

political paper of the
Communist Collective of the Chicano Nation

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workers and oppressed

peoples of the world



UNITE

El Amanecer Rojo

PRESENTANDO "EL AMANE CER ROJO"

One hundred and twenty-seven years have passed since the armies of the slavers' government of the United States invaded Mexico and seized more than half of her territory. In that vast amount of territory seized by the Anglo-American colonialists were a number of Indian tribes at various stages of economic development and the Chicano people.

One of the primary struggles in the Southwest of the United States today is the struggle of the Chicano Nation for national liberation which can only be achieved by a socialist revolution. The Chicano Nation is a historically evolved, stable community of people who have occupied a definite territory for hundreds of years. Its common language is Spanish. The Chicano people possess a common psychological make-up which is expressed through a distinct culture. The economic community existing in the Chicano Nation is similar to that of many oppressed nations in that our resources are daily plundered and our labor exploited for the benefit of the Anglo-American imperialist rulers. However, tribes or racial groupings do not of themselves constitute nations. For example, the Mexican nation is made up of a number of different ethnic groupings, e.g. Spanish, Indian, Negro, etc.; and this mixture of racial groupings did not constitute a nation until they were welded into an economic community and forced to adopt a common language. Thus we see that nations belong to a definite historic epoch, the epoch of rising capitalism, for it is this development which breaks down tribal barriers and demands the adoption of a common language in order to produce the economic community which best suits its needs, the national state. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the Chicano people as a people do not constitute a nation but instead the development of the Chicano Nation is the result of rising capitalism in a definite territory. Within the territorial limits of the Chicano Nation (New Mexico, Southern Colorado, Southwestern Texas) reside a number of national minorities and oppressed peoples, who are part of the Chicano Nation. The oppressed peoples are the numerous tribes of Indians who have suffered in the past under Spanish colonialist rule and Mexican governments. The two prominent national minorities are the Negro and the Anglo-American. The proletariat of the Chicano Nation is multi-national, that is it

is composed of members from all nationalities in the Chicano

Many people push the line that Chicanos wherever they are taken together constitute the Chicano Nation; while others say that there is no Chicano Nation and that we are all Mexican-Americans who happen to be concentrated in the Southwest as a national minority. Both these views serve the Anglo-American imperialists by striving to liquidate the national colonial question in the Southwest and divide the multi-national proletariat of the Chicano Nation along national lines and in so doing sabotage the struggles of the proletariat.

U.S. imperialism has systematically, brutally, and viciously oppressed our people from the first day it set its bloody foot in our territory. It has methodically carried out a policy of genocide against the Indians - taking special delight in causing the starvation of old people and children (the confinement of the Navajo tribe at Bosque Redondo). It has confined the Indians to the poorest land and raped and exploited the culture to the greatest degree possible. It has murdered thousands of Chicanos. It has refused to implement those articles of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which concerned protection of the rights of Mexican citizens residing in the territory conquered by the United States, which included the protection of land grants (made to Chicanos and Indians alike). Instead it has destroyed land grant records and has stolen millions of acres of our land. It has beaten our children for speaking Spanish or Indian dialects in school and has placed them in special classes for the mentally retarded. In addition to the robbery of land grant lands, it has deprived Indians (the Navajos, Utes, Apaches, etc.) of their native lands and has driven hundreds of small Negro and Anglo-American farmers off their lands into the cities.

It has forced our people into the lowest paying jobs with the worst conditions. It has brutally repressed the efforts of the proletariat of the Chicano Nation at organizing trade unions. It has taken the young men of the Chicano Nation to use as cannon fodder in its imperialist wars of aggression abroad against our class brothers and sisters in other nations. U.S. imperialism has jailed us, beaten us, killed us in cold blood, and pumped all types of drugs and liquor into our barrios and reservations to frighten us or drug us into submission, but our people fight on.

Led by devoted patriots such as Father Martinez, the Taos Indian Jose Gonzales, and Juan Cortina, our people have organized revolts such as the general uprising in Taos where the Indians and Chicanos united like a clenched fist and executed the first territorial governor of New Mexico, or fought the U.S. Army and the Texas Rangers successfully for ten years. The Indians of the Chicano Nation, who had suffered greatly under Spanish rule and had united under the Pueblo Indian Popé to throw the Spanish colonialists out of New Mexico in 1680, have heroically fought the U.S. Army and resisted the genocidal policies of U.S. imperialism. Our peasants have organized to protect their lands from U.S. imperialism in groups such as La Mano Negra, Las Gorras Blancas, and La Alianza. The proletariat of the Chicano Nation has a long history of militancy, battling imperialism in the coal and copper mines, in the fields, and in the factories.

Hundreds of times our peoples have taken to the streets to battle imperialism and thousands of our people have sacrificed their lives in that struggle. From the hundreds of women and children massacred by drunken Anglo-American troops in Mora in 1847 to the cold blooded murders of Antonio Cordova, Rito Canales, and Barry Casuse, our people have died for the cause of national liberation.

However, despite years of struggle and sacrifice, conditions for our people are as bad as ever. The present situation is only good for those vendidos who have sold their people to U.S. imperialism in order to get their thirty pieces of silver and maybe a seat in the U.S. Senate or at the presidential inauguration.

