

RESISTANCE

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POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION M-L

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DEFEAT WVO'S "SOCIAL - FEMINISM" !

FIGHT FOR REAL EQUALITY!

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

V. I. LENIN



ALL THE VICTORIES ACHIEVED BY WOMEN IN THE STRUGGLE FOR HER DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS HAVE BEEN WON BY FIGHTING !!!

It is of utmost importance to always remember these words of Comrade Lenin. The success of the U.S. proletarian revolution also depends on the extent to which women take part in it. To the extent in which the working class and its advanced detachment, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, proves in theory and in practice its capacity to lead the toiling women towards complete emancipation, to this same extent working and oppressed women will take part in the revolutionary struggle to defeat the U.S. ruling class, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism.

In this period in which the central task of all genuine Marxist-Leninists and advanced elements is the building of the party, the woman question is one of the burning questions we have to deal with. It can be said that party building in the U.S. also hinges upon "the extent to which women take part in it."

On the woman question, as on any other question, there are two stands, two methods and two viewpoints in this society: that of the bourgeoisie, and that of the proletariat. The bourgeois line on this question has many variants. Bourgeois feminism, for example, points to men and not to the capitalist system, as the root cause of the oppression of women. The reformists see certain excesses in the way that the "system" (normally they say the government) deals with women and propose a series of bourgeois legislations, like the ERA (Equal Rights Amendment) to bring full equality between men and women.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, on the contrary, upholds that the woman question is a class question. This means that it is a question that cannot be solved within the boundaries of the bourgeois society, of capitalism. That is why genuine communists demarcate themselves from the bourgeois feminists, not purely with other demands or more militant actions than the feminists in fighting for the same demands, but by always pointing to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism as the road to the real liberation of women. As Lenin points out:

The thesis must clearly point out that real freedom for women is possible only through communism. The inseparable connection between the social and human position of the woman and private property in the means of production must be strongly brought out. That will draw a clear and ineradicable line of distinction between our policy and feminism. And it will also supply the basis for regarding the woman question as a part of the social question of the workers' problem and so bind it firmly to the proletarian class struggle and the revolution.

The Woman Question, p. 89

POINTING TO SOCIALISM AS THE ONLY SOLUTION IS PART OF, BUT NOT THE ONLY WORK ON THE WOMAN QUESTION.

That the woman question is a class question and that "socialism is the solution" are statements which all Marxist-Leninists agree upon. The question here is what we mean by them. Working women in this society are the most oppressed among the oppressed. They are oppressed for being women and also for being workers. In the case of national minority women, the extent of that oppression is even greater. This points to the need to develop a series of demands to be struggled for right here and now, for the democratic rights of women. Lenin says:

It is therefore perfectly right for us to put forward demands for the benefit of women. This is not a minimum programme, nor a programme of reform in the Social Democratic sense in the sense of the Second International.³⁹ It does not go to show that we believe the bourgeoisie and its state will last forever, or even for a long time. Nor is it an attempt to pacify the masses of women with reforms and to divert them from the path of revolutionary struggle. It is nothing of the sort and not any sort of reformist humbug either. Our demands are no more than practical conclusions drawn by us from the crying needs and disgraceful humiliations that weak and underprivileged women must bear under the bourgeois system.

On the Emancipation of Women, p. 112

What are some of these demands?

1. Equal pay for equal work.
2. Paid maternity leaves with job guarantees.
3. Free day care services in communities and workplaces.
4. Stop all discriminatory hiring and firing practices against women: stop the practice of assigning women to the most menial and worst paying jobs.
5. Right of women to bear arms and exercise the right to self defense.
6. Stop forced sterilizations. Right to free and safe abortions.
7. Stop all attacks against women in education, mass media, etc., pornography, degenerate culture, etc.
8. Keeping and putting into effect all protective legislation for women.

It must be clear that in struggling for those demands we always have to bring to the forefront the fact that real equality of women will not be achieved by simply the winning of these particular demands. We have to always, in every case, and in every place, point to the final solution. What the dictatorship of

the proletariat means for women must be brought out: "complete equality with man in law and in practice, in the family, in the state, in society, an end to the power of the bourgeoisie."

THE RIGHT IS THE MAIN DANGER

Many organizations raise these very same demands. But they do so in a reformist way. Their reformism is manifested in different ways. Some fight for the demand but consistently forget to raise the ultimate goal. Others confuse revolutionary way with pure militancy, as if it were a matter of being tough while really being militant reformists. Others just rely on the bourgeois institutions, on the courts and on legislation to solve the problems.

That is why, in fighting for or against a particular demand, we look at the content of that demand (or reform) whether or not it is a just and genuine demand (or reform) that strengthens the unity of the class and puts it in a better position to struggle for socialism, or if, on the contrary, it is a sham reform that divides the class, promotes bourgeois illusions and makes the class more dependent on the bourgeois state. The content of the demand or reform - whether its genuine or sham - is what determines if we struggle for, or oppose it rather than whether it is being fought for in a revolutionary way. That is why we oppose ERA (Equal Rights Amendment) a sham reform which only diverts women from revolutionary struggle - and supersensibility - which tends to divide the class rather than unite it. And this regardless of form in which the demands are struggled for. Comrade Lenin teaches:

"We fight only for such improvement of the workers' conditions as will raise their capacity to wage the class struggle, i.e., when the improvement of conditions is 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 a lowering of human dignity, etc., etc. Precisely in Russia, where the autocracy is so much inclined to buy itself off from revolution with various hand-outs and sham reforms, it is our duty to draw a clear line of demarcation between ourselves and all sorts of "reformers." We also fight for reforms, but by no means "in every way" we fight for reforms only in Social-Democratic fashion, only in a revolutionary way."

LCW, vol 6, p. 167

THE THIRD WORLD IS THE MAIN FORCE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM, IMPERIALISM, HEGEMONISM, AND THE TWO SUPERPOWERS. ETHIOPIA

ON FEBRUARY 4, 1977, THE ETHIOPIAN STUDENT UNION IN NORTH AMERICA HELD AN ACTIVITY IN CELEBRATION OF THE FEBRUARY 1974 MASS UPSURGE IN ETHIOPIA. THE FOLLOWING IS THE SPEECH GIVEN BY LPR - ML IN SUPPORT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE ETHIOPIAN MASSES. ETHIOPIA IS A THIRD WORLD COUNTRY RULED BY A FASCIST MILITARY JUNTA WHICH LIKES TO PROTRAY ITSELF AS "MARXIST", BUT WHOSE MASK IS BEING RIPPED OFF. RECENTLY, THE JUNTA HAS ESCALATED ITS REIGN OF TERROR EXPOSING ITS TRUE NATURE AND ACCELERATING ITS FINAL DOWNFALL

Comrades and friends,

In February 1974 the Ethiopian masses surged forward in a mighty revolutionary storm, confirming once more the fact that "Countries Want Independence, Nations Want Liberation and the People Want Revolution!" Complete victory was not achieved then, and the Ethiopian masses have continued in their struggle, advancing along the New Democratic Road for their national liberation. In this struggle, they are showing that the Third World is the greatest force moving forward the struggle against feudalism, colonialism, imperialism, and hegemonism, in particular against the two superpowers.

