

FREE PUERTO RICO NOW!!

SEE CENTERFOLD ON THE NATIONALISTS RELEASE

RESISTANCE



POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION M.L.
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Four Puerto Rican Nationalists Freed!

Danger of War & Party Building

The increasing danger of an imperialist world war triggered by the superpowers' contention for world hegemony is an objective fact that has to be taken into account in determining strategy and tactics in this period. In the main, it is a question of developing the broadest possible united front against superpower hegemonism and war preparations. Only the struggle of the workers and oppressed people and nations of the world can put off the inevitable war between the two superpowers.

In the United States, the task of organizing the struggle against war preparations is severely held back by the absence of a genuine (sham ones we have a record number) Marxist Leninist Communist Party. Without that party we cannot talk about a systematic, meaningful and successful struggle against the everyday increasing possibility of war. Thus, to a great extent the real commitment of communists and advanced elements to the struggle against war preparations can be measured in terms of whether or not they have facilitated the party building process or obstaculized it; whether they are really working for the building of the party or are sabotaging it.

There is no doubt about it. The party is needed today more than ever. The faster we build it, the sooner we will be pre-

pared to be a real force in opposition to imperialist war, for peace, in support of national liberation struggles and for socialism. Without that party the US multinational proletariat cannot effectively participate, much less lead, the struggle against imperialist war and for socialism in this country. Thus, the deep concern for building that indispensable instrument of struggle before the superpowers impose a third world war on the peoples of the world has to be shared by all genuine communists and advanced elements in our country.

Understanding this, uniting with the extreme importance of this, is crucial. But not enough. We are to transform that understanding into a material force that in fact moves forward at a greater speed the party building process in the US. A process that has suffered tremendous setbacks in recent times, both by the complete degeneration of some formerly honest forces as well as by the reducing of party building to self-proclamations. The question that we are to answer is how we assure ourselves that to fight against the real danger of war we build a real communist party of the new type. No less.

But to "speed up" the process of party building can be understood, and in fact is understood, in many different ways.

"Speed up" can mean: forget about the

Masses Fight Police Brutality

On August 23rd, five N.Y. policemen emptied 24 bullets into Luis Baez, a 29-year old emotionally disturbed Puerto Rican man. This unwarranted criminal action was immediately called "justified" by the police department—even though eyewitnesses declare that Baez dropped the scissors, his only weapon, before the shooting started.

A few days later, Elizabeth Magnum, an Afro-american woman, was also murdered by a cop. She was defending herself from the cop and a city marshal who were trying to evict her.

Both murders are not isolated events. They are concrete examples of the heightening of police repression and brutality against oppressed nationalities and women. These attacks have become heavier and more frequent with the economic and political crisis facing the capitalist system today. The rights of the workers and oppressed people are being severely trampled on during this crisis. The deterioration of health care and educational services, bad to worse housing conditions, unemployment, etc., are rampant. But these are not the only examples. Direct physical attacks such as the murder of Black community member Arthur Miller by 26 cops last year, the shooting in the back of youths Clifford Glover and Claude Reese, the recent beating and arrest of Amiri Baraka, and so on, are testimony of the new wave of attacks.

Meanwhile, the masses are responding militantly. Several hundred community residents, angry at the Baez murder, occupied the 79th Street police precinct in Brooklyn demanding justice. A few days later 3,000 people took to the streets protesting that murder and defending themselves from police attacks. The police brutally assaulted the demonstrators, injuring many and arresting 5. In a show of real viciousness they sped up their vehicles on the sidewalks and chased people into homes where they proceeded to beat them up.

This blatant violation of our right to demonstrate, the intensification of police brutality, has served to bring out the need to aim our anger at organizing ourselves to fight. Baez, Magnum, and all the others have been intensely oppressed individuals who have fought back in the only ways they know how: with scissors, knives, rocks and bottles. But it has become clear that any one individual cannot take on the police or the capitalist system by themselves. A Coalition of Black and Hispanic people Against Police Brutality has been formed as a result of the recent events.

As we said in our previous issue "the future of this coalition and of the struggle against repression, depends to a great extent on how well we learn the lessons provided:

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ction". (Lenin Selected Works, Vol. II)

This is a most fundamental question and not merely one of semantics. If you elevate "unity" to an abstract principle that is correct under any circumstances and under any ideological and political line you render it worthless. And the fact that those calls for unity are made in the name of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought, of defending the correct three worlds theory, etc., do not change this at all.

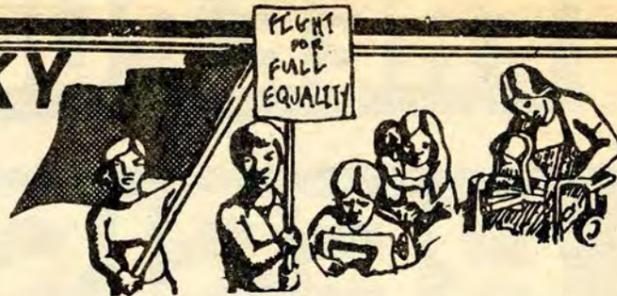
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WOMEN HOLD UP HALF THE SKY

Black woman killed resisting eviction



To have a roof over your head is an elementary right due to all people. Yet Elizabeth Mangum was killed for defending that right.

On August 29 a city marshall, aided by three New York policemen, tried to force their way into Elizabeth Mangum's Brooklyn apartment in order to evict her. The police, armed with guns and billy clubs, went to help the city marshall throw Elizabeth Mangum into the street. Mrs. Mangum defended herself the best way she knew how. Sargeant Michael Latimer, who was injured in the arm allegedly by Mrs. Mangum's knife, immediately gave the order to the other policemen to shoot her.

The police department justified such action saying that it fell "within the guidelines for the use of firearms". Of course, the police sees nothing wrong with killing people like Mrs. Mangum. They are the bodyguards, the armed henchmen of the system responsible for protecting the interests of the capitalist rulers of this country. When people can no longer pay the rent—remember that the economic crisis has pulled workers' pay down, and pushed prices for food, health services and housing sky-high—we are kicked out and denied even the right to have a roof over our heads. And it is the task of the police to insure that this happens.

The case of Elizabeth Mangum clearly exemplifies the oppression which women, especially women of oppressed nationalities, are subject to. Mrs. Mangum lived alone in a single-room apartment. Her only belongings: a chair, a couch and a plant.

