



RESISTANCE

POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION M-L

Box 513, Triboro Sta / N Y , N.Y 10035

FIGHT NATIONAL OPPRESSION & POLICE BRUTALITY !

Forge Unity of the Working Class & Oppressed Nationalities

This article is a follow-up on "Jail Killer Cops", a report on the struggle against police brutality and national oppression in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, that appeared in the last issue of Resistance (Vol 9 No 5) The problems we faced in our involvement in that struggle, the achievements and failures, the role and line of other Marxist-Leninist groups in the struggle etc are not questions that concern only the people involved, nor are they particular to this area alone They are representative, in a general way, of similar struggles, similar problems and similar political lines that are developing all over the country So we're presenting this article in the hope that other revolutionaries can learn from the experience of Crown Heights, build on the positive aspects, and avoid committing the same errors in the future ★

In the struggle against police brutality and national oppression in Crown Heights, we have been dealing with a number of fundamental questions facing U S revolutionaries The most important one of these is the strategic task of building the United Front between the multi-national working class and the oppressed nationalities Any concrete step no matter how small it may be, that helps to build this United Front is of great importance to the struggle for the overthrow of the U S bourgeoisie the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism in the U S

ately Afro-American population of Crown Heights and the multi-national working class as the focus of our work in that area In doing so we must be clear that

(1) While the United Front must be led by the proletariat and its communist party in order to be fully successful, the absence of such a party does not excuse Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces from participating fully in the struggle It is our duty to fight tooth and nail for proletarian leadership in the United Front

(2) The United Front between the multi-national working class and the oppressed nationalities has to be based on uncompromising support for the right of self-determination for the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South, up to and including the right to form a separate nation-state, and defense of full democratic rights and full equality (not formal but real equality) among all nations and nationalities

(3) It is the special duty of revolutionaries from the oppressor nation to consistently champion the right to self-determination up to and including secession, as well as to advocate full democratic rights for the oppressed nationalities On the other hand, it is the special duty of the revolutionaries of the oppressed nation to consistently champion the unity of the multi-national working class In this way, we can wage an all-round struggle against both national chauvinism and narrow nationalism promote the unity among workers and oppressed people of all nationalities and provide leadership to the masses in the creation of the United Front both

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RANK & FILE MOVEMENT GROWING

Transit Workers Fight for Union Democracy

For months now, the transit workers of New York City have been fighting for a decent and livable contract and for democracy in the Transport Workers Union At the same time the TWU leadership, under the direction of John Lawe, has continued to sell out the rank and file and have consistently collaborated with the Transit Authority in this effort In addition, the TA and the Union misleaders have engaged in harassment and oppression of militant workers The struggle over the new contract has helped to bring into focus the concrete abuses and class collaboration of the trade union bureaucrats

that the \$250 "Bonus" would be coming right out of the pockets of the rank and file due to the 13 week delay, in effect, transit workers wouldn't be getting any of their back COLA This is just one example, the list is quite long

In order to expose this deceit to the honest union membership on a mass basis, to organize the rank and file in the struggle and to fight for democracy in the Union, the Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers (CCTW), the most active rank and file group opposing the sellout, undertook the task of putting out a newsletter and then moved to a newspaper, The Transit Worker Their press currently reaches almost 25% of the rank and file on a regular basis We consider development to be of great importance for the building of an informed and militant rank and file

The CCTW correctly sees and identifies this struggle as going far beyond some narrow economism, that is, besides fighting for better wages, working conditions and job security, etc, they are also raising the more fundamental political questions involved in the struggle Their propaganda and agitation speaks to questions such as union democracy, racism, discrimination against women, health and safety, the reformism and class collaboration of the TWU leadership, and questions that link their struggle to the public, such as the spraying of poisons to

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This new contract clearly attacked the workers in many ways, although the TWU leadership tried on numerous occasions to cover this up with lies and distortions of the facts For example, the Union leadership put out a flyer with the headline "\$250 IMMEDIATE PAYMENT", trying to fool the workers into thinking that they were actually getting some back COLA To begin with the \$250 offered from the TA was less than 1/2 the back COLA owed to the workers But more importantly, this was the first contract in the history of the TWU in which the workers have not gotten a raise from the first day of the contract There was a 13 week delay for the 6% raise Based on rate of pay, this amounts to \$194 for Railroad Clerks and a loss of \$245 for Motormen, Maintainers, Trackwalkers and Car Inspectors What the TWU leadership tried so hard to cover up was the reality

CARTOON TAKEN FROM THE CCTW'S NEWSLETTER #8



RECTIFY OUR METHOD OF THINKING AND STYLE OF WORK !
STUDY MARXISM - LENINISM AND PRACTICE CRITICISM, SELF - CRITICISM !

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WOMEN HOLD UP HALF THE SKY



WVO Exposes Itself - Again - At Woman's Conference

Comrade Lenin taught us that the struggle against imperialism is a sham and a humbug if it is not linked up to the struggle against opportunism. It is crucial to always apply this teaching in the struggle for the full emancipation of women, and to fight against all forms of opportunism on the woman question. Especially against right opportunism, the main danger, and its conciliation to bourgeois feminism, its reliance on bourgeois courts and bourgeois politicians, and its failure to link the struggle for the full emancipation of women to the struggle against imperialism.

Historically, the Workers Viewpoint Organization has been one of the main proponents of this line in our movement. Their role in the women's conference which we are summing up below, shows how, despite their high-sounding phrases and self-proclamations about being the party, they are the same right opportunists they have always been. ★

On the weekend of June 24-25, the New York Working Women held a "Poor Women's Conference". The main force behind the conference and the NYWW (New York Working Women) as well as the Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO). What was their purpose in carrying out the conference, and how they carried it out, gives us a good grasp of WVO's current line and how little this line has changed since two years ago when they were advocating to build the mass movement as the central task. In fact, the conference was like a re-run of the old Budget-Cuts Coalition that WVO formed at the time as one of its fronts. The line of WVO, then and now, is to build jelly-like mass organizations, with vague principles of unity and goals, without principled ideological struggle, and where everyone can fit in. The conference was meant to be a mass recruitment effort, to build another organization along the lines of the Budget-Cuts Coalition in which they have no intention of making any kind of lines of demarcation with the bourgeois feminists, anarchists, reformists and opportunists of all sorts. This became clear from an analysis of the line of the conference, the main forces invited to participate and lead the workshops in the conference, WVO's tailism throughout the conference, and their undemocratic methods.

THE LINE OF THE CONFERENCE

We don't expect that a mass organization put out a communist view on the woman question, or on any other question. It is in fact with the help of communists that the masses go beyond their trade-unionist consciousness and views. But when incorrect views are put forward, it is the duty of communists to combat them and put forward the correct views. Did WVO do this?

The general line of the conference was one of reliance on politicians and on the parliamentary road. This reformist line was manifested in many ways. It was manifested, for example, by the main speakers chosen, most of whom clearly represented the capitalist establishment, such as Ruth Messinger, NYC councilwoman, Representative Ted Weiss, and Commissioner, Seymour Posner. The main message was "write your congressman, support your good politicians, pressure the bad ones, and everything will be all right." Even from Black activist and Welfare Rights organizer, Beulah Sanders, though speaking in a militant way, and advocating (incorrectly) for individual violence, the message remained the same: work through the politicians. WVO not only invited these reformists as main speakers of the conference thus propping them up as leaders of the masses, but they didn't even bother to combat their ideas at any moment. This is outright opportunism and misleading the masses, just for the sake of attracting more people to the conference.

