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POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION M-L

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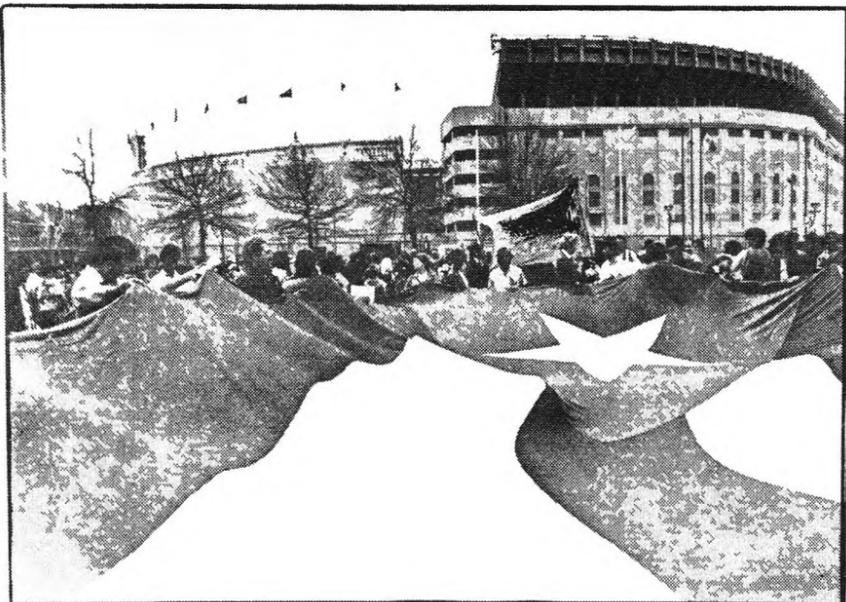
LONG LIVE RED OCTOBER !!

We unite our voices to that of the hundreds of millions who joyously celebrate RED OCTOBER all around the world! We dedicate this issue of RESISTANCE to RED OCTOBER

In October 1917, the "10 days that shook the world", the greatest event in the history of humankind, the Great October Revolution took place. For the first time, the working class came to power. The dictatorship of the proletariat became a reality that illuminated the path of all the oppressed. Led by the Bolshevik party and the great Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet workers, peasants and soldiers, people of all nationalities, men and women alike, demonstrated that indeed the masses are the makers of history.

Also in October, in 1949, great and beloved Chairman Mao solemnly declared the establishment of the Peoples' Republic of China, bastion of world revolution, the great and powerful ally of all oppressed peoples and oppressed nations of the world.

And in this October, in which the Soviet Union is no longer a socialist country but a social-imperialist one, in which the great Chinese people and the great Albanian people, led by their glorious parties, score victory after victory in the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism, in which the masses all around the world fight against the two superpowers' war preparation, we reiterate our commitment to the cause of proletarian revolution, of socialism and peace. On the road charted by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao, in the footsteps of the great Russian, Chinese and Albanian people, we celebrate this festival of the oppressed! ★★★



Above Puerto Ricans carry huge Puerto Rican flag in a massive protest against cutbacks. Growing repression against the Puerto Rican movement reflects growing struggle and resistance against capitalists' oppression. See article on page 2.

Expose the Crusade for Justice!

Agents of the Bourgeoisie in the Chicano National Movement

On August 27, this year, the Coalition in Support of the Struggle of the Chicano People, held a commemorative event in Denver, Colorado. The event was abruptly interrupted by members of the Crusade for Justice and a local gang. The mass event which featured speakers from both communist and mass anti-imperialist organizations, as well as cultural presentations, was a genuine expression of multinational unity of the working class, as the road towards the true emancipation of the Chicano people in the U.S. The line of the coalition (composed of the Community Legal Workers, Su Teatro, Caucus for Students Democratic Rights, RIP Bookstore, Teatro de la Causa de los Pobres, and Colorado Organization for Revolutionary Struggle M-L-M) was reflected in one of its flyers which read:

"Although it is necessary to struggle for democratic rights for the Chicano people, the liberation of the Chicano people cannot happen until the capitalist system has been

stopped dead in its tracks and replaced with a system designed to benefit all of the people. We must continue to fight for our right to the land, just as the people of Chilili, New Mexico, have, but we have to learn that as long as the whole working class is still oppressed by the capitalists, the Chicano people will likewise be oppressed. To achieve real liberation all people must be free. The only way to do this is for people of all nationalities to unite under the leadership of the working class to overthrow the imperialist system."

In the spirit of the August 29th Chicano Moratorium of 1970 this coalition took an anti-imperialist revolutionary stand and strove to raise the consciousness of the Chicano people and of the masses in general as to the need for multinational solidarity and struggle. This Coalition reflects the growing awakening of the Chicano national movement to revolutionary politics and a rejection of the narrow leadership of those who call for more Chicano politicians, cops and professionals, as the solution for

the national oppression of Chicanos.

Obviously, the kind of politics put forward by the coalition constitutes a threat to the sold-out politics of the Crusade for Justice which has led the Chicano people only to further oppression and suffering.

Thus, members of the Crusade for Justice, a group known for its narrow nationalism and deceit of the Chicano people in the Southwest, and who proclaims itself as the sole leader and representative of the Chicano people, ganged up against the coalition event to forcefully prevent it from going on.

Halfway through the event, as the representative of the National Liberation Struggles Support Committee (NLSSC), was delivering its speech, a group of about 50 rammed through the entrance of the Church Hall where the event was being held, grabbed the microphone and declared the activity

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Panama in Struggle, Panama will Win!

In his fundamental work on imperialism, Lenin points out

"Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the great capitalist powers has been completed" (Lenin, *Imperialism, Highest Stage of Capitalism*, page 106, Foreign Languages Press, 1969)

This particular phase of capitalist development began about 1860 and its development was speeded up considerably as a result of the capitalist crisis of 1873 by the greater polarization, accumulation, and concentration which this crisis produced. An outstanding characteristic of the change from free competition to monopoly capitalism is the creation of a relative excess of capital in the advanced capitalist countries which increases the need to conquer territories and spheres of influence. It is no longer only a matter of securing sources of raw materials, cheap labor, and markets to export commodities, even though these remain important aspects. Of primary concern are markets for lucrative investment of capital which, if invested in the country of origin, would return a lower rate of profit. This



Panamanians protest against Yankee military occupation of their country

was the reason for the so-called Spanish-American War fought between newly born North American imperialism and the dying Spanish colonialism. This first war for the repartition of the world was one in which emerging North American capitalism used brute force to demand a piece of the action. The Spanish-American War marks the beginning of North American monopoly capital's expansionist drive which, within two decades, would allow it to claim undisputed control over all of Latin America and to penetrate into Africa and Asia. It is in this context that we must look at the North American intervention in Panama of 1903.

FROM SPANISH COLONY TO YANKEE NEO-COLONY

Panama, a thin strip of land which unites Central and South America, is the shortest route between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. This particularity

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WOMEN HOLD UP HALF THE SKY



In October, we commemorate two of the most important dates in the history of the working class -- the Great October Revolution and the Chinese Revolution. The October Revolution marks a new stage -- a stage in which the proletariat has seized state power for the first time. This victory of the proletariat is also a great victory for women--the new Soviet state created the basis for the complete emancipation of women. For the first time in history, women were accorded equal rights in all spheres and conditions were created so that this became a reality and not merely a legal formality.

"Women in the U S S R are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life"

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured to women by granting them an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance, and education, by state protection of the interests of mother and child, by state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, pre-maternity and maternity leave with full pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens" Article 122, Constitution of the U S S R, 1936

This is further strengthened by the Chinese and Albanian Revolutions. These two countries are today leading the international communist movement and are making great strides in the full integration of women in all areas of production.

We are dedicating this column to the women who took part in these struggles and to these great revolutions. It saddens us that, today, the U S S R is no longer the great beacon it once was to all revolutionaries the world over, however, we are confident that the people of the U S S R will rise up and defeat the new Czars and once again build socialism.

Throughout all of history women have played a key role in the progressive and revolutionary movements the world over. They have learned, in struggling for their own emancipation, that they must link their own fight for liberation to the struggles for the liberation of all oppressed masses. This is so because women's own emancipation is intrinsically tied to the destiny of the working

class and other oppressed masses. The roots of woman's oppression is the same as that of the working class--the institution of private property and the division of society into classes. It is not men, as the bourgeoisie would have us believe

in order to divert the struggle of women for total emancipation. The source of woman's oppression lies in the system of exploitation of one class by another, a system where a small minority exploits the vast majority, a system which needs women as a source of cheap labor, a system which uses women as part of the reserved army of unemployed.

But this system creates its own grave digger. The capitalists' drive for ever-greater profits makes them turn to women for expansion of their labour force, and as a source of cheap labor (as women are paid much lower wages than men). This participation of women in the process of social production serves to heighten their consciousness as women and as workers. This new consciousness of her position in society, the realization that she is part of the working class, the only thoroughly revolutionary class in capitalist society, makes women a powerful force in the revolutionary movement. She begins to see the need to partake in the struggle for the emancipation of her class and consequently her own. This integration of women into the revolutionary movement is a very important step, as Comrade Lenin has pointed out: "It has been observed in the experience of all revolutionary movements that the success of a revolution depends on the extent to which women take part in it."