As an Afro-american, and a woman, Mrs. Mangum was part of the most op-

pressed sector in this society, where the weight of the crisis is hitting the hardest. It is women and oppressed nationalities that are suffering the brunt of the crisis.

Massive lay-offs and the closing down of schools, hospitals, daycares in working class and oppressed nationality communities affect Black, Hispanics Chicanos, etc., and women especially, as the quality of health care and education for themselves and their children deteriorate. Their capacity to earn a living diminishes and they are forced into the welfare rolls.

Housing also deteriorates in these communities, while the prices for food clothing, and medicines, as well as rent, rise astronomically. Large families are forced to move into smaller apartments. Others are forced to accept leaking roofs, broken windows, no heat or hot water, etc., as a fact of life. Others who choose to withhold the rent and force landlords to improve conditions are subject to all kinds of harassment because the courts are definitely not on their side. Others, who simply cannot pay the rent are mercilessly thrown in the streets, left to die in the gutter, in the park bench, or wherever. And if we defend ourselves against these conditions as Mrs. Mangum did, the weight of the system comes down on you even heavier.

Despite these attacks, people are struggling to survive in many different ways, as best as they can. Some like senior citizen Mattie Schultz (see RESISTANCE, Vol. 10, No. 8) are driven to steal food in order to avoid starving to death. Oppressed people like Mrs. Mangum are forced to defend their rights with whatever there is at hand—rocks, sticks, knives, and their

bare hands.

Although Mrs. Mangum was surviving on minimum SSI check, she would never miss paying a month's rent. Her daughter, who kept in touch with her, declares that she was very surprised when she was told her mother was being evicted. According to her, Mrs. Mangum paid the rent religiously every month, "even before buying perishables", and, as her apartment testifies, before any personal belongings also. This makes the "eviction" story very questionable.

Another incident, which occurred before the killing, adds to the "mystery". In the building's laundromat a Mr. Winters, who is part of management, tried to rip her off some change. When Mrs. Mangum insisted on her change, he took an iron pipe and knocked her out. She was later found crawling on the laundromat's floor still half-conscious. Was there any connection between the assault by the manager and the eviction? We don't know for sure, but very likely. What we do know is that both incidents are very much linked to the fact that Mrs. Mangum was an Afro-american and a woman.

The rich are allowed to protect their mansions with dogs that can eat you alive, and are protected by the law if they kill or maim anybody who trespasses. But what happens to the poor? The capitalists' laws don't work the other way. They certainly don't protect the poor.

When it is a case of the oppressed protecting the sanctity of their homes, the law protects the trespassers instead—that is, lice. That is why Captain Latimer, who gave the order to kill Mrs. Mangum, is

"within the guidelines". According to the law, the bourgeois courts will protect him and place the fault on Mrs. Mangum, who would be in jail, if alive. What does all of this show?

Concretely, the case of Elizabeth Mangum is a manifestation of national oppression and of the oppression of women. But further, it shows how both the national question and the woman question are in fact a class question.

Whether Mrs. Mangum paid her rent or not and whether the eviction notice was "justified" or not, this is a clear expression of the contradictions that exist in this society between the oppressing capitalist class and the oppressed class. This contradiction takes on a number of forms in real life. It is expressed in the irony of how, since capitalist laws are on the side of the rich, the landlords, the police, those who trespass on the rich are punished, while those who trespass and kill the poor are rewarded.

The battle of Mrs. Mangum against her evictors was in a sense an expression of that class contradiction. It embodied the basic elements of a contradiction that is violent, and that cannot be resolved but by the violent abolishment of that system that is based on the division of society into classes, and that in fact creates such class contradictions.

There are many Elizabeth Mangums around. Let's prevent them from suffering the same end!

**OPPOSE NATIONAL OPPRESSION!
OPPOSE THE OPPRESSION OF WOMEN!**

Party Building

Continued from first page

If some comrades feel that it is necessary to develop some kind of common front, united front work, if you may, in defense of the overall correct line that historically has been pursued by the CPC, it is their right to do so. In fact, most probably we would unite with such an effort—in practice we are doing so—as long as our independence and initiative is not jeopardized by unprincipled manouvers and sectarian alliances (as is the case in our days). But to confuse unity on those general principles with the kind of unity in theory and practice that is needed to build a party is missing the mark by a lot. Especially when that "unity" is left at the level of general pronouncements like we all support the three worlds theory, Chairman Mao, the CPC, etc., but the necessary debate about what that means in the real world, in the USA in 1979, is smashed. Thus we have on the one hand defenders of the three worlds theory that didn't move a finger to support the just struggles of the Iranian and Nicaraguan people against US imperialism, while on the other we have those who (ourselves included) took an active role in supporting such struggles showing concretely what the three worlds theory is really about.

The same can be said about where the main blow should go, what our attitude towards US participation in NATO should be, how to evaluate the SALT II treaty and so on. All these questions relate clearly to the question of war preparations and it would be ridiculous to pretend to build a party immediately—supposedly in order to lead the struggle against the imperialist war—without first establishing clearly what are our positions on these questions. (Undoubtedly, the same holds true

for many other fundamental questions mentioned elsewhere in this article)

Obviously, the comrades that are using the boogey man of the war to put forward their get-rich-quick schemes would argue that in no way they are proposing such unprincipled thing. They claim that in fact all lines of demarcation have been drawn between genuine and sham Marxism in this country. Furthermore,



they claim that whatever other discussions that may be necessary can be carried out among the organizations in private.

This line reduces ideological struggle to something to be used only when struggling with the enemy, and among "comrades" things are not to be discussed openly. It is no accident that despite clear differences on may questions the different organizations that understand the "speed up" of party building in this way do not carry any open polemics among themselves. And with this view that open polemics are synonymous to sectarian attacks, and that you are to polemize only with the "enemy" (concentrating only on the CPUSA, the RCP and as of late the WVO), the scenario is prepared to disregard every criticism as the work of the enemy or as the "sec-

tarian attacks of a sect."