WHO LED THE WORKSHOPS

Another form in which reformism was manifested was in the choice of representatives to lead the various workshops. These choices were clearly made with the intention of non-antagonizing a number of forces and playing up to them by placing them in charge of the workshops. Rather than attempting to put out correct lines and answer the burning questions in the people's minds from a class perspective, WVO catered to the most backward elements and placed in command such forces as the National Organization of Women (NOW) who led the ERA workshop, Brooklyn Legal Aid Offices, who led the Welfare workshop, and others.

As a result, the welfare workshop was oriented towards teaching people how to beat Welfare harassments as opposed to how to organize welfare recipients for revolutionary struggle, and linking the current cutbacks in welfare benefits with the crisis of capitalism worldwide. NOW, a petty bourgeois feminist organization, presented ERA from the point of view of the petty bourgeoisie, of course and emphasized on the need to support ERA as, according to them "a powerful tool to defend women's rights", neglecting the fact that ERA adversely affects working class women and creates the illusion that equality can be obtained through the courts.

WVO'S TAILISM

WVO practised the most slavish tailism at the conference. They avoided all controversy with any of the widely differing forces present. They put up no struggle in the face of all the reformist and bourgeois feminist ideas that were being put forward. This is no accident and it goes further than just a question of "conciliation". It is part of WVO's line, in fact. It is consistent with their line of social-feminism to have placed NOW forces in the leadership of the ERA workshop. WVO advocates bourgeois equality (that there is absolutely no differences between the sexes, negating women's role as mothers, and negating the conditions of life for women under capitalist society, etc.) WVO therefore logically opposes protective legislation, something that is wiped out by ERA. Having historically united with the bourgeois feminists (see Resistance, Vol. , No.) WVO today still makes no lines of demarcation with these opportunists. Their practice at the conference confirmed this once again.

WVO's opportunist stand on ERA is especially revealing. They want to have it both ways on this question. They want to appeal to those who support ERA as well as those who oppose ERA, so they avoid putting out a position one way or the other. They claim it is a "tactical" question and by this they mean that whenever they are with ERA supporters, WVO tends to support it. With those who oppose it, WVO will then strike the pose of opposing ERA. They allow members to have their own view in the hopes of being able to recruit in both camps. Thus the invitation to NOW leaders to defend ERA at the conference is not a conciliation with the feminists but part of WVO's line.

Another example of WVO's tailism was at the Organize the Unorganized workshop in which the J.P. Stevens boycott committee was pushing the line that the boycott was the primary tool in organizing J.P. Stevens workers in the Black Belt South. This is incorrect as it negates the vanguard role of the working class, and negates the primary tool which is the strike. WVO did not attempt to combat this incorrect idea either. Other views, sometimes put out by honest people who didn't know any better were also met by WVO's approving silence. Some of these were like "forming our own homecare system", and to "nationalize housing and eliminate landlords" -- both reformist propositions impossible within capitalism. Rather than attempting to struggle with these ideas in order to help those honest but confused people advance in their positions, WVO chose to remain silent and keep an unprincipled peace with all forces.

UNDEMOCRATIC METHODS

The line of the conference was also reflected in its methods of work. WVO consistently undermined the democratic process. Resolutions were prepared ahead of time, sometimes resented at the last minute without having had any discussion on the topic. This method did not give people the opportunity to air out their views on the resolutions and reach principled unity on them. At the Affirmative Action workshop, a leading cadre of WVO presented a resolution supporting the call for a "mass party". WVO tried to innocently slip in this resolution without any discussion of it during the workshop, but it was rejected since there had been no discussion or presentation on the matter before. In the same way without any discussion, there was a last minute appeal to pass a resolution supporting the NOW minority caucus. Many of us were surprised to hear at the closing session resolutions that had not been approved or discussed at our workshops. Struggle was crushed many times. At the Sterilization and Abortion workshop where an important struggle was developing around who is the enemy of women, WVO quickly ended it by announcing that "dinner is being served for those interested."

OUR PARTICIPATION

Although short notice of the conference did not allow for adequate participation, we urged some friends to attend with us the first day in the spirit of investigation. On this day, our participation was very limited. At the end of the day, we summed up the conference, the forces present, the line, our role, etc. Summing up with our friends led to a more active participation on the next day. This was a correct method of work which provided comrades with a clearer orientation and a way to exercise leadership more consciously and effectively. As a result, we were able to exercise leadership and combat incorrect ideas in a principled and nonsectarian manner. At the ERA workshop for example one person was won over to opposition to ERA after realizing as she said the danger ERA represents for the working class.

We also made mistakes. Most notably, we failed to struggle for a resolution of our own on opposition to ERA. We were able to stop a resolution in favor of ERA proposed by NOW. Although we struggled staunchly against ERA, this failure showed liberalism and a lack of leadership and initiative on our part. It was possible and correct to struggle for such a resolution which would have helped to advance the struggle forward. This failure also showed sectarianism reflected in the narrow view of counterposing WVO's interests in the conference with those of the struggle overall.

All of this pointed to a graver error which in summing up led us to concretize a major lesson. This was the need for a conscious plan in all the work we do and the need to combat bowing to spontaneity on all fronts. In our planning we failed to set out a clear conscious goal for our participation in the workshops and the conference in general. In a thorough discussion on this question, comrades would have gained a better grasp on the purpose of our participation in the workshops. It would have helped them not to lose their bearings on the question of the resolutions. Such a discussion would have brought out more practical problems to be tackled, as well as sectarian attitudes to be combatted. Although not necessarily preventing all errors or eradicating liberalism, sectarianism, etc. more consciousness in our political work certainly leads to a better style of work and better results. This has been an important lesson once more confirmed in the concrete from our participation in this conference.

CONCLUSION

What the conference really turned out to be was a process of self-exposure by WVO. As usual, WVO "unites to expose" with the reformists, but ends up exposing only itself. For those unfamiliar with WVO's opportunist line, it was a process of getting to know them better too, in practice.

In particular, the line of "build the mass movement" as the central task held by WVO came out clearly. WVO has brought together a few organizations and conjured a coalition which calls itself "Socialists for a Mass Party" (SMP). In their own words:

"This growing unrest and disenchantment among the American people with the two major political parties has stirred motions from various forces for a new mass political party. The disillusionment of the American people with the two parties and the motion for a new party give further evidence for the need for SMP." (taken from a flyer distributed at the conference)

This "mass party" line represents a growing trend in the U.S. today. How does WVO intend to build its mass party? According to them:

"The best way is to pull together individuals and organizations from various struggles around N.Y.C. into one broad political movement against monopoly capitalism." (same source)

This "mass party" trend is particularly dangerous because it negates the need for a communist party and the leading role of the working class in the revolution. It claims that the working class is not ready for such a party, and that what is needed is not a vanguard party made up of the best elements of the working class but a free-for-all coalition of loosely held mass organizations.

The "growing disenchantment of the American people" is WVO's theoretical justification for their Budget Cuts Coalitions of yesterday, and their NYWWs of today. But this mass political party is not what the disenchanted American people need. The only real alternative to the two political parties of the U.S. bourgeoisie is the new communist party that we must build.

To sum up the conference for Poor Women was, in the last analysis, an excellent example of what the emancipation of women is not all about, and what the line of WVO is all about. ★

Forge Unity

Continued from the front page

in words and in deeds

(4) We must unite all those that can be united in the struggle against national oppression and police brutality. The great majority of Crown Heights residents, be they Afroamericans, hispanics, hassidicks or whites, have contradictions with imperialism and they can be united in the struggle against the main enemy - U S imperialism

(5) We must be certain that the work in Crown Heights although focusing on the building of the United Front has to be linked to the central task of all Marxist-Leninists in the U S. That is the building of a genuine multi-national anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninist Communist Party

These five points serve us as general directives, as a guiding line in the Crown Heights struggle. Clearly all of them are intimately interrelated. And in the last analysis, they boil down to the question of leadership and direction - whose leadership -- the proletariat's, the bourgeoisie's, or the petty bourgeoisie's? Which path -- reform, or revolution?