We have many glorious and shining examples of the integration of women into the struggles of the oppressed masses and of their heroic deeds in the revolutionary struggle. There are countless examples in the Russian, Chinese and Albanian experience of how women fought side by side with their class brothers for the victory of the revolution--militarily, in the base areas, doing propaganda and organizational work, making shoes and clothing for the soldiers, self-defense work in the villages, guerrilla units, nursing, etc., etc. Their contribution was a very

important one and without it, the revolution would not have been successful.

Women are also actively involved in the fight against imperialism, feudalism, neo-colonialism and bureaucrat capitalism in the national liberation struggles of the third world. There are many examples: the Ethiopian and Eritrean women fighting against the Mengistu regime, the women of Panama who have taken to the streets--together with class brothers--to protest against the sell-out Canal treaty, the women of Angola who oppose the so-called 'socialist' military regime, the valiant Vietnamese and Kampuchean women who helped defeat U S aggression, the women of P R who are fighting against the Yankee imperialist presence.

In our country, we also have a rich history of women in struggles to draw from-- women who fought and are still fighting for liberation. Harriet Tubman, who led hundreds of slaves to freedom through the underground railroad (and for whom the slave owners put out a reward of \$40,000 for her capture) and Sojourner Truth, who through her speeches and organizing played a crucial role in winning the support for the fight against slavery (especially among women's rights groups, by pointing out the similarities between the slaves' fight and that of women workers) are excellent examples of women whose lives we can emulate. There were many women who took an active part in organizing the labour movement. Two especially active women in this area were Mary "Mother" Jones and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Both played an important role in the struggle for the right of the working class to organize in unions. These are but a few examples from our history, but there are thousands of women who everyday participate in the struggles of our class--in the anti-war movement, in the Civil Rights movement, the women at Farrah, the farmworkers, in the knitting mills of South Carolina, in J P Stevens, in the fight for child care, for welfare rights, in the national movements, in support of miner strikes, etc., etc.

As communist and advanced forces we have to take up the task of educating women in our workplaces--schools, hospitals, at home--wherever we may be carrying out work-- on the need for them to become active participants in the struggle of the class for its emancipation. Under the capitalist system we can only gain reforms, and although it is important for women to participate in these daily struggles for their own education and experience, we must never lose sight of our final aim-- the overthrow of the capitalist system. In the U S today, this means the full participation of women in carrying out our central task, that of building a genuine communist, Marxist-Leninist party. And indeed women are taking up this task, and we will not rest until we see this party built--the party that will lead our class, the working class, to victory, to building a socialist society under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT!

Fight Repression Against P. R. Movement !

★★★★★

The Puerto Rican people have a long history of struggle and resistance against the U S imperialist domination of Puerto Rico. They have shown, through militant struggle, that they will not be subjected to colonial oppression and that they are determined to one day win true liberation. U S imperialism has brutally oppressed the Puerto Rican nation ever since it took over the island in 1898 as a result of the Spanish-American War. Since then it has been characterized by its military occupation, political domination, economic exploitation, principally the export of capital, and the exploitation of the natural resources and the people of Puerto Rico as a cheap labor source.

The struggle of the Puerto Rican people is increasingly growing and gaining support among progressive and freedom-loving people the world over. In the U S, there has been a growing movement of support for this struggle as well as for the struggle against the oppression of the Puerto Rican national minority in the U S and in support of their democratic rights, which are constantly trampled upon. Likewise, U S imperialism has criminally repressed this struggle. Examples such as the frame-up cases of Carlos Feliciano, Pancho Cruz and others are but a few.

The arrests of David Perez and Vicente Alba are the most recent examples of U S imperialism's attempts to suppress the struggle in support of the independence of Puerto Rico. In August this year, Perez and Alba were arrested on phony charges of arms possession. The Alba apartment in the Bronx was illegally broken into and searched without a warrant by the police, allegedly responding to an anonymous caller who tipped the police on a possible connection with the FALN (an underground group which has made itself responsible for a number of bombings in protest against the colonial situation of Puerto Rico and demanding the release of the 5 Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners). For two years the police has searched for members of this group, harassing all known progressive and revolutionary people and the Puerto Rican national movement in general, without success in finding any FALN members.

The police have thus moved to frame some people in order to relieve some of the pressure from the city administration, capitalists and reactionary sectors of the public. They claim Perez and Alba

are guilty on the sole basis of possession of literature on the independence of Puerto Rico, the release of the five nationalists and on FALN. We condemn this outright violation of basic democratic rights against all those who are victims of police harassment. We denounce these unjust arrests as part of the national oppression against the Puerto Rican national movement in the U S by U S imperialism.

At the same time that we condemn such repression and the arrest of anyone who the police may claim to be connected directly or indirectly with the FALN, we must state our views on the political line and practice of the FALN. We believe that the FALN is a direct consequence of U S imperialist oppression. We consider its demands for Puerto Rican independence and the release of political prisoners as just ones, for which we also struggle. We understand that the real terrorists are none other than the U S imperialists whose essence is rampant reaction and who know no other language than that of reactionary violence against all of the world's people. We thus make U S imperialism responsible for all the victims of terrorism in this country and we condemn all attempts by the capitalist state to utilize the FALN for further harassment and repression against the Puerto Rican national movement. However, we must also bluntly oppose the political line and actions of the FALN, as the politics of petty bourgeois impatience, adventurism and "left" opportunism.

Says Chairman Mao Tsetung: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." To deviate from this fundamental principle of revolution, by trying to take short cuts, no matter with what intentions, is bound to fail. At this particular time in the U S, where there is no guiding center for revolution, the working class is deprived of its vanguard party, terrorism is such a short cut, whether the terrorist actions of the FALN are the actions of honest but mistaken persons, or whether they are a maneuver of the bourgeois state to repress the struggle, we cannot know. But independently of intentions good or bad, terrorism within the concrete conditions in which we find ourselves is not a correct method of struggle at this moment.

Terrorism as a tactic of a handful of individuals isolated from the masses is a "left" opportunist error. It is the actions of petty bourgeois individuals who are not willing to do the difficult day to day organizing, educating and mobilizing masses

for revolutionary struggle. Disregarding the leading role of the party--the communist party-- and the leading role of the working class in the revolution, they dedicate themselves to spectacular actions which are designed to make them the prime movers of the revolutionary process that could spark the masses into action. This is incorrect.

Individual terrorism is the theory of heroes which denies the role of the masses as the makers of history. It belittles the development of objective conditions and the level of consciousness and organization of the masses and acts independently of them. Furthermore it is incorrect because we revolutionaries must always adhere to the principle that says "The Party must lead the gun and never should the gun lead the Party" (Chairman Mao Tsetung).

The FALN is thus objectively a tool of the ruling class for oppression. It gives the bourgeoisie one more excuse to wage a campaign of hysteria aimed at preparing the masses for fascist repression against the revolutionary forces. It thus aids the bourgeoisie in paving the way for fascism. At the same time, and this is very important, it allows revisionists and reformists the opportunity to mount their own campaign against armed struggle, for peaceful transition to socialism, and for the electoral process as the only means to struggle. Our opposition to the terrorism of the FALN is not an opposition to armed struggle which we uphold as the only means to revolution and freedom. We must educate the masses around this fundamental strategic principle of proletarian revolution and at the same time oppose the opportunist views, the incorrect class viewpoint, stand and method which is manifested in FALN's terrorism. As we said previously in RESISTANCE, Vol 6, No. 3 in relation to a FALN bomb:

"No matter who places it or with what intentions, (it was) an incorrect action which in no way helped the struggle for freedom and socialism"

In brief, we oppose the line and practice of the FALN for its negation of the vanguard role of the working class in the revolution and its substitution of the masses as the makers of history with a handful of petty-bourgeois individuals who pretend to make revolution isolated from the masses. We oppose its bowing to spontaneity that denies the

National Liberation Struggles Support Committee

N.L.S.S.C. Defeats Liquidators

The neo-Trotskyite line of "party building is the central and only task" has shown its ugly face again. This time within the work of the National Liberation Struggles Support Committee (NLSSC). This line, which led the so-called "genuine wing", in particular PRRWO-RWL, to total bankruptcy and degeneration, has not been totally defeated and it can still cause great harm and mislead some comrades. We are publishing a recent struggle around this line so that other comrades around the country may learn from it and be vigilant against all its manifestations.

Today, the main contradiction in the world is between imperialism, in particular the two superpowers (U S and U S S R) on the one hand, and the oppressed nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America on the other. The national liberation struggles of the third world peoples are the main force in the struggle against superpower aggression and hegemonism, and against superpower war preparations. At this time, the creation of a mass, anti-imperialist, revolutionary organization with the aim of providing concrete support to those national liberation struggles is not only timely, but crucial to the struggle for proletarian revolution in the U S and worldwide.

The principles of unity of the NLSSC are four:

1 We support the struggles for national liberation waged against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism and all reaction, including feudalism, neo-colonialism, racism, and zionism.

2 We support and strive to unite the struggle of the U S multinational working class, the oppressed and working people in the U S with that of the oppressed peoples and nations of the world. We firmly support and unite with the struggles of all the world's oppressed people against imperialism's (especially the two superpowers) control, plunder, and destruction. We see ourselves as part of the world-wide United Front Against the Two Superpowers.

3 We resolutely oppose the two superpowers -- U S imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism -- as the greatest enemies of the people of the world and as the source of a new World War. We oppose the two superpowers' peddling of "detente", "lasting peace", etc., as the cover for their feverish preparations for war.

