

# 3rd National Conference of the MLP, USA

— Fall 1986 —

## Rank-and-file action against the Reaganite offensive!

## Build the workers' movement as a revolutionary movement!



Longshoremen in Port Elizabeth, New Jersey stand firm against a scab trucker during the strike of 30,000 dock workers in October 1986.

The 3rd National Conference of the Marxist-Leninist Party calls the workers to **rank-and-file action against the Reaganite offensive!**

The conference centered on strengthening the workers' movement. It analyzed the strike movement, it summed up the Party's work in the factories and other work places. And it denounced all attempts to subordinate the workers' struggle to the concealed Reaganism of the liberal Democrats and the union bureaucracy or to submerge it in the reformist tinkering of "left" posturing bureaucrats and revisionist liquidators. The conference emphasized that progress, whether in the economic struggle or in the political mobilization of the working masses, demands that we **build the workers' movement as a revolutionary movement!**

### The Strike Movement and Rank-and-File Action

The re-emergence of the strike movement has been the most important recent event in the workers' movement. After reaching its lowest point since the beginning of the Great Depression of the 1930's, the first stirrings of the strike movement began to break out once again in the middle of last year.

Some workers, such as those in basic steel, have again turned to struggle after having been kept sitting on their hands for years. There is a renewed use of mass picketing and other militant tactics to combat the capitalists' widespread use of scabbing and police repression. Solidarity strikes and demonstrations are also spreading. And there are flashes of struggle where, for short periods, workers break loose of restraints and wage wildcats and mass actions over the heads of the sell-out union bureaucrats.

In summing up the Party's widespread work in the strike movement, the conference stressed building up the independent motion of the workers and unleashing rank-and-file actions. These are the actions that slip the treacherous noose of the union bureaucracy and release the fighting initiative of the broad masses of the workers. These are the actions that have the greatest potential to combat the capitalists' concessions drive and to advance the overall struggle of the working class.

The conference analyzed the struggle between trends within the strike movement. The workers confront the disgusting class betrayal by the top union bosses of the AFL-CIO and Teamsters.

They also face a trend of "left" bureaucrats who posture for the "rank and file" and "against concessions" while tying the workers' struggle down in reformist compromise with the top union sellouts. Experience has shown that rank-and-file actions are prepared by persistent work to expose and combat these pro-capitalist trends and by using every opportunity to encourage the independent motion of the workers. The further advancement of the strike movement depends, to a great extent, on the rank-and-file activists consciously forging a trend opposed to the union bureaucracy.

The conference hailed the signs of

renewed struggle. Although still scattered and sporadic, the strikes show the deep-felt anger of the masses. They are educating the rank and file. They are helping to prepare the workers for broader struggle in the future. They are providing another wide field for the Party to build up its influence and to step by step lay the basis for real, fighting organizations of the masses.

### Build the Workers' Movement as a Revolutionary Movement

The conference held that the tasks of  
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See **REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT**

## The Workers' Advocate



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES. UNITE!

VOICE OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY OF THE USA

Vol. 16, No. 11

November 15, 1986

# 3rd National Conference of the MLP, USA

## REVOLUTIONARY VMVT.

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the working class activists are not confined to fighting against concessions. The workers' movement must be built as a revolutionary movement.

The mass strike movement against concessions must not just push for struggle despite the union bosses. It must be strengthened in an open fight against the labor traitors and seek to draw wider and wider sections of the masses into the struggle.

The workers must also push forward the mass political movements to fight Reaganite tyranny and racism, militarism and imperialist aggression. This is important in its own right. As well, for the economic struggle to be really firm and effective the workers must be enlightened by revolutionary political consciousness.

Persistent work is required to sever the workers from the liberal-labor politics of the Democratic Party and the union bureaucracy, to undermine the non-political atmosphere foisted on the masses, and to unite them in a movement based on the independent class interests of the workers.

As well, the strategies of today — whether economic, political, or ideological — need the perspective of socialist revolution to guide them forward and to inspire them with the alternative to this capitalist hell.

The conference laid stress on training the workers in party concept and on constructing the Party in the factories and other work places. This is the indispensable weapon needed to build the workers' movement as a revolutionary movement.

### Deepen the Party's Ties With the Masses

At the 2nd National Conference, which was held in 1984, the Party analyzed the problems for revolutionary work under the present difficult conditions. It set out various tactics to deepen the Party's ties with the masses. This included improving the Party's agitation through such measures as regularizing *The Workers' Advocate*, producing a supplement, and other changes. And it included work to seize on the ripples of struggle in the local areas and work places to build up the influence and organized links of the Party among the masses.

## Rank-and-file action against the Reaganite offensive!

Today Reagan and the capitalist rulers have rallied around a vicious offensive against the workers and poor people, a drive to force back the clock of history. This is a drive to wipe out every gain the working people have made through their struggle and sacrifice in the past, whether it was in the class battles of the 30's or in the upsurge of the 60's.

Reagan speaks of the "new prosperity" in America. But this is a prosperity for the wealthy and the corporate bosses, not for the workers and poor. For six years now, the White House has presided over a vicious assault against the masses while lining the pockets of the rich with gold. While the corporations get huge tax breaks and fat military contracts, while the banks rake in big interest payments from the budget deficits, while profits zoom skyward on Wall Street — the capitalist employers have kept up the demand for more and more concessions from the workers.

The high-living capitalist parasites say that the workers are paid too much, so they demand that wages be cut. And in the work places, overwork, speedup, and harassment are the rule. Millions

The 3rd National Conference approved the advances made in fulfilling these tasks and discussed how to carry them forward.

The charts that were made in *The Workers' Advocate* have allowed for greater attention to providing guidance to the mass movements and to educating the workers through hard hitting exposures of the political events of our days. While the paper has been made easier to read, its revolutionary orientation has been preserved. And it has continued to serve, along with the supplement, as an organ for the essential theoretical work of the Party.

The strengthening of *The Workers' Advocate* also reflected an improvement in the agitation throughout the Party. The local papers, leaflets, pamphlets, and so forth have shown a growing sensitivity to the political mood of the masses and an improved ability to link up with the still inconsistent, vacillating and incomplete revolutionary tendencies that exist among the masses. The Party's press is better able to speak the language of the workers, to appeal to the confused strivings of the still unawakened masses and to help bring them forward to a communist stand.

This revolutionary agitation helped the Party to strengthen its influence among various sections of the working masses. In the last two years the Party led a number of mass struggles. It was able to reactivate a trend of pro-party workers in some work places and to organize and extend that trend elsewhere. The Party also linked up with some organizations that spontaneously arose among militant activists and it built other modest mass forms. Overall, the Party expanded the distribution of its revolutionary literature and extended its contact with various militants. This lays the basis for gradually building up more organized links among the masses in the future.

### Contradictory Situation For Revolutionary Work In This Period

These advances have come only through a most persistent, painstaking, and slow process. The conference discussed the contradictory situation for revolutionary work in this period.

The vicious capitalist offensive has produced a deep-seated anger, and the desire to fight back continues to boil up among the masses. In this situation sporadic battles break out, the masses

remain unemployed, while a new round of layoffs and plant closings is already threatening to throw more out of work. In the meantime, Reaganism has steadily stripped down unemployment, welfare and other social benefit programs.

The capitalists have thrown down their challenge. For the sake of the profits of American business, they are demanding the massive driving down of the wages, working and living conditions of the workers.

What's more, the Reaganite offensive is an all-out drive against the masses, not just against their livelihood. Reaganism stands for forging new links between the black people and other minorities with the stepping up of segregation, discrimination and Klan-style terror. And it stands for unbridled jingoism, for rampant militarism, and for new military adventures abroad. Today the U.S. imperialists have already begun a new Viet Nam-style war against Nicaragua.

Under Reaganism, the capitalists have stepped up the pressure of reactionary, bourgeois ideas and culture against the workers and young people. In the name of promoting a "new

era attracted to the Party's agitation, and the Party is able to spread its influence wider.

At the same time, the economic crisis and the general ebb in the mass movements creates pressure to break up and disperse organizations of the working masses. Thus building up organization and recruiting new members to the Party remains a slow, demanding process.

