

THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

"A communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against



all incorrect ideas and actions so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist."
Mao Tsetung

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SENATE RESERVATIONS UNDERMINE CANAL TREATY

The US Senate recently ratified two Panama Canal treaties that are aimed at transferring jurisdiction and sovereignty over the Canal Zone from the US to Panama. The first treaty passed the Senate on March 16, guaranteeing the Canal's neutrality. The second treaty, approved on April 18, transfers control of the Canal to Panama in the year 2,000.

The original treaty negotiated between President Carter and Panama's Chief of Government, Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos Herrera, was the result of over 70 years of heroic struggle by the Panamanian people against US colonialism. Never in its history did the Panamanian people passively accept US control of the Canal Zone. Overall the new treaty reflects a step forward in Panama's struggle for independence and national sovereignty. It strengthens Panama's ability to continue to struggle until complete victory is won. And the treaty serves as an example to the peoples and countries of Latin America, as well as Asia and Africa, as they struggle against superpower hegemonism.

But against the spirit of independence and national sovereignty that characterized the original treaty, the US unilaterally tacked on "reservations" during the Senate ratification process. The so-called "De

Concini reservation" was added to the first treaty. It purports to give the US the perpetual right to send troops to Panama, without the consent of the Panamanian government, anytime that Canal operations are threatened from either inside or outside Panama after the year 2,000. In essence this reservation tries to legally maintain the US right to interfere in Panama's affairs if the Canal is threatened by strikes, political demonstrations, etc.

This reservation, like the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, is an example of how the US attempts to legitimize intervention in the affairs of a foreign country. American intervention in Vietnam became legitimized when, at the request of President Lyndon Johnson, the Senate passed the resolution giving him the legal right to interfere in the affairs of Indo-China to "protect" the interests of US imperialism in that region. The same is true for the De Concini reservation. Under its terms, the US maintains the right to send troops to Panama to protect its interests in the Canal Zone from any internal disruptions. This is a flagrant violation of Panama's right to independence and national sovereignty.

PANAMANIANS RESIST THE RESERVATION

The Panamanian people righteously denounced these last ditch

efforts by US imperialism to undermine the essence of the treaty. After the first treaty passed the Senate, thousands of Panamanians demonstrated against the De Concini reservation. As one ambassador said, "Our presidents expressed their 'profound satisfaction' with the treaties in a Declaration in Washington. Now the treaties are turning out to be interventionist." Leaders throughout Central and Latin America have voiced similar sentiments over the chauvinist and heavy handed "diplomacy" of US imperialism. One Panamanian patriot expressed it clearly when he said, "...This amendment changes the whole meaning of what we voted to accept. It legalizes and codifies the Americans' right to send in the Marines if there is a strike on the canal - that's what your Senators say it means. Not even when Teddy Roosevelt intervened all over Latin America did he try to pretend it was legal."

In response to this widespread protest in Panama and throughout Latin America over the reservation in the first treaty, the US was forced to add an amendment to the second treaty stating that it would not interfere in Panama's internal affairs or violate its sovereignty.

So what does this mean? On the one hand the US can send Marines to "protect" the Canal during domestic demonstrations like a

strike, and on the other hand say this is not intervention in the internal affairs of Panama!

The intent of the original reservation remains clear. The US seeks to maintain its right to control the Canal whenever its interests as a superpower are threatened. It attempts to use its overall strength as a superpower to bully smaller countries into accepting its terms. And, in this case it is even more blatant since these reservations were tacked on after the two heads of state had already reached an agreement.

STRUGGLE FOR SOVEREIGNTY WILL CONTINUE

The US was forced to negotiate the treaty because of the growing strength of the third world in combatting superpower hegemony. It was hardly US good will or sense of fair play that had anything to do with initiating the treaty. Thus while the US is forced to agree to turn over the control of the Canal to Panama, at the same time it seeks to undermine the very foundation of Panama's national sovereignty by insisting on the unilateral "right" to step in and "protect" the Canal whenever necessary.

Nonetheless, the treaty is an advance for the Panamanian

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PLO ON ZIONIST INVASION OF LEBANON

Interview with Mustapha Hicham, member of the Paris Bureau of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Printed in L'Humanite Rouge no.28, April 13-27, 1978.

Q: What are the reasons for the Israeli aggression? To begin with the Zionists spoke of a reprisal operation for the operation of the guerillas at Tel-Aviv on the 11th of March. What of this?

R: Israel, by its nature, has always been driven by a racist and militarist spirit. The slogan which is written on the Knesset is to establish an Israel stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates. Many people doubt this expansionism and take it lightly, but you can see that over time Israel is accomplishing its idea by successive aggressions which rely on the imperialist forces, in particular, American imperialism. Recall that it is 50 years now since the first populated colonies were installed in Palestine. Now we see Israel extend its tentacles into Lebanese territory. To be more precise, in Lebanon, the Israeli plan is to occupy South Lebanon in order to have access to the sources of the Litani and the Hasbani rivers. For some time already the Zionists have prevented construction work on dams inside Lebanon. We have seen the same thing in Transjordan, and Gaza and on the Golan Heights: they take the land, exploit it, and place settlers in these territories.