4 We support the oppressed nationalities and national minority struggles in the U S.

The main purpose for the creation of the NLSSC is to give concrete support to national liberation struggles around the world and its goal is to mobilize the broad masses of workers and oppressed peoples in this country to support such a cause, as part of our duty to overthrow our own monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie and as part of the world-wide United Front against the two superpowers.

At this time, in which the spontaneous struggles of the masses in support of national liberation struggles is mainly led or organized by revisionists, reformists or Trotskyites, the task of supporting these struggles comes to be nearly liquidated in light of incorrect strategy and tactics by these forces, or the abandonment of this duty by the Marxist-Leninists precisely because these struggles are in the hands of these opportunists. To fill this vacuum in leadership, to give this spontaneous struggle a planned and conscious character, to correctly fulfill and channel the efforts of genuine revolutionaries in this duty, the creation of an organization such as the NLSSC was absolutely necessary. A moribund and narrow African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) can not do the job. All the committees, that come into existence and go quickly out of existence after some spontaneous work, can not do the job. The leadership by the opportunists of all hues can not do the job. Thus, the NLSSC was created, early this year, by the conscious effort of LPR-ML, unaffiliated Marxist-Leninists and advanced elements.

NLSSC IN THE CONTEXT OF PARTY BUILDING

As communists, we in LPR see our work within the NLSSC as being consistent with our central task of party building. That is, we see the NLSSC as facilitating our work towards party building, and thus we place it in the context of party building. How is this so?

Proletarian internationalism is a duty of all communists at all times. We must carry out this duty, regardless of what period of party building we find ourselves, place where we are, etc. In order to build the multinational unity of the U S working class, so necessary for proletarian revolution and the solving of the national question in

the U S, the broad masses of workers and oppressed people must be educated as to the duties of proletarian internationalism and mobilized to this effect. The NLSSC provides the concrete organizational tool to carry out this duty.

NLSSC is also a tool for carrying out the tasks of uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning the advanced to communism. Marxist-Leninist unity is not carried out in the abstract, or simply through forums and discussion without implementing the line in practice. The NLSSC provides an avenue to jointly carry out the line of communists on the international situation and to unite in the course of providing communist leadership to the struggle to support the national liberation struggles of the third world. In this common area of work communists can jointly plan work, implement their line, develop communist propaganda and agitation, sum-up their experience and unite on the basis of the correct line as it is tested and enriched through practice. In the course of this struggle to provide communist leadership to the mass support for national liberation, communists will also be able to win the advanced to communism. Guided by the correct line, and through the correct work and leadership among the masses, communists will be able to win over the advanced elements that at this moment are either struggling spontaneously, without correct leadership and guidance, or following the lead of the opportunists who leech on these struggles and temporarily deviate the struggle. It is not through discussion alone that these advanced elements can be won over, but also in the course of actively providing communist leadership to the mass struggles, on the basis of a correct political line. The role of LPR-ML as communists, within the NLSSC has not been limited to its formation but we are also committed to building it, to the development of its line and practice. We are urging all comrades around the country to join in the NLSSC effort to build multinational unity around proletarian internationalism.

As it develops and grows, the NLSSC is carrying out its duties. In its short life, it has shown its commitment to the struggle against the two superpowers and in support of the national liberation movements of the world over. Many activities have been organized by or co-sponsored by the NLSSC. Among them, nights of solidarity with the struggles of the Haitian people, the Dominican people, and the Ethiopian people, also a May Day celebration and the demonstration held in New York City for African Liberation Day. NLSSC has also participated in the demonstrations against the fascist Ethiopian Junta, against the visit of the Empress of Iran to the U S, in protest against the military takeover of the Autonomous University in Santo Domingo, against the massacre of Turkish revolutionaries in May, in commemoration of the August 29 Chicano Moratorium, and others.

TWO LINE STRUGGLE

Conscious of the fact that a mass anti-imperialist organization cannot be a pre-party formation (as PRRWO-RWL attempted to do with ALSC and as WVO is trying to do now), from the outset we have guarded against those who under the cover of upholding party building as the central task liquidate both the building of the party and proletarian internationalism, by cadri-fying or liquidating NLSSC. The two line struggle within the NLSSC finally came to open confrontation when a group of former wing members and sympathizers put forward that the NLSSC should be liquidated.

This group of liquidators, among which we recognize the existence of both opportunist elements and honest but ideologically weak, and/or confused ones, did not come up front with their line. It was the consistent ideological struggle waged against the liquidators' line that made them finally spell it out. They had not decisively broken with the "left" line at the time in which they broke organizationally with the "wing". As we will see, they were still holding to the line of "only" party building which was surfacing in the form of liquidate all involvement of communists in the mass struggle and only build the party. This line is contrary to party building, liquidates party building. The party is not built in a vacuum, Marxist-Leninists do not unite in the abstract. The advanced are won over in the course of struggle for the correct line and the implementation of this line.

HOW THE LIQUIDATIONIST LINE SURFACED

At the end of May, after the ALD event, the NLSSC had grown in the ties which it had developed with a number of national liberation movement representatives in the U S. It had surrounded itself



with a small but committed number of contacts who were actively involved in the work of the NLSSC and anxious to join it and continue building it. It had become a genuine anti-imperialist organization respected and recognized as such by many, while having aroused the interest of comrades in other areas of the country. It had upheld a steadily developing correct line and was implementing it in a number of struggles. Many mistakes had been committed, but the birth pangs were over and the NLSSC was in the process of consolidating itself. The liquidators, however, with typical petty bourgeois impatience expected to mobilize the broad masses of people in its first few months of experience. They would have liked not to have committed any mistakes, so as not to have to tackle the problems generated, and they would have liked to have grown numerically "wave upon wave" and have the working class won over right from the beginning of its existence. The painstaking work of day to day organizing, educating, mobilizing, that waited for the future was too overwhelming for them. They had had it. So they looked for a way out.

CLOSET SUM-UP

After ALD, the liquidators proposed that the NLSSC stop their mass work until a sum-up was done. All along the way NLSSC had been doing sum-ups of its work. Practical work did not stop because we had to do a sum-up, or viceversa. The link between theory and practice was upheld, although with mistakes in terms of emphasis many times, and overestimation of the subjective factor (capabilities and level of commitment of each member, and the amount of time needed to carry out activities charted). Despite these mistakes we can say that the work of the NLSSC was overall positive and that we had to continue building on what we had started, while rectifying the mistakes.

Initially the liquidators claimed that they were not saying that the work had to be liquidated, but only that sum-ups had to be primary over everything else and that only if necessary, practical work would be liquidated.

But the liquidators soon proceeded to propose the postponing of all work. According to them the sum-up should take at least a couple of months. This was a way to liquidate de facto -- objectively -- the organization. The liquidators were told that sum-ups are not something that is done in closets alienated from the class struggle, but rather, in the course of the class struggle. It is not a question of class struggle for a while, sum-ups for another while, then back to practice, and so on, but a dialectical relationship in which theory (of which sum-up is an important part) and practice are indissolubly linked.

THE NLSSC IS NOT A PRE-PARTY FORMATION

Later on the liquidators changed their reasoning, as their line was drawn out. Now it was a question of counterposing the work of the NLSSC with what they called "base work". Base work, according to the liquidators, was work in factories. Somehow, the base work they were proposing was in contradiction to the work of the NLSSC. When pressed to deepen their analysis, one of the liquidators came out with platitudes such as "we have to build factory nuclei", "propaganda is the chief form of activity", etc. We say platitudes because, although these are correct lines that must be implemented by Marxist-Leninists, it was pure rhetoric and "leftism" to propose that the NLSSC take up the tasks of a communist organization.

This is pure and simply the same "left-wing infantile disorder" that has caused the destruction of many formerly revolutionary mass organizations (e.g. ALSC, PRSU, FFM, many committees to defend political prisoners, May Day and IWW coalitions, etc.) This incorrect view of what mass organizations are and how communists carry out work in them, has to be thoroughly exposed and defeated so that communists can properly involve themselves

Miners Oil Their Shotguns in Preparation for December Strikes

The recent wildcat strike of more than 80,000 mine workers in West Virginia, Kentucky and Ohio was just a prelude, a preparation of the scenario for a bigger and greater battle to be fought in December when the three-year contract between the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the mine owners expires. During the months of the wildcat, these 80,000 miners, as well as all the other thousands of miners and other workers around the country, learned important lessons that definitely improve their capacity to organize and carry on their struggle against the capitalist bloodsuckers that exploit them.

Historically, the miners in the United States have been in the forefront of the struggle against the capitalist oppressors. This also holds true for other capitalist countries. They make up with the steel, auto, oil workers, etc. the better situated strata of the proletariat, from whose ranks come, in the main, the advanced workers that determine the character of the whole working-class movement. The mining industry is of great strategic importance. Remember the strong unity and solidarity among mine workers (proved once again during the recent wildcat). The burning issues around which in all probability, the December strike will center--repeal of the no-strike clause, a complete company-paid Health and Retirement Fund, improvement of the Health and Safety Committee composed of rank and file miners with the right to call job actions to protect the health and security of the workers, as well as wage increases, cost of living clauses, scholarship funds for miners' sons and daughters, etc -- makes that every worker in this country be on the look out for what will be happening in this contract negotiations. Whatever happens to the miners, whether victory or defeat, will indicate to a great extent what will happen in other major contracts coming up in 1978. It's in the interests of all workers for the miners to win a good contract and it's the responsibility of all of us to help them in their just struggle.

