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SUPREME COURT RULINGS :

AN ATTACK ON WOMEN — AN ATTACK ON THE WHOLE CLASS

The U.S. Supreme Court, through two recent rulings, has mounted new attacks against the working class by, in effect, slashing programs of Social Security benefits and employees' disability benefits. These rulings prove, once again, that the courts and other such institutions, as part of the capitalist state apparatus, are an organ of class rule and oppression, and not impartial overseers. These rulings also prove that in the struggle for immediate demands, just as in the struggle for socialist revolution, the working class cannot rely on the courts or other state institutions. They show how the courts unconditionally serve the interests of the bourgeoisie, by saving them millions of dollars in expenses and that the attacks against the working class are not letting down, but are intensifying as the imperialist crisis deepens. These attacks fall heaviest upon the most oppressed sectors of the working class — oppressed nationalities, national minority workers and women.

CUTS IN SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

In a recent ruling, the U.S. Supreme Court denied divorced women the benefits of a Social Security program. This applies to "mothers caring for young or disabled children." The argument of the Court in justifying its action was that "divorced husbands and wives depend less on each other for financial and other support than do couples who stay married." This, of course, is a distortion of the facts and a blatant justification of capitalist relations in marriage within this society, which forces women to remain married because of financial dependence and not because of genuine love. Whether the divorced mother depends more or less on the husband is not the point either. This is simply a question of certain benefits to which the divorced mother has a right by virtue of her work in the household consisting of the maintenance of the home, the kitchen chores, and the rearing of the children while she was married.

"Notwithstanding all the liberating laws that have been passed, woman continues to be a domestic slave, because petty housework crushes, strangles, stultifies and degrades her, chains her to the kitchen and to the nursery, and wastes her labor on barbarously unproductive, petty nerve-racking, stultifying and crushing drudgery." (Lenin "Women and Society," The Woman Question, p. 56)

It is this work that allows the capitalists to continue exploiting the labor of the husbands, who are kept in good working condition by the wives. It also guarantees the capitalists the continued renewal of the working force (by the wife's procreation of future workers). This is what determines the indisputable right of women, married or divorced, to accrue the benefits from the husbands' Social Security.

The decision of the Supreme Court is one that openly violates basic rights of women, and is an unjust and discriminatory one. It forces women to continue relations for the sake of financial dependence, thus sustaining capitalist marriage relations in which the husband plays the role of capitalist boss and the wife is a mere service. According to the N.Y. Times "The ruling reverses the decision of a Federal Court in Illinois that had found that the exclusion of wives 'invidiously discriminates' against them in violation of the guarantee of equal protection of the law that is encompassed by the Fifth Amendment's due process clause."

The ruling of the Supreme Court should not come as a surprise as it is part of the capitalist state apparatus and has acted accordingly. At this time of capitalist crisis, benefits won by the working class from the capitalists through innumerable sacrifices, bloody battles and even the lives of many fellow workers, are now being taken back to cover for the

cost of the crisis. That is, the capitalist (attempt to) place the burden of their crisis on the backs of the workers and the State, their organ of class rule, backs them up by cutting back the capitalist's expenses, in this case on Social Security benefits. It is no surprise either that it is women and national minorities who have been the first and heaviest targets of attacks by the State attacks which undoubtedly cover the whole class and which will intensify even further.

CUTS IN DISABILITY BENEFITS

Another example is the recent decision of the

COMRADELY POLEMICS WITH ATM-ML

THE PRESENT SITUATION

& OUR TASKS

*** PART I ***

We have quite a few Social Democrats who give way to pessimism every time the workers suffer a reverse in single battles with the capitalists or with the government and who scornfully dismiss all mention of the great and lofty aims of the working class movement by pointing to the inadequate degree of our influence on the masses. Who and what are we they say to strive towards such things? It is purposeless to speak of the role of Social Democracy as vanguard of the revolution when we do not even really know the mood of the masses when we are unable to merge with them and to rouse the working masses! The reverses suffered by the Social Democrats last May Day have considerably intensified this mood. Naturally the Mensheviks or new Iskrists have seized this opening to raise anew the special slogan "To the masses!" — as if in spite of the answer to those who have thought and spoken of the provisional revolutionary government of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship etc.

It must be admitted that in this pessimism and in the conclusions which the hasty publicists of the new *Iskra* draw from it there is one very dangerous feature that may cause great harm to the Social Democratic movement. To be sure self-criticism is vitally essential to every live and virile party. There is nothing more disgusting than smug optimism. There is nothing more warranted than the urging of attention to the constant imperative necessity of deepening and broadening broadening and deepening our influence on the masses, our strictly Marxist propaganda and agitation, our ever-closer connection with the economic struggle of the working class etc. Yet because such urging is at all times warranted under all conditions and in all situations it must not be turned into special slogans nor should it justify attempts to build upon it a special trend in Social Democracy. A border line exists here to exceed the bounds is to turn this indisputably legitimate urging into a narrowing of the aims and the scope of the movement into a doctrinaire blindness to the vital and cardinal political tasks of the moment.

Lenin On Confounding Politics with Pedagogics

With this article we are starting an open comradely polemic with the ATM-ML. We understand it to be of vital importance for Marxist-Leninists to clarify the tasks of the communist movement as a whole, and not just exclusively our own organizational tasks. We will center this initial part of the polemic criticizing their "sober appraisal of our movement" and the conclusions derived from it by the comrades, as they appear in "The Revolutionary Cause And Our Tasks" (RC vol. 1 #10, Nov 1976).

Let us say this clearly. We consider ATM-ML an honest Marxist-Leninist organization committed to the task of proletarian revolution in the U.S. That is why, despite the deep differences that exist between both our organizations, we are approaching this polemic from the point of view of "unity-struggle-higher unity."

First of all we must say that we are indebted to ATM-ML for the valuable criticisms it has given our organization which has



helped us to move forward. Among these are of special importance their influence in our adoption of the correct position of "Self-Determination for the Afro-American nation", the need to analyze current topical issues in our newspaper, the need to consistently sum-up our mass work, the need to give more emphasis to the training of cadres.

Also we consider of value that, at a time when our organization was deepening its understanding on the question of party building and striving for a correct political line, the comrades of ATM-ML aided us to better grasp and adopt positions such as tactical tasks in party building, Marxist-Leninists Unite, and Win the Advanced to Communism, of which "Marxist-Leninists Unite was primary", and "place all our work in the context of party building" — then held by ATM-ML. However, as Lenin says

Before we can unite, and in order that we may unite, we must first of all draw firm and definite lines of demarcation.

Lenin, Selected Works, vol II, p 45

ATM SPREADS PESSIMISM AND CONFUSION

In the article we are referring to ATM put forward a thoroughly one-sided and pessimistic view of the actual situation of our movement. In brief, ATM describes an all-negative picture of the movement, and calls on honest Marxist-Leninists to retreat, to dedicate themselves only to fusion, until we grow enough muscle to confront the bigger and stronger opportunist forces. In the course of doing this, ATM objectively liquidates party building as the central task, political line as the key link, theory as primary over practice in this period, 'Marxist-Leninists Unite and Win the Advanced to Communism' as our two principal tactical tasks (MLs unite is primary, LPR), propaganda as chief form of activity, right opportunism as the main danger, and the ideological and political struggle against opportunism. In the course of the polemic we will address ourselves to each of these questions.

ATM's assessment of the communist movement is divided into 5 points

continued next

ON THE QUESTION OF ORGANIZATION :

THE BUILDING OF CORES

One of the areas in which little discussion has taken place among Marxists-Leninists has been on the question of organization. Basic questions, such as what is a factory nucleus, how is it built, how does it work, what is a mass organization and how do communists work within them, what is a rank and file caucus and how do communists work within it, what is a factory newsletter, how is it organized and what topics does it deal with, how is it distributed and many others that have not been openly and concretely discussed by the communist movement.

When we say concretely, we are talking about going beyond the definitions of these concepts found in the classics. Forms of organization, like everything in society, are subject to the laws of dialectics - all things develop according to time, place and conditions.

To avoid confusion and prevent the opportunists from using what has been said to confuse people we must make clear that although it is true that all things change according to the laws of dialectical and historical materialism it is also true that there are universal truths of the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought which apply at all times, in all places and under all conditions (e.g., the law of contradictions, the law of class struggle in class society). Thus, we can see that the communist party has a series of universal characteristics (e.g., they are based on the ideology of the proletariat, adhere to democratic centralism, apply the principle of criticism and self-criticism, etc.). However, they also have a series of particularities, such as being legal, illegal or semi-legal, depending upon the society in which they exist. For example, the communist press can be legal, semi-legal or clandestine, and congresses can be open or secret. Furthermore, parties have different programs, they differ in their strategy and tactics depending upon their concrete conditions.

As the Communist International said in its Guiding Rules for the Construction and Organization of Communist Parties

2) There can be no absolutely infallible and unalterable form of organization for the Communist Parties. The conditions of the proletarian class struggle are subject to changes in a continuous process of evolution, and in accordance with these changes, the organization of the proletarian vanguard must be constantly seeking for the corresponding forms. The peculiar conditions of every individual country likewise determine the special adaptation of the forms of organization of the respective Parties.

But this differentiation has definite limits. Regardless of all peculiarities, the equality of the conditions of the proletarian class struggle in the various countries and through the various phases of the proletarian revolution is of fundamental importance to the international communist movement, creating a common basis for the organization of Communist Parties in all countries.

Upon this basis, it is necessary to develop the organization of the Communist Parties, but not to seek to establish any new model parties instead of the existing ones or to aim at any absolutely correct forms of organization and ideal constitutions.

Reprint from Communist International (send for your copy)

The party - the highest form of organization of the proletariat - contains within it the general, the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, as well as the particular, based on a "concrete analysis of concrete conditions" e.g., the application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions we are confronted with. We have used the party as an example because it illustrates well the point we are raising.