At the same time, a situation has been created by many factors. The plant closings and large-scale layoffs have tended to disorganize the workers. Meanwhile the bipartisan, united offensive of the capitalists has been able to temporarily put a brake on the mass struggle. While the so-called "free press" in this country spends its time repeating Reagan's lies and justifying his clumsy, inept policies, the Democratic Party has rallied to the Reaganite program. The labor bureaucrats have turned to a business-unfriendly program, jointly administering the takebacks and productivity drive against the masses. And the black bourgeoisie has kept its back turned on the masses and is scurrying after a tiny share of the profits being amassed by the big monopolies.

It cannot be predicted when the ebb in the mass movements will pass. But it can be seen that the bourgeoisie is using up its reserves to keep the masses in check. The steps the capitalists have taken to forestall economic depression today are only intensifying contradictions and preparing the way for an even more devastating crisis tomorrow. One section of the masses after another is facing the prospects of ruin. As well the meager palliatives meant to cushion the horrors of capitalism are being stripped away. Meanwhile there is a growing disrepair of their instruments of deception. Such developments are creating conditions for an even bigger upsurge of the masses against the capitalist parasites.

What stand should be taken in the face of this situation?

The reformist and revisionist groups have been swamped by demoralization and have turned to liquidationism. This is the latest phase of their throwing out of the revolutionary interests of the working class in favor of butting up to the union bureaucracy and the Democratic Party liberals. Some have become little more than the foot-soldiers of the liberal-labor politicians. The despair of other revisionists is being displayed in

semi-anarchist impatience, in deserting the factories and the workers to play at detached "actions" based on certain liberal and pacifist circles. These are but two sides of the same liquidationist coin. While one side justifies deserting revolutionary work on the grounds that snuggling up to the Democratic Party is supposedly essential to stay close to the masses, the other side argues that upholding revolution requires deserting the masses. These are a reflection of the difficult situation for revolutionary work and, at the same time, are part of the problem holding down the working masses.

The Party sternly rejected the opportunist path and held firmly to the road of steadfast revolutionary work. It has not hidden away from the pressures, but faced them squarely, analyzed them, and taken various measures to combat them. The Party has carried out careful ideological and organizational work to consolidate the gains it has made. It has worked to assist militant activists to stand up for a revolutionary, fighting policy. It has paid attention to concentrating its work and to making the best use of the forces around the Party. This and more has been done so that steady progress has been made in more firmly entrenching the Party among the working masses.

The harsh conditions of our day, and the exposures carried out by our Party, are helping to tear down all that is false, all that is corrupt, all that has been used to ensnare and hold down the working masses. How long before the dam bursts, no one can say. But underneath the apparent calm, the class contradictions are building up to an explosion.

The 3rd National Conference held that the work the Party is carrying out today is precisely what is needed. The Party's strenuous efforts are the chief guarantee that the working class will be able to organize itself; that it will be able to successfully lead all of the oppressed masses against the Reaganite assault; that it will be able to raise this struggle to a revolutionary crescendo that will put this man-eating capitalist system in its grave. The conference called on the workers, the oppressed masses, and all progressive people to rally to the Marxist-Leninist Party, the Party of truth, the Party of courage, the Party of revolutionary struggle for the bright socialist future. □

Below are resolutions adopted at the 3rd National Conference.

outrage and indignation among the workers and downtrodden. Already there is a revival of the strike movement, although it still remains at a low level. And there continue to be sporadic outbursts of protest against war and racism. These stirrings are the sign of the movement to come and must be developed.

**The Third National Conference of the Marxist-Leninist Party calls upon the workers to transform that anger into rank-and-file action against the Reaganite offensive.**

The MLP emphasizes rank-and-file action because the trade unions and other organizations that the masses look towards to defend their concerns are under the control of sellout misleaders. The labor bureaucrats and other liberal and reformist chiefs are slaves of the Democratic Party. From the outset of the Reaganite offensive these misleaders have been doing their best to smother the struggle. Under these conditions, the struggle of the masses must be launched over the heads of the official and respectable leaders.

Rank-and-file action was the militant spirit of the 1960's and 70's. It is action

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Today there is a widespread feeling of

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by the workers themselves, when the masses themselves decide that enough is enough and their demands must be reckoned with. Rank-and-file action is a question of launching strikes and other job actions, of building protests and demonstrations. It is a question of breaking out of the bounds that the authorities and misleaders demand the workers must stay within, a time when the workers refuse to simply beg for favors, and become fighters through confrontations with the corporations and

government.

Rank-and-file action raises in the minds of the masses the necessity for independent organization, for building up fighting organizations that can effectively wage struggle. Only when it is backed by organization can struggle be sustained.

It is when the rank and file has initiative in its hands and can block the treachery of the misleaders that the workers have the best chance to win their struggles. Sometimes even when they don't win their demands, the workers can succeed in extending their or-

ganization — which puts them in a better position for the future. At other times, the workers may suffer bitter defeats; but there are valuable lessons for the future in a hard-fought struggle. There will be an inevitable next round of battle. And the lessons learned in each round of struggle must be carried forward into the next round.

In the course of struggle, the workers begin to break free of capitalist influences and develop awareness of their own class interests, strength and goals. But it cannot be done spontaneously. The building of working class struggle

and organization calls for a widespread challenge of the ideas and lies spread by the ruling class. For this, the class conscious workers must work to develop the workers' press, to spread revolutionary ideas and agitation far and wide.

These steps — rank-and-file action, independent organization, and the spreading of progressive and revolutionary ideas — are the tasks of the hour. They are the next steps for building up a powerful working class response to the capitalist offensive. □

## The Democratic Party is the other face of Reaganism

Six years of Reagan have proved time and again that the Democratic Party also stands for the backward, Reaganite agenda. In the last few months alone, the Democrats have added to their list of crimes against the working people an orgy of collaboration with the Republicans. They have endorsed a new round of cutbacks with the Gramm-Rudman bill. They have joined eagerly with Reagan in the dirty war against Nicaragua. And they have just passed the Simpson-Rodino anti-immigrant bill.

And where the Democrats run governments, they show they are equal to the Reaganite Republicans when it comes to supporting wage cuts, speedup and cutbacks against the workers. The Democratic governors and mayors have followed the same anti-worker economic policies that Reagan has championed from Washington.

The Democrats are strikebreakers

and union busters no less than Reagan. In the strike of the Phelps-Dodge copper miners, it was Democratic Governor Babbitt who sent in the National Guard, as it was Democratic Minnesota Governor Perpich who did the same against the Hormel workers. And it was Democratic Mayors Coleman Young in Detroit and Wilson Goode in Philadelphia who came down fiercely against the city workers' strikes this summer.

The Democrats pose not only as the party of the working people but also of the black and Latino people. In truth, however, they are a racist party no different than the Republicans. The bigoted racists of the South are still a cornerstone of this capitalist party. And even the liberal politicians, including the black bourgeois who have made their home in the Democratic Party, stand against the needs of black and other minority workers. After all, it was

none other than black mayor Goode who ordered the bombing of the MOVE house in Philadelphia, murdering eleven black people and ravaging an entire neighborhood.

The Democrats and Republicans are engaged in a contest over the mid-term elections these days. The Democrats claim that the masses must help them gain control of the Senate. But these elections are an empty battle. No matter who wins, Reaganism will be assured of dominating Congress and the Reaganite bills will continue to be churned out one after another.

This is because the Democrats, equally with the Republicans, are a political party of monopoly capitalism and imperialism. And it is this man-eating system of exploitation, reaction and war that is propelling the Reaganite offensive.

At the same time, the liberal-labor

politicians of the Democratic Party play a special role in this offensive. With the loyal assistance of the trade union bureaucrats, the black bourgeoisie, the social-democrats, and other reformist forces, they strive to co-opt the mass opposition to Reaganism. They attempt to bind every outbreak of struggle and protest to the electoral campaigns of the Democratic Party, and to smother the mass struggles under the liberal and pacifist politics acceptable to the Democratic Party chiefs.

Therefore, the fight against the Reagan offensive is inseparable from the struggle against the capitalist parties. And it demands a determined struggle to free the mass movements from the confines imposed by liberal-labor politics. On this road the working class and oppressed masses can unleash a powerful revolutionary movement. □

## Draw the workers into the political movement!

A crucial part of the work of building up the workers' movement is bringing the working class into the political struggle.