THE FINAL AIM

The struggle that was ignited by the brutal assassination of Arthur Miller has been correctly broadened to deal with a lot of other manifestations of national oppression. Issues like unemployment (over 35% of Afroamericans in this area), bad housing conditions, lack of medical services, a deteriorating school system that has children reading 4 and 5 years under grade level, etc., etc. are some of those issues that have been taken up by the masses in struggle. It is important that in carrying out the actual struggle against these and other national inequalities we consistently point out not only at the cause of these problems -- the imperialist system -- but also at the real solution to these and other problems, that is, socialist revolution.

The involvement of Marxist-Leninists in the spontaneous struggles of the masses cannot limit itself to deal with the issue at hand, forgetting the aim of the struggle as the right opportunists do. This kind of practice of pure economism (the movement is everything, the aim is nothing) is in fact the main danger posed by the participation in this struggle of right opportunist forces like the CPML and the WVO. (More on this later.) On the other hand we cannot become parrots that only talk about the aim and make of the correct statement "Socialism is the only solution" a bunch of empty words completely divorced from the day to day work that will make socialist revolution possible. In the words of Comrade Stalin

The Party cannot be a real party if it limits itself to registering what the masses of the working class feel and think if it drags at the tail of the spontaneous movement if it is unable to overcome the inertia and the political indifference of the spontaneous movement if it is unable to rise above the momentary interests of the proletariat if it is unable to raise the masses to the level of understanding the class interests of the proletariat. The Party must stand at the head of the working class - it must see farther than the working class - it must lead the proletariat and not drag at the tail of the spontaneous movement.

Foundations of Leninism, page 103

REFORMISTS IN THE LEADERSHIP

At present, the leading force in the Crown Heights struggle is the Black United Front, an umbrella organization composed of about eight community groups, including churches, anti-poverty and other community programs. The leaders are mainly religious figures, staff from community programs, and local politicians -- people who historically have been involved in electoral politics and funding campaigns for poverty programs. The BUF does not accept individual membership -- only organizations -- and although a non-Black organization can join the BUF, only Black organizations can be part of the steering committee.

The line of the leadership is heavily reformist and narrow nationalist. For example, some of the more emphatic demands to come out of the present struggle have been for control of the local community corporation (presently dominated by Hassidic Jews), and for an electoral redistribution that would allow for the election of more Black politicians to office. At the Tuesday night public meetings of the BUF, you are bound to receive literature from every Black politician seeking office, and more often than not they have the support of the BUF leadership.

Another big demand is for the reorganization of the local police precinct, the hiring of 50% Black police officers, and the renaming of the precinct after the late Arthur Miller. The leaders of the Front are telling the Afro-Americans of Crown Heights that Black cops will not brutalize them like white cops do because their "souls" are different. Confront-



ed with the fact that Black cops also participated in the murder of Arthur Miller, one of the BUF leaders claims that those were not Black policemen because they have adopted the "white mentality". Another one "concedes" that Black cops are not the solution to the problem, because it's really a question of who the cops are taking orders from. And he concludes that therefore the "real" solution lies in getting Black politicians elected to office. Then the Black cop will be taking orders from the Black politician, and the problem of police brutality will be solved!

Clearly, if we are going to organize the Black community's anger at police brutality into a revolutionary force, we have to struggle against incorrect views like these. The real essence of the problem of police brutality -- and national oppression in general -- does not lie in the skin color of the cop who swings the club or the politician who sends him into the community. It lies in the nature of imperialism, which oppresses nations in order to rip off super-profits (profits over and above what is obtainable from "normal" capitalist exploitation). Therefore we have to make it clear to the oppressed people that the source of their oppression is U.S. imperialism. And while we target U.S. imperialism as the main enemy of the workers and oppressed people of the U.S., we must also expose the lines of reformism and class collaboration that try to deflect the people's struggle away from the main target and let imperialism off the hook.

HOW WE CARRY OUT OUR WORK

In the Crown Heights struggle we have consistently, in an open and above board fashion, struggled against these incorrect lines. During the July 16 march, we were the only force that put out propaganda and agitation saying that imperialism and not the Hassidic Jews, is the enemy. At the time when so-called communists like the CPML and WVO were tailing behind the petty bourgeoisie and their narrow reformist slogans, we were putting forward the line of multi-national unity. At a time in which so-called anti-imperialist were frenziedly screaming "Boycott the Jews!", we were putting forward the correct slogan of "Black, Brown, Yellow, White -- United We Must Fight!"

It was the same in the meetings of the Black United Front. Consistently and in a non-sectarian style we explained time and time again, why Black policemen and politicians are not the solution. We explained the need to make a distinction between the Rockefellers, Duponts, etc. who are the enemy because they are imperialists (not because they're white), and the white workers who are oppressed by the same imperialist ruling class as the Afro-American people.

Right in the midst of the struggle, in the streets as well as in the meetings, we have not been afraid to put out our line and fight for it. And while this has won us many enemies among the most reactionary forces, it has also drawn the anger of the sham communists of the CPML and the WVO, who prefer to promote the petty bourgeois reformist leadership, establishing the United Front from above rather than taking up the arduous task of building the front more slowly but on a firm mass basis.

CPML AND WVO -- RIGHT OPPORTUNISM IN ACTION

As we said above, CPML and WVO have capitulated to the petty bourgeois leadership of the struggle in Crown Heights. WVO talks alot about how powerful the mass movement is when the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie fight on the same side, but they conveniently forget to deal WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION of under whose leadership and under what program this unity is developed. We ask

comrades to read the accounts made by the CPML and WVO of these struggles in their newspapers, so you can see clearly the line they are peddling. (If necessary, you may contact us and we will provide you with clippings and leaflets that have been put out by various organizations during the struggle.) Not once has a cadre of either WVO or the CPML raised their voice in the meetings to fight against the many reformist and backward ideas put forward there. On the contrary, WVO has opted for establishing an all unity, no struggle alliance with the leaders of the BUF, whom they call "progressive". And the same thing is true of the CPML.

THE LIQUIDATORS OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION COME TO CROWN HEIGHTS

The right opportunism of the CPML and the WVO, and their mum's the word, all unity alliance with the reformists was exposed very clearly in how they dealt with the incident around the so-called Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP).

On July 15, the day before a massive protest march called by the BUF, the RCP showed up in Crown Heights for the first time in years to hold their own march in the community. All the participants in this march were outsiders with no kind of ties to the community. As the RCP's lead car approached Crown Heights, a mass of community residents gathered in the street, and physically threw the marchers out of the community. Some of them made anti-communist statements, and called the RCP names like "cracker", etc.

Now, it is undoubtedly true that the RCP march was a supreme example of opportunism, an unashamed get-rich-quick scheme designed to leech off the developing struggle around Arthur Miller's murder. But at the same time, the incident undoubtedly reflected in many ways the backward ideas, like anti-communism and narrow nationalism, that are widespread in Crown Heights, and that must be struggled against by all genuine revolutionaries.

In a recent issue of The Call, however the opportunists of the CPML give a totally distorted version of the event. They spent a couple of paragraphs gloating about the RCP's feat, without saying one word about the backward sentiments of the masses that led to it. In fact, they actually glorify these sentiments by trying to portray the incident as a conscious decision on the part of the community to expel sham communists! The cock-eyed logic behind this claim is as follows: Nobody questions the CPML's participation in the BUF, therefore the CPML is accepted as genuine communists. And anybody who gets thrown out of Crown Heights, therefore, is being rejected as sham communists!

