, of Socialist Ethics and Equity, the Eleventh Congress of the Party expresses the conviction that their translation into life would exert a powerful influence on all the members of our society, would lead to the creation of a new humanism, which places Man at the top and, at the same time, blends the interests of the individual with the interests of the whole society, ensures the welfare and happiness of each and every one, concomitantly with that of the whole people. By this, Man will rise onto a higher stage of knowledge, will actually be able to consciously participate in the people's activity of building its own free future.

The members of the Romanian Communist Party, of the Union of Communist Youth, all the citizens of our socialist homeland must make of these Norms a permanent guide in their political and professional activity, in their day-to-day life, act consistently and firmly so that the lofty principles of ethics and equity of socialism and communism penetrate deeper and deeper all fields of social life, contributing to the shaping of the new, advanced man of our society, to the speeding up of the homeland's advance on the road of communist civilization.

# ANGOLA: STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM and OPPORTUNISM

## PART 2

## GO HAND IN HAND

This article concludes the MLOC's analysis of the history of the Coalition for Angolan Self-determination (CASD), which was started in the June-July issue of UNITE! The CASD was initiated in January of 1976 by the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and Fruitvale Law Collective (FLC) around two principles of unity: 1) Superpowers Out of Angola! and 2) Self-determination for the Angolan People! The coalition soon split into two blocs, which each advanced consistently opposing views on almost every question.

The majority bloc, which held a generally correct line, included I Wor Kuen (IWK); October League (OL); Asian Student Union (ASU) at San Francisco State and Laney College in Oakland; Fight Don't Starve (FDS); August Twenty-Ninth Movement (ATM); MLOC; and for a time the Bay Area Communist Union (BACU); as well as individuals. The minority bloc included RWL; FLC; Japan Town Collective (JTC); Revolutionary Student Union (RSU); the representative of the African Liberation Support Committee, even though ALSC as a whole does not hold the positions advanced by the minority bloc; and after a point BACU and Yenan Collective, a local Marxist-Leninist group.

The conclusion of this analysis shows how an opportunist line leads to unprincipled struggle; presents a self-criticism of the MLOC's participation in the CASD; and summarizes the main lessons of the CASD, for the purpose of educating the communist and workers' movements.



An opportunist political line leads inevitably to an opportunist stand towards principled struggle and relations between Marxist-Leninist organizations. The minority bloc engaged in activity in the coalition which was designed to split, not to unite Marxist-Leninists, and which materially held back the development of the coalition's political line, resulting in the disunity which was displayed at the March 27th event.

In the process of the coalition's work, the minority employed two main tactics to split the coalition. First, the minority repeatedly refused to accept the majority position as the unity of the coalition, and consistently refused until four days before the event, to engage in full and scientific struggle over the different views on the nature of the international situation.

Faced with consistently principled struggle and victory of the correct position on this question, the RWL, February First Movement (also a member of the minority), FLC and other organizations and individuals of the minority, continued to insert the concept of two "contending trends" into

outlines for the coalition's leaflets and speeches.

When the correct position was victorious in regard to the content of the leaflet publicizing the event, the minority refused to accept the united viewpoint of the coalition and tried to have a speech put forward that would include the concept of two contending trends. When the majority's position again defeated this position in the struggle over the content of the speeches, the RWL raised that this unity did not bind the speaker's panel during the question and answer period of the prospective program. In writing the speech on the international situation shortly before the March 27th event, the RWL, against criticism and suggestion, overstressed the factors for war to the point of negating the significance of the rising factors for revolution. This clearly shows that it was the minority's intention to negate the unity of the coalition and put forward their own views, in essence of not in form. The slant of the presentation in the speech, and all earlier struggles point out that the RWL in particular was more intent on winning the hegemony of its own line than achieving principled unity.

Second, the minority abused its control of the chair of coalition meetings to stifle speakers who opposed the minority view, and to encourage speakers who supported that position. The chair failed to operate on the basis of principled impartiality, but instead used its position to interject questions, challenges, and repudiations into the statements of those representing the majority position. In this respect, the RWL was the least principled in its use of the chair. This abuse was resisted by members of the majority, as well as some supporters of the minority bloc.

The program of March 27th itself could not but reflect the disunity fostered in the coalition by the minority, and the refusal of the minority to abide by the unity of the coalition. At its program, the coalition presented three speeches, a cultural presentation, and answered questions from the floor. The speeches explained a) the history of Angola up to January of 1975; b) the international situation; and c) the present situation in Angola since January of 1975. These speeches, and the music and skits performed by the ALSC Cultural Collective of Oakland advanced the unity of the coalition, the majority position. However, the chair of the program was used by a representative of the minority during the question and answer period to present the minority position as the unity of the coalition.

In answer to questions about Cuba, the chair stated that the

coalition had no unity on that subject—a clear distortion of the truth. Further, the chairperson covered for Soviet social-imperialism in contradiction with the unity and slogans of the coalition. In response to the question, "Why does the coalition condemn Soviet 'aid' to Angola, and not Soviet 'aid' to Vietnam during the Vietnamese war?" the chair gave a purely revisionist answer. The chair stated that because the character of the Soviet Union had changed since 1974, it was now more dangerous and social-imperialist. This answer provided a cover for the actions of the Soviet social-imperialists against the peoples of the world before 1974, and negates the fact that the Soviet Union is social-imperialist since the mid-1960s.

The third example of how an opportunist line leads to unprincipled actions was the position of the minority bloc regarding struggle with opportunist coalitions on Angola. The CASD united to attend the Irwin Silber forum in Oakland in February, with the purpose of combatting and exposing the Guardian's centrist position, which is essentially a cover for Soviet social-imperialism. At that forum, the coalition did not present its position in a systematic or strong way, and failed to expose the roots of the Guardian's opportunism.

This failure was summed up by the CASD as conciliation with Soviet social-imperialism, and with the Guardian's position. The coalition resolved at that time to attend an April forum on Angola held in Oakland, California, by two coalitions, embracing a wide range of opportunist forces, including the CPUSA.

However, when the time came to prepare for this forum, the minority bloc held the position that the coalition should not attend the opportunist forum, on the basis that the majority bloc did not offer a "high enough" level of unity with which to combat opportunism. In essence, on the basis of an error made once in the face of opportunism, and the engineered failure of the CASD event, the minority held that the coalition should not continue to combat revisionism and centrism, and to perfect its own line and style of work! This clearly shows the petty bourgeois nature of the minority position; it is characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie to become disheartened after a defeat or two, to assign blame where it is not due, and to back off from further struggle. The proletariat, however, cannot afford this luxury.