It must be understood that forms of organization are determined by ideology and political line. The relation between theory and practice, between the solution given to a particular problem and the concrete manner in which we deal with it is what will determine the forms of organization. We must struggle in this regard with the revisionists and right opportunists -

who are the main danger - who deny the universality of some forms of organization, such as the party, the united front, the army, factory nucleus as the basic unit of party organization, etc. We must also struggle against the dogmatists, who spout half-learned quotes from books and demand that each organizational form in the U.S. today conform to the organizational forms developed by Lenin in Tsarist Russia or those developed by Stalin in the socialist Soviet Union.

It is in the spirit of initiating more serious debate on this question that we are publishing the following internal document on an aspect of organization - cores. We are beginning this debate on this important question in these pages and we will maintain our pages open to continue this debate.

We hope that comrades throughout the country will soon express their views and criticisms of this document, and their agreements, disagreements, doubts and experiences on this question.

THE BUILDING OF CORES - A NECESSARY STEP TOWARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY WORK AMONG THE MASSES -

What is a core?

A core is a communist form of organization. Its members are both "party" (in the case of the U.S., today "party" means a specific Marxist-Leninist organization) and non-party members. It is important that this be clearly understood. The core is not a "party" organization, but it is a communist form of organization.

What is the difference between these two?

A party organization is composed only of cadres of a given Marxist-Leninist organization. The party organization is subject to the democratic centralism of the organization. The basic form of party organization is the factory nucleus. Other forms of organization are the school units, the community areas, etc. Cores are definitely not part of our organization, but they receive leadership from our organization. And, in fact, the core works under the leadership of our organization.

What is the purpose of the core?

A core is established with the purpose of providing communist leadership in a particular area, give communist leadership to established mass organizations, or to establish and lead such organizations. The core, acting under the leadership of our organization, is responsible for bringing the line of the organization to that particular struggle, mass organization, etc.

Who can be recruited as members of the core?

The core is open to our cadres and to other Marxist-Leninist, advanced and intermediate elements who have fundamental unity with our line. Membership in the core is based on the existence of that fundamental unity shown both in theory and in practice - in the unity with the objectives, tactical plan, etc. under which the core is operating.

What we mean by "fundamental unity"

Let's establish first what we don't mean. Members of the core do not have to agree with every position of our organization. That would be equivalent (complete unity) to placing non-organization members under the democratic centralism (which in practice would turn out to be only centralism) of the organization! This would be in fact an error. Neither do we mean unity on a series of general formulations or abstractions. Fundamental unity is determined not only in terms of issues but more importantly, in terms of how we achieve this unity, how we deepen it and how it is manifested in our common revolutionary practice. Thus, core members not only have unity with the line of the organization on key questions - e.g. need for a Party, proletarian revolution, armed struggle, role of the state, etc. - but also they have been tested in practice in terms of their disposition to (a) struggle for that line, (b) participate in its further development (through implementation of

the line and sum-up of the work, 2 study of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung thought and 3 criticism and self-criticism.) In a nutshell, members of our cores are individuals that have been tested in the heat of the class struggle. Individuals that come forward in different struggles that are led by our cores. This "fundamental unity" will be tested not only by the propaganda carried out with them on a one to one basis, but also by the stand and viewpoint they show towards our propaganda and agitation as well as towards the mass work we are involved in. Recruitment to the core is then based on whether in practice they show in fact that fundamental unity with the line of the organization. (Each core should discuss this question based on particular examples of individuals that the core is in contact with or relating to, in order to deepen our understanding of this. But, remember that unity that has not been tested, is no unity.)

What are the functions of the core?

In providing communist leadership and direction to these struggles, mass organizations, etc. the core is responsible for the preparation and distribution of communist propaganda and agitation in its particular area of work. (The particulars under what name the propaganda is put out, how and who is to distribute it, etc. have to be determined by each core according to the place, time and conditions under which it is operating.) Besides producing the propaganda, the core is also responsible for oral propaganda and must carry out political education and training within the mass organization and the participants of the particular struggle in which it is involved. This political education can take various forms. Study circles at all levels, meeting to discuss different questions, visits to the contacts in their homes to discuss the struggle, the plan of work, etc. Film showings, forums, etc. are other forms to carry it out. It is important not to lose track of the fact that it will be in the course of providing communist direction and leadership to the mass struggle that the core will be able to develop this political education.

Who should know of the existence of the core?

The core is a closed organization. It is an illegal organization that works without making itself known to the enemy (the State, the Trotskyites, revisionists, labor bureaucrats, poverty pimps, etc.) Also the core maintains its secrecy in relation to the other members of the particular mass organization or struggle in which it is involved. The core and our organization have to avoid all types of social-democratic errors that can lead to the discovery of our cores. We are doing our work because we want to make proletarian revolution, not because we want to be "recognized."

How are decisions taken in the core?

The core functions democratically. This means that everybody in the core has the right and obligation to participate both in the formulation and implementation of the line. The hegemony of the line of our organization in the core is based in the correctness of that line and the fundamental unity that all the members of the core have with it. In cases of disagreements, the only possible way of solving the contradiction with the core will be the method of persuasion, unity-struggle-unity. Those who do not investigate do not have the right to speak, those who do not carry out the agreements of the core cannot be part of it. And the final decision is based on majority rule in cases in which unity cannot be reached among all members of the core.

Does the core adopt positions that are in contradiction with those of our organization?

The composition of the core; our members, Marxist-Leninists, advanced and intermediate elements who have fundamental unity with our line; the rules adopted by the core, principles of unity that exist in the particular mass organization (if that's the case) in which the core operates, etc. are the only guarantee that we have so that no fundamentally different positions can exist between the core that works under our leadership and ourselves. But in the same way that there always exists two line struggle within the organization, there will be two

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INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO!

DEFEAT STATEHOOD PLANS!

"In order for them to take away our homeland, they must first take away our lives!" That is the war cry of the popular masses in Puerto Rico in answer to the news that the yankee imperialists are considering the possibility of annexing Puerto Rico as the 51st state of the union. We have no doubt at all about the Puerto Rican nation's potential and capacity to struggle, 77 years of continuous struggle against the economic, political and military control of their country by yankee imperialists have tempered this heroic people. If the yankee imperialists persist in their annexationist plans they are doomed to an even faster defeat at the hands of this Latin American country.

President Ford's announcement definitely establishes a new policy of the U.S. towards its colony, Puerto Rico. The purpose of this article is to explain the reasons for this change. Let us go back a little

Since 1952, when the "Commonwealth" of Puerto Rico was established until the early 1970's all sectors of the imperialist bourgeoisie declared themselves consistently in favor of this type of relations and against statehood for Puerto Rico. They were so much in favor of the "Commonwealth" (the "Free, Associated State") as the best formula for the island's status, that in 1968 after the electoral triumph of the "New Progressive Party" (PNP) (a party that advocates statehood for the island) the U.S. Congress saw fit to immediately clarify that the fact that the statehooders were in power did not at all mean, for them, a change in relations. Before the 1972 elections in Puerto Rico, it was clear that the CIA was directly involved in the electoral strife and that millions of dollars had been provided to the "Popular Democratic Party" (which advocates the status quo) to put it back in control of colonial government.

Today however, the PNP is again the party in control, with Carlos Romero Barcelo as the colonial governor (This is the same Romero Barcelo, mayor of San Juan in 1975, who was then denied entrance in People's China as part of a U.S. delegation of mayors -- clearly establishing China's firm stand against Puerto Rico's colonial status, which Romero Barcelo represented as a "U.S. mayor")

Why do Yankee imperialists benefit from the so-called "Commonwealth" colonial status? These are some of the reasons:

1. While belonging to the U.S., but not being a part of the U.S. (such is the way in which the U.S. Supreme Court defined Puerto Rico's status in the 20's) the island is a real paradise for yankee investors. They don't have to pay a cent in taxes for the profits they make in the island, to the Puerto Rican, or U.S. government. After the "change of status" of 1952 tax exemption was maintained through a bill of the colonial "congress", which allows 27 years in tax exemption to any yankee investor who establishes a factory in Puerto Rico.

2. To keep Puerto Rico as a cheap source of labor is another weighty reason for the Yankee imperialists to maintain the "Commonwealth". According to the (unilateral) "agreements" between Puerto Rico and the U.S., any law which the U.S. Congress signs, applies there unless congress declares the contrary. Naturally, one of the laws which Congress decided shouldn't apply, is the Federally established minimum wage. This means that the average worker in P.R. gets between 1/3 and 1/2 the salary of a worker in the U.S. doing the same job. Add to this 30% unemployment, a workforce which is less than 15% unionized (and the fact that most of these are grouped within "international" unions such as the Teamsters, etc.), and you can see why Commonwealth colonial status is preferable to Yankee capitalists. If P.R. were a state, Federal tax and minimum wage laws would apply.

3. Imperialism holds almost absolute economic, political, and military control over P.R. More than 90% of its industry is owned by Yankee imperialists (Puerto Rico is the fifth largest buyer of North American goods in this continent) 13% of the land is taken up by U.S. military installations. Besides



Despite its economic development, Puerto Rico does not rule itself. It is politically and economically tied to the U.S., all vital state functions are in the hands of the imperialist U.S. bourgeoisie which controls customs, communications, postal service, currency, mass media, air and sea transportation, the highest court of appeals for Puerto Ricans resides in Boston, USA, the army is the U.S. army into which Puerto Ricans are drafted. U.S. Congress has veto power over Puerto Rico's rubber stamp legislature and so on.

