

RESISTANCE

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POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION M-L

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A REVIEW : - The State of Black America 1978 by the National Urban League

Things have gotten worst for Black Americans, president Carter has not done what he promised for us, and nobody is guilty for the conditions of extreme oppression and exploitation under which Afro-Americans live. These are, in a nutshell the main conclusions of the third annual report of the National Urban League on the conditions of Black America

The report is indeed very valuable in so far as it provides us with important data relating to the unemployment, housing conditions, education, medical services, etc., of the Afro-American people. It is also an act of self-exposure as it clearly portrays the National Urban League as a thoroughly reformist organization that peddles its national origin as a means of getting government funds for their poverty agencies, research, etc.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE'S FINDINGS Unemployment

The report shows that the unemployment problem has become one of the most urgent ones for Afro-Americans. In fact, unemployment doubled for the Black population as a whole.

In 1967, 638,000 blacks or 7.4 per cent of blacks were officially defined as jobless, but in 1977 13.2 percent or 1,492,000 blacks were unemployed--the largest number of blacks unemployed since the government began compiling such statistics by race. (The State of Black America 1978, page III)

The rate for adult males tripled, among adult women it doubled and for teenagers it rose from 26.5% to 38.6%. The discrimination encountered by Blacks in industry and the fact that they are the first to be fired in the case of lay-offs makes it even grimmer.

Black Family

More Black families have fallen below the 'established poverty level'. This is in part due to the flight of industry from major cities. As the report points out, "60% of the unemployed Blacks live in the central cities and are concentrated in the low income areas of the cities" (page 7). As more and more industry leaves the cities a greater number of Blacks is left jobless as they depend on semi-skilled manufacturing jobs. Also, more and more families headed by one parent (usually the mother) are forced to join other relatives in order to be able to survive on a combined income, and in many cases the family is no longer eligible to receive public assistance.

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On Party Building:

Expose Sham Unity Trend of the O.L.-C.P.

OL-CP'S "MARXIST-LENINIST UNITY COMMITTEE" IS NOT THE ROAD TO COMMUNIST UNITY

The League for Proletarian Revolution M-L opposes the OL-CP's call for the formation of a "Marxist-Leninist Unity Committee". We are convinced that this is another sham call for unity that has no other purpose than to strengthen and consolidate the OL-CP, the strengthening and consolidation of right opportunism, of social chauvinism and class collaboration.

Unity is a beautiful word and the unity of U.S. Marxist-Leninists in order to build a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of the new type is the highest aspiration of all genuine U.S. Marxist-Leninists in this period. But the road to unity cannot be one of unprincipled alliances, of conciliation with all forms of opportunism as proposed by the OL-CP. The road to unity is based on Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, on the determination of building a party of revolution not of reform--a party which leads us in carrying out proletarian revolution and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and not to a policy of class collaboration with our own bourgeoisie as the OL-CP pretends to do.

Our point of departure in judging the OL-CP's call

cannot be the form that the 'unity trend committee' will take, but rather the political and ideological line under which such a unity trend will be functioning. For obvious reasons the OL-CP emphasizes form. They guarantee that

Each group or organization uniting in the UC would have an equal say, regardless of its size and stature. Each could present its views and proposals regarding the best path towards unity in one, single party.

Of course, such a proposal would allow for the continued independent life of the existing organizations. But it would also enable a higher level of joint work and cooperation while the unity efforts were going on. (The Call Dec 26 1978 page 2).

and obviously

This Unity Committee (UC) should serve as a unifying center for all Marxist-Leninists. The UC could be formed like the OC in 1976, around a platform of unity or a unity statement. Such a

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U.S. DEFENSE BUDGET : A STEP TOWARDS IMPERIALIST WAR

The defense budget I recommend also emphasizes modernization and research and development to meet future challenges to our security. But at the same time, I am restraining defense expenditures by introducing important efficiencies and by placing careful priorities upon our defense needs. The 1979 defense budget is prudent and tight but consists of a real growth in outlays of 3 percent above the current year's budget. Consistent with campaign pledges to the American people it is \$8 billion below the defense budget projected for 1979 by the previous Administration. (New York Times Jan 24 1978, President Carter's budget message)

Our budget first places particular priority and emphasis on weapons systems in support of the NATO alliance. (New York Times, Jan 24 1978 Defense Secretary Harold Brown, pg 17)

In proposing a 'defense' budget of \$115.2 billion--an increase of more than 3% from the present budget--President Carter emphasizes the fact that "NATO is the heart of U.S. Foreign Policy". The proposed budget "increased in helicopter production, expanded the manufacture of A-10's A-4's and F-16's, all planes useful in the European theater, and initiated the building of the F-18 fighter for the Navy" (Ibid, pg 17). Also included in the plan is "the improvement of cargo planes to support troops in Europe", "a new heavy tank called XM-1", and the upgrading "of B-52 bombers by the early 1980's as a replacement for the B-1 bomber" (Ibid).

The priority assigned to the building of NATO in the new 'defense' budget shows clearly the vital role of NATO in U.S. imperialism's war preparations. Despite their peddling of detente, 'lasting peace' and their SALT talks with the USSR, U.S. imperialism is engaged in all-round preparations for imperialist war against Soviet social-imperialism and the Warsaw Treaty forces.

The danger of war between the two superpowers increases every day. In alerting the working class and all oppressed people of this danger, we have

to clearly and unequivocally establish our position in relation to that war. It's clear that what we are confronting is an imperialist war for the re-division of the world and world hegemony between the two superpowers. Our attitude towards imperialist wars has to be one of opposition to them and non-alliance with any of the contenders, independently of who fired the first shot, what country invaded, etc., etc. Lenin leaves no room for doubts.

The character of the war (whether it is reactionary or revolutionary) does not depend on who the attacker was, or in whose country the 'enemy' is stationed. It depends on what class is waging the war, and what politics this war is a continuation of. If the war is a reactionary, imperialist war, that is, if it is being waged by two world groups of the imperialist, rapacious, predatory, reactionary bourgeoisie, then every bourgeoisie (even of the smallest country) becomes a participant in the plunder, and my duty as a representative of the revolutionary proletariat is to prepare for the world proletarian revolution as the only escape from the horrors of a world slaughter. (Lenin, The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky)

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★★★★

Build Proletarian Culture — A Weapon of Class Struggle



Revolution is carried out in many fronts. One important front in this process is the cultural front. On April 1st and 2nd, a Conference on Revolutionary Culture will take place in New York City. On the initiative of the LPR-ML a committee of marxist-leninists and revolutionary cultural workers was formed--the Committee for Proletarian Culture. This committee is working on the conference and trying to bring together all those forces that can be united to participate in the conference. This conference will deal with the question of the role of the cultural front in the revolutionary process. Although marxist-leninists and other revolutionary and progressive forces realize that culture is an important and necessary weapon in the struggle for proletarian revolution, this a question that has not been resolved in the concrete for the U S. In fact, Lenin's teaching that 'Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement' applies to the case of the cultural front. This conference represents an attempt to begin to deal with the question of culture in a systematic way. We urge comrades and friends to attend.

The conference will be divided into general presentations of the question, workshops around specific aspects, cultural presentations and sum-ups. The proposed workshops are:

1. The cultural front as a component part of proletarian revolution. What is Proletarian culture, specifically socialist realism, and how to propagate it?
2. The Woman question and cultural work
3. The national question and cultural work
4. Youth and culture
5. Cultural work in the 3rd world countries
6. Practical workshops

The conference will take place at Hunter College, 695 Park Ave (corner of 68th St), New York City.

A coalition in support of the Conference on Revolutionary Culture is in the process of formation.

The following are the principles of unity of the Committee for Proletarian Culture:

RATIONALE

Revolutionary culture reflects the struggles, aspirations and ideology of the proletariat. It can serve as a powerful educative tool. It is a means of presenting analysis, propaganda and agitation, it not only says what is wrong and what can be done, but it goes on to show it in a lively and creative manner raising the revolutionary spirit of the working masses and moving to action.

The anti-revisionist communist movement as a whole, in this country, has long recognized the need for revolutionary culture but its development has been handled in an inconsistent manner. It has been handled by small groups or individuals solving cultural problems as they arise around larger tasks. In many cases, it has taken the form of exposing bourgeois culture without raising up the alternative. Without a proletarian cultural movement, given conscious direction by vanguard and progressive elements, we leave the masses totally in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

Therefore, we hold it necessary to bring revolutionary forces together to deal with the question of turning the need for proletarian culture into a material force in the struggle of the masses. This conference is being called to initiate the process of hammering a line on revolutionary culture and how to bring it to the masses.