We live in the age of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism. We also live in the age of socialist revolution. all around us we see raging wars of national liberation and proletarian revolution. History teaches us that the struggle for national liberation and socialism can only be won when the struggle is led by the proletariat. And the proletariat can only successfully lead the struggle to its victorious conclusion if it is armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism and marches into battle against the ruling class with a Communist Party at its head. Thus we see that only the multi-national proletariat of the Chicano Nation is capable of leading the National struggle and only when Communists march in the

vanguard of the proletariat of the Chicano Nation will it be able to lead such a struggle. However, this does not mean that at this time the Communists of the Chicano Nation need to form a separate Communist Party from the one for the Anglo-American Nation. For the struggle of the Chicano Nation for national liberation and socialism can only be won in conjunction with the struggles of the proletariat of the Anglo-American Nation and the Negro Nation.

For this reason, we must resolutely unite with the comrades in the Anglo-American and Negro Nation in the struggle against the treacherous revisionism of the "communist" Party USA in order to build a real multi-national Communist Party and go on to overthrow finance capital, smash the bourgeois state, and establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat (full democracy for the toiling masses; ruthless dictatorship against the bourgeoisie).

"El Amanecer Rojo" is the voice of the proletariat of the Chicano Nation. It is the dialectical result of years of class and national struggle in the Chicano Nation. "El Amanecer Rojo" is a weapon of the proletariat of the Chicano Nation and of the Chicano and Indian people in the struggle for national liberation and socialism. Our pages are open to all letters and articles which further the cause of proletarian revolution. Where bourgeois papers (The Journal, The Tribune, El Hispano, etc.) print lies and half-truths designed to mislead our peoples, we shall print the truth, the facts and give a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation to increase the understanding of the proletariat and its allies so that they may direct telling blows against U.S. imperialism. We shall not leave one stone unturned in our quest to expose the bloody deeds of the U.S. imperialists. But we shall not stop at merely exposing class and national oppression, but we shall point out the road to socialism, freedom and the end of national oppression and exploitation of man by man.

We shall publish articles dealing with the history and the development of the Chicano Nation. Future issues will be published in Spanish and in English. We shall analyse the international situation, the preparations of the ruling class for fascism in the United States, and the actions of our class brothers and sisters in the Negro Nation, the Anglo-American Nation and in Puerto Rico.

Death to U.S. Imperialism!
Build a Multi-National Communist Party!

On Saturday, January 27, 1973 the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam was finally signed by the Thieu regime of South Vietnam, the Peoples Revolutionary Government (PRG), the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) and the U.S.A. This marks the end of another stage in the struggle of the Vietnamese people who have been fighting foreign occupation of their country for 114 years.

This treaty represents a glorious military victory for the Vietnamese people but it is not a complete political victory and must not be interpreted as one. The peace is a temporary lull in the U.S. imperialist's campaign to roll back communism in Southeast Asia. Thieu is still in power, over 100,000 political prisoners are in jail in South Vietnam and the U.S. air force is in Thailand to this date. To understand the war and its ensuing peace settlement both the source of strength of the Vietnamese people and the position of U.S. imperialism in the world today must be analyzed.

During the late 1800's and early 1900's, capitalism of Western Europe and the United States reached a new stage in its development. The enormous growth of industry led to a rapid process of concentration of production. Here enterprises of one kind, say coal companies, joined together to control as best they could fluctuations in prices. This is a characteristic feature of capitalism. Concentration gave rise to trusts, cartels and monopolies



in every branch of industry. Here the different stages necessary for the production of a product were owned by a single enterprise. The advantages for monopolies were great - prices and supplies of raw materials were controlled, assuring a more stable rate of profit; markets could be divided among themselves; the quality and quantity of goods and prices could be fixed; and technical advancement was facilitated. Free competition had turned into its opposite, monopoly. It is at this point when imperialism arises. Due to rapid growth in production and consequently the exhaustion of home markets, capitalism found it imperative to expand. Hence the hunt for raw materials, for markets and for places to export finance capital which resulted in the struggle for the acquisition of colonies. By 1900, 90% of Africa and 56% of Asia were dominated by European powers.

During this time Vietnam was colonized by the French. In order to maintain the arrangement of economic exploitation, the French had to dominate over the government, schools and armies of Vietnam. There were many uprisings (of the Vietnamese people) to try to get rid of the French. The Indochinese Communist Party, founded in 1930 by Ho Chi Minh arose out of these struggles. With the help of the Party, the Vietnamese began organizing into groups to better fight. They learned military tactics and gained political understanding. In 1944, the resistance forces united to become the National Liberation Army led by the Indochinese Communist Party. In 1945, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was formed. Vietnam at this time was still undivided.

Following Japanese occupation during World War II, the French tried to restore their rule over Vietnam. At this time the U.S. began its financial involvement. From 1945 to 1954 the Vietnamese fought and finally defeated the French. The U.S. paid 80% of the cost for the French to fight this war. A treaty was mapped out in Geneva. By the Geneva agreement, Vietnam was divided into two zones. This demarcation was supposed to be temporary, pending countrywide elections in 1956. The U.S., thru their hand picked puppet Diem, blocked all attempts by the DRV to hold expected national elections because the U.S. knew that, in the words of President Eisenhower, "Ho Chi Minh would have gotten at least 80% of the vote."

The puppet regimes set up during and after French occupation were supported by the U.S. U.S. imperialism was after resources, a market, military bases and a place to invest capital in S.E. Asia. To ensure these, the U.S. saw it was necessary to stop communism. At first with advisors and dollars, then starting in 1964 with troops (half a million bombs, napalm, warships, electronic warfare and billions of dollars tried to set up a stable government in the south that would cooperate completely with the wishes of the U.S. government.