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The military aspect is, of course, very important. There are airforce, naval, and atomic bases in P.R. The military capability of these bases is so great, that P.R. is definitely a key point of military strategy in the case of world war, or a war of aggression like those the yankee imperialists so often unleash. Also, her geographic position near Cuba, Santo Domingo, Haiti, Panama Canal, etc., makes of P.R. the seat of Yankee military power in Latin America. From there, came the greater part of the troops which invaded the Dominican Republic in 1965. There, Green Berets are trained in anti-guerrilla warfare. During the Vietnam War many planes were sent from the now dismantled Ramey airfield, to bomb and drop napalm on the heroic Vietnamese people.

4. Furthermore, all types of espionage, cultural aggression as well as intervention by the CIA in the internal affairs of Latin American Countries is co-ordinated from Puerto Rican soil. Military plots such as the aggression against the Cuban people in 1961 (The Bay of Pigs), the overthrow of the Popular Unity Government of Chile, are part and parcel of the military and political role which Puerto Rico plays in the strategic plans of the imperialists.

Another question then follows. If it all works so well for the yankee imperialists, why are they now talking about making Puerto Rico a state? We will try to answer this briefly by dealing with all the aspects of the questions.

The current international situation. The principle contradiction in the world today is between the two superpowers - the United States and the Soviet Union on the one hand, and the nations and oppressed people of the world on the other. The people of the third world and their struggles for liberation is the principal force shaping the world today. Revolution is the main trend in the world today. This trend can be summarized by the slogan of Chairman Mao "Countries want independence, Nations want liberation, People want revolution". Puerto Rico as a colony of the United States, and an integral part of the third world, is also an integral part of this force moving history forward.

In their struggle to dominate the world each of the two superpowers try to maintain a tight grip on areas under their control while at the same time gaining influence in the areas under the control of the other

super-power. In Puerto Rico, for example, the principal contradiction against whom all the forces that can be united must be united is Yankee imperialism.

The Soviet Social-Imperialists, on the other hand, are attempting to increase their influence. Proof of this fact is the Conference in Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico, held in Havana in 1975. (See our analysis of the Havana Conference). The influence of the Soviet revisionists in Puerto Rico is principally exercised through the revisionist Puerto Rican Socialist Party (P.S.P.) who holds the bankrupt theories of peaceful transition to socialism, the "Divided Nation theory, The multi-party vanguard, etc.)

The fact that Yankee imperialism is on the decline is a secret to nobody. The time in which they could parade themselves as the Muhammad Ali of the world ended a long time ago. In the 1950's the tiny Korean Nation decisively defeated the giant North American imperialists. They were kicked out of Cuba in 1959 by the Cuban Revolution (unfortunately this revolution was betrayed and today Cuba is a Soviet neo-colony). The heroic peoples of Laos, Cambodia and Viet-Nam inflicted a costly military defeat which sent the imperialists reeling from Indo-China. Doubtlessly, a small nation can defeat a large one if it is willing to struggle and sacrifice. The Yankee imperialists are fully aware of the fact that Puerto Rico has struggled in the past, and will continue to do so until victory.

The danger of a third world war hangs above all humanity. Either revolution will prevent war or war will bring about revolution. No matter in which of the two direction events unfold, Puerto Rico is an appetizing "morsel" for both superpowers. The U.S. which controls it, is willing to do anything to keep it, including complete annexation.

The Soviet Social Imperialists, on the other hand, are equally willing to do anything in order to gain another power base in the Caribbean.

The danger of a third World War. Its strategic military value, the weakness of imperialism, the deep economic crisis which the United States is undergoing, the upsurge of the revolutionary struggle of the masses in Puerto Rico, the discovery of rich oil deposits in Puerto Rico, as well as the shadow of Soviet Social imperialism, is what motivates the Yankee imperialists to move to better secure their colonial possession. Puerto Rican Revolutionaries must make sure that as they defeat the enemy which has oppressed them since 1898 (The U.S.) they don't allow Soviet imperialists, disguised as socialist, to sneak through the back door. We are aware of the existence of serious Marxist-Leninists in Puerto Rico who put forth the building of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of the Puerto Rican Proletariat as their principal task. This party is to lead the United Front of all Revolutionary classes (with the Proletariat as their vanguard) as well as the people's army, in a long and protracted war which will defeat Yankee imperialism, establish New Democracy in the People's Republic of Puerto Rico and continue the revolution on to victory.

The attempts of the Yankee imperialists to annex Puerto Rico will only hasten this process.

We soon will print the last article of our series on the Right of Self-Determination for Puerto Rico. In it, we will put forward our concrete tasks in that struggle as well as a tactical plan which will help us carry them out.

FOR A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF PUERTO RICAN REALITY:

1. Analysis of the Political Declaration of P.S.P. (Published by L.P.R.)
2. Analysis of the Havana Conference (Resistance, Vol 6, # 13)
3. Self-Determination for the Puerto Rican Nation (Resistance, Vol 7, # 9-part 1 Vol 7, # 10-part II)
4. Betances and the Struggle Today (Resistance Vol 6, # 14)
5. 25 Years After Jayuya (Resistance, Vol 6, # 12)
6. On the Puerto Rican National Minority (Resistance, Vol 5, # 20)
7. On the October 27 Rally at Madison Square Garden (Published by L.P.R. -M-L)

STOP SHAH OF IRAN'S MURDEROUS REPRESSION!

The heroic and just struggle that the people of Iran and the people of Oman (a colony of Iran) have waged against the fascist regime of the Shah of Iran is one that deserves our most militant support. The defeat of the Shah and the establishment of a system of New Democracy in Iran and Oman would not only be a great step forward for these peoples in struggle but would also strengthen the struggle of nations and oppressed peoples throughout the world, and especially in the Persian Gulf, and weaken the two superpowers, especially the United States.

The Shah of Iran is the gendarme of North American imperialism in the Persian Gulf. Iran has become the principal political, economic and military base of the United States in this area. This situation is a grave threat to all countries in the Middle East, as well as Southern Asia. The control that the U.S. exercises over this area has been diminishing since World War II, while the other superpower, the Soviet Union, has gradually increased its influence. Thus, the influence which the social-imperialists have over Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, India, etc. presents a grave threat to the Yankee imperialists.

The principal ally of the North American imperialists are the Israeli Zionists, who although they have been able to consistently protect American interests by force of arms are unable to do very much in the political arena, having been completely exposed not only to the Arab people but to the Asian and African peoples as well. Thus, we can see the importance of the Shah of Iran, and why the United States is interested in protecting his image as the head of a so-called independent anti-imperialist government. In order to keep up appearances, the Shah has gone so far as to make statements condemning both superpowers. However, actions speak louder than words. Last year, the United States sold over 10 billion dollars worth of arms to Iran (the same was true in 1974 and 1975). During the oil boycott organized by O.P.E.C., Iran refused to participate, and continued to supply petroleum to the United States and Japan, as well as supplying Israel with all the oil it needed so that it could continue its war of aggression against the Arab people.

It is true that there exist contradictions between the Shah of Iran and the Soviet social-imperialists. These, however, arise not from an independent political stand or from a struggle to protect national resources against imperialism on the part of the Shah, but rather from his complete dependence and that of his government on the other superpower - the U.S.

The Persian Gulf is an area of contention between the two superpowers. Our position, however, cannot be like that of the October League, which supports the Shah because he opposes the Soviet Union - this is, in essence, to depend on one superpower to fight the other. The October League, being an organization in the United States which supposedly has as its principal objective the defeat of its own bourgeoisie (see the Communist Manifesto), its position on this question is plain and simple - class collaboration.

Our duty is to oppose both superpowers who, "taken together or separately, represent the principal danger to all the people of the world" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the P.L.A.) Concretely, this means that we must support the struggle of the Iranian people to defeat the fascist regime of the Shah and the struggle for national liberation of the people of Oman. The communists, patriots, anti-imperialists leading these struggles are the only true alternative to the two superpowers, who try to control this area.

In the United States, the task of consistently denouncing the Shah of Iran and his criminal complicity with North American imperialism, of opposing the sale of more arms to Iran, has been led by the Iranian Student Association. This anti-imperialist organization (truly anti-imperialist, as they oppose both superpowers) has also been the loudest voice raised in support of the independence struggle of the people of Oman. Thus they have concretely applied the principle of proletarian internationalism and Marx and Engel's teaching that "No nation can be free if it oppresses another nation."

Recently there has been an escalation of the repression against the U.S.A. The extent of the persecution to which they have been subjected throughout the world by the murderous, fascist "Savak" (CIA trained Iranian secret police) is an indication of the

effectiveness of their revolutionary work. "To be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing", says Mao Tsetung. The "Savak" fascist thugs, with the cooperation of the local authorities have unleashed a wave of repression, jailing, torturing and murdering Iranian patriots. In the U.S., the Shah's senior partner in crime, over 90 Iranian students were arrested - for the sole "crime" of opposing the Shah's murderous dictatorship.

We in LPR-ML, guided by the spirit of proletarian internationalism, actively support the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian and Omani peoples. We are certain that, in spite of increased repression and the contention of the U.S. and the USSR, they will defeat the murderous Shah, and they will defeat both superpowers. As we are certain that "Either revolution will stop war, or war will bring about revolution!" We urge all our readers to concretely support this struggle by taking the message of the I.S.A. (that we publish below as part of our concrete support) to the working class and to all progressive people in the U.S., by protesting and by voicing their support in the various ways indicated by the I.S.A.

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE IRANIAN AND OMANI PEOPLES!



FOLLOWING IS THE ARTICLE BY THE IRANIAN STUDENTS ASSOCIATION IN THE U.S.

According to news reports AP, UPI and the New York of Dec. 24th 1976, the fascist regime of the Shah of Iran has executed 8 more Iranian patriots and arrested 11 others. The names of the martyred patriots are Parviz Vaezzadeh, Rahim Tashakkuri, Jalal Dehghan, Saremi, M. Kamyar, Fayyaz, Mina Rasouli, Zahra Aghanabir Gholhaki.

