

MASS RESISTANCE

JULY 1980

POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE MARXIST LENINIST LEAGUE
PO BOX 513 TRIBORO STA
NEW YORK, N Y 10035

VOL 11, NO 4

LPR-ML and CORES-MLM Complete Merger -- Marxist-Leninist League Founded

LPR(ML) and CORES(MLM) have completed the process of merging into one Marxist Leninist organization. In the course of the last year we have published in the pages of "Resistance" the results of our discussions (including the two in this issue on the woman question and party building) and feel certain that the political and ideological unity expressed there is a good foundation to be able to work together in one organization despite secondary differences we may have. In that sense, we feel that we have utilized principled struggle much as Lenin described in "A Draft Programme of Our Party"

question of the programme be introduced into the polemic. The polemic will be of benefit only if it makes clear in what the differences actually consist, how profound they are, whether they are differences of substance or differences on partial questions, whether or not these differences interfere with common work in the ranks of one and the same party. Only the introduction of the programme question into the polemic, only a definite statement by the two polemising parties on their programmatic views, can provide an answer to all these questions, questions that insistently demand an answer."

"It is absolutely essential that the

Continues on page 5.

Black Liberation Movement Moves Forward - NBUF Formed

At various times in the history of the Black Liberation Movement, Black people have attempted to unite and organize themselves to fight against national oppression and racism and for freedom.

Although the various Black united fronts of the past have played positive roles and moved forward the struggle, Black liberation is yet to be achieved. A broad united front has thus been the number one point in the agenda of Black revolutionaries.

The NATIONAL BLACK UNITED FRONT (NBUF) was founded in the weekend of June 26-29 in Brooklyn, N Y. Over 1,000 delegates from 28 states converged in the Brooklyn Armory in N Y to unite on a common program of struggle. The formation of the NBUF is a significant event in the struggle of Black people in

the US. It is at once an effort to organize Black people on a broad basis, with a militant program of struggle, and an internationalist approach to world events. For these reasons, among others, we can say that today Black people in the US count with what promises to be a powerful weapon in their hands to advance the struggle for liberation.

A BROAD UNITED FRONT

The founding conference of the NBUF attracted Black people of different walks of life and political tendencies. Workers and students, revolutionary nationalists and communists, clergymen, artists, teachers and housewives, men and women, etc., all came together to work out a common program.



National oppression and racism hits Black people regardless of their occupation and political views. Thus, the need for a Black united front which can rally all Black people. United front efforts in the past have failed in many cases because they were limited to one or another sector of the spectrum of Black politics, or because they tended to exclude certain class sectors. The success of the current NBUF will depend to a great extent on its ability to continue to broaden its outreach to the whole of the Black population in the US and be especially conscious of not excluding any class

sector that is genuinely opposed to racism and national oppression.

A MILITANT UNITED FRONT

NBUF members have vowed to build, in the words of its chairman Rev. Herbert Daughtry, "a Black United Front that is independent, active, progressive."

The history of Black people in this country, and the Miami uprising more recently and clearly, show that Black people need a militant voice in order to fight for

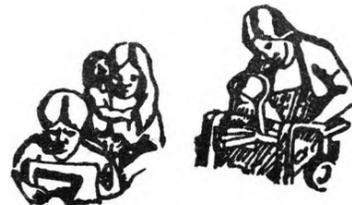
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WOMEN HOLD UP HALF THE SKY



Joint Statement on the Woman Question

It is the task of Marxist Leninists to unite in line and practice on the woman question in order to move forward party building and the U S revolution CORES and LPR have, thus, given it great importance and this document represents in brief, the unities we have achieved in the course of our struggle to merge as a single organization.

The struggle for the emancipation of women is an important aspect of the U S revolution, and a question of fundamental concern for all revolutionaries. The fact that the participation of women in the struggle is necessary for its success is particularly evident in the U S. Here, due to the advanced development of capitalism, a significant number of women have been drawn into the labor force. Women, thus, have a very important role to play in the class struggle, alongside men.

Lack of child care facilities, discrimination in jobs, housing, education and health care, sexual harassment, and other forms of oppression against women are still factors that keep women as one of the most oppressed sectors in this society. This is especially true of oppressed nationality women who suffer a triple form of oppression - as workers, as oppressed nationalities, and as women. Despite greater participation in social production, women still suffer higher rates of unemployment, earn less than men, and are excluded from the more skilled jobs and even some trade unions. We must, therefore, support and actively participate in the struggle against all forms of women's oppression and all manifestations of male chauvinism.

It is important that women participate, not only in the struggle for their own emancipation, but also in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class and all oppressed people, and in the struggle to build the party. These struggles are intimately linked - so much so that we refer to the woman question as a "class question".

A CLASS QUESTION

The oppression of women is rooted in the system of private property and the division of society into classes. The present day system of capitalism is such a class society. A small handful of people privately own the means of production and consequently all the wealth in this country, while the vast majority of workers and oppressed people own nothing except their labor power which they are forced to sell to the capitalists in order to survive.

Since the oppression of women is rooted in the system of private property and class society, it is the elimination of this system that will create the basis to abolish that oppression. In order to be free of all oppression, women have to be fully integrated into social production. Household chores must be socialised to liberate women from that stultifying burden. Free, quality education, child care, and health care, and full participation in the economic, political and all other aspects of social life must be provided. This is not possible in the profit motive system of capitalism. Only socialism can begin to create these conditions. That is why we must always link up the struggle for the emancipation of women with the struggle for socialism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Not to do so would mean to reduce the woman question to a matter of mere

reforms within capitalism. This is the right deviation, and main danger, in our approach to the struggle for the emancipation of women.

On the other hand, we also have to guard against the "left" deviation which liquidates the woman question and fails to recognize her special oppression and immediate needs. It claims that the struggle for women's emancipation is the struggle for socialism and that, therefore, we do not have to support the genuine demands for women's rights.

Working class women are part of the main and leading force in the U S revolution, and will be taking up the struggle against the bourgeoisie not just as women. However, we cannot fail to raise the special demands of women and in effect liquidate the woman question because of this. Such an attitude could result in the utilization of women by the bourgeoisie as their indirect reserve.

WOMEN IN THE MOVEMENT

When women are thrown into social production, conditions are created which aid in developing their consciousness. Thus, we see women organizing to fight for their rights - equal pay for equal work, childcare, maternity leave, etc. They also become involved in the labor movement fighting for better wages, better working conditions and against all forms of exploitation. Women are in the forefront of struggles not just of the class, but of oppressed nationalities - for better education, health services, against national oppression, supporting national liberation struggles - and also other movements, against war preparations, nuclear power, etc.

The women's movement today, however, is mainly composed of and led by petty bourgeois, not working class women.

The predominant trend in the women's movement is bourgeois feminism which identifies men as the enemy and not the capitalist system and puts forth that reforms to capitalist system will bring about women's emancipation. Contrary to this bourgeois view, we believe that it is the capitalist system, not men, that is the enemy. This system pushes male supremacy to justify the oppression of women. It intensifies the conflicts that arise between men and women, and bourgeois feminists' incorrect analysis of and proposed solutions to these conflicts play right into the hands of the U S bourgeoisie.

Women and the women's movement are an important reserve of the working class and the U S revolution. We must show concretely our dedication to the full emancipation of women and draw them into the revolutionary struggle - making clear, to both men and women, who the real enemy is. It is this dedication and the correct utilization of the contradictions between women of various classes and strata and the bourgeoisie that will mobilize women in support of the proletariat's demands in the revolutionary struggle against the U S bourgeoisie. In order to move properly, a determination of different sectors of women as direct or indirect reserves of the proletariat has to be made, when and how they can be mobilized etc.

We have a series of tasks to be taken up if we are to make women a strong reserve.

A Actively participate in the women's movement. We should strive to

transform this movement into a direct reserve of the proletariat, gaining working class leadership and putting working class demands in the forefront.