Today decades of liberal and revisionist politics have resulted in the workers' movement being considered as something restricted to the economic struggle. Of course workers vote in elections and individual workers take part in meetings. But it is taken for granted that the workers' own specific movement, and their class struggle, is restricted to economic interests. The workers are regarded as simply an economic special interest group in the liberal political coalition. This is one of the greatest crimes of the bourgeois "friends of labor" against the workers' movement. It is one of the greatest weapons in the hands of the capitalists and their revisionist hangers-on to destroy the revolutionary sweep of the workers' struggle.

The workers' movement only takes on its full scope when it is waged on all questions of modern-day life — political, economic, or ideological.

The economic struggle is crucial for the working class to breathe; it helps instill hatred for the capitalists; and it helps organize the working class. But the economic struggle by itself is narrow. To have the class consciousness needed to wage the economic struggle in an effective way, the working class must realize that its struggle is not just against individual oppressors, but is a class-wide struggle on all fronts. Moreover the struggle on such partially or fully political issues as war, militarism, racism, the oppression of women, cultural degeneration, and religious bigotry is just as important for the working class as the economic struggle.

Furthermore, the working class can only achieve its economic emancipation through a political revolution that brings the workers to power. The working class can not eliminate its position as

wage slaves, it cannot eliminate the exploitation of person by person, until it frees itself of political slavery to the capitalist state and parties. And the working class will never be able to rise to the level of this political revolution if it restricts itself solely to issues of wages and benefits.

Without political consciousness, the working class cannot go beyond the most elementary forms of organization. Without political consciousness, even fierce fights against the capitalists and bureaucrats cannot be consolidated and their fruits will tend to fitter away or be misdirected. And without taking up political and ideological issues, the working class cannot understand the need to rally around its own political party and to sacrifice to defend it against the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie as a whole puts one obstacle after another in the way of the political activity of the working class. The tremendous overwork and speedup that exhausts the workers is itself a huge obstacle. And the ordinary methods of bourgeois politics require huge amounts of money that only the wealthy have. Meanwhile the bourgeoisie imposes dozens of police regulations against "unauthorized" literature distribution, demonstrations, and meetings. The mass media and educational institutions chime in by seeking to demoralize the working class, to make it doubt itself, and to blame the crimes of the government on the alleged backwardness of the workers.

The labor bureaucrats, revisionists, and other "friends of labor" also downplay the participation of the workers in the political movements. Oh, they think it is all right to have workers appeal to their government, then; they positively need the workers for voting fodder at elections; and they need the workers to stir things up occasionally so that the "friends of labor" have a bargaining chip for their deals with the conservatives. But they are afraid of the

militancy and revolutionary spirit of the workers. They want nothing done that could disturb the bourgeois liberals or go beyond a mere squabble among different bourgeois policies.

Revolutionary work at the place of work must go directly against this non-political atmosphere enforced by the bourgeoisie. It must include work to draw the working class into the political movements. Agitation on all political issues must be brought to the work place, to the working class communities, and to all the workers' organizations. Workers taking part in economic struggle must also be brought

into the political movements, and workers considering political issues must be shown the distinction between bourgeois liberal and proletarian politics.

Indeed, what the working class needs is not any type of political struggle, but precisely struggle against the capitalist politicians and capitalist parties. The workers need that type of politics that raises in them the determination to put an end to the long dreary rule of the exploiting classes. Our Party pays attention to bringing consciousness of the meaning of the different political trends to the working class. All sorts of

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methods must be used to allow the workers to see and participate in the struggle of trends in the political movement. The workers must become the bastion of the struggle against bourgeois liberalism and petty-bourgeois reformism and for a revolutionary stand on all questions.

The more the working class takes part in the movements against militarism and war, against racism, against all the outrages of bourgeois life, the stronger these movements will be. Not until the workers' movement becomes the driving force in these movements, not until the workers are not just additional bodies to fill out these movements

numerically but place the stamp of class conscious ideology upon these movements, will these movements show their true potential.

A crucial part of building up the working class movement on the political front is the building up of the working class's own political party, the Marxist-Leninist Party. The Party is the essential core for the building up of a class conscious workers' movement at the work places and elsewhere. Around the Party there must be built a wide network of pro-party workers, of distributors of Marxist-Leninist literature, of activists for communist politics, of study groups, and of mass organizations of various types. It is the Party that provides consistency to the workers' struggle, keep-

ing the spark alive at times of lull and drawing all the currents of struggle together at times of ferment.

The Reaganite offensive of the bourgeoisie is reflected within the political movement as liquidationism. Liquidationism means fighting to oppose (liquidate) the independent class stand of the proletariat in the name of "broadness" or attracting the liberals or whatever. It means opposing the building up of a revolutionary workers' party. But the fate of the movement over the long time will be affected by whether the workers' party maintains and strengthens its positions among the working class in this period. The existence of the Marxist-Leninist Party is the hard-won fruit of two decades of

struggle of the revolutionary activists. Without its influence and guiding activity the revolutionary workers' movement would be slowed down immeasurably by the need to retract these steps.

It is among the workers that spontaneous skepticism and opposition toward the Reaganite campaigns is strongest. But there is also a spontaneous tendency to simply wash one's hands of politics. It is necessary to always pay attention to developing a political atmosphere in the workers' movement. And in turn the development of enthusiasm for a revolutionary political stand will help give a broad sweep and fervor to the work on all fronts. □

## Build the Party in the work places!

Organization — this is what the workers need in the fight against the Reaganite capitalist offensive. In its struggle with the capitalists the working class has only its class consciousness and superior numbers. But to wield these into an invincible weapon the workers must get organized. Organization transforms the workers from individual, isolated wage slaves into a unified class, a fighting force that can withstand the assaults of the capitalists, a power that can take command of society and shake the world out of its degrading, exploitative stupor.

Unfortunately, at present, most of the main workers' organizations are under the control of traitors to the working class. The 3rd National Conference of the Marxist-Leninist Party called for struggle to change this sorry state of affairs. It called for building organizations that rely on the initiative of the masses themselves, organizations that combat the biggest sellouts, organizations that courageously stand for the class struggle of the workers.

The conference stressed organizational work in the factories and other work places. These are centers of the workers' day-to-day resistance to capitalist exploitation. The work places are, at the same time, centers for heightening the

revolutionary political consciousness of the workers and for mobilizing them to take their proper place in the center of the political mass movements.

The Party concentrates work in the factories to mobilize the workers for the fight to defend their class interests on every front, whether against concessions and job-eliminating productivity measures or against police repression, racism, and the imperialist war drive. It strives to drive a wedge between the masses and the sellout union bureaucrats, liberal politicians, and other reformists. And it strives to build up, step by step, a multitude of different types of organizations.

In struggle over the last few years the Party has made use of a variety of organizational forms. Temporary committees have been formed to draw the workers into campaigns against overwork, on union elections, for defense work in cases of racist attacks, and so forth. The Party has called at work meetings of workers during lunch breaks and in the parking lots to discuss carrying out some particular resistance or to debate an urgent political issue. The Party has also linked up with networks of militants that have spontaneously arisen to carry out job actions over particular grievances. Circles have

been formed to discuss Party literature and the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Networks have been built to distribute revolutionary leaflets and papers inside the factories. Whether forming compact, disciplined groups or loose-knit mass forms, the Party seeks to extend the organization of the workers and enhance their ability to wage independent mass actions.

At the heart of all this work is the struggle to build up the Party itself as the guiding center for all the other organizations of the workers. A great deal of work is necessary to train the workers in party concept. From its work in the mass struggles, its revolutionary agitation, its work in other organizations of the workers, and so forth, the Party must show the masses that it is their consistent defender, their most far-sighted champion, their leading center for the class struggle.

Out of its many-sided activity in the work places, the Party gathers around itself a trend of activists who support the Party's all-round revolutionary policy and directly assist the Party's work. This pro-party trend is only developed through painstaking work, by encouraging the workers to lend a hand in the different tasks, by consulting them, by patiently developing their po-

litical consciousness, and gaining their assistance in organizing the class struggle. The creation and organizing of this trend is an essential task, because it ties the Party more firmly to the masses of workers and provides the Party with new recruits from the best revolutionary workers.