Vaezzadeh had been an active member of the World Confederation of Iranian Students (CISNU) during his stay abroad as a student some years ago. He was one of thousands of students organized in CISNU as the open, democratic organization opposed to the Shah and Imperialism abroad. He continued and further promoted the struggle upon returning home by joining the tens of thousands of revolutionary and progressive Iranian patriots. His only 'crime', like other patriots, was his love for Iran's independence from foreign domination and democracy for millions of our impoverished compatriots presently under the economic, political, military and cultural rule of Imperialism - particularly that of the U.S. - through the Shah's regime. Vaez Zadeh was the fourth ex-member of CISNU to be murdered this year under torture or by the Shah's troops. Safall, Boroumand and Soleimani, all ex-members and activists of CISNU continuing revolutionary struggle inside Iran were captured and tortured to death last April.

The recent murders brings the number of Iranian patriots executed by the Shah's troops and his notorious secret police, the SAVAK, to about 200 in 1976 alone. Thousands of others have been arrested, imprisoned and tortured brutally. The Amnesty International gives the number of the Iranian political prisoners between 50,000 and 100,000. These include people from all different strata and classes in the Iranian society who dared to oppose the present dictatorial rule in Iran.

Today the existence of political repression in Iran is an indisputable fact - and this repression is highly institutionalized with the presence of SAVAK, Iran's version of the Gestapo. Another indisputable fact is that the U.S. has been most actively aiding the Shah's regime in maintaining his position of power through military and economic aid ever since the CIA coup in 1953.

Iran has purchased over \$20 billion worth of arms in the last five years alone. This accompanied by petrodollar recycle has made Iran one of the most fruitful sources and oil, but acts according to the policies of the U.S. government in maintaining the security of U.S. Imperialist interests in the Persian

Gulf region (smashing revolutionary movements there, like the Omani revolution, and keeping watch on the other superpower, the USSR, for U.S. imperialism).

Despite, and as direct result of the severe fascist suppression inside the country, the democratic and anti-Imperialist movement of the people has grown unprecedentedly within the past few years. Revolutionary organizations have emerged with increasing activity. Women are ever more active in the people's daily struggle against the Shah's regime and Imperialism (Three of the 8 martyrs mentioned above were women). There have been many workers' strikes, student demonstrations and religious clerics' resistance against the regime this year alone. 54 striking workers were massacred in one incident by the Shah's troops last May.

The Shah of Iran has based his rule on a cruel suppression and elimination of any opposition to his dictatorial reign. Documented reports by international observers representing such organizations as International League for the Rights of Man, Amnesty International, the National Lawyers Guild, etc., reveal that political prisoners in Iran are held in the most abominable conditions that they are subjected to the most barbaric tortures and forced to sign false confessions under torture, that in fact many of them die under torture. The word "political prisoner" signify one meaning. Patriots who have been imprisoned for their belief in true independence and democracy for Iran.

The fascist repression has been so brutal that even some sources who usually support the Shah, have provided some examples. "Iranian law states that after 24 hours, prisoners must be brought before a magistrate, but SAVAK's prisoners were often held incommunicado for several months. Once in SAVAK's hands, the prisoner is subjected to the most inhumane tortures. Methods of torture include sustained flogging of the feet, extraction of finger and toe nails, electric shock treatment to sexual organs and the thrusting of broken bottles into the anus of the prisoners suspended by their wrists from a beam" (Sunday Times of England, Jan. 19, 1975). Similar accounts of barbaric torture have appeared in Time magazine (August 16, 1976) stating "once embroiled in the torture monolith, the individual has no appeal, no recourse to the kind of legal authority provided by functioning courts".

We members of the Confederation Iranian Students (CISNU), consider it our duty to stand up against fascist dictatorship and foreign domination of our country, to support the Iranian peoples' struggle for independence and democracy to support all progressive and revolutionary patriots and organizations in Iran.

AT THIS MOMENT, 11 MORE OF OUR COMPATRIOTS ARE UNDER SEVERE TORTURE, AND THEIR LIVES ARE IN DANGER.

We ask all justice-loving people to raise their voices, condemn the Shah's fascist regime, and support the activities of the Iranian Students Association in U.S. (ISAUS). The ISAUS will hold HUNGER STRIKES in NORTHERN CALIFORNIA, HOUSTON (TEXAS), NEW YORK CITY, and OKLAHOMA, starting Wednesday, DECEMBER 29, 1976. We ask everyone to support these Hunger Strikes.

Our Demands:

- 1- Release the names of the 11 arrested people immediately.
- 2- Stop the torture of political prisoners immediately.
- 3- Make public the reasons for arrest and charges against the 11.
- 4- Announce the date of their trial.
- 5- Allow an international medical team of observers to attend the trial of the 11 patriots.

VOICE YOUR SUPPORT by calling the IRANIAN CONSULATE in your area, raising our just demands, or by writing letters of protest to
Prime Minister Hoveyda
Tehran, Iran

Please send contributions to

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Women

Supreme Court to deny disability benefits to women temporarily out of work because of pregnancy. Up to now and in accordance with the Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which prohibited among other things sex discrimination, some companies had agreed through contract negotiations to grant disability programs that include maternity leaves up to \$95 weekly in salary. This had been won, not as a result of kindheartedness of the capitalists but out of intense struggle by men and women workers for this basic democratic right. The Supreme Court, again acting in the interest of the capitalists against the working class, ruled that such disability payments for pregnancy are not required under Federal Law—regardless of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

With the development of capitalism, the ever increasing need for cheap labor, and the extreme poverty of the working class family, women are driven into large scale production. This aids in her development of social consciousness. However, with the Supreme Court decisions she is driven back into the home. This is a severe blow against working women and against the working class family in general, as comes in a times of crisis, of shrinking incomes, when thousands of workers are being thrown out in the streets unemployed. It is thus a severe blow against the emancipation of women in particular, and against the working class, in general.

The Supreme Court decision chose this time to justify its action by appealing to a 1949 Disability Benefits Law which explicitly makes an exception of pregnancy as a reason for granting disability benefits. It is obvious that this 1949 law (also federal law), is in open contradiction to the 1964 Civil Rights Act—the former openly discriminates against women, while the latter prohibits sex discrimination. Again this should come as no surprise. The State is an instrument of class rule—an instrument of the capitalists to oppress the workers—and all its institutions with no exception serve the function of protecting the interests of the capitalists. In this case the interests of the capitalists is best served by the 1949 law—which justifies non-payment of disability benefits to women who must miss work on account of pregnancy. This provides great savings to the capitalists who are presently undergoing deep crisis, and it places the burden of the crisis on the working class and shows how the capitalist state, regardless of what its laws state on paper, will act in whatever way is convenient for the interests of the capitalists and will violate its own laws whenever necessary. It is also important to note in this case the hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie in its hand outs and sham reforms. The 1964 Civil Rights Act came as a result of intense struggles of the masses in the decade of the '60s for civil rights. The bourgeoisie was forced to pass the Civil Rights Act which it did not intend to implement as an appeasement of the mass struggle and a diversion of it towards "peaceful means." Proof of its intentions not to end discrimination on the basis of religion, sex or national origin was the fact that the 1949 law which was in open contradiction with the Civil Rights Act, was not repealed at all, but was kept for the convenience of the bourgeoisie to resort to in cases such as the present one. So now that the bourgeoisie is in some trouble it can fall back on the 1949 law. Of course in the absence of the 1949 law the bourgeoisie would have repealed the 1964 Act or passed a new law etc. Our point is to show the hypocrisy of the legal system under capitalism and the fruitlessness of our relying on it.

RELIANCE ON LEGALITY IS FATAL

It is evident from these two examples (out of many others) that to depend on the passing of laws prohibiting sex discrimination or establishing equality of women under the law for achieving equality of women is to deceive ourselves and the working class. It is clear how the bourgeoisie, at the snap of a finger will violate its own laws completely to their interests and disregard basic democratic rights of the working class regardless of the fact that they be spelled out in Federal laws, acts, constitution or the like.

This brings us to the ERA (Equal Rights Amendment). Is the ERA going to bring or aid the struggle for the equality of women? We don't think so. We believe that to continue to channel the energies of the working class in the direction of attaining equality and justice through the capitalist courts is outright reformism, against the interests of the working class and instilling in it even deeper faith in bourgeois democracy.

On the contrary we must use the hundreds of examples already available to prove the total uselessness of seeking justice through the bourgeois courts. We must shatter completely all illusions on the democratic system among the workers. We must direct the energies of the working class in a revolutionary path, to attain true equality and justice, not paper, sham equality and justice. ERA is being used by the bourgeoisie to divert the revolutionary path being taken by the working class and in particular the militant struggle for women's democratic rights. We must not allow such diversion to occur merely on the basis that "equality for women under the law" cannot be opposed even if it means nothing, or, when ERA is achieved then we can show the working class that it is a sham and maybe then they will struggle for revolution. No. There are numerous examples of the sham nature of the capitalist law and its courts.

some may argue. But the masses must learn through their their own experiences! True, experience is our best teacher. However, we cannot fall into narrow views of empiricism which would have the masses learn everything through their own experience. The experience of the working class past and present in this country and throughout the world is invaluable, and is the source of our knowledge. We learn from it by summing up this experience and drawing conclusions from it. We as communists have the duty to educate the masses by providing them with the lessons summed up from their direct experience in the U.S. as well as the experience of the world's proletariat. Some lessons like the futility of relying on bourgeois legality, can be learned without having to exhaust all the possible examples, and going through all the possible experiences. We do not have to create an illusion, such as ERA, in order to shatter it later. This is vulgar empiricism and condemns the masses to crawl at a snail's pace rather than advance in the revolutionary path.