It is this expansionism which is the source of the aggression in South Lebanon. It was not motivated at all by the Tel-Aviv

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ANTI-BAKKE MARCH RALLIES 15,000

On April 15th over 15,000 people came to Washington DC for the Anti-Bakke demonstration organized by the National Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD). This spirited march was an important advance and reflected the strong support of the broad masses for the equal rights struggle.

The demonstration was nationwide in character with participants from all over the US. Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Asian Americans, and other national minorities made up over half the march. New York construction workers, three union locals from Washington DC and hospital workers from Baltimore also participated in the march. And, the strong student presence reflected the good work that had been done on the campuses by the anti-Bakke decision forces.

In most respects the march was well organized. There was adequate sound, a good monitoring system, maps of the route, good publicity and a large turnout.

THE REFORMIST LEADERSHIP

But, politically the demonstration was controlled by reformists. This characteristic of the leadership was reflected in all the speeches. Almost everyone connected the struggle against the Bakke decision to the struggle against racism. But not a single speech addressed the source of racism! Implicit in this shortcoming is that racism can be overcome through reforms. On the other hand a revolutionary presentation links racism to national oppression and its elimination to the struggle for socialism.

In addition, the Bakke decision is an undisguised attack on the equal rights of women. Yet, hardly a speaker attempted to connect the Bakke decision to the oppression of women. Speakers who pointed to the inequality of women still failed to address the source of this inequality. A revolutionary presentation links household bondage

and domestic slavery inherent under capitalism to the treatment of women in the rest of society.

Also the Bakke decision was not linked by any speaker to the general crisis of imperialism from which there is no lasting recovery. Current superpower contention and war preparation, a consequence of the crisis, has accelerated the all-round attack on democratic rights.

But the most revealing example of the consistently reformist handling of the Anti-Bakke struggle by the NCOBD leaders was the failure of any speaker to point to the leading role of the working class in the struggle for equality. The working class is the only force in society that will not compromise this struggle. Lenin pointed out in 1897:

"The proletariat alone can be the vanguard fighter for political liberty and for democratic institutions. Firstly, this is because tyranny bears most heavily upon the proletariat whose position gives it no opportunity to secure a modification of that tyranny-- it has no access to higher authorities, not even to the officials, and it has no influence on public opinion. Secondly, the proletariat alone is capable of bringing about the complete democratization of the political and social system, since this would place the system in the hands of the workers." (The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats" - ICW V.2)

At the demonstration speaker after speaker reminisced over the 60's. But, never did anyone address any of the limitations of that mass movement. Most importantly, they did not address the absence of the proletarian leadership needed to carry the struggle for equal rights through to the end.

THE STRUGGLE TO DEFEAT REFORMISM

The reformism that characterized

the demonstration undermines the struggle for equal rights and revolutionaries must struggle to defeat its influence. There are many in the anti-Bakke decision movement who see that the struggle for equal rights requires revolutionary leadership. But some refuse to take the lead in building the broadest possible coalition and therefore fail to take up the struggle necessary to defeat reformism. Instead of raising their activity and consciousness to serve the needs of the movement their narrow activity serves to reduce the anti-Bakke decision movement to their own size and capabilities.

There are forces in the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition (ABDC) who were reluctant to be a part of the April 15th march because of differences with the reformist leadership of the march. This only served to abandon the many honest people who attended to the narrow politics of the demonstration.

Marxist-Leninists must take the lead in promoting the broadest possible common action in our anti-Bakke decision coalition work. Those who belittle the significance of uniting all who can be united and building the broadest possible coalition through common action hold back the necessary revolutionary training of vanguard elements. As we stated in *The Communist*, V. III, no. 11 ("A Party Building Retreat"):

"Unless we undertake simultaneously with the principle task of winning the vanguard to communism, the task of giving leadership to the masses and strive to enter and lead spontaneous manifestations of class struggle, we do not win the vanguard to communism in a practical way. We fail to train the vanguard in the most important characteristic of the proletarian party -- its capacity for political

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CELEBRATE MAY DAY!

STRUGGLE FOR 8 HOUR DAY BUILT INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

On May First hundreds of millions of people from every country of the world will be celebrating May Day, the international holiday of the working class. This yearly worldwide festival was born out of the struggle waged by the multi-national US working class for the eight hour day.

The struggle to limit the work day to eight hours began during the 1860's when "Eight Hour Leagues" were established all across the US. Even in this early period the mass movement was strong enough to force the federal government to pass an eight hour law for federal employees. Six states also enacted laws providing for the eight hour day.

Of course, these laws were so shot full of loopholes that they were virtually impossible to enforce. Yet, their passage represented important victories -- formal concessions by the bourgeoisie to the rights of workers -- that cleared the path for future struggle.

Even more importantly it was a struggle that did not stay confined to the borders of the US. It quickly spread to every other capitalist country. It was the first struggle to clearly reveal in a practical way the fundamental unity of interests of all workers throughout the world, as well as their common opposition to the capitalist class.

MAY DAY GENERAL STRIKE

The struggle in the US was to pick up again during the 1880's when it became the focus of activity for the growing organized labor movement led by the Knights of Labor (K of L) and the American Federation of Labor (AFL). In 1884 at its October 7th convention the young and still weak (only 50,000 members) AFL declared "...that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1st, 1886."