- B Participate in women's struggles, especially those with working class content and participation eg struggles for childcare, equal pay for equal work, paid maternity leave, affirmative action, etc.
- C Take up the woman question in all other struggles we are involved in. Concretely, we do this by opposing manifestations of male chauvinism, raising the need for childcare at events, meetings, etc, so as to include women in these struggles.

These tasks will show women our dedication to their emancipation, that we are not just putting out words, but that our actions show our words to be genuine.

ON THE STRUGGLE FOR REFORMS

As part of our struggle for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must take up the struggle for reforms. There are several aspects which make this struggle necessary. In the first place reforms improve the conditions of the working class and of women under capitalism. Secondly, it serves as training for the working class and its allies in carrying out revolutionary struggle. And thirdly, it shows concretely to the working class and women that the oppression of women (and all other forms of oppression and exploitation) is not eradicated by mere reforms to the capitalist system, and that this struggle must go beyond reforms to the revolutionary seizure of power.

We fight for those reforms which place the working class, and women, in a better position to carry out class struggle, bearing in mind the improvement of the lot of the working class and women. Comrade Lenin summarized this well:

"It is therefore perfectly right for us to put forward demands for the benefit of women. This is not a minimum programme, nor a programme of reform in the Social-Democratic sense, in the sense of the Second International. It does not go to show that we believe the bourgeoisie and its state will last forever, or even for a long time. Nor is it an attempt to pacify the masses of women with reforms and to divert them from the path of revolutionary struggle. It is nothing of the sort, and not an sort of reformist humbug either. Our demands are no more than practical conclusions, drawn by us from the crying needs and disgraceful humiliations that weak and underprivileged women must bear under the bourgeois system."

On the Emancipation of Women, p 112

From this standpoint, we establish our approach to the struggle for reforms. It becomes then our task to clearly link the struggle for reforms to the struggle for socialism. This must be done in a consistent and conscious manner.

In the struggle for reforms, our methods of work take on importance. We rely on the strength of the people in winning changes, and on the leadership of the multinational working class. We need to be vigilant and expose all attempts on the part of the bourgeoisie (and its agents) to undermine and divert the struggle from a

revolutionary path and reduce it to legal channels, to wrest the leadership away from the masses and to create "leaders" who are nothing but lackeys.

We must also point out that reforms are concessions forced from the bourgeoisie and that they are taken back when conditions worsen, when the mass movement is at an ebb, etc. However, in the course of the struggle, the masses become educated as to the nature of the capitalist system, social props, relations between classes and sectors of classes, etc. Our forces become further consolidated, we learn to deal with contradictions amongst us, work with allies and the formation of the United Front, etc. This is useful and necessary for the working class and its allies to prepare for the socialist revolution.

In the case of women, there are a number of demands we put forth which will improve their conditions and help bring them into the general struggle. These demands are:

- 1) Equal pay for equal work
- 2) Paid maternity leaves with job guarantees
- 3) Free day care services in communities and workplaces
- 4) An end to all discriminatory hiring and firing practices against women, and end to the practice of assigning women to the most menial and worst paying jobs, affirmative action in hiring, promotions, and training
- 5) Right of women to bear arms and exercise the right to self defense
- 6) An end to forced sterilizations. The right to free and safe abortions, and availability to safe birth control methods.
- 7) An end to all attacks against women in culture, mass media, through pornography, degenerate culture, etc.
- 8) Defending and implementing all protective legislation for women.

These demands are correct because

- (a) They bring concrete improvement in the conditions women suffer. Such things as the right to free and safe abortions, the right to self defense, the end to forced sterilizations, equal educational opportunities, etc., definitely place women in a better position to live and to struggle.
- (b) They facilitate the participation of women in social production. Child care services, equal job opportunities, affirmative action, paid maternity leave, protective legislation, and others, in fact help women to integrate themselves more fully into the labor force.
- (c) They help build the unity between men and women. To the extent that men take up the struggle for these demands, women will concretely see them as allies, the bourgeoisie will be less able to divide the class along sex lines, and less able to use women as a reserve. Through the recognition of a common enemy, women will then be able to participate more actively in the political and economic struggle, which will in turn build the unity and strength of the working class as a whole.

WOMEN IN ORGANIZATIONS

Bourgeois ideology permeates all aspects of society, and we as communists are not exempt from its influence. The fact that there are fewer women than men in the struggle, points to this. Furthermore, there are fewer women in positions of leadership and in general, their level of political devel-

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MIAMI

BLACK MASSES IN STRUGGLE

For many years to come the recent events in Liberty City, Miami, will remain in the minds of both oppressed and oppressors in the US. The Black people's uprising in Miami is a significant preview of what the decade of the 80's has in store.

Miami shows the determination and courage of the oppressed Black people in this country, and their unwillingness to sit idly by while the ruling class submits them to brutal exploitation, national oppression, and racial discrimination. On the other hand, Miami shows that the US ruling class will not stop at anything in its vain

sible for the murder of Black insurance salesman Arthur Mc Duffie, was the spark that ignited the fire in Liberty City. Four cops who in the past have been named in 47 citizens complaints, 13 internal review investigations and 53 reports on the use of force. This murder was so clear that even the internal investigation of the police itself resulted in the suspension of the four.

The McDuffie case helped to show clearly on which side the state is on. When the policemen were indicted and brought to trial, the State used its resources to assure

resulting in the death of nine Black youths. After that it was all out war. On one side, the powerful State with its police, national guard, and the help of the KKK and other right wing organizations. On the other, the masses of Black people and their Latino and white supporters. The result around 20 people dead, most of them Black youth, over 5,000 wounded, thousands arrested and over \$200 million in property losses.

And that was not the end of it all. After all the state officials and other politicians, including the president, rushed to make all kinds of promises to the people of Liberty City in order to cool them down (and after sending all their Uncle Toms to preach non violence and cooperation with the system that oppresses Black people), the promises were forgotten and absolutely nothing was done about the deteriorating housing conditions, unemployment, discrimination and police brutality. So, the uprising picked up where it left off.

Black people in Miami, like elsewhere in the US, are submitted to the worst living conditions. Unemployment for Blacks in Miami rate at over 50%, per capita income for Black families is around the "official" poverty line of \$5,500 a year, housing, medical and educational facilities are similar to that of the hundreds of ghettos that are the home of the great majority of Blacks and oppressed nationalities in the US. The KKK is very strong in the area and the Miami police have one of the most notorious records of police brutality in the country.

The rebellion was just a matter of time. It had to happen, because where there is oppression there is resistance. And sooner or later, the oppressed stand up and fight for their rights.

We are witnessing the rising tide of struggle among the oppressed nationalities. Miami, the struggles against police brutality in many cities, the founding of the National Black United Front in recent weeks in N Y, the struggle against the Klan in the South, etc, are a clear sign that the masses are in motion. And as before, during the great struggles of the 60's, the struggle today is developing in the absence of a genuine communist party, in the absence of real ties between the communist movement and the struggling oppressed masses. The conscious element is still lagging behind the actual level of struggle of the masses, thus reducing our movement objectively to a mere observer instead of direct and conscious participant in these great struggles.

What is to be done? The utmost, to change this situation!

This means: Make the struggle against national oppression and racism one of the primary focus of activity of our movement. Build in the day to day practice, in the streets of the ghettos, in the mills, factories, fields, campuses, the iron unity of the multinational proletariat and the oppressed nationalities.

Deeds speak louder than words! The struggle against national oppression and racism is the struggle against police brutality, for quality education, for jobs, against the draft and registration, for decent medical services, for safe and free abortions, food stamps, affirmative action programs, and so on. Only by actively participating in such struggles will we go from the position of mere reporters of the struggles of the masses to active participants in them. The masses, and only the masses, are the makers of history, and it is our foremost responsibility to help shape the new society that we are fighting for.



attempt to keep the US multinational working class, oppressed nationalities and other oppressed peoples in this country under its control. Thus, Miami shows, in a small, but very powerful and significant, scale the rising antagonism and clash between the oppressors and the oppressed in the US.