The majority succeeded in assuring that the coalition's proletarian internationalist spirit and duty would be upheld, by attending the opportunist forum to struggle and expose

the roots of the revisionist and centrist positions on Angola. Systematic preparation was assured by assigning portions of preparatory work to coalition organizations and individuals who volunteered for the task.

In spite of all attempts to be systematic about preparation, the majority could not succeed in guaranteeing that all the work would actually get done. In the face of these decisions to prepare for and attend the opportunist forum, the RWL representative failed to prepare the section for which he had volunteered, missed an important preparatory meeting of CASD representatives, failed to notify coalition members as to what was the matter, and arrived late to the opportunist forum. The reason, it was stated later, was not an emergency, but rather an on-going weekly commitment of which the RWL representative had full knowledge before volunteering to prepare for a question for the opportunist forum.

These actions begin to show a pattern, which is the clearly observable result of the political line of the minority. This pattern is the unprincipled and contemptuous refusal to unite with other Marxist-Leninists and progressive forces in the course of combatting opportunism, the conscious refusal to uphold the political line and decisions of the majority, and in fact, the perpetuation of splitting and disruptive activities in the face of principled political line and practice.

*These actions are not consistent with the principles of equality among organizations, consistent and thorough criticism and self-criticism, and seeking to unite, not to split. These actions and the political line they flow from represent a profound disregard and disdain for the masses of oppressed and exploited people internationally and in the U.S. These actions serve the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie in attempting to split the growing proletarian and communist movements, in order to perpetuate bourgeois ideology and class rule.*

### SELF-CRITICISM

The participation of the MLOC showed serious flaws which objectively weakened the coalition's struggles against opportunism, internal and external. The core of our error was a lack of struggle against opportunism, the failure to take up strongly and consistently the task of mobilizing the masses in support of the Angolan liberation movements. In the course of the coalition and its work outside of it, MLOC did not consistently accomplish the small and daily tasks of practical work so necessary to the successful completion of any project.

Within the coalition, we did not take the kind of leading role which our theoretical and political knowledge would have enabled us to do. Both in the small and large tasks, the work done by MLOC was inconsistent, although the contributions which were made were generally of a strong and principled nature. *This error represents an objective conciliation with Soviet social-imperialism, a capitulation before its temporary strength, the tactical victory of which has directly strengthened the U.S. bourgeoisie. This is a serious political matter.*

The ideological source of this error was the failure to break decisively with right opportunism, and in fact underestimation of its strength in the coalition, the movement as a whole, and in our work. Although in historical and theoretical terms the MLOC is familiar with the main danger of right opportunism and revisionism in particular, our failure to struggle more strongly against it in this instance shows that we have not yet firmly grasped this lesson of the international communist movement.

Politically, this error flows from the failure of democratic centralism to function properly within the MLOC. The absolutely necessary process of checking up on tasks assigned in order to ensure that the responsibilities inherent in the line of the organization and the duty of Marxist-Leninists to uphold proletarian internationalism, were being carried out properly did not take place. Thus comrades working on the coalition were not given adequate political direction or proper conditions for struggle within the organization in order to further their work on the coalition.

Rectification of both the ideological and political errors is part of an ongoing internal struggle within the organization. This struggle encompasses developing a deeper grasp of the nature and forms of right opportunism, and of the theoretical and political bases from which to defeat it on each question. This rectification process also involves setting the MLOC on the firm basis of correct democratic centralism, in the course of the struggle against both bureaucratic centralism and ultra-democracy, which go hand in hand. The on-going struggle to defeat opportunism and build unity around political line, is the basis for democratic centralism. The development and strengthening of this necessary unity is progressing due to our participation in the CASD, and our recognition, through criticism and self-criticism, of the serious errors made in that involvement.

In conclusion, it is important that we summarize some of the main lessons learned from our work in the CASD. These include the following points:

#### 1.) PARTY BUILDING

In the course of the work in the CASD, the party building line of the MLOC was basically confirmed in practice, and through struggle. On the one hand, it became evident through the course of the two line struggle that communist organ-

izations alone shall never defeat opportunism and imperialism. It is the masses of working and oppressed peoples who will take up this task when mobilized and educated by the vanguard communist party, armed with the scientific guidance of Marxist-Leninist theory. In order to be able to rally the working people of the U.S. to support national liberation movements and to perform the internationalist task of overthrowing the U.S. bourgeoisie, communists must struggle with the working class patiently and systematically, educating the masses through their own experience. *The struggle of communist organizations against opportunism must become the school of training for the working class and oppressed nationalities of the U.S. and the world.*

Thus far, this concrete use of theory by U.S. communists, the utilization to the fullest of theory's mobilizing, organizing and educating power, has been generally lacking. Communist organizations have frequently ignored this task, or have been too wrapped up in polemicizing "within the movement" to carry it out. Polemics are indeed an important tool with which to combat opportunism and educate the class. However, it is in the struggle with the masses to implement political line that our positions are tested and achieve the goal of mobilizing working people against the state.

Further, *the MLOC tested and reinforced its position on uniting Marxist-Leninists and grasped more firmly how the four principles of relations among organizations are linked together.* (See UNITE! ,Vol.2, #2.) If an organization does not practice equality, but holds itself above others; if it practices hegemonism instead of defending the principle of independence of Marxist-Leninist organizations in this period; if it seeks to hide its own errors by attacking other comrades instead of practicing criticism and self-criticism correctly; all these things lead directly to seeking to split and not to unite Marxist-Leninists. The example of RWL's role in the coalition in relation to other organizations and individuals is an instructive negative example, an example of the errors made in these relations, as shown in sections above.

In the period when uniting Marxist-Leninists is the primary of the two inter-related tactics to be taken in reconstituting a vanguard party, the concrete lessons learned in how to go about this, as well as how not to, have been very valuable. The MLOC also made a right deviation in respect to this task, which stemmed chiefly from an idealist under-estimation of the struggle necessary to complete this important task, of uniting organizations and comrades around political line. This under-estimation is part of the error of not struggling against right opportunism consistently inside the coalition. Its source is a tendency to imagine that what is possible will be easily accomplished, an outlook being combatted within the MLOC.