For the next one and one half years trade union activity in the US concentrated on the organiza-

tion of a nationwide general strike for May 1st, 1886 to force the concession of an eight hour day from the bourgeoisie.

The success or failure of this call for a general strike hinged greatly on the participation of the K of L which was a much larger and stronger organization at that time. The leader of the K of L was Clarence Powderly, a class traitor who cared nothing for the interests of the proletariat.

In opposition to the call for a general strike Powderly suggested that for winning the eight hour day workers should "write letters showing its value to the country, which would be sent to the newspapers on Washington's birthday."

Despite this traitorous leadership the K of L rank and file could not be diverted from joining the call for the general strike. On May Day, 1886, 340,000 workers took to the streets in strikes and demonstrations throughout the US demanding the eight hour day. This massive proletarian show of force shook the capitalist class to its boots. Nearly 200,000 workers won their demand as a result of the general strike.

THE "HAYMARKET AFFAIR"

But, a trade union movement with "leaders" like Powderly, who rely on "writing letters," is fundamentally undermined. The American capitalist class with the help of the labor bureaucrats soon launched a counterattack on the gains of the general strike. This counterattack began with the infamous "Haymarket Affair" in which leaders of the eight hour movement were framed for a bombing that killed eight policemen. Eventually four of these leaders, Albert Parsons, August Spies, Adolph Fischer, and George Engel were to be hanged for a crime that they didn't commit. A Chicago businessman best summed up the real intent of these hangings: "No, I don't consider these people to be guilty of any offense but they must be

hanged. I am not afraid of anarchy; oh, no, it's the utopian scheme of a few philanthropic cranks who are amiable withal, but I do consider that the labor movement must be crushed! The Knights of Labor will never dare create discontent again if these men are hanged!"

In the reign of terror that followed the Haymarket Affair nearly all the gains from the May Day general strike were lost.

However, these losses did not stop the determination and militancy of the workers. In 1888 the AFL once again issued the call to organize for a general strike in support of the eight hour day. And, the day chosen to resume the battle and launch the general strike was May Day 1890.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

This call to resume the battle was greeted with great enthusiasm by the American working class. And, once again, it was a struggle that could not be confined to national borders. Support for the strike quickly spread throughout Europe. At the International Labor Congress held in Paris in 1889, at which the Second International was formed, it was resolved to join the American working class and hold simultaneous demonstrations throughout Europe in support of the eight hour day on May Day 1890. Thus the stage was set for a general strike throughout the capitalist world.

But, while the masses of US workers had responded with "outstretched hands" to the proposal to renew the militant campaign for the eight hour day, the labor bureaucrats, with Samuel Gompers leader of the AFL at their head, were already hard at their treacherous work of undermining the struggle. They used their positions of leadership to sow doubt as to the success of a general strike and to spread the lie that the masses of workers were not enthusiastic about a general strike.

OPPORTUNIST BETRAYAL

At its convention in 1889 the "leaders" of the AFL completed their sabotage of the struggle by replacing the call for a general strike with a proposal for individual strikes, one at a time, by

the different trade unions. This conscious fragmentation of the national and international class solidarity and unity that grew out of the struggle for the eight hour day could only serve the capitalist class and be the work of its agents.

Although fatally undermined in the US the international class solidarity and unity of action continued to surge forward in Europe. May Day 1890 was marked by massive strikes and demonstrations throughout that continent. For a number of years to come May Day was to be dreaded by the European bourgeoisie. In many cities May Day was to be a time of armed battles between workers and the capitalists state. In 1906, such was the power exerted by the proletariat in France, that with the approach of May Day, many capitalists actually fled, fearing revolutionary insurrection.

BUILD INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

May Day is a time to celebrate the history of united struggle by the international working class. It is a day for re-affirming proletarian internationalism, for re-asserting our commitment to the common struggle of the international proletariat.

In the 19th century the fundamental unity of interests of the international working class most clearly expressed itself in the united struggle for the eight hour day. Today, it is the growing worldwide united front against the hegemonism and war preparations by the two superpowers that expresses in common action the fundamental commonality of interests and opposition to imperialism by all working and oppressed peoples.

As the representatives of the proletariat from within one of the two superpowers we have a special responsibility in building this united front to raise the consciousness and action of the American people against the hegemonistic strivings of US imperialism. The international solidarity that we must build, however, is against both superpowers. It is our internationalist duty, also, on this May Day to re-assert our commitment to fight against the hegemonistic strivings of the more aggressive of the two superpowers, and the main source for the growing danger of war, the USSR.

1913 LUDLOW STRIKE - HISTORIC EXAMPLE OF MINERS' STRUGGLE

The heroic resistance and fight by coal miners in their recent strike adds one more page to a long history of militant class struggle against monopoly capital and the state that serves its interests.

This history reaches back to a spontaneous walk-out in 1842 by 1500 miners--the first recorded coal strike in the US. And, in 1861, the first successful struggle for a miners' union was waged. The Ludlow Massacre is still another historic point in the coal miners' struggle. This struggle exposed both the resistance and courage of miners and their families, and the brutal fascist tactics of the state when the interests of monopoly capital are threatened.