The acquittal of four policemen, respon-

their freedom. They transferred the trial to another city, falsified the report on McDuffie's death, named an all white jury, etc, to guarantee their acquittal. The outrageous decision was a slap in the face of the Black community, who responded by organizing a demonstration on May 18. The peaceful demonstration was attacked by the police

Carry Out Open & Above Board Struggle

In doing our merger, we have defined open and above board struggle as struggle done in a principled way and conducted openly in front of the whole communist movement. We have specified that this means struggle around programmatic questions should take place openly in the form of polemics, reportings and summaries printed in the communist press. We have criticized not only the groups which have completely failed to do such open work but also those which have only seen fit to give the movement the results of their struggle. By this we mean the unity statements which do not even report on who upheld incorrect positions and why and what were the roots of such errors, etc.

Comrades in the movement have criticized us or openly disagreed with our views. "Open and above board struggle" has been defined by some as meaning only that in relations between organizations struggle must be principled but must not necessarily be reported to the whole movement. In that vein, the type of unity statements dominant in the movement is seen as being correct. The League for Revolutionary Struggle (ML) is one such organization and we feel it is appropriate at this time to further clarify our views not only for the LRS but for the movement as a whole.

What we will do here is to take one example (the Chicano National Question) and show the results from not engaging in the form of open and above board struggle which we advocate. Indeed it is not difficult to see that the present fragmentation of the movement is at least partially attributable to an incorrect form of "open and above board struggle" that was practiced.

Today, across the US the Chicano people are again in motion against the capitalist system. Yet it is a motion that lacks cohesion, a program for revolution or overall leadership. The communist movement is not yet in any position to provide leadership to that movement in any strategic way given its present political disunity. Wherever the communists step forward to try to provide such leadership, they are forced to put forward the following face to the Chicano movement:

LRS will put forward that there exists a Chicano nation and will raise the demands of political and economic power for Chicanos in the Southwest.

LPR will be unable to put forward either that the Chicanos do or do not constitute a nation, although they will definitely defend the special rights of Chicanos.

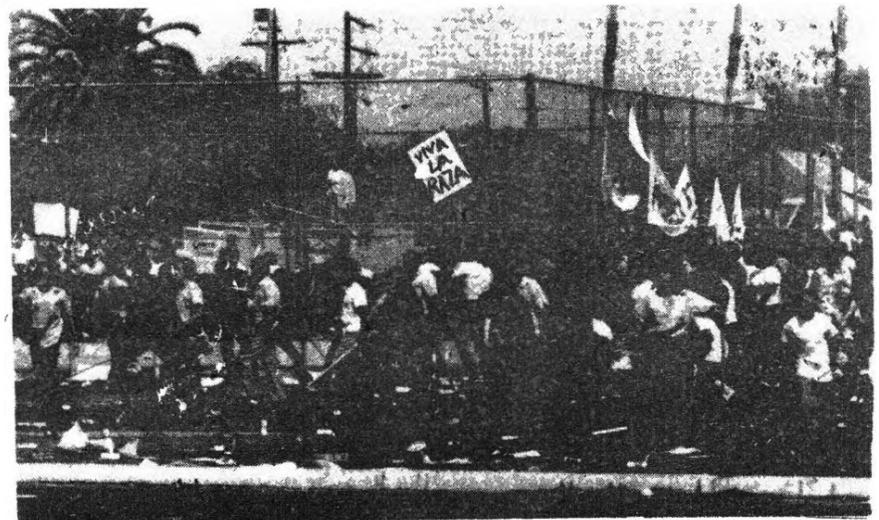
The CP ML will raise demands centering on the Chicanos being a national minority and oppose the slogans of nationhood.

The WC and the RWH will most likely say that they know as of yet neither position to be correct.

We recognize that no matter that the movement is divided on whether there is or is not a Chicano nation, the fact remains that it is possible to attempt to conduct joint work at some level among communist organizations. Thus, we may all be able to unite on the need, say, to defend and expand Chicano college programs. We can certainly unite on the need to defend the Chicano people against any form of discrimination. Yet, this is insufficient to be able to provide strategic leadership to the Chicano movement to win it over as an important ally of the US multinational working class. We are oftentimes faced with the contradiction in our mass work of hav-

ing to struggle against another organization's position. Thus, while affirming the unity which is possible among communists, we cannot go as far as to call this a common program for leading the Chicano movement to liberation.

We have to say that the communist movement belittles the Chicano masses and their spontaneous struggles so long as it is unable



to provide leadership based on one fundamental line. This is the present situation. The spontaneous struggles will remain just that until the movement is able to move them along one clear path that is not open to many interpretations. The Chicanos are or were or were never allowed to become a nation and one and only one of those things can be true. The answer to that question is one important part of the fundamental questions in the struggle for socialism in the US. And that same answer will help to greatly move along the Chicano struggles to that one clear path.

So where has the type of open and above board struggle advocated by many (including the LRS) gotten us to in this movement in relation to the Chicano question? What is the history of this question, how has it been handled and what have been the objective results? Let's look at this particularly in regards to the LRS who has had a lot of presence in the struggle over this line.

1) 1976 - ATM ML publishes "Fan the Flames: A Revolutionary Position on the Chicano National Question" and present their case for the existence of a Chicano nation. They choose not to polemicize with the OL's position that the Chicanos are a national minority.

2) 1977 - The OL (ML) publishes "Nationalist Reformism Disguised as Marxism", in their journal "Class Struggle". They criticize the ATM position as being a nat-

Black Liberation Movement Moves Forward — NBUF Formed

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their rights. That they cannot depend on a few Black politicians and Uncle Toms who serve the interests of their white ruling class masters. These lackeys are tied in to the system that oppresses Blacks and have betrayed the interests of Black people by advocating faith in and cooperation with the oppressors.

Black liberation means independence from these oppressors. It is reliance on the masses of Black people, and not on false 'leaders', the courts and the capitalist system as a whole, that will bring success to the Black liberation struggle.

AN INTERNATIONALIST UNITED FRONT

The NBUF is not exclusively concerned with the problems of Black peoples in the US. A strong internationalist sentiment was expressed, not only in the speeches of the participants of the conference, but also concretely in the resolutions approved.

The national liberation struggles of Africa, and the Caribbean were supported, as well as that of Palestine and others. Imperialism is opposed as part of the principles of unity of the NBUF and both superpowers were denounced during the conference.

It is a fact that the struggles against a common enemy support each other. While South Africans are dealing deadly blows to the US imperialists, Blacks in the US are also engaging US imperialists in battle at home. Thus the struggle in South Africa and in the US support each other and weaken the common enemy. International solidarity is thus also an essential element for the success of the NBUF and it is encouraging for all revolutionaries to see it develop in the NBUF from its inception.

AN EXAMPLE OF UNITED FRONT TACTICS

The women's workshop at the founding conference provided a good lesson in united front tactics. A resolution was drafted denouncing the practice of polygamy as oppressing women. A majority of the participants in the workshop supported such a resolution which could have weasily passed despite the opposition of a minority of participants who viewed polygamy as part of their African tradition and saw the resolution as an attempt to interfere in their religious beliefs or cultural heritage.