But as usual, the CPML conveniently omits some important facts. For example, they are participating in the struggle under the flag of the Fightback Committee, not the Communist Party M-L. So, given their right opportunist line of not struggling against backward ideas, not putting out a correct Marxist-Leninist line, how would anybody know they're supposed to be communists at all, let alone whether they are genuine or sham? Second, since they never raise any criticism of the leadership of the Front, and therefore pose no threat to that leadership, why would anybody bother to question their participation? But of course, listening to CPML's account, you will hear about their firm communist leadership of the struggle, which has won the respect of the masses!

In summing up this question, we must stress that the understanding that the CPML, WVO and others have of how to run communist leadership

NLSSC LAUNCHES CAMPAIGN FOR ZANU

Note In endorsing the campaign "SNEAKERS FOR ZANU" initiated by the National Liberation Struggles Support Committee, we call on all comrades and friends to help make it a success. Those of you in the New York area can join the brigades that distribute literature and collect funds every Saturday in working class communities. You can also help by organizing a meeting in your neighborhood, school, with fellow workers, etc. to discuss the campaign. Outside the New York area you can write the NLSSC for literature on the campaign and instructions on how to go about it in your area. Speakers are available. Send your contributions, and make your commitment to do work, right now!

SHOW YOUR CONCRETE SUPPORT FOR THE STRUGGLE OF THE ZIMBABWEAN PEOPLE!

.....SNEAKERS FOR ZANU



FIFTY THOUSAND REFUGEES FROM ZIMBABWE ("RHODESIA") NEED OUR HELP!!
PLEASE CONTRIBUTE WHATEVER YOU CAN TO THE SNEAKER DRIVE FOR ZANU!!

The African people of Zimbabwe are suffering great hardships under the rule of a racist government. The seven million native Zimbabweans are faced with starvation, poverty, disease and illiteracy, while a quarter-million white settlers enjoy the highest standard of living found anywhere on earth.

The racists use all kinds of violence and terror to keep the people down. As a result of the murderous acts of the Rhodesian army and its American mercenaries, over 50,000 Zimbabweans have been forced to leave their homeland. They have fled across the eastern border to refugee camps in Mozambique.

The Zimbabwe African National Union is fighting against the racist government. Dedicated to the cause of total liberation for Zimbabwe, ZANU has won big military victories. They have liberated over 80% of the country, and are challenging the racists' hold on Salisbury, the capital city.

ZANU has also taken up the main responsibility for the care of the refugees in Mozambique. Robert Mugabe, leader of ZANU, has made an international appeal for assistance in getting food and clothing for the refugees, along with medical, educational, and agricultural supplies. YOU CAN HELP THE REFUGEES BY MAKING A CONTRIBUTION -- NO MATTER HOW SMALL!!

The National Liberation Struggles Support Committee (NLSSC) is starting a campaign to help the refugees. Our plan is to raise enough money to buy at least five hundred pairs of sneakers, which are needed to protect the people's feet from the painful bites of jiga-fleas, and other injuries.

WE ASK ALL OF YOU WHO REALLY CARE ABOUT THE AFRICAN PEOPLE TO GIVE WHAT YOU CAN TO THIS CAMPAIGN! If each of us pitches in with a small contribution, we can help the refugees and ZANU in a big way. This in turn will strike a painful blow at the U.S. imperialists, who are making big profits off of Rhodesian racism at the same time that they oppress the people here in the U.S. Supporting the cause of African liberation is an important part of our struggle to free ourselves, because IF AFRICA IS NOT FREE, NEITHER ARE WE!!

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FOR THE REFUGEES!!

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On August 29, 1970, at the height of the Viet Nam war, over 25,000 people rallied to Los Angeles to participate in the Chicano Moratorium against the war. The demonstration was a protest against the slaughter of Chicano youth in that war and against the intense national oppression suffered by Chicanos here at home. Seeing that Chicanos made up over 20% of the deaths in Viet Nam, the Chicano people were expressing their hatred of that war, and their outrage at the contradiction of fighting a war to protect the interests of the very system that was viciously oppressing and exploiting them.

Without warning, the L.A. sheriff and police departments attacked the crowd resulting in 400 people injured and 3 deaths. Meeting the offensive of the state, the demonstrators fought back with anything available, burning police cars and defending themselves against the onslaught. The heroic resistance of the Chicano people that August 29th is a brilliant example of the capacity and determination of oppressed people to fight for their democratic rights and liberation.

The Chicano moratorium, taking a stand against the Viet Nam war, objectively linked up with the nationwide struggle against the war, thereby contributing to the end of the intervention of U.S. imperialism in Viet Nam. This was a concrete showing of solidarity with the Viet Nameese people in their struggle for national liberation against one common enemy, U.S. imperialism. Furthermore, by making public the fact that a disproportionate number of Chicanos were fighting and dying in that war, the moratorium, exposed the way that the ruling class uses poor and oppressed people to fight their imperialist wars. All those facts make it clear that the events of August 29, 1970, were objectively anti-imperialist, and the Chicano moratorium was a revolutionary activity.

Aug. 29, 1970 was of great importance because it provided the people with a lesson for future revolutionary activities and the future struggle for the seizure of state power. It was a day when the Chicano people dealt a blow to U.S. imperialism and took one step closer to full liberation and socialism. The masses are the makers of history. This is truth based on the study of history. Without the participation of the masses, revolution is impossible. Again August 29, 1970 has confirmed once more that the masses will not stand passively while being attacked and oppressed. They have shown their boundless revolutionary energy, potential and capacity to resist oppression with whatever is at hand.

The August 29th moratorium should be commemorated as a revolutionary holiday, as a part of the revolutionary tradition of the Chicano people and oppressed nationalities in this country. August 29th should be looked as a symbol of Chicano resistance to the oppression and exploitation of imperialism, a symbol of their revolutionary spirit.

In commemorating the Chicano moratorium, we must also have the ability to draw lessons in order that the struggle will move forward. There are several lessons of that demonstration that need to be deepened and corrected.

One is the nature of the opposition to the Viet Nam war. It is a good thing that the Chicano people took a stand against that war because it was unjust and imperialist. It was an attempt by U.S. imperialism to gain new markets and increase their profits through the brutal exploitation and oppression of Viet Nam's people and resources. The moratorium, however, opposed the war primarily because of the disproportionate number of the people fighting and dying in the war were oppressed nationalities. Solidarity with the Viet Nam people was raised secondarily.

It is correct to expose the use by the bourgeoisie of oppressed nationalities and working people in imperialist wars, but this position alone does not go far enough. The correct stand is to oppose all imperialist wars and defend and support all just wars -- wars of national liberation, wars for socialism, and wars against imperialist aggression. This would lead, not only to the unequivocal support for the Viet Nam people and absolute condemnation of U.S. imperialism in Viet Nam, but to the condemnation of all imperialist wars.