The struggle began on September 23, 1913 when coal miners at Ludlow went out on strike against the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (CFI). The main issues were union recognition and the right to bargain collectively. The miners were also demanding the enforcement of state laws already on the books for an eight hour day, cash payment for work rather than script good only at the company store, semi-monthly paydays, the right of the union to appoint the check weighmen who weighed the loads the miners brought out from the mines, and for protective safety devices.

Clearly the state, in not enforcing these laws, was on the side of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the owner of CFI.

By the time of the Ludlow strike there had already been 60 years of

struggle to organize the coal industry in the eastern mines.

MINERS' STRUGGLE IN THE WEST

The coal operators felt they could crush the drive for unionization in the West before it could get a foothold. But the western miners had a different idea and fought back year after year to achieve their trade union rights. Many miners died in the struggle in the western mines leading up to Ludlow.

A common tactic was for Rockefeller and his lackeys to bring in strikebreakers from every section of Europe and Japan. However, because of the oppressive conditions in the mines, most of these workers soon rebelled and joined the struggle. Among the 11,232 men who went out on strike at Ludlow in September 1913, 21 different nationalities were represented including Greeks, Italians, Montenegrins, Bulgarians, Serbians, Croations, and Austrians.

Once the strike was called, the corporate reign of terror began. Union organizers were indicted and jailed on false charges. Baldwin-Gelts detectives were brought in from West Virginia, where they had gained experience in strike breaking, to ride around the countryside in a specially constructed armored car called the "Death Special" shooting at strikers and union organizers. Mother Jones, a famous organizer among the miners, was put in jail simply for being present at the scene of the strike. The wives of the miners marched on the jail to protest her arrest.

When they announced their intention to liberate her, mounted militia charged into the demonstration and beat the women with clubs. The company also evicted the striking miners from their company housing in the dead of the Colorado winter. The strikers, undaunted, set up tent colonies.

THE MASSACRE

The strikers had been forced to surrender most of their arms to the authorities, and they were expecting trouble. On Easter morning, April 24th, the National Guard, along with private gun thugs, opened fire on the tents with machine guns and high powered rifles. A number of miners who still had rifles ran into the nearby hills, trying to draw off the fire. They were careful not to shoot from the tents so that there could be no claim of provocation by the miners. Many remained in the tents, pressed to the earth until nightfall.

Louis Tikas, a Greek union organizer, was called upon to negotiate a ceasefire. When he came out to talk to the Major in charge of the attack, another of the thugs struck him in the head with a rifle butt, crushing his skull and killing him instantly. After he fell to the ground he was shot in the back to make it look as if he was trying to escape, but several strikers had witnessed the incident.

James Fyler, secretary of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) at Ludlow, was shot in the head while trying to telephone the news of the massacre to the press so that word would get out to the rest of the world. Mrs. Pearl Jolly made her way from tent to tent through the hail of bullets, trying to save the women and children. Even though she wore a red cross armband, she was shot in the arm and the heel of her shoe was shot off.

When night fell, most of the tent residents were able to escape

to safety. There remained only two pregnant women and eleven children hidden in a hole dug beneath one of the tents. Under cover of darkness the guards and hired gunmen rode into the colony with oil soaked torches and burned the tents to the ground. The children and women died in the fire. The total dead in the massacre was 20 strikers; the total killed for the duration of the strike was 66.

Two days later a call to arms was issued jointly by leaders of the UMWA, the Western Federation of Miners, the State Federation of Labor and others. It called for all the mining communities to "organize the men in your community in companies of volunteers to protect the workers of Colorado against the murder and cremation of men, women and children by armed assassins in the employ of the coal corporations, serving under the guise of state militiamen. Gather together for defensive purposes all arms and ammunition legally available". A mass meeting was held at the state capitol in Denver the following Sunday, where 10,000 people stood in the driving rain for 2 hours to hear speeches by Mother Jones and others, and to protest the massacre at Ludlow. The strikers organized into armed companies and renewed their battle against scab labor and non-union mines.

MINERS FIGHT BACK

But the strike was to end on December 7, 1914, when the national UMWA leadership gave it up as a lost cause. After it was over many strikers and organizers were indicted. Rockefeller was called to testify before the Industrial Relations Commission, but of course neither he nor any of the National Guard or mercenaries were ever indicted.

It was with the armed force of the state that Rockefeller temporarily crushed the union.

REJECT THE CPML UNITY CALL

Is the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML) a leading center for genuine revolutionaries who have not been united in a vanguard party of the proletariat?

The CPML says that it is: "The CPML has provided these forces with a leading center around which to rally. . . ." To facilitate this process they call for a new Unity Committee based on the model of the Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party (OC).

We reject this call. The CPML is not a leading center of our movement and its Unity Committee will not contribute significantly to the struggle for party unity. A leading center must demonstrate its leadership in line and practice. At this time, it must do so above all in relation to party building. But party declaring is not party building and the CPML has yet to take up the tasks of party building in a serious way.

PARTY BUILDING DEMANDS OPEN POLITICAL STRUGGLE

To begin with the CPML has given no leadership to the principled political struggle to unite the scattered forces of the US movement. In summing up the work of the Organizing Committee for a Marxist Leninist Party, the CPML wrote recently that before unity could be forged, it was necessary to work "for over a year to consolidate the unity trend around its common line and program" (THE CALL, March 20, 1978). Marxist-Leninists are entitled to ask: where are the results of that struggle? What are the issues around which there were differences? How were those differences resolved? What were the majority and minority views on programmatic questions? These are matters which can provide training for the movement as a whole and which should have been carried out openly in full view of the movement. But the OC and the CPML have provided none of this.