Despite their claims to the contrary, the comrades pushing that "the war is coming, the war is coming, we have to unite right away" are also practicing the "left-is-the-main-danger line. They cover it today by in words saying that right opportunism and revisionism is the main danger, then proceeding to identify the CPUSA as the main proponent of that line, calling on

comrades to intensify the struggle against the CPUSA and presto!, the right danger within our midsts, within the US anti-revisionist communist movement, disappears. When referring to problems within our movement all they mention is the "left". And "left" is supposedly the sectarianism, "left" is the economism, and so on. Central to this position is as we mentioned above, the liquidation of open ideological struggle — which objectively amounts to the line that says that ideological struggle is "leftist", and that the "left" is the main danger within the anti-revisionist communist movement in the U.S.

The question posed is how to build a genuine communist party as soon as possible. We are dealing then with two main considerations. One is a matter of time

(when, how long). The other of content (a genuine Marxist-Leninist communist party of the multinational US proletariat.) Obviously, the content of the party is the fundamental question here. Any method which, although really fast like self-proclamations, sacrifices the quality of that party in any way, has to be discarded. There are many fundamental questions that are to be taken into consideration in determining the way ahead, such as the relation between theory and practice, between agitation and propaganda, between legal and illegal work, between open ideological struggle and private discussions among organizations, etc. as well as concrete ideological and political lines on the international situation, the national question, the woman question, the trade union question, the struggle against revisionism and all forms of opportunism, etc. Whether we are to forget all differences to keep them quiet, independently of their being in some cases fundamental, or to struggle in a principled and aboveboard manner for higher unity, will in fact determine if we are going to have just another phony party, bigger and "unified" but still phoney, or the genuine, multinational M-L communist party that is so badly needed.

Puerto Rican peasants have an old saying that goes: When in a hurry, dress up slowly (Visteme despacio que voy de prisa). We can learn a lot from this. If because you are in a hurry to get somewhere you dress yourself up so fast that you forget your coat, your boots, your gloves, your pants, etc., and you go out in a freezing weather, you know damn well that the only place you are going to get to in a hurry is to the hospital or the cemetery. And asking to build a party without establishing firm and clear lines of demarcation is in fact to dress yourself very poorly for a real cold and storming weather.

Lets get dressed properly comrades, to be sure that at the first battle we don't find ourselves with the bourgeoisie advancing over our naked bodies!

Rectification Campaign

COReS (m/m)

COReS saw the necessity for a rectification campaign in early 1978. Two general problems which repeatedly arose were the major difficulties in leading mass struggles and the insufficient political consolidation among the cadre. We were forced to delay the campaign for almost a year since the polemic on the international situation threatened a split in the revolutionary forces in our area, thus calling for intensive work on the subject. Also, we began the merger process with LPR (M-L) during this period. But finally in April of this year, we were able to initiate the campaign.

OUR METHODOLOGY

By then the problems we had earlier identified had deepened and new ones had emerged. Then too, our grasp of the interrelatedness of the problems had improved and we set out to focus on six main areas that needed rectification:

- 1) Our method of thinking
- 2) Our style of criticism/self-criticism
- 3) The scope of our work, spontaneity and amateurishness
- 4) Democratic centralism
- 5) Questions of our mass work
- 6) The woman question

The problems were interrelated and were manifested in the realm of policy, structure, practice, ideology, politics, etc. By identifying the main areas we were better able to begin to separate out the problems and understand their significance. The two we saw as crucial to begin with were method of thinking and the style of criticism/self-criticism.

Inherent in the rectification process is the need for sum-up of past experiences of the organization. It was imperative that the summing up be as objective and all-sided as possible. To do that, we needed to uproot our tendencies toward subjective, pessimistic, negative, one-sided attitudes and evaluations we had been making. Once we began to analyze our problems from a more objective basis, we were better able to determine what was wrong and how to uproot it. Secondly, it was necessary to correct the style of criticism/self-criticism. This is because rectification also inherently develops through criticism and self-criticism. Our practice and style at this had degenerated with liberalism and sectarianism being the main deviations.

Through this rectification campaign, we hope to rectify our incorrect methods of thinking and styles of work. By improving these we can more objectively look at our practice, line, direction, limitation and abilities, the obstacles we must overcome and our new future direction. We hope to set ourselves on the correct course to further develop that fine style of work that is necessary to the health of a Marxist-Leninist organization—criticism and self-criticism, close ties to the masses, integration of theory and practice. Most importantly, we see the need to revitalize ourselves and by using the resources we do have, to contribute to the growth of the communist movement and to the organization of the masses of working and oppressed people of the U.S.

From the onset, we recognized the importance of involving all rank and file cadre and the contacts of the organization in the rectification. This needed to be done without liquidation of the guidance from leadership and the organization. We first asked rank and file cadre to sum-up the problems and errors of the organization they saw then. From this and other investigation, leadership summarized the six main areas of problems and developed study materials and discussions within the organization. Cadre of particular units were asked to sum-up the way these errors had been manifested in the political work the unit was responsible for as well as the internal relations of the unit and the rela-



tion between that unit and higher bodies. Individual cadre were to examine their own practice and do self-criticism around the main points.

Subsequently, the organization consulted contacts and asked for their participation. This was done primarily in the form of holding several propaganda conferences, in preparation of which contacts were provided a study list and explanation of each area of rectification. We found that these conferences were not as consistently productive as we had hoped, as some of our old practices continued in carrying them out. More successful methods were developed in working with contacts individually to gather criticisms and also by taking up the criticism in the context of ongoing areas of work of the organization. It was important **not to wait** till the end of the campaign to correct the errors as they were evident and possible.

The role of the leadership in the process is crucial. We knew that the leadership of the organization had to take **primary** responsibility for the errors of the organization and that by opening wide the call for criticism, leadership would have to accept the brunt of those criticisms. We also recognized that though leadership made many mistakes, that it was overall good; that COReS had made some positive contributions to the communist movement. It is now seen that we must improve not only the democracy but also the centralism of the organization. Thus, while encouraging rank and file and contacts to "let it all hang out", leadership has the responsibility to guide the campaign and direct the implementation of points of rectification without killings anyone's initiative or stifling struggle.

At the same time, it would be incorrect to blame **all** our errors on leadership. Each of us had to analyze our specific role in the organization—examining our individual promoting and struggling for the correct line and style as now identified, and our role in conciliating to or promoting an incorrect line or style. Thus while there is a need to identify the **main proponents** of what we have now summed up as the incorrect line, practice, etc., it is vital to understand that everyone in organization to one extent or another has been helping to carry out that incorrect line. It must be uprooted from the **whole** organi-

zation, from **all** our work, from each and every cadre's work.