THE TREACHEROUS ROLE OF THE LABOR BUREAUCRATS

The first lesson to be learned was the treacherous role played by the bureaucrats of the UMWA. Led by president Arnold Miller (the same Arnold Miller that the October League Communist Party called "progressive" and gave support to until recently) the UMWA leadership showed immediately where their loyalty lies, whose interests they really represent. They called the miners back to work, they asked them to rely on the negotiations between Miller and his boys and the mine owners. The bureaucrats did put emphasis on asking the miners to "avoid violence" and keep their shotguns home.

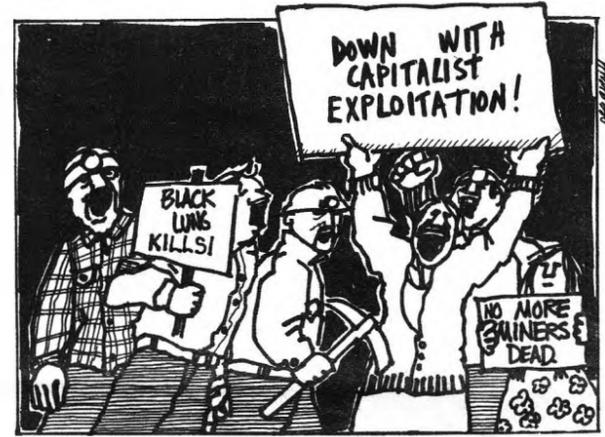
The miners correctly identified Miller and Comp-

as what they really are, sell-out bureaucrats that the imperialist have bribed with part of the superprofits obtained in the colonies and neocolonies. They operate as fifth columnists in the labor movement. Miller's role is to keep the workers in line, to spread reformism among the miners' ranks, to stop or neutralize any attempts of the rank and file to fight in a militant way for their rights. The miners not only continued the strike, after repeated calls by Miller to go back to work, but also kept the strike breakers out of the mines -- not by leaving their shotguns home but by bringing them along and making repeated use of them. Miller, running frenzied by this time, went on national television to make an appeal to the miners and as a response got a resolution from District 17 in Charleston, West Virginia, the largest district in the UMWA, asking for his immediate resignation.

The role played by Arnold Miller and the whole national leadership in this strike, shows once again why it is that reformism is the main danger within the U S labor movement. It was through calls for "reforms" that the actual president of the union got his job, posing as a very militant leader who opposed the corrupt leadership of Tony Boyle. Boyle was so exposed, his criminal maneuvers well known that it was easy for Miller to portray himself as the liberal alternative to a known crook (a very similar situation to that of Sadlowsky's opposition to Abel in the Auto workers). The struggle for union democracy, for rank and file power in making decisions within the union that was at its peak in the struggle against Boyle, was momentarily blunted by the election of Arnold Miller to the presidency. But the miners are already aware that there's no real difference between Miller and Boyle, and the above-mentioned resolution of District 17 is just an indication of the growing resistance against Miller and his boys by the rank and file of the UMWA.

COMMUNISTS ARE LAGGING BEHIND THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS

It is clear that the communist presence and participation in the wildcat was insignificant to say the least. This corresponds to the concrete reality that despite the boasting and self-proclamations of the October League (CP-ML), RCP, WVO, etc., the anti-revisionist communist movement in this country has no real ties with the mine workers and other advanced sectors of the proletariat. This objective weakness is based on the objective reality that in the U S there exist two distinct movements, a communist movement and a working class movement. The lack of fusion between the working class movement and scientific socialism does not allow communists to fulfill the leading



role that we must exercise within the working class movement in order to make the proletarian revolution in the U S not just a theoretical certainty but a living reality.

The masses, who are the makers of history, are fighting as they always have and always will fight. These heroic battles are being fought by the working class spontaneously, deprived of its general staff, of its leading body, that can make the working class conscious of its historical mission of liberating itself and at the same time liberating all oppressed people. The miners in their strike, like the masses in revolt in Chicago and New York, and workers throughout the land, are telling us every moment with their actions that we U S Marxist-Leninists are not living up to the highest concept in human history. Communists! They tell us that our words and deeds don't correspond in the real world, that we cannot call for battle far away from the battle fields, and claim to be leaders without proving in the heat of the class struggle that our theory and practice serve the working class and lead it in the glorious path of proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism. As Marxist-Leninists we should strive to be in the forefront in that battle. We have to overcome all difficulties in order to contribute to that struggle. The weapon of communist agitation and propaganda must be used to draw support for the upcoming struggle. Solidarity actions can be held all around the country. But the greatest contribution we can make to the mine workers, and to the whole U S multinational working class, the oppressed nationalities, women, youth and all oppressed people in the U S and the world, is to fulfill the central task of this period: to build the new communist party of the U S, without which we will continue to be, as at present, incapable of providing the communist leadership that the masses so urgently need. ★★★★★

N.L.S.S.C.



Continued from page 3

in mass organizations, in mass coalitions, etc. as one of the ways, not the exclusive one, not the primary one, but one of the ways, to establish firm ties with the toiling masses.

The question facing the NLSSC, and other mass anti-imperialist and revolutionary organizations, is where to draw the line of demarcation, how to determine what the principles of unity should be, what should be the focus of the work, what should be the principal form of activity, etc. in order to fulfill the tasks for which different mass organizations are built in the first place. In addressing this question of utmost importance we can not come with ready-made formulas and blue prints. Concrete analysis of concrete conditions is the soul of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought and that is the only way to determine which should be our principles of unity. In the case we are discussing, how to build a mass anti-imperialist organization to give concrete support to the national liberation struggles, our view has to be of unite all those that can be united to fulfill that purpose. Correctly, then, the NLSSC put forward, for example, opposition to both superpowers. This reflects an understanding that true anti-imperialism at this moment has to combat both superpowers as well as all imperialism, neocolonialism, racism, zionism, bureaucrat capitalism, feudalism, etc. This is a correct principle of unity that allows for the unity of the broader masses within the context of true anti-imperialism. Right opportunists will question why the two superpowers and will argue that if you only oppose U S imperialism that we would have a broader base. The broader base will be undoubtedly true, but it will be a base around an incorrect political line and that's not what Marxism-Leninism is all about. It is not unity for the sake of unity, nor numbers

for the sake of numbers, but all that can be united to fulfill the task in front of us. On the other hand, and this was the problem posed by the liquidators, there is the "left" view--"we must look for the highest possible level of unity." This "highest possible" is determined not on the basis of concrete analysis of concrete conditions but on the idealist notion that whatever is clear for us, whatever is accepted by us, then should be acceptable for everybody that "merits" work with us. [This line sometimes comes in the form of asking for nonsense like "party building is the central task for all Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces" and should be a principle of unity for a mass organization to which in the first place, or should belong, people that are neither Marxist-Leninist nor advanced.] In the case of our liquidators the line came in the form of seeing the NLSSC not as a mass organization but as a pre-party formation and that therefore it should perform the same tasks as a communist organization.

Coming from their line of the onlys then the pre-party organization (meaning the NLSSC) should have the same purpose, the same scope and focus in their activities, etc., as any democratic-centralist communist organization. In the last weeks of their participation in NLSSC, they consistently opposed all mass work, all plans for future activities and attempted to convert, as a matter of fact were able to impose it for a couple of weeks, the NLSSC into a debating society in which the other members and contacts would have to choose between the line of LPR-ML (as characterized by them) and their own line which since then they are trying to hammer out in the darkness of a closet.

"ONLY PARTY BUILDING"

The line of the NLSSC taking up the tasks of a communist organization was quickly unveiled and defeated, and the liquidators then came with some quotes, taken out of context, in order to counterpose party building with the building and participation of communists in mass organizations.

Communists must participate in mass organizations wherever they exist, and strive to give communist leadership to their struggles. Also, wherever

these organizations do not exist and there is a duty to fulfill--such as the duty of proletarian internationalism and the task of supporting national liberation struggles of the third-world--communists must create such organizations and strive to build them, providing communist leadership in the course of giving a planned and conscious character to the otherwise spontaneous struggle of the masses. This task is inseparably linked with party building and can be neither counterposed, nor made equivalent to it--as the liquidators tried to do on different occasions throughout the struggle.

This debate within the NLSSC threatened to liquidate the organization and practice began to lag. Liquidators obstructed the process of recruitment of the contacts who were anxious to become full members. At this point, it was key not only to incorporate these contacts fully into the work of the organization for their development and training and the development of the organization, it was also key for them to be aware of the line struggle taking place and to be able to participate in it and unite with the correct line. Thus a decision was reached to open up the struggle in a meeting intended to fully incorporate them as new members.

At this meeting, the liquidators exposed themselves thoroughly. They had private meetings with contacts, but the line laid out at those meetings was certainly not the line that they were in fact holding. All contacts and the rest of the members saw clearly beyond these inconsistencies. One of the liquidators' arguments was that the NLSSC "had not been able to win anybody" and that it was a worthless organization. This was an insult to the contacts, and utter disdain for the masses. What were they? Hadn't they been won over through the line and practice of the NLSSC, and were they considered by the liquidators as "nobody"? Also, what nonsense was this that because the broad masses had not been won over at one swooping wave, the thing to do was to destroy whatever had been achieved and cut those links with the masses that had in fact been established. Cut the links with the masses in order to link with the masses, such was the reasoning of the liquidators.

COMMUNIST FORUM



Starting in our next issue, COMMUNIST FORUM will include contributions from U S Marxist-Leninists Contributions from mass, student, anti-imperialist organizations, workers correspondents and comrades from other countries --all of which are also welcome-- will appear in other sections of the newspaper

BUILD THE COMMUNIST PRESS
MARXIST-LENINISTS, UNITE!
WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!