In October, 1972 a peace was almost reached, but Thieu, fronting for the U.S., stalled for time, probably to consolidate the Saigon forces, especially the air force. In December, the U.S. carried out the most vicious bombing of the war. Much of Hanoi was destroyed. The largest civilian hospital in Vietnam was ruined. Over 70,000 tons of bombs were dropped (more than in World War II). The Vietnamese responded by shooting down more than 50 B52's and forced the U.S. back to the Paris negotiating table.

The main points of the signed treaty are that "the United States and all other countries respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam as recognized by the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam." The reunification of north and south Vietnam is provided for but no date is set.

By the terms of the agreement the United States will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the affairs of South Vietnam. All American troops will be withdrawn within 60 days; American prisoners will be released; the United States will help in post war reconstruction of North Vietnam.

Also by the agreement, the U.S. promises to respect the South Vietnamese peoples' right to self-determination. Elections in the south will be held under the Council of National Reconciliation and Concord - made up of representatives of the PRG, the Republic of S.V. (Thieu's clique) and a third neutralist force.

Although this treaty is a victory because it acknowledges that Vietnam is one country and that the U.S. was the only aggressor, it does not guarantee a long lasting ceasefire. It has several serious contradictions.

After the Geneva agreements, while the puppet government was set up in South Vietnam, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam became a truly liberated country. Despite the many years of bombings and struggle the DRV, under the leadership of the Vietnam Workers Party developed because of the strength and dedication of the Vietnamese people in fighting for the cause of liberating their country and because of the Marxist-Leninist leadership provided by the Party. The success of the NLF has always been based on the complete support of the population; food, ammunition and other supplies, care of the wounded, the gathering of intelligence, etc. have all been carried out by the people.

Just as the war has proven the mass support that national liberation struggle has among the people of Vietnam, American oppression in Vietnam has helped to prove the plundering, anti-popular nature of the imperialist regime here at home. More and more workers, and progressive people saw that their enemy and the enemy of the people of Vietnam was one and the same - U.S. imperialism. Anti war demonstrations were violently dispersed, demonstrators were beaten, clubbed, shot and killed, and the National Guard was called out many times to suppress the legitimate demands of the American people. And yet working and progressive people in America and the world continued to fight on. Thousands of veterans marched on Washington to damn the war and U.S. imperialism's plunder of the world's people; militant demonstrations involving thousands of people were held to support the demands of the Vietnamese people; and dockworkers around the world (Italy, Holland, Australia, etc.) refused to unload American ships in protest of U.S. aggression.

The war in Vietnam was not fought in a vacuum. As imperialism becomes more and more desperate, as competition for colonies becomes more and more intense, U.S. imperialism will become more and more brutal; it will continue to try to make further inroads into S.E. Asia, Korea, etc. As long as imperialism exists, wars of aggression will continue. Revisionists, like the "communist" parties of the USA and of the USSR put forth the position that the U.S. bourgeoisie will eventually give up its power peacefully. This conclusion can only aid the imperialists and hinder the struggle of the world's people against imperialism.

Imperialist countries have to strive for domination of the world. It is this need of imperialism that is in total antagonism with

the efforts of colonized and dependent countries to achieve their national liberation. This is why although the cease fire is a victory for the Vietnamese people, the imperialist's aggression against the peoples of the world will not stop

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JUST STRUGGLES OF INDIANS

Larry Casuse, born in Mexican Springs and an Indian activist and past president of the Kiva Club at UNM, was shot twice by Gallup police and died from a gunshot wound to the head. Casuse and companion, Bob Nakaidinae, abducted Gallup Mayor Emmett Garcia from his office at City Hall and forced him at gunpoint to accompany them to a sporting good store nearby.

Casuse and others had earlier protested the appointment of Garcia to the Board of Regents. Garcia is the owner of the Navajo Inn and a principal pusher of alcoholism in the Indian community. He is guilty of a conflict of interest in owning a bar and being on the board of an alcoholic treatment program. Garcia is financially involved in numerous other operations in the area and is considered a good lackey of the Anglo-American bourgeoisie.

Indians in other parts of the country continue to struggle against the genocidal policies of the U.S. ruling class which have long had a policy of removing or relocating tribes until complete "assimilation" or disintegration occurs. In the last few years, Nixon has expressed interest in the "Indian cause". This interest has resulted in a massive assault on the tribes to urbanize the people and hand over control of the land and its natural resources (gas, oil, timber, etc.) to large business.

The attack on Indians in Custer, S.D., the arrests of Hank Adams and Anity Collins in Washington, D.C., and other incidents have been counteracted by resistance in Nebraska, in New Mexico, and in Wounded Knee, S.D.

The Chicano Nation has a significant number of Indian members living within its border. It is for this reason that it is imperative that all progressive individuals, groups and organization give material and moral support to the just struggles of Indians.

we must struggle together in a united front of the multinational proletariat and the oppressed peoples to defeat U.S. imperialism. We must struggle for full democratic rights for Indians, a return of the land robbed, and the provision of the tools (capital) necessary to make full use of the land (farming, mining, fishing).

FULL DEMOCRACY AND EQUALITY FOR INDIANS!

(The American Indian Movement is in desperate need of money. Please send contributions and letters of support to Wesley Heart Bull Memorial Legal Defense Fund, c/o Black Hills National Bank, Rapid City, S.D.)