The LPR rectification campaign experience has greatly aided our campaign. We have used materials they suggested including their articles that appeared in RESISTANCE (See RESISTANCE, Vol. 9, No. 7, 8; Vol. 10, No. 1) and have shared experiences and offered criticisms in the two campaigns. The merger process itself, in which we have both been summing up our line and practice, cannot be separated from the rectification process. Deviations and incorrect practice in the lines were closely tied to the areas needing rectification.

We have spent some time here explaining the approach used in our rectification because we see this is vital to the success of any campaign. Various organizations in the communist movement have had or are having such campaigns. This is obviously a product of their realization that our movement faces many difficulties not the least of which is the failure to produce a genuine anti-revisionist party. Perhaps our experience can aid to improve the potential of other such campaigns and contribute to the development of that party.

OUR SUBJECTIVIST APPROACH IN METHODS OF THINKING

Generally, our approach to many tasks reflects the outlook of the pettybourgeois—a one-sided, subjectivist approach. In this, we have acted more often as casual revolutionaries than as scientists of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought. One major example was that of investigation. Related, of course, to other errors, we found that we have two deviations on this: 1. "too little investigation" and 2. "too much investigation".

1. We usually did incomplete investigation that was limited to knowledge only about our region of the country; to perceptual and empirical experience leading to a shallow grasp of the facts; by not relying on ours and the movement's experiences and beginning with a sum-up of that by doing a hit-and-miss investigation that was not all-sided.

2. At times, we also tended to drown ourselves in collecting facts and data not intended to directly fill in the gaps in our knowledge. Later the investigation could

get bogged down in the drawing up, revising and discussing of elaborate plans that never saw the light of practice. This was a manifestation of petty-bourgeois intellectualizing and trivia-mongering.

Overall, both deviations occurred because we did not well enough know what and how much we needed to investigate—**whether** to support the strike or **how** to support it in our area were confused with each other. "Planning" took several months to complete and by the time we emerged the strike was nearly over. We didn't rely enough on the political guidance from LPR (M-L) and the views they had published in RESISTANCE. The work was never completely summed up and made available to the communist movement.

Our concept of study and line and our integration of theory and practice was another major stumbling block produced by our subjectivist approach. Study was reduced to largely studying the Marxist-Leninist classics. What this belittled was study of the other 2/3rd's necessary for communist work: history and conditions. Thus while having a good grasp of Lenin's teachings on Imperialism, we are in a vacuum about what is the real history of the development of monopoly capitalism in the U.S. and real knowledge about what the Fortune 500 do in our region, what they own, what sector of the bourgeoisie they represent, etc.

Linked to our attitude of small circle spirit we often would raise one experience and our local experience to the level of line or theory for the entire movement and country. Such empiricism no matter how much it was the result of "study" led us for instance, to deduce that the main danger in the woman's movement was socialist and radical feminism. In truth this was at best a local main danger to the developing elements in the woman's movement who were open to socialism and even then only for a span of a few years it seems. (The merger report to appear in RESISTANCE will have more on this and why we see the main danger in the woman's movement is bourgeois feminism.)

Our concept of theory and its integration with practice revealed several other problems. We have not maintained a consistent use of theory to guide our work. Rather it has good and bad moments with the good coming in only in short spurts. Units of the organization might go months without having utilized the classics to resolve problems in their work. Or study of theory might be undertaken that only mechanically and vaguely was related to the tasks under discussion.

Another bad style was to approach every new question as if we were completely ignorant and to engage in voluminous study of theory that was unachievable in some decent period of time. This in turn fed into previously mentioned lag in giving timely communist leadership.

The question of the "line of the organization" followed suit. In other words, "line" for a time was largely handed down from leadership, a process that belittled rank and file participation. This complicated the development of our cadre leading to the idea that if line was some super elaboration based on excessive study of the classics, then few cadre knew what the line was. (There are related criticisms of this which will be explained in our report on democratic centralism at a later time.)

Dogmatism was also manifested in our approach to the use of the classics at times. No matter what we said, we did not always grasp well enough the conditions under which Lenin said this or that. And as we said earlier, we often did not even know our conditions well enough to apply correctly some teaching which we did have a good grasp of.

To Be Continued

Welcome Freed Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners



Lolita Lebron: "Independence is the basis for liberation. It's the first step."



Oscar Collazo: "Repression brought about the violence. Not the aggressiveness of the Nationalist Party but the aggressiveness of the United States government."



Irving Flores: "You don't know what you are capable of until you attempt to do it."



Rafael Cancel: "We don't love violence, but the enemy is violent."

They have never been away !

The four Puerto Rican nationalists—great examples of courage and patriotism—are free! We joyously celebrate the unconditional release of Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebron, Irving Flores and Rafael Cancel Miranda. After more than 25 years in prison these great examples of courage and patriotism walked out firm like a rock to continue the struggle to which they have committed their lives.

These revolutionaries are definitely people of special mould. Yankee imperialism was able to keep them in jail for a long time, but it has been incapable of breaking them. Their honesty and high principles are a great example for all progressive and revolutionary people the world over.

There are many who are trying to steal this great victory from the Puerto Rican people. They tell us that the nationalists are free because of President Carter's commitment to "human rights". This is pure demagogy. Lolita says it clearly: "This was a case of political expediency". There is no reason to be thankful to the imperialists who kept these patriots in prison for so many years, who abused them in many ways, who denied them their most elementary rights, who even denied them good medical treatment. They are free because the struggle of the people which made the case of the four Puerto Rican nationalists and international indictment against U.S. imperialism forced the imperialists to make this concession.

Oscar, Lolita, Irving, and Rafael, we salute you and look forward to see the day of victory for the sacred cause to which you have dedicated your whole lives.

¡VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE!



Rafael Cancel: "We are not something special. We are you. Any woman or man under the same circumstances would have also carried out the mission."



Lolita Lebron: "We have done nothing to cause us to repent."



The four nationalists are greeted at La Guardia airport by crowd. The banner reads: "You have never been away. Nation means courage and sacrifice".



Oscar Collazo: "I intend to continue where I left off, to keep on fighting for Puerto Rico's independence until I die."

Social Chauvinism in U.S. & Nicaraguan Revolution

The national liberation struggles are just wars that weaken imperialism. At this moment they are, in fact, the main force fighting imperialism and superpower hegemony.