#### 2. PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Work around the Angola situation deepened our grasp of the urgency and depth of the struggle against opportunism and imperialism, in the U.S. and internationally. *This was a lesson in proletarian internationalism, of which some of the most basic components are yet to be fully grasped by the U.S. communist movement as a whole.*

This weakness of the U.S. communist movement is reflected in the tendency only to see phenomena from "the perspective of the movement in the U.S." rather than viewing the U.S. movement as an integral part of the international army of the proletariat. In some ways, this mistake is a remnant of American exceptionalism, the result of viewing the U.S. communist movement as somehow the exceptional case in the international communist movement, somehow apart from the international proletariat. Much communist work suffers from this malady; it will continue to derail our work within our "own" working class and oppressed nationalities as well as our solidarity with the working class and peasantry of other nationalities as long as it goes unchecked.

Further, the U.S. communist movement has yet to fully realize that the development of an opportunist position on Angola by U.S. revisionists and opportunists is only a small part of an international campaign of the bourgeoisie against communism and the working class. This is most sharply brought out by the attacks of the revisionists and centrists on China, which aims at isolating and crushing the great dictatorship of the proletariat in China. This attack on the leader of the international communist movement has not been resisted strongly enough. It is the duty and interest of the proletariat of all countries to make the defense of China, Albania, and the other socialist Republics one of our first tasks, integrally bound up in the party building process. *An attack on China is an attack on the whole working class and all of the oppressed nations, world wide. We must truly make the struggle against opportunism and imperialism go hand in hand, in our defense and support of the glorious leaders of the international proletariat.*

#### 3. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

Even prior to the participation in the CASD, the MLOC had come to recognize the necessity of launching on-going, protracted and deep-going work to mobilize the masses of the U.S. against the two Superpowers, and particularly the threat of imperialist war. The CASD contributed to this work. But at the same time, as the MLOC sought to point out throughout the work, this task cannot be effectively taken up by promoting numerous short-term coalitions around particular events. A broad based mass organization must be developed to unite and steel the many progressive and revolutionary minded

people in this country opposed to both Superpowers, an organization which will offer the basis—with the reconstitution of a vanguard communist party—for a united front against both Superpowers. While the particular form this will take remains to be struggled out, the work in the CASD and MLOC's different contacts have vividly brought out the necessity for such an organization.

#### 4. AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT WORK

Throughout the entire work of the CASD, the MLOC raised the necessity to link the struggle of the Angolan people to the struggle of all African people, for national liberation and sovereignty, and to link the work around Angola to the task of actually uniting the multi-national proletariat in support of African liberation struggles. The MLOC did not move to initiate any concrete action on its own, but urged the CASD as a whole to move in this direction. Neither the CASD nor the ALSC took up this task this year in any effective way, and virtually left the field completely open to the most backward and opportunist elements.

Objectively, by failing to vigorously take up this work, revolutionaries in the U.S. conciliated with the interference of Soviet social-imperialism in Africa, and the spread of distortions by the modern revisionists in the U.S. and internationally. In CASD, this error flowed directly from the disunity perpetuated by the minority, and their incorrect views on the international situation and the nature of national liberation movements.

The MLOC is resolutely committed in the future to shoulder firmly the task of mobilizing the working class of the U.S. in support of the struggle of the African masses for their national liberation. Support for the African peoples' struggles against the two superpowers must move toward assuming the same proportions as existed in support of the people of Indochina.

Finally, from the struggles in the CASD and similar struggles we have entered around the country, the MLOC has emerged more strongly committed to strengthening and continuing its support for the Angolan revolution and the struggle of the Angolan people against the new colonialists—the Soviet Union and the puppet Cubans. The struggles we have described have helped us to grasp the protracted and detailed work that is required in order to adequately unite Marxist-Leninists around a correct political line and to move resolutely toward the reconstitution of a vanguard communist party. The theoretical and political clarity gained in these struggles have contributed greatly to the work the MLOC is taking up - along with other comrades - of strengthening unity around political line which will make the drafting of a party program possible.

LONG LIVE THE ANGOLAN REVOLUTION!  
CARRY THE REVOLUTION TO THE END!  
OPPOSE AND DEFEAT BOTH SUPERPOWERS!  
UPHOLD PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!  
BUILD THE VANGUARD PARTY!



# UNITY OF THE PEOPLE TO FIGHT IMPERIALISM AND OVERTHROW THE DICTATORSHIP!

DECLARATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE (EXTRACTS)

On September 11, 1973 the international experience of the proletariat was given another lesson in the consequences of following the traitorous line of the modern revisionists and social-democrats as to the "peaceful transition" to socialism. Marxism-Leninism's teachings on the nature of the state were again fully confirmed by the stark setbacks of the revolution in Chile, as on that day the Popular Unity government of Allende was brutally eliminated by the Pinochet junta.

The following Declaration from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile concisely sums-up the role of modern revisionism in paving the way for the victory of fascism. This victory will undoubtedly be temporary as the rise of the Chilean masses will sweep the fascist junta into the dung heap of history. In this way they will strike another blow against both U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, which had both directly and indirectly used Chile and the Chilean people as a pawn in their struggle for hegemony.

The most backward sections have recently succeeded in drowning in blood the just aspirations of the Chilean people for freedom. A handful of big monopoly industrialists and of masters of large estates — for decades allied to U.S. industrial and financial groups and today represented by the fascist military junta — seeks to contain the just struggle of the Chilean people against dependency and exploitation.

U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of the peoples of our continent, which is harassed by grave economic and political problems — internal and external — brought about by the defeat of its unjust aggression against the Indochinese people, which is besieged by the struggle of peoples seeking to free themselves of its domination as well as by increasing pressure from other imperialist powers — mainly the Soviet Union — and which is affected by the deep crisis of the world capitalist system, is seeking to perpetuate its economic political and military domination over Latin America.

Here are a few lessons which our people must learn from past experience:

- 1) It has once again been demonstrated that in a country such as ours one rules with imperialism or against imperialism, with the masses of people or against them. Here there are no middle roads.
- 2) The Chilean people, made up of workers, poor peasants, the middle strata of the town and country, progressive students and intellectuals, who together represent more than 95 per cent of the population, have no chance of marching toward liberation if they do not rely on their own organisation and army. Only the proletariat and its vanguard party can lead the anti-imperialist, anti-monopolist and anti-estate-holder struggle in a thorough-going way and right to the end.
- 3) The process of the liberation of the Chilean people — like that of the peoples of the rest of Latin America — will necessarily be protracted and must rely on the coordinated solidarity of the continent.
- 4) The weakness of capitalist development in a country such as ours and thus of the bourgeoisie, its incapacity of waging a consistent struggle against imperialist domination and against the estates and the monopolies which constitute obstacles to the development and the liberation of the country.
- 5) Weaker still is that section of the reformist bourgeoisie which the leadership of the UP (editor's note: Popular Unity) represented because it did not even have its own economic base but had to try to develop one through the development and utilisation of privileges, of the economic and bureaucratic apparatus of the state. This had been one of the goals of the UP leadership in extending the sector of the state economy, which is to say to develop itself as a section of the state bureaucrat bourgeoisie.
- 6) From the moment of its birth, the bourgeois reformist policies of the leadership of the UP were doomed to failure. It could not have done anything else but what it did. It is not a question of it having committed mistakes, as some are claiming: Because of the weakness and the shabby class interests that it represented, it could have never have led to anything else. Either it would collaborate with imperialism and the reactionaries, renouncing its reformist programme, or it would risk being overthrown and becoming the dark forerunner to a bloody fascist regime. It had only two alternatives: Goular or Gonzalez Videla.
- 7) To strengthen its position, the UP leadership sought the unconditional support of the masses of people... It sought to ladle out mass struggle in doses appropriate to its own interests. It tried to ensure that the masses would not slip from under its control and not go beyond the bounds of legality and its institutions, of which the bourgeoisie is by nature respectful. Simultaneously it fed