HUELGA IN ARTESIA

The city employees of Artesia, New Mexico, have been on strike since September 12. Ninety five percent of the city workers are Chicanos. The strikers are demanding four things: (1) recognition of local 8035 of the United Steelworkers of America; (2) a retirement plan; (3) pay for overtime (straight time); and (4) decent working conditions and dignity.

After firing the striking city employees (some with as much as 24 years of service) the City has now granted all of the demands; except union recognition, to the scabs hired to replace the strikers plus time and 1/2 for overtime and a substantial raise.

The Artesian workers are following in the militant tradition of workers in the Chicano Nation. With increasing industrialization in the state, and with the continued commitment of the bourgeoisie to increase profits, we can expect stiff resistance from the proletariat in order (1) to raise the level of militancy of the struggles; (2) to provide guidance to progressive struggles of the other classes; and (3) to set the stage for the overthrow of U.S. imperialism.

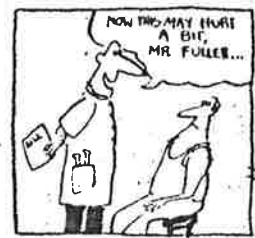
WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE
WORLD, UNITE!
BUILD A MULTI-NATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY!

The MYTTISH TISH FIGHTRESS

THE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM

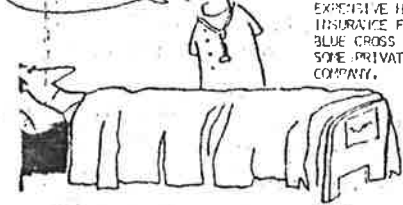
INFORMATION FROM AN ARTICLE BY JOHN BURBROUGH, LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE

AMERICA TODAY IS FACING A CRISIS IN THE AREA OF HEALTH CARE. THE EVIDENCE IS IN THE COST OF MEDICAL CARE TODAY. MEDICAL EXPENSES HAVE SCARED OUT OF SIGHT, RISING 37% IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS ALONE.



ROUTINE HOSPITAL COSTS IN MOST CITIES RUN MORE THAN \$100 A DAY, AND CHARGES AS HIGH AS \$200 A DAY ARE NOT UNCOMMON.

GOOD NEWS... YOU'LL BE GOING HOME ABOUT \$2000 FROM NOW...



SINCE ONLY THE RICH CAN AFFORD SUCH PRICES, MOST PEOPLE HAVE TO BUY THE EXPENSIVE HEALTH INSURANCE FROM BLUE CROSS OR SOME PRIVATE COMPANY.

AMERICANS SPEND MORE MONEY PER PERSON ON MEDICAL CARE THAN DO ANY OTHER PEOPLE IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD. IT SEEMS NOT UNREASONABLE TO EXPECT THE BEST MEDICAL CARE IN THE WORLD. BUT THIS IS NOT THE CASE. CONTRARY TO AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION Rhetoric, HEALTH CARE IN THE UNITED STATES IS JUST NOT ALL THAT GOOD. STATISTICS TELL THE STORY.

CHART SHOWS PROBABLY AS MANY OUT OF ONE HUNDRED BORN ALIVE THAT DIE BEFORE ONE YEAR OLD.



IN AT LEAST TWELVE OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD A NEWBORN BABY HAS A BETTER CHANCE OF LIVING THAN IT DOES IN AMERICA. MOST OF THESE COUNTRIES HAVE A HIGHER LIFE EXPECTANCY FOR ADULTS AS WELL.



NEW YORK
MANY EXPERTS CLAIM THAT WHAT IS MISSING IS THAT THE HEALTH CARE INDUSTRY IS RUN BY SMALL BUSINESSMEN (THEY MEAN DOCTORS) LEAVING IT UNCOORDINATED AND CHAOTIC. FOR INSTANCE, ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, AMONG OTHER FACTORS, DETERMINE WHERE A DOCTOR PRACTICES, SO, IN NEW YORK CITY THERE ARE MORE THAN 220 DOCTORS PER HUNDRED THOUSAND PEOPLE, WHILE IN MISSISSIPPI ONLY 70 PER HUNDRED THOUSAND PEOPLE.

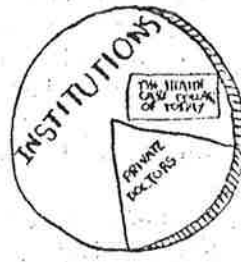


MANY SMALL TOWNS HAVE NO DOCTORS AT ALL.



MORE CAREFUL EXAMINATION OF THE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM REVEALS HOWEVER THAT IT IS NOT TOTALLY CHAOTIC AND UNPLANNED.

IF DOCTORS RAN THE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM, AS THEY DID YEARS AGO, THIS VIEW WOULD BE VALID, BUT NOT ANY MORE. LESS THAN ONE QUARTER OF THE NATION'S HEALTH EXPENDITURES NOW GO TO THE PRIVATE DOCTOR. THE REST OF THE INDUSTRY IS DOMINATED BY INSTITUTIONS - HOSPITALS, MEDICAL SCHOOLS, RESEARCH LABORATORIES, DRUG COMPANIES, HEALTH INSURANCE COMPANIES, AND MANY OTHERS - BIG AND RAPIDLY GROWING, MANY INTERCONNECTED.