In order to defeat imperialism in the U.S. we have to establish a common front of struggle between our struggle for socialism in this country and the struggles of the oppressed third world peoples and nations against imperialism (especially U.S. imperialism). To support national liberation struggles means to go a lot further than general declarations of support. We have to give concrete support. That means opposing the policies of our own bourgeoisie in relation to the particular struggle, provide material support (money, medicines, books, clothes, etc.) and organize and mobilize the masses in support of those struggles.

Whoever fails to consistently provide that support, especially when the struggle is spearheaded against its own bourgeoisie, is objectively a social chauvinist. And social chauvinism has proven to be a very strong trend within the "left" in this country. The practice of this "left" during the recent revolutionary upheaval in Nicaragua speaks eloquently to the fact. Proletarian internationalism has become an empty slogan for many of the forces that claim to be the "parties" or would-be parties of the U.S. multinational proletariat.

In the recent struggle in Nicaragua, most of the organizations that claim to have broken with modern revisionism and Trotskyism didn't carry out any support work whatsoever. In fact, it was the different Trotskyite organizations, especially the Workers World Party, the SWP and the revisionist CPUSA and others, who were more active in that support work.

Although our involvement was reduced to New York (and we know first-hand what went on in Colorado from the comrades of CORES), we have evidence that these states do not represent an exception to the rule, but in fact, are representative of the complete inactivity of most of the "left" forces.

It is important that we understand that social chauvinism transcends any particular line on the international situation. It is no accident that, both, the great majority of the organizations that support the three worlds theory in this country, as well as those who have made the attack of the three worlds, Chairman Mao and the CPC

their central and only task, were completely inactive in the support work for Nicaragua.

Thus, we have the COUSML and the CPUSAML (read MLOC) conducting a holy crusade against the social chauvinism of the three worlds holders in general, and the CPML in particular. But they allied with their own bourgeoisie, denying support to the Nicaraguan revolution because it was not led by the party of the proletariat. And the CPML, on the other hand, has spent reams of paper talking about what good defenders they are of the three worlds, Chairman Mao and the CPC, but when they have a chance to prove it in practice, they are nowhere to be found. And this holds true for almost every organization, collective and individual who upholds one or the other of these two lines, the three worlds and the "two camps", in our movement.

The debate around the international situation is left up in the clouds by many comrades. It's reduced to a matter of phrasemongering everybody to death. The "two camps" holders say that the three worlds doublecross national liberation struggles and they "demarcate" themselves from this "social chauvinist" position by refusing to support national liberation movements like the ones in Iran and Nicaragua which have given death blows to U.S. imperialism and soviet social imperialism. And many of the "supporters" of the three worlds give credibility to the charge of social chauvinism and class collaboration by not making a move in support of the national liberation struggles.

We are sure that most of the organizations which in fact did not carry out any work in support of the Nicaraguan revolution would have a lot of theoretical justifications for this. Some would claim that it is a matter of priorities. Thus proletarian internationalism from this standpoint is something to be practiced, not as a primary thing but whenever the ideal conditions exist. Others would claim that they in fact were giving support. They would point to this or that article in their newspapers. Others would reduce the argument to the question of "unity with revisionists and Trotskyites". They claim that they did not participate in this or that coalition because the leadership was in the hands of the Trotskyites or the revisionists. But they don't want to deal with the fact that the masses were working in those coalitions.

And that one of the reasons for the hegemony of Trotskyites and revisionists in those coalitions was the lack of involvement by the genuine Marxist-Leninists forces. Others will say "you are distorting our line, which is in support of the Nicaraguan revolution. But the deeds necessary to back up their position do no appear anywhere.

Our experience in doing support work for the Nicaraguan revolution gives us a good understanding of how real and to what extent social chauvinism exists in our country. We understand that this social chauvinism can take various forms and is reflected in various political lines. The Trotskyites and the revisionists are by nature social chauvinists. But all those who for whatever reasons, don't come forward to fulfill their proletarian internationalist duties are also social chauvinists. It's very clear: either you support in words and deeds the just national liberation struggles against your bourgeoisie, or you are, independently of your will, a social chauvinist.

In the many demonstrations and picket lines, fund raisers, forums, etc. held in New York, New Jersey and Washington in which we participated, the influence of the Trotskyites, especially the Youth Against War and Fascism (Workers World Party) was evident. You saw their propaganda all around, many of their fronts spoke at the events, the security was mainly in their hands, the finances, etc., etc., But all the Trotskyites and their revisionist brothers were in no way the majority of the people participating in those events. Hundreds of Nicaraguans who live in the area participated in those events, and the great majority of them don't belong to Trotskyite organizations nor even have clear sympathy for Trotskyism. The same holds true for a lot of other participants in support work. There were many Latin Americans that were not affiliated to any organization. The same was true for people of many nationalities, Afro-Americans, whites, etc, who also participated. In most of them, we were the only US based organization that upholds Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought and the three worlds participating. (The comrades from Linea Roja of the Revolutionary Movement 14th of June, from the Dominican Republic, were also carrying out support work.

We were not in a position of leadership in any of the coalitions. We did not even

have many allies in them. But that did not stop us from carrying out all our work. We didn't make the "exposure" of Trotskyites and revisionists the main aspect of our work, but rather to build the support work for Nicaragua. In all events we put our independent propaganda and agitation in which we laid out our particular views on the struggle. In fact, in some discussions with some of the most conscious elements when the question of Trotskyism was brought up by us, we found real difficulty in showing why the Trotskyites were all

bad when in practice in that work, they were championing the struggle against our bourgeoisie and the support of the Nicaraguan revolution at the time in which the so-called "genuine" M-Ls were folding their arms, very busy fighting against everybody except the U.S. bourgeoisie.

Let's make this point clearer. We are not saying that the Trotskyites were giving support principally to the Nicaraguan revolution. In fact, their unprincipled maneuvers isolated them from many honest forces, including some Nicaraguan organizations, who even stopped working with coalitions that were clearly in the hands of the Trotskyites. What we are saying is that you cannot go to the masses in struggle and give them a dissertation on why the Trotskyites are scum when they see the Trotskyites in the picket lines with them, raising funds, printing the leaflets of the coalitions, mobilizing hundreds to Washington, etc., while the real Marxist-Leninists that you talk about are reduced to a very tiny contingent that are not even capable of mobilizing other Marxist-Leninists who, like them, claim to be the champions of national liberation struggles.