After much discussion, it was agreed to redraft the resolution, leaving out the question of polygamy and strongly denouncing monopoly capitalism as the source of women's oppression and calling for the struggle against male supremacy in all manifestations. Some forces, who either did not understand the united front tactics, or

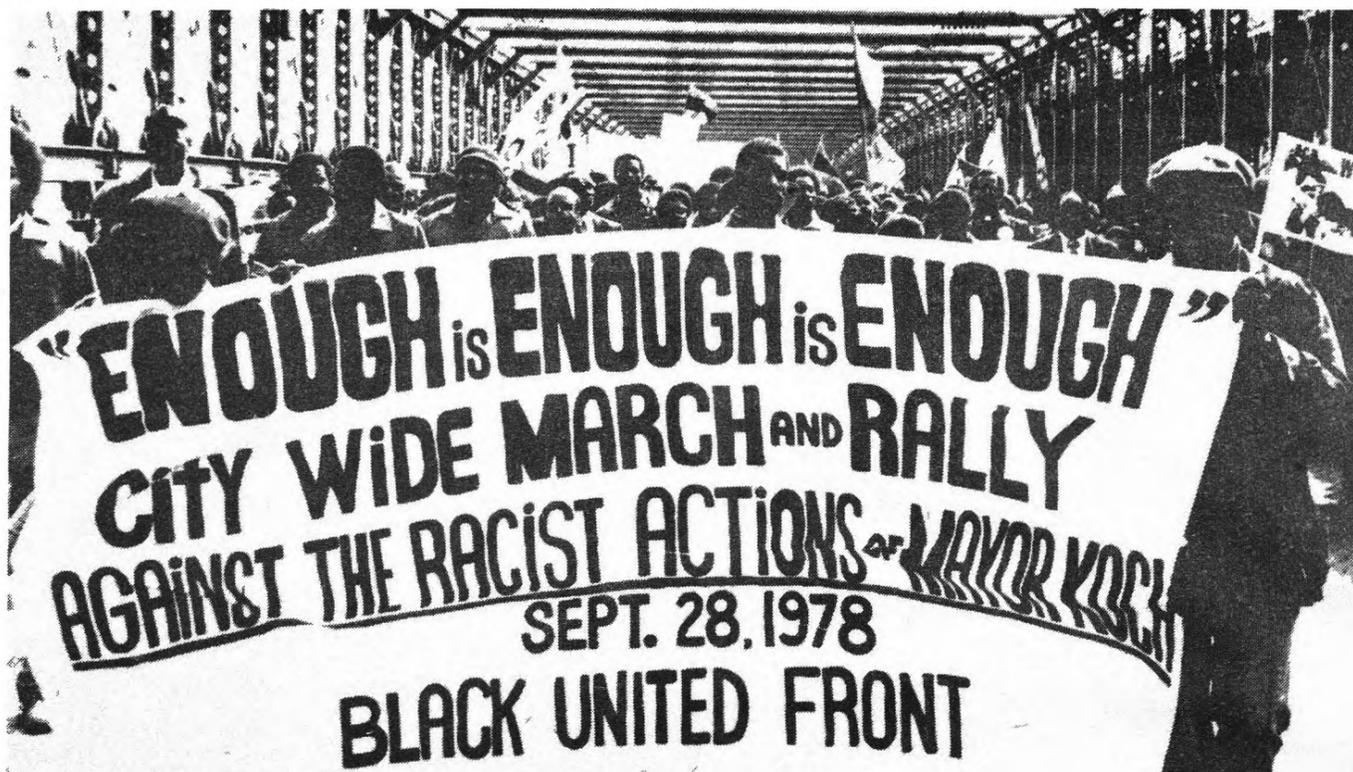
did not wish to build the NBUF on a broad basis but rather a sectarian one, insisted on the first resolution. Our cadres participating in the NBUF conference supported the withdrawal of the first resolution as part of united front tactics. We do not view this as a withdrawal of our opposition to polygamy. Our views is that it is in fact a form of oppression of women

or maximum principles of unity. The NBUF is just that: a united front of Black people united on a minimum program of struggle against racism and national oppression, a program that broad sectors of the Black population can unite to struggle for.

The NBUF is not a communist organization with a communist program, but we communists support it wholeheartedly.

tes" or "being unfairly discriminated as communists" they should consider the following:

Communists have little influence among the broad masses today. Communists are not leading the struggles of the masses. We are lagging behind the masses, who are definitely in motion. "Having more votes" or being represented as a multinational or



However, the contradiction around this question has to be treated as a non-antagonistic one, a contradiction among the people, in which persuasion and education, not coercion have to be used. We, thus, regard it as wise, despite the fact that the forces in opposition to polygamy were in the majority, not to seek the passing of the resolution with the clause opposing polygamy, and preserving the unity of forces present on a principled basis. The struggle against all forms of male supremacy can and will of course continue in all forms within the united front.

ROLE OF COMMUNISTS

There is no contradiction between fighting for socialism, for the building of the party, etc., and being active participants in the NBUF. Workers and all oppressed people in the US have a common enemy: the US imperialist bourgeoisie. To move forward the struggle for socialism in the United States.

A united front is organized to rally people around a minimum program based on common views and interests. It is by no means "pure" nor based on the highest

Our cadres participated in its formation and will struggle persistently to build it. In the course of doing so, in fighting for the immediate needs and demands of Black people, communists are able to win over the masses to a maximum program of socialist revolution.

There were some communists at the founding conference who objected limiting the NBUF to Black organizations. They felt that the multinational organizations to which they belonged would have organizational representation at the NBUF. We oppose this view and support the view and support the NBUF view that Black communists can come into the NBUF as individuals or as representatives of Black organizations. Why?

Black people have a right to self-determination, to set themselves free by what ever means necessary. This right has to be accompanied by the right to organize along with other Blacks in order to fight for the specific demands of Black people. To deny this right is to objectively deny the right to self-determination. If some communists are worried about "not having enough vo-

ganization is really irrelevant if we did have that leadership.

It is our task then to increase our ties with the masses, in particular the Black masses, by participating and exercising leadership in their day to day struggles. We will then be participants in the NBUF, not as individual Black communists, but as leaders of Black mass organizations. This is the guarantee of real communist influence and not the votes we get.

Ultimately, it is our task to link together the great Black Liberation Movement with the struggle for socialism. And through our participation and communist leadership in the day to day struggles of the masses will in fact be linking together all the great mass movements of the people in this country in a revolutionary storm that will lead to Black liberation and ultimately socialism in the US.

VICTORY TO THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT!

BUILD THE NBUF, A POWERFUL WEAPON IN THE STRUGGLE OF THE BLACK MASSES!

Welcome the formation of the MARXIST-LENINIST LEAGUE

The Marxist-Leninist League will launch a national tour in September, 1980 to discuss with comrades and friends the lessons of our merger and present our views on the present state of our movement and the tasks ahead.

Contact the MLL for information about events in your area. We welcome your cooperation in helping arrange events in those cities not presently included in the tour.

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To briefly summarize the basis of our merger, we will restate here the general points of unity we have reached on the major questions

1) Character of the U S Revolution— We unite on that in the U S we are to wage a one stage socialist revolution in which the multi-national proletariat is the leading and main force

2) The International Situation — We have arrived at unity on the basic teachings concerning the international question as developed by the international communist movement We both uphold the Three Worlds Theory as being the specific application of those principles to the present conditions in the world The principle of proletarian internationalism is the guide to our practice on this question

3) The National Question — We both agree on the need to base analyses of the oppressed nationalities in the U S firmly in Marxist Leninist principles We see the necessity of linking the national struggles to the workers' movement and advocate the leading role of the working class in those struggles We uphold the right of nations to self determination and defend the democratic rights of all oppressed nationalities

4) The Woman Question — We both unite on the importance of taking up the woman question in our mass work and within our organizations and struggle against all opportunism that tends to continue the oppression of women We agree on the need to develop women cadre and leadership We likewise see the need to engage in the struggles to protect or expand the democratic rights of women, always linking these struggles to the struggle for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat

5) The Struggle for Reforms — We see the necessity of engaging in day to day work among the masses in the struggles for genuine reforms and demands while simultaneously winning the masses over to the proletariat's strategic goals of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat

6) Party Building — We both agree that party building is our central task and recognize that the party has yet to be built in the U S In rectifying our past errors, we both have moved to repudiate sectarianism towards other comrades in the movement and, as the new organization, will continue the struggle to unite with other Marxist Leninists on a principled basis to help form that much-needed party