Since it was initiated in July, 1976, we have viewed this column as a means to promote honest and comradely ideological struggle between our organization and the readers of our newspaper. We also see it as a place where organizations and collectives who do not have their own newspaper or journal can express their views on those burning issues confronting our movement. We believe that the attempt has been worthwhile. However, we have a number of challenges before us to improve the quality of the column to achieve a greater participation by organizations and collectives to have the column carry out its task to an even greater degree. We feel that with the help of comrades and friends throughout the country we will successfully meet these challenges.

In order to fulfill our tasks and have a true COMMUNIST FORUM, we must promote a free exchange of ideas - a vigorous ideological struggle to achieve a correct line--based on the principle of unity - struggle - unity. The communist movement in this country is very fractionalized. It is one in which narrow-circle spirit and sectarianism--both right and left reign supreme. Mechanisms such as this column, which concretely strive for unity based on principles and around a correct political and ideological line are indispensable. This is one of the ways in which we carry out in practice our line on the unity of Marxist-Leninists.

There have been many obstacles we've had to overcome in order to continue with our idea for this COMMUNIST FORUM. Within the anti-revisionist communist movement in the U S, ideas such as comradely polemics, unity-struggle-unity cure the disease to save the patient are nothing more than catch-phrases used to influence and impress the politically naive. Everyone talks about the necessity of ideological struggle, the need for everyone to express their ideas freely, however, no sooner is this done than those who do so are immediately labeled as opportunists, revisionists and neo-trotskyites. This view that those who differ with us are counter-revolutionary is concretely expressed in our press by the absence of principled polemics among different organizations. Organizations either pat each other's backs and express no differences, or ignore one another. When the name of one group appears in the newspaper of the other it is usually accompanied by some name-calling or negative characterization. This incorrect method of struggle must end, and this column is a concrete way to fight against it.

In order for the COMMUNIST FORUM to live up to its commitments the active participation of comrades and friends throughout the country is necessary. They must help to develop and strengthen it. In order that Marxist-Leninists can unite based on a correct political and ideological line, we must develop an open and principled ideological struggle among the genuine forces who by joining efforts will

be able to complete the central task in this period--the building of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of the United States. We are fully aware of the fact that the COMMUNIST FORUM --with its limited space, limited circulation and being part of a newspaper that is the political organ of a particular organization-- can by no means be the method by which these polemics can be centralized. However, we are sure that it is a good beginning. With the aid and cooperation of all comrades, we will be able to broaden the character of this section to the point where it can become a publication in itself a theoretical journal which will be written, edited and distributed by a series of organizations, collectives and unaffiliated Marxist-Leninists who fully understand the words of Lenin, when he said:

"Before we can unite, and in order that we may unite, we must first of all draw firm and definite lines of demarcation."

We are striving to move forward this process, and we are certain that in the future more organizations, collectives and un-affiliated Marxist-Leninists will make greater and greater use of this section of the paper which belongs to all genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the country.

What is the COMMUNIST FORUM? It is a small, modest yet genuine and honest effort to help to promote the unity of Marxist-Leninists around a correct political and ideological line. It is one of the few means (perhaps the only one) in existence in this country which allows ideological struggle to take place among comrades in order to achieve a higher level of unity and not merely score points against each other. Where are we headed? We are moving towards the building of a Communist Theoretical Journal which will allow us to centralize not only the comradely polemics among honest forces in this country on all the strategic and tactical questions confronting us -- but will also allow us to centralize the polemics against the revisionist, opportunist and reformist lines which still influence our movement.

Although we will not edit articles, we will consult comrades whenever necessary on possible shortening or the need for more clarity on some questions. Also, when necessary, we will clearly establish unities and differences with the positions expressed. Specifically, we are asking comrades to limit the length of articles, and in terms of topics we especially welcome articles on the following areas: 1) polemics on positions of our organization, e.g. on party building, international situation, the struggle against opportunism, the woman question, etc. 2) sum-ups and lessons of struggles. 3) criticisms to the positions of other organizations. 4) theoretical contributions on the burning questions that face our movement. 5) letters establishing unities, criticisms, suggestions, or raising questions of interest for the communist movement in general.

After being exposed for their clear disdain towards the masses, their petty bourgeois impatience, and their bourgeois maneuvers, the liquidators had no other alternative left than to admit that in fact they believed all along that the NLSSC should be liquidated. Why didn't they say this in the first place? The liquidators answer is worth quoting: "We knew the word liquidationism has bad connotations and if we had chosen to use it from the beginning, people would have been subjective about it and rejected it." This is the way in which they understand Chairman Mao's words: "Be open and aboveboard, don't intrigue and conspire."

Thoroughly exposed in their line of liquidating the NLSSC and of "party building central and only task", the liquidators decided to resign from the NLSSC and write a sum-up that was promised as the "greatest sum-up ever printed by Marxist-Leninists in this country". Of course, we expect that if that sum-up is produced, the line of the liquidators will have probably evolved again, as they could not possibly insist on it as thoroughly exposed as it is.

The communist movement must learn its lessons. Many comrades, individuals and collectives, break from opportunist organizations but never thoroughly break with their opportunist line, and hold it for a long time until it surfaces in one form or another. It is very common that in their sum-ups they concentrate on errors of "liberalism and conciliation with the opportunist line" while failing to break with the line both in theory and in practice.

We must learn to make thorough self-criticism and repudiation of line when breaks occur with opportunists rather than spend months moaning in dark closets, doing "sum-ups" without taking up serious repudiation of the opportunists line in practice. Of such kinds of "closet sum-ups" we are already fed up. It is very easy to sit down comfortably in houses having nothing else to do, and in typical petty bourgeois fashion, "sum-up" everything and tell everyone else what has to be done. What is not easy is precisely the most important and revolutionary part of any sum-up --that is, to put into practice whatever conclusions we arrive at.

This is one of the purposes of doing sum-ups -- which play a vital role in our practical work -- and without which sum-ups are meaningless.

As the members of NLSSC correctly summed-up the departure of the liquidators does not stop the NLSSC. The NLSSC is working and is growing, and it is fulfilling its proletarian internationalist duty of giving support to the national liberation struggles of the world. As the NLSSC stated in a recent speech in a Denver, Colorado activity in support of the struggle of the Chicano people:

"The NLSSC is a relatively young organization but despite this we have already known some difficult moments in the two-line struggle, our very organizational existence being in question but quite obviously we did survive. Today we are stronger and more committed than ever." ★



SUPPORT THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE !!

★ DATE: ★
Sat. November 5

★ PLACE: ★
James Weldon Johnson Theater Arts Center
110 St. & Lexington
Take IRT #6 to 110 St.

★ TIME: ★
7:30 pm

SLIDE SHOW SPEAKERS
CULTURAL PRESENTATIONS

★
Sponsor **NLSSC** and others

REPRESSION

Continued from page 7

role of the Party as that which leads the masses and makes them conscious. And we oppose its views of armed struggle as sporadic, individual actions. Instead, we uphold armed struggle as armed peoples' war waged by the masses, led by the Party and in alliance with all revolutionary forces in a united front to fight the enemy.

As we reiterate our support of Puerto Rican independence, the release of the 5 Puerto Rican nationalists and all political prisoners, we demand the dropping of all charges against Perez and Alba and we make a call to all progressive and revolutionary minded people, all Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces, to also support this struggle. October 30, 1977 marks one more anniversary of the armed uprising in Puerto Rico. We have made a call to all revolutionaries to hold activities on or around this date to celebrate this glorious event in the history of the national liberation struggle of Puerto Rico and in support of this struggle. In New York City, we will co-sponsor an event on November 4th initiated by the NLSSC which we invite all comrades and friends to support and participate in. Other events will be held in New Jersey and Colorado. We will make the information about these events available to those comrades and friends in the respective areas.

LONG LIVE THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF PUERTO RICO!
DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS FOR THE PUERTO RICAN NATIONAL MINORITY IN THE U S!
UNCONDITIONAL FREEDOM FOR THE 5 NATIONALIST PRISONERS!
DROP ALL CHARGES AGAINST PEREZ AND ALBA!
WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

6 Crusade...

Continued from page 1

finished, threatening to "kick ass" with anyone who "dared speak of anything but Aztlan", especially directing their attacks at the Marxist-Leninists who according to them "have no right to speak to Chicanos" and at the Anglo people who were called "honkies" and who, according to them "have no right to be in the Chicano community". As people obviously wished to continue with the event and did not leave the place, the Crusaders then started to scream louder, turning tables over, throwing chairs, tearing down the revolutionary banners and exhibits, intimidating the people with reactionary force.

Although security measures had been taken, the coalition was not prepared to engage in an open confrontation which would have resulted in great loss to the revolutionary forces and the masses, and would have provided the opportunity for the police to intervene and repress the revolutionaries while siding with the Crusaders. Thus the security team correctly decided on an orderly retreat, swiftly evacuating the children and all those present.

After summing up these incidents, the forces engaged in the event have learned important lessons that better equip them for future battles. They have understood the importance of educating, organizing and mobilizing the masses in order to gain their support and be victorious in waging revolution. The masses are the "true bastion of iron" where revolutionaries gain their strength. Without the masses we are nothing. Waging revolutionary war by mobilizing the masses and relying on them we cannot be smashed. By linking ourselves to the masses and marching at the head of their struggles, leading them forward in the correct revolutionary path we will certainly be victorious.