Another aspect of the moratorium is the position of multi-national unity. The moratorium was basically a Chicano event. There were other nationalities involved, but the main thrust of the event was Chicano. Throughout the event, examples of narrow nationalism were evident. The fact that the war was primarily opposed because of the role played by Chicanos, the main slogan "Raza Si, Guerra No!" implied that the war would not have been opposed had no Chicanos been

morate August 29th Moratorium

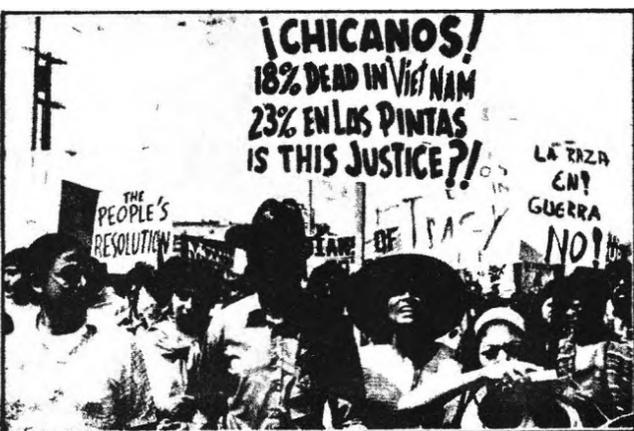
continue to implement it's lessons

involved. This position ignores the fact that other poor and oppressed people of all nationalities were fighting and dying in the war for the benefit of the ruling class. The strength of the Chicano struggle and opposition to the war would have been facilitated under the banner of multi-national unity which recognizes a common enemy of the poor and oppressed masses rather than each national group seeing their struggle separate and indifferent from the working class and oppressed nationalities.

The moratorium also liquidated the fact that the majority of the Chicanos in the U.S. are workers. This means that most of them are primarily exploited as working people by the ruling class. This makes them part of the multi-national working class the main revolutionary force in the U.S. There was no attempt by the moratorium to make this link up, they dealt with the Chicano people as if no class differences existed, sacrificing the need to build multi-national unity to struggle against class oppression. This position submerges the class struggle and prevents the unity of the multi-national working class and only serves the bourgeoisie.

History has proven that the only system which can fully end oppression and exploitation of the working class and oppressed nationalities is a socialist system. Such a system is the only real answer to the suffering of the Chicano, other nationalities and the working class. The working class is the most consistent revolutionary class, the only class capable of leading struggle for socialism. For this reason, it is not only imperative that the Chicano liberation struggle link up with the struggle of the multi-national working class, it is also imperative to win over the Chicano movement to accept the leadership of the working class. This is the only way that the immense potential of the masses can be utilized to the fullest, that all resources can be put to use at the right time and in the correct manner, that all energies are directed against the same target, the U.S. bourgeoisie, with the same ultimate goal in mind, socialist revolution.

We should also realize that at the same time of the moratorium there was no general plan for the liberation of the Chicano people, or general program for revolution. This program and plan can insure the success of the revolution. The Chicano and other oppressed people in the U.S. did not and still do not have a multi-national, revolutionary party to lead the struggle. Such a party by itself will not end the problems of the Chicanos, but it will be a gigantic step forward. The creation of a Marxist-Leninist party is the decisive task to qualitatively advancing the entire revolutionary struggle. It will be such a party that gives a revolutionary consciousness to the aspirations of the Chicano struggle and the struggle of other working and oppressed people within the U.S.



PARTY BUILDING AND MASS WORK

August 29th is not the first time in which the Chicano masses have spontaneously responded to the oppression of imperialism. They have a long history of struggle for their democratic rights and against national and class oppression. Battles like the Aug 29th Moratorium, although massive and heroic, have not solved the problems of the Chicano people. What this means is that the Chicano struggle must become more conscious and directed.

In the past 8 years since the Moratorium, the Chicano people and others have suffered increased repression and exploitation. Police brutality increases (as it always will under capitalism in crisis) and the Bakke Decision is already being implemented to strip away the gains of the 60's. Generally the rising, spontaneous struggle of the Chicanos still lacks a focus, a direction and a leadership.

The communists have not ignored their tasks. Genuine Marxist-Leninists have developed some sound work and important lessons. But, if we are to understand our past errors and weaknesses, the significance of the betrayal of M-L by opportunists from the CPUSA to the CP-OL, and the responsibility which must be fulfilled to the Chicano movement (and others), we need to inculcate the lessons of Aug. 29th to ourselves as well as to the masses.

In the past 8 years, the communist movement has obviously not captured the leadership of the Chicano revolutionary movement. The fundamental reason for this is the lack of a party to direct and coordinate that work from an overall or national level. Leadership of a movement cannot be won by Marxist-Leninists working only or primarily in the context of their local or organizational priorities, in separate, isolated areas of the country. The task of winning over the broad masses, as a secondary task to be done in the context of uniting the Marxist-Leninists and winning over the advanced, cannot truly serve the central task if our mass work is not directed in some overall sense, to an overall goal. In other words, to win over the broad masses means to win them over to a common program, to a party or at least to one trend. It cannot be vulgarized to mean that each separate organization simply and only involves itself in mass work in their area with some vague, far-distant ideal of what it truly means to win the leadership of the masses.

It is not difficult to see that the communist movement and party building work would be aided by

- 1) Uniting genuine forces on principled points of unity for carrying out joint work,
- 2) Deepening that through an intra-organizational Chicano Commission to lead that work,
- 3) Planning out joint campaigns in the Chicano movement with common line, slogans, tactics, etc.,
- 4) Deepening the analysis on the Chicano people and the correct demands to raise (e.g., regional autonomy) in that movement,
- 5) Summing up that work and deriving the programmatic elements on the Chicano question,
- 6) Coordinating joint forums, polemics, etc to widen the struggle even more.

Such work should not be looked at narrowly as being only the task of those Marxist-Leninists who work in areas with large concentrations of Chicanos. Eventually a CC of the new party will lead such work, not just the party cadre in the Southwest. Immediately, in addition to serving the interests of uniting the M-L, such joint work can provide lessons (political, tactical) which are applicable to the Black Movement, etc. It can also serve to advance our ability to link up all the revolutionary struggles under the leadership of the working class.

We should emphasize that we are not implying that joint work primarily on the Chicano movement is what will move forward the party building effort. We stated earlier, what applies to the work in the Chicano movement applies to the communist work in all other areas. The points we have raised could just as well be raised in connection with May Day or ALD.

The genuine Marxist-Leninists have undoubtedly done some good work in the Chicano movement, but the dominant practice has not been to raise such experiences to the level of line, to the level of a U.S. communist program. Consequently, we are not even sure where that good work has been done, what are the lessons for other M-L to benefit from, etc. There is not the machinery, effort, or ability yet to turn this into political line for the communist movement as a whole. Largely, such experiences remain the personal property ("our line") or organizational experience of only one organization at best.

The anti-revisionist movement has largely failed to develop its groundwork among the Chicano people in the context of party building. Party building could be partially accomplished out of our joint theoretical, political and organizational work in the Chicano movement. All of these weaknesses and errors have been dealt with before in the communist movement. But opportunists have confused the issue and even tried to use Lenin to rationalize liquidating party building.

In WITBD, Lenin stated that the "mass movement 'will determine our tasks'" can only have one meaning for us. "It means that the mass movement puts before us new theoretical, political and organizational tasks, far more complicated than those that might have satisfied us in the period before the rise of the mass movement" (p. 56, FLP)



Masses demonstrate against the police murders of Chicanos in Denver, Colorado

ATM and others took Lenin's words and distorted them into a line for carrying out "more" mass work, based on shallow unity with other forces, centering around their organization. This was a cover for right opportunism and narrow nationalism to flourish in their organization even more. The proof of their line is now clear as it led to isolation from the Chicano revolutionary movement, loss of some honest cadre, sheer spontaneity and the liquidation of party building.

In no way can Lenin's words, nor should our analysis be taken to mean that the essential problem is one of "too little" mass work. Nor is it a problem of the "balance" between "mass work" and "M-L work". It is a problem of the quality and level of the work the Marxist-Leninists are conducting in the mass movements. It is the subjective factor of the work in the mass movements which needs to be strengthened, raised to the level of conscious work that is uniting the U.S. Marxist-Leninists.