THERE ARE THREE MAJOR PARTS TO THE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM:

1: MEDICAL EMPIRES

MEDICAL EMPIRES ARE VAST NETWORKS OF HOSPITALS, MEDICAL SCHOOLS, AND CLINICS WHICH IN EFFECT CONTROL THE MEDICAL RESOURCES OF A WIDE GEOGRAPHIC AREA. IN NEW YORK CITY VIRTUALLY EVERY HEALTH FACILITY IN THE BOROUGHS OF THE Bronx IS AFFILIATED WITH ALBERT EINSTEIN COLLEGE OF MEDICINE AND ITS CLOSE ALLY, MONTEFIORE HOSPITAL. THIS REGIONAL NETWORK HAS PERPETUATED AND STRENGTHENED A SYSTEM OF MEDICINE THAT PROVIDES FAIRLY GOOD QUALITY CARE FOR UPPER-CLASS PATIENTS AND VERY BAD CARE FOR THE POOR.



2: FINANCING-PLANNING COMPLEX

THIS IS THE SECOND MAJOR PART OF THE AMERICAN HEALTH CARE SYSTEM AND INCLUDES THE MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR BLUE CROSS OPERATION WHICH PROVIDES HOSPITALIZATION INSURANCE FOR SOME 70 MILLION AMERICANS. THE TOP OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS OF BLUE CROSS ARE QUITE INFLUENTIAL IN DETERMINING NATIONAL AND REGIONAL HEALTH CARE POLICY. IN ORDER TO KEEP ITS RATES COMPETITIVE, THE ORGANIZATION TRIES TO KEEP A LID ON ITS EXPENDITURES. IN THE LATE FIFTIES AND SIXTIES THE BLUE CROSS DEVELOPED A NEW APPROACH TO SOLVING THIS:



3: MEDICAL-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

THE MEDICAL-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX DESCRIBES THE ALLIANCE WHICH EXISTS BETWEEN THE PROVIDERS OF HEALTH CARE - DOCTORS, HOSPITALS, MED SCHOOLS AND THE LIKE - AND THE COMPANIES THAT MAKE THEIR MONEY OFF PEOPLES' ILLNESSES - DRUG COMPANIES, HOSPITAL SUPPLY COMPANIES, HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION COMPANIES, PROFIT MAKING PROPRIETARY HOSPITALS, NURSING HOMES AND LABORATORIES.



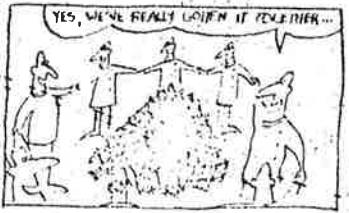
THE MAGNITUDE OF THE MEDICAL-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IS HARD TO BELIEVE.

HEALTH CARE HAS BECOME ONE OF THE BIGGEST BUSINESSES AROUND. CHECK ANY STOCKBROKER - HE'LL TELL YOU THAT HEALTH STOCKS ARE THE HOTTEST THINGS ON WALL STREET.

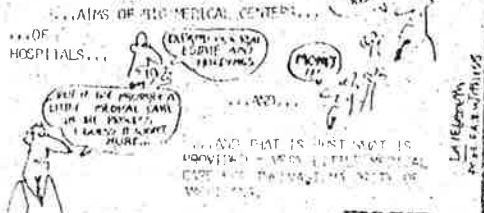
1969 AFTER TAX PROFITS:

| | |
|---------------------------|---------------|
| DRUG COMPANIES | \$600,000,000 |
| HOSPITAL SUPPLY COMPANIES | \$400,000,000 |
| PROPRIETARY HOSPITALS | \$200,000,000 |

NOT ONLY DO THESE CONCERNS MAKE A LOT OF MONEY FROM PEOPLES' BAD HEALTH, BUT THEY



THIS IS THE AMERICAN HEALTH CARE SYSTEM. BUT IF DECENT CARE WAS PROVIDED BY THE SYSTEM WE WOULDN'T AS COMPLAINTS, BUT HEALTH CARE IS NOT THE AIM OF THE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM. THE SYSTEM EXISTS TO SERVE OTHER ENDS...



END

DEFINITIONS

BOURGEOISIE: the class of modern capitalism, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labor.

PROLETARIAT: the class of modern wage-laborers, who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor power in order to live.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT: the class alliance between the proletariat and the laboring masses of the peasantry for the purpose of overthrowing capital, for achieving the final victory of socialism on the condition that the guiding force of this alliance is the proletariat. (J. Stalin, The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists). "The D. of the P. is not the end of the class struggle, but its continuation in new forms. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the class struggle of the proletariat, which has won victory and has seized political power, against the bourgeoisie, which although vanquished has not been annihilated, has not disappeared, has not ceased its resistance, has increased its resistance." (Lenin, Vol XXIV, p.311).

NATION: a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture. (Stalin, Selected Works, pg. 53, Cardinal Publishers, Davis, California. 1971)

IMPERIALISM: "1) the concentration of production, capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; 2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this "financial capital" of a financial oligarchy; 3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; 4) the formulation of international monopolist combines which share the world among themselves; 5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed. Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself, in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance, in which the division of all territories of the globe among

the biggest capitalist powers has been completed." (Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1965, pg. 106)

SUGGESTION

A communist is a person who is committed to a socialist revolution and is constantly analysing local-world events to clarify what needs to be done at any given historical period in a given situation to advance the revolution. Marxist-Leninist theory is essential to do this, but practice is primary. Part of our everyday work has to be to determine what is happening. For this reason we strongly suggest that our readers subscribe to the following three newspapers (in addition to reading ours, of course).

EL GRITO DEL NORTE, Box 2116, Las Vegas, New Mexico (\$4 per year, monthly, English and Spanish): contains good basic information on oppression within the Chicano Nation; also some national and international news and analysis; anti-imperialist perspective.