The Coalition forces have also understood the need to exercise correct leadership--the need to win the masses over on the basis of a correct political line. The role of leadership must be correctly understood in its relationship to the role of the masses. It is thru the conscious effort of its revolutionary vanguard that the masses achieve the high level of socialist consciousness necessary to attain victory. To deny this leading role is to place the masses unarmed at the mercy of the enemy -- a right opportunist error. To deny the role of the masses as the true source of power and to divorce ourselves from them is to fall into adventurism -- a "left" opportunist error. That is, to absolutize one or the other aspects of the revolutionary struggle, to belittle one or the other and not grasp their relationship can only lead to certain failure. Albanian comrade Enver Hoxha has concisely summed up this relationship in this way:

"SOCIALISM IS BUILT BY THE MASSES, THE PARTY MAKES THEM CONSCIOUS"

ROLE OF THE MASSES

In one of the sum-ups carried out after the incident, a representative from WVO tried to cause confusion by putting forward that the main error had been the lack of "numbers" at the event (There were about 75 attending.) According to WVO if the "masses" (meaning numbers) had been there, the Crusade would not have attacked the event. This is false. "Masses" is not equivalent to "numbers", and "rely on the masses" does not mean have numbers at the event and everything else will be taken care of "automatically". This is the right opportunist theory of bowing to spontaneity, of falling behind the masses, which only serves to disarm the masses and hold back the revolutionary struggle.

Of course, numbers are an important factor. Of course it is ultimately the masses who make history, and without the masses, no revolution can occur. Of course a "small" event is more vulnerable to attacks than a "big" one. But this is not the issue. **THE MASSES DO NOT GUARANTEE THAT THE STATE AND ITS LACKEYS WILL NOT ATTACK. WHAT THE MASSES DO GUARANTEE IS THAT VICTORY WILL BE ACHIEVED IN THE LONG RUN.** To say otherwise is to disarm the masses ideologically and militarily. It is to fall into pacifism, expecting not to be attacked "because the masses are with us". Didn't the state attack 75,000 who assembled in a Los Angeles Park in 1970 in the Chicano Moratorium? Better example than this is not needed to illustrate the fact that precisely because the masses are with us the State will attack. And not otherwise as WVO would claim. This line that says that if the "masses" are there we will not be attacked is a line designed to lull revolutionaries to sleep and can only lead to massacre.

WVO ATTEMPTS TO OBSCURE KEY QUESTION

The actions of these fascist thugs could not have been avoided with "numbers", but could certainly be confronted and repelled with "numbers" given conditions of leadership and readiness. As they were the same tactics used by the State - red-baiting and honky-baiting as an excuse to attack the masses, all those genuinely struggling for true liberation -- they must be seen in the same context.

By mechanically equating masses with numbers, WVO was in reality obscuring the key question of political line, to which the focus of the discussion should have been directed, to understand why the attack occurred and what lessons for the future could be drawn from the incident. The real issue was the contradiction between the political line of the Coalition, and the political line of the Crusaders for Justice -- two opposing lines that must necessarily clash in an antagonistic form, as it did on August 27. WVO was thus deviating from the main contradiction in essence, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as represented by the lines of the Coalition and the Crusade.

Not understanding the nature of the main contradiction--between the line of the Crusade and that of the Coalition--would lead to disaster and massacre. The Crusaders attacked because the Coalition represented a real threat to them. They attacked because they are fascists, enemies of the people, lackeys of the State. They were doing the work of the police in the Chicano national movement. At one time enjoying huge mass support among Chicanos, Crusade for Justice is now on the decline (although still holding on to extensive influence, especially among the petty bourgeoisie, lumpen, revisionists and reformists). They greatly fear that the line of multinational unity of the working class including Chicanos might be grasped by the masses and eliminate whatever mass base they have left.

Their tactics should come as no surprise, they are no accident. They are condoned and promoted by the State, which in these times of crisis prepares the grounds for fascism, and trains its loyal lackeys in fascist tactics. This incident is connected with the overall situation in the U.S. where anti-communism is being whipped up by the ruling class, and reactionary violence is being promoted as an attempt to stop a revolutionary upsurge of the masses, who are fed up with the misery and oppression they are subjected to. The state will use lackeys such as these Crusaders to do its dirty work within the Chicano national movement in an attempt to prevent the revolutionary storms ahead. These are part of the tactics used by the state which we must understand well in order to defeat.

To grasp this, and to be able to explain these facts to the masses is crucial to the success of our struggle. We must be able to understand the enemy, expect its attacks and be prepared to repel them. Failure to do this would be failure to provide leadership to the masses, failure to educate the masses, and to lead them in the correct path. Communists and advanced forces are seriously taking up this task, and combatting all attempts of the right opportunists to cloud these lessons with their calls for spontaneity, and for "numbers" in the abstract, and utilizing the "masses" as the cure-all magic clincher, while sowing pessimism, pacifism and belittling the role of the conscious element. The Coalition recognized this attempt by WVO to deviate it from the serious task of drawing lessons for the future and making preparations against the enemy and did not allow it to continue.

"Without preparedness, superiority is not real superiority and there can be no initiative either. Having grasped this point, a force which is inferior but prepared can often defeat a superior enemy by surprise attack." Chairman Mao Tse-tung, On Protracted War

WVO ALLIES WITH THE CRUSADERS

Consistent with its line of "unite to expose", WVO repeatedly tried to deviate the sum-up for its own purposes. Rather than addressing the main contradiction and how to deal with it, WVO raised its own contradictions with the comrades from CORES M-L-M using the opportunity to blame the incident on CORES M-L-M. In their attempt to supposedly "expose" CORES M-L-M, they never once referred to the political lines involved, but rather kept raising that the honest forces in the Coalition should split with the supposedly opportunist line of CORES, claiming that the attack by the Crusade had been justified thus attempting to split the coalition on this basis. For their purposes, WVO went so far as to even state that they agreed with many of the things said by the

Crusader-- thus objectively and subjectively allying with the Crusaders.

Of course this line of "unite to expose" only led WVO to further expose itself and its right opportunist line.

TASKS AHEAD

The Coalition correctly summed-up that the masses must be educated and mobilized, that they are the guarantee of final victory, but that this is not simply a matter of "numbers", that communists and advanced forces must understand their role of leadership among the masses, educate and mobilize the masses on the basis of a correct political line, and not simply expect the masses to "spontaneously" respond. The masses must be armed ideologically, politically and militarily, and communists must be able to correctly lead them. At the same time, communists must prepare ourselves to be able to confront all the forces of reaction, and take the necessary measures to insure the continuity of the struggle and the utmost conservation of human resources.

Understanding the nature of the fascist tactics utilized by these thugs and the reactionary line of the Crusade for Justice, the Coalition decided to publicly condemn these events and thoroughly expose them among the masses. After the events they are now stronger than before, and more committed than ever to continue the struggle. They have been asked to go to the police, but they have taken a principled stand of not relying on the state repressive apparatus, of which the police is part. The police can only help the Crusade in further repressing the revolutionary movement.

The Guadalupe Church parish and its Pastor have publicly condemned the Crusade. United Mexican-American Students is sponsoring a forum to further the exposure campaign and wide sectors of the community have also responded favorably by condemning the Crusade's actions. As the Coalition pointed out in a recent flyer:

"We know that because we will not stand for intimidation, the Crusade will react even more violently against those of us who dare to tell the truth. We fully expect to be the targets of lies and physical attacks by them. We must stand together in the face of these attacks and not be afraid to expose them."

It is the democratic right of the Coalition and all other people to protect themselves against the Crusade brutalities just as we have the right to defend ourselves against the police brutalities. We will end the attack but we will defend ourselves. We call on the support of all people in this struggle. It is the masses of people who will end the oppression by imperialism. It is the people who can wipe out the last trace of credibility from the face of the Crusade!"

It is now the task of the Coalition forces to intensify the class struggle. Along with the active exposure campaign being carried out, we must all remember that we must continue to actively raise and struggle for the lofty cause of Chicano liberation, through the multinational unity and struggle of the U.S. working class which gave rise to the coalition and brought upon itself the Crusaders' attack in the first place.

LPR-ML call on all revolutionary and advanced forces to support the efforts of the coalition in exposing the Crusade and to learn from these events. At the same time, we urge all to continue to move the struggle forward by actively educating, organizing and mobilizing the masses in struggle. The road to revolution is full of twists and turns, but the future is certainly bright! And we will win! Long live the struggle of the Chicano people! Long live the multinational unity and struggle of all workers and oppressed people!

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM AND ALL REACTION!