The CPML writes that "each group made significant contributions to the OC" (THE CALL, March 20, 1978). But diplomatic flattery has no place here and we do not take such things on faith. Where is evidence of these contributions to the line or program or practice of the CPML?

One of two things -- either there was no struggle in the OC and it provided no principled basis for party unity, or there was struggle but it was kept behind closed doors. The question of principle is whether overcoming disunity requires open political struggle over differences. We reject bureaucratic practices which carry out the struggle over differences in secret and we reject unprincipled conciliation. Neither can organize the whole of our movement no matter how many times the process is repeated. We reject practice which pretends to forge the unity of the proletarian vanguard in the US -- from Hawaii to New York and from Alaska to Florida -- without exposing a single major difference or point of struggle within the ranks of those who are supposed to constitute the vanguard. This makes a mockery of the struggle for unity. It reflects the CPML's failure to analyze the conditions for our disunity and the basis to overcome it.

Mao wrote that if there were no ideological struggles to overcome contradictions in the party, the party's life would come to an end. We can add that where there is no open ideological struggle to overcome disunity, the party's life will not begin!

PARTY BUILDING DEMANDS A STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM

The disunity of our movement has a material basis in the fragmentation of the class struggle of the proletariat under conditions of capitalist production. We are able to transform conditions of disunity into the class conscious unity of a vanguard party through the conscious dynamic role of revolutionaries. Opportunism on the other hand functions to perpetuate disunity in our ranks and to keep us divided. The CPML cannot claim to be a leading center of the struggle for party unity until it has provided leadership in the struggle against those tendencies which perpetuate our fragmentation. This they have not done because they have never known where to look.

In order to win the masses to our side, we must defeat the influence of modern revisionism among the class and its allies as well as in our own ranks. But within the Marxist-Leninist movement, and under the cover of anti-

revisionism, Marxist and bourgeois lines also contend. In order to consolidate the vanguard we must defeat trends of petty bourgeois opportunism which undermine the struggle against modern revisionism.

The main form of petty bourgeois opportunism that must be defeated is the right opportunist tendency to justify theoretical backwardness, political narrowness and organizational amateurishness.

For years the October League diverted honest comrades from the struggle against these errors with its line that "left" opportunist sectarianism was the main obstacle to party unity. In turn, the OC took the position that the struggle against "left" sectarianism had prepared the ideological conditions for the US party. Although in declaring itself the party, the CPML formally took the position that right opportunism had become the main danger (because of the defeat of "left" opportunism), it has never given a comprehensive analysis of why this is so. As a result, they are unable to explain how the party they established in June of 1977 put an end to the circle period. Instead of presenting facts and evidence, they make hollow assertions. Recent history is made to conform to their stereotype of what history should have been if it had followed the line of the CPML. Thus in "Learn from the Organizing Committee" (THE CALL, March 20, 1978), the CPML writes: "The OC carried us out of the period characterized mainly by the small, local communist circle," and out of the period where Marxist-Leninists were "small and scattered, primitive in their work and easily penetrable by the agents of the police and FBI." Again Marxist Leninists are entitled to ask what evidence there is of this transformation and how it took place. The CPML cannot explain how its struggle against opportunism provided the revolutionary training and experience required to transform the scattered circles and disunited organizations of our movement into a vanguard revolutionary party.

What the CPML does explain is that "all the groups that forged the Party showed a serious attitude towards party building and a genuine desire to put an end to the backwardness of the small circle spirit." (THE CALL, March 20, 1978). At least this is consistent. Previously, when "left" opportunism was the main danger, US Marxist Leninists could not form a party, according to the OC, because scattered groups of revolutionaries were sectarian and did not want to unite. In that case, all we needed for a party were some "genuine" revolutionaries with a "serious" attitude and a "genuine" desire.

PARTY BUILDING MUST UNITE ALL MARXIST-LENINISTS

Unfortunately for the CPML, however, overcoming the fragmentation of our movement, which has a material foundation, requires more than a serious attitude and genuine desire. It takes an open and principled struggle against opportunism and a step by step process of revolutionary training.

Because the CPML has never identified the main obstacles to party unity, it could not serve as a leading center to unite the scattered circles of our movement. As a result, in practice it has failed to forge the unity of significant sectors of that movement. Nonetheless, in the face of this, it invented a "unity trend."

This raises a question with important consequences not only for the policy and activity of Marxist-Leninists, but also for our appraisal of the ability of a revolutionary organization to deal with facts and sum them up in an honest way: is our movement characterized by disunity and fragmentation or by unity?

No doubt it is possible to see a "unity trend" if you limit your perspective to 10 local collectives, over half of which were formed for the purpose of joining the OC, and some of which were formed with the participation of OL cadres. When the CPML concludes that the period "charact-

erized mainly by the small, local communist circle" has been overcome, this is stereotyped party writing divorced from the facts. The CPML also invents facts to fit a preset mold when it says that "the initiative taken to form the OC in 1976 was in accord with the sentiments of the masses" or that "class conscious workers supported the unity efforts" (THE CALL, March 20, 1978). It did not happen that way and in spite of the CPML our movement remains disunited, fragmented and without a vanguard or leading center.