We, workers and oppressed peoples of the whole world, hail the heroic struggle of the workers, peasants and other democratic forces in Ethiopia, and support this struggle which they now continue to wage against feudalism and imperialism, and for national liberation.

Lenin said that "an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several Great Powers in the striving for hegemony." Today this is true and Ethiopia as a victim of superpower rivalry, is no exception. The two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, locked in fierce contention in many corners of the globe, are the main enemy of the world's peoples.

In Ethiopia, U.S. imperialism worked hand in glove with the feudal autocracy of Haile Selassie, brutally oppressing the Ethiopian peoples, and plundering the resources of their land. After the February revolutionary uprising of 1974, again the U.S. imperialists aided the most reactionary elements in Ethiopia establishing a fascist, military Junta which rules today in a most bloody, brutal, reactionary fashion. The U.S. imperialists prop up and arm this fascist Junta which in turn serves as their lackey and partner in crime against the Ethiopian peoples.

At the same time, the other superpower, Soviet social-imperialism, would also like to dig its bloody claws into Ethiopia. Already, through its revisionist lackeys in Ethiopia it has penetrated the "more progressive" sectors of the bourgeoisie who

IRAN

THE STRUGGLE OF THE IRANIAN MASSES AGAINST THE FACIST GOVERNMENT OF THE SHAH OF IRAN MUST BE SUPPORTED BY ALL MARXIST-LENINISTS, ADVANCED ELEMENTS AND REVOLUTIONARY-MINDED PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY. IT IS THE MASSES WHO MAKE HISTORY. IT IS PRECISELY THE MASSES IN IRAN IN OMAN AND ALL OVER THE THIRD WORLD THAT CONSTITUTE THE MAIN FORCE THAT STRUGGLES RESOLUTELY AND UNCOMPROMISINGLY AGAINST ALL TYPE OF REACTION, ESPECIALLY THE TWO SUPERPOWERS. FOLLOWING IS THE TELEGRAM WE SENT THE IRANIAN STUDENT ASSOCIATION ON THE OCCASION OF THE CONGRESS HELD IN GERMANY ON DECEMBER 1976

Comrades,

On the occasion of your Seventeenth Congress, we send you our warmest revolutionary greetings.

The Iranian Students Association is a fine example of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary role which Third World Students have played both in their home country and abroad. You have waged a valiant struggle against the fascist dictatorship of the Shah of Iran, opening the eyes and ears of the world to the oppressive and bloody activities of this puppet of U.S. imperialism. Similarly, you have correctly opposed the colonial and genocidal war being waged by the U.S. imperialists and their lackey - The Shah - in Oman.

While opposing the Shah and his senior partner in crime, U.S. imperialism, you have not fallen into the trap of "fighting the wolf at the front door, and letting the tiger sneak in through the back". Thus you have similarly been vigilant and have opposed the social-imperialist machinations of the Soviet Union.

These correct stands and valiant struggle have not been waged without a price. Thus recently, The Shah's murderous secret police, with the cooperation of the imperialists have seen fit to harass and oppress those of you in foreign lands who have spoken up against imperialism, oppression and tyranny. We strongly oppose these actions and wholeheartedly pledge to give you any support at our disposal. Mao has said "to be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing, but a good thing." Thus these attacks mean that you are correctly waging struggle, and your efforts are having an effect. This, you must continue your efforts and step up your vigilance.

We, in the League for Proletarian Revolution, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, salute you comrades and pledge our support to you in your struggle.

DEATH TO IMPERIALISM AND SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM!
DEATH TO THE FASCIST TYRANNY OF THE SHAH OF IRAN!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

are actually part of the Junta. These renegades are peddling the line of "peaceful transition", of structural changes within the bourgeois state apparatus" - a bankrupt line which has led to the massive massacre of thousands of communists and progressive people in Indonesia, Chile, and many other countries where the revisionists have gained some influence.

This line of "peaceful transition to socialism" denies the historical experience to the world's proletariat, which proves that there is no other way for the world's peoples to achieve full emancipation that through the violent overthrow of its oppressors. The ETHIOPIAN PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY PARTY clearly understands this when it says:

"At no time during the long and bitter struggle did the EPRP entertain the reformist notion that power can be taken over by the workers and oppressed masses in a peaceful manner. The summation of the experiences of the masses of Indonesia, Chile, etc. and that of Vietnam, China, etc. attest to the infallible Marxist maxim that the oppressed must violently smash the reactionary state apparatus. All other talk of "peaceful transition", "parliamentary road" and other such nonsense is a revisionist prescription of suicide that EPRP and the Ethiopian masses have refused to accept."

While expressing our solidarity with the Ethiopian revolution, we are certain of its victory. We are confident that the Ethiopian masses will advance in the revolutionary struggle along the path of the New Democratic Revolution. Struggles like those being waged by the Ethiopian people, by the Zimbabwean people, the Palestinian people and all other oppressed peoples and nations of the world, show that indeed Revolution is the main trend in the world today.

But, at this time, when superpower rivalry is increasing their contention in many parts of the world including Ethiopia, we must also be alert to the danger of war.

While talking of peace, both superpowers are preparing for war. The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists are fiercely contending for world hegemony, and we must be prepared to beat back their wild ambitions, to face this eventuality and defeat them both. As our Chinese comrades said "Either revolution will stop war or war will bring about revolution."

Each of us has the duty to defeat our own bourgeoisie. We, as part of the multinational proletariat of the



Despite repression, Masked Demonstrators carry on struggle

U.S., have a special duty of defeating the U.S. bourgeoisie by waging proletarian revolution, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism in the U.S.

In order to do so, we U.S. Marxist-Leninists must build a new communist party in the U.S. which guided by the invincible weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, will lead the U.S. proletariat in this task. We in the LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION MARXIST-LENINIST, are presently engaged in this struggle to fulfill this most important task, the central task of all honest Marxist-Leninists in this country. Only by building this party can we truly and most effectively support the struggles of all workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world.

As we reiterate our wholehearted support to the Ethiopian revolution, and celebrate with the Ethiopian Student Union in North America the revolutionary upsurge of the Ethiopian peoples in February 1974, we commit ourselves to redouble our efforts to fulfill our tasks. "No nation can be free if oppresses other nations". As part of the worldwide United Front against both superpowers, and as part of the struggle for world proletarian revolution, we support the just struggle of the Ethiopian peoples against the fascist military Junta and the two superpowers.

We are certain of the Ethiopian peoples will and capability to wage a relentless struggle - until victory!

LONG LIVE INVINCIBLE MARXISM-LENINISM-
MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, UNITE!



INVESTIGATION GUIDE FOR FACTORY WORK

"No investigation, no right to speak

It is with this principle in mind that comrades should enter new workplaces. Regardless of previous experience of organizing in other workplaces or "vast" knowledge about trade union work, an investigation of the new set of conditions is a prerequisite for initiating communist work.