Today the resumption of the strike movement has created a wider field for the Party's work. At the same time, the undermining role of the union bureaucracy, the large-scale layoffs and plant closings, and other factors continue to disrupt the organization of the workers and make organizational work particularly difficult. Only by concentrating its work in certain work places and, at the same time, spreading its revolutionary agitation as widely as possible among the masses of workers, can the Party overcome the difficulties of our times and gradually build up more organized links with the masses of workers.

The 3rd National Conference calls on the militant workers to take up the essential task of our times — get organized! Build the Party in the work places! □

## Build the workers' press!

The 3rd National Conference calls on workers throughout the country: Put your brains and hands in the task of building the workers' press!

The American news media is neither "free" nor based on "objective reporting." It is the voice of the filthy rich exploiters. The whole system of respectable newspapers, magazines, TV stations, and the rest are owned, locked, stock and barrel by the capitalists. This press exists solely to serve their class interests. It is a press that lies, a press that manipulates the news to keep the working masses in the dark and under the exploiters' thumb.

The press of the AFL-CIO unions and the Teamsters is little better. This is the voice of the sellout union bureaucrats. Under their exclusive control, these publications have become the apostles

of giving concessions to the capitalists, the heralds of retreat, the missionaries of "labor-management cooperation" to sacrifice the rank and file at the altar of corporate competition and profits.

What the workers need is their own voice, their own class conscious press. Papers that tell the truth about this capitalist hell. Pamphlets that defend the inalienable and champion the goal of the working class. Leaflets that fan the flames of class struggle.

The Marxist-Leninist Party wholeheartedly encourages the spread of revolutionary agitation and it has built up the Party's press as the model and guide to other working class literature. From the Party's local leaflets, papers and pamphlets to the national voice of the Party — *The Workers' Advocate* and its Spanish language

supplement, *El Estudiante Obrero* — a whole network of working class literature has been built up that is national in scope and consistently revolutionary in character.

The Party's 2nd National Conference in the fall of 1984 decided to further strengthen *The Workers' Advocate*, and the whole network of agitation around it, to help the Party deepen its ties with the working masses. Since that time *The Workers' Advocate* has come out on a regular monthly basis, the *Supplement* has been born, and the paper has become more popular and hard hitting.

*The Workers' Advocate* provides news on strikes, political demonstrations and other mass actions to encourage the development of the mass movements. It exposes the sabotaging role of the liberals and reformists in these movements. And it identifies the mass workers' independent, working class direction.

The paper also covers major political events. It reveals the real class content that lies behind the complicated swirl of domestic and international developments. And it uses this experience to train the workers in how to help the bourgeoisie and its state machine.

Part of the class struggle today involves the fight against the cultural imperialism that the capitalists are foisting onto the working masses. *The Workers' Advocate* and other Party

journals combat the cultural reaction of the bourgeoisie and provide space for the development of progressive art and literature.

*The Workers' Advocate* also deals with the most perplexing theoretical problems confronting the revolutionary working class movement. It vigorously defends the principles of Marxism-Leninism, applies them to revolutionary practice, and combats the fashionable, renegade distortions of revolutionary theory by the revisionists and opportunists.

*The Workers' Advocate* is a powerful weapon for the workers and an important instrument for organizing the Party itself.

The 3rd National Conference calls on all class conscious workers and revolutionary activists to help us further build up the workers' press. Send us reports from the factories, news of mass actions, and views on the political debates that engulf the working masses. Give *The Workers' Advocate* and other working class literature financial support. Form circles to discuss it. Distribute it. And build networks with other activists to spread it widely in the factories, the workers' neighborhoods, the schools, and mass actions. The workers' press is the voice of truth. Help us spread this truth to every corner of the country to help unite, educate, and organize the workers into an independent, class conscious power. □

### Marxist-Leninist Books and Periodicals

CHICAGO: 1631 West 18th Street  
(one block east of 18th St. 'L' on  
Douglas line) • Phone 243-5302

OAKLAND: 3232 ML King Way (old  
Grove St.), Oakland, CA 94609  
Phone 653-4840

NEW YORK CITY: 86 Waite St.  
(2 blocks north of Canal St., next to  
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## The historic mission of the working class - putting an end to capitalist society

Every day of capitalist society is a struggle for the working class. The workers must fight to obtain adequate wages to live on and to avoid mutilation from unsafe working conditions, fight the capitalist government to stop wars of aggression, and fight for enlightenment against the miserable bourgeois "culture" of dollar-worship, chauvinism, and bigotry.

Will this struggle continue forever? No, it is possible to live without exploitation and oppression. The workers' struggle has a goal. The workers must use the daily struggle to organize themselves to overthrow the old, capitalist system of exploitation. It is possible to live without capitalist overseers and racist police. The working class can become the ruling class and eliminate the man-exploit system of exploitation.

Exploitation does not come about because of human nature. Nor is it simply a matter of the greed of individual capitalists.

It is, whether it is the making of goods or the provision of services, the present economy is dominated by large-scale production and large enterprises. Yet the working class neither owns nor controls the results of its collective labor. Instead the executives, big stockholders, and parasites own the majority of the country. The rich get richer, while the poor get harrassment, repression, and a few soup kitchens to keep them ready to produce for the benefit of the rich.

The socialist revolution aims at eliminating the division of mankind into two great groups, those who labor and those who own the means of production. By eliminating the division of mankind into separate classes, it will eliminate exploitation. And it will eliminate the bitter oppression that is needed to maintain this exploitation.

This cannot be done overnight. And it will face the diehard opposition of the exploiters who fight the dogs for the preservation of their privileged, parasitic lifestyle. These egoistic aristocrats regard the end of their rule as the end of civilization itself. The same parasites who poison the land, air and sea with hazardous wastes — to make a few billions who rule the workers ragged with overtime while millions are unemployed — to make a few more bucks, and who fight wars to preserve spheres of influence — for still more bucks, are not

going to give up their privileged position from love of humanity.

The elimination of exploitation can only begin when state power passes into the hands of the working class. The big capitalists and monopolists will step by step be stripped of their ownership of the products of other people's labor.

The means of large-scale production will pass over to collective management by the working people as a whole. Private property will remain only for things that are truly private such as the personal possessions of the masses. All this will be the opposite of the present system: today the workers' possessions are frequently the property of loan companies or can be lost as soon as one becomes unemployed, while the big factories and corporate farms are the private property of a handful of capitalist lords. (Meanwhile small producers who do not exploit the labor of others will be treated differently from capitalist slaveholders.)

The benefits of cooperation and large of the collective good. The economic crises, the unemployment, and the other evils of capitalism will be eliminated as dog-eat-dog capitalist production is replaced by socialist production.

Both the revolution itself and the subsequent transformation of economic life will place in a fiercer class struggle. This is the uprising of one class against another. The government under capitalism is a tool for the suppression of the working majority by the overprivileged minority. Political power will be conquered by the revolution and become a tool for suppressing the resistance of the former exploiters to the working majority.

But the ultimate goal of socialist development is the end of class divisions and the introduction of a classless, communist society. In such a society, the government apparatus, which even in the most democratic society is a tool for the suppression of one class by another, withers away. There is no longer any class to suppress.

These vast changes are what revolutionary socialism will do. Socialism is not simply a readjustment of the present system. It does not consist of appointing a government to "regulate" the capitalists, or of handing out a few more welfare checks. It consists of building a new society.

The writings of Marx, Engels, and

Lenin provide the clearest description of what the new society will be and how to get there. They show that the replacement of capitalism by socialism is not simply a nice idea, but the inevitable outcome of the whole development of class society.

Revolutionary socialism is not what exists today in the Soviet Union. Capitalist restoration has taken place in the Soviet Union. The once-socialist Soviet Union has become a state-capitalist country. The Soviet Union is now simply another capitalist superpower, just like the U.S.