GUARDIAN, 32 West 22nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10010 (\$10 per year, weekly, English only): probably the best national mass paper with socialist perspective; excellent international news coverage.

PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE, P.O. Box 3774, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Illinois 60654 (free, monthly, English and Spanish): best communist newspaper published in Anglo-American Nation; most articles are on a cadre level; Marxist Leninist analysis is outstandingly consistent.

THE CALL, P.O. Box 54902, Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, California 90054 (\$4 per year, monthly, English and Spanish): mass newspaper by a communist group; some Marxist-Leninist analysis; good coverage of China.

ANALYSIS OF A WORK PLACE: BCMC

Public institutions, like "welfare" hospitals, Social Security, Medicare and other "social services" are basically concessions granted by the capitalist class under pressure from the working class and progressive people. But no institution can long survive in a capitalist society which does not serve the ruling class.

Thus even "non-profit" services have been adapted to the sole purpose of reinforcing the oppression and exploitation of the toiling masses - welfare hospitals, for example, exist to make profit for the capitalists. Bernalillo County Medical Center (BCMC) is such a "welfare" hospital; and it is very clear how profit for the capitalist class is made here. Huge amounts of disposable supplies are thrown away, drugs are dispensed in quantity, enormous amounts of laundry are sent out to be done, and so on. Pharmaceuticals are the second most profitable industry in the US today (mining is first) primarily because hospitals are willing to buy huge quantities of drugs at inflated prices. In short, the purpose of BCMC is to make profit for the capitalists, at the expense of the working class-- both hospital workers (who are among the lowest-paid and worst-treated sectors of the working class) and patients, who are charged outrageous fees for completely inadequate service. BCMC, like "welfare" hospitals around the country, is severely understaffed; starting pay for most workers is about \$2.00 an hour; working conditions are terrible; patients are neglected; drugs are over-prescribed; prices for patients are incredibly inflated, and all because the hospital is there to make profit, and not to serve the poor and working people of Albuquerque.

The people in charge of seeing that the interests of the capitalist class are fully met by BCMC are the members of the Board of Trustees, who represent (and in some cases are) the big capitalists. Since we live in an oppressed nation (the Chicano Nation of most of New Mexico, Southern Colorado and Southwest Texas), the hospital trustees represent the interests of the U.S. imperialists who oppress the Chicano Nation and its people. While the vast majority of the working class in this area is Chicano, Indian, black or poor white, the Trustees represent the interests of Anglo-American capital. In addition, almost all of the professional people in the hospital are "imported" from New York, California and elsewhere outside of the Chicano Nation, while most of the workers and patients are from this area of the country. Thus we see that the hospital is run, not just abstractly in the interests of the capitalist class, but concretely in the interests of the Anglo-American imperialists who have occupied the Chicano Nation. This fact is not changed in the least by the fact that the hospital administrator

is a Chicano (Fred Mondragon, brother of the Lieutenant Governor). Mondragon is a flunkey of the imperialists, and any attempt he makes to support the struggles of the Chicano masses is bound to be opposed and limited by his imperialist masters. Mondragon is not the enemy, he is an instrument of the enemy.

The divisions in the work (and patient) force at BCMC reflect the divisions in society at large. Employees range from petty-bourgeois elements (doctors, administrators) to "white-collar" proletarians (clerks, nursing assistants, secretaries) to "blue-collar" proletarians (janitors, cooks, maids, cafeteria and kitchen workers, maintenance workers). There are nearly 1,000 employees at BCMC. About 150 or so are doctors, almost all of them "imported" from outside of the Chicano Nation. Many of the doctors are progressive, and the House Staff Association (essentially a doctors' union) recently voted to support workers organizing at the hospital. The doctors might be an extremely important force in the future, both in the fight for better pay and conditions and in the struggle for better health care. In any event, leaving aside the doctors, who generally work at BCMC only part-time, the breakdown of the work force is as follows: 5.4% earn over \$800 a month; 28.1% earn between \$600 and \$800 monthly--this category includes mostly nurses; 24.4% earn from \$400 to \$600 a month; and 42% earn less than \$400 monthly. All in all, 60% of the non-doctor workforce earns under 500 dollars monthly. It is essentially this group which constitute the proletarian core of the BCMC workforce--clerks, nursing assistants (NAs), janitors, maids, kitchen, etc. The thing to be noted here is the huge quantities of non-proletarian employees. Thus we see that a united front of the working class with other forces for common goals (better health care, political issues, better pay) is extremely important.

Another aspect of BCMC is that the working class is divided into two big groups--white-collar and blue-collar. Fully 75% of the "unskilled or semi-skilled workers" (proletarians) at the hospital are "white-collar" - clerks, typists, NAs, secretaries. Yet the remaining 25% - Housekeeping, dietary (kitchen and cafeteria), maintenance and laundry - represent the core of pro-union and militant sentiment. There are many reasons for this. The first, and perhaps the most important, is that the vast, vast majority of white collar workers are women, while most (but by no means all) of