Concrete conditions vary from factory to factory. In general there are a number of common things - (existence of social props and lackeys, discrimination of national minorities and women, speed-ups, lay-offs and all kinds of harassment etc., as well as a number of general rules to follow - secrecy of work, need to provide communist leadership, need to build factory nuclei as basic unit, need for other forms of rank and file organization, etc. But there are also concrete conditions in each place which need to be investigated and assessed prior to the elaboration of a tactical plan of work and the determination of the focus of our activities at the plant. Only through a concrete analysis, of concrete conditions can we correctly apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought and implement a correct political line towards successfully fulfilling our tasks of leading the class in the struggle for socialist revolution.

Below, we are publishing part of an internal document which is used to give guidance to cadres and contacts who are starting to develop communist work in the factories. We feel this internal document can be of use to many Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers who are also developing work in the factories, but with whom we have no contact with at the present time, except through our paper. We are reproducing this document in edited form (with explanations on some of the points) since we will not have the opportunity to go through the document with those comrades. The document is mainly composed of a list of questions which have a two-fold purpose: (1) help comrades understand the conditions at their workplace so that they can best develop work plans, focus on certain issues etc and at the same time (2) to provide the leadership in the organization with an understanding of conditions at the particular workplace so that guidance can be given in accordance with those conditions and not in an abstract formula disregarding concrete conditions.

It is important that the leading centre of the organization have access to as many relevant facts as possible so as to always be able to determine concretely what is the best path to follow, to suggest concrete solutions to the problems raised by the cadres and contacts in accordance to those conditions, to be able to gauge the progress of the work, the need to reinforce it, the need to assign comrades from TRADE UNION SUPPORT WORK (who will engage in particular areas of research, agitation, and distribution of propaganda at the plant gates, etc.) Also, when campaigns are being centrally developed, the particular form this campaign may take at the various workplaces must be related with the concrete conditions in those places.

When a comrade is assigned to a particular place, the first step of the work there consists of investigating such conditions and providing the centre with such information. This does not mean, of course, that in the meantime you are to file away communism and not take active part in the day-to-day struggles. Even though work is not completely planned, we must take a proletarian stand on all questions, we must react to all manifestations of oppression, which occur every day at the factory. At the same time, one must establish links with the masses of workers, and start building a base of contacts in your own and different departments throughout the factory to prepare for future work. As a matter of fact it is by linking ourselves to the masses of workers that the work of investigation is advanced, since there is no better source for the needed information than the workers themselves.

We warn comrades against social democratic methods of acquiring information, or on the other hand of taking unnecessary risks in securing such information, but to be bold and self-reliant. Also, to be flexible, to amend, add, or change the list whenever necessary and to record results so they are available to the centre at all times.

Investigation goes on constantly throughout the whole period in which work is being carried out. However these guidelines apply to the preliminary investigation, a prerequisite to the tactical plan. However after the plan is developed and under way, investiga-

tion goes on, as conditions change constantly, new situations arise, and we must not lose our bearings, but always be on top of the situation. As conditions change so should our tactical plan in those aspects which need to be altered according to changing conditions. Lack of flexibility, or lack of knowledge of changing conditions will undoubtedly lead to "left" or right errors in our work, by holding on to methods of work that no longer apply to the changing concrete conditions.

The second step, after a discussion of the gathered material, is the development of a tactical plan of work where decisions are taken where to focus work depending on the conditions (to build a rank and file caucus, to bring a union in, to expose certain lackeys and social props, to organize a strike or walkout etc.) This tactical plan also includes how will propaganda and agitation be prepared, how will training be implemented (discussion of progress reports, study, practical activities, sum-up of work, etc.) what will be the methods of struggle and how will the labor be divided.

Knowing the concrete conditions and in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought we can correctly assess the situation, carry out our tasks and implement our political line. Otherwise, we would be groping in the dark, going by "trial and error" and committing all kinds of errors in practice both right and "left". It is on the correct application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought to the concrete conditions that the success of our work depends. In the past we have committed many errors in our factory work, many of them due in part to a lack of investigation and analysis of the concrete conditions. For example, we have pushed for actions which the workers were not prepared to carry out or focused on certain demands which were not in accordance with the concrete conditions, due to our failure to investigate the history of struggle at that plant, etc. Also, by failing to gather the concrete facts about the special privileges and bribery of the social props our exposure were not really as effective as they should be. They were too general and vague. We have burned certain cadre for failure to investigate methods of illegal distribution of propaganda. We have also failed to utilize the specific instances and manifestations of oppression and link them up with imperialism, national oppression, etc., because we again failed to gather all those facts which would help make these issues concrete. The implementation of these guidelines for investigation of concrete conditions in the workplaces is part of a method of rectification which we laid out in correcting these errors.

We expect that these guidelines will also be of use to comrades all around the country, that it will help them move their work forward. We also help move the work of party building forward by arming the comrades with better and more concrete tools with which to win the advanced workers over to Communism in the work they are attempting to develop. We also expect that comrades who have developed similar guidelines, who are carrying out concrete investigation within their workplaces, also share their experiences with the rest of the communist movement. We urge those comrades to send their views concerning these guidelines (whether they find them useful or incomplete, irrelevant, etc.) which we will publish in "Communist Forum" in order that we may all benefit and improve our methods of work. The guidelines are as follows:

PHYSICAL LAYOUT

The information below facilitates the work of the Centre in organizing TRADE UNION SUPPORT WORK in a scientific way, sending, when necessary, plant gate agitators and propagandists, assigning comrades to do further research, and to organize community support and the support of workers' in the factories nearby for strikes and other actions. It also helps to know of outside spots where contacts can be made and propaganda may be left or posted for workers to pick up or see. Particular problems and difficulties approaching this question should be made known to the Centre so it may provide concrete guidance. It is very important to utilize facts on as many departments as possible so as to fight the isolation of the workers.

The other aspect in this section is the gathering of information relating to the company itself. These facts help to establish contacts with workers in

other areas. It also opens the possibility of coordinating the actions of the workers and helps to build the unity and solidarity of the workers. Research should also be done to see if the company has interests in other countries. This would help to raise imperialism in a concrete way. For example, the raw materials (leather, plastic cloth, metals, etc.) that comes from colonies or neo-colonies that are brought cheaply by the company (which is mainly due to the fact that labor is cheap in the colonies) are sold back to the colonies, in the form of manufactured products at very high prices, serves to show how superprofits are made, how the social props are bribed, how the workers in both the imperialist country and in the colonies are exploited and why the question of self-determination and proletarian internationalism are so important.