Thus we disagree with ATM-ML's position which states that:

"This move by the Supreme Court points to a direct attack on the democratic rights of women. All workers must fight to insure full equality for women. In this struggle we must raise the implementation of the ERA to strike down all laws opposed to women." *Revolutionary Cause*, vol 1, No 11, p. 4

We believe this is an incorrect conclusion reached by ATM—that since the Supreme Court has attacked the democratic rights of women we must now fight for ERA. The comrades fail to see that the ERA is not going "to strike down all laws opposed to women" anymore than the 1964 Civil Rights Act struck down the 1949 law against women! In other words ATM is telling the working class to disregard these attacks by the bourgeois courts and continue having faith in them. But the duty of communists arising from these events is to intensify propaganda and agitation around the hypocrisy of the bourgeois legal system, the class nature of the state, the danger of relying on its courts, and the need to fight real equality in the economic, political, and social fields.

Comrade Lenin has taught us "Capitalism combines formal equality with economic and, consequently, social inequality. This is one of the principal distinguishing features of capitalism." Lenin was very clear in that formal, or legal equality, is not real equality and that the tasks of communists is to

fight for real equality. He pointed out in *Women and Society* that although the Soviet Republic, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, had completely wiped out all traces of inequality in the legal status of women, still complete equality of women had not been achieved. He said:

"...even democracy for those who were oppressed under capitalism, including democracy for the oppressed sex, is inadequate."

The working women's movement has for its object the fight for the economic and social, and not merely formal, equality of women. The main task is to draw the women into socially productive labor, extricate them from "domestic slavery," free them of the stultifying and humiliating resignation to the perpetual and exclusive atmosphere of the kitchen and nursery.

It is a long struggle, requiring a radical remaking both of social technique and of customs. But this struggle will end with the complete triumph of communism."

Lenin, *Women in Society* in *The Woman Question* p. 63

We as communists must thus fight for the economic, political and social emancipation of women and not be deluded by formal equality such as is promised by the ERA.

WHAT WE MUST DO

The recent rulings by the Supreme Court are a reflection of the oppression of women in capitalist society today. Our propaganda and agitation is geared at showing that. The oppression of women in capitalist society, their inferior status, is plainly demonstrated by the open legal discrimination that is perpetrated against women. In times of crisis as at present this situation is magnified and it is women, oppressed nationalities and national minorities, who suffer most the attacks against the working class. Many benefits, many democratic rights that had been won through hard and long battles will now be rolled back unless we organize ourselves to fight for what is rightly ours.

Of course the solution to the woman question is the total incorporation of women in the productive force and the abolishment of the private ownership of the means of production—that is, the emancipation of the working class through the elimination of the capitalist system of production and the building of socialism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. There is no other solution and to pose other solutions is to deceive the working class. However, there are reforms which raise the capacity of the workers to wage the class struggle, that is reforms that are not bound up with "corruption of political consciousness, with police tutelage with being tied down to a given locality, with subjugation to a benefactor", with lowering of human dignity etc." (See LCW vol 6, p. 167)

Such genuine reforms we can and should organize ourselves to fight for and always in a revolutionary way. To do otherwise (not fight for these reforms at all) is to liquidate the woman question and reduce it simply to phrase-mongering about socialism being the only solution etc. On this we differ with WVO's views that all reforms are sham, and also with the comrades of ATM who do not recognize a difference between genuine and sham reforms and instead make the method of struggle—reformist or revolutionary—as the determining factor for their support of a reform.

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ON THE WOMAN QUESTION

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Women

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The revolutionary struggle for the equality of women in society includes the struggle for the democratic rights of women. We fight for such demands as pregnancy disability benefits, Social Security benefits for divorced mothers, the right to full employment and educational opportunities, the right to day cares in the communities, schools and factories, equal pay for equal work, the right to self-defense against sexual harassment and assault, and against male chauvinism in general (in the mass media, the courts, education, etc.). As communists therefore, we organize in our places of work, study or neighborhoods around such demands and struggle for them in a revolutionary way, without instilling the false hope that the oppression of women can be eliminated within the confines of the capitalist system or that reforms can be granted by the capitalists in a peaceful, "democratic" legal way. Historically, women have fought valiantly for the rights they have won and now enjoy with the support and active participation of men. No man can be free if he oppresses women, and a society cannot be free until women have achieved complete emancipation. Thus the necessity to intensify and widen this struggle.

TRADE UNION WORK AND THE WOMAN QUESTION

In our work to transform the trade unions into democratic combative organizations of the working class, in the building of rank and file caucuses, and especially in building factory nuclei, the woman question is key. Raising the special oppression of women, oppressed nationalities and national minority workers takes a variety of forms. After careful investigation of the concrete condition (like the percentage of women in the particular factory, their hiring policies, distribution of women by departments, wage levels and job categories, special forms of oppression sexist harassment benefits included or denied in the contract, maternity leaves, etc.) then the demands are clearly formulated in accordance with these conditions so as to raise the woman question concretely. Some examples of demands raised by comrades in our trade union work are "Stop discriminatory hiring procedures against women", "Open all departments and job categories for women", "Support paid maternity leaves with job guarantee", "Oppose and fight against sexist harassment by supervisors", "Equal pay for equal work".

General formulas just won't do. In the past, we had been content with raising the demands "equality for women", "oppose all discrimination and oppression against women", without going into the specifics of what equality means and how discrimination was manifested. As a consequence, the woman question remained a vague issue around which it was practically impossible to organize. However by taking the concrete conditions and specific examples of oppression, and showing through our propaganda how such examples are linked to the overall situation of women in the capitalist system and to the emancipation of the whole class, providing ways of struggle as well as examples of how the woman question is being solved in socialist countries, we have been able to more effectively introduce the woman question as a vital issue in our trade union work, an issue previously reduced to the community area.



El Paso Texas—1972

A special effort is made to urge women to join the union and the rank and file caucuses and actively take part in its struggles. In the course of such struggles, the advanced are identified and won over to communism, and integrated into the factory nuclei with responsible tasks and leadership positions. Key in the training of women is to guarantee that the conditions for training are consciously created. That is, training for men and women cadre does not differ essentially, but in the case of women the household chores and the care of children have to be relieved from the exclusive shoulders of women, to intensify combat chauvinism and paternalism so that training can go on and be effective.

WOMEN AND PARTY BUILDING

The women's movement has been written off by many in the communist movement for being petty bourgeois, limiting their view only to those more organized, petty bourgeois sectors of it. However, we believe the women's movement is also composed of those thousands of women in factories actually engaged in a life and death struggle for their rights and for the emancipation of the whole class, as well as the women struggling for day care rights, quality education for their children, welfare rights, etc., who give it a proletarian character and are actually leading the struggle for real equality. As more and more proletarian women join the ranks of the revolutionary movement, become leaders of the workers, women's and the communist movement, a higher level of fusion is achieved between socialism and the working class. Party building is a great step forward in this direction. That is why Marxist-Leninists must strive for unity on political line on the woman question to which the Party program must address itself, participate in the struggle for women's emancipation, give it communist leadership and win its advanced elements to communism.

Of course, women enter the party as communists, and not otherwise, and we cannot support the separate organization of women communists. However, realizing the particular problems and conditions with which women have to deal, we think it is advisable, and necessary at times, to devise particular forms of

organization within communist organizations to deal with such problems. For example, special committees, training sessions, women's commissions, etc., can be created. At the same time, the Party, or Marxist-Leninist organization, must at all times combat every manifestation of chauvinism and provide adequate practical political and ideological training for women cadre to advance to positions of leaders not be confined to "women-related jobs" such as typing. Finally all efforts should be made to distribute the domestic chores in such a way (not necessarily equal) as to insure proper training in accordance with particular needs and conditions. Otherwise, the stand for women's equality is sham and empty.

A GREAT FUTURE LIES AHEAD

The supreme Court rulings contrast sharply with the situation of women in socialist states. In the People's Republic of China and Albania for example, women's equality is not an empty word, but a true endeavor of the whole society. The socialist society not only aims at wiping out all traces of inequality in its legal system, but also to eliminate all economic inequality and oppression of women. An intense struggle is waged in the ideological and political fronts as well, against the traditions and views of the old capitalist society that tend to keep women as inferiors. Also, great strides are taken to socialize the domestic industry so as to liberate women from the slavery of the kitchen and to institutionalize the care of children. Thus all women are provided with child care facilities, receive full pay during absence from work due to pregnancy, are guaranteed their jobs after the absence, and are provided with all the necessary conditions that enable them to join in productive labor and become full members of society.

In this way the complete emancipation of women, true equality with men, is achieved by building a socialist society and finally through communism. This of course does not mean that in socialist society women are to be required to produce at exactly the same rate of productivity as men, for exactly the same length of time, under exactly the same conditions, etc., but rather, in accordance to her natural capabilities. And not until the worker is free from the yoke of capital, not until we have carried out the proletarian revolution, established the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism, will we truly achieve this aim, as the destiny of women in society is inextricably linked to the destiny of the working class, as well as its instrument of liberation is in fact the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is because this is so that the movement for women's emancipation is a reserve of the proletarian revolution, and, as comrade Stalin says

"Working women—workers and peasants—are the greatest reserves of the working class. This reserve constitutes a good half of the population. The fate of the proletarian movement, the victory or the defeat of the proletarian power depends on whether or not the reserve of women will be for or against the working class."



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CORES

line struggle in the cores. If at any time fundamental disagreements arise between the core and the organization we should call for a special meeting in which the disagreements, and the basis of the disagreements will be discussed in order to achieve principled unity. The core, however, cannot continue to exist in the absence of fundamental unity with the line of the organization from which it receives leadership. (It is important that we deepen our understanding of this question to avoid falling into right or "left" errors. It would be a right error to allow the core to become an organization in itself. It would be a "left" error to impose democratic centralism to the core, or using other methods than persuasion and principled struggle to solve contradictions in the core.) To sum-up, our organization exercises leadership in the core by our cadres in it and by the fact of the existing fundamental unity among members of the core with the political line of the organization.