The question of whether you see a unity trend or fragmentation is a measure of how seriously you take the task of struggling for party unity. It is political narrowness to consider that 10 collectives plus a national organization constitute a "unity trend". Mao said:

"By unity we mean uniting with those who have differences with you, who look down on you or who show little respect for you, who have had a bone to pick with you or waged struggles against you and at whose hands you have suffered. As for those who see eye to eye with you, you are already united with them, so the question of unity doesn't arise. The trouble here is with those who have yet to be united." (PARTY UNITY AND PARTY TRADITIONS, SW, v. V, p. 318)

In order to unite with those who have yet to be united, the CPML will have to propose more than a warmed over version of the OC.

PARTY BUILDING DEMANDS THE ACTIVE INTERVENTION OF A VANGUARD ORGANIZATION OF REVOLUTIONARIES

In spite of formal initiatives, the CPML has taken an essentially passive attitude toward the struggle for party unity. They have launched a unity call, but taken few steps to implement it. "If you are genuine," we are told, "you will come forward." In December there is a promise to elaborate plans in a few weeks, but there is nothing after several months. Those steps which are taken are discretely chosen and behind the scenes, rather than open to the movement. How is this different from the National Continuities Committee?

Even the carelessness with which the article "Learn From the Organizing Committee" (THE CALL, March 20, 1978) is written reflects the low priority these new unity efforts have for the CPML.

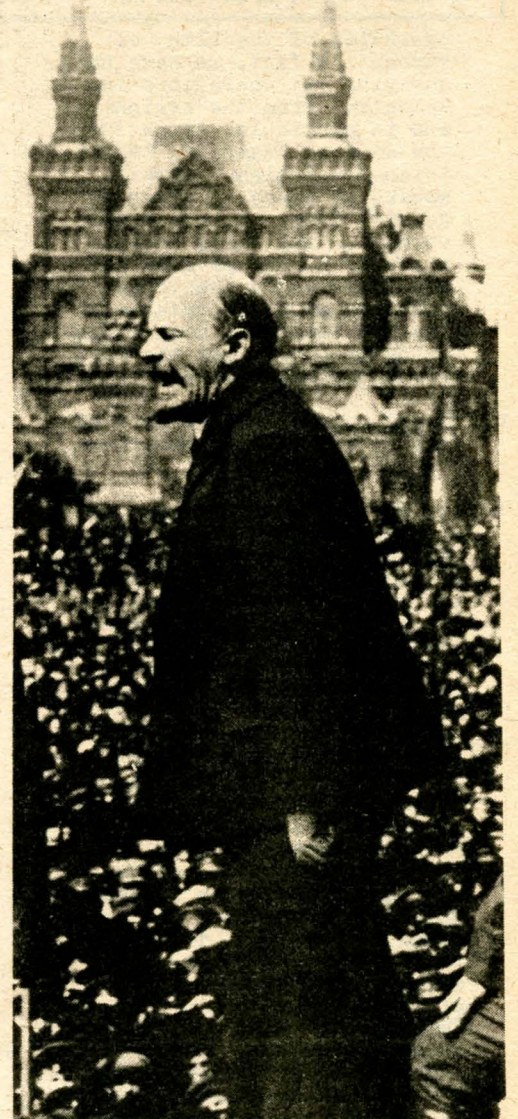
The call for the new Unity Committee itself exposes the passivity of the CPML's approach to party building. In that call (THE CALL, December 26, 1977), the CPML explains the conditions which favor the struggle for party unity at this time. The history of Lenin's ISKRA organization teaches that in a pre-party period it is the role of a vanguard organization or a leading center to actively prepare the conditions for party unity. Lenin identified two fundamental conditions which remain valid: the necessity to draw lines of demarcation through open political struggle and the necessity to train a network of professional revolutionaries capable of guiding nationwide political agitation.

For the CPML, however, favorable conditions for party unity occur spontaneously and independently of a leading center.

For example, the CPML identifies the following as conditions favoring party unity:

- 1) a growing unity trend among Marxist-Leninists internationally,
 - 2) the growing war danger,
 - 3) deepening capitalist crisis,
 - 4) the rise of the strike movement and a turn of workers to Marxism,
 - 5) the self exposure of the RCP and the Guardian, and
 - 6) the self exposure of the Soviet social imperialists due to the sharpening of contradictions internationally
- (THE CALL, Dec. 26, 1977).

As for the first point, an international unity trend, this



COMMEMORATE THE BIRTHDAY OF
V.I. LENIN, APRIL 22, 1870.

also substitutes stereotypes for reality. It is true that divisions in the international communist movement have led to a deeper consolidation among many Marxist-Leninists, yet overall, the sharpening of differences has left a residue of confusion and vacillation still far from overcome.

What is particularly striking about the CPML's formulation of the others is that none depends on the active intervention of a vanguard organization and leading center. All are conditions which make it imperative to take up our party building tasks. In themselves, however, without the conscious element, they do not take us one step closer to party unity. When Lenin and the Bolsheviks talked about favorable conditions for a party congress, they had in mind primarily conditions brought about by revolutionaries themselves.