1. What is the name and exact location of the factory? What are the directions for reaching there by train, or by car?
2. How many shifts are there? What are the exact times for going in and out of each shift? From what time to what time are lunch and other breaks in each shift? How many workers in each shift? How many workers in each department?
3. What is the best spot for distributing literature in the outside (train station, one exit, other exists)?
4. What is the nature of the community surrounding factory? Are there shops, restaurants, grocery stores, clubs, check cashing places, etc., where workers stop by?
5. Are there other factories near by?
6. Are there other plants, subsidiaries, shipping departments, warehouses of the same company in your city, in other parts of the country, in other countries? Include as many details as possible.
7. What is produced in your plant? What is produced in the different departments? What department do you work in?
8. What are the raw materials used? Where do they come from?
9. What are the yearly profits of the company? How does this compare to other companies?
10. What are the positive and negative conditions for illegal distribution of propaganda, etc? (Negative - security guards in the halls, restriction of movement or floor to the other, mirrors, cameras and other security devices, foremen constantly watching, etc.) (Positive - Cafeterias (on what floor) locker rooms (on what floors), bathrooms (on what floors), elevators, cars in parking lots, etc.)
11. How many workers do you normally have access to on the average?
12. Do production conditions allow normal conversation political conversation?

COMPOSITION

This section helps to look for and identify the particular manifestations of oppression. It points to the need for translation of propaganda to other languages, to the assignment of cadres who speak those languages, to the need to make preparations in terms of undocumented workers, and to the particular formulation of demands relating to the national and woman question.

1. What is the breakdown in each of the shifts in terms of national origin? (Columbians, Jamaicans, Anglo-Americans, Haitians, Dominicans, Afro-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, Chicanos etc.)
2. What is the breakdown in each of the shifts in terms of sex?
3. What is the breakdown in each of the departments in terms of national origin, and sex?
4. What is the percentage of "illegal" workers (if possible to determine)? What is the policy of the company towards them? What jobs are they given?

WORKING CONDITIONS

Knowing these conditions helps in determining what should be the focus of our work. Particular examples of oppression can be used to build the struggle for general demands. Agitation campaigns should not be arbitrary, but directed at those most blatant and or most widespread manifestations of oppression. For example, sexist harassment is very common and the chauvinist boss, foreman or union executive should be immediately exposed, while raising the woman question. Also speedups are implemented

Women

Continued from page 1



Another right deviation in the woman question is the failure to raise socialism and the need for the party. When we work among the masses this danger is always present. That is the danger of tailing behind a more "favorable" response from the masses if we raise equality for women equal rights etc. without consistently linking it with the struggle for socialism. But the question is, what is our duty as communists? We are organizing for the proletarian revolution. At this moment the struggle for that revolution is centered on the building of our party, and this has to be put in the forefront in all questions.

As Lenin said

The rights and social measures we demand of bourgeois society for women are proof that we understand the position and interests of women and that we will take note of them under the proletarian dictatorship. Naturally, not as soporific and patronising reformists. No, by no means. But as revolutionaries who call upon the women to take a hand as equals in the reconstruction of the economy and of the ideological superstructure.

On the Emancipation of Women, p. 112

WVO'S SOCIAL - FEMINISM

On the Woman Question WVO (the Workers' Viewpoint Organization) has historically shown its true colors as consolidated right opportunists. They slip and slide but always tail behind the bourgeois feminists. No matter how many mutations, how many "left" covers WVO puts on. WVO always ends up with a reactionary and counterrevolutionary line on the woman question.

Up until this day WVO has defended, under the guise of "Unite to Expose", its 1975 celebration of IWWD with the "C" PUSA, the Trotskyites, bourgeois politicians and feminists, the Girl Scouts, etc., as well as its participation in the bourgeois Feminist Conference of that same year. In 1976 WVO invited to their IWWD coalition the contacts made at the Feminist Conference - the feminists, lesbians, Trotskyites revisionists, etc. which they had supposedly "exposed" the year before. Even though WVO is very famous for mutating lines with no type of repudiation, it had to put out this sham "self-criticism" for their right opportunist line.

"Workers' Viewpoint has also made serious right errors in our initial preparation for International Women's Day this year, temporarily conciliating to bourgeois feminism. The basis is the liquidation of the women's question. Without grasping firmly Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung thought as our guide, with some petty bourgeois social basis in the organization, with the condition of the women's movement where marsh forces prevail, a bourgeois feminist line inevitably crept in and temporarily took over the women's work in the organization. (Workers Viewpoint, Vol 1, #1, page 21)

But not only during the initial preparations of this coalition, but throughout their whole participation, until they were kicked out, WVO was not just conciliating with, but the main proponent of the right opportunist line and the main danger in the coalition. (See Resistance Vol 7 #2, 3, 9, for full exposure of WVO in this question.)

WVO has held the right opportunist line up till this day. A look at their paper and journal will show that, in between all the quotes of the classics, the same right opportunist line in all the major questions. Despite their Marxist Phraseology, their "left" cover, WVO has today the same right opportunist line as in IWWD 1975 and 1976. They continue to cater to the bourgeois feminist movement. That is why we say they are "social-feminists", that is, "socialist" in words and feminists in deeds. WVO is definitely consistent consistently right opportunist. And WVO is definitely the leading circle - of the social-feminist trend in the U.S. Their last paper attests to this. Let us quote them.

"Take the example of excluding women from jobs because they cannot lift over 35 lbs. Ability to lift weights is based not on sex, but on your physical condition. In general, under this type of society, women are usually confined to the home and domestic labor or menial and light jobs in industry and office work. Due to these circumstances, women are unable to get as much physical exercise as men, therefore, physically are weaker." (Workers Viewpoint, Vol 2, #1, p. 26)

This is clearly a reactionary and counterrevolutionary line. Protective legislation did not come out of the good hearts of the bourgeoisie, but was won from them through the militant struggles of the working class in general and the working women in particular. We must defend protective legislation as integral parts of the democratic rights of women in capitalist society. WVO opposes protective legislation claiming that it is based on what they call the male supremacist view that women's child-bearing role should be protected. WVO is putting forward a vulgar egalitarian line - the same line that in fact has been historically held by bourgeois feminist sectors. This line is based on the fallacy that no differences exist between men and women. By holding this line WVO gives continuity to its historical tailing and catering to bourgeois feminism. There are definite differences between man and woman. These are of a biological nature, and to negate these differences is to negate materialism. The task of Marxist-Leninists, rather than idealistically negate such differences, is to struggle for equality in a system that takes into consideration these differences. Lenin says:

Owing to her work in the house, the woman is still in a difficult position. To effect her complete emancipation and make her the equal of the man it is necessary for housework to be socialised and for women to participate in common productive labour. Then women will occupy the same position as men.

Here we are not of course, speaking of making women the equal of men as far as productivity of labour, the quantity of labour, the length of the working day, labour conditions etc. are concerned, we mean that the woman should not unlike the man be oppressed because of her economic position.

On the Emancipation of Women, p. 69
(our emphasis, LPR)

Lenin is clearly saying that in a socialist society women should not be asked to be equal to men in relation to how fast they work, how much they produce, for how long they work, under what conditions etc. But WVO is saying that since there is no difference whatsoever women need not protective legislation in this regard. And as a matter of fact, and this is another invention of WVO's they say that "In socialist countries, women work in all industries." (WV # p. 26)

First of all let's deal with the ambiguous formulation "women work in all industries" in socialist society. Since women also work in all industries in capitalist society (in the office doing the clerical work or in the worst paying jobs), WVO can only mean that in socialist society women work in all industries, doing the same kind of work men do, for the same length of time, under the same conditions, in all aspects of that industry, etc. But this is a lie and a caricature of socialism. The Albanian comrades have dealt at length with this question and they establish the following:

Therefore, the development of society requires increasingly better understanding of the need for creating possibilities for the women to work with all their physical and mental capacities in social productive work, but without endangering their role as mothers. It should always be borne in mind that there can never be an absolute equality in work and the woman cannot be treated as a "human abstraction".