PRINCIPLES OF UNITY

1. Revolutionary artists and writers must work to expose and oppose the two superpowers, imperialism, social-imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, feudalism, capitalism, racism, zionism and all forms of reaction, and propagate proletarian internationalism.
2. Revolutionary artists and writers must uphold the leading role of multinational proletariat, help to raise the consciousness of the masses and support proletarian revolution in the U S. In carrying out this work, we must apply the principle of 'from the masses to the masses' and persistently struggle to integrate ourselves with the working and oppressed people.
3. Revolutionary artists and writers must wage a tit-for-tat struggle against idealist trends in literature and art--subjectivism, individualism, art for art's sake--and fight against reactionary culture which lies to the masses and helps prop up bourgeois rule. We must work to create and propagate a revolutionary culture of socialist realism that serves the working class and its allies in the struggle for liberation.
4. Revolutionary artists and writers must support the struggles of the oppressed national minorities and nationalities for their rights to keep their cultures and for the use of their languages. In our work, artists and writers should extol the struggles of the oppressed national minorities and nationalities and the progressive role they play in the revolutionary process, we must also fight the two incorrect deviations on the national question which serve to divide the people--great nation chauvinism (which is the primary aspect) and narrow nationalism.
5. Revolutionary artists and writers should consistently put forth a class perspective on the woman question and fight for the total emancipation of women as a component of the revolutionary struggle in the U S. Revolutionary literature and art must laud the progressive role of working and oppressed women in production and class struggle and ruthlessly expose and fight against male supremacy and female conciliation (of which male supremacy is primary), and bourgeois feminism.
6. Our literature and art must help to educate and organize young people by providing them with material that clarifies the nature of their oppression and helps them to resist the diverse forms of bourgeois ideology and culture with which they are bombarded in the educational system, on TV, on the radio, in print and in the movies. We must expose the escapist trends--alcohol, drugs and obscurantist religious cults and movements--that attempt to channel the vitality and revolutionary sentiments of youth into degenerate and counterrevolutionary forms of activity.



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mist It puts all its hopes on the system and its courts

Every other problem dealt with in the report housing, welfare, etc., supports the same conclusions--Blacks are still among the most oppressed of the oppressed in the U S.

URBAN LEAGUE'S REFORMISM

The N U L's report is definitely a pitch for more federal funds, for some high-paid jobs for its associates. They are fighting with other reformist groups like PUSH and NAACP for the crumbs that the Carter administration is ready to pay poverty pimps with for their help in keeping the ghettos cool. Let's allow the N U L to speak for itself on this question.

'Trying to establish who was responsible--the two past national administrations, the Congress, or the American people--serves no useful purpose. Looking back and attempting to assess blame is rarely productive, and perhaps in this instance, all of us in some measure bear some responsibility.' (Page 173)

Nobody is responsible, we are all responsible. Beautiful cover for the imperialists that exploit and oppress us! This is a clear call for class collaboration, for the confraternization of oppressors and oppressed. (Take note OL-CP here you have a good partner).

ON FOREIGN POLICY

The year, 1977, brought significant changes in U S foreign policy most of which resulted from the change in Administrations. These changes reflect a positive gain for black Americans in their attempt to influence international affairs.

'The appointment of Andrew Young to the post of U S Ambassador to the U N, was a most significant step for blacks in the area of foreign affairs. Although strongly criticized by the press and even threatened with impeachment by some conservative members of Congress for his honest statements on the situation in Africa, Ambassador Young's prestige has continued to grow abroad, especially among the African nations.' (Page 180)

The classic 'poverty pimp' approach "I don't care what your policy is as long as you provide some of 'my brothers and sisters' with well-paid jobs." Andrew Young has definitely a 'lot of prestige' among African nations. The same prestige that his master--U S imperialism--has.

And to finish a real lullaby

'It is time now to turn with all the purpose at our command to the major unfinished business of this nation. It is time to adopt strategies for action that will produce quick and visible progress. It is time to make good the promises of American democracy to all citizens--urban and rural, white and black, Spanish-surname, American Indian, and every minority group.'

'With the Administration and the overwhelming majority of the American people so much in favor of human rights--a principle that we unhesitatingly applaud--it is proper to remind our fellow countrymen that other nations will be more willing to accept and support our position, when human rights are shared by all American citizens.' (Page 183)

The picture of Black America provided by the N U L (although here and there some cosmetics were applied in order to protect the ruling class) is in the main an accurate one. But the solutions offered to the problems are not solutions at all. It's the same old story of selling to the oppressed masses the 'American dream'.

Organizations like the N U L flourished in the U S in the 1960's. The heroic struggle of the Afro-American masses, the leadership of Malcolm X and the actions of the Black Panther Party in the revolutionary period created the conditions for the government utilization of Black politicians and poverty pimps as a tool for keeping its control over the masses. The so-called "war against poverty" of President Johnson (war against the poor is more accurate) created thousands of programs in all major oppressed nationality communities, which under the pretext of solving problems in housing, education, welfare, etc., serve basically as a buffer zone between the masses in struggle and the capitalists in power. The N U L represents the sold-out sector of the intelligentsia within the Afro-American people. They provide the "analysis", the "proposals for new programs", etc. They study the conditions of Black America not to help them but to negotiate with the government the best way to keep things under control. The message of the N U L to President Carter is clear. They are asking for money, for programs to avoid the new upsurge of the masses, but they are doomed to fail.

WHICH WAY OUT FOR THE BLACK MASSES

In analyzing the problems facing Afro-Americans

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BLACK AMERICA

Cont. from first page

Medical services

The level of medical services for the Afro-American has not improved. Citing an editorial from the Amsterdam News (a New York City paper), the report points out that in heavily Hispanic and Black areas in New York City there is a very low proportion of private physicians to the population, in some areas not even one. This especially hurts the older people.

The unmet health needs of blacks in America requires little new documentation. One third of the nation's poor are not covered by either Medicare or Medicaid. For those who do receive medical benefits, they are quite unequally distributed by states as well as by national levels.

The infant mortality rate for blacks is twice that of whites not withstanding the slow improvement that continues to occur over the years. The most recent data reveals that the infant mortality rate for blacks is 24.9 compared with a rate of 14.8 for whites. (Ibid, page 111)

Education

The N U L's report documents the well-known fact

that the public school system discriminates against Blacks and other national minorities. Schools with a predominantly minority population receive less money per pupil, have fewer teachers per pupil, less facilities, etc. The report points to the fact that the tendency is to concentrate the bulk of the Black students in a very small number of schools (the worst equipped that is). In their own words:

It is estimated that by 1980, 15.4 percent of the public school enrollment will be black. But black Americans are concentrated in a comparatively few, poorly financed urban public school systems. For example, 57.1% or 16.8 percent of New York State's 3,393,983 students in grades K-12 are black and 95 percent of these black students attend school in eleven (11) of the 740 school districts within New York. (Ibid page 43)

N U L also points to the great difficulties confronted by Black students (the same holds true for other national minorities) attending college. Cuts in special programs--like college discovery, SEEK, etc.--raises on tuition fees, less funds for scholarships and for Black colleges, are some of these problems. N U L also points to the threat posed by the Bakke case that opens the way for the elimination of affirmative action programs in education and in other fields. The N U L's opposition to the Bakke case is weak and reform-

Why Does Moscow Resort to Lies and Slanders Over Kampuchea-Viet Nam Armed Conflict?

THE Soviet propaganda machine has recently churned out a string of lies to slander China over the Kampuchea-Viet Nam armed conflict. A Soviet radio commentary on January 3 alleged that the worsening relations between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and Kampuchea have obviously been provoked by Peking. The Soviet newspaper, *Izvestia*, and TASS time and again spread such rumours as "many Chinese military advisers have taken part in the military actions of the Kampuchean side."

No one is going to believe these groundless fabrications which are therefore not worth refuting. But what deserves attention is that apart from deliberate animosity towards China the Soviet Union has an ulterior motive in choosing this very moment to tell and spread such lies with unusual haste.

A law governing the Kremlin's actions is that whenever it wants to provoke an international dispute and interfere in it, Moscow invariably tries to create a pretext and often plays the role of a villain bringing suit before his victims in order to divert people's attention away from its own machinations.