them illusions about the possibility of fighting imperialism and the reactionaries within the bounds of bourgeois laws, illusions about the professionalism and the political neutrality of the reactionary Armed Forces.

8) In this way that the UP leadership ideologically, politically and militarily disarmed the people. Moreover, it isolated the proletariat by taking away from it the support of the middle strata which it pushed, as a result of its adventurism, to the side of fascism. Faced with the reactionary offensive, the proletariat and that section of the people which followed it, found themselves defenseless, isolated and immobilised. With its policies, the reformist bourgeoisie led the people's movement to conciliation, to frustration and failure. It was thus the forerunner to fascism.

9) Experience has once again demonstrated very vigorously the truth of the Leninist thesis that without fighting and defeating revisionism, no serious struggle of any worth against imperialism and the reactionaries can develop. As well, there cannot be a genuine and important struggle for national independence if we rely on another imperialist power or if, which is even worse, the latter should camouflage the imperialist dependency. The people must firstly rely on their own forces and secondly, make use of contradictions among the imperialists.

10) Up to this time, our people have lived under and experience what conditions are like under two alternatives. One a "bourgeois democratic" regime, in which they were offered reforms and where they could enjoy — although in a limited way — certain bourgeois democratic liberties and guarantees. And secondly, the present-day openly fascist regime where there is no respect of the smallest necessities of human beings and no possibility of achieving liberty, except through pitting a sufficiently strong force against it and defeating it.

The Chilean people must and will shape their own future. Experience itself has shown that only the people are the main protagonist and the motive force which make history move forward. To do this the people must rely in the first place on their own resources and not rely on the demagogy of the reformist bourgeoisie.

The development of our party within the proletariat and the masses of people and the influence which it has exercised to establish an independent and revolutionary political alternative for their struggles is the conscious form of the way in which the proletariat and the people are defending their interests and their political

independence.

During the rule of the UP government and even before that, our Party supported the People's Revolutionary Alternative. We firmly upheld that the Chilean proletariat and people should not choose the better of two bourgeois alternatives (reformism or fascism), but that they should establish their own independent alternative. The proletariat and the Chilean people must travel their own path, while criticising and destroying bourgeois alternatives in the process.

By struggling against the continuous pressures of the bourgeoisie, and principally revisionism, at the internal and external levels, our Party has to this day developed a correct Marxist-Leninist line, the unity of the overwhelming majority of our people to struggle against the main enemies, all the while safeguarding its ideological and political independence.

During the government of the UP leadership, a stage of profound sharpening of class struggle, the struggle between the two lines expressed itself as never before in an extremely intense and complex fashion within the working class and our party; the struggle between that road which proposes to reform the system of dependency and exploitation and the road which leads to the liberation of our people; the struggle between revisionism and its variants, and Marxism-Leninism.

Summing up the lines in brief, we can say that the central point of the struggle between the two lines at this time was on the following aspects:

1) Between those who, from a Marxist-Leninist position defended the ideological and political independence of the proletariat, of its Party and its programme — the People's Democratic Programme — and those from an opportunist position ideologically and politically disarmed the proletariat, and hooked it onto the tail end of the bourgeoisie and its bourgeois reformist programme.

2) Between ourselves who declared that "the great demarcation line lies between U.S. imperialism, the big exploiters and their servants, open or hidden, and all patriots who are for the expulsion of imperialism and the final defeat of the enemies of the people", and those who simultaneously from an opportunist and a sectarian position, isolated the proletariat and pushed the middle strata into the ranks of reaction, sharpening the artificial division of our people between the partisans of one bourgeois section or another, between the partisans of the opposition and those of the government.

3) Between ourselves who held that "overthrow of the power of imperialism and the big bourgeoisie leads to socialism, replacing the bourgeois dictatorship with the dictatorship of the proletariat and the masses of people" and those who held that by bringing a reformist section to power under revisionist leadership, the people were participating in the "Chilean road to socialism".

4) Between ourselves who held that "to build socialism, it is not enough that the means of production be in the hands of the state. It is also necessary that the state be in the hands of the proletariat", and those who tried to pass off the development of state capitalism as "a step towards socialism".

5) Between ourselves who held that "the Armed Forces being the main component of state power, the class character of the state is determined by the class character of the Armed Forces which supports it" and those who tried to make people believe that the reactionary Armed Forces were "the people in uniform" and submission to them "a solid security for the process".

6) Between ourselves who held that "in a country such as ours, one governs with the masses of people or against them, with U.S. imperialism or against it. There is no middle road" and those who bound the people to the ruling legality, wanting to pass off its anti-imperialist verbiage and its enslavement to the Americans as the "second

independence."

The essence of the six points resides in the struggle to the death between Marxism-Leninism and its opposite: revisionism. The struggle between those who follow the revolutionary proletarian road and those who follow the bourgeois reformist road. Between those who seek the genuine liberation of our people and those who aspire only to change one master for another.

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Demagogy, an inevitable complement of reformist politics — in a field of great democratisms — ends up by letting loose the most widespread and militant struggles of the masses. At the same time it leads the mass movement onto a dangerous terrain and into a state of ideological, political and military weakness which is fatal. This is done in order to create among the masses false and pernicious illusions about the possibility of using the laws and institutions of the bourgeoisie and even the reactionary Armed Forces, to defeat the major enemies of the people.