7) The Third World Struggles and the Danger of War — We both have united on the particular importance in this period of history of providing material support (money, clothes, books, etc) to the liberation movements in the Third World, especially those against our own bourgeoisie Likewise, we see the pressing task of propogandizing on the danger of world war and mobilizing in the U S to prepare the masses in the event that the two superpowers initiate that war

MERGER LESSONS

This is only a brief summation of the statements and we again encourage comrades to examine those statements and inform us of their analysis as to whether they unite we have indeed arrived at fundamental unity between our two organizations We acknowledge those contacts, Third World comrades and organizations that have responded to our call for input into our merger At the same time, it is unfortunate that the first merger to have opened itself up to the movement in this way has not received more response Perhaps it is part of the lingering sectarianism and localism of our movement that made it difficult for more comrades to take us or the task seriously Nevertheless, we see the process was a needed and correct step given the history of the U S movement and we will both struggle for the same approach in future unity efforts to build a new communist party

In that vein, we summarize that there are several crucial lessons for the entire movement which developed out of this merger They are

A Handling Our Differences in an Open and Above board Manner We have proven it is both positive and feasible to open up the unity process among Marxist Leninists wider than anyone previously thought correct or possible We have succeeded in merging and at the same time provided other comrades (both individuals and organizations) with the means to involve themselves as fully as they wanted in that process No security was violated, opportunists were unable to utilize our merger to disrupt the process and we were able to meet our responsibility of making the unity process one that was not confined to the backrooms or the closed door type of merging that has been the dominant process in the movement up to now

B The Necessity of Open Struggle We have proven it is possible for communist organizations to air differences publicly in a principled way in order that the rest of the movement can participate in the development for political line of the U S

revolution In this way, we have avoided the type of polemics that deviated the movement into the practice of utilizing the open polemic solely for the purpose of exposing "opportunists" and a liberal detente when it came to differences between organizations in the movement

C The Need for Sharp Ideological Struggle We have proven it is possible to engage in serious struggle over our differences and still arrive at unity on the fundamental questions while setting aside for future struggle our secondary differences As we said in the previous progress report, We were also able to correct our merger process when we did tend to deviate into the practice of "endlessly" struggling out

the same way that general unity statements fail to explain how and on what basis such unity efforts were accomplished

A CALL FOR DISCUSSIONS

Much remains to be settled now that we have merged, yet we are confident that the new organization will be much more capable of seriously meeting our duty both to the communist movement and to the proletariat In the months ahead, we will be publishing as one pamphlet the merger documents that appeared in the pages of "Resistance" We make this available to comrades in order that they can familiarize themselves with our merger and its basis



secondary differences Thus, it is not true, as some have maintained for many years, that there is an unavoidable danger of impeding unity efforts if one attempts to engage in serious struggle between comrades

D Meaningful Rank and file Participation Lastly, we have proven that it is both correct and more productive if rank and file cadre, as well as close contacts, are involved as much and as well as possible in the course of the merger with its workings While we have utilized several methods to accomplish this, we see that the main point is that cadre have a necessary role to play in this process Too many in our movement only know of, and can only explain the generalities of unity efforts in

is We will be traveling across the country in the early fall to meet with those wishing to discuss this We ask all those interested to contact us as soon as possible so that we can accommodate them We urge everyone to obtain copies of the merger documents to prepare for such discussions

Lastly, we again want comrades to know that the pages of "Resistance" are open to them to let both us and the rest of the movement know their position on this merger For that purpose, the next issue of "Resistance" will have adequate space set aside for any statements our friends may wish to make

IN UNITY AND IN STRUGGLE



WHAT IS MASS RESISTANCE ?

The Marxist Leninist League was formed through the merger of the League for Proletarian Revolution (ML) and the Colorado Organization for Revolutionary Struggle (MLM) We are a multinational communist organization based on Marxism Leninism Mao Zedong Thought We are committed to the struggle for the overthrow of the U S bourgeoisie, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism in the U S Opposi-

tion to both superpowers, support for the national liberation struggles of the Third World, upholding of the Three Worlds Theory are some of our guiding principles

MASS RESISTANCE is our political organ Its name comes in recognition of the positive role that for the last ten years was played by RESISTANCE the political organ of the former LPR(ML) Proud of that tradition we will con-

tinue publishing the newspaper that is the oldest continuous publication within the U S anti-revisionist communist movement We have added "MASS" to the name to make explicit that it is to the building of the conscious and organized resistance of the masses of working and oppressed peoples against the capitalist onslaught that we have dedicated ourselves to



MASS RESISTANCE

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

English _____ Spanish _____

MARXIST-LENINIST LEAGUE

PO BOX 513 TRIBORO STA
NEW YORK, N Y 10035

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DENVER, COLORADO 80211

JOINT STATEMENT

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opment is lower than that of male comrades

Women in communist organizations face special problems which are directly related to their position of inequality in society (such as the discrimination in education, jobs, etc that they face) They lack train-



ing to carry on their tasks as well as ideological and political preparation. This is compounded by their need for practical skills as well as the fact that the primary responsibility for the managing of their homes falls on them. These things take away precious time and energy that women need in order to carry out political tasks, and to prepare themselves ideologically for the revolutionary struggle.

These problems must be dealt with in a conscious manner when we take up the Woman Question. Some basic ways in which we are doing this are:

1. **Struggle against male chauvinism within the organization.** A persistent, conscious struggle against male chauvinism must be carried out, as well as, secondarily, against women conciliating to it. There's a tendency among communist men to believe that they no longer practice male chauvinism just because they have been won over to the idea of the emancipation of women. Therefore, a tendency to belittle the struggle against male chauvinism develops in the ranks of the organization. To cor-

rect this situation, we must expose every manifestation of male chauvinism and all practices which maintain the inequality of women must be uprooted.

As part of this struggle, male comrades are urged to share in the housework so that female comrades may develop as fully and as quickly as possible. This also holds true for the caring and upbringing of the children. In this case, the organization also has a responsibility to share in the child care at events, meetings and during political work. Our movement, in general, has not taken up this question correctly and the lack of child

care at movement activities attests to the fact.

There's no better way to rectify male chauvinism than through criticism/self-criticism. Using this method cadres become conscious of their errors and it helps promote a systematic struggle against male chauvinism.

2. **Training.** This is an important aspect in helping women to become capable revolutionary leaders, especially through the study of the science of Marxism-Leninism. Political training is important to help women find their bearings when confronted with new situations. We must provide women cadres with a varied political experience and create the conditions so that women participate in all aspects of the class struggle. In giving practical tasks, we must be careful not to re-enforce the roles assigned to men and women in bourgeois society. Both men and women should be trained to carry out any kind of task. Women cadres should not be stuck with the traditional tasks assigned to them.

(typing, cooking, etc.) In order, to carry this out a conscious training plan is necessary. Training for women remains inadequate in both CORES and LPR and is something we are striving to correct.

3. **Woman Question Commission.** In the organizational sphere, we have created a special body to assure that the organization takes up the woman question in a systematic and concrete way. This body is composed of both male and female cadres. Among its most important functions are first, the development of a correct line and practice on the Woman Question, an area in which we look forward to working with other Marxist-Leninist organizations, and second, to insure that a correct, staunch struggle against male chauvinism takes place in the organization as well as in the broader movement.

PROLETARIAN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SEXES AND THE PROLETARIAN FAMILY

It is true that the emancipation of women, and consequently the establishment of proletarian relations between the sexes, can be fully achieved only through socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. But communists in bourgeois society can, and should, consciously strive to build proletarian relations within our ranks, and set an example of what we aim for in society as a whole.

We, therefore, uphold proletarian morality, which is diametrically opposed to bourgeois morality. From this point of view, we promote the monogamous family of a man and a woman and the building of this family based on sexual love and political unity. The equality of the sexes and the subordination of their interests to those of the people are the principles guiding proletarian relations.