History has repeatedly proved that there is indeed some villain who makes it a practice to fish in troubled waters by provoking international incidents and it is none other than the Soviet Union itself. In 1971 taking advantage of the dispute between India and Pakistan it supported one party and attacked the other. Trading on the Cyprus situation in 1974 it again stepped in exacerbating contradictions between the two communities on the island and differences between the countries concerned in an attempt to infiltrate the area, expand and strengthen its position to contend with the United States for hegemony in the Mediterranean. From 1975 to 1976 it exploited the differences among the three Angolan national-liberation organizations to provoke a civil war by backing one and attacking the other two. Moreover it sent vast numbers of mercenaries to carry out armed intervention against this newly independent country and turned it into a forward base for Soviet expansion into southern Africa.

In 1977 utilizing the differences between Angola and Zaire, it again instigated mercenaries to invade Zaire. Then it stretched its hands into the Horn of Africa and the Middle and Near East, cashed in on the disputes between the countries concerned to aggravate contradictions there so as to expand its sphere of influence.

Not long ago the Soviet Union held an air-lift exercise on an amazing scale with the Horn of Africa as the focus. This makes it abundantly clear how it uses disputes among third world

countries for its own strategic ends. It is common knowledge that Moscow has been trying for a long time to establish its hegemony over Southeast Asia and bring the region into its system of collective security in Asia. Now it is repeating its stock tricks on the question of Kampuchea-Viet Nam conflict. It is Moscow itself that is stirring up trouble for the sole purpose of bringing unrest to the region yet it mounts a barrage of rumours in order to vilify China. Its purpose of course is to divert people's attention and conceal its strategic aim of establishing domination over Southeast Asia.

The other aim of this deluge of Soviet slanders is to sow discord. It has alleged that the Peking authorities refuse to be reconciled with the presence of a unified socialist Viet Nam. This cock-and-bull story is the height of absurdity. As is well known the Chinese people have always given powerful backing to the Vietnamese people in their war against US aggression and for national salvation and in their struggle for the reunification of their fatherland. The Vietnamese people who have been through those difficult war years can testify to this historical fact. On the other hand it is an irrefutable fact that throughout the five decisive years of war waged by the Kampuchean people against the traitorous Lon Nol clique, the Soviet Union had all along sided with the clique and antagonized the Kampuchean people. It smeared their war of national liberation as a fratricidal war and working hand in glove with the Lon Nol clique it clandestinely tried to rig up a third force in that country to sabotage the revolution of the Kampuchean people. The Soviet Government maintained diplomatic relations with the puppet Lon Nol regime right up to the last day of the traitorous clique.

Consequently it is the Soviet authorities who refuse to be reconciled with the presence of a revolutionary and socialist Democratic Kampuchea in Southeast Asia and will not be satisfied until they get rid of it. It is for this reason that Moscow is zealously telling lies in trying to confuse the picture to mask its wild ambitions.

Soviet lies and slanders however have a positive use: they help heighten the vigilance of the people of Indochina and elsewhere in Southeast Asia against the Soviet Union. The people are waiting to see what further acts the Soviet hegemonists are going to commit in an attempt to capitalize on the armed conflict between Kampuchea and Viet Nam.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent)

Peking Review No 4 January 27 1978

LONG LIVE

THE DEMOCRATIC

REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA



The fight between Kampuchea and Vietnam is definitely sad news. For many years the revolutionary struggle of the heroic Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples against US imperialism served as an inspiration to revolutionary, progressive and peace-loving people the world over. Vietnam and Kampuchea proved to the world that

"A weak nation can defeat a strong one, a small nation can defeat a big one. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of the country. This is a law of history."

The centuries-long friendship between the Vietnamese and Kampuchean people was strengthened during the struggle against their common enemy. Former victims of colonial exploitation, comrades-in-arms during the revolutionary wars, both moving along the path of the new democratic revolution towards socialist construction, an iron strong unity was to be expected between the two countries. The unity in struggle against US imperialism was expected to be transformed into the closest cooperation in the glorious tasks ahead. And suddenly, the oppressed masses of the world get the news--Kampuchea and Vietnam are fighting. The bourgeois press had a field-day--"communists fighting each other." US imperialism continues its campaign of discredit against the two countries and the Soviet social-imperialists threaten South East Asia.

We have to examine the present conflict between Vietnam and Kampuchea in the context of Soviet social imperialism's expansionism and its strategic aim to control South East Asia. The Soviet Union is the instigator of this armed conflict. It is the one which has the most to gain by the fight. It is trying to expand its influence in the region and at the same time to destroy the main stumbling block in its hegemonic attempts in the area: the Democratic Republic of Kampuchea and its revolutionary government led by the Communist Party of Kampuchea. Yesterday, the Soviet Union supported the reactionary Lon Nol clique; today, they use the difference between Vietnam and Kampuchea to further their hegemonistic aims and undermine the unity of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples. The heroic Vietnamese and Kampuchean people who struggle so hard for their independence, are not going to allow the Soviet Union to take it away.

We are confident that Kampuchea and Vietnam will be able to solve their difference in a peaceful way through respect for each other's national integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The unity of the third world, the unity of the principal force in the struggle against imperialism, social imperialism and all reaction will survive the Soviet social imperialists' plots and maneuvers.

LONG LIVE THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA!

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE KAMPUCHEAN AND THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLES!

EXCERPTS

STATEMENT by the GOVERNMENT

OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

(Excerpts from the statement issued by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea for the attention of all friends, near or far, in the five continents and of the world opinion)

8. During the Vietnamese invasion of Democratic Kampuchea's territory in 1977, there are foreigners who serve as advisers, experts or commanding officers, in units of artillery and armoured-cars forming a part of their aids. These foreigners have taken part in command on the battle-fields along the frontier and have broken into Kampuchea's territory at certain points near the frontier where the Vietnamese army has installed itself. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea considers that any government and any foreigner entirely have the right to come and assist as economic, cultural, technical, scientific, military advisers or experts in any country in pursuance of the sovereignty of that country. But if these foreigners, advisers, experts or commanding officers take part in the attacks, aggression or invasion against Democratic Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea considers them and their Governments as direct aggressors of Democratic Kampuchea and its people.

"Democratic Kampuchea is endowed with goodwill and is firmly determined to maintain close and friendly relations with all countries having common borders with her, and with all countries near or far throughout the world on the strict basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

"Democratic Kampuchea abides by a policy of independence, peace, neutrality, non-alignment. No foreign country whatsoever is allowed to establish military bases on her territory. She resolutely stands against any foreign interference in her internal affairs and resolutely fights against all subversive and aggressive acts from outside whether they are military, political, cultural, economic, social, diplomatic or those so-called humanitarian acts.

"Democratic Kampuchea will never interfere with the internal affairs of any country. She scrupulously abides by the principle that every country is sovereign and has the right to dispose and decide by itself its internal affairs without any interference.

"Democratic Kampuchea does her utmost to develop her solidarity with the Third-World peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America and with all peace-and-justice loving peoples in the world, and to promote active mutual aid and support to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for genuine independence, peace, friendship, democracy justice and progress in the world."



CELEBRATE THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF

THE VICTORY OF THE KAMPUCHEAN

PEOPLE OVER U.S. IMPERIALISM

AND ITS LACKEYS!"

APRIL 14

MAKE I.W.W.D. A "FES"

The following is part of a larger article that appears in the pamphlet -- "A Proletarian View on the Woman Question"

The political line of Marxist-Leninists on the Woman Question cannot be isolated from the question of Socialism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The Woman question must be placed in the context of our central task as communists in the U S , and in the light of the present concrete conditions and the development of the communist forces in the U S

In viewing the Woman Question we base ourselves on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, which is the sum total of the experiences of the working class in all countries taken in its general aspect. This science teaches us that the working class needs organization, without which it cannot effectively confront and defeat the capitalist class. We can organize ourselves in many ways that aid in this life and death struggle, but the highest form is through a communist party, a genuine vanguard of the working class in the struggle for socialist revolution. The movement for the emancipation of women must take its leadership from such a party, which alone is capable of merging all the great social movements into a single revolutionary torrent towards the revolutionary seizure of state power, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism.