It was thus inevitable that the reformist bourgeoisie in Chile become the forerunner to fascism. Its systematic and protracted work of dispersion and ideological and political annihilation of the proletariat and the masses of people, its efforts to stop the people from arming themselves (Arms Control Law) and its adventurous and fatal policies to hit at the middle strata and the petty bourgeoisie, greatly facilitated the development of the forces of fascism and helped them in creating the proper conditions for their reactionary offensive. Not to mention their denial of the need to mobilise the people to contain the fascist offensive and their prevention of such mobilisation to the extent of repeatedly repressing those who took the initiative in fighting fascism.

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With their "uprising" of September 11, 1973, the reactionary Armed Forces put an end to another chapter in history. They once again demonstrated their role as the watchdogs of U.S. imperialism and the big bourgeoisie. They demonstrated the serious failure of reformist bourgeois politics in recent years and in the process also dealt a very harsh blow to the agents of the new Russian imperialism.

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Is it possible to develop the mass struggle in the present situation? Is it possible for the proletariat and the broad masses of people to put forward their own political goals in these struggles?..—

To this date we have always firmly defended with firm conviction the independence of the political interests of the proletariat and the masses of people, by struggling against revisionist tendencies both within and outside the Party, who sought to place them at the tail of the bourgeoisie. And, we will not vacillate from this intention in face of any obstacle.

Not only do the conditions exist for organising, for inspiring and developing a great mass struggle against the dictatorship, but as never before, the conditions have been created to build a solid unity of the proletariat and the peasantry with the broad masses of our people as the basis of the struggle for national liberation.

To avoid all doubt and to clearly understand the problem from the perspective of mass struggle, it is necessary for us to clarify the following aspects and their correct relationships:

- 1) A task of vital importance for our people, for as long as the Dictatorship exists, will be its overthrow.
- 2) The overthrow of the dictatorship can take place even within the context of dependence on imperialism and of the ruling bourgeois regime. Should this happen, this will not mean the conquest of power by the people, nor the end of the system of dependency and exploitation.
- 3) Therefore the overthrow of the Dictatorship is not a goal in itself for our Party. It means to advance the struggle for the complete liberation of our people. A means of achieving independence and the end of exploitation.
- 4) The overthrow of the dictatorship can be achieved in different ways. Perhaps through the pressures of sections of the bourgeoisie which feel frustrated and which are demanding their part in the governing of the country. Perhaps even by a section of the Armed Forces who are dissatisfied with the present policies. Or because U.S. imperialism may decide that another form of rule would better serve it. Or, by the pressures of unarmed mass struggle. Or also, by superior forms of mass struggle, the people's armed struggle.
- 5) Without ceasing to take advantage of the momentum and the development of the unarmed mass struggle, the form which it has traditionally taken in recent years, and which may bring down the dictatorship, we should not lose sight of the perspectives the future of the struggle: the conquest of power by the people, which can only be achieved through **people's armed struggle**.

Keeping in mind the spirit of this perspective, of which we have set forth the basic tenets in the five above points, **at this time our Party is uniting with all those who are struggling for the overthrow of the dictatorship.** This is the most important goal at this stage. The Dictatorship, as the expression of the politics of imperialist domination is the main barrier opposed to the interests of the broad masses of people and the main force preventing the organisation of the struggle for the seizure of power and

the liberation of the country from the system of dependency and exploitation.

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To assure that its independent political goals be upheld during this stage, our Party links, the momentum of the struggle of the masses for the overthrow of the Dictatorship — support for the struggle for the Minimal Programme of the People's Front — the prospects of the liberation and the conquest of power by the proletariat and the broad masses of the people. This perspective will be maintained in proportion to how well the Party unites with the people and builds up the greatest number of revolutionary forces. For this reason as well as others, we should concern ourselves with developing the following fundamental aspects:

- 1) The protracted nature of the struggle for liberation. Given that the overthrow of the dictatorship — which could take place in a period of time that is not extremely long — does not in itself constitute the conquest of power by the people at no time should we lose sight of the perspective of armed struggle for the conquest of power. This armed people's struggle, because of the current situation of relative weakness of our people, will necessarily be a prolonged process, in which detachments of superior force will be built up capable of disarming and defeating those of the enemy one by one. We should profoundly convince the masses of this idea. We should criticise all ideas of a quick and easy victory and avoid falling into dejection and frustration. We should ensure that the masses do not become filled with illusions and be satisfied with the overthrow of the dictatorship and its replacement by a softer bourgeois regime.
- 2) The armed forces of the people. The principal enemies of the people, presently represented by the fascist military junta, have declared a "State of War" against the people. But this war is being waged against unarmed people. If the people aspire to not only break the yoke of the fascist dictatorship, but also to truly liberate themselves from their main enemies, to achieve genuine independence and to build a just, free, democratic and people's society, they must necessarily forge in struggle their own weapons. **Without their own army, the people have nothing.**
- 3) The unity of the people: This means a real unity and not a formal one, achieved through the struggle of the people for their own interests, today this means in the first place the interests of all social classes who desire the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. In order to move forward in developing the widespread unity of the people, we must support the development of the People's Front. It is the unity of the working class and the peasantry which will constitute the fundamental pillar of the unity of the people.
- 4) Eradication of the influence of revisionism from within the working class and the broad masses. As it has already been established, in the struggle against the fundamental enemies, represented by the fascist regime, we must build the broad unity of the people. At the same time, this unity and the struggle which is undertaken by the people will only have a solid basis in the proportion that we also effectively struggle against revisionist influence amongst the masses of people. We cannot fight and defeat imperialism and the reactionaries without at the same time defeating revisionism.
- 5) Achieving liberation and conquering power to permit the building of people's democracy. This is the prospect towards which all efforts and actions undertaken by our Party and our people must converge. Even the struggle for the overthrow of the Dictatorship must be used to build up the forces for this objective. Our Party and people cannot satisfy ourselves with overthrowing this regime only to once again play the "democratic" game of the bourgeoisie, the electoral circus, the systematic and organised fraud to exploit the masses of people. We are struggling for the overthrow of the dictatorship by any means possible, but at the same time within this struggle we are building up forces for the armed struggle for the seizure of power and the construction of a new society, people's democracy, in which the transformation which will free our people from dependency, oppression and exploitation will begin.
- 6) The necessity of leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party of the proletarian class. The working class, the only class which does not engage in exploitation, the most advanced and revolutionary class par excellence, is the only class which can guarantee seeing this process of liberation through to the end without making compromises and deals half-way through. This process must be led by its most conscious section organised into the Party of the working class. Our party must therefore know how to play the vanguard role which historically falls to it.
- 7) To develop a disciplined Marxist-Leninist party. It is only with a highly disciplined proletarian party, guided by Marxism-Leninism, which perseveres in the implementation of a correct policy, practices criticism and self-criticism, and which is intimately connected with the masses of people along with a People's Front which unites the large majority of the masses, and relying upon a large People's Army led by this Marxist-Leninist Party — that our people will be able to develop and triumph in their struggle for their liberation.