How is the core established?

The core is initiated by the organization. Originally it is composed only of cadres of the organization and close contacts. The core meets regularly to plan its work and study Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. The formation of any core will respond to either a particular struggle that we feel we should

be involved with or a particular area of work that we have to develop (e.g. student work, work in the national movement, etc.). These areas are determined according to how they facilitate our central task and of course all work in the cores are placed in the context of party building.

To get a better understanding, we recommend that the comrades read the following selections.

1. Basic Understanding of the Communist Party of China, especially Chapter 11 - The tasks of the primary organization of the Party (pages 126-36)
2. On Organization - J. Stalin
3. Principles of Party Organization - Communist International
4. Letter to a Comrade on Our Organizational Tasks - V.I. Lenin
5. Oppose Bookworship - Mao Tse-tung
6. Bolshevization of the Communist Parties in the Capitalist Countries by Means of Overcoming Social-democratic Tendencies - O. Piatnitsky
7. The Organizational Construction of the Communist Parties and Methods and Scope of Their Activities - Communist International



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- D Real Unity is Achieved and Strengthened on the Basis of Marxist-Leninist Principles by Enver Hoxha Vol. 7, No. 5, page 6
- E Message to the Whole Party, the Whole Army and the People of all Nationalities Throughout the Country Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Vol. 7, No. 8, page 5
- F Speech at China's Communist Party National Conference on Propaganda Work Mao Tse-tung Vol 7, No. 8, page 4

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...in raising the masses to struggle on a growing scale. For example, we have the recent wildcat strike by 120,000 miners, the growing organized rank and file resistance to the trade union bureaucrats among steelworkers, autoworkers, etc., the spreading movement against police repression of the oppressed nationalities (Joann Little, Gary Tyler, Colette Against Police Abuse in Los Angeles, etc.). While these movements have not yet revealed the scope and intensity of the mass movements of the 1960's, it is only a matter of time before they do. Communists are only providing leadership to these struggles to a small extent.

Revolutionary Cause #10

We agree with this. However, the role of communists is not just to assess things, we also must put forward the correct political line to deal with them. To the question - what does this new arousal of the masses demand of communists?, ATM-ML and LPR-ML give two diametrically opposed answers.

ATM basically establishes that we should concentrate more on "fusion". To accomplish this task, they say their newspaper should be "mainly agitation" in order that it may become "more ACCESSIBLE to the class" (ATM emphasis). In other words, that ATM's response to the upsurge of the masses which they foresee is to lower the political level of their newspaper (which they consider the "pivot" of their work). To the greater demands of the class for political consciousness, ATM answers with agitation in the forefront.

The comrades will claim that we are distorting their position because repeatedly they say in their article that "propaganda is still in the forefront". They claim that despite the fact that the paper will be mainly agitational, this will not lower its level. This is like having the cake and eating it too. How are you going to change a paper from mainly propaganda to mainly agitation, make it more ACCESSIBLE to the masses, and at the same time claim that you have not lowered its level?

Besides this being incorrect from the standpoint of theory - it muddles the differences between propaganda and agitation - the facts fly at the face. An analysis of Revolutionary Cause #s 9, 10, 11 shows clearly that the level has been lowered and the sum-ups of ATM's factory work show that agitation is in the forefront of their work.

We are second to none in our appreciation of the importance and necessity of factory exposures, but it must be borne in mind that we have reached a stage when St. Petersburg folk find it dull reading the St. Petersburg correspondence of the St. Petersburg *Rabochaya Mysl*. Local factory exposures have always been and should always continue to be made through the medium of leaflets, but we must raise the level of the newspaper, and not lower it to the level of a factory leaflet. What we require for a newspaper is not so much 'petty' exposures as of the major, typical evils of factory life exposures based on especially striking facts and capable therefore of arousing the interest of all workers and all leaders of the movement, capable of really enriching their knowledge, widening their outlook, and of serving as a starting point for awakening new districts and new categories of the workers.

Lenin, What is to be Done?, p. 181

LPR considers that a new upsurge of the masses places a greater responsibility over our shoulders. We need "greater consciousness in the theoretical, political and organizational work". In this period, this greater consciousness in all our work has to be understood fundamentally aimed at the ever more urgent task of building the communist party in the U.S. Thus we hold that we must "place all our work in the context of party building". As comrade Lenin says:

And so, we have become convinced that the fundamental error committed by the new trend in Russian Social-Democracy lies in its bowing to spontaneity and its failure to understand that the spontaneity of the masses demands a mass of consciousness from us Social Democrats. The greater the spontaneous upsurge of the masses, the more widespread the movement becomes, so much the more rapidly, incomparably more rapidly, grows the demand for greater consciousness in the theoretical, political and organizational work of Social-Democracy.

Lenin, What is to be Done?, p. 63

To help provide honest Marxist-Leninists and advanced elements with the ideological, political and organizational tools that will allow the genuine Marxist-Leninist trend in this country to grow stronger we must broaden the scope and the quality of our propaganda and agitation. A communist newspaper in this period must be

fundamentally a propaganda newspaper. Furthermore, it has to be expanded (its number of pages, circulation, topics, etc.) to meet the greater demand for ideological, political and organizational leadership that Marxist-Leninist collectives and honest Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers all around the country place on us.

The comrades of ATM continue

The opportunity to be stronger in certain respects than the Marxist-Leninists... CP and the OL undoubtedly have more mass influence than do Marxist-Leninists. They are also much bigger, much stronger financially and organizationally than "our side". We are sure that this is a temporary phenomenon in an historical sense. Nonetheless, we cannot let historical perspective blind us to contemporary realities. This would be like an adolescent boy trying to knock out Muhammed Ali because "historically speaking" he is on the "ascendant" while Ali is on the decline.

Revolutionary Cause #10

Comrades, who is going to expect that with a young communist movement, without a party, or even a developed ideological, political and organizational center for it, honest Marxist-Leninists will have more "mass influence", be "much bigger" organizations "much stronger financially and organizationally" than the opportunists? The situation that ATM describes is the rule and not the exception in capitalist societies. And it will be such in the U.S. for a long time even after the formation of the party. As Marx has taught us, the dominant ideology in any society is the ideology of the ruling class.

First of all let's see on the basis of what ATM compares opportunists and genuine Marxist-Leninists "influence among the masses", "size of organization", "finances", "organizational strength". The implication we get from this list is that somehow in our work to become stronger than the opportunists we have to excel from them in these areas in order to defeat them and build the party. This is absolutely incorrect. It is not money, amount of people, mass influence, organization, etc. that determines the real strength of the different groups. It is the ideological and political line that decides that, comrades.

As Chairman Mao teaches

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything"

And Chou Enlai

"If one's line is incorrect, one's downfall is inevitable, even with the control of the central, local and army leadership. If one's line is correct, even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be soldiers, and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained."

Report to 10th Party Congress

Now to the pessimistic attitude of ATM and its Muhammed Ali example. Here we have the heavyweight champion Ali (representing the opportunists) and the "adolescent boy" (representing genuine Marxist-Leninists). Through this example ATM is telling us that we have to either wait till we grow more muscle (more influence, money, etc.) to fight the opportunists, or wait till the complete decline of these opportunists before we can seriously make the struggle against opportunism one of our most important tasks in the communist and workers movement. No comrades! We - each and every one of us genuine Marxist-Leninists, are prepared and must struggle against the opportunists right here and now. Saying the contrary is to conciliate with opportunism, to belittle the danger of opportunism and the role of the struggle against it. We cannot defeat the bourgeoisie in this country until, and unless, we defeat opportunism.

To retreat as ATM is proposing is to disarm the class and leave it under the influence of the revisionists and opportunists. And it is not enough to say that we are going to wait for them in those factories that we are working in. The struggle against opportunism - both right, which is the main danger, and "left" - has to be carried out consistently, in

our newspapers, in our theoretical journals, leaflets, forums, mass work, trade union work, etc., and attacking not only its practical manifestations, but demolishing its theoretical foundations as well.

Perhaps the "adolescent boy" won't be able to knockout Ali after a single punch but can connect good and consistent upper cuts and body punches, and in this way expose, isolate and defeat these forces. History shows this consequently. "adolescent" Lenin took on the "champions" Plekhanov, Bernstein, Kautsky and the II International, and defeated them at all levels. He strove to knock them out ideologically and politically (Remember What is to be Done?) and not to defeat them first in the factories to later polemize against them. Comrade Stalin said:

"As a result of the wide circulation of this book, by the time of the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Party, that is, within a year after its publication it appeared in March 1902) nothing but a distasteful memory remained of the ideological stand of 'Economism', and to be called an 'Economist' was regarded by the majority of the members of the Party as an insult."

History of the C P S U (B) p37-38

Historically ATM has belittled the role of open polemics in not only the struggle against opportunism but also as a way to develop political line, deepen our understanding and give concrete leadership to other Marxist-Leninists and advanced elements. ATM failed to wage a timely polemic with the October League, and this error led among other things to:

- 1 We helped to give the October League credibility among some forces where we had influence
 - 2 We confused many revolutionary forces,
- (RC vol. 1 #3, p.8)

We expect that self-criticism means not only repudiation of error but also rectification in practice. But ATM deepened its error in their relation with the sham

continued on p 9

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ATM-ML

"genuine wing" They never polemized with PRRWO before or during their political relation with them. Even at the time of the break of the "left" opportunists of PRRWO-RWL with the right opportunists of WVO, the comrades remained silent. It took them months after the complete degeneration of PRRWO to come up with a long overdue polemic that basically focused on defending the actual line of ATM-ML. And continuing in the same tracks they have belittled the danger of the right opportunists of WVO, disarming honest elements and objectively helping them fall - temporarily we are sure - in the claws of these petty-bourgeois intellectuals. ATM's failure to struggle against the right opportunist WVO helped make it "easier for charlatans, demagogues and reactionaries to mislead the people who had only learned the ABC (of of Marxism, ed LPR) " (Lenin, On Confounding Politics with Pedagogics, vol 8, pp452-455)

Again today ATM is coming very late with its polemic with WVO, and is starting it on the wrong foot as it is labelling the thoroughly right opportunist WVO as being "leftist". This is perhaps an explanation of why in point #2 of the appraisal WVO is not included among the opportunists.