In the U S today such a party does not exist and must be built, and women must play a vital role in this task. There is great truth in the words of Lenin

"It has been observed in the experience of all liberation movements that the success of a revolution depends on the extent to which women take part in it." V. I. Lenin

Truly, the experience of the people of China and Albania, and of the many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where women are taking up arms, fighting alongside men for their liberation, attest to this fact.

The revisionists' image of women as "pacifists" is mercilessly torn down by the hard facts of reality, by the experience of the working class and oppressed people the world over. The working class will be free when woman is free. Woman will be free when the working class is free. Thus the party we build must reflect this truth, must count with the active participation of women and at the same time provide the necessary conditions for such participation.

OUR TASKS

In developing the programmatic line of our future party on the woman question, we must take into account the concrete conditions of the U S. For example, in determining the role of the women's movement today we point to the following conditions:

- Women in the U S are oppressed not only as women but also as workers and as members of oppressed nationalities. Of all the strata, it is working class women of oppressed nationalities that are the most oppressed.
- The woman's movement in the main is composed of petty-bourgeois women and is led by the bourgeois feminists, not the communists.
- There is another sector of the woman's movement which is composed of working class women and women of oppressed nationalities. This sector is much less organized, but is militantly struggling for demands such as day care, decent and bilingual education for their children, welfare rights, maternity leave with job guarantee, etc.

In light of the above conditions, we arrive at the following conclusions and tasks:

- We must strive to imbue the woman's movement with the ideas of socialism and participate and provide communist leadership to the struggles for women's rights. The fact that the base of the woman's movement is mainly petty-bourgeois is no excuse to liquidate the woman question by refusing to participate in the mass struggles for women's rights. Besides, there is the proletarian sector of the woman's movement which must be organized and led correctly.
- We must concretely raise the woman question in all its aspects in our work among the working class, making sure that we always link it with the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat and guarding against the danger of liquidating it by not raising it in connection with concrete demands. As the working class takes up the woman question, and as the woman's movement takes up the class question, more

and more working class women will actively join the woman's movement thus effectively transforming the social base of that movement.

(c) We must emphasize on the working class leadership of the woman's movement, always bringing to the forefront the struggles for the demands of working class women.

(d) In raising the woman question as a class question we must also raise the national question which is linked to it by the concrete conditions.

These concrete conditions must be further analysed so as to scientifically determine the role of women in the productive process as well -- their wage levels, job categories, unemployment rates, type of industries in which they are employed, trends in employment especially at times of economic crisis and wars, educational level, and all of these in relation to nationality, age etc -- for the further development of the line. The investigation and analysis of these conditions is one of the tasks of our "Commission on the Woman Question", a special body in our organization formed to deal with the woman question in specific. We will be sharing the results of our work as well as carry out joint work with other honest comrades so as to provide the much needed communist leadership on the woman question, and towards building the new communist party of which this is an essential part.

Among our most important tasks as communists is the creation of the conditions that will allow the active participation and leadership of women in the struggle. It is not enough to speak of equality and make high-sounding proclamations on the emancipation of women. It is not simply a matter of achieving equality by referring to "brothers and sisters", "he or she", "men and women", etc. when we speak. Although this is important also, since it reflects a particular view on the question, it can only be secondary to what we do in practice.

We believe that additional and/or special training for women must be provided in order to deal with the unequal development between male and female comrades. Areas of work traditionally assigned to women must be taken up by men and vice versa. But most importantly, equality on the ideological level must be achieved, and this will be key to achieving equality on the other levels. This in practice does not mean that now we must proclaim that women must dedicate more time to their ideological development, and leave it there, but rather, in addition to this, the necessary conditions for that development must be created by the communist organization. For example, the organization must demand that among couples the woman be spared from exclusive burden of the household chores and child care, in many cases from the greater part of it. Not to do this is to objectively stand in the way of ending the unequal development between men and women.

Another step that must be taken is to consciously evaluate the actual development of female comrades and guide them step by step from positions of more and more responsibility and leadership according to a scientific plan. It will not do to simply dump a number of important responsibilities on them without a conscious plan and leadership and it will result in detriment both to the work that is being carried out by the organization, as well as to the proper development of the comrade.

We must also staunchly combat certain bourgeois feminist ideas that still persist among communists in many organizations and individuals. In approaching the woman question sometimes the first thing that comes to their mind is assigning "men's tasks" to women (having a lot of women in security), and assigning "women's tasks" to men (typing, child care, etc.) but forget that although women can be trained to do these tasks and vice versa, this does not necessarily mean that equality has been achieved. It is important to train women in self-defense and men in child care, etc. As a matter of fact, the type of tasks performed by men and women in a communist organization are manifestations of whether equality or male supremacy prevails, but this does not go to the essence of the problem. And the essence of the problem is that the lack of ideological development is the single most important factor that keeps women lagging behind within communist organizations. This problem must be concretely addressed. Special emphasis must be placed on the ideological development of female cadres while at the same time implementing also the secondary



practical aspects of training

In terms of combatting bourgeois relations among cadres, and with their husbands and wives, we have taken strong stands on a number of questions such as extra-marital relations, and the relations between married people.

We hold that monogamy is the correct course for love between female and male comrades to take. Monogamy has historically applied only to women as society has continued to accept the extramarital relations of men with women other than their wives, though it strongly condemns infidelity on the part of women. This stems from the fact that monogamy was instituted in society as a means to determine paternity to insure that only the man's children could inherit his accumulated wealth.

Monogamy today is a cover for the hypocrisy of capitalist society on the woman question. Monogamy, applied to both men and women, is the form taken by the family unit under socialism, but it can and should be practiced by communists in capitalist society. Extramarital relations are a characteristic of the style of life of the bourgeoisie, who uses women as a "commodity" and has the spare time for and can pay to engage in all kinds of degenerate activities. Monogamy relations based on genuine love are thus more akin to the working class and must be practiced by communists as part of our struggle to proletarianize our ranks, even though we recognize that bourgeois culture has infiltrated the working class and influences it on this aspect too. Our position is then to oppose any attempts by comrades to engage in extramarital relations. Not to take a stand like this reflects liberalism and a lack of sincerity in the efforts to eradicate women's oppression. With liberalism on this question one cannot even begin to win over the wives or husbands of comrades who are yet to be won over. Furthermore such a stand provides the conditions for the respect and mutual confidence that must exist for male and female comrades to carry out political work together.

Our stand on the sharing of household chores among married comrades, or a comrade and his or her spouse, is also important in providing the conditions for the development of women by relieving her of the stultifying burden of those chores.

Also important is our stand against lesbianism and male homosexuality. We uphold as incorrect the membership of lesbians and male homosexuals within a communist organization. Marxism-Leninism is in contradiction with lesbianism and it rejects this distortion of the woman question. The ruling class definitely fosters it as it keeps the target of the struggle for the emancipation of women away from capitalism and aimed at men instead. It is the most degenerate form of bourgeois feminism, which divides the working class, advocates reformism as the solution and serves as a social prop for the bourgeoisie within the woman's movement.

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PRESENT

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WOMEN HOLD UP HALF THE SKY

I.W.W.D. A "FESTIVAL OF THE O"



All Out For I.W.W.D.!

date: **FRIDAY, MARCH 10**

time: **7 PM**

place: **215 W 23rd ST.**

Take the 7th Ave. IRT to 23rd st Its at the McBurney YMCA on the corner of 7th Ave.