The American capitalists try to demoralize the working class by saying that socialism failed in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. But it is not socialism that failed. As long as socialism existed in the Soviet Union, the working class performed miracles. It transformed backward, illiterate, poverty-stricken, almost medieval Russia into a country where the working class could stand up against the whole capitalist world.

bureaucratic strata; the Soviet leaders declared that the class struggle was over. This allowed a new bourgeois class, a state capitalist class, to consolidate. While the Soviet leaders continued to pay lip service to Marxism-Leninism, they discarded its real essence and created that its revolutionary cry was outdated.

It is revisionism that has failed. It is the idea that one can achieve socialism through collaboration with the bourgeoisie at home and abroad that has failed.

Yet the setback in the Soviet Union cannot wipe out the historic accomplishments of socialism and the class-conscious working class movement that fought for socialism. These are the forces that brought the working class out of wretched humiliation and degradation into the center of world history. These are the forces that spearheaded the defeat of the fascist Axis in World War II, the advances in the liberation movement in China and a number of other oppressed countries, and other struggles.

History teaches that only socialism, only the path of socialist revolution, is the salvation for the working class. The revisionist tragedies in Russia and China, and the deviations from Marxism-Leninism that presently threaten socialism in Albania, do however set

before the working class movement an important task: the defeat of revisionism and all deviations from Marxism-Leninism. The struggle for socialism, and the maintenance of socialism once working class power has been achieved, are completely tied up with the anti-revisionist struggle.

The working class movement has never given up the goal of socialism. Wherever the struggle reaches a certain intensity, ideas of socialism, of living without exploiters, flare up again among the working class. As the revolutionary movement grows again in the world, there will be another assault on world capitalism.

Meanwhile world capitalism has had one failure after another to its "credit." It is capitalism that plunged the world into two world wars, each more devastating than the last. It is capitalism that now threatens a third world war with even more catastrophic results. It is capitalism that gave rise to the Nazi regime in Germany and that today nourishes death squad regimes in struggle of today. It is this goal that shows the way out of capitalist hell. It is this goal to which our Party is dedicated.

We are the party of revolutionary struggle and socialism. We stand for fighting the battles of today against poverty and war, against racism, against the oppression of women, and against all the evils of the capitalist hell. And we stand for using the organization that the working class builds up in these struggles for the goal of a social revolution that will sweep away these capitalist demons once and for all.

For many decades the militant workers of the world fought for socialism before there was a single example of a socialist revolution. But today socialism is not just a dream. Lenin and the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 ushered in the era in which the working class began its first attempts to actually build a socialist society. From the setbacks that occurred, the working class movement can and will learn how to fight still harder against the bourgeoisie, and the necessity of stepping up the fight against revisionism. Let us continue the struggle for socialism! Let us put an end to the capitalist horror! □

## Against the union bureaucracy

The 3rd National Conference condemned the trade union bureaucracy for its strikebreaking role and its collaboration with the capitalists' concessions of defense.

The trade unions originally emerged as a basic form of organization among the workers. They came up because workers recognized that they needed to band together against the employers. The workers belonging to unions still look towards them to defend their day-to-day interests, but they face the serious problem that the union machinery in the U.S. has long been captured by a sellout bureaucracy.

The top leaders of the unions stand at the head of an entrenched bureaucracy which has imposed a policy of class cooperation and compromise on the

workers. They not only betray the workers at contract time, but on an everyday basis the union bureaucracy smothers the concerns of the workers. They leave the workers without organized defense against the outrages of the employers.

The union bureaucracy is part of a strata of labor aristocracy, detached from the mass of workers. The top union chieftains are even paid like corporate executives, with salaries running into hundreds of thousands of dollars. Sometimes militant workers obtain low level union posts with the hope of doing something positive, but they confront a great deal of pressure and enticement from above to separate them away from the rank and file.

If the union leaders were really loyal to the workers, they would help or-

ganize the workers against the system of wage slavery. But the union bigshots in the U.S. are awedly pro-capitalist.

Today the strike movement is again beginning to emerge. But again and again the union bureaucrats come out to oppose and sabotage strikers. Lane Kirkland and the other heads of the AFL-CIO have gone so far as to condemn the Hormel strike while the top dogs of the United Food and Commercial Workers took over the Austin, Minnesota local, brought scabs into the union, and forced through the concession contract that the Hormel capitalists wanted. In other instances, union heads have ordered their members to scab on fellow workers, as the Machinists leadership has betrayed other airline unions or Teamster hacks

turned their backs on California grocery workers.

The union hacks are breaking up the organization of the workers. This year they split up the national steel contract, the national telephone contract, and the West coast shipyard contract so that the workers in each company are being forced to fight alone. Meanwhile in the auto industry and others, the union leaders are letting the companies rewrite the contracts on a plant-by-plant basis. Underneath empty phrases of West coast solidarity, the union bureaucrats are promoting the idea of loyalty to one company against others, and even one plant against others.

While the capitalists continue to throw workers into the unemployment

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lines and pit them against those who are employed, the union hacks merely talk and talk. Instead of struggle against layoffs and plant closings, the union chiefs preach faith in empty promises from the corporations, court suits, legislation, or they simply support the worn-out capitalist blackmail that concessions will save jobs. At the same time, the labor bureaucracy becomes supporting the capitalists' man-eating productivity drives and automation that are eliminating jobs and turning the work places into hell holes of overwork. As for those on the unemployment lines with little chance of being recalled, the union bosses have nothing but complete neglect.

The union bosses have also fallen in with the capitalist demand that the workers' wages be cut. And while they may sometimes grumble about outright wage cuts on currently employed workers, the union hacks become wage devotes of the scheme to impose two-tier wage scales.

The union heads also do not give a damn about the masses of unorganized workers. It is a disgrace that today only about 18% of the work force is organized into unions, and that the masses of unorganized are few and far between. When they think of recruiting new members these days, the union leaders frequently think of raiding the members of other unions.

The union bosses have taken up the mission of drowning the class struggle in a sea of labor-management cooperation.

tion.

In company after company, they are pushing all kinds of labor-management conning, whether it is to speed up the workers, to help cut jobs, or to fink on workers.

GM's Saturn project, where even before the plant is opened the United Auto Workers leaders have agreed to a whole slew of concessions and to what amounts to a company-union, has become the model for the entire AFL-CIO. Meanwhile, the top dogs of the United Steel Workers have made organizing "middle management" and other "persons having supervisory powers" into the union a top priority. Their chief demand upon the monopolies has been to give the hacks a seat on the corporate boards of directors. All this is just "business unionism" where union bureaucrats become businessmen administering the concessions offensive against the rank and file.

The union bureaucrats are flag-waving chauvinists. They advocate that the workers should side with the American slave drivers against the workers of the rest of the world. Thus the union bosses eagerly join in chauvinist anti-impot campaigns, in crusades against immigrant workers, and in appeals to build up U.S. war preparations. They are imperialist labor bureaucrats.

The 3rd National Conference also pointed out that a section of middle-level bureaucrats, under the pressure of the angry rank and file, has begun to posture against concessions and in support of strikes that have broken out.

They even falsely drag themselves in the mantle of the "rank and file." One such grouping of the bureaucratic opposition is the National Rank and File Against Concessions (NRAFAC) but even in its constitution this group restricted its membership only to local union officials.

Such bureaucratic oppositions refuse to completely break with the class collaborationism of the top union hacks; for example, when NRAFAC was formed its declaration affirmed that they would not oppose any union leaderships. Instead of organizing a firm fight against concessions, they seek a reformist compromise for somewhat lesser concessions. Instead of building up the independent section of the masses of workers, they tie down the struggles in legal channels and corporate campaigns. Instead of organizing the workers independently of the top hacks, they bog the workers down in maneuvering within the union bureaucracy.

The bureaucrats can be no more trusted than the sellouts who stand at the top of the unions. Sometimes such bureaucratic reformists, even with their hypocritical, reformist opposition to concessions, attract workers looking for a struggle. To the extent that an organizing based on bureaucratic opposition attracts numbers of workers and actually engages in struggle, it may be necessary to work in or around it. But this work should be directed at linking up with the militants, supporting real struggles, and exposing the treachery of the bureaucratic opposition.