If we used ATM's criteria to compare ourselves with PRRWO -RWL, WVO, OL, etc, we should have concluded that we are too "adolescent", too "small", too "poor", etc to struggle against them. But on the contrary, we have consistently struggled against them, not only in the newspaper (see Index p 7), but also in the forums, in strikes, in mass actions, etc AND IN THE COURSE OF THAT STRUGGLE WE BECAME STRONGER - IDEOLOGICALLY, POLITICALLY AND ORGANIZATIONALLY.

Marxism-Leninism has developed through fierce struggle against all shades of opportunism. Comrades, we must take on the opportunists! They are the junior "paper-tigers" If we don't hit them, they won't fall!

3 The Marxist-Leninist trend is growing but has some very serious weaknesses. Most serious is the lack of a real base in the working class movement. We have had occasion to observe the work of many comrades and to discuss this work with them. Large organizations as well as collectives. Almost without exception they have only a minimal base. If that among the industrial proletariat. The industrial Midwest the heartland of U.S. capitalism, for example has very few Communists doing work there. Those that do are often young, inexperienced, untrained and with little influence. One small evidence of the truth of our assertion is provided by the communist forums. They are notable for the lack of calloused hands in the audience. Let's not kid ourselves.

Revolutionary Cause #10

The lack of a base in the working class is indeed an extremely serious weakness. However, ATM-ML - unable to see the forest for the trees - raises this weakness as being not only the most urgent problem but, in effect, the only problem. This is a one-sided analysis that leads to the liquidation of political line as key link, as well as the task of uniting Marxist-Leninists. ATM-ML's assessment and proposed solution negates the fact that in order to establish a real base in the working class, the emerging genuine Marxist-Leninist trend must unite on a correct ideological and political line that guides our work in the class. The ATM-ML is pointing to the lack of a real base in the class, disconnecting this fact from the state of disunity of the genuine Marxist-Leninists and then in effect asking comrades to go into the class guided by a propagandist-agitator-organizer (the R C) that is mainly agitational, to "unite Marxist-Leninists serious about doing the work" and summing this up as the way to achieve real fusion.

This is turning things upside down. Marxist-Leninists unite on the basis of political line and it is that unity that allows them to carry on revolutionary work among the masses. With the O.L., R.C.P., etc. for example, it is not that they are not "serious about doing the work", but rather, that their political line is incorrect, and no matter how serious they are about doing the work - based on that incorrect line - the results will always be reformism, tailism, bowing to spontaneity, etc.

The very meaning of political line being the "key link" is precisely that. You can-

not carry out revolutionary practice if you are not guided by revolutionary theory. That is why we also have to emphasize that "theory is primary over practice in this period". But ATM is putting forward exactly the opposite.

To subordinate the task of uniting and organizing Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers into the one advanced detachment of the class - with a guiding ideological and political line - to subordinate this central task of party building to "fusion" will only lead to further fusing economism and reformism with the working class movement.

The Marxist-Leninist trend in the United States is composed of a few organizations, collectives and individual Marxist-Leninists around the country. The trend does not have organic connections among all its components. Some of the collectives just print internal documents, local leaflets, carry on propaganda and agitation in their areas, conduct study circles, work in the various national movements, etc. In the last 6 months we have come in contact with a great number of such collectives. Those comrades are developing by themselves, connected to the communist movement only through the different newspapers and by the liaison established through travelling around the country. We have to facilitate growing relations among the collectives, we have to help them solve the ideological, political and organizational problems they share with us. We cannot expect this trend to develop spontaneously. We have to consolidate the trend on the basis of unity on political line.



Political line is not something taken out of books as the petty bourgeois intellectuals of WVO would have it. But neither is it something that we arrive at based on our own narrow practice as ATM seems to be saying. Political line is the indissoluble unity of theory and practice. Communists must always strive to match their words with their deeds. Whoever breaks the relation that should exist between theory and practice can only cause harm to both the working class and communist movements.

"OF COURSE, THEORY BECOMES PURPOSELESS IF IT IS NOT CONNECTED WITH REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE, JUST AS PRACTICE GROPE IN THE DARK IF ITS PATH IS NOT ILLUMINED BY REVOLUTIONARY THEORY"

STALIN FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM

The point in discussion here is not whether we should not base ourselves in the working class. We feel that the recognition of this need, and the actual striving to bring Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought to the class is one of the greater achievements of the developing Marxist-Leninist trend. The point in discussion is what should be the guiding line to accomplish this. It is on the basis of this line that Marxist-Leninists will unite.

It is in the context of this struggle to determine this guiding line that all other discussions (on key link, chief form of activity, etc) take on importance. It is not a mere intellectual exercise, but a genuine preoccupation for the future of our revolution. Comrade Mao teaches us that

"The creation and advocacy of revolutionary theory plays the principal and decisive role in those times of which Lenin said: 'Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement'. And later add: 'When a task, no matter which, has to be performed, but there is yet no guiding line, method, plan or policy, the principal and decisive thing is to decide on a guiding line, method, plan or policy.'"

But ATM is telling us the opposite.

The level of actual fusion of Communism with the working class and national movements is low. Although the League for Proletarian Revolution correctly criticizes the movement for failing to analyze the extent of this fusion, they too fail to do so. They merely state that the lack of a party is evidence of a low level of fusion. This is not an ANALYSIS. One could have made the same statement in 1960. Are we to suppose therefore that no change has occurred in the past 16 years, and that no change will occur until the party congress? We think it is better to judge the level of fusion also by the political demands and slogans raised by the working class. Where do we see the working class masses calling for socialism or for the right of self-determination for the Afro-American or Chicano nations or for full democratic rights for all national minorities and fighting for these things? The examples we do have are paltry and extremely limited in scope. This tells us that Communists are not winning over the advanced and training them to lead the masses to fight under such slogans. We must end the practice of just talking about fusion and start actually fusing. Otherwise we will end up with a "party" composed of a few propaganda circles instead of a live and vital vanguard which is rooted in the advanced class which has proven worthy of leading that class which has shown itself capable of training the advanced workers as communist cadres based on the ability to organize and lead the class struggle in all its manifestations. We want we demand a party of action and not a bloated circle of polemicists and windbags, a party born and bred and tempered by having led the struggles of the workers.

Revolutionary Cause #10

First of all let us establish what we have previously put forward on this question.

There have been a lot of arguing back and forth, but very little analyses in relation to what is the level of fusion between the communist movement and the working class movement in the U.S. today. WVO says that it's just beginning while PRRWO maintains that it's highly advanced. However, neither organization puts forth the basis for their position. OL as always is ready to build the party now. In our understanding the absence of a communist party in the U.S. is an undeniable proof of the low level of fusion between both movements. Within the working class movement the influence of the communist movement is virtually non-existent. Even revisionists and right opportunists with all their tailing behind the masses have no real influence in the working class movement.

This is not to say that we do not recognize the work being done in the working class movement by Marxist-Leninist organizations, Marxist-Leninist collectives and Marxist-Leninist individuals which is geared to fuse these two great movements. The first and the biggest step in this fusion is concretized with the building of the party. That is why we defend as correct the formulation that all our work must be seen in the context of party building. All our activities must be seen within the context of how they will aid in accelerating this process. Whoever deviates even a little - even for a moment is objectively affecting and sacrificing what is in the best interests of the working class.

Resistance vol 7, #6, pp 4, 5

ATM states that this is not an analysis and goes on to say that "it's better to judge the level of fusion also by the political demands and slogans raised by the working class." We feel that once again there are two diametrically opposed views of what fusion is, and how it is achieved. The thrust of our position is that in the absence of a party you cannot talk about a high level of fusion. How can the working class movement adopt the demands and slogans of the Marxist-Leninists in the absence of a revolutionary program that concretizes these demands, and a party to lead the struggle for them? When we talk about fusion here and now, we are talking principally about fusion of the advanced workers and socialism. This is concretized in the slogan, "Win the Advanced to Communism". The comrades of ATM on the other hand see it differently. "The examples we have are paltry and extremely limited in scope. This tells us that communists are not winning over the advanced and training them to lead the masses to fight under such slogans. We must end the practice of just talking about fusion and start actually fusing." (emphasis ATM's)

The comrades of ATM-ML are correct in stating that the level of fusion is also judged by the political demands and slogans of the working class. It should be pointed out, however, that the working class masses may also call for the right of self-determination for the Afro-American nation under the influence of narrow nationalists (for example the Nation of Islam or Republic of New Africa raising this very slogan). This would not at all be an indication of fusion. The analysis that there is a Chicano nation has only very recently been put forth by the comrades from ATM-ML (even genuine Marxist-Leninists are not consolidated around this question, including LPR-ML) and now ATM-ML wants to measure fusion on whether or not the masses call and struggle for the self-determination of the Chicano nation.

continues on page 10



continued from page 9

ATM-ML

We definitely agree with ATM-ML in that the number of advanced workers that have actually been won over to communism is very low. But it is really a contradiction for ATM-ML to on the one hand acknowledge this, and on the other expect that these "few" advanced workers be able to lead the masses in the struggle for socialism. Especially when the Marxist-Leninists that have trained these advanced workers have failed in many instances to raise the demands of socialism and the Party in their mass work, the same demands they expect the masses to struggle for. Besides, it is the party that makes the masses conscious, and leads them in the struggle for socialism. And the party is yet to be formed.