For further information, write to the Colorado Coalition in Support of the Chicano Liberation
Boxholder
P O Box 11084
Denver, Colo 80211

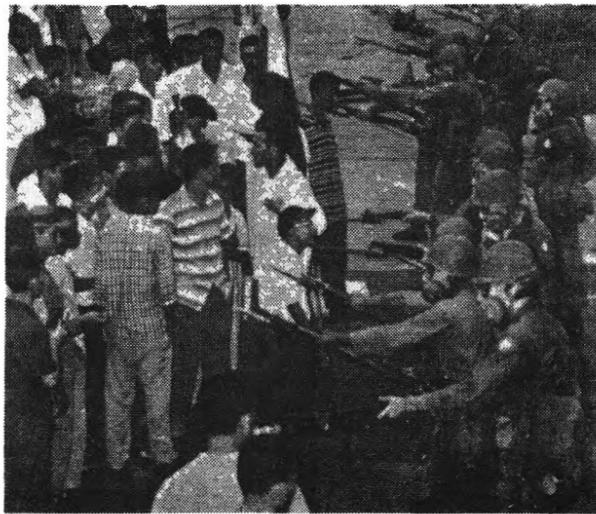


of being a quick route between the 2 oceans, combined with a lack of great mineral wealth (unlike Peru, Mexico or Ecuador) or very fertile land (unlike Colombia, Argentina or Venezuela), from the earliest times, focused the attention of the European powers (and later of the U.S.) on Panama as a point of transit for international commerce. This was the specific content of Spanish colonial exploitation in the isthmus. It was through Panama that Spain received the natural resources it extracted from its American colonies, through Panama, Spain distributed its products to the American markets. In Panama, Spain held the Fairs of Portobelo, gigantic commercial fairs which attracted the most powerful merchants of the time. Even in that period, we can see how Panama's economy was being deformed in its structure and development. On one hand, there was a more developed metropolitan economy, basically involved in commercial activities connected to and completely dependent on the world economy, especially the Spanish economy on the other hand, there was the subsistence economy practiced by the sparse, widely scattered population in the remainder of the country having little or no relation to the economy of the zone of transit. This particular structuring of the Panamanian economy led the country, specifically its zone of transit, to know periods of boom and bonanza when international commerce prospered and to experience desperate misery when external factors slowed down or blocked international exchange. It was just such a period of misery and depression that Panama obtained its independence from Spain, in November, 1821, shortly after voluntarily uniting with Colombia. The infant Panamanian bourgeoisie lacking the power base available to the agrarian big bourgeoisie of Colombia, was unable to defend its own interests and Panama fell to the exploitation of the Colombian bourgeoisie.

After more than 3 quarters of a century of oppression and no less than thirty separatist attempts, armed struggle was launched in early 1900. The struggle, as far as the Panamanian bourgeoisie was concerned, was part of the Colombian civil war between liberals and conservatives, for the peasant masses it was a people's war of liberation with deep social content.

The U.S. was fully aware of the strategic importance Panama held for its international commercial and military designs. It had already made a large investment in the region during the 1850's in order to build a railroad across the isthmus, necessary for the exploitation of the California gold fields discovered in 1849. Even then, the U.S. had a long history of military intervention in Panama, five between 1856 and 1865. The U.S. knew the danger to its interest represented by the new turn in the Panamanian struggle, led by Victoriano Lorenzo and his liberation Army. After almost three years of sustained armed struggle and great military victories by the liberation army, and with independence imminent, the U.S. stepped up its diplomacy, promising help to the Panamanian bourgeoisie in seceding from Colombia and to give "generous" economic aid to the future republic. In exchange, it demanded the handing over of the guerrilla leader, Victoriano Lorenzo. Similar to what they would do three decades later in Nicaragua with the great Sandino, Lorenzo was handed over and executed and the general staff of the liberation army massacred, thus clearing with blood and force, a path for North American investment in Panama to exploit its natural resources. Within a few days of Panama's pseudo-independence and before the first constitution for the country could be drawn-up, the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty was signed in Washington and ratified by the North American Congress in February 1904 (To this day, it has never been ratified by Panama). The "Panamanian" representative in the hastily held talks which resulted in the treaty, was the director of the French Canal Company. This company began operations in Panama in 1880 after its work on the Suez Canal had been completed. At the turn of the century it was bankrupt so it looked on and saw the signing of the treaty with the U.S. as a way out of its grave economic situation.

The treaty brought about by the circumstances described above, is still in effect today and is the one which has been discussed for the last twelve years. It is known in the history of the isthmus as the "Panama Cession" Treaty because it is a long list of concessions which Panama must make to the U.S. according to what the latter feels is necessary to build, maintain, operate and protect the Panama Canal, including the right of the



In January 1964 thousands of students, workers and women confronted the Yankee army in protest against Yankee occupation. Above, angry Panamanians fearlessly confront bayonets and riot gear.

U.S. to act within the canal zone "as if it were sovereign", and all this in perpetuity. It is really the ratification of the right of developed capitalist countries to impose their will by force to protect the interests of their financial monopoly groups, over weaker countries.

EXPLOITATION LAID BARE

The Panama Canal Zone is an area of 1,432 square kilometers which bridges the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. For the use of this strip of land in perpetuity and for the control and use of the territorial waters—an indispensable resource—for the running of the canal—the U.S. paid Panama \$10 million in 1904 and \$1,930,000 as an annual payment starting in 1914 (when the canal began to operate). In total the canal has brought Panama a direct benefit of about \$130 million in seventy two years. According to the official figures of the Panama Canal Company, a U.S. government organism, net benefits received by the company during the period 1915-1970, were \$1 billion, 221 million. In order to have a more exact idea of the juicy profits extracted by the U.S. from the canal, we should point out the following

1 In giving figures for the net gains in operating the canal, the company has subtracted as costs the amounts used in the upkeep of the Canal Zone government including health services, school system, postal service and communications, police, customs, public services, etc., etc. This is a way of shamelessly hiding its profits as it meets the costs not directly related to the functioning of the canal out of canal earnings.

2 About 70% of canal traffic is headed for, or comes from, the U.S. The canal offers reduced tolls to North American shipping, thus subsidizing North American companies. These reduced tolls represent a saving of \$700 million annually for North American private enterprises.

3. U.S. Navy vessels pay nothing for use of the canal. According to official Canal Zone government figures, this brought the U.S. a net savings of \$1 billion, 500 million in maritime costs during World War II alone. According to the same source, without the canal, the U.S. would need to raise its naval strength by 50-60%. By this estimate the Zone represents a saving for the U.S. government of at least \$11 billion between 1914 and 1970.

The U.S. not only receives economic benefits from its domination of the Canal Zone, militarily it is important both for the reduced cost it allows North American imperialism in its aggressive operations and for the shorter time it requires them to mobilize personnel and arms. These military advantages played a big role in the 1st and 2nd World Wars and in the aggression against Korea, the Dominican Republic and Vietnam. The Zone is the seat of the Southern Command of the U.S. armed forces which has military jurisdiction throughout the entire southern continent and seas. It also housed the School of the Americas, a counterinsurgency school which has trained more than 25,000 officers for the repressive armies of Latin America since 1949. The Zone houses 14 military bases, which stock all types of modern weapons, including nuclear arms at an investment calculated at \$18 billion. The real figures for military personnel in the Zone are unknown except in official circles. None of this warlike arsenal has anything to do with defense of the canal for Panamanian stra-

tegists have shown the canal to be indefensible from within Panama. The military installations in the zone don't protect the canal from acts of sabotage which could paralyze operations for long periods. As far as the possibility of an attack from outside the continent, installations with the task of intercepting missiles headed for the Zone should logically be outside the Zone such as in Puerto Rico or Cuba (Guantanamo). The military installations in the Zone respond primarily to the global defense needs and to aid U.S. aggression in the Western Hemisphere and the world.

COLONIAL ENCLAVE IN THE ZONE, NEO-COLONIAL EXPLOITATION IN THE REST OF THE COUNTRY

The international attention paid to the canal problem has created the false impression that Panama is the canal or that the only contradiction between Panama and North American imperialism is the canal. The Canal Zone is the most obvious and concrete evidence of Yankee oppression in Panama, but it is not the only evidence. The direct investments of North American companies add up to more than 50% of the total investments in Panama. Banking has had an extraordinary growth in the last decade due to deposits by North American individual corporations who use Panama as a bridgehead for their financial operations in the hemisphere. There is a growing trade deficit, due mainly to transactions with the U.S. The public debt is skyrocketing, leading the country into the worst financial crisis in its history. The Free Zone of Colon, on the Atlantic side of the canal, is a tax-free paradise for multi-million dollar international business dealings.

Panama has the most unequal distribution of income in all of Latin America. 90,000 peasant families (about 450,000 persons out of a population of 1,500,000) have no land to work. The rate of open unemployment is about 14%, the rate of underemployment is 20%. Conditions in housing, education and health for the masses are very poor, the levels for illiteracy, malnutrition and infant mortality are notably high. From every angle, it presents a typical picture of an oppressed country.

THE PANAMANIAN PEOPLE'S PLACE IN HISTORY

Panama has had a long and heroic history of anti-imperialist struggle with the recovery of the Canal Zone as its rallying point. In 1947, due to a popular explosion of opposition to it, the Panamanian National Assembly was forced to reject an accord on military bases despite the assembly's complete subjection to Washington. Other high points of this long struggle have been "Operation Sovereignty" in 1958, the planting of National flags in the Zone in 1959 which saw scores wounded by the Zone's police and armed forces, the marches held in January, 1964 in which thousands of unarmed students, workers, and housewives confronted the Yankee army, which was armed to the teeth, resulting in the murder of 21 and the wounding of 450. This led to the commitment by Lyndon Johnson's regime to negotiate a new treaty with Panama which would eliminate the "causes for conflict" between both nations. This negotiation process, a direct product of the people's struggle achieved with the blood of Panamanian youth, saw an attempt to end in 1967 with three treaties. The negotiations, far from eliminating the "causes of conflict", sharpened the contradictions by condoning and permitting the extension of the U.S. presence in the Zone allowing a greater military presence, broader jurisdiction for the courts of the Zone and ceding the right to build a new sea-level canal (in view of the future obsolescence of the present canal) to the U.S. Despite the solid pro-imperialist hue of the government then ruling Panama, the treaties were defeated due to popular mobilization and pressure.