The preceding points constitute the great political objectives which our party must develop in the present situation in connection with the struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship and it must prepare the people to think in terms of a revolutionary perspective. This will give rise to the accumulation of revolutionary forces in order to develop and move forward in the armed struggle for the seizure of power and the complete liberation of our people. All these objectives must permeate all our activities among the masses. They will be able to be applied in this process which, we repeat, will come up against many obstacles and will necessarily be prolonged. Only the complete implementation of a plan leading to all these objectives will assure the basis of success, both by reinforcing the struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship and by accelerating the necessary accumulation of forces for the conquest of power and the liberation of our people.

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The terror of the fascist dictatorship has led the life of our people into dark shadows. The anxiety of daily life and the uncertainty of tomorrow has made existence more painful. This is the cost of the illusions of the possibility of a "revolution" without social cost put forward by the reformist leaders.

This situation which for some appears insurmountable, also causes serious difficulties for the reactionaries. In itself, every regime of terror is, in essence, a sign of weakness and decomposition. Thus, those who support such a regime are condemned sooner or later to succumb under the weight of the forces which, with reason and justice, will lead our people along the road of their true liberation.

The masses of people have learned to know their enemies better. No matter how much certain generals appear to be populist and simple minded, they cannot hide responsibility of their crimes against the people. Thus, the people have better understood the necessity to firmly and widely unite in the struggle to defend their interests and overthrow the fascist dictatorship. We have already seen how, in different places, the workers, the peasants and the students have started protests and movements which, in one manner or another, express their spirit of fighting the enemy.

At the heart of the struggle, which has as its banner the Minimal Program of the People's Front, the broad masses are strengthening their unity and are accumulating strength and enlarging the scope of their perspective. The people have already begun to understand that it is only with the conquest of power and the expulsion of imperialism and the reactionaries that they will be able to liberate themselves from dependence and super-exploitation.

The experience of recent years indicates to our people that without overcoming the influence of reformism, without breaking up the illusions sown for more than a half-century by the revisionists, they will not be able to conquer imperialism and the reactionaries.

Our people have begun to understand, thus, that only if they rely on their own arms, on their own army, will they come to occupy the place due to them in society and be able to liberate themselves from dependence and exploitation. As difficult and long as this road is to travel, they will not, when all is said and done, have to face any more hardships than those of all kinds which they have already known. The people will know how to choose between struggle for liberation over submission however hard and prolonged it may be.

For this, our party must repudiate all defeatist tendencies as much in its own ranks as among the masses. These tendencies do not correspond to the real situation. They manifest themselves by seeing only our difficulties and not those of the reactionaries. In the same manner, we must also avoid falling to the other extreme and giving ourselves illusions of easy and rapid victory. To believe that the dictatorship will fall without anyone or anything opposing it is as erroneous as not taking into account the very serious problems which daily make life difficult for it. We must, therefore, work with enormous patience, unite ourselves closely with the masses and persevere in the implementation of the policy established by our party.

The future belongs to our people. The road is long, the objective which awaits us is bright and promising. Sacrifices temper us, defeats correct our path, those who fall along the way are examples of courage and the hatred provoked by the enemy, and will strengthen our resolution to fight even more vigorously until the total defeat of our enemy.

Santiago, Chile, April, 1974.  
Central Committee Revolutionary  
Communist Party of Chile



## TOWARD A POSITION ON THE

## CHICANO NATIONAL QUESTION

The exploitation and oppression of the Chicano people, its character and relation to the socialist revolution, to date remain essentially unanswered questions. Over the last several years, the effects of the general crisis of capitalism have intensified the conditions of exploitation and oppression suffered by the Chicano people. The communist move-

Capitalism in general crisis means the sharpening of all the contradictions of capitalism including that between industry and agriculture. At the same time that the exchange value of agricultural goods drops relative to manufactured goods the farmer finds the market for his goods shrinking due to the impoverishment of the

every 10 Chicanos is a city dweller. In Texas, the percentage is not far behind. The movement of the Chicano people is definitely toward the urban areas. However, this movement and the existing concentration of Chicano people is faced with the combination of complex land ownership patterns and urban redevelopment, which have led and are continuing to lead to a Chicano urban crisis of immense proportions.

As the pattern of urban life has changed, so have the tactics of the Yankui Imperialists in regard to the urban communities of Chicanos. The "pockets" of Chicano urban concentration characteristic of the early years of the century have given way to a whole fabric of urban poverty and decay which can no longer be isolated as it once was.

As capitalism has developed, it has needed to enlarge its financial and commercial centers in urban areas. This has meant a displacement not only of manufacture but also of the urban barrios which have been targeted for urban removal. The commercial and financial needs of monopoly capitalism make the building of new freeways and commerce areas imperative.

In San Antonio, Texas, the barrio around the old Farmers' Market has been demolished, driving out thousands of Chicanos. In San Jose, California, a new central city has been built on the ruins of a neighborhood that was once predominantly Chicano. In San Francisco, the threats and pressure of urban removal are a constant problem to the Mission district's Chicano population. While in centers like Denver and Tucson, the Chicano people face similar dangers. This forced dispersal of the Chicano population cannot help but have a detrimental effect since the city planners who are preparing it, have not and cannot make plans for resettlement, owing to capitalism's inherent profit motive.

The problems of urban life have been complicated by the Agrarian Crisis. In agricultural areas lying within 50 to 75 miles of the urban centers, land uses have changed drastically. As land was taken out of agricultural production in the post WWII period, and as rapid mechanization developed, agricultural employment patterns changed drastically. Barrios that were absorbed by urban expansion affected the urban labor pool. By the end of the decade 1950-1960, a new pattern became discernable. The massive farm labor pools had shifted to the large cities—San Antonio, Phoenix, Los Angeles, and Oakland. Well over one-third of the Chicano unemployed in Los Angeles have come from small rural towns.

The most important aspect of this development has been the urbanization of the Chicano people. While approximately 80% of all Chicanos are urban residents, 75% of these live in the major urban concentrations if the Southwest(1). This is in sharp contrast with the fact that only 65% if the total U.S. population live in such areas.

This process of urbanization of the Chicano people has not brought with it any substantial improvement of economic conditions. The oppressive patterns of rural life have been replaced with more refined and sophisticated patterns of urban exploitation and oppression. This is reflected in such problems as those of employment, education, housing, and living conditions.