PRESENTATIONS * CULTURAL EVENTS * SLIDE SHOW *

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 LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION (MARXIST-LENINIST)

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The celebration of International Working Women's Day is another thing that is of special importance in dealing with the woman question This is a day of deep proletarian significance. Sixty seven years ago the International Communist Movement designated March 8th as International Working Woman's Day, in recognition of the struggles of women workers in the garment industry who waged massive demonstrations in the streets of the Lower East Side in New York on March 8, 1908, for their democratic rights

WE HAVE MADE SOME ADVANCEMENTS

In making preparations for the celebration of IWWD this year, we look back to answer whether or not we have been practicing what we preach on the woman question Are we dealing with the woman question as a class question? Or is this slogan one that is conveniently used once a year in an IWWD event? We find that for many phillistines in the movement this is exactly what is happening For them the woman question becomes a once a year event with less and less roots among the masses

In our case, although we have much to criticize ourselves for, we can say, as we sum-up, that we have made some real advancements in dealing with the question Understanding that deeds speak louder than words and that we cannot ask others to practice what we don't practice we have made a genuine attempt to not only develop a correct line on the woman question, but also to practice that line 365 days a year Our daily struggle against all manifestations of male supremacy in the organization and everywhere we are, our stand against bourgeois relations between men and women (opposition to extramarital relations, male chauvinism, etc) the taking up in the concrete the need for special training for women so that female comrades exercise leadership positions at all levels of the organization and the class struggle, the demands placed on all comrades on the sharing of household chores which is a task that can be partially fulfilled under present conditions, our clear-cut position against all expressions of bourgeois feminism and degenerate culture (including our view against lesbianism as well as male homosexuality), are just a few of the things (that we have dealt with concretely)

Dealing exclusively with remolding our views, proletarianizing our ranks on this question, will not be enough Transforming ourselves is just the starting point for the major tasks of transforming the views of working and oppressed masses on this vital revolutionary question In this respect we have also made some gains in the past year For example, the column in our paper "Women Hold Up Half the Sky" has appeared regularly in Resistance, and will continue to do so In our paper the woman question is not part of the March issue but of every issue In all our mass work the woman question is consistently and concretely raised at all moments Be the

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SHORTCOMINGS ALSO

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Dealing exclusively with remolding our views, proletarianizing our ranks on this question, will not be enough. Transforming ourselves is just the starting point for the major tasks of transforming the views of working and oppressed masses on this vital revolutionary question. In this respect we have also made some gains in the past year. For example, the column in our paper "Women Hold Up Half the Sky" has appeared regularly in Resistance, and will continue to do so. In our paper the woman question is not part of the March issue but of every issue. In all our mass work the woman question is consistently and concretely raised at all moments. Be the

union meeting, the casual meeting with fellow workers after work, in shop newsletters, speeches, or in the middle of a militant strike, the woman question is always present. We bring it out and underscore it.

So IWWD is for us, not the once a year occasion to deal with the woman question, but a welcome opportunity to sum-up our year-round work on this question, an opportunity to deepen our unities with other Marxist-Leninists on this question, an opportunity to win over more advanced forces to a correct understanding of the woman question, an opportunity to develop more intense agitation and propaganda among the working class in order to make IWWD and the woman question gain deeper roots among the working and oppressed masses. This year we are sponsoring a series of propaganda conferences aimed at Marxist-Leninists and advanced and intermediate forces. We are also part of a coalition that will be holding a mass public event on March 4th. Besides a pamphlet with some of our views on the woman question, a series of propaganda and agitation pieces for mass distribution are being prepared. This IWWD is then, at least for us, more than a one shot deal.

SHORTCOMINGS ALSO

Among our shortcomings this year is not being able to implement to the fullest our line on IWWD. We believe that IWWD must be brought back to the masses where it originated, that it must be made into "a festival of the oppressed". For years, the mass character of IWWD has been liquidated by the failure of communists to bring the woman question to the masses, engaging in long debates in coalition meetings to finally end up with little time to prepare for a mass event, thus liquidating the real possibility of having one. This year, although we believe and fought for the celebration of an event composed of a march in a working class community ending in an indoor program we were not able to win over forces in the coalition to the position that the two complementing activities provide the best conditions to really achieve the mass character of the event as a whole. We failed in not making timely preparations in order to achieve this goal. This poses in front of us a task to fulfill and a commitment to start laying the foundations now for next year's IWWD as an event deeply rooted in the masses. Fierce struggle around this question was waged in the IWWD coalition this year with RCL and other forces, which will be part of our sum-up of the event.

Another shortcoming has been in the work our Commission on the Woman question. The work of this commission, although a great advance, has not been consistent throughout the year. The work of investigation has been very slow and its joint work with other Marxist-Leninists has been poor. Our task for this year must be then to correct these errors and to provide the conditions so that comrades in this commission can make the work around the woman question their priority among organizational tasks.

Another very serious shortcoming is our work around child care. Up to now, many practical questions of childcare are still in the main up to the parents. We are still badly in need of materials for activities during child care and a centralized plan that can guide comrades during child care. However this aspect is being dealt with presently as some comrades are working on preparing materials for child care that will be ready for an upcoming Conference on Proletarian Culture in April. The tasks in front of us is to develop these materials further and make them available to other comrades, and to make scientific plans for child care that adequately take into account concrete conditions of the children involved while at the same time putting politics in command.

Child care was originally seen by our organization as a "problem" that took resources and time away from political tasks, instead of as a political task in itself. This was a reflection of the belittlement of the woman question which must be combatted. Childcare must not be seen as a burden but as a political task, as a welcome opportunity to reach and engage more women in the struggle as well as an opportunity to reach the children -- the real successors of the revolution -- and to instill in them advanced ideas. Our task must then be for the coming year to overcome all the obstacles presented by child care, such as the better organizing of the time of comrades, preparation work for child care during events, winning over others with whom we carry out joint work on the importance of having child care so it is adequately taken care of, improving the quality of child care both during

events as at home, and convincing women on why they should make use of child care more often so they can be more involved in political work.

Finally, and most important, is the shortcoming in the development of theory on the woman question, and the ideological development of cadres on this question. This work has to be intensified, comrades must deepen their understanding on the theoretical aspects of the woman question in order to be able to solve the practical aspects when they arise in their daily practice. Although this work is going on, more is necessary in order to root out male chauvinism and male supremacy from the organization. Thus, to intensify our work on the ideological sphere on this question (as well as on many other questions) is one of the primary tasks in front of us in the immediate future.

Although we can point to these and many other shortcomings, we can say that there is a definite motion forward in our organization around the woman question, that we are providing communist leadership on it, that many achievements have been made, but that we still have a very long way to go in our struggle against woman's oppression and male chauvinism, which is in essence part of the struggle for socialism.

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The following are the Principles of Unity guiding the work of the IWWD Coalition in its March 4th event:

- 1 We are resolutely opposed to the two superpowers and support the struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism, social imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, feudalism, racism, zionism, male chauvinism, bourgeois feminism and all forms of reaction.
- 2 The Woman Question is a Class Question. We believe that the oppression of women is intimately linked with the division of society into classes, and that the struggle for the emancipation of women is part and parcel of the struggle for the emancipation of the working class.
- 3 We resolutely support the struggles for just demands or reforms for working and oppressed women, that is, those that help gain democratic rights for women and that strengthen the unity of the U.S. multinational working class and that push the struggle for the full emancipation of women forward.

COMMUNIST FORUM



We have received a series of responses to the article "RIGHT OPPORTUNISM IS THE MAIN DANGER" (Resistance vol 9 #1) The majority of them have been from comrades who have fundamental unity with the line Others from comrades who completely disagree with it, or with some aspects of it We will be printing some of the criticisms in future editions of the Communist Forum

One basic criticism raised by just about everyone was that the article did not explain things well, that the analysis was shallow and that many points were not proven conclusively We have basic unity with that criticism In fact ours was a very poor defense of a correct line We uphold as correct the following main aspects of the article

- 1 Right opportunism is indeed the main danger
- 2 Sectarianism, splittism, phrasemongering, etc can constitute either right or "left" errors, and in the U S communist movement they come mainly from the right And

3, The so-called Communist Party M-L is the main proponent of the right line within the U S anti-revisionist communist movement

The major weaknesses of the position will be printed as part of a response to one of the criticisms in a future Communist Forum

The article that follows represents the views of the Colorado Organization for Revolutionary Struggle (CORES M-L-M) LPR M-L unites with the main thrust and points raised in this article, and considers it a further development of the line we both uphold

We continue to urge other comrades throughout the country to send their views to the Communist Forum by writing to

RESISTANCE
Box 513 Triboro Sta
N Y , N Y 10035

The Right is Evermore Dangerous

by CORES (MLM)

Responding to the call raised by LPR (ML) in the last Resistance, we present our views on how today right opportunism is the main danger in the U S communist movement

In the main we have political unity with LPR's analysis However, we feel that the article did not completely present the question in the context of today's conditions The article would have been better titled "Right Opportunism is still the Main Danger and More So" This theme would better represent what the question today is, as opposed to what it was 2 years ago Both locally and nationally, we have recently seen honest forces vacillating about the main danger

Right Opportunists Used "Leftism" as the Main Danger

Organizations such as the CP-OL and ATM who have always objectively held the "left" is the main danger are most responsible for the lack of a genuine party

The October League (now the CP-ML) used the "leftism"-main-danger idea to build an organization and a "party" on the shallowest basis "Leftism" has been the spectre in the ranks of the CP-OL resulting in an organization of blind cadre (theoretically weak or disarmed), cadre who are forced into collaboration with the bourgeoisie, the social props and the State economist agitation and winning over "every striker"