The CPML's view reflects sentiments of right opportunist passivity in the face of conditions which evolve spontaneously.

This is consistent with the weaknesses which we have exposed in the CPML's proposals -- failure to take up open political struggle for unity, failure to take up the struggle against opportunism required to overcome the obstacles to unity, failure to forge the unity of significant sectors of the movement, and a passivity in the face of the struggle for unity.

Comrades, let us bring an end to this period of superficial party declaring and earnestly take up the tasks of party building. The initiative lies in our hands. Are there still those who would stifle open debate? We welcome it! Are there still those who ignore the struggle against opportunism? We will hold it up to national view! Are there still those who want to restrict party building to a convenient corner of our movement? We insist on the active intervention of every comrade!

We open the pages of THE COMMUNIST to that struggle!

We welcome opposing views on the burning questions of our movement!

Let every comrade take up the fight for a single, common Iskra type newspaper as a vehicle to prepare the conditions for a new vanguard party of the US proletariat!



PLO INTERVIEW

CONTINUED FROM p. 1

operation of the 11th of March. In fact, we have been carrying out operations inside Palestine from the beginning, and in particular since 1965, the date we began the Palestinian revolution. Israel speaks of peace in order to deceive international public opinion, but their idea of peace is to occupy more and more Arab lands and to get more and more war materials. The USA furnishes them everything they need and the most sophisticated weapons.

Q: Could you explain in more detail the Tel-Aviv operation?

R: Our struggle is just because our fundamental rights have been trampled upon and our land usurped. It is acknowledged by all Arab countries and in the Charter of the United Nations that a national liberation movement may have recourse to all forms of struggle, including armed struggle. Many lies have been spread about the Tel-Aviv operation. The Zionists especially have attempted to pretend that our action was directed against children. What the guerillas attacked were three police blockades. As far as I know, police blockades are not composed of children. The civilians who were killed in the bus were killed through the fault of Israel. The Zionists have admitted as much themselves in creating a commission of inquiry to find out who gave the order to fire on the bus. We will continue our legitimate struggle. It is the Zionists who are responsible for the sufferings in the region. For us, it is important to strike inside occupied Palestine. We will continue to do this even if the conditions of struggle in the interior are difficult.

Q: From the military point of view, what is the relationship of force in South Lebanon?

R: The Israelis pretended at first to respond to the (Tel-Aviv-ed.) operation, then they spoke of

a mopping up operation, and finally they spoke of border rectification. Together with patriotic Lebanese forces, we were from the beginning opposed to the aggression, the goal of which was to exterminate the population. It was to realize this goal that the Israelis used F15 airplanes, carried out massive bombardments with heavy artillery, etc. Dozens of Lebanese villages have been erased from the map. They provoked the exodus of 250,000 persons. The second goal of the aggression was to strike our military forces and at the same time to unfold a political campaign against the PLO in order to stifle its political expression. In spite of their weak capabilities, our combatants inflicted heavy losses on the enemy: more than 150 tanks and military material (were destroyed-ed.) and 600 soldiers were killed or wounded. On the eastern front, they were not able to penetrate deeply. As for our military losses, they were very weak; not even one third of those that the Zionists hoped for. The ones who suffered were the civilians; collective massacres were organized. The lesson that we can draw from these recent events is to see one more time the true face of Israel. We must not direct our guns inside the Arab camp, but on the contrary must organize the Arab camp against the Zionist enemy.

Q: What is the position of the PLO on the presence of United Nations troops?

R: The Security Council has taken a very clear position on this subject in three points:

- 1) Immediate withdrawal of the Israeli forces from South Lebanon.
- 2) The United Nations intervention force installed there must supervise the departure of these forces.
- 3) The member countries of the United Nations must participate in the United Nations forces.

Israel has attempted to sidestep these decisions by saying

that it requires a security zone. The Palestinian resistance and the progressive Lebanese forces have taken the following position: yes to the withdrawal of Israeli forces; no to the security zone. This point must be made clear, for Israel and the mass media confuse everything. The role of the UNIFIL is to get the Israelis out, period! No security zone is mentioned by the United Nations decision and we reject it. Since no one knows to what point Israel will extend itself, this is not a danger for us only.

It is in the name of such security that Israel drove a people from its land, killed, massacred and pillaged the wealth of neighboring countries by occupying lands in Sinai, the Golan Heights, etc.

There is another point to emphasize: The United Nations forces must leave Lebanon once their task is terminated.

Q: What will be the politics of the PLO now?

R: Our politics will always be the same. We will continue our struggle inside occupied Palestine; we will support the actions of the Palestinian masses in the occupied territories. No one spoke of it, but during the battle in South Lebanon, there were enormous demonstrations at Naplouse, where there were 4 deaths, at Jerusalem, in Gaza, where there were some wounded, etc.

What must be said is that we are going to intensify our struggle. With the Zionists, you



must always have the gun in hand; this is the only guarantee for recovering our land and our rights. Neither by negotiations or by press communiques will the Israelis yield. The imperialists and their agents fall back, but they never yield willingly. We will succeed only by the relationship of force. We believe that one day the Palestinian flag will fly over Jerusalem; that we will build a society based on justice and not on discrimination, on equality and social justice. This is our hope and I believe it is the hope of every person who holds to liberty and justice.