Sex love is a mutual and exclusive love relationship between a man and a woman. It is an essential element for a marriage free from the economic and social considerations in bourgeois society. Political unity is the commonness of revolutionary ideals and principles of those marrying. The deeper the political consciousness of the comrades involved, the more must revolutionary ideals or principles be part of the basis of unity of such a relationship. This is not to say that comrades should not pursue a sex love relationship with a person who is less ideologically or politically developed. However, we need to stress the responsibility of the cadre to seek proletarian standards in their potential mates and to help raise the political and ideological consciousness of the lesser developed mates. The organization itself has a duty to help raise the consciousness of non cadre spouses.

On the other hand, we strongly oppose the hypocritical bourgeois monogamous family, which is based on male supremacy and the oppression of women. This is reflected in bourgeois society through the flourishing of adultery and prostitution, casual and deviant sexual relations and all kinds of pornography. All of these disrupt revolutionary discipline and reduce women to sex objects. Bourgeois monogamy is concretely monogamy for the woman only, insuring her fidelity by making her socially subservient and economically dependent on the man for survival, and by applying social and legal sanctions if she breaks its bounds, while rewarding male infidelity.

In a society where male supremacy is a strong part of the dominant ideology, we consider that a formal commitment, or public marriage of the two people, is a concrete and necessary way of dealing with the woman question. The holding of a public marriage ceremony, which we encourage, is a way of making both man and woman accountable to the organization and to the masses, showing this is a conscious unity and not a casual relationship which oppresses the woman (who would later bear the social burden and the responsibility of the children). At the same time, we recognize the right to divorce. We do not advocate this as a solution to all contradictions within marriage, most of which can and should be resolved through criticism and self-criticism.

Finally, we recognize that given the influence of bourgeois morality, even among communists, we are dealing here with a protracted struggle to build a new kind of relations and family, different from those we are accustomed to. We therefore, deal with deviations within our ranks through the method of criticism and self-criticism, rather than purging and isolating, as a way to improve our attitudes and practice on this question.

Women have historically participated in the struggles of the working class, here and the world over. Wherever there is a revolutionary storm raging, women are found in the forefront of the struggle, arms in hand, side by side with men. Women have indeed given heroic examples of revolutionary courage and dedication in many revolutionary struggles throughout the world. Kampuchea, Iran, Palestine, Zimbabwe, the Philippines are just a few. Here in the US too, we have many such women who we hold high as shining examples of what Lenin meant when he said:

"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."

OPEN & ABOVE BOARD

Continued from page 3

onalist deviation. The ATM never responds openly.

3) Sept 1977 - ATM publishes an article in "Revolutionary Cause" describing some of their cadre as the "4 Splitters." ATM criticizes them for their narrow nationalism among other things. They report that "we are seriously examining the influence of the line of the splitters and its effect on our general line and practice. We will be closely studying FAN THE FLAMES because we feel there are the seeds of their opportunist position in that document. We will lay out the results of the study and investigation to the workers and Communist movements."

4) Oct 1977 - In an editorial in the next issue of "Revolutionary Cause", ATM reports that "Some comrades believe that in fact there is no difference in principle between ourselves and the factionalists on the Chicano National Question. As we sum up this struggle, we will share the conclusions with our readers." These questions raised in the Sept and Oct issues of their newspaper were never reported on to the move-

ment as they had said they would.

5) Sept 1978 - ATM and IWK merge to form the League for Revolutionary Struggle (LRS). There is no mention of the Chicano nation idea in any founding documents or statements.

6) Aug 1979 - LRS publishes "The Struggle for Chicano Liberation" in their journal "Forward." While this document is nearly the same as the position of ATM, there is no mention of any repudiation of anything in "Fan the Flames." In fact it is referred to as if it were some historically proven document. Nor is there any mention of the "4 Splitters", no polemic with the CP ML position, etc.

7) Early 1980 - LRS states in an interview that one of the differences being struggled out in the trilateral meetings with the CP ML and the RWH is the Chicano question. We are told nothing else.

8) 1979-1980 - LRS is raising the slogan of "political and economic power in the Southwest" as part of their work in the 10th commemoration of the August 29th moratorium. They continue to put forward the Chicano nation idea as if it had never been criticized, as if the position had ever been well defended in the movement, as if there was nothing possibly wrong with the position and it was correct to use that position to try to provide leadership to the Chicano people.

This brief history exhibits nothing on the part of LRS (nor before as ATM) that we would call open and above board. This approach has obviously not led the communist movement to unity on the Chicano question. It in fact has left open a whole series of serious questions that might have been answered had the struggle been conducted as we have advocated. Among the questions which have gone unanswered:

Why did ATM (or LRS later) fail to ever report about the possible seeds of narrow nationalism in "Fan the Flames"?

Why was the Chicano question not important enough to have been a part of the founding documents of the ATM-IWK merger? How was this set aside?

Why did neither ATM nor LRS ever respond to the CP ML polemic?

Why was there no self-criticism by the LRS of a whole series of changes that were made on the Chicano National Question position from the time of "Fan the Flames" to the present position?

Why does the trilateral grouping of LRS, CP ML and RWH see that it is better for the rest of the movement to not know the content of their struggles on the Chicano question?

CONCLUSION

When we raise the need to struggle in an

open and above board way to settle the differences among the movement, we are doing so in order to help to develop that one line which will and could provide the material basis not only for the forming of a party but also to develop the consistent practice to lead not only the Chicanos but all peoples in the US to socialism. We do so also knowing full well what the type of open and above board struggle advocated by others in the movement has led to.

We cannot separate the present fragmentation of the movement over political line from the type of past and present methods of struggle utilized to arrive at that unity.

As long as open and above board is taken in the narrow sense of group to group meetings, as long as it is confined to the back rooms of bilateral or trilateral relations, as long as all the rest of the movement ever hears is general statements about what a lot of good struggle is going on in those back rooms, then for just as long we will not have a single movement united on one line that can fuse with the workers, we will not even have us a party. No one we believe is ready to put forward any new form of American exceptionalism and defend a line that the US is the only place in the world to date where the movement can be built without struggle, without that struggle being conducted in an open and above board way.

JOINT STATEMENT ON PARTY BUILDING

The near completion of the merger process of the League for Proletarian Revolution (M L) and the Colorado Organization for Revolutionary Struggle (M L M) is a concrete step forward in the struggle for the building of a genuine multi national Marxist Leninist party in our country. This struggle is the central task of all genuine communists in the U S and the uniting under a correct ideological and political line of two organizations that are part of that movement can only help achieve that task.

THE CENTRAL TASK

The recognition of party building as the central task is crucial for our movement. But, obviously this recognition by itself is not enough. Our deeds must conform to that understanding to move the process forward. In upholding party building as the central task we not only recognize the absence of such a party in our country and the undeniable necessity of building it, but we also see the need to place all our ideological, political and organizational work in the context of party building. This means concretely that the immediate task we have is one of contributing to the development of the correct ideological and political line that would allow for the principled uniting of Marxist Leninists and the winning over to communism the most advanced elements of the working class so that the necessary conditions for party building can ripen in our country.

Both our organizations hold that the necessary conditions for the formation of a genuine party do not yet exist in the U S. There is no basis for now for the organizational uniting of different organizations as the immediate step in party building. This would liquidate the importance of a correct line on which to base that unity and would belittle the importance of recruiting into the Marxist Leninist movement a significant number of advanced workers in order to begin to change the social basis of our movement and the future party. An organizational unity-now approach would only give greater strength to incorrect or partially incorrect lines, thus making the party building effort a more difficult and longer process.