We are on the brink of another upsurge of the mass movements that likely will far surpass those of the 60's. Yet, the communists have not completed the "old" tasks, particularly the formation of a genuine party. Neither the potential upsurge nor the threat of imperialist war and fascism, none of these can be used as a wolf-cry to rush into a party that is built on a political house of cards (OL or WVO style). But, neither can we ignore the increased urgency for developing that leadership on a sound political basis, on a principled unity.

In the "marsh" community, the OL, ATM, WVO, etc. have upheld the first tendency as a line. But the genuine forces have apparently ignored this urgency and here the second tendency has predominated. This tendency is fundamentally a manifestation of another type of small group mentality. No matter what our party building line is, we have all implemented that line in the vacuum of joint work. Small circle spirit does not allow us to see that we are conducting our mass work essentially only from our individual perspective. We doubt that anyone can fully claim to be doing that work in such a manner that clearly shows a national perspective, in such a way that it is step by step and progressively uniting the genuine Marxist-Leninists. One organization's work done at a "national" level is not equal to Marxist-Leninist movement work at a national level.

Without resolving this "old" task, without understanding conceptually that party building is the central task, there will be no capable communist leadership to guide the Chicano movement (and other movements). With the completion of this task, we will then be better prepared to deal with the "new" tasks.

Thus, commemorating Aug. 29th has two aspects. There is the concrete task of educating, propagandizing and agitating, organizing the masses to commemorate this revolutionary holiday. But as well, the conscious elements can and must also commemorate it by the concrete action of putting such work in the context of party building jointly along with other Marxist-Leninists. We can feasibly discuss and arrive at some meaningful unity amongst ourselves to do all possible so that next year, Aug. 29th (and other work) will be consciously done so as to move forward the party building effort. This alone would be a dramatic improvement over our past practice.

The proletariat and the oppressed nationalities need a party to insure that the next upsurge has every possibility for seizing State power. With another world war looming, there will be more "Aug. 29th's". We, the conscious forces, need to prepare to meet our responsibilities in that upsurge. We have every possibility of doing so, if we do not consolidate weaknesses and shortcomings into a line, if we do not allow ourselves to wallow in the local party building work, if we are genuine Marxist-Leninist forces. ★

Transit Workers....

Continued from front page

kill weeds along the tracks, or asbestos and steel dust in the subway air. The most important aspect of their work is their efforts to organize and unite the rank and file movement around these questions.

The recent court struggle to have the contract ratified separately by each branch has left many workers with the feeling of "Well, you can't beat City Hall" or has just increased their frustration. From the beginning, we have upheld that the workers could not rely on the courts to get what they needed. As the court action around the comingling of the ballots was slowly moving forward, the CCTW consistently put forward the position that "The rank and file cannot rely on the courts, it is the workers' actions that will make a difference."

The court decision handed down late in July upheld the comingling of votes, siding with the TA and TWU leadership against the workers, who clearly saw this as a bad contract for many reasons. The 'decision' was a simple reiteration of what we already know to be a fact--the bourgeois courts will always serve the interests of the bourgeoisie and not the workers. With this 'acceptance' of the contract, the struggle changed in character.

The direct experience in the courts gave the workers an important lesson. The courts had initially upheld the workers demand to count the votes of the TA workers separately from the private bus employees. However they had not intention of serving the workers interests. It was all a trick to cool the workers down. After the votes were cast and counted separately they then proceeded to add them together (comingling of the votes) with those of the private companies. So, as a result, even though TA employees voted overwhelmingly against the contract, the yes votes got the majority.

This neat trick played on the workers by the courts with the participation of sell-out union leadership, served to open the eyes of many workers as to what side the courts are on. Many conscious workers realized that to rely on the courts and to trust the union bureaucrats is like walking down a dead end road. And now, with their anger running high, and the taste of the sell-out still fresh in their mouths, the struggle is being focused on getting better organized, stronger and united, getting rid of sell-out leaders and fighting for union democracy in order to become better equipped to confront their TA oppressors.

The question on the agenda then was should the workers go back to the courts and appeal the decision? In the CCTW's view the appeal would mean a further financial burden, and the postponement after postponement, and the appeal to the appeal of the appeal, and so on, would only serve to defuse the struggle. This is a sound position reflecting a growing awareness of the role of the courts as instruments of the capitalists, in this case the TA. In fact, for such a young rank and file caucus as the CCTW, going back to the courts could lead to the loss of valuable energies best utilized in building the rank and file movement, educating the workers, and getting ready to confront the TA from a stronger position.

Another rank and file caucus, the 207th St Transit Workers Coalition (TWC) believes otherwise. The 207th Street Transit Workers Coalition leadership put forth the following views: (1) Workers should keep going to court and (2) that the workers should fight on all fronts. This is what they state publicly. But a closer examination of the line of the leadership reveals something else.

They actually hold two positions. The Soap Box, a publication of the TWC, in talking about the court appeal says "the possibilities of success are favorable". On the otherhand, when speaking to a leading worker in the TWC, he put forward something else. First, he admitted that the leadership knew that there was virtually no chance of winning the appeal and that even if they could win, the TA would appeal and tie them up in endless court battles. However, that is not where their line was most opportunistic. Quoting from The Soap Box again we get the TWC leaders public reason for appealing: "2) To continue the court case maintaining the momentum against the present TWU leadership." When pressed about this tactic, they stated that it would keep them and their coalition in the spotlight for quite some time, i.e., workers would remember their names as fighters for the rank and file when it came time for the union elections. This is the line of opportunism. It is a line that relies on the inactivity of the masses in the struggle and does nothing to educate, organize or move to action the rank and file. We oppose this line and so does the CCTW.

The other line is clearly stated in the CCTW newsletter #8.

"We transit workers must not let the courts, or anyone else, stop us from doing what we all know is best for us. We have to organize and fight the rotten TWU leadership which sold us out, and the TA bosses, whose boots they lick. It is up to us, we the members,

the rank and file of the TWU. We have no choice but to organize and throw them out of office and replace them with a leadership that will address itself to the needs of the workers and that will always act in our interest. The court decision was no surprise and the whole thing was a hoax and a diversion from the beginning. We may have lost that battle but we have not lost the war. One thing is to be learned from this experience -- the courts are not on the side of the worker."

Being the fact that there are still a number of workers who believe that the court decision must be appealed, we feel that the CCTW's decision to go along, for the sake of unity, with the other rank and file caucuses in the appeal, is a correct one. At the same time we must stress that even while continuing in the court battle, victory depends not on the decision of the courts, but solely on the struggle of the rank and file workers. The CCTW is thus correctly counterposing reliance on the courts and the attitude of "Wait and see how it turns out in the courts first", with an all out organizing and educating effort at the rank and file level. To this end they have increased their propaganda from a sporadic newsletter to a regular one, and recently, to a biweekly newspaper, as well as expanded their weekly meetings to different boroughs so as to reach as many workers as possible.

In their newspaper the TRANSIT WORKER, the CCTW says on the court action and on rank and file unity:

"Because we understand that many of our brother and sister workers are not in full agreement with these ideas, the CCTW supports the current go-to-court motion. We feel this will help to maintain the unity of the rank and file movement as a whole. But at the same time we make the following promise to you, our fellow transit workers -- we will continue to devote the biggest part of our energies and resources to real education, real organizing and real action at the rank and file level. We urge all concerned transit workers to join in the struggle!"

In fact, many workers realize that the struggle over this contract could be used as a rallying point in the struggle to seize power from the corrupt sold out leadership -- regardless of the outcome of the court battle. In order to help throw out the union misleaders and bring democracy to the TWU, the workers in the CCTW began a petition drive to recall the flunkly executive Board members of the TWU that had voted for the contract (without even seeing it!). At the same time, another rank and file group, the Committee of Concerned Transit Workers started a petition to recall the Local 100 officers (Law & Co.). These concrete actions have moved many workers to join in an active opposition to their oppression. These actions as well as the publication of a rank and file newspaper, have been very effective as agitation/propaganda tools and organizing mechanisms. The petition drive is gaining strength and it definitely has the TWU leadership and the TA very nervous. This is evidenced by the fact that these parasites have stepped up their harassment of militant workers.