The Marxist-Leninist Party works in the trade unions and runs in some trade union elections, but not with the aim of achieving reconciliation with the union bureaucracy. Instead the MLP orients itself to winning over the rank and file. The aim of the party's work is to win the masses of the workers to the class struggle and to eliminate the influence of the union bureaucracy among them.

The workers' movement will once again forge truly proletarian unions, and this will require a wide and intense upsurge of the workers. And only the course of struggle will determine how this will come about — whether as completely new organizations or through radically transforming the current unions.

The 3rd National Conference stressed that the building of the strike movement against the capitalists' concessions drive requires a tenacious fight against the union bureaucrats. This provides the best chances for the workers to succeed in their struggles, and with such a fight, each strike can also become a vehicle to build up the organization and class consciousness of the workers and to spur on the mass struggle. To fight effectively, the rank and file must take matters into their own hands, organize themselves independently of the union bosses, and spread the spirit of class struggle to every corner of the country. **NO MORE CONCESSIONS! GET ORGANIZED FOR THE CLASS STRUGGLE!** □

## Against revisionist liquidationism

When the workers turn to struggle, they are attracted to political groupings of the left, groupings which speak in the name of the working class and claim to be Marxist and socialist. The experience of class struggle begins to break down capitalist prejudices against Marxism.

When this happens, it shows a healthy interest in political currents in new and different ideas. But in real life, the workers are confronted by a host of left organizations. At first this may appear confusing, and workers naturally ask why the different groups do not unite. The fact of the matter is that, despite the Marxist, socialist and communist labels, not all the trends are revolutionary and they have different stands. The workers must learn to distinguish among trends.

Among the various political forces in the left, the workers will find truly revolutionary Marxists. There are also circles of activists gravitating towards Marxism, and there are reformist opponents of the class struggle.

The Marxist-Leninist Party is the party of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism in the U.S.

We do not expect the workers to accept our party simply because we say so, but by taking a conscious stand towards the class struggle and what role this different organization play in it. This calls for drawing lessons from the experience of the workers' movement and learning about revolutionary theory.

In examining the ideas and work of the MLP, the workers will indeed find that it is our party which consistently defends the interests of the working class. The MLP stands for class struggle, works for independent action and organization, and upholds the perspective of socialist revolution. The MLP bases its stands and work upon the revolutionary ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the pathbreaking leaders of the international working class. Marxism-Leninism is the revolutionary theory that guides the working class movement

towards liberation.

From time to time within the mass movements, other circles emerge formed by revolutionary-minded activists who gravitate towards Marxism. These circles also face the task of differentiating among the various left trends. They have to sort out what is false and true, and what is live and revolutionary, among the established groups which claim to be Marxist. For its part, the Marxist-Leninist Party works to link up with such groups, to fight together in the mass struggles, and to assist the activists to embrace consistently the correct positions.

Then there are the established reformist left trends, such as the groupings who follow pro-Soviet revisionism, Maoism and Trotskyism. They have long learned the art of using Marxist phrases to limit the workers' perspective to putting band-aids on the ills of capitalism.

Today the reformist trends of the left have put to the fore a stand of liquidationism — the abandonment (liquidation) of the independent interests of the working class in favor of more and more outspoken collaboration with the capitalists. And while continuing to give lip service to Marxism, the liquidators openly throw out its principles and replace them with revisions that justify their renegade stands.

Liquidationism is against class struggle. It is opposed to the vital need for class independence of the workers; it denies the need for separating the workers from the sellout union bureaucrats and liberal capitalist politicians.

Some of the liquidators have no shame in glorifying the liberals and union bureaucrats. In the past year, we have seen, for example, the pro-Soviet revisionist CPUSA (which puts out the newspaper *People's Daily World*) openly supporting the blatant strikebreaking of the AFL-CIO leadership against the Hormel strikers in Austin, Minnesota. They are masters in finding something good in even the most sellout hacks.

These liquidators also openly urge the workers to support the capitalist Democratic Party. In the current elections, the pro-Soviet revisionists are telling the most outrageous lies about how voting for the Democrats will bring progress for the workers against Reaganism.

Some other liquidators follow a crafty policy. They will spend words on reforming the Democratic Party. But they too see no value in independent struggle by the workers. They have no faith in the workers' ability to develop rank-and-file action. Their maximum interest in any working class struggle is to look for some section of the labor bureaucracy they can link with or some liberal politician they can preach trust.

Some of these liquidators will even run their own candidates at election time against the Republicans and Democrats, but they eagerly invite the Democratic politicians to be the guests of honor at demonstrations. And in work place struggles, they are constantly on the lookout for some section of the union bureaucracy that will give them some posts or favors. In essence this stand is different from the CPUSA. It remains a policy which attempts to give hand-maidens of the capitalists.

And there are still other liquidators who, in the name of upholding revolution, have completely abandoned the working class in this difficult period of class struggle. They are the liquidators who preach the petty-bourgeois idea that some other class, not the proletariat, will be the vehicle of progress.

For the workers to advance, political interest and activity is essential. This is not only a matter of opposing the capitalist parties but also of breaking with their servants in the reformist left. Only through this can the workers build their unity, struggle, and organization, including the proletarian party itself. All class conscious workers and revolutionary activists should unite in the struggle against the capitalist rulers and the reformist liquidators. □

## The Workers' Advocate



Theoretical-Political Newspaper of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Party, USA

Editorial correspondence: The Workers' Advocate P.O. Box 11942 Ontario Street Station Chicago, IL 60611

Orders and subscriptions: Marxist-Leninist Publications P.O. Box 11927 Ontario Street Station Chicago, IL 60611

Yearly via first class mail (U.S., Canada, Mexico): \$0.75 for single copy \$4.50 for 6 issues; \$9.00 for 12. From vendor: \$0.25 ISSN 0276-363X

## Apartheid no! Revolution yes!

The white minority regime in South Africa is one of the most bloody and barbaric regimes on the face of the earth. A small white minority monopolizes all political rights, while the black and other oppressed people have only the right to slave for the racist masters. The white minority lives like kings, while the black majority lives in shanties and huts, huddled into poverty-stricken townships or left to rot on barren wastelands. This oppression weighs far hardest on the black people, but is also exercised against the other oppressed peoples. And political repression also hits at progressive whites who oppose racist rule.

This exploitation and oppression can only be maintained with the whip and the armed forces. Since World War II, this regime has gone so far as to reinforce this oppression with the system of apartheid, which is an extreme form of segregation. Millions of black workers, youth, students and other oppressed people have risen in struggle. They have come into the streets for demonstrations, waged strikes, staged school boycotts, offered forced removal from their townships, etc. And they have persecuted the spies and collaborators who work for the racists for a few crumbs.

The South African regime talks of "reform," but it continues to step up military aggression. And indeed it is a military aggression against the blacks, whose whole way of life is based on exploiting the black majority, can become humanitarian. What is needed is

revolution, the sweeping away of the entire system of white minority rule. This is the necessary first step in the struggle of the black and other oppressed workers for liberation, a step that will open the way to the class struggle for socialism.

In the U.S. a widespread solidarity movement has developed with the struggle in South Africa. This is one of the favorable developments of this period. This movement has struck at the U.S. government support for the South African regime. The American bourgeoisie is one of the diehard backers of apartheid. It makes money off exploiting cheap labor in South Africa, and it uses South Africa as a whip against the nearby black-ruled countries.

But once aroused, the force of the South African working masses, the force of revolution, is bound to triumph sooner or later over the forces of racism and capitalism. The U.S. government and other Western governments are worried by the possibility of a revolution in South Africa. They are horrified by the very possibility that encourages the working people around the world: the prospect of radicalized black masses coming to power, sweeping away the old system, and beginning the struggle to build a new society in South Africa.

The U.S. government and the corporations are also faced with the development of struggle in the U.S. port of the racist regime, in Reagan's style, and advice to the racists on how to cool off the situation better, in liberal Democrat style, represent different shades of opinion among the exploiters. Instead the movement must base itself on the real opponents of racism and oppression — not the capitalists, but the working class and progressive people in the U.S.