And we both recognize that to make joint mass practice among different groups the principal vehicle for forging M L unity is incorrect. While upholding that joint practice is definitely important as one element in any serious party building effort, we know that this has to be subordinate to, and in fact be developed as the result of, the struggle for unity on a correct line. The question is not simply one of doing things together, but of doing the necessary and correct things in a correct way, together. Were we to over emphasize joint practice, this could be accompanied by a belittlement of the ideological struggle necessary among different organizations. For the sake of joint practice, important tactical and even strategic differences can be swept under the rug, negotiated and compromised in an unprincipled fashion. Thus, while we actively strive for carrying out joint work with other Marxist Leninist organizations, we state that such practice has to be subordinate to a common striving to achieve principled unity on a correct ideological and political line.

Likewise we know that party building as the central task is not something insignificant that can be subordinated to the task of fusion. While upholding the need for the whole movement to create a base in the working class, this cannot be done in a one sided fashion, thus liquidating the importance of developing a common correct line and principled Marxist Leninist unity. Such unity cannot be the simple addition of a large number of forces in order to facilitate the fusion process and thus make "fusion" the principal task.

The party building process is one that includes the development of a correct line the uniting of Marxist Leninists on that

line and the winning over of a significant number of advanced workers to such a line. Those tasks are linked one with the other, while none have to be completely accomplished to then start with another. On the whole, this is not yet the dominant line in our movement.

WHY THE NEED FOR ONE CORRECT LINE

Ideologically, our party will have to be soundly based in the science of revolution, in Marxism Leninism Mao Zedong Thought, on historical and dialectical materialism. We need to master the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao in order to be better equipped to make a correct analysis of the problems facing the U S and world proletarian revolution. Thus, the adherence to and mastering of this science must be the basis of our ideological line. The application of that ideological line to the specific conditions of the United States and the world is the basis for the political line. For it to be a correct political line, it cannot be in contradiction to our ideological line and has to correspond to the concrete conditions we are out to change. In that way, line is not a dead dogma, but rather a guide to our actions. Its correctness is not so much determined by our ability to defend it, but more on whether or not it proves to be correct when tested in practice. If a line helps to forge the unity of genuine Marxist

and ourselves of these incorrect methods of struggle.

While recognizing the negative aspects in our polemics and in the whole movement especially in the mid 70's, we believe that in the main the polemics did bring positive results. The open polemics did represent a step forward in our movement. They helped to identify the major areas of unities and disagreements, to identify different trends in the movement, to share our views on the major questions facing the U S revolutionaries. And the polemics were over all influential in correctly pushing the issue of party building to the fore front. The polemics against the national chauvinism of the RU, the neo trotskysm of the CL, the ultra leftism of the Wing, the anti revisionist premises of WVO, the economism of the OL and on aspects of the ATM were positive contributions in which several genuine organizations participated in an open way.

To seize upon the errors of the past as a justification for liquidating open polemics would be to deny the importance of principled Marxist Leninist struggle. Both our organizations see that we must focus the polemics not on forces outside the communist movement, but rather that principled polemics within the movement are crucial if we are to unite to build a



Leninists, to win over the advanced workers and to provide leadership to the spontaneous struggles of the masses then that line would have been proven correct. And conversely, if it proved incapable of helping us fulfill the tasks for which it was developed, then it would have to be repudiated as incorrect.

NEED FOR OPEN POLEMICS

In the past, while being strong advocates of open struggle, both LPR and CORES made serious errors in carrying some polemics. To begin with, we did not take up seriously enough the task of doing the polemics, and did too little systematic polemicalizing. We did not always center the polemic on the most important and pressing issues of the day. Thus, a major weakness was the failure to clearly distinguish the character of the contradictions between us and other organizations. In most of the polemics we tended to raise every shade of difference to antagonistic levels that only applied to differences between us and the enemy. There were also many instances of phrasemongering and sloganeering, labeling, etc. in some of the polemics. On many occasions, this resulted not in helping some comrades to correct their errors but instead to defensiveness of those errors and aided in the adoption of sectarian attitudes towards one another. We have reaffirmed the need to

genuine party. We unite on utilizing many methods of achieving communist unity, including the use of forums, bilateral meetings and multi lateral meetings, however at the same time see that the substitution of one method such as meetings for open ideological struggle is an incorrect method for resolving our differences. In order that the movement as a whole benefit from whatever forms are being utilized, it is necessary that the open polemic be used in a consistent way. Through newspapers, journals, etc. the whole communist movement can become educated to eliminate incorrect lines and ways of thinking, thus making them a part of the struggle for a new party.

UNITING MARXIST-LENINISTS

To rectify the movement's past errors, it is crucial to concretely define who is and who is not part of the anti-revisionist communist movement. Once this is defined, this will determine the character of the struggle with them. With the revisionists, trotskies and consolidated opportunists, the struggle will be one of exposure, isolation and defeat. They must be run out of our movement, we must win from their influence whatever honest elements follow them, and we must combat their influences in the workers' and other mass movements. With comrades within the movement, the struggle will be one that must be carried out from the approach of unity struggle-unity.

Our point of departure will be the desire for unity with those comrades. We of course are not advocating a method of unity struggle like the liberal criticism that some comrades today call polemics. The ideological struggle represents in the final analysis the struggle between a bourgeois and a proletarian line and will be as sharp as the situation requires. Only in this way can our purpose be fulfilled of correcting our mistakes, repudiating erroneous lines and developing one correct line for the movement.

In the past we were very prone to putting labels on organizations and individuals. Whatever differences arose, we tended to treat as antagonistic ones and immediately would label someone a revisionist, trotskist, centrist, windbag, or any of the other labels so abundant not only in our press, but in the whole communist press of this country for many years. For the purposes of determining who makes up the genuine communist movement, it is these labels and this approach that we are repudiating. In advocating the need for a reassessment of that movement, we are not putting ourselves forward as the condescending savors for no longer can we accept the idea that any organization or groups of organizations have the monopoly on Marxist Leninist credentials in this country. Who is or is not in the movement is a question of the line and practice, words and deeds of the different organizations in relation to the fundamental questions facing our movement.

We consider it necessary to differentiate sham from genuine Marxism in this country in terms of the line of groups on the following fundamental questions:

- Their stand towards the U S bourgeoisie
- Their positions and practice on the International Situation
- Their party building line and practice
- Their approach to the National Question
- Their treatment of the Woman's Question
- Their stand on the Working Class

To consider an organization as honest and strive to seek unity with it, we need not have fully developed lines on each of these questions and agree on the particulars of each question. But a general unity in the basic approach and general line unity on these questions should exist.

In general terms, the communist movement is located within the boundaries of a correct line on these questions. So long as deviations from a correct line are not fully consolidated and there is some reason to believe incorrect lines can still be repudiated, such forces represent part of the movement and whatever differences exist among them and with us need to be struggled out in the hopes of arriving at unity.

In summation, we see the necessity in the immediate future for our new organization and the whole movement to reassess the experiences of our movement in the last decade, reassess the movement based on the results of that sumup and the political points raised above, the need to develop open and above-board struggle with comrades around the burning issues facing the movement. Only with such an analysis based in reality and an all sided approach can we begin in the 80's to rectify the errors of the past and advance the creation of a new communist party.

POLITICAL LINE AS KEY LINK

In the past both LPR and CORES held the position that political line was the key link to party building. Today, neither organization upholds that view. On the other hand, we both unite that the development of a correct ideological and political line

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ON THE CUML

Party Building What is the Road ?

The Marxist-Leninist League recognizes the building of a genuine multi-national Communist Party as the central task of all U.S. Marxist-Leninists. To fulfill this task we see the need to strive for principled unity based on a consistent revolutionary practice guided by a correct ideological and political line. The struggle for unity has to be carried out in a principled and above-board manner, not reduced to high level secret negotiations and dark room compromises. It is in this light that we are putting forward our views on the announced tri-lateral meetings between the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CP-ML), the League for Revolutionary Struggle M-L (LRS-ML) and the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (RWH).

In January of this year, the CP-ML, the LRS and the RWH announced their decision to "hold a series of meetings to seek

as we will explain below

The CUML was presented to our movement as a plan for the whole movement. In that sense it was, at the least, an offer to the whole movement to join in an effort to unite Marxist-Leninists. Among its main limitations was the lack of a real assessment of the communist movement, its history and its needs.