—translated from French by the WC(M-L)

ANTI-BAKKE MARCH

CONTINUED FROM P. 1

leadership -- unless we take up simultaneously the tasks of political agitation and propaganda."

Communists are not compromised by unwaveringly upholding the necessity to unite all who can be united. In all united front work we maintain principle by refusing to compromise our independence and the right to disseminate agitational and propaganda material that reflect a communist point of view.

TAKE BAKKE TO THE WORKPLACE

The 15,000 people who attended the April 15th march represent an important step in the development of a powerful anti-Bakke decision movement. But this success will be limited unless the anti-Bakke decision struggle is taken to the workplace. It is the job of communists to mobilize those involved in the anti-Bakke movement to take the case to every significant workplace of the US.

In the first place, as stated in the last issue of The Communist (V. IV, no. 10):

"The anti-Bakke movement is definitely growing in amplitude as the significance of the Bakke offensive become more and more clear in every

workplace and community across the nation."

The Weber Case in Louisiana presents a good example of the ramifications of the Bakke decision in the workplace. In this instance a federal district court ruled that an affirmative action program at Kaiser Aluminum constituted reverse discrimination. This ruling is a direct attack on the equal rights of oppressed nationalities and women at the workplace.

As resistance to this offensive grows in the working class, we will be left behind if we do not match this resistance with an energy and scope equal to it. By organizing around attacks like the Weber Case, we raise the possibilities of drawing broad masses of working people into the struggle for equal rights.

More importantly, however, we must take the anti-Bakke decision movement to the workplace because of the vanguard role of the proletariat in the struggle for democracy. Our aims are not the limited goals of the reformists. The call to take the Bakke decision to the workplace must therefore be viewed as a call for a sustained and non-compromising struggle that carries the campaign for equal rights through to the end.

PANAMA CANAL TREATY

CONTINUED FROM P. 1

people. It serves to strengthen Panama's ability to defend its territorial integrity and at the same time it serves to weaken US imperialism's ability to blatantly intervene in the internal affairs of Panama. The US, one of the world's two superpowers, was forced to publicly concede that the Canal belongs to Panama. All military forces will eventually be removed and US army bases will be reduced from 14 to 4 by the year 2,000. Panamanian law will replace US law. Panama will benefit directly in terms of revenue from the Canal. And eventually the workforce in the Canal will be completely Panamanian. Overall this strengthens Panama's strategic position in defending the Canal from any interference.

At the same time, the US will seek a hundred different ways to undermine these gains, such as those "legalized" in the De Concini reservation, in an attempt to maintain control of the Canal.

But the Panamanian people have resisted, and will continue to resist, any implementation of the

De Concini reservation. They have a militant and proud history of struggle against similar intrigues and interference by US imperialism. They will not waiver in their struggle until complete victory is won. They have learned through their own bitter experiences that it is only the fiercest and most determined struggle against superpower hegemonism that will win their complete independence and national sovereignty.

It is the particular duty of communists and all class conscious workers living in the heartland of US imperialism to wage a relentless struggle against any attempt to implement this reservation under any circumstances. We must raise the consciousness of the masses by exposing the inconsistency of the reservation with the spirit of the original treaty. We must staunchly support the struggle of the Panamanian people against US imperialism. And we must support any steps that the Panamanians take to guarantee their complete independence and national sovereignty.



The plan of the Workers Congress (Marxist-Leninist) is to fight for a newspaper modeled on Lenin's ISKRA as the main link in the fight to prepare the conditions for a new Communist party. While we discuss questions from our own definite point of view, our columns are open to all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary workers for topical exposures, polemics and reports on their work.

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LUDLOW STRIKE

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drive at Ludlow. However, toward the end of the strike, in an effort to rebuild his public image as "Sunday school teacher and philanthropist", he also utilized other tactics. Hypocritically, he claimed to uphold a belief in the "harmony of interests" between workers and corporations. And, a plan was presented for ending the strike that called for forming a company union.

This paternalistic plan called for two "miner's representatives" at each mine to look out for the miners' interests, and to meet once a year with the same number of company representatives, and a grievance procedure that could go "all the way to the company president" if necessary, hardly the ultimate assurance of fair arbitration they tried to make it out to be. But, the striking miners would not accept it, and Rockefeller was only able to institute it several months after the strike had already been broken.

LESSONS FOR OUR STRUGGLE

The Ludlow strike has come down through history as the "massacre". But this only reflects a one-sided

and fatalistic view of the struggle. In the end the essence of this page from history was not the temporary victory of the bourgeoisie but the tremendous courage the staunch determination and class solidarity with which the miners at Ludlow fought their class enemy.

May Day is a time for reflecting and renewing our commitment to the class struggle. We should study this history of Ludlow and draw strength from the militant example and capacity for sacrifice.

At the same time Ludlow must serve as a historic warning against the inevitable tendency under bourgeois democracy to belittle the role of the state as final arbiter of class struggle. Imperialism is the negation of democracy. As the general crisis of the system deepens the ability of capitalism to rely on its "democracy" to resolve class conflict will lessen and this ultimate role of the state will come more and more into practice. If the ideological and organizational style and character of our work does not reflect this our ability to lead the class struggle will be fatally undermined.