The movement should continue to

the wrist while maintaining full U.S. support for the South African regime. They admit that their motive isn't to hurt the racists but to advise them on the best ways to stop the revolutionary upsurge. And GM, IBM, Coca-Cola and some other big corporations are making a show of "divesting" from their South African subsidiaries. But in fact these firms are maintaining — and even stepping up — their commercial ties with these subsidiaries. They are even, in many cases, trying to negotiate "buy-back" options for the future in case things cool off.

It is up to the working class, youth, and progressive people to continue to build a powerful solidarity movement with the struggle against apartheid and all forms of white minority rule in South Africa. This struggle must support the only way real change can come to South Africa — the revolutionary action of the overwhelming majority of the country. Only revolution can overthrow the entrenched system of white minority rule.

The movement should be built up as an imperialist movement. It must show that the Reaganite support for apartheid is not an accident, but is an expression of the class interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie as a whole. It must fight the plots of both capitalist parties, Democrat and Republican, to support apartheid. Both outright support of the racist regime, in Reagan's style, and advice to the racists on how to cool off the situation better, in liberal Democrat style, represent different shades of opinion among the exploiters. Instead the movement must base itself on the real opponents of racism and oppression — not the capitalists, but the working class and progressive people in the U.S.

The movement should continue to

fight against the connections of the U.S. government and corporations with South Africa. It should expose the fraudulent nature of Republican Senator Lugar's "Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986," the one which passed Congress to the applause of the liberal Democrats. And it should expose the sham divestments of the big corporations that continue to prop up the apartheid regime, that continue to sell it computers to track down the masses and equipment to prop up the military and the apartheid economy.

The movement should link up the fight against apartheid with the fight against racism in the U.S. The Reaganite bourgeoisie's support for apartheid in South Africa reflects its support for racism in the U.S. Connecting the fight against the oppression of the black working masses in South Africa with the fight against the oppression of the black people in the U.S., and with the fight against the general Reaganite offensive against all the oppressed nationalities, can only strengthen the powerful sweep of the anti-apartheid movement. This is a link which has a powerful appeal to the black people in particular. And all such links between imperialism's crimes abroad and at home express the truth that the oppressed people in South Africa and the working class of all nationalities in the U.S. face a common enemy in international imperialism and capitalism.

All out for the struggle against white minority rule!

Support the upsurge of the black masses of South Africa!

Demolish the U.S. government and corporations for their support of the white racist regime!

Revolution Yes! Apartheid No!

## Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles in Central America!

The people of Central America are rising up in struggle. The Salvadoran workers and peasants are fighting against a brutal pro-U.S. regime of exploitation and tyranny. The Nicaraguan working people have defended their revolution for over seven years against the worst that the CIA and the Carter and Reagan administrations could throw at them. And the rest of Central America is a powder keg waiting to explode.

The American bourgeoisie is in a frenzy to maintain Central America as a profitable area for low-wage exploitation. They arrogantly regard Central America as a "backyard" to be ordered about at will. And they have long used this policy — the maintenance of this "backyard" by repeated military intervention to kill off the masses who rise in struggle.

Today the American bourgeoisie is preparing new Viet Nam-style wars of aggression in Central America. The Carter and the Reagan administration are jointly pouring money and "advisors" into El Salvador. And war on the Nicaraguan workers and peasants has become the fixed consensus of the American bourgeoisie. Democrat and Republican debate how best to crush the revolution and install a new pro-U.S. regime of tyranny.

The war on Nicaragua is not just waged with U.S. troops and CIA-directed "contras." The so-called "contras" group is another enemy of the Nicaraguan people.

The "Contra group" presents itself as kind-hearted humanitarians who simply want to mediate between Nicaragua and the pro-U.S. regimes around it. But actually the Contadora group consists of Latin American regimes who are savage exploiters of

their own workers and who are close economic and military allies of the U.S. government. The Contadora regimes are just a means to cool off the mass movement of workers and peasants as the Pentagon and the State Department. Contadora presents to Nicaragua the demand that it disarm and hand power over to the exploiters, the same demands that Reagan makes. Contadora is no alternative to the Reagan policies of war. It is just a way of dressing up aggression as sweetness and light.

But the mass struggle of the Central American peoples continues. It defies the genocidal U.S.-financed "air war" of the Salvadoran government. The U.S.-trained murderers who infest the borders of Nicaragua. The working masses are standing up to fight against the outrageous exploitation by low-wage U.S. companies and by the local capitalists and landlords. They are standing up to the merciless oppression that was used to enforce this exploitation.

In Nicaragua, in 1979 the people overthrew the Somoza tyranny. This shook the U.S. imperialists to the core. They have unleashed a campaign of slander and lies. They are standing up to revolution. The fiends in the State Department used to wine and dine with the dictator Somoza and his cohorts. But today these dogs have the gall to talk about the alleged lack of freedom in Nicaragua. The Reagan administration blacklists Nicaraguan interventionists on the bombing of health clinics, the burning of granaries, and the murder of government officials. It then goes about the economic difficulties in Nicaragua.

The Reagan administration shouts that the issue is Russian intervention in Central America. What a lie! The issue

is the struggle of the workers and peasants to free themselves from U.S. imperialism and the local exploiting classes. The Soviet revisionists advise the Central American toilers to give up revolution and instead come to terms with U.S. imperialism and the local exploiters. European social-democracy gives the same advice. Soviet revisionism and European social-democracy are drags on the Central American people, who want to be free of all imperialism, whether U.S., European, or Soviet. But the people's struggle goes on anyway, and it will continue just so long as the exploitation and oppression of the masses exist.

Our workers organized an American workers contingent to visit Nicaragua and express the solidarity of the American working people with their Nicaraguan class brothers. While the capitalists of the U.S. plot war and fund contras, the working people of the U.S. and Nicaragua join hands.

In Nicaragua, the tour made contact with the basic masses. It was not a tour put together by the Sandinista government, a government which tries to balance between the toilers and the exploiters, the working people, the workers and poor peasants, to their homes, factories, their demonstrations.

The delegation also expressed solidarity with the true Nicaraguan Marxist-Leninist communists. Despite Reagan's boasting about the Sandinistas being communists, in fact the reformist Sandinista government is trying to please those capitalists and landlords who remained in the country. It is asking the masses to bear the burden not just of the contra war, but of financing the exploitation of the workers and the defenders of the class interests of

the workers and poor peasants, are the comrades of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Nicaragua (MAP/ML). They show how strengthening the fight against the contras and U.S. imperialism requires relying on the toilers. They stand for carrying forward the Nicaraguan revolution until the workers and poor peasants come to power.

The revolutionary upsurge in Nicaragua, El Salvador and elsewhere in Central America deserves the support of all American workers. This solidarity is crucial. The strength of the working people, whether on strike for a wage demand or fighting against armed intervention, is their solidarity. We must stand up against the imperialism of the American bourgeoisie. And we must render support to the Nicaraguan workers and Marxist-Leninists. The ongoing Campaign for the Nicaraguan Workers Press is one way of demonstrating this solidarity. It provides material support to help the publication of the revolutionary workers' press of the MLP of Nicaragua and the associated Nicaraguan Workers Front.

By supporting the Central American toilers, the American working class also solidifies. It provides material support to help the publication of the revolutionary workers' press of the MLP of Nicaragua and the associated Nicaraguan Workers Front. To prevent the masses from striking at the real causes of the growing hunger, homelessness, and despair in the U.S., the American bourgeoisie is shouting itself hoarse about foreign imports and foreign intervention against languages other than English, etc. Fighting against the new Viet Nam-style wars in Central America is one of the ways the working class can strike hard against this chauvinism. It weakens the criminal rule of the American bourgeoisie.

## Greetings to the Marxist-Leninist communists of the world

The Third National Conference of our Party, the MLP, USA, sends you a militant proletarian internationalist salute.

With the ongoing crisis of world capitalism, the Marxist-Leninists are confronted with great challenges. The proletariat and the toilers all over the world are facing the capitalist offensive of growing exploitation, reaction and fascism, and imperialist aggression and war. The working masses are seething with revolt. And a number of countries are one after the next being shaken by

revolutionary upheavals.