Problems of the Struggle for the Complete Emancipation of Women, p. 29

That is precisely what WVO is doing. Treating women as a "human abstraction". And because WVO's preoccupation is how to keep their contacts with the bourgeois feminists they promise that in "their socialism" there will not be any differences between man and woman, that nobody will talk about protecting women's child bearing role. On this, the Albanian comrades continue:

One of the greatest achievements of our society is the creation of most favourable standards of hygiene and the adoption of measures to enforce technical safety at work. In addition, bearing in mind that the working woman is at the same time a mother, our socialist legislation contains many provisions prohibiting women from being employed in dangerous and strenuous jobs.

Problems of the Struggle for the Complete Emancipation of Women, p. 84

And the Chinese comrades also say:

"Portage, loading and unloading and many other jobs requiring great physical efforts are given to men only in the textile industry. The state stipulates that women workers have the right to take time off during their menstrual period and to get off work or do lighter work during pregnancy, after childbirth or for breast feeding their children. Expectant mothers in their fifth month get free regular pre-natal examination and 56 days days off with full pay after confinement. The period of leave is extended to 70 days if confinement has been difficult. From the seventh month on the expectant mothers are given extremely light work and are taken off their machines. Mothers are permitted time off work twice a day to feed their children in the mills' creches." "Women Hold Up Half the Sky", Reprints from Peking Review, Page 27.

Working men and women in the U.S. and elsewhere have historically fought hard battles for the democratic rights which women have been able to win - such as protective legislation. It is reactionary to want to take these rights away from women and it is counterrevolutionary to, under the guise of "equality for women", aid the bourgeoisie in its attack on the working class. The bourgeoisie would joyfully cut all protective legislation and open the way legally for all capitalists to fire women who refuse to work forced overtime, or refuse to lift certain weights, etc. The bourgeoisie welcomes WVO's sense of "equality".

It is true that the capitalists have found ways to go around protective legislation measures and at times has used its provisions against working women. In particular, they have used its provisions to deny women certain jobs which they are more than capable of fulfilling. But it would be incorrect to conclude from this, as WVO has done, that we should oppose protective legislation because of the use the capitalists may make of it. If you take this reasoning to its logical conclusion you would also have to oppose the organization of trade unions because the capitalists have bought off its officials and as a result the working class is tied up to the bourgeoisie through the unions. Or we would have to oppose the self-determination of nations because very often the capitalists establish neo-colonial relations with countries that achieve independence, etc., etc., etc. This logic would have communists oppose all democratic rights because democratic rights in and of themselves are not the solution.

Lenin addresses himself to this matter and explains:

Only those who are totally incapable of thinking, or those who are entirely unfamiliar with Marxism, will conclude that, therefore a republic is of no use that freedom of divorce is of no use that democracy is of no use that self-determination of nations is of no use! Marxists know that democracy does not abolish class oppression, but only makes the class struggle clearer, broader, more open and sharper, and this is what we want. The more complete freedom of divorce is the clearer will it be to the woman that the source of her domestic slavery is not the lack of rights but capitalism. The more democratic the system of government is the clearer it will be to the workers that the root of the evil is not the lack of rights but capitalism. The more complete national equality is (and it is not complete without freedom of secession) the clearer will it be to the workers of the oppressed nation that it is not a question of lack of rights but of capitalism. And so on.

The right to divorce like all democratic rights under capitalism without exception is difficult to exercise is conventional restricted formal and narrow. Nevertheless no respectable Social Democrat would consider any one who repudiated this right a democrat. Let alone a socialist.

The Woman Question, p. 82

It is in this light that we have to examine protective legislation. We must see first of all that the working class has fought, and continues to fight, for protective legislation. Protective legislation makes the struggle more direct in so far as it helps to destroy

Continues on page 5

C E L E B R A T E

International Working Women's Day



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LENIN IN OCTOBER

On January 22, 1977 an activity in commemoration of Comrade V. I. Lenin's birthday took place in New York City sponsored by the 10th Street Bookshop Collective. This was an important event as it marked the birth of one of the great teachers, who developed further the science of Marxism

Lenin's contributions to the science of Marxism are innumerable and his theoretical works are a guiding light to communists the world over

Lenin laid down the ideological, theoretical, political and organizational foundations of the Party of a new type Comrade Stalin sums this up in the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik), as follows

"The Bolsheviks had been working to build such a party ever since the time of the old Iskra They worked for it stubbornly, persistently, in spite of everything. A fundamental and decisive part was played in this work by the writings of Lenin—What is to be done?, Two Tactics, etc. Lenin's What is to be done? was the ideological preparation for such a party. Lenin's One Step Forward, Two Steps Back was the organizational preparation for such a party Lenin's Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution was the political preparation for such a party. And, lastly, Lenin's Materialism and Empirio-Criticism was the theoretical preparation for such a party "" (Pag 140-141)

Lenin also fought staunchly against the opportunists who denied the vanguard role of the proletariat in the first stage of the two-stage revolution. He correctly pointed out the role of the state as an instrument of the oppression of one class by another Lenin points to the need of smashing the state apparatus to build the new socialist society (The State and Revolution) His scientific analysis of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism and also its last, dying stage, is of tremendous importance. Particularly, his pointing out the need to actively seek to bring capitalism to its destruction through armed struggle and not waiting, patiently sitting around for its self-destruction. These are only some of the many contributions Comrade Lenin made to the science of Marxism The applicability of his theses have been proven over and over again around the world.

SUM-UP OF THE ACTIVITY

This activity consisted of an exhibition of Lenin's portraits and the film "Lenin in October" followed by a discussion. The film highlights certain aspects of the revolutionary period and the Great October Revolution. Among other things, the film deals with the treason of the opportunists of the II International to the world proletariat - by supporting their own bourgeoisie in the Imperialist war, the fight of the Bolsheviks led by Lenin against the opportunists who objectively supported the bourgeoisie - giving the date of the uprising, opposing the Party's decisions as "adventurous," (Zinoviev, Kamenev and Trotsky) A point brought out in the film and one which is of particular importance is the active participation of the masses, including in the decision making process. This is achieved through the Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers. These bodies insure the participation of the masses, and it educates and raises their political consciousness. One most important point made is the roles of Lenin and Stalin. This takes particular importance given the lies spread by revisionists and Trotskyites. These counterrevolutionaries try to defame the great teacher Stalin. In this film, the confidence which Lenin had in him as well as his trust of Stalin's stand, method and viewpoint shatters these lies. Moreover, Stalin's revolutionary stand and practice deals these lies a deathblow

The film was followed by a discussion, which centered around the question of the U S S R today. The League for Proletarian Revolution (M-L) actively participated in this discussion and put forth its position on soviet social-imperialism. The thrust of LPR (M-L)'s position centered around the treason committed by the Soviet revisionists to the world proletariat, the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the danger it presents (as one of the two superpowers contending for hegemony) to the world's people, particularly to those fighting for national liberation, as it poses as their friend, using the banner of socialism.