On the eve of the overthrow of Somoza, and under the initiative of Linea Roja, a coalition was formed to call for a demonstration in front of the Nicaraguan embassy. There were some very positive aspects to the event for which we supported it and participated fully. It was an attempt to draw in specifically many of the M-L forces who up till then had not been involved in the support work. The initiators of it, Linea Roja, were involved in the struggle already, and we saw in their attempt an opportunity to convince other forces to join the broader coalition. This would provide a considerable force in opposition to the Trotskyites and revisionists.

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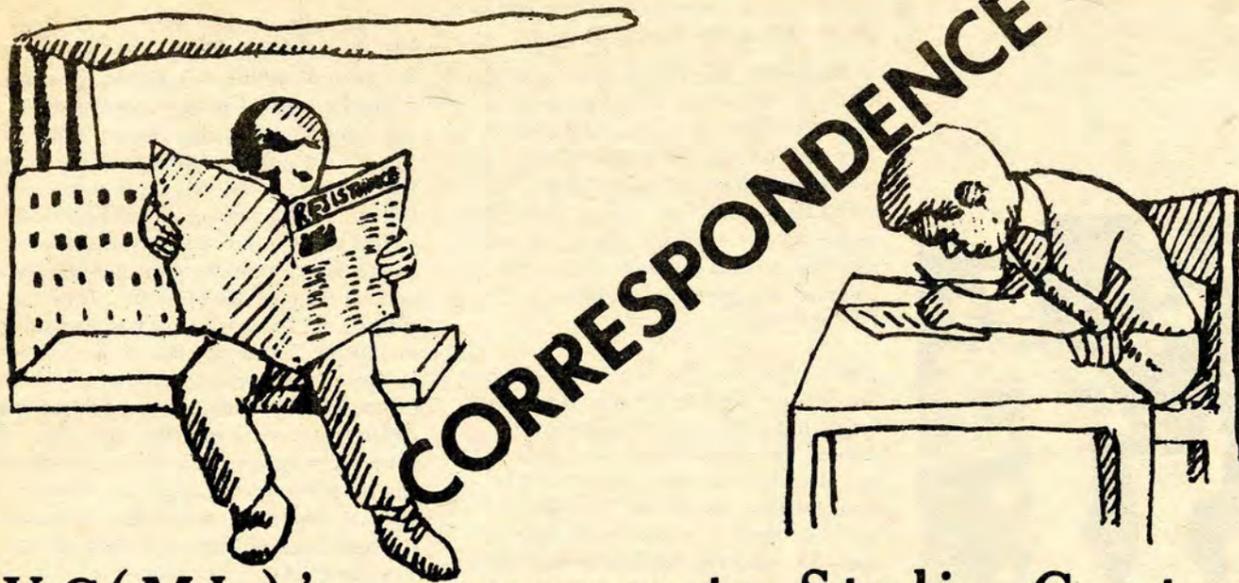
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WC(ML)'s response to Stalin Centennial proposal

This is a belated response to your proposal around Stalin's Centennial. While your sentiments to give Stalin's contributions to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism its rightful place, which have been vulgarized by the revisionists, we feel that the proposal as conceived by you is idealist and weakens the struggle against spontaneity and idealism.

We feel that the proposal was not thought out carefully in terms of what this would mean in practice. This is the similar errors we're confronted with in our ranks and would like to offer these comradely criticisms:

1. The way you launched your proposal publicly was somewhat premature. There was a weak basis that people would respond, it took on a shooting at random, wishful thinking approach.

2. There was no real plan in how to proceed when/if people responded.

3. The content of the joint activity as we recalled was too extensive, like reading Stalin's collective works, and writings. In other words, we felt this was unrealistic at this time with our limited resources.

4. We do think as expressed to you that an article commemorating Stalin's Centennial in a summary fashion would be a realistic task in light of all our other tasks. This could be jointly done with other M-Ls and ourselves. Perhaps some comrades would emphasize certain aspects of Stalin's contributions to Marxism-Leninism. This however, should be done in a summary fashion. This could be supplemented by joint speeches, celebrations, or other public (or closed) events if there is the basis.

We united with the need to unite Marxist-Leninists and that Stalin's Centennial would be a good vehicle in this direction, but we would only be concerned with any tasks we do that we avoid the spontaneity and idealism that never let us do anything well with an all-sided consideration and foresight.

We are not familiar where your present

thinking is on your proposal, or what has been responses by others. This would be helpful for us to know.

We would certainly be interested in working jointly or otherwise in Stalin's Centennial, that can contribute to uniting Marxist-Leninists.

Please feel free to give your response.

WC(ML)



JOSEPH STALIN: 12/21/79- 3/5/53
LPR RESPONSE

We unite with the basic thrust of these comrades' criticisms. Our proposal (See RESISTANCE, Vol. 10, No. 3) was in fact idealistic and developed in a rather spontaneous way. It was idealistic in so far as it failed to make a concrete analysis of our capabilities at this moment as well as of our forces. Furthermore, it was definitely "shooting at random", dreaming for responses which, if we had made a correct analysis, we should have known would not be forthcoming.

In looking back at the process by which this proposal was developed, we can see the great gap that exists in our organization between the thinking and doing, between what we consider is correct and should be done, and what we are capable of accomplishing. In sum, the process was as follows.

As of November 1978, we decided to work hard in order to celebrate Stalin's Centennial in a proper way. Correctly, we saw this as a great opportunity to raise to a higher level the struggle against modern revisionism, Trotskyism and all sorts of opportunism in this country. As pointed out in the proposal "This year marks the hundred anniversary of the birth of Joseph Stalin. We call on comrades and friends to unite with us in an effort to properly commemorate this important event. At a time in which Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought is being attacked from all quarters the celebration of Stalin's centennial must be used to deepen our grasp of the science, to propagate it, and to unmask all those who are raising the red flag in order to attack it." This was even more important at a time in which the worthy successor of Stalin, Chairman Mao, was also under heavy attack. Thus, we saw the need to focus the Stalin Centennial celebration on the defense of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought. Within this we were to concentrate on the revisionists and Trotskyites who have always centered their attacks on Marxism-Leninism and on Comrade Stalin, as well as on those who use their so-called defense of Stalin as a cover for their attacks on Chairman Mao.