The Marxist-Leninists are the most far-sighted and consistent fighters for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and the oppressed. They are the ones who can give the mass struggle an organized and revolutionary character, first and foremost by organizing the Marxist-Leninist parties as the vanguard fighters of the working class. They are the ones who can defend the political independence of the proletariat, by waging a stern struggle against the capitalist liberals, social-democrats,

revisionists and other forces of bourgeois influence on the masses. And they are the ones who can bring to the toilers the revolutionary perspective of the overthrow of capitalist exploitation and who can carry the revolutionary struggle forward to the victory of socialism.

These are the tasks which history has placed before the Marxist-Leninists. To meet the challenge, there can be no complacency. Much work is needed to overthrow the parties in the leadership, to build parties where they don't exist, and to cement the ties among the

world's Marxist-Leninists. Our Marxist-Leninist Party is the U.S. contingent of the international Marxist-Leninist movement. We regard proletarian internationalism as a touchstone of revolutionary work. And we proclaim our militant solidarity with the Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries and the working class and exploited of all lands in our common struggle for the triumph of revolution and socialism.

**Build the International Marxist-Leninist movement!**

**Workers of all countries, unite!** □

## On differences in the international Marxist-Leninist movement

Proletarian internationalism is a powerful weapon in favor of the revolutionary working class movement and world communism. The Marxist-Leninist forces of the different countries are greatly strengthened when they combine their efforts, unleash joint campaigns, and carry out close collaboration and interchange.

Unfortunately, it is an unavoidable fact that such a militant and active solidarity does not presently exist in the international Marxist-Leninist movement. This problem is inseparable from the serious ideological and political divergences that exist within the international Marxist-Leninist movement. The proletarian solidarity that is so ardently desired by the world's Marxist-Leninists and so urgently needed can only be built through an open struggle to resolve these differences in favor of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism.

The Marxist-Leninist forces of the world today emerged through a bitter

and protracted struggle against the treachery of modern revisionism. They have fought against the Soviet revisionists, the Chinese revisionists and other opportunists who have betrayed communism and the working class. To defend the interests of the working class and the revolution, a clear line of struggle has to be maintained against the revisionist treachery.

Today the Marxist-Leninists are also faced with a serious struggle against corruption from various liquidationist and petty-bourgeois nationalist influences from parties that once fought revisionism. These mistaken ideas create dangerous illusions in the bourgeois liberals, social-democrats and reformists; they weaken the polemic against revisionism; they undermine the class independence of the proletariat; and they cloud over the perspective of socialism.

These harmful ideas can be found in the wrong orientations being put for-

ward by the leaderships of the Party of Labor of Albania, the CP of Brazil, and others. As well, these influences are being expressed by the leadership of the Communist Party of Spain (ML) and others who had in the past indicated reservations about some of the most flagrant rightist errors — but only to preserve the underlying liquidationist and petty-bourgeois nationalist conceptions, and to oppose bringing the discussion of these issues before the rank-and-file communists around the world.

The times cry out for an open struggle for the rectification of the international movement and its consolidation on the principles of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism.

This demands an open discussion of the burning issues facing the Marxist-Leninists of the world. It demands a deepening of the polemic against revisionism, and the development of criticism of liquidationist and petty-bourgeois nationalist deviations. It also

demands working for a critical examination of the history of the world communist movement. This is necessary in order to revive the positive, Leninist orientations and traditions of the Communist International. It is also necessary to free the movement of the wrong and anti-Leninist orientations (for example, of the 7th Congress of the CP), which continue to bring grist to the mill of revisionism as well as to the liquidationist and petty-bourgeois nationalist deviations in the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

In several countries revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces are taking steps on this road of struggle. This is a positive development. And our Party commits itself to work with these forces, along with all other healthy forces of the international Marxist-Leninist movement, to contribute to the development of the fighting unity of world Marxism-Leninism. □

## Message to the Marxist-Leninist Party of Nicaragua

The 3rd National Conference of the MLP, USA sends a proletarian salute to our fraternal comrades of the MLPN.

The defense of the revolution in Nicaragua is a burning task facing the working class and progressive forces of all countries. This task has particular urgency here in the U.S. as it is the U.S. imperialist government which has unleashed the dirty CIA war of counterrevolution against Nicaragua.

Moreover, we hold that the best defense of the Nicaraguan revolution demands active political and material support for your Marxist-Leninist Party of Nicaragua (MAP/ML), the party of the proletariat and toilers. The workers

and poor peasants made the revolution and they hold the key to its defense and further development. The Sandinista government doesn't represent the revolution of the workers and poor; it attempts to reconcile the masses to the big exploiters (who make up the domestic social base of the imperialist attack on Nicaragua). It is only the MLPN which is courageously shouldering the tasks of organizing the working class and the masses as an independent force for the defense and deepening of the revolution. It is only your Party which champions the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and the poor against the big capitalists and landlords. And the

MLPN is the Party which resists the pressures of Sandinism towards reformist compromise and reconciliation with the exploiters.

We welcome the successful development of concrete acts of solidarity between our two Parties. This includes the November '85 tour of the U.S. by a representative of the MLPN, the July '86 tour of Nicaragua by a contingent organized by the MLP, USA, and the ongoing development of the Nicaraguan Workers Press Campaign. Our Party will continue to organize the working masses in the U.S. against the barbaric U.S. war on Nicaragua, and to work for concrete solidarity with the revolution-

ary forces of the Nicaraguan working class represented by the MLPN.

The development of militant solidarity between our two Parties is important for building the ties of class solidarity among the revolutionary workers of our two countries. It is also part of the development of the international ties between the Marxist-Leninist forces that is needed for the worldwide struggle against capitalism and revisionism and for the triumph of socialism.

A proletarian internationalist salute,  
3rd National Conference,  
MLP, USA

## Message to the Communist Party of Iran

The 3rd National Conference of the MLP, USA sends communist greetings to the comrades of the Communist Party of Iran.

The 1979 revolution was a heavy blow to the U.S. and other imperialists who had profited so much from the brutal monarchy of the Shah. But, unfortunately, the fruits of the revolution were robbed from the masses by the exploiters. Today the Iranian people are suffering under the bloodthirsty tyranny of the Khomeini regime.

The emergence and struggle of your

Party is an important development for the revolutionary movement in Iran. The CPI has stood for a consistent struggle against the barbaric dictatorship. It has adhered to the path of organizing the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the toilers. The CPI has championed the revolutionary interests of the working class and oppressed in the face of the treachery of the revisionists, Trotskyists and others who have taken a cringing and cowardly stand in the face of the regime. And the CPI has defended the class independ-

ence of the toilers, rejecting the counsel of the petty-bourgeois elements who have sought refuge at the coattails of the capitalist liberals.

We salute all the militants of the CPI who are organizing the workers' revolutionary underground in defiance of the torturers and executioners of the Khomeini regime. We salute the armed fighters of Komala (the Kurdish section of CPI) in revolutionary Kurdistan. We salute all the heroic efforts of the CPI and the Iranian working masses to destroy the dictatorship, to overthrow

the exploiters, and to realize the triumph of socialism.

We look forward to the further development of contact and cooperation between our two Parties. This will strengthen the bonds between the workers of our two countries. And it will be part of building up the ties of world Marxism-Leninism.

A proletarian internationalist salute,  
3rd National Conference,  
MLP, USA

## Message to the Communist Organization - Workers' Policy of Portugal

The 3rd National Conference of the MLP, USA sends militant greetings to the comrades of the Communist Organization/Workers Policy.

As shown by the revolutionary events of 1974, the Portuguese working class has a militant revolutionary spirit. But the class struggle in Portugal has been hamstrung by the reformist policy of the

revisionist CP of Portugal, which fosters bourgeois democratic illusions and ties the workers to the bourgeois liberals and the social-democrats. Unfortunately, the Communist Party (Reconstructed), which emerged in the struggle against revisionism, has itself become mired in reformist and petty-bourgeois democratic politics.

Thus, we are encouraged by the efforts that your organization is making to rebuild a communist party in Portugal. You have raised the banner of struggle for the independent interests of the proletariat and for the socialist revolution. You have also launched an open discussion of the controversial questions in the world Marxist-Leninist movement

and in the history of the communist movement.

We wish you every success. And we hope for the further development of ties and cooperation between our two organizations.

A proletarian internationalist salute,  
3rd National Conference,  
MLP, USA