This unexpected upset caused Washington to cease negotiations. They were resumed, on Panama's insistence, in 1970 and have now resulted in the accord worked out last week between the two sides. Important changes occurred in Panama between 1967 and 1970 which gave a particular turn to the negotiations. It does not fit within the framework of this article to make an analysis of the military coup of October 1963, of the conditions which led to it, of the character of the regime which has been governing since then, of the present political situation in Panama, of the level of the class struggles, of the perspectives of the Panamanian Revolution, etc. We will only mention certain aspects to the extent to which it is necessary for understanding the content of the recent agreement which is

awaiting approval by the U.S. Congress and a plebiscite in Panama. Contrary to the statements of the leaders of the "Panamanian Revolution" (a revolution styled much like the so-called "Ethiopian Revolution" even though Panamanian leaders and the national and international revisionists have not yet baptized it as "socialist") The negotiations have been held behind closed doors. The head of the Panamanian government, General Omar Torrijos, stated in 1975 that those who demand that the people be informed as to the content of the negotiations were agents in the service of the counterrevolution because to release such information would only weaken the Panamanian position at the negotiation table! At this time we can only analyze the treaty along the general lines that have been described by the North American press. This analysis leads us to conclude that on major points, the proposed treaty is a backward step compared to the 1903 treaty.

WHO MAKES THE CONCESSIONS?

Judging by all the racket being made by the Carter administration, it would seem that Panama has wrung fundamental concessions from the U.S., so much so that Carter had to ask Ford and Kissinger to help to convince the Senate. Senator Frank Church speaks of the need to be just towards Panama and accept the treaty so as to prevent the breaking out of guerrilla warfare in the Zone which might paralyze the canal. Senator Murphy calls for a crusade to prevent the Carter administration from handing the Zone over to Panama, etc. We must see through the demagogy and political games of this administration and Yankee imperialism. The few concessions made by the U.S. are well within the tactical plan for negotiation. The many concessions made by Panama are concessions of principles in antagonistic contradiction to the just and historical aspirations of the Panamanian people as expressed in thirty years of struggle against the North American presence in Panama. Let us look at the "concessions":

1. Joint Defense. Apparently the U.S. concedes to Panama participation in the defense of the canal as opposed to the present policy in which it's solely the function of the U.S. This is putting things upside down. Neither the Treaty of 1903 nor the modifications made to it, nor any agreement between the governments permits the presence of the North American military in the Canal Zone. This new treaty would legalize the Southern Command, the fourteen military bases, the School of the Americas, and other activities of aggression, training, and intelligence conducted from the Zone. Acceptance of so-called joint defense is to accept as valid the imperialist

thesis that the North American military apparatus in the Canal Zone is there to defend the canal. This thesis was shown to be false by the present Panamanian government itself. In 1970 it demanded, through its then foreign minister, Juan A. Tack, the dismantling of the entire military apparatus in the Zone and the departure of all troops and officers because the canal "is indefensible from Panama" and the presence of the North American military in Panama "responds to its (the U.S.) hemispheric geo-politics and not to the needs of the canal". Also, the Panamanian patriotic and communist movement shouldn't underestimate the use of "joint defense" as a cover for imperialism to give military training and ideological preparation to the Panamanian repressive forces.

2. End of Perpetuity. It is pointed out that that the Canal will revert to Panama after the year 2000. The demagogy of this particular "concession" is obvious for any reader well-informed as to the canal situation. The U.S. has had at least a decade to study possible routes through Panama, Colombia and other Central American republics for building a new sea-level canal. Why? The present canal is rapidly becoming obsolete—already the giant supertankers are too large to pass through it. Considering how fast time is running out for the canal, 23 years is not only too long, 23 years equals perpetuity in practice. Panama doesn't need the symbolic possession of a museum piece in the year 2000, Panama needs the canal now, while it's still an important factor in international shipping, while it can still serve as its principal source for accumulating the capital to make the investments necessary for internal development. Further, the U.S. reserves the right to intervene in Panama after the year 2000, at its discretion to preserve "the security and neutrality" of the canal. A similar right was contained in the 1903 treaty and was annulled in 1936 on insistence of the oligarchic government then ruling Panama, which claimed that the clause "wounds the national dignity".

3. The Hidden Concession The New Canal. Conscious of the growing obsolescence of the present canal the imperialists have been interested in the construction of a new canal which will replace the old one at the proper moment. Despite their studies of several areas—which was used to put pressure on Panama during the negotiations—they know that Panama has by far the best conditions for a new canal. That's why throughout the negotiations the imperialists have insisted on linking approval of the proposed treaty to a second treaty for a new canal. In 1970, Panamanian Minister Tack spoke for the present Panamanian government, stating "It is the position of my government that the present negotiations are the result of the popular protest, which had its greatest expression in January 1964, leading President Johnson's government and the government of President Chiari to convene negotiations for a new treaty which would eliminate the causes of conflict between both nations. It's clear that the "causes of conflict" arise from an existent treaty, from an existent canal, and not from a canal as yet unbuilt. We emphatically reject any attempt to link the matter of a new canal to the present negotiations." This was the correct position assumed by the Panamanian government in 1970, a position which was not upheld throughout the negotiations. The new treaty grants to the U.S. priority in the building of any new canal. To sum-up, the U.S. agrees to hand over to Panama an obsolete canal in the year 2000, to build new one if it finds it convenient, and reserves the right to intervene in case things do not proceed to its liking.

4. Economic Remuneration. The new treaty proposes a fixed annuity of \$10 million plus 30¢ per ton of shipping passing through the canal, which adds up to an estimated total return to Panama of \$50-60 million per year. Of course this is more than the \$1,930,000 it receives presently but to look at it this way is again to place things upside down. The fact is that Panama will receive a maximum of \$60 million from the use of its principal resources and the U.S. will receive \$300 million to \$1 billion annually. The problem isn't a matter of giving Panama a few more crumbs. It is to win its rights to benefit fully from the economic potential of the canal, and block the drain of hundreds of millions of dollars yearly towards the U.S. When this economic deal is not seen from the perspective of the Panamanian peoples' rights, but of the particular interests

of a clique in the government which in its eight years of power has lifted immense wealth from the public funds, the deal is a juicy one. Apart from the individual cuts which will go to high military leaders and bureaucrats, this annuity will provide patches here and there for the ailing Panamanian economy, which finds itself at a dead end (unless there is a New-Democratic Revolution) due to the policy of surrender to foreign capital which this government has followed, like all its predecessors.

To top it off, the accord includes a U.S. promise to secure a loan package, in combination with private institutions, to the tune of \$295 million in five years. This lucrative export of capital to Panama, in order to ever further exploit the Panamanian people, is made to look as if it were generous aid! The words of Carter require no commentary: "This five-year package will contain standard 'Buy American' provisions that will greatly benefit U.S. businesses which invest in and sell goods and services to Panama" (New York Times, August 13, 1977)

CONCLUSION

The struggle for national sovereignty, for the total recovery of the Canal Zone, for the dismantling of the entire Yankee military apparatus in the Zone and the removal of all their U.S. troops has been a constant struggle of the Panamanian people under the most difficult conditions. This struggle will in no way be held back by the repression launched by the military dictatorship against those who have denounced the anti-popular and anti-national character of the accords in the treaty. The fundamental goals of Panama, so far as the canal is concerned, will not be attained through a treaty unless the negotiations are backed by people's armed struggle, led by their Marxist-Leninist party. To create such a favorable correlation of forces in Panama, it is necessary to organize, educate and mobilize the masses, taking as a point of departure their class interests. Within this perspective, special significance goes to the struggle to solve the agrarian problem, which affects half the Panamanian people to the global struggle against economic, political, cultural and military penetration of the whole country by North America and to the struggle against the policy of betrayal of the military dictatorship and its demagogy. The military government has made use of the last seven years of negotiations to divert the struggle. Using the "solution" of the canal problem as a pretext, it proposes the need for "ironlike national unity" (a unity above classes) and represses as counterrevolutionary, all who act against this national unity. For example, to call for land reform attacks the land owners and so is an attack on the national unity, to denounce the high cost of living is an attack against the landlords, merchants and capitalists in general and so is an assault on the national unity.

The ending of negotiations limits the ground on which the military government can maneuver. The clear colonialist content of the projected treaty promises to turn what was conceived as a strategy of detour of class contradictions into its opposite, raising the internal and external contradictions to a new and critical level.

To the call for national unity, the Panamanian communists have countered with a call for people's unity for the recovery of the Canal Zone, unity of all classes and sectors of classes whose interests are objectively in contradiction with the presence of Yankee imperialism in the Zone. It is known that there is a small sector of the Panamanian bourgeoisie that wishes to see the Zone returned to Panama, but it has been correctly noted that it is a small sector, weak, and above all, the character of its contradiction with imperialism is non-antagonistic. A temporary alliance can be developed with this sector, but the class struggle must not be subordinated to this tactical alliance. The Panamanian communists have to preserve their ideological and political independence, build the party of the proletariat, take the science of Marxism-Leninism to the masses, unmask the class enemies, mobilize the masses to demand their rights, train them, educate them, and lead them towards the seizure of power for setting up a New Democratic Revolution and finally socialist revolution. The recovery of the Canal Zone will be a correct and victorious struggle as part of the struggle for the New Democratic Revolution.

PANAMA IS IN STRUGGLE, AND SURELY, PANAMA WILL WIN!

★★★★★★

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