Looking in retrospect we should have consulted with at least those organizations in the movement with whom we had consistent and systematic liaison work at the time. Very probably as a result of that consultation, we would have come out with not only a more feasible plan, but we would have also united with other comrades on the focus and scope of the proposed celebration. In jumping ahead instead of seeking unity from the start, we were fostering the small circle spirit that we consistently criticize as one of the great evils facing our movement. Furthermore, although the call was made in the open, to whoever responded, we did not follow up with direct contact with different organizations, etc. Thus, the plan became a dead letter to which only two other organizations, besides the comrades of the WC, responded in an affirmative way. To make matters worst, we even considered attempt

ing to carry out the plan in the event that other organizations did not respond to it. We said in the proposal:

"The plans for the Stalin Centennial that we are putting forward can be developed by a Committee of organizations and individuals, not just our organization."

Despite the basic idealist approach to this work, we would be completely one-sided if we did not point out some of the positive outcomes of the proposal. First, and foremost, up to now, September 1979, we are the only organization among those that uphold M-L MZT in the U.S. that has done some concrete work around Stalin's Centennial. Secondly, the publication of a short biography of Stalin (in Spanish) is already out and the article How the Social Democrats Understand the National Question (in English and Spanish) are positive contributions that should not be belittled. Thirdly, we have created some interest in the study of Stalin works among some comrades. More notably around the national question and party building. Finally, the response of the comrades from the WC-ML itself is a good example of the fact that our call has brought some positive results. All this is said, let's repeat, in order to avoid one-sidedness and so as not to throw away the baby with the bath water.

At this moment, we plan to limit the scope of our involvement in the Stalin Centennial commemoration to

1. Reprint some additional Stalin's works in English and Spanish.
2. Publish an article on Stalin's contributions to the teachings of M-L
3. Hold some propaganda conferences around Stalin's contributions and their importance for us in this period.

We look forward to coordinate some of this work with the comrades of the WC-ML and the other comrades that have expressed interest in commemorating the centennial of great Stalin. Criticisms and suggestions, as well as commitments, are welcome.

Nicaragua...

continued from page 6

But there were some clear weaknesses to the "M-L" coalition. Although it did bring some forces to the event who otherwise were not concretely supporting the Nicaraguan revolution, it was objectively sectarian. Sectarian towards some forces that should have been invited (only certain Marxist-Leninists and anti-imperialists that were considered "genuine" were invited). And it was an attempt to organize the "left" support, in isolation of the masses, and to make it worse, the event was held very near to the time of the Sandinista victory, which made it look like an attempt to leech off a struggle which in the main those forces had not consistently supported.

The event was one of the least attended of those held in New York during the Nicaraguan struggle. Although many M-L organizations "sponsored it", most of the par-

ticipants were brought by the Dominican organizations (including some that were excluded from the coalition). The CPML, the self-proclaimed party of the U.S. proletariat brought to the event the grand total of one person who, to make matters worst did not even participate in the picket line because the person was busy selling THE CALL. After the event, in the sum-up meeting, we struggled against the idea of keeping this narrow coalition and proposed that it join the broader coalition. The CPML did not attend this meeting.

The others agreed to the liquidation of the coalition, but did not respond directly to our argumentation. Instead, they decided to end the coalition because by that time Somoza had already fled the country. Obviously this was also incorrect and led to a continuation of the practice of not supporting the Nicaraguan Revolution, which although in fact has defeated Somoza, was at that time, and still is, in great need of our political and material support.

As for groups like the COUSML and the MLOC, you can forget it. They peddle a clear Trotskyite line in relation to national liberation struggles. They don't support any struggle unless it's led by the proletariat and its party. The fact is that there is no national liberation struggle in the world at this time which fulfill the prerequisites of these organizations—a super social chauvinist Trotskyite position.

The stormcenter of revolution today is definitely the third world, and not the advanced capitalist countries. This is a reality which only those "Marxists" who approach things from quotes learned by heart, and not from living reality, can deny. National liberation struggles against the superpowers will be with us for a long time to come. There's a great upheaval in whole third world. Just, this year, we have witnessed victorious struggles in Iran and Nicaragua. Things are very hot in El Salvador and Guatemala, in the backyard of U.S. imperialism. The peoples of Namibia, Azania, and Zimba-

bwe are determined to end colonialism, racism, and apartheid. The heroic Kampuchean people are not giving respite to the Vietnamese invaders. The Eritrean masses continue their long and heroic struggle which today has the Soviet Union as its principal enemy. The Palestinian people are making things impossible for the Zionists and their imperialist masters.

Revolution is rising in the third world. Who practices social chauvinism and who practices proletarian internationalism is a question that is solved not in the realm of pseudo Marxist phrasemongering but in the realm of a correct revolutionary theory, which in words and deeds organizes the struggle against our own bourgeoisie, and in support of the just wars of national liberation of the oppressed peoples and nations of the third world. Practice, comrades, is the sole criterion of truth.



Police Brutality . . .

Continued from first page



1. Police brutality is one of the manifestations of national oppression, which intensifies with the (political and economic) crisis. A powerful weapon to combat it is the multinational unity forged in the course of the struggle against the common enemy: the capitalist class.

2. The masses are the makers of history. We should not rely on the bourgeois courts, nor on the "investigations" carried out by the bourgeois state, nor bourgeois politicians or candidates, nor the so-called community "review boards" since all of these are ways of controlling and deviating our struggle. Only the militant struggle of the masses can win victory! (RESISTANCE; Vol. 10, No. 8, Spanish edition)

RESISTANCE interviewed a representative from LPR-ML in the coalition on some of the issues, problems and solutions that are being raised.

Why was the Coalition formed?