LPR (M-L) also pointed out that we are confident that the Soviet proletariat will defeat these new Tzars, restore the dictatorship of the proletariat and once again advance in the road of socialist construction, following the example of Lenin and Stalin and the Great October Revolution. Responding to LPR's position, another person in the audience put forth that the USSR is a revisionist country, but that capitalism has not been restored. A struggle around this erroneous position followed and this person's incorrect line was drawn out. He further stated that it wasn't important whether the Soviet Union was socialist or capitalist because the system there was better than the capitalist system here. This is a bankrupt line. We are communists and as such we must know our enemies. We are seeking to destroy capitalism, not to ally with it. He further stated that in case of war we must support the USSR. What treachery is this? The Soviet Union has proven itself to be an enemy of the people of the world and one of the sources of the danger of war, and he would have us support the USSR? Comrades we must always be vigilant and staunchly struggle against these incorrect positions that would have us support revisionists and enemies of the people

This person was confronted with the fact that he was holding a Trotskyite line. He tried to maneuver out of it by saying that it was not important what he was. Finally, he could not hide what he was. It became evident LPR pointed out how Trotskyites have been historically counterrevolutionaries (giving examples of their practice in the USSR, Albania and China) and how they have opposed and undermined the dictatorship of the proletariat. Trotskyites are conscious agents of the bourgeoisie. It was also pointed out that they attempt to hide their line and pose as friends of the proletariat. The audience then asked this counterrevolutionary element to leave and he was escorted out. This discussion was very useful and showed people the bankruptcy of this counterrevolutionary trend. We cannot allow these bourgeois agents to attend our activities. They are nothing but provocateurs who are intent on bringing their corrupt, counterrevolutionary line to stop the proletarian revolution. That is why Comrade Stalin has clearly pointed out:

"... In the past, seven or eight years ago, Trotskyism was one of such political trends in the working class, an anti-Leninist trend. It is true, and therefore profoundly mistaken, but nevertheless a political trend.

"Can it be said that present-day Trotskyism the 1936 Trotskyism, let us say, is a political trend in the working class? No, this cannot be said. Why? Because the present-day Trotskyites are afraid to show their real face to the working class, afraid to disclose their real aims, tasks, to it, and carefully hide their political face from the working class, fearing that if the working class should learn of their real intentions it will curse them as alien people and drive them from it. This in reality explains how it is that the chief method of Trotskyite work is now not open and honest propaganda of its views among the working class, but the masking of its views, servile and fawning praise for the views of its opponents, a false and pharisaical trampling of its own views in the dirt." (Mastering Bolshevism J. Stalin, P 10)

Despite various mechanical failures (the electricity went off, breakage of film), revolutionary initiative and discipline was displayed by both sponsors and attendants. The discussion took place anyhow, without lights and the activity was successful. It gathered a great number of people, many of whom participated actively in the discussion (conducted in Spanish and English). Trotskyism was shown in practice to be what it is - a trend alien to the working class - and the people present saw through the concrete example of this Trotskyite, the treachery of this trend and joined in the struggle against it. This activity in effect, aided in the process of uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning the advanced elements to communism.

Women

bourgeois illusions and makes women realize that the source of their oppression is not the lack of protective legislation, but capitalism itself. Protective legislation raises the capacity of women to wage class struggle as it improves the conditions under which she can join the labor force and thus raise her level of consciousness. And finally, protective legislation promotes the unity of the class. This is achieved by the participation of working men in the defense of protective legislation for women, and by the stand of working women in support of the extension of protective legislation to her fellow working men.

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In summing up this question, we want to re-emphasize the fact that communists take every demand, every reform and analyze it in its particulars, coming from the general line that there are reforms and demands that we should support and other "reforms" and demands that we should oppose. Substituting the question of the content of the reform for the form in which you struggle for it leads to right errors like supporting ERA, Forced Bussing, Community Control of the police, etc. To oppose all reforms because the capitalists can use them, is a Trotskyite line (this is the case of PRRWO/RWL) or a "left" cover for a thoroughly right opportunist line, may we call it right-wing Trotskyism, as is the case of WVO.

Consistent with their world view and method WVO, takes a bourgeois stand on the woman question, as in many other questions. WVO's line, if put into practice, would mean still more oppression of women who would then be forced to go back to the extreme abuse and overwork which she has fought so hard to eliminate. By taking a stand against working women, WVO takes a stand against the working class, and a stand against communism.

In a few days, Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces all around the country will be celebrating IWWD. This celebration also has to be placed in the context of party building. We must use it to demarcate genuine Marxism from sham Marxism, to expose the opportunist line on the woman question in our movement, to consolidate more forces around the correct position that communists have to champion the struggle for the democratic rights of women in the capitalist society without ever losing perspective of the fact that only the dictatorship of the proletariat can bring real equality. Let's make IWWD an integral part of the struggle for the Party, that is, the struggle for the Proletarian Revolution.

Remember comrades. To the extent to which women participate to that extent we will have success in building our party and in carrying out proletarian revolution. Let's make this coming International Working Women's Day celebration "a token of invincibility and augury of the great future which lies before the liberation movement of the working class."

"Women carry on their shoulders half the sky and they have to conquer it" [Mao Tsetung]

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COMMUNIST FORUM



Comrades of LPR-ML

We would like to take the opportunity offered to us by the pages of RESISTANCE- COMMUNIST FORUM to announce the publication of a document titled "THE DEGENERATION OF PRRWO - FROM A REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION TO A NEO-TROTSKYITE SECT." This document, published by former PRRWO cadre, should not be confused as an extension of "OUR DISAGREEMENTS WITH THE PRRWO --A PRELIMINARY STATEMENT BY FORMER PRRWO MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS" which appeared both in RESISTANCE and ATM's theoretical journal -RED BANNER, although we believe that the two are in fundamental unity. This document is an attempt to trace the historical development of PRRWO from the early YLO-YLP and to show, how through the different stages of PRRWO's development, a bloc of opportunists headed by Gloria Fontañez (chairperson of the "Revolutionary Wing") seized control of the organization and engineered its destruction. We urge all comrades to study this document, provide criticism and suggestion, and help deepen this analysis, seeing it as part of our overall Party Building work. We most especially urge ex-PRRWO cadre and supporters to study this document and participate actively in this sum-up as part of our responsibility to repudiate thoroughly the line we believed in and make it possible for other people to learn from our mistakes.