The CP-OL always saw the party being built around them Even though many forces correctly criticized the OL draft program, the CP-OL made no self-criticism in finalizing it and proceeded as if reality could be bent to their subjective desires They were told directly that theirs was not an effort that would unite the majority of M-L in the U S Now in their recent editorial (Vol 6, #50, "The Call"), they again with no self-criticism are attempting to backtrack but are still avoiding the essence of the problem This new appeal for unity is simply the same old call for "Join us on our shallow basis of unity to form a social-democratic (non-ML) party"

The pages of the "Call" are filled with the essence of the problem a right opportunist line that reeks of economism, reformism, class collaboration, male and national chauvinism, etc No matter how many times, in how many forms the CP-OL attempts to pick up the "stragglers", so long as they have this line and leadership, no qualitative change can occur Unfortunately, they will continue for some time to confuse certain honest elements

The right opportunists in ATM used the sham alarm of "leftism" to consolidate that organization on "agitation" in the forefront, liquidation of the tasks of uniting the M-L and winning over genuine advanced elements on a principled basis, and narrow nationalism (To this day ATM has never written an article to prove their "leftism")

Because of the resulting belittlement of theory, and an emphasis on building the mass movement and "line unity developing in the course of struggle", ATM cadre in general has not been able to recognize the incorrectness of the "leftism"-main-danger analysis nor the right opportunism of the ATM line or leadership

A product of this analysis is that whatever genuine elements may still exist in ATM are forced to agree with building the party around ATM under the guise of "party building is a protracted process" The line reached the height of absurdity with ATM criticizing themselves for Great Nation chauvinism (RC, Vol 3, #2 editorial)

It is metaphysics and subjectivism, small group mentality and petty-bourgeois outlook to think that a genuine organization can be built using an incorrect line No one who attempts this can escape the dialectical results A wrong analysis of the main danger, of the movement, a wrong line, an incorrect style of work are linked together to building a wrong organization

The Petty-Bourgeoisie Vacillates More in these Times

Changing conditions nationally and internationally provide the framework for honest elements to vacillate on the main danger question What are these conditions? The increasing danger of imperialist war and the increasing danger of fascism in the U S ; the international polemic on the Three Worlds Theory and the differences between the CPC and the PLA, the conflict between Kampuchea and Vietnam, the apparent lack of leadership or progress in the party building effort nationally, etc

The revolutionary proletariat does not vacillate in the face of new problems, new contradictions or things which are not immediately knowable The revolutionary proletariat instead reaffirms its commitment and approaches problems with the science of MLM It advances in the face of new difficulties and confidently grasps the new tasks

But the weaker segments of the movement do not understand these new problems or would rather not have to deal with them They have tired of the struggle to build the new party They view the changing conditions as their class views the world with fear, insecurity, confusion, and subjectively Such class influences are inherent in the movement especially given its immaturity

In the face of "insurmountable" tasks, they retreat The retreat primarily goes in the direction of the right Some forces may retreat into "leftism" but these are few and likely already had a substantial history of "leftism" Their line is characterized by the attacks on the CPC and a "left" sectarian line for building the party And if they retreat too far, they wind up with the conclusion that they are the only genuine Marxists since Lenin (a la Communist Workers Group)

But for the majority, the main trend of these new vacillating elements will be to retreat to what is easiest, most familiar and apparently safest All unity/ no struggle is "easier" than a principled attempt to build a party Apeing (mouthing) the CPC's line is "safer" than developing a genuine program for revolution in the U S Joining a "party" that already has a "program", CPC recognition and a lot of mass (economist) work is the safest retreat for these elements It is also a retrograde trend that ignores what has already been proven the right opportunism of the CP-OL

But in order to take this retreat, such elements will have to repudiate struggle, repudiate the correct analysis of right opportunism as the main danger, repudiate principled unity, theoretical development and scientific analysis (Except for the ex-RCP cadre who will find a home-away-from-home in the CP-OL) They will have to raise the call of "'leftism' is the main danger"

Another retreat for developing forces will be to establish and justify the existence of new collectives In our area and elsewhere, such forces are blindly attempting to ignore the main danger and the correct line for party building They are consistently raising "leftism" as the main danger in the process of retreating into the safety of building new collectives that objectively can only hold back the overall party building effort In such groups, pragmatism or empiricism is substituted for Marxism-Leninism, social-democratic forms for M-L norms, shallow unity with the masses instead of principled unity, convenient unity with a circle of familiar faces rather than the highest levels of M-L unity

In calling for another sham unity attempt, the CP-OL leadership has correctly gauged the weaknesses of the movement Some forces may be deceived by this and in the face of changing conditions will take the easy, dinner-party way out We must continue to struggle with such elements in the context of correctly advancing the genuine party building effort

Our movement (CORES as well) has grown lax in accepting and implementing its national and international responsibilities But, the anti-revisionist movement must swing the tide directly against the right opportunists primarily and must cease acting as if party building were a p-r-o-t-r-a-c-t-e-d process

Conclusions

Following the lead of LPR (ML) we see that 1) Our movement must reaffirm right opportunism as the main danger and regasp the task of dealing many systematic blows to the right opportunists the CP-OL primarily, the ATM and WVO secondarily as well as wherever else right opportunism arises The CP-OL's call for "unity" and their "program" should be exposed by all honest organizations, both large and small The results should be made known internationally, to the CPC as well as others

2) Lastly, each of us has the task of developing and implementing line and methods for building a true communist party We must participate fully and do everything necessary in our groups and local work to make this possible We are too much absorbed in our individual areas We definitely need to continue our local work but we need to participate in national efforts as well Our task is not to let someone else who is older or larger build the party for us to join

The CP-OL, RCP, CLP, "Wing", WVO, MLOC, ATM have made it clear they see the party being built around themselves Cadre who are still honest (in those organizations) and individuals should break with these sham attempts and demand of the honest organizations that they seriously engage in advancing a genuine party building effort

CORES will be working to correct our past errors of failing to take the national party building tasks seriously We think that the conditions demand of all genuine organizations and collectives that they likewise put new priorities on the party building effort We must all be able to say by the end of this year that our participation produced qualitative results towards building that party Too much we have relied on regional victories against the opportunists and worried only about chasing them out of our backyards This is good but not enough to defeat the opportunists We are confident that not only can the movement correct its errors but also that we can move closer to completing our central task and developing the forces for socialist revolution in the U S ★★

EXPOSE SHAM UNITY

Continued from first page

statement would include the essential points necessary to demarcate efforts from the revisionists and opportunists. At the same time, it would not be a fully comprehensive program in order to allow for broader initial unity and debate" (The Call, Ibid.)

All of a sudden, for the sake of unity, the OL-CP forgets their own program, all of a sudden the OL-CP tells us that although they are the communist party, it's possible to unite with them based on things other than their program. This is having the cake and eating it too.

On the one hand the OL-CP claims to be the CPML and on the other calls for unity based not on the acceptance of their party program, but rather on the agreements reached by the "Unity Trend Committee". How could this be possible? It is not comrades. Either the OL-CP stands by its claims of being the party and promotes Marxist-Leninist unity based on its party program or accepts the fact that it is not the party and goes back to the same situation it was before its self-proclamation as the CP-ML. They opt for a middle of the road approach. They say simultaneously "we are the party" and "we are not the party". Definitely they are not, nor can they become it.

We stated earlier that the point of departure in analyzing the OLCP's proposal is the political and ideological line of that organization. If a Trotskyite invites us to join them and in doing so promised us 'real equality with them', we say "No, thanks, we don't want to be counterrevolutionaries such as you are". We would respond similarly if the revisionists call for unity. In our view the answer to the OLCP's call should not be different.

WHAT IS THE OL-CP'S LINE?

The main aspect of the OL-CP's line is its consolidation around social-chauvinism (socialism in words, chauvinism in deeds). Under the slogans of 'direct the main blow to the USSR' and 'don't appease the Soviet Union', the OLCP is allying with the U S bourgeoisie. They criticized Carter for not building the B-1 bomber and called for building it and all kinds of weapons, they called for the arming of NATO, etc. It is clear that calling for directing of the main blow at the USSR is a way of protecting the U S bourgeoisie. It's also clear that under the pretext of opposition to the appeasement of the Soviet Union (appeasement which is correct for us to oppose) they go to the extreme of appeasing their own bourgeoisie, be coming their class collaborators.