The coalition is a result of a growing awareness among Black and Puerto Rican activists that the most effective way to combat police brutality is by uniting efforts to face the common enemy. It's also the result of a long history of struggle against police brutality, in which the masses have shown heroic resistance. This struggle has taken many forms throughout the years--from isolated instances of individual self-defense to massive resistance as in the July 27th demonstration. We definitely recognize these actions of self-defense as courageous and justified. But they're not enough. At present, most people who try to defend themselves against the injustices of the system and end up either in jail or in the cemetery. The case of Arthur Miller who was strangled to death by 26 cops for trying to stop the attacks on his brother), and of Luis Baez, are examples used by the police to intimidate us. Even the massive resistance of July 27 was clearly not enough. Because even though we did score an important political victory, the "casualties" were heavier on our side. The masses are still not organized. We need to confront the system's armed and legal henchmen like the police and the courts, with the power of the masses acting in a concerted way. The anger of the masses is at a boiling point. If organized and aimed directly at the enemy, it can become a powerful force against police brutality and all forms of oppression. If the masses are organized and armed with the consciousness of who are our friends and allies, who is the enemy, and how and why we are to combat it, we can be successful!

Why is the LPR (ML) participating in the Coalition?

First of all, we are there because we support the struggle against police brutality and because we see the need to actively participate in this struggle. The Coalition can help carry out the tasks of educating and organizing the community for this purpose.

Second, we see the Coalition as a positive step in terms of uniting two oppressed nationalities which the system has been able to keep divided for so long, despite the common oppression that they face. Police repression, rather than stopping the struggle, has succeeded in uniting some sectors of the Black and Puerto Rican communities within a common front. This is a good thing.

Our participation in the Coalition is one of the ways in which we concretely take up the struggle not just against police brutality but against national oppression as well--of which police brutality is one specific manifestation.

What are some of the problems faced by the Coalition in its work?

We face all sorts of problems, but no one of them unsurmountable. There is for example the problem of the tension, resentment and distrust that has traditionally existed between Blacks and Puerto Ricans. A division has been created by the capitalists who have pitted one against the other and forced them to compete for jobs, poverty funds, etc. In some instances it is so extreme that one sector sees the other, rather than the capitalists, as the enemy. But these barriers are beginning to break down in practice, as the common oppression intensifies and becomes clearer and clearer. Still, there is a lot of work to be done in this area.

Some of the things that can help in continuing to break down these false barriers are: carrying out educational work in the form of written propaganda and agitation, rallies, films, cultural work, etc., that help to bring out the common oppression and the need for unity. Also: holding events in places in which members of both communities find accessible, providing translations into Spanish so that concretely the equality of languages and nationalities is respected and carrying out work

jointly in each community as opposed to always keeping the work separated.

Meanwhile, we have to guard against limiting the unity that we forge only to Blacks and Puerto Ricans. Although it's a fact that the target of police brutality are mainly the oppressed nationalities, who suffer the brunt of the attacks especially at this time of capitalist oppression, and therefore share a common enemy and a common struggle with Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

Of course, unity cannot be achieved in the abstract, with nice words. It has to be forged in practice, in the course of the struggle. But any attempt to exclude or reject multinational unity for the sake of some abstract concept of "third world unity" in the U.S. would be to objectively ally with the capitalist enemy. Because only until this multinational unity is achieved, can we be really prepared to smash the enemy that oppresses us all.

Another problem is how to gather as broad as possible support in our struggle. In the case of Arthur Miller, which helped to give rise to the Black United Front (BUF), support was forthcoming from many different sectors. The masses were angry, and so was the liberal press, some politicians, churches, businessmen, intellectuals and, of course, political activists. This was so because Miller was not just any Black person from the street, but a well-known community member, a businessman himself. This was a case of an "excess" by the oppressor which not only outraged the masses but also caused embarrassment to many who otherwise support the system.

Not so in the case of Luis Baez. Although this is by no means the only case to be dealt with by the Coalition, it is the case that sparked its formation. And Luis Baez was a John Doe in the Puerto Rican community, so the work is definitely more difficult, although in no way less important. In fact, it is cases such as this that the Coalition plans to work around, because these are the cases that happen every day in our communities and would otherwise go unnoticed. It is cases such as this that we need to take up in order to focus our work on the masses of oppressed people who are in fact the most frequent victims of police brutality.

What is the solution to police brutality?

Of course that as long as there is capitalism there will be police brutality. But this doesn't mean that we fold our arms and watch our brothers and sisters get abused, jailed and killed. We can fight against police brutality, and we can make important gains in this struggle. We need to be able to respond to each and every manifestation of police brutality quickly and effectively. We need to expose each case within the community and to mobilize support as soon as it happens. But we cannot limit ourselves to responding after the fact; we should be able to develop a tight community network capable of mobilizing forces on the spot, when the act of police brutality is underway.

What we cannot do is create the illusion that we will be able to end police brutality altogether. It's correct to utilize different forms of struggle, legal and illegal. But we need to always keep in mind that it's the militant struggle of the masses that we can for sure rely on to be successful. Suits against police departments, as well as other forms of legal work, can be useful tactics in showing the masses how corrupt the government is, etc.. They can supplement the work of organizing and mobilizing the masses. But at the present moment they cannot be the primary form of struggle. Its results are very limited and can hardly serve to mobilize the masses of people. On the other hand, demonstrations and other forms of mass action, serve to educate, organize and mobilize the masses--the very force which is ultimately the key to victory.

To make the suit the primary aspect of our work in the Coalition would be incorrect. We have to guard against creating false illusions among the masses about the possibility of having justice done as a result of a state investigation or a suit. And even as a result of demonstrations. This would be sheer reformism.

We can fight against police brutality, abate it in some cases and protect our people from it. But we cannot end it. Not while capitalism exists, because the repressive character of the police is inherent in the system.

It's the cops' job to protect the interests of the capitalists and thus to repress all those who threaten such interests. Blacks and Puerto Ricans do--the working class in general does--because their oppression is bound to eventually explode in revolution and the smashing of the capitalists' power. Therefore, capitalism would not be able to keep themselves in power, if the police were not brutal and repressive.

The solution to police brutality then, cannot be federal investigations, nor legal suits, nor putting more minorities in the force, nor electing certain politicians that are minority, or "sympathetic" to minorities. The final solution can only be to abolish capitalism, the root cause of police brutality.

How we propose to do this is also very important. We believe that the recent demonstration against the murder of Luis Baez, in which the people engaged in self-defense, contains the seeds of the future mass armed battles that workers and oppressed people in this country will wage against the capitalist class. There are many examples that also contain the seeds of mass armed struggle, like the armed resistance and others.

We have to learn from these and prepare the masses for greater battles, for being able to combat reactionary violence with revolutionary violence. The struggle against police brutality is a beginning in this direction, and part of the process of carrying out this task.

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