With this in mind, we would like to focus on the recent "polemic" that appeared in BOLSHEVIK, Vol. No 1. We feel it is an excellent example of the present status of the so-called "Revolutionary Wing". That of a wounded paper tiger doomed strategically due to their bankrupt line on party building as the Only task in this period, but dangerous tactically if we are not fully aware of how they continue their treacherous wrecking & splitting activities even after they succeeded in destroying PRRWO.

In this "polemic", the essence of what the wing is trying to do is to pit ex-PRRWO members against each other, utilizing secondary contradictions to cover up the principal role that the left bloc in PRRWO played in the degeneration of the organization. They also hope to get the most demoralized comrades to become lackeys of the Neo-Trotskyites by "working for the party". This is evident as they try to use some of the weaknesses of the first sum-up (which we believe was a lack of self-criticism and a historical analysis of the history of PRRWO) in order to twist around the history of PRRWO and blame the errors of the CL period, which included errors in areas of mass work on RP (R.P. stands for a former member of PRRWO'S Secretariat who is being slandered and attacked by the degenerated "wing") and the comrades who were purged first. They use the lack of self-criticisms in the first sum-up and distort reality by saying that RP in particular had a history of opportunism in the organization, which is not true. The Neo-Trotskyites are continuing to try to cover themselves behind the errors of other comrades.

We believe that it is all our responsibility to face up squarely to the part we played in the history of PRRWO, because the left bloc could not have temporarily succeeded in causing this setback if we did not unite, conciliate, or vacillate on a number of key internal struggles that could have led to a different situation. But this does not mean that we should forget that the overwhelming majority of ex-PRRWO cadre were genuine Marxist-Leninists, and that any contradictions among us are secondary compared to the contradictions that we as Marxist-Leninists have with the agent-provocateurs of the "Revolutionary Wing". We must not allow them to continue to manipulate us & neutralize us from boldly exposing them for the swine that they are. We say to former PRRWO cadre: Let the conciliation and cowardice end! Even though we will probably not work directly together, our unity as Marxist-Leninists should manifest itself in continuing to sum-up and repudiate in practice the ultra-left line by corresponding with other Marxist-Leninists, sharing experiences and moving forward. Every time we vacillate and self cultivate we make the bourgeois plan to turn us away from the masses succeed.

We urge comrades to study the document and to come forward with their views on it.

FORMER PRRWO CADRES

THE DEGENERATION OF PRRWO:

FROM REVOLUTIONARY
ORGANIZATION TO
NEO-TROTSKYITE SECT



BY FORMER PRRWO CADRES

\$1.50

To our readers

We consider the document that the comrades have put out to be a good contribution to the struggle for the building of a genuine Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the U.S. In future editions of Resistance we will express our views and disagreements with the document.

LPR - ML

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ON CORES . . .

We have received many letters and comments in relation to the article on CORES (see article in Resistance Vol. 8 #1). From these letters and comments we are extracting the main points that have been raised. We will answer the letters and comments.



MY UNDERSTANDING IS THAT CORES ARE A TRANSITORY FORM OF ORGANIZATION, THAT ARE ONLY BUILT IN THE PROCESS OF GIVING LEADERSHIP TO A PARTICULAR STRUGGLE AND DISBANDED AS SOON AS THE STRUGGLE IS OVER.

We feel that this is an incorrect view on Cores. This line, in fact, leads to bowing to spontaneity. Communists cannot wait until the struggle is developed in a place, for them to begin to talk about how to organize in order for them to give leadership to such struggles. That is the old line of running from factory to factory, from community to community looking for who is fighting to give "communists leadership" (in reality "militant support") to those struggles.

What the working class needs is consciousness and more consciousness. Consciousness cannot be brought to it by bowing to spontaneity. You have to make preparations for the struggle. The building of the cores is part of that preparation.

This in no way contradicts the fact that in many occasions it is after a particular struggle has developed that we get involved in the struggle and then build the core. But that should be the exception and not the rule.



CAN YOU DEFINE BETTER THE QUESTION OF FUNDAMENTAL UNITY? THIS CONCEPT IS TOO VAGUE.

We established in our position that the question of fundamental unity should not be looked at in a mechanical way. It is not a question of developing a "blue print", a check list, in order to determine whether the CORE candidate agrees with all or with a certain percentage of the positions listed.

The question we have to address ourselves to is whether or not the actual level of unity that does exist is enough basis to work together in providing communist leadership to the particular struggle / mass organization in which the CORE is based. In the international situation for example, we are working in CORES with fundamental unity on support for the national liberation struggles and opposition to both

THE CENTRAL TASK OF BUILDING A GENUINE MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY IS TAKEN UP IN ALL FRONTS. LPR-ML CERTAINLY HAS MANY SHORTCOMINGS AND WELCOMES CRITICISM. WE ARE ALSO STRIVING TO ESTABLISH CONTACTS AND EXCHANGE EXPERIENCES WITH THE MANY MARXIST-LENINIST ACROSS THE COUNTRY. IN ORDER TO FURTHER UNITE MARXIST-LENINIST, TO COMBAT SECTARIANISM AND SMALL CIRCLE SPIRIT AND TO AID IN THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT AND CLARIFICATION OF OUR TASKS, LPR-ML WELCOMES AND SEEKS LETTERS, CRITICISMS AND OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS FROM MARXIST-LENINIST, ADVANCED WORKERS AND ALL REVOLUTIONARIES FROM ACROSS THE COUNTRY. WE WILL DO OUR BEST TO PRINT ALL FUTURE CONTRIBUTIONS THAT AID IN THIS STRUGGLE IN COMMUNIST FORUM.

superpowers while differences exist on our position that "Revolution is the main trend in the world today". On the women question, fundamental unity is based on the understanding that real equality for women cannot be achieved under capitalism, that the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism are the only road towards the liberation of women, while differences exist with our position on ERA, etc. Fundamental unity thus, doesn't presuppose 100% unity, and allows us to work with honest forces that at this time have non-fundamental differences with us.

Fundamental unity is what guarantees enough basis of unity to carry on the practical work of the CORE and in the course of studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought together, and of struggling over and summing-up our differences, they can be resolved and higher unity achieved.

Again, it is on the basis of the concrete conditions and the nature of the work being developed by the core that those Principles of Unity (fundamental unity) are developed which allow the work to move forward effectively and correctly. In the last analysis, fundamental unity is tested by the fact that the core members consciously accept the leadership of the communist organization that is initiating the CORE.



HOW CAN NON-COMMUNISTS - FOR EXAMPLE ADVANCED AND INTERMEDIATE ELEMENTS - BE PART OF THE CORE AND STILL CALL IT A "COMMUNIST FORM OF ORGANIZATION"?

The character of the core is determined by (1) its purpose to give communist leadership to different struggles and mass organizations. (2) its leadership a communist organization with whom every member of the CORE has fundamental unity. The case is similar to a Marxist-Leninist study circle which is also a "Communist form of organization" that includes communists and non-communists, members of the organization and non-members.

Another example is the Young Communist League, which is referred to by Stalin as a "communist organization" and at the same time a "non-party organization". He says:

"Formally, the Young Communist League is a non-Party organization. But it is at the same time a communist organization. This means that, while being formally a non-Party organization of workers and peasants, the Young Communist League must, nevertheless, work under the leadership of our Party."