For us, it is clear that the main task of any communist party is to lead the proletariat to the defeat of their own bourgeoisie, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and to build socialism. These tasks have to be carried out in this historical period as part of a worldwide united front against the two superpowers. All the other questions in which we have differences with the OLCP are subordinated to this major question. If we cannot unite in that although revolution is international in contents, it is national in form and that our main task is to carry out proletarian revolution in the U S, any other talk of unity is merely idle talk. It is precisely on this that we draw definite lines of demarcation with the CP-ML. Our difference on other questions such as the national question, the woman question,

BLACK AMERICA

Continued from page 2

and the solutions to them, we have to start from the understanding that these problems are part and parcel of the capitalist society in which they exist. Capitalism creates these problems and it is not possible for capitalism to solve them. The struggle for the liberation of Black people, for the real solution of these problems is indissolubly linked to the struggle of all exploited and oppressed people in the U S. It is the common struggle for socialism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat the only road to the liberation of all the oppressed in this country.

No phoney "human rights" campaign, no Black mayors and assemblymen, no Blacks at the Cabinet level and as heads of major agencies can erase the fact that the great majority of Black people in this country are oppressed, are poor, are suffering. And that oppression, that poverty and suffering have deeper roots than the incorrect Black against white comparison made by the N U L.

It is in the iron unity of the U S multi-national working class in its fight for socialism, in the upholding and defending of the right to self-determination--up to and including secession--of the Afro-American nation and in the struggle for the full democratic rights for the Afro-American national minority (and all other oppressed nationalities) that the real solutions to the problems faced, not only by Afro-Americans but by all working and oppressed people in this country lies.

Without wanting to, the National Urban League has provided us with good information that will be used to advance the struggle against the imperialist system of which the N U L is a willing servant.

etc, which we have established openly many other times (See Resistance, Vol 7, No 3,4,7, Vol 8, No 9 and others) are differences that are still being struggled out among genuine forces in the communist movement, on the basis of unity-struggle-unity. But social-chauvinism and class collaboration are a completely different story. No "unity trend" with it is permissible. To unite with this thoroughly right opportunist line is to conciliate with right opportunism, the main danger to our movement, of which the OL-CP is the main proponent. It's not a question of having some sort of low level of unity on some questions, but of what kind of unity exists on the fundamental questions--and the attitude towards our own bourgeoisie is the most fundamental of all questions--that should determine our response to the OL-CP's call.

OL-CP IS LEECHING OFF THE PRESTIGE OF THE GREAT GLORIOUS AND CORRECT CPC

Undoubtedly a factor which has some forces wavering on their attitude towards the OLCP is the recognition given the OLCP by the comrades of the Communist Party of China. Some genuine but confused Marxist-Leninists in this country reason that if the CPC sees the OLCP as good, then they should be OK. This is incorrect, comrades. Only flunkies can go around copying the latest resolutions of any given party without analyzing this in the concrete. We do not know nor will we attempt to speculate as to the reasons the CPC recognized the OLCP. But we have one thing clear. The CPC made the Chinese revolution and the U S Marxist-Leninists will make the U S revolution. It's the U S multinational proletariat the only one that can judge the authenticity of the existence of a communist party in this country. As the comrades of the Australian Communist Party M-L correctly point out:

"The only class which can determine whether or not a Communist Party is a genuine Communist Party is the proletariat of the given country. No self proclamation, no 'recognition' by some other Party can do that. The position of leadership of a Communist Party must be earned and won in hard struggle. Likewise within the Communist Parties leadership cannot be conferred, proclaimed or imposed. It can only exist when it has been tried and tested in actual struggle. No proclamation of 'correctness' can possibly help. No self-satisfaction can ever be allowed to develop." (The Australian Communist, July 1977, page 51.)

We uphold this view. If something has been emphasized over and over again by the Chinese comrades, by the great Mao Tse-tung himself, is precisely that revolution cannot be exported or imported.

LOOK WHO ANSWERED OL-CP'S CALL

It's clear that a loose, elusive and undefinable call for unity can only receive responses of the same kind. The opportunists of the New Voice in their statement welcoming the proposal for a unity committee gave us a good example of what the unity trend is all about. Talking about what the statement of unity of the unity committee should not include they said:

"the statement should not take a position on three basic issues that are the focus of struggle among Marxist-Leninists. These issues are 1) the analysis of classes in the U S, 2) the revolutionary strategy for achieving socialism, and 3) the material

DEFENSE BUDGET

Continued from first page

The transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war has to be our battle cry if the war breaks out. To make sure that we are able to transform this propaganda slogan into a call to action is the fundamental task facing U S Marxist-Leninists. The building of the genuine Marxist-Leninist Communist Party is definitely a gigantic step in our preparations for this.

But it's not enough to establish what we expect to do when war breaks out. Today, there is another fundamental question that we must answer. And that is: What can we do to stop that war? What should be our attitude towards the superpowers' war preparations? For us, this question can have only one answer. We have to oppose all superpowers' war preparations. We cannot appease neither Soviet social-imperialism nor U S imperialism. We cannot support neither NATO nor the WARSAW TREATY because both alliances are at this moment part of the superpowers' war preparations.

Some forces in the U S, notably the so-called Communist Party of the O L, have called on the U S proletariat to support the strengthening of NATO by U S imperialism. This is a social-chauvinist position that calls for alliance with our own bourgeoisie to fight against Soviet social-imperialism, who in practice they consider the main enemy of the world's peoples. (See this issue's statement on RCL, LPR Views on the International Situation Vol 8, #10, and Against a Social Chauvinist Trend in Vol 8, #10.)

For all the OL-CP's talks about the two superpowers being the main enemy, about building a united front against both superpowers, these have no value when

foundation of the oppression of black Americans and the fighting slogan against this oppression.

the Unity Committee should postpone deciding questions which are not fundamental barriers to party unity. Such questions include the woman question, trade union work, various national minorities, the fascist threat, etc. Communists should unite so that the party can learn more about these problems in practice and theory." (New Voice, Vol 7, #2 page 2.)

For the sake of being part of a Menshevik party, the New Voice liquidates every fundamental question facing the U S revolution. And after establishing that the defense of the People's Republic of China can also be left out, they ask this candid question:

"If the Unity Committee could unite The New Voice, the CP M-L, the RCP, the Guardian and other groups (or significant fractions of them) on the basic strategy for proletarian revolution, would not this be a significant step forward?" (Ibid, page 4.)

Indeed, it will be a gigantic step forward to the center of the marsh.

UNITY TREND AIMS ITS GUNS AT WINNING OVER RCP DISSIDENTS

It is significant that the "unity trend" is called precisely at a time in which major splits are occurring in the RCP. The split is countering on this organization's position on the international situation. The majority of the RCP's central committee is united behind Bob Avakian's attacks on the CPC and the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. Although the attacks have not been made public, it is no secret that the RCP has been supporting the gang of four from the beginning (See Resistance, Vol 7, No 10) attacking the Three Worlds Thesis and objectively covering for Soviet social-imperialism.

Many of RCP's cadres have come in contradiction with Avakian's attacks on the CPC. And it is in this juncture that the OLCP made its move. The OLCP presents itself as the alternative to the RCP, which it is not.

Although coming from different angles, the RCP and OLCP have deserted the world wide united front against the two superpowers--RCP by protecting Soviet social-imperialism, the OLCP by allying itself with U S imperialism.

Whether or not the dissidents within RCP will go from bad to worst is something that we will soon see. For the opportunists among them, it's just a matter of changing "party" cards. For honest comrades, it is a question of making thorough self-criticism and repudiation of the incorrect lines they upheld and integrate themselves in the real struggle for party building and proletarian revolution in this country.

Comrades and friends. This initial statement expresses our resolute opposition to the sham call for unity made by the OL-CP. We see the necessity to deepen our understanding of the whys and hows of this call, to consistently and systematically expose the OL-CP's bankrupt line and practice in all major questions. We call on other genuine forces to join us in these tasks.

we see that in fact they are supporting NATO, the building of the B-1 bomber (See The Call, July 11, 1977), and all sorts of weapons by U S imperialism.

If that's opposition to U S war preparations, imagine what they'd do if they were supporting them! The only thing that the OL-CP has not done yet is call for a demonstration in front of the U S Congress asking for more money for the 'defense' of the motherland. Don't be surprised if they call one soon. Or, maybe they're leaving it for the first joint action of the "Unity Committee!"