The questions which have been left for the rest of the movement to wonder about are:

- 1) What was wrong with the CUML ideal, approach and methods, if anything?
- 2) What should the communist movement learn from this experience?
- 3) Did two lines emerge that led to the liquidation of the CUML and if so what are the respective organizations' views on those lines?



greater unity." Those meetings were in their words "a step forward in the process of forging a single, unified communist party" and represented "one front in the overall effort to unite all U.S. Marxist-Leninists" (See the January issues of the Call, Unity and Revolutionary Worker.)

Simultaneous with this joint statement, the Unity printed an interview with Wil Gallegos, a spokesperson for the Central Committee of the LRS, which stated that:

- 1) the Committee to Unite Marxist-Leninists (CUML) which had been projected as the party building effort by the CP-ML, the IWK, ATM and others "had never existed"
- 2) "That there (were) no specific plans to form it at this time"
- 3) that the tri-lateral meetings were "not seen as a mechanism for the actual formation of a party"
- 4) that the LRS believed that "the key thing in party building is the development of a correct ideological and political line"

The Gallegos interview brought to the open the discussion about the purposes and developments of the CUML that until that day were kept as top secret information from the rest of the communist movement. Most of the individuals and organizations in the US movement were led to believe that the CUML was a real committee composed of the three mentioned organizations. For example, weeks before the LRS-RCL merger, RCL proposed to LPR that they should investigate the CUML and they offered to provide a proposal for the development of CUML which was being discussed within that committee. The WC was similarly led to believe CUML was a functioning organism.

Those who have the responsibility for explaining to the movement whether the CUML ever existed are obviously those who were members. The central question for the movement as a whole is however how three organizations in our movement decided to abandon the CUML and substitute the tri-lateral meetings for it. On this, the Gallegos interview says nothing and in fact none of the three organizations involved have publicly said anything along these lines. This we consider to be a serious error and incorrect practice in our movement

In the absence of answers to these questions from those who are most liable for this information, we will just briefly state our view based on what we have gotten from speaking with several organizations.

From our understanding, the CUML in practice suffered from the sectarianism that has been so common in our movement. Despite the public words, the concrete practice was that no other organizations were ever allowed to join the CUML. The CUML likewise suffered from the incorrect practice of confining polemics and struggle to the meeting rooms of the CUML as opposed to also making it available to the rest of the movement for its participation. This fear of open struggle is a subjective reaction to past errors and practices in our movement when polemics were nearly only done openly for the purpose of exposures of opportunists.

And it seems that the CP-ML position on the CUML was to call for immediate organizational unity. Apparently, the LRS position was to not see this as an immediate possibility. The RWH has confirmed these points as being the positions of the organizations and that eventually at some point the LRS abandoned the CUML.

That these errors or practices continue today can be seen first of all from the fact that the tri-lateral meetings are supposed to be a step forward for the communist movement. In our view they are not since the tri-lateral arrangement not only fails to correct the errors of the CUML but even carries them to an extreme. The CUML at least was supposedly an open committee with some set of criteria for membership. The tri-lateral meetings, on the other hand, do not admit of that possibility. In this sense this is a step backward that is even more sectarian than the previous party building attempt.

That the same attitude pervades the tri-lateral meetings concerning the question of open and above board struggle can be seen from the fact that today, a full six months after the Gallegos interview, the CP-ML and the RWH who consider that interview to be factually inaccurate and politically incorrect have failed to respond in any open way to present their views. And it can be seen from the fact that since the January announcement of the tri-lateral

meetings, there has been not one single article in the press of the three organizations about further developments of those meetings. The only real information we have is that the Call is now the "Voice of Socialism in the US" rather than the organ of the CP-ML and that the RWH ceased publication of their paper and will instead be sending their subscribers issues of the Call. If this has anything to do with the tri-lateral, we can only guess at the moment.

We can also surmise that there were at least two lines on the CUML and party building based on the Gallegos interview and the CP-ML position that immediate organizational unity was possible. The Gallegos interview in putting forward that the key thing was development of a correct ideological and political line stands in contradiction to the idea that "the immediate task confronting us is the organizational unification of the existing organizations (the big 3)". Given the fact that this line struggle has never been taken from the meeting rooms of the CUML and that consequently it is not resolved, there is every reason to suspect that the same differences will be carried into the tri-lateral and could also produce the same results.

The creation of the tri-lateral arrangements brings out even clearer another point that apparently existed as some type of unity among these three big organizations. It is a further step backward since they have essentially reduced party building in the US to secret negotiations between the three of them while the rest of the communist movement has the task of waiting and seeing what if anything comes out of these meetings. In that sense, the tri-lateral meetings are established as an arithmetical arrangement whereby the uniting of the "Big Three" become the key link to party building since it might put together into one single organization the majority of the US communists. In that sense, political and ideological unity is not the criteria but rather size becomes all important.

This can be further seen in how the tri-lateral arrangement defined its basis of unity. "The three organizations take M-L-MTTT as their theoretical foundation, uphold the Theory of the 3 Worlds and defend the socialist countries in the world, especially the Peoples' Republic of China. The 3 organizations also see the US revolution as a socialist revolution led by the working class, having the goal of overthrowing the monopoly capitalist class and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat." The fact is that other Marxist-Leninist organizations also uphold these same views and thus could not have been eliminated from the tri-lateral on this basis.

It cannot be argued that other organizations were excluded since they have a lot of differences in the interpretation of these questions with the "Big 3" since in the same Gallegos interview he states that big differences exist among the three like on "how to struggle against our bourgeoisie", how to go about party building, the national question, etc. These are our reasons for concluding that the basis for exclusion is in fact size. Only if one is considered their equal in size, composition, resources, etc. can one be a part of their party building efforts. The rest of us thus are left with the alternatives of merging with one of the "Big 3", waiting until they break with their sectarianism or being possibly labeled new "anti-party forces".

As it now stands, the tri-lateral meetings are not a step forward but will be simply another stumbling block on the road to a new party. Clearly, we are not saying that it is wrong for 3 organizations to meet to discuss party building or whatever. Nor is it incorrect for 3 organizations to work out mergers under the correct set of conditions and line. These could obviously prove real positive for the whole movement. We, among

others have consistently put forward the need for multi-lateral meetings at many levels and around many questions. We have yet to receive a positive response especially from the "Big 3".

What we criticize is the projection of the tri-lateral meetings among the "Big 3" as the principal step in party building while at the same time excluding the rest of the movement. Likewise insofar as it is projected as the movement's answer to our problems, we criticize the lack of any scientific summation of the CUML attempts, the spontaneity of changing from one plan to another without any repudiation or self-criticism, the sectarianism, and the lack of open and above board struggle in the process.

Given that any day now we expect to hear that the tri-lateral meetings never existed and that there are no plans to reform them, we want to make it clear that so long as the past practices are continued, we see the responsibility of continuing to criticize such efforts. So long as such errors are not corrected, our mutual party building responsibilities to each other and to the working class will not be met. Without such criticism the practice of putting size before the correctness of the line will not be ended. We will likewise continue to struggle for the formation of correct attempts to unite Marxist-Leninists in this country and welcome our readers' responses on this question.



Party

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for our movement is of decisive importance. Because the two organizations have arrived at this conclusion at different times and by different processes and summations, we consider it better to establish here separate presentations of our views on this.

In CORES' view, taking up the slogan of "Political Line is the key link" helped our organization move forward in our early formative years. It aided us in understanding the importance of taking the struggle to the political questions rather than letting them remain in the realm of generalities. We better understood the importance of applying the theory to the particular conditions in the US to help develop a revolutionary program.

Today we see that this slogan was not specific enough to provide us or the movement with the direction to really move the party building forward. Consequently, we are more on the lookout to discover what is it in the specific that will move this process forward based on a real investigation of the movement.