The main occupation of urban Chicanos have been in the building trades, the needle trades, building maintenance, printing trades, domestic service, restaurants and hotels, gardening and landscape, trucking and retail trades. The occupational distribution of Chicanos in these trades is reflected in government reports of 1965 and thereafter (2): Of the Chicano employees, only 2.4% were offi-



ment is compelled to take a stand on the nature of Chicano exploitation and oppression. Many statements and programs have been advanced, attesting to the urgency of the question. Yet all of them have failed to meet the needs of the Chicano people. The statements that have been advanced reflect, rather, the failure of the communist movement to grasp the importance of the Chicano National Question. On one level, this manifests the inability to apply the Marxist-Leninist theory on the national question when and where it applies, with a dialectical and historical materialist viewpoint and method. In the particular, it leads to the belittling of the Chicano national liberation movement. *This inadequacy on the part of the communist movement must be honestly admitted and examined for its source, in the context of a Marxist-Leninist stand on the national question. And more importantly, we must take steps to correct the errors of the past. We must move quickly and resolutely to overcome the neglect of the Chicano peoples' struggle. We must develop a position on the basis of a proletarian stand, viewpoint, and method that will speak to the Chicano people who have suffered years of abuse at the hands of Yankui Imperialism.*

The essence of the question is whether we are dealing with an oppressed nation or an oppressed national minority, a question about which we are not yet clear. The exploitation and oppression suffered by the Chicano people is of a qualitatively different nature from that experienced by the working class as a whole. Understanding this question will be the basis for formulating an overall program, pared with agricultural products, toward building multi-national unity of the proletariat, and for the struggle for either self-determination or democratic rights of the Chicano people. Only by a conscious and precise application of Marxism-Leninism to this question can the revolution move ahead.

This first article focuses on various aspects of the exploitation and oppression of the Chicano people, all as manifestations of imperialism in crisis.

working class and the slackening of demand for raw materials. The price of agricultural necessities, machinery, fertilizer, etc. rises faster due to inflation than the price of farm goods; workers layed off and reduced to subsistence by the high cost of living buy less of both industrial and agricultural goods; and stagnating production leads to a cut in the demand for agricultural raw materials—cotton, wool, etc. The result, as in industry, is a concentration of capital and of the means of production. The small farmer, in general, faces ruin at the hands of monopoly agriculture while for the oppressed nations, the Agrarian Crisis, as in the case of other aspects of the General Crisis, is all the more severe.

The international division of labor allows for the division of agricultural and industrial production within the capitalist country as well. Imperialist domination for agricultural products and raw materials, provides the material basis for heightened exploitation of agricultural workers at home. In an advanced capitalist country like the U.S., the Agrarian Crisis has the least effect on large-scale agricultural producers, as they have the advantage of highly developed technological equipment and capitalist agricultural methods. However, this is the material basis for the disintegration of the small farm and peasant class. Within the U.S., the burden falls upon the oppressed nations and national minorities, who account for a large part of the agricultural workers. The disproportionately greater increase in the prices of industrial products as compared with agricultural products, means that agricultural workers make a relatively lower wage, but must spend a larger portion of it for manufactured goods. This inevitably forces the small farmer and agricultural worker off the land, and into urban areas in search of employment ensuring a higher wage.

Today, more than one-third of all Chicano people in the Southwest are urban residents. In such states as California, it is estimated that 9 out of

## AUGUST TWENTY-NINTH, 1970



Chicano resistance to the Vietnam War began as a defense of the Chicano people who were being drafted far out of proportion to the population. It reached a climax with the 1970 Chicano National Moratorium in Los Angeles. 10,000 people marched with their families. Police attacked on a pretext, tear-gassing and beating the demonstrators. Three people were murdered by the cops, including Ruben Salazar, the famous Chicano journalist. The Chicano National Moratorium marked the same kind of turning point for the Chicano National Movement that the Sharpesville Massacre marked for the National Liberation Movement of the Black majority of South Africa.



In recent years, as the oppressed status of the Chicano people has come more to peoples' attention, the apparatus of the Yanqui Imperialist state has attempted to cover the character of this exploitation and oppression even more. In February of 1971, the U.S. Bureau of the Census published a report on the Spanish-surnamed population, which flew in the face of other statistical surveys done on Chicanos (6) This report indicated that California had only two million Spanish-surnamed residents, whereas another report, only one year later, calculated the population as at least 3,140,000. (7)

The distorted government report stated that Spanish origin family income was possibly \$1,055. greater than the income of the average Black family, but failed to point out that on the average, "Spanish-origin" families are substantially larger and have more breadwinners within the family. It is with this perspective that a correct analysis of family income can be made:

"Except for American-Indians, on a per-capita basis, Spanish-Americans, and, in particular, Mexican-Americans, earn less than any other ethnic or racial group in the United States and their earnings on a per capita basis are \$1,300., as opposed to the Anglo population per capita earnings of almost \$3,000. per annum." (8)

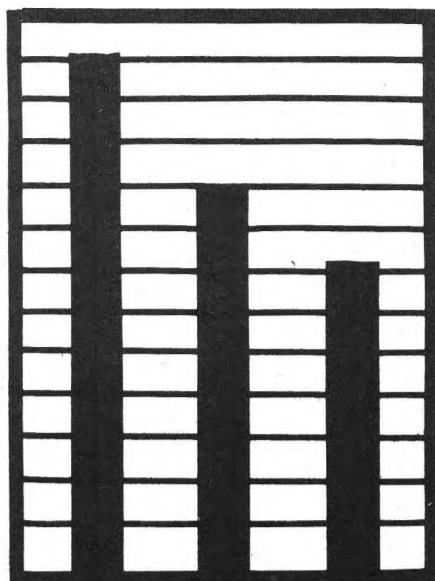
Another area in which the oppression of the Chicano people is most apparent is the question of education. Over twenty years after two important cases (9) against the segregationist tactics of the bourgeoisie were brought in by Mexican-American parents, more than three-fourths of all Chicanos have less than a high school education (10). Yet, this situation exists in the midst of the United States' most impressive area by education standards. The median school years completed by persons over 25 years of age (all nationalities) is higher in all of the Southwest, except Texas, than it is in the United States as a whole. Its rate of nonenrollment in school of persons of school age are impressively lower than the U.S. rate in each of its states. Except for Texas, its expenditures per pupil in average daily membership in public schools is higher than the U.S. average. It is in this context that the situation of the Chicano people must be understood.