5 The Marxist-Leninists are beginning to carry out systematic political and organizational work among the industrial proletariat. Although some groups, like ourselves, have been there for a few years we cannot claim to have extensive influence as yet.

As we can see things are not all as we would like. We cannot sit back and congratulate ourselves for being Marxist-Leninists and not opportunists. Nor can we dismiss the mass influence of the revisionists and opportunists with infantile references to "quality not quantity" or "they only have numbers". This is like saying forget about the trade union bureaucrats, they "only" have the trade unions. We Communists must intensify our work among the class not fearing to lead their struggles just because someone might accuse us of "worshipping spontaneity". In order to do this work, that is, to increase our political influence among the proletariat we must utilize all the tools at our disposal. And that is the purpose of this article to discuss one of those tools -- the REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE.

Revolutionary Cause, #10

Again the question of the "influence". Let us repeat again. There is NO capitalist country in the world in which the "influence", the "size", the "organizational and financial" strength of the genuine Marxist-Leninists is stronger than that of the revisionists and the reformists. This is true even where strong Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties (such as Australia, Philippines, Japan, etc.) exist. This is obvious, but to try to build over it and justify a "practice, practice, practice" line is precisely to lose perspective as to how that influence is to be achieved.

Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers only from without that is only from outside of the economic struggle from outside of the sphere of relations between workers and employers. The sphere from which alone it is possible to obtain this knowledge is the sphere of relationships between all the classes and strata and the state and the government, the sphere of the interrelations between all the classes. For that reason, the reply to the question as to what must be done to bring political knowledge to the workers cannot be merely the answer with which in the majority of cases the practical workers especially those inclined towards Economism mostly content themselves namely "To go among the workers. To bring political knowledge to the workers the Social-Democrats must go among all classes of the population, must dispatch units of their army in all directions."

Lenin, What is to be Done, p 98

On the question of carrying out "political and organizational work in the industrial proletariat" there is no doubt that ATM is doing so. But we firmly believe that this work is being reduced in the main to militant tradeunionism. We base this view on the sum-ups of their work as printed in the Revolutionary Cause. We refer specifically to the articles about the Western Yarns strike (RC #9) and about the Major Safe strike (RC #s10, 11, 12). The work of ATM in both places show clearly the position we have established above. The failure to consistently raise party building in their mass work, their mainly agitational newspaper, their practice over theory- etc. are stubborn facts that we believe show the correctness of our appraisal.

A final comment. We feel that the main danger in ATM-ML is the right. All the examples of their line, its implications and manifestations in practice clearly show this. The comrades, however, insist on that the main danger in ATM-ML has been, and continues to be "leftism".

The failure to correctly identify the source of our errors necessarily leads to an incorrect approach to its solution. Let's briefly show two examples of what we mean.

1. ATM-ML has criticized itself that many times it has failed to raise the party in different struggles. This is a right error. But insisting that they are "leftist" in training their cadres, they emphasize "on the danger of raising party building in a dogmatic way" as opposed to putting forward "Comrades, Party building is the central task, make sure that you do raise in a very concrete way."

2. In the Editorial we have just discussed, ATM makes this statement:

"We communists must intensify our work among the class not fearing to lead their struggles because someone might accuse us of 'worshipping spontaneity'" (RC#10, p 11)

and

"We are also bound to hear that we are becoming 'just like the O.L. This knee jerk response can only come from people who are confused or who do not think'" (RC #10, p 12)

This advice to the cadres reflects a right view on training. You cannot tell your cadres to do work and don't worry if somebody criticizes you for "economism", because only people who are "confused" or "do not think" will do that.

Such type of training will objectively put the cadres at the lookout for only "left" errors, and whoever criticizes them for committing right errors, they will just respond "You are confused", "You cannot think". PRRWO uses the same method of training in this respect. Their leadership tell cadres that the right was the main danger in the organization. Whoever criticizes you for being "left" is "attacking the quintessence of Marxism and is a Menshevik". Even today, many ex-members of PRRWO as well as sympathizers are still striving to rectify those "left" errors. They were trained only against the right.

ATM, instead of conditioning cadres against those "confused" or "un-thinking people", should seriously consider the

existence of a right danger within the organization and rectify its right error in practice. Chairman Mao teaches us that:

"If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticised, because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it."

Mao Tsetung, Serve the People

Anyone, no matter who, "confused" or "un-thinking", and especially comrades.

In summing-up, the growing upsurge of the masses, as the result of the deepening of the imperialist crisis, finds the U.S. multinational proletariat without its vanguard party. Deprived of its "advanced and organized detachment" of its "general staff", the proletariat will not be able to defeat the U.S. bourgeoisie, despite the disposition to struggle and the heroism which it has consistently displayed. It is an undeniable reality that the subjective factor is lagging behind the objective conditions.

What is our task? To put an end to that situation. Dedicate all our efforts to the building of such a party. The forces to build that party are scattered all around the country. In genuine Marxist-Leninist organizations and collectives, in study groups, factory cells, communist cores in work places, etc. To concentrate in bringing together all these forces is an immediate task. We have to make the existence of a genuine Marxist-Leninist trend in this country a living reality, ideologically, politically, and organizationally. But among our ranks, the comrades of the ATM-ML are spreading pessimism and defeatism. They objectively say that the "left" not the right, is the main danger in the growing Marxist-Leninist trend. They call for fusion being primary and not political line. We have to overcome that pessimism. And we are certain that it will be overcome.

Our principal and fundamental task is to facilitate the political development and the political organization of the working class. Those who push this task into the background, who refuse to subordinate to it all the special tasks and particular methods of struggle, are following a false path and causing serious harm to the movement. And it is being pushed into the background, firstly, by those who call upon revolutionaries to employ only the forces of isolated conspiratorial circles cut off from the working-class movement in the struggle against the government. It is being pushed into the background, secondly, by those who restrict the content and scope of political propaganda, agitation, and organization, who think it fit and proper to treat the workers to "politics" only at exceptional moments in their lives, only on festive occasions, who too solicitously substitute demands for partial concessions from the autocracy for the political struggle against the autocracy, and who do not go to sufficient lengths to ensure that these demands for partial concessions are raised to the status of a systematic, implacable struggle of a revolutionary, working-class party against the autocracy.

Lenin Collected Works, Vol 4 Pg. 369

This polemic is just one step in that direction. We call on the comrades of ATM-ML to continue the polemic, to respond to the criticisms we have raised, to show us incorrect in whatever they consider incorrect. Only through a vigorous, open and above-board struggle among our organizations and other genuine Marxist-Leninists will we be able to move forward.



el socialismo, no podremos en verdad llegar a realizar este objetivo, ya que el destino de la mujer en la sociedad esta inextricablemente ligado al destino de la clase obrera. Esta reserva constituye la clase obrera. El destino del movimiento proletario, la victoria o la derrota del poder proletario depende en si la reserva femenina esta a favor o en contra de la clase obrera."

(Nuestra traducción, ed.)

mo dijo el camarada Stalin

fer es una reserva de la revolucion proletaria, y como precisamente por esto, el movimiento de la mujer es, de hecho, la dictadura del proletario en la clase obrera, asi como su instrumento de liberacion es, de hecho, la dictadura del proletario en la sociedad esta inextricablemente ligado al destino de la mujer, ya que el destino de la mujer en la sociedad esta inextricablemente ligado al destino de la clase obrera. Esta reserva constituye la clase obrera. El destino del movimiento proletario, la victoria o la derrota del poder proletario depende en si la reserva femenina esta a favor o en contra de la clase obrera."

de inferioridad. Ademas, grandes pasos en la socializacion de la industria domestica son tomadas para liberar a la mujer de la esclavitud de la cocina y para institucionalizar el cuidado de los niños. De manera que se le proveen facilidades para cuidar de niños a todas las mujeres, reciben paga completa durante su ausencia por maternidad, se le garantiza su trabajo despues de la ausencia y se le proveen todas las condiciones necesarias para que se integren al trabajo productivo y entren de lleno como miembros integros de la sociedad.

De este modo la emancipacion total de la mujer, verdadera igualdad con el hombre, se obtiene consiguientemente una sociedad socialista y finalmente atraves del comunismo. Esto no significa que la mujer en la sociedad socialista esta llamada a producir exactamente al mismo nivel que el hombre, por exactamente el mismo tiempo, y bajo exactamente las mismas condiciones, etc. sino que de acuerdo a sus capacidades naturales. Hasta que el obrero este libre del yugo del capital, hasta que nosotros no hayamos llevado a cabo la revolucion proletaria establecida la dictadura del proletariado y construido

del hogar no necesariamente en partes iguales, de manera que se asegure el adiestramiento propio con las condiciones y necesidades particulares. De otra manera, el planteamiento por la igualdad de la mujer es vacio y falso.

UN GRAN FUTURO NOS ESPERA

Las decisiones de la Corte Suprema muestran un agudo contraste con la situacion de la mujer en los estados socialistas. En las Republicas Populares de China y Albania, por ejemplo, la igualdad de la mujer no es un concepto vacio sino una verdadera empresa de la sociedad entera. La sociedad socialista no solamente busca eliminar todo trazo de desigualdad en su sistema legal, sino tambien, eliminar toda desigualdad economica y opresion de las mujeres. Una intensa lucha se desarrolla en las estas ideologicas y politicas en contra de las tradiciones y visiones de la vieja sociedad capitalista que tienden a mantener a la mujer en una posicion