The Tasks of the Young Communist League
Stalin, CW, vol 7, p. 249

The participation of intermediate and advanced elements in the CORE facilitate the conditions for them receiving the training and education necessary in order to provide true communist leadership to the struggle and further insure the link of the CORE with the masses.

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at the workers' how to know the workers' see the

IN THIS PERIOD :

PLACE ALL WORK IN THE CONTEXT OF PARTY BUILDING

COMRADELY POLEMICS WITH ATM-ML

PART II

The most fundamental difference between the comrades of the ATM-ML and ourselves is how each organization views the dialectical relation that exists between the central task and all other tasks and methods of struggle. Both organizations have put forward that party building is the central task and that the party cannot be built in isolation from participating and giving communist leadership to the spontaneous struggles of the masses. This is in fact one of our fundamental unities which demarcate both organizations from opportunists of all hues on this question.

But despite the fact that both organizations consider party building in the heat of the class struggle our central task, we have two diametrically opposed views on what that means in the United States today.

LPR-ML "PLACE ALL WORK IN THIS PERIOD IN THE CONTEXT OF PARTY BUILDING"

ATM-ML "PLACE PARTY BUILDING IN THE CONTEXT OF GIVING ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS PUT IN FRONT OF US BY THE MASS MOVEMENT"

We don't think this is a minor difference nor a question of semantics. We expect to show in this part of the polemic the correctness of our position, the incorrectness of ATM's position, as well as the incorrect methodology and reasoning by which they arrived at that incorrect position.

WHAT DOES "CENTRAL TASK" MEAN ?

To say that something is the central task in a given process means that every other task, forms and methods of struggle, etc. are subordinate to that central task during a particular period of its development. In this case, party building is the central task in this period, and Unite Marxist-Leninists, win the advanced to communism give leadership to the mass struggle,

engage in propaganda and agitation, mass actions, study circles, etc., etc., are some of the other tasks, forms, and methods of struggle that are subordinated to the central task - "placed in the context of party building in this period".

By all our work, we mean all our theoretical, political and organizational work, all our practice in the communist, workers', national, women's and student movements. This position at the same time emphasizes the fact that the party can't be built in isolation from the masses and their struggles, but rather, in the process of giving communist leadership and a planned, conscious character to those struggles. But in striving to provide communist leadership to those struggles, we cannot afford to lose our bearings, to lose perspective of what is our central task. Instead, we have to consistently link all particular struggles and activities to the building of the party, so as to move this task forward.

Comrade Lenin left no room for doubts on this question:

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

Clear "Principal and fundamental task to facilitate the political development and political organization of the working class" (this can mean nothing else but the building of the party). "Those who refuse to subordinate to it" (to place in the context of it, ed.

LPR) "all the special tasks and particular methods of struggle are following a false path and causing serious harm to the movement." This is precisely what is happening to ATM-ML who is objectively belittling the role of propaganda, by in practice carrying out agitation as the chief form of activity, liquidating the tasks of "Marxist-Leninists unite and win the advanced to communism" by in practice carrying out the line of "Win the broad masses" to ATM-ML and by their belittling the need for open polemics as a way of struggle, not only against opportunism, but also for Marxist-Leninist unity.

The comrades will claim we are distorting their line and refer to statements made in the "Revolutionary Cause". But both ATM-ML and LPR-ML have unity that line is both theory and practice, both what we say and what we do. And when our deeds are in contradiction with our words, we have to either accept that we are deviating from a correct line and move to correct the mistakes made in practice, or accept that our line is incorrect and move to repudiate it and strive for the correct line. But the comrades do neither.

ATM-ML will consistently put forward that "propaganda must be in the forefront" and yet in practice will consistently carry out "agitation in the forefront". This is underscored by the fact that ATM-ML has made its newspaper - the "pivot of its work" - a mainly agitational tool. The fact that at least 4 issues of R.C. which are almost only agitation have broadly circulated both in English and Spanish around the country, while issue #1 of Red Banner, only in English, has not been as widely distributed also points to this. The ATM sum-ups of the Molders Strike (RC#7 and #8), Western Yarns strike (RC #8) and at Major Safe (RC#9) further show that its agitation not propaganda that is in the forefront.

The same can be said about the fact that ATM-ML has consistently raised that Party building is our central task, but with the same consistency has failed to raise party building in their mass work. ATM-ML also consistently puts forward that "Marxist-Leninists unite and win the advanced to com-

Continued on page 8

Continued from page 3

GUIDE

in such a way that the blame doesn't seem to be directly linked to the capitalist, but rather on another worker who is also sped-up. Close investigation can expose this as well as methods of establishing quotas which workers can never make, etc.

1. Is there adequate lighting, adequate ventilation, adequate heating system, open fire exits, etc? Are water hoses or sprinklers in good function? Is there a lot of dust or metal particles accumulating in the air? Are spray paint or other toxic materials used that give out dangerous fumes? Is heavy weight lifting required? Is there excessive noise level? Are corrosive chemicals used? Are flammable materials used? Are there other hazards?
2. Are metal shields used? Are ear plugs, gas masks, safety glasses, gloves, etc., provided? Are they adequate?
3. Is there a cafeteria? Are there enough bathrooms, are they kept clean?
4. Are you allowed sufficient time for breaks? Are you allowed enough time to go to the bathroom? Are you allowed time to make or receive phone calls? etc.
5. How often and on whom particularly does forced overtime fall on? What does the contract say about this question? What would be the consequences if you refuse overtime?
6. How intense and on whom is the harassment, nagging and watching of the foremen?
7. How are speedups implemented in your dept? In other departments? How are production quotas determined?

THE UNION

The purpose of this section is to gain a full view of the union and how it should be dealt with. Communists should work within the trade unions, no matter how reactionary they may be, and struggle for union democracy, for general and regular membership meetings, for rank and file participation and control, for elected shop stewards, for effective grievance procedures, for general contract approval etc. The conditions surrounding the lack of a union provides fertile grounds for agitation and exposures. It is imperative to know how the workers see the union chiefs, shop stewards, etc. in order to

correctly be able to focus the exposures, and to identify friends and enemies. The role of the union in the last strike is especially helpful in showing the union chiefs' real nature. Communists should also join the rank and file caucuses which group the more class conscious workers and expose those which operate along lines that divide the class (racism). If there is no caucus, the possibilities of creating one should be investigated. Also, the contract should be studied thoroughly. It provides a ground for the legal activity of communists within the trade union and the caucus, and can be used as a means of approach, calling for collective discussions to get through the legal terms and points to the violations of the contract by the Co. and also shows the workers what their legal rights are.

1. Is there a union? What is the name of the union, local #, District office? If there is no union, has there been previous attempts to organize one? Why has it failed? How do the workers feel about this?
2. What are the salaries of the union president and of officers of the Local? What privileges do they have?
3. What is the amount of membership in the Local from your plant? What percentage of national minorities in your plant are union members?
4. What is the length of probationary period for becoming permanent worker and a member