Reply to R.C.L.(M.L.M.)

Distorting an Opposing Line is not Marxism . Leninism

Once again the RCL-MLM has launched one of their routine and expected unprincipled attacks against the LPR-ML In their last edition of UNITY AND STRUGGLE (Vol 7,#1, Jan 1978) They printed a mixture of distortions, half-truths, quotes out of context, sham self-criticism, etc which they call 'ideological struggle' whose sole purpose is to try to score some points against our organization Instead of trying to clarify the questions they muddle things, change the issues etc , as we will prove here

These attacks came under the cover of a so-called sum-up of the Conference on the International situation sponsored by the RCL on October 15 The 'sum-up' is reduced to a very shallow self-criticism--our speeches were not lively, our speech was twice as long as LPR's--and to an unprincipled and sectarian attack on us It's relevant that the RCL's sum-up and decision to sponsor another conference on the same topic came in the absence of a collective sum-up made by the organizations that participated in the conference The liquidation of that kind of sum-up shows that the RCL's claims of standing for 'ideological struggle over political line', of upholding the principle of criticism/self-criticism, are pure rhetoric and phrase mongering

RCL

"While proclaiming that they uphold the Three World Theory, LPR uses the fact of the two line struggle to imply that since there are great Marxist-Leninist parties on either side of the struggle, LPR can get away without firmly taking one side or the other To artificially "reconciliate" two opposing sides is centrism LPR does not want to characterize one line as wrong because it is held by one leading Marxist-Leninist party, yet it wants to verbalize that they uphold the Three World Theory " Unity & Struggle vol 7 #1, p 10 (Jan 1978)

THE TRUTH At the Conference on the International Situation (held October 15, 1977) sponsored by the RCL we stated

"In the same manner, we will oppose all attempts by those who will endeavor to take this opportunity in which a polemic on fundamental questions of principle is unfolding in the midst of the international communist movement to launch slanderous attacks against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania We consider this polemic to be of great importance to all revolutionaries the world over, and it is our task to study it seriously, to examine the arguments in the light of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, and on the basis of this analysis, put forward our position on the existing differences It is also our task to approach the matter patiently, to look for ways of resolving the contradictions, no matter how serious they are, for it is the sacred duty of all communists to uphold and strengthen the unity of the international communist movement "

Resistance vol 8 #10 (Nov 1977)

It's clear that what we are in opposition to is those organizations and individuals, like the RCL, that use the contradictions existing in the international communist movement to launch unprincipled attacks on socialist countries, countries which are under the dictatorship of the proletariat--such as China and Albania Furthermore, in order to put forward a line and to defend it, it is not necessary to call scoundrels (Trotskyites is the term used by RCL to refer to the Albanian comrades) those who uphold the other line This attitude, as a matter of fact, helps to stagnate the ideological struggle instead of promoting it

Let's look, for example, at the great Marxist-Leninist polemic "Chairman Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the Three Worlds Is a Major Contribution to Marxism Leninism" (Peking Review #45) Where is the name-calling and the characterizations of the line of the Party of Labour of Albania there? The Chinese comrades put out their line, show why it's a correct Marxist-Leninist line and they let the line stand on its own That's a correct Marxist-Leninist approach to ideological struggle--coming from unity Irrespective of what RCL says, the CPC is struggling with the PLA from the standpoint of unity-struggle-unity to safeguard the unity of the international communist movement But RCL--which wants to be 'more Chinese than the Chinese'--already calls the Albanian comrades Trotskyites and whoever doesn't follow suit is called a centrist (See RCL's pamphlet on the 3 worlds)

RCL

"LPR opposes the strengthening of NATO in the face of the coming fascist social imperialist Soviet Union, by saying that NATO is an appendage of the US This denies the very struggle going on between the Second World and the Superpowers for independence We support the strengthening of the Western European Second World countries against Fascist Soviet Social Imperialism

"LPR slanders us by saying that because we favor the strengthening of Western Europe IN STRUGGLE WITH U S HEGEMONISM AND IN DEFENSE AGAINST USSR SOCIAL IMPERIALISM that we support the B-1 Bomber and the U S war preparations We support Western Europe's unity against superpower war--against US hegemonism and USSR attack " (Unity & Struggle, pg 10)

These two statements contradict each other and are a mere word play designed to avoid the real issue Does RCL support the arming of NATO by U S imperialism, or not? They evade the question and state 'We favor the strengthening of Western Europe in the struggle against U S hegemonism and in defense against USSR's social-imperialism But Western Europe and NATO are not one and the same thing, comrades NATO is a military bloc founded, financed, controlled and led by U S imperialism Western Europe is a group of second world countries which, although they oppress and exploit the third world countries, also are bullied by the U S and the USSR and can therefore be won over to the united front against the two superpowers We definitely support the struggles of the second world countries against both superpowers But the principle aspect of NATO is opposition to the USSR under the hegemony of U S imperialism, not opposition to both superpowers This is like the difference between night and day--or more specifically, the difference between Marxism-Leninism and reformism

RCL goes around in circles trying to escape the stubborn reality that the arming of NATO is a vital part of U S imperialism's war preparations RCL's support of this policy demolishes their claims of opposition to the two superpowers' (in plural!) LPR war preparations Answers to the questions we raised--and which were not clearly answered--at the conference are in order

- 1 Is U S 'arming of NATO a part of U S imperialism's war preparations or not?
- 2 Does RCL support President Carter's 'defense' budget - specifically parts pertaining to NATO?
- 3 Does RCL oppose both superpowers' war preparations or only those of the Soviet social-imperialists?
- 4 What are RCL's lines of demarcation with the OL-CP in this respect?

We expect that RCL will respond in print

ON THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

RCL

"LPR does not hold that Soviet Social Imperialism is the MAIN danger of war, they take up the undialectical line of the anti-Three World Theory forces in saying that the two superpowers are exactly the same " (Unity & Struggle, Vol 7, No 1, pg 10)

THE TRUTH At the conference we said

"The one that fails to realize that although both superpowers are the main enemy of the world's peoples, there are differences among them that have to be taken into consideration Specifically the facts that the Soviet Union is a newcomer as an imperialist superpower, that it covers itself under the cloak of socialism and is not as exposed as U S imperialism, and that the Soviet Union has not yet suffered any major military defeat like the U S in Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, etc All of this points to the fact that with all probability it is the Soviet Union who will trigger the very possible new world war "

Resistance, vol 8 #10 (Nov 1977)

Why is it that knowing these facts the RCL claims that we are saying "that the two superpowers are the same"? RCL should answer this instead of taking more cheap shots at us

THE BLACKMAIL STYLE

RCL

"Comrades, you can not have it both ways Either uphold the profound and correct Three World Theory of Chairman Mao's or say hello to the swamp" (Unity & Struggle, Vol 7, No 1, pg 10)

If one reads RCL's article in its entirety, one finds that "upholding the Three World Thesis" is equivalent--for the RCL--to upholding each and every view not only of the Chinese comrades but also of the RCL's understanding of what the CPC's line is In a nutshell, they see themselves as the official voice of the CPC in the U S --whoever disagrees with RCL's interpretation of the 3 World Thesis disagrees not only with RCL, but with Chairman Mao and are going 'straight to the swamp' This, comrades, is not Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung thought, but pure and simple political blackmail This is the kind of 'wolf-ticket' that RCL criticized the wing for many times Compare this attitude with the Chinese comrades' who in Peking Review #3 (January 20, 1976) published excerpts from an article on the Three World Thesis by the Norwegian Workers' Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) who, like LPR-ML, oppose the U S arming of NATO and call for Norway to quit NATO

RCL

"But LPR must show that it has repudiated the "left" phrasemongering of the Wing--who also "supports" the CPC, but pretends the Gang of Four purge has not happened--meanwhile picking up all the anti-Three World, and anti-CPC lines. Perhaps, if the comrades would actually STUDY the lines of the Communist Party of China, Three Worlds Theory and what the Gang of Four actually represented they would be able to take a firm stance in support of the Three Worlds Theory and abandon centrism and "left" errors " (Unity & Struggle, Vol 7, No 1, pg 5)

These 1st words of RCL remind us of "thief crying thief" " But we'll let our readers judge for themselves There are enough issues of Resistance and Unity and Struggle to do so

★★★★

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