Recently, the TA has hit coalition members with cautions (work rule violations), called them in for hearings, and put one motorman in the streets. Two weeks ago they suspended motorman Henry Lewis, Chairperson of the CCTW, on such trumped charges as "calling in late when you are too sick to work". These phoney charges are just a cover for the actual basis of the TA actions, i.e. when workers become active and begin to struggle against their oppression, for decent working conditions, for democracy, and try to organize themselves in this effort, they become more and more of a threat. The suspension of Henry Lewis is the TA's most blatant action to date in their effort to crush the organization and fight the rank and file. They will try to fire Lewis if they can. If they cannot rule through deception they will rule through force. They will do anything to try to stop the development of an active, educated, organized and militant rank and file movement. The suspension of Lewis did not drop from the sky. In the face of a real and growing threat to them, the TA, with the advice and consent of the TWU leadership, suspended Lewis. The suspension came at a time when the CCTW was bringing more members to its increased schedule of meetings, when the CCTW had initiated a recall petition that actually threatened the security of the executive board, when the CCTW had been reaching over 25% of transit workers with its weekly newsletters -- as a response to these conditions the TA made its move. The strategy and tactics of the TA are to try to crush the rank and file movement by attacking the leadership and by trying to scare the other workers into staying out of it for fear of their jobs. It is clear that the TA, and the TWU leadership, hopes that this move will also make workers nervous about signing the recall petitions. "The attack on Henry Lewis is an attack on all transit workers!", says The Transit Worker. However, the stepped up oppression of the TA has not stopped the CCTW from pressing forward in their tasks of organizing the rank and file, and they are now moving to build worker support for motorman Lewis's defense.

FRIENDS OF THE CCTW ARE FORMED

Many progressive forces recognizing the importance of the struggle that the transit workers were and are engaged in, went to the CCTW and started giving public support to the fight. These individuals and groups who are not TA employees, formed the Friends of the CCTW. In waging the overall struggle, the CCTW clearly recognized the importance of this strategic link to the public and has fully supported the formation of the Friends of the Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers. The Friends is an active support committee made up of concerned individuals committed to doing concrete work in this struggle. The Friends stand for the following:

- 1 WE SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE OF THE TRANSIT WORKERS FOR A DECENT CONTRACT AND FOR UNION DEMOCRACY
- 2 WE STAND FOR THE UNITY OF WORKERS OF ALL NATIONALITIES AND OPPOSE THE ATTEMPTS OF THE MEDIA TO PIT WHITE WORKERS AGAINST BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN WORKERS
- 3 WE BELIEVE IN THE FULL EQUALITY BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN AND OPPOSE ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN AND OF MALE CHAUVINISM
- 4 WE STAND FOR THE UNITY OF TRANSIT WORKERS AND THE TRANSIT SYSTEM RIDERS. THE STRUGGLE OF THE TRANSIT WORKERS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR BETTER TRANSIT SERVICES SUPPORT EACH OTHER
- 5 OUR SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE TRANSIT WORKERS IS PART AND PARCEL OF OUR SUPPORT FOR THE STRUGGLE OF ALL POOR AND WORKING PEOPLE AGAINST CUTBACKS, LAYOFFS AND OTHER ATTACKS AGAINST OUR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

The Friends have lent assistance directly to the coalition, are actively helping to raise funds for the struggle, and are actively putting out propaganda and agitation to help inform the public and gain their support in this fight. Some of the Friends' recent propaganda, in addressing the public on the question of public support for the transit workers, stated:

"That's why the question of Which side are you on? is a very relevant one. Who are we going to stand with in this struggle? With our fellow workers who have been abused by the TA, doublecrossed by their union leaders, and fooled by the courts? Or with the TA, who is responsible for many crimes, not only against its workers, but against all of us as well who have to use their lousy, deteriorating, unhealthy, crowded and unsafe mass transit system?"

Definitely, the LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION (ML) stands firmly on the side of the transit workers. We stand with these fellow workers in the struggle against the brutal oppression of the TA, for better working conditions, for a democratic union, and, eventually, for the socialist revolution. The transit workers are not alone in fact-- the millions of workers oppressed by the same capitalist enemy stand also on their side. It is our task to gather their support and build that irresistible force that is the multinational unity of the working class.

Such a struggle will provide us with many lessons in the development of revolutionary support work. The summing up and exchange of lessons gained from support work in this as well as other industries is something that needs to be taken up by the communist movement. These lessons need to be generalized in a systematic way so as to give guidance to comrades doing this kind of work. This will definitely help to advance the fusion of the ideas of socialism with the working class movement and thus move forward the building of our much needed, new communist party. Communists must exercise a leading role in rallying the support of workers from all industries for a given workers' struggle. And we must learn to do this well.

VICTORY TO THE TRANSIT WORKERS!

DOWN WITH THE SELL-OUT UNION BUREAUCRATS AND THEIR CAPITALIST BOSSES!



LPR(M-L) Launches Rectification Campaign

FIGHT, FAIL, FIGHT AGAIN, FAIL AGAIN,
FIGHT AGAIN TILL THEIR VICTORY,
THAT IS THE LOGIC OF THE PEOPLE
THIS IS ANOTHER MARXIST LAW "

Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle
Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, Vol 4, p 428

Comrades and friends

The task of determining which are our errors weaknesses and how to correct them is one in which we are concentrating the most in the recent period. It is clear that we have serious problems which have prevented us from playing a more responsible and leading role in the revolutionary struggle in the United States. Among them are our relatively small size, being based solely in one area of the country, the small number of workers that make up the ranks of our membership and contacts, lack of formal and consistent relations with other Marxist-Leninist formations, the poor quality and small quantity of our theoretical work and our insufficient communist agitation and propaganda. Our defects and weaknesses have been felt much more strongly around the central task of the communist movement at this time -- the building of a genuine multinational, Marxist-Leninist party.

In a period of ideological confusion, in which the self-proclamation of parties, vanguards, and leading centers, etc., is the order of the day, a period in which small circle spirit is glorified and grows stronger as if in opposition to these self-proclamations, a period in which the pillars of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse Tung Thought are being attacked from all quarters, we have been unable to offer an alternative to the movement. We have been unable to correctly organize the struggle against opportunism, of the right, which constitutes the main danger, as well as the "left". Similarly, we have not given our dispersed forces a tactical plan that would provide a method by which to carry out the task of party building and consequently to advance the great cause of proletarian revolution in our country. We can't move forward without a tactical plan which takes into account the basis for unity as well as the method by which these unities can be made into an irresistible force which gives leadership to the movement on party building. In order that we can seriously consider our participation in the developing of this plan, we must seriously deal with our weaknesses -- we must let rid of the baggage and start up the machinery."

It took us a long time to come to understand the situation although the evidence was right before our eyes. The dominant tendency was to look at the problems separately, without establishing a connection or interrelation between them. Thus, we recognized the existence and dealt with the problems of sectarianism, subjectivism, bowing to spontaneity, lack of ties with the masses. However, we always tried to deal with these problems in isolation from one another. Naturally we did not completely eliminate these "poisonous weeds". We removed or cut the biggest branches, however the weeds grew again. Although in different forms, the content was the same.