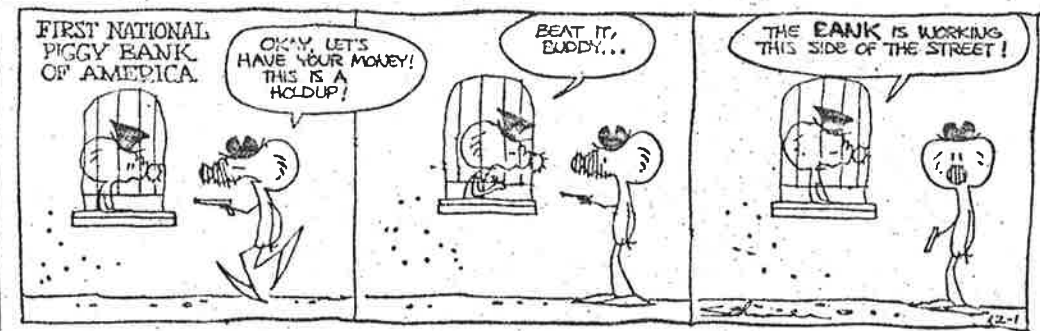
the blue-collar workers are men. Let us analyze what this means. In capitalist society, working women are doubly oppressed - first as workers and second as women. After work the married women have to go home and take care of the children, the house, the husband, etc. And at work, women are usually more oppressed than men in comparable jobs - in terms of pay, in terms of the treatment they receive at the hands of the bosses, and so on. But perhaps the most important reason for the backwardness of many of the women is the rotten bourgeois idea of male supremacy, which says that men are inherently "better" than women, that women are only good as sexual objects, that women are incapable of thinking for themselves, etc. Women are harassed by male fellow workers, they are pinched, stared at and commented upon, and hardly ever seen as equal human and political beings. Many women are so completely dominated by their malesupremacist husbands and boyfriends that they are not able to get involved in any independent political activity, like union and caucus meetings. But as Stalin said, "The fate of the proletarian movement, the victory or defeat of proletarian power depends on whether or not the reserve of women will be for or against the working class." Until men workers recognise the harmfulness of male supremacy, until men workers look upon women workers as complete equals in work, politics and struggle, no major battle can be fought and won. In fact, the double oppression of women workers will make them the backbone of any socialist revolution as soon as male supremacy in the working class is successfully struggled against.

Other important reasons for the split between white and blue collar workers include a) the absurd ideas the capitalists push about the "superiority" of paper-work over manual labor; and b) the question of nationality, which brings us to another very important question.

We live in the oppressed Chicano Nation and as in any oppressed nation, certain things are evident. First, just as the doctors are almost all Anglo-American, the majority of the working class is from the Chicano Nation - Chicanos and Indians. At BCMC over 55% of the lowest-paid workers (under \$400 a month) are Spanish surnamed, about 5% are Indian and about 5% black. In contrast less than 10% of those earning \$800 a month or more are Spanish surnamed. And even within the working class at the hospital,

certain departments are more heavily Chicano and Indian. Generally, the more "socially acceptable" the work is, the lower the percentage of Chicanos is. Thus about 40% of clerks are Spanish-surnamed while over 80% of janitors and maids are Spanish-surnamed. Similarly, since the patients of BCMC are overwhelmingly working-class, about 60% of the patients (on the average) are Spanish-surnamed, about 10% Indian, and about 5% black. Thus the vast majority of workers and patients at BCMC are doubly oppressed, first as workers and second as people living in a nation occupied and oppressed by the Anglo-American imperialists. In other words, all members of an oppressed nationality suffer from attempts to stamp out their culture; they are forced into the worst jobs; their languages are prohibited, etc.-and for the working people in these groups, things are doubly bad, both because of their nationality and because they are working people. Generally, this means that the most militant workers will not be Anglo-American; most of them will be members of the occupied nation--Chicanos and Indians. And intricately tied up with the struggles of the proletariat in this area of the US is the question of national liberation for the Chicano Nation, which can only come through socialist revolution.

At this point in time partly because of the terrible conditions at the hospital and partly because of the general lack of political consciousness of the US working class, the things which workers at BCMC are mostly concerned about are pay and working conditions. Several spontaneous "uprisings" have shown this. The first one involved a nurse calling a janitor a "dirty Mexican". A few class-conscious workers saw that discrimination is an extremely



important question for the proletariat of all nationalities for it tends to split the working class. So a public meeting with the hospital administrator was called. Many of the workers were enthusiastic about the idea of the meeting, which is evidenced by the fact that somewhere around 80 to 100 workers attended the meeting and the discussion was lively. But the people who had organized the meeting, who had concentrated on the national question and on the grievance procedure, were in for a shock. The discussion was almost entirely about wages and working conditions; the rank and file workers were far more concerned about pay and conditions than about discrimination. Besides this valuable lesson, many other things were learned from this experience.

First, an incorrectly heavy emphasis was placed on Mr. Mondragon (the hospital administrator) personally, while he actually is a fairly progressive Chicano. Second, not a strong enough core of militant workers had been formed to guide the struggle in close contact with the rest of the workforce, so everything was basically very disorganized. Third, the leadership of the union which has been trying to organize the hospital (AFSCME) tried desperately to sabotage the spontaneous outburst of the workers by making backroom maneuvers with management and openly opposing the meeting and demands. Let us treat these last two points.

An increasing number of workers have been unionized in Albuquerque in the last few years, (notably the city and University workers), and workers almost everywhere are beginning to talk union. The big international unions have taken advantage of this, and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) has been trying to organize the hospital since mid-1972.