In 33 out of 35 metropolitan areas of the Southwest, the gap between Anglos and Chicanos was found to be larger than the gap between Anglos and Blacks (11).

Due to overwhelming evidence, the imperialist state was itself forced to admit that,

"Public school pupils of this ethnic group (Chicanos) are severely isolated by school districts and by schools within individual districts." (12)

As for higher education, the recent strike by Chicano students at the nine campuses of the University of California system exposed the sham of "Chicano opportunities in higher education" The report issued by the U.S. Chicano Steering Committee revealed that:



ANGLOS BLACKS CHICANOS

1. Chicanos are 17% of the State's population, yet comprise 2% of the University wide enrollment since 1971.
2. From a high of 2.1% in the Fall of 1973, Chicano enrollment has dropped to 1.8% in the Fall of 1975, and is expected to decline further in the coming year.
3. Despite more than 6,000 new admissions to the UC Berkeley campus in the Fall of 1975 of first year and transfer students there were only 72 new Chicano admissions.
4. Chicano students are at economic disadvantage with a median parental income of \$7,000. as compared to the campus-wide parental income of \$18,000." (13)

We have here touched upon a very few of the manifestations of the exploitation and oppression of the Chicano people, but these should serve to make our movement aware of the profound significance of the Chicano peoples just struggle against the rotten and decaying system of U.S. imperialism. As can be seen from the preceding statistics, the Chicano people suffer an exploitation and oppression which is qualitatively different from that of the U.S. proletariat as a whole. Do these conditions point to the situation of an oppressed national minority or of a second oppressed

nation within the bounds of the oppressor nation itself? As Marxist-Leninists, it is our duty to grasp these manifestations of national oppression, to learn what the specific essence of this exploitation and oppression is and to develop a program for Chicano liberation which scientifically reflects the objective needs of the Chicano struggle and correctly places it in the overall context of the struggle in the United States for socialist revolution.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Bureau of the Census Report on Standard Metropolitan Areas;
- (2) U.S. Department of Labor Statistics report, 1965;
- (3) Mexican-American Study Project, UCLA, 1966, "Advance Report 10";
- (4) U.S. Department of Labor, "Manpower Report of the President", 1976;
- (5) "Hunger U.S.A."- Report by the Citizens Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the U.S., New Community Press, Washington D.C., 1968;
- (6) "Population Characteristics, Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States, as of November, 1969", U.S. Bureau of the Census;
- (7) Mexican-American Population Commission of California, "Mexican-American Population in California", June, 1967;
- (8) Ibid;
- (9) "Mendez et al. v. Westminster School District of Orange County"; "Brown v. the Board of Education";
- (10) "Spanish American in the Labor Market", Manpower Administration, Dept. of Labor, June 1974, p. 29;
- (11) Mexican-American Study Project, "The Schooling Gap: Signs of Progress", Advance Report 7, UCLA, p.18;
- (12) U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Mexican-American Education Study, Report No. 1, April, 1971;
- (13) EL TECOLOTE- San Francisco Mission district newspaper, June, 1976, p. 1.

cial and managers; 2.6% professionals; 2.4% technicians; 3.3% sales; 13.1% office and clerical workers. Of the 76.2% listed as "blue-collar" 40.8% were operatives; 15.6% craftsmen; 15.4% laborers, and 4.4% service workers. Since the time of that report, little change in occupational distribution has been noted and what has occurred has been accomplished by a drastic deterioration of wage and working conditions standards.

Studies which have been done reveal that the overrepresentation of Chicanos in the "operative" category occurred mainly because of their excessive representation in the "undesirable" jobs, such as furnacemen, smeltermen, filers, grinders, polishers, assemblers, laundry and dry cleaning operators, packers, wrappers, and also in large numbers of them who work in generally lower-paying industries, such as furniture, stone and clay products, and textiles (3)- industries in which most workers are regarded as operatives irregardless of skills. This occupational pattern has been further aggravated by the unfair wage differentials which have meant that Chicanos receive less pay for similar work as that done by Anglos. The lack of employment opportunities is not a passing phenomenon, but rather a component part of the general crisis of capitalism.

Another characteristic feature of the General Crisis which has affected Chicanos is the transformation of the industrial reserve army of labor into the permanent army of the unemployed. This feature, which affects the working class as a whole, has brought devastation to the Chicano people in the Southwest.

The U.S. Department of Labor indicated that the three top areas of "sub-employment" are in the Black Belt South and in the Southwest (4). These are first, San Antonio, then New Orleans, and third, Phoenix. The significance of these findings become more apparent one year later when the Southwest and Black Belt South are identified as "emergency hunger counties", and except for California and Colorado, most of the counties of the Southwest are identified as places having serious hunger problems. (5)



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## In Explanation of Our Times - by Langston Hughes

The folks with no titles in front of their names  
all over the world  
are raring up and talking back  
to the folks called Mister.

You say you thought everybody was called Mister?

No, son, not everybody.  
In Dixie, often they won't call Negroes Mister.  
In China before what happened  
They had no intention of calling coolies Mister.  
Dixie to Singapore, Cape Town to Hong Kong  
the Misters won't call lots of other folks Mister.  
They call them, Hey George!  
Here, Sallie!  
Listen, Coolie!  
Hurry up, Boy!  
And things like that.

George Sallie Coolie Boy gets tired sometimes.  
So all over the world today  
folks with not even Mister in front of their names  
are raring up and talking back  
to those called Mister.  
From Harlem past Hong Kong talking back.

Shut up, says Gerald L.K. Smith.  
Shut up, says the Governor of South Carolina.  
Shut up, says the Governor of Singapore.  
Shut up, says Strydom.

Hell no shut up! say the people  
with no titles in front of their names.  
Hell no! It's time to talk back now!  
History says it's time,  
And the radio, too, foggy with propaganda  
that says a mouthful  
and don't mean half it says-  
but is true anyhow:  
LIBERTY!  
FREEDOM!  
DEMOCRACY!  
True anyhow no matter how many  
Liars use those words.

The people with no titles in front of their names  
hear those words and shout them back  
at the Misters, Lords, Generals, Viceroyes,  
Governors of South Carolina, Gerald L.K. Strydoms.

Shut up, people!  
Shut up! Shut up!  
Shut up, George!  
Shut up, Sallie!  
Shut up, Coolie!  
Shut up, Indian!  
Shut up, Boy!

George Sallie Coolie Indian Boy  
black brown yellow bent down working  
earning riches for the whole world  
with no title in front of name  
just man woman tired says:

No shut up!  
Hell no shut up!

So, naturally, there's trouble  
in these our times  
because of people with no titles  
in front of their names.



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