For a long time, we have been aware of the fact that something was wrong, but we were unable to correctly figure out what it was. We basically dealt with the symptoms or manifestations of the problems, with its clear expressions, without ever touching the root -- the essence of the problems. A circumstance that helped to create the conditions by which we were able to correctly focus on the essence of our problems was the development of the contradiction within the international communist movement around the question of the theory of the three worlds. The ideological struggle between the comrades from the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania brought about a realignment of forces within the communist movement in the United States (as well as the world over).

The task of uniting Marxist-Leninists is to be established on a new basis given the fact that both sham and genuine Marxist-Leninists are supporting the correct three worlds theory. The same thing could be said regarding the incorrect position on the international situation that is being put forward by the Party of Labor of Albania. Trying to determine how to deal with this situation made it necessary to consider the questions of who were genuine and sham Marxist-Leninists, as well as what were proper lines of demarcation, etc. The process of carrying out this analysis, made it necessary that we analyze our own line and in so doing we identified some of the errors which we have to repudiate and correct, but even more important we identified errors in our method of thinking and in our style of work which are at the root of our problems.

In April of this year, we had already begun to discuss the need to sum-up our different areas of work in order to determine the positive gains as well as errors. However, we did not yet perceive the necessity for a rectification campaign. (As a matter of fact, we had criticized the Revolutionary Communist League -RCL-MLM, correctly we think, for having put forth a rectification campaign around the unities the movement had with the gang of four, without however mentioning what needed to be rectified or how one would go about it.)

The great fiasco we had around our May Day Celebration served as the catalyst for the campaign. We were confident that a couple of hundred people would attend the activity and that we would be able to mobilize workers from different factories and other work places from throughout the area. The activity was poorly attended (perhaps 50 to 75 people) and workers were conspicuous by their absence. During the discussions carried out after the activity, our organization made itself responsible for the failure of the mobilization for the event and took on the task of identifying the reasons for this failure. (We still believe the political content of the May Day event was correct.)

The process of summing up the May fiasco, trying to learn from the errors committed in order to avoid the same errors in the future gave way to a vigorous ideological struggle within the organization. Many comrades correctly pointed out that we could not separate the May Day activity from the rest of our work and our political line. These comrades insisted that we see the activity in the context of what we had to do in the ideological, political and organizational sphere. These comrades were able to win over the organization to their line and the decision was made to repudiate the original analysis which merely pointed to such incidental phenomena as who did or didn't do what, who was or wasn't invited, who should have been excluded, etc. but did not deal with the essence of the problem. Ultimately, the organization consolidated around the view that the May Day Fiasco was a sign of major problems -- the tip of the iceberg.

Around the beginning of June, the organization was united around the need for a rectification campaign and a series of major problems needing immediate attention were pointed out. These problems were in the ideological as well as the political and organizational sphere. A list of over 24(!) errors and problems was put forth. We even went as far as to propose resolutions! It seemed that we knew what the problems were, and all that was needed was to establish methods of correction and the campaign would be in full swing. We were mistaken! Our rectification campaign which was supposed to combat the errors of subjectivism and spontaneity among others was itself developing in a completely subjective and spontaneous manner. Fortunately we became aware of this immediately.

The idea of a rectification campaign was for us (and we believe this is true for most of the communist movement in the U.S.) a book knowledge concept that had never been deeply studied, as if it did not apply to our movement. In the past, as we pointed out earlier, we have had struggles, rectification campaigns, as a matter of fact -- around particular questions such as sectarianism (see *Resistance*, Vol 6 No 7), narrow nationalism (see *Resistance*, Vol 7 Nos 1,6), incorrect lines such as the divided nation, etc. All these struggles were carried out without discussing in depth the form and content of said struggles. Thus we were able to defeat the ideas such as the divided nation, as an incorrect political line without having to deal with the method of thinking and analyzing which had brought us to our line. The idealist method used in arriving at conclusions, the failure to establish positions based on a rigorous scientific study of concrete conditions, the failure in not looking for truth based on facts were not dealt with at any level in our struggles against the lines and tendencies mentioned above. Therefore, these failures continued to be part of our ideological baggage.

This same error was at play at the beginning of our campaign. We knew that something was wrong, and decided to operate where we thought the "tumor" lay. Instead of studying concrete conditions and determining our errors based on them, we started by determining the errors and then later on we would analyze the concrete conditions.

At this point, the organization decided to develop study on the question. A number of writings by Mao Tse-tung which had given political and ideological leadership to a series of rectification campaigns of the CPC were assigned for study and discussion at all levels within the organization. (See *Resistance*, Vol 9, No 5 for a list of the readings.) These writings helped us to better understand the process which we had begun and also allowed us to see the similarity between some of the problems confronted by the Chinese comrades and our own. The study and discussions allowed us to clearly establish the focus of our campaign as well as the



The science of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought guides us in our Rectification Campaign

methods to use to carry it out. This can be correctly summed up with the directives:

*RECTIFY OUR METHOD OF THINKING AND STYLE OF WORK!

*STUDY MARXISM-LENINISM MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT, AND PRACTICE CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM!

In analyzing what we must do in the ideological, political and organizational front, and in analyzing all of our theory and practice, based on where these ideas come from, what method we have used to arrive at them, as well as how we have carried them out -- by carrying out this analysis in each area of work, around each political line and its components, we have been able to establish a series of principal errors which we must concentrate on at the beginning of the campaign. These are bowing to spontaneity, sectarianism, narrow circle spirit, subjectivism and incorrect methods of leadership. In terms of political line, the campaign has established as the principal target our failures in applying in a consistent manner our line. All our work must be placed in context of party building. This is in fact a deviation from the line that party building is the central task. In regards to party building, it is our understanding that by not having developed a concrete party building plan, we have left the most important question of our movement to spontaneity and continual improvisation.

This does not mean that the rectification campaign has finished determining all the errors and lines which must be corrected. As a matter of fact, we know that to the degree that we deepen our study of Marxism-Leninism deepen our criticisms and self-criticisms, to the degree that we correctly sum up all our areas of work, political lines, etc., we will find more wounds which must be healed. However, we are also aware of the fact that it would be idealistic to wait to identify all our problems before we begin to deal with them. Thus we believe that we must launch our campaign at this time, that is to say we must establish methods of rectification in all the areas pointed out, while at the same time we must continue the task of investigating ourselves in order to obtain a clearer view of our errors and weaknesses.

In order that the rectification campaign be successful, so that we can move forward, we need the participation of comrades and friends who are not part of our organization. The publication of this article and those that will appear in our paper and other forms of propaganda must serve us in two ways. First it should help other comrades to identify similar problems and tendencies. We believe that there is a great deal to rectify in our movement and our rectification campaign can be the "spark that starts a prairie fire". Secondly, we hope that the article motivates comrades and friends to actively participate in our rectification campaign. Your criticisms and suggestions are necessary and really important. We wish to submit our errors to the intense fire of revolutionary criticism. We are already internally subjecting these to a war without quarter. We need that they also be criticized from the outside.

To this end, in future issues of *Resistance*, we will allot space to print the points of view of comrades and friends around those questions put forth in the rectification campaign. Furthermore, we have organized sessions of criticism-self-criticism in order to encourage friends and contacts to raise their criticisms in an open and frank way, in front of other contacts and cadres of the organization.

To rectify, we repeat, is to correct the method of thinking and style of work. We are firmly on this path, remembering the inspiring words of the great teacher, Mao Tse-tung,

"When we have rectified our way of thinking and style of work, we will experience greater initiative in our tasks and will be capable of better work."

FORWARD WITH THE RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN!

RECTIFY OUR METHOD OF THINKING AND STYLE OF WORK!

STUDY MARXISM-LENINISM MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT PRACTICE CRITICISM-SELF-CRITICISM!