Most unions in the U.S. are reformist, that is they believe in gradual reform within the capitalist system instead of revolutionary change to overthrow it. Either they actually invest, own stock, bonds, etc. (like the Teamsters) or the union leadership is of the same class as the bosses. People like George Meany, who make incredible sums of money and boast of never having been on a picket line, play the game of the capitalists by getting unions involved in bourgeois politics (the election game between the two big capitalist parties, the Democrats and the Republican), and more importantly by sabotaging the efforts of workers to fight

for their rights. Things like the UAW's anti-worker stance at Lords own, Milpetas and elsewhere, the CWA's sellout of phone company workers in New York City, and so on, only show more clearly what millions of workers know: that once most unions have your dues, all they're interested in is keeping the capitalists pleased and quieting down the militant workers. This is called class collaboration, for the union leaders try to reconcile the interests of workers and capitalists, while we all know that the two are completely irreconcilable. The present leadership of AFSCME at BCME has shown itself to be class collaborationists: it works for the capitalists by satisfying the workers to some degree but refusing to support and advance their interests all along the line.

Reformism in workers' unions and revisionism in the communist movement walk hand in hand. Revisionists, like the "communist" Party of the USA and the "communist" Party of the Soviet Union, call themselves communists but actually are traitors to the working class. They peddle the rotten idea of a "peaceful transition to socialism". They oppose revolutionary change and talk only about the day-to-day demands of working people without ever educating people about the need for socialist revolution. The sell-out theories of the revisionists are directly responsible for the sell-out policies of most U.S. unions.

Opposed to the class-collaborationist policies of the AFSCME leadership is the core of militant workers at BCME who understand the basic antagonism, who understand that working people must wage a continuous and relentless struggle against the ruling class. Communists must fight for democratic unions which will fight for worker's need. Thus we must advance the struggle of this core of militant workers. This strong core of class-conscious workers must keep rank-and-file workers informed of current developments, of the actions of workers, the union and the capitalist class. Eventually this core must be strong enough, with a big enough base among all workers, to force the union to act in workers' and patients' interests; and perhaps this core of proletarian fighters will take over the union and transform it into a democratic organization truly working in the interests of the working class. A big priority for this core of class-conscious and militant workers will be to unite all workers and potential patients (i.e. community people) against the Board of Trustees to fight for better

pay, conditions and health care. We saw how many "white-collar" workers feel removed from the struggle for various reasons. The core must fight male supremacy among men workers, and must make the clerks, typists and N.S.'s understand that their interests lie with the rest of the workers. This core must constantly raise the question of health care among the workers, and the question of pay and conditions among the patients and community people.

As Communists, we must ask ourselves what our tasks are. First and foremost, we must continually raise the need for socialist revolution to establish a workers' state and society. We must point out to workers and community people that capitalism cannot fulfill the needs of working people. But the struggle for socialist revolution needs to be organized; it must be guided by a strong, disciplined core of revolutionaries. Without this core--a true Marxist-Leninist Communist Party--workers' struggles will be disorganized and disorientated. Without a real Communist Party to guide working people on the path to revolution, we are doomed. With it, we will surely win.

But only an idiot would abandon the working class in the day-to-day struggles against the ruling class. We Communists must be the strongest and foremost fighters for the everyday economic and political needs of working people. We must lead the fight against national oppression and male supremacy. We must fight everywhere and at all times for the unity of all workers--all classifications, all nationalities, both sexes. We must fight for a strong, fighting, democratic union. And, looking at the larger picture, we must fight for the interests of our working-class brothers and sisters in the community and in the hospital--for better health care.

This brings us to another very important point--what is called the united front. The oppressed nation we live in (the Chicano Nation) is continually fighting for freedom from the oppressor nation (the U.S.), just as workers everywhere are fighting for freedom from capitalism. The fight against national oppression must be led by the working class of all nationalities, but we must also solicit support from progressive people, particularly progressive Chicanos and Indians.

The hospital administrator at BCMC is a Chicano. He takes some progressive stands, like supporting health clinics in the poor communities and hiring Chicano doctors, yet he is fundamentally opposed to the interests of workers and patients. He believes in capitalism and usually works in the interests of his Anglo-American imperialist masters, but he would much prefer Chicano capitalism. Inasmuch as the interests of working people lie in overthrowing capitalism, he is opposed to them; but inasmuch as working people fight Anglo-American imperialist domination he supports them (if only half-heartedly).

Specifically, in fighting for better health care; for more Chicano doctors, nurses, etc.; and even to some extent (inasmuch as the workers are mostly Chicanos) for better pay and conditions at BCMC, we might be able to unite with Mr. Mondragon and other progressive Chicano and Indian "leaders" against the Board of Trustees (an instrument of Anglo-American imperialist domination). We realize, of course, that the workers must fight Mr. Mondragon and others whenever they tend to backslide and abandon the battle. But this alliance between working people (both working in the hospital and potential "customers" in the community) and progressive elements of the Chicano capitalist class--this alliance is potentially a very powerful weapon if used correctly.

Communists put forth the most advanced working-class theory, Marxism-Leninism; and this has always been true. Yet Communists have not always been the leading members of the working class in practical matters, like union struggles. In this period of time, when more and more people are seeing the need for socialist revolution, Communists must increasingly become the most militant and diligent working-class fighters wherever they are. We must therefore be the strongest fighters for the everyday demands of the working class, like wages and health care, as well as always and everywhere point out the need for socialist revolution. But to carry out our communist responsibilities in an organized manner, both in the sphere of ideology and in practical matters, a tight, disciplined, Leninist organization is needed. This is why the primary task of Communists in the U.S. today is the building of a real multi-national Communist Party, which will coordinate the day-to-day struggles of working people and fight for and even win the socialist revolution which will mark the end of the exploitation of man by man and the beginning of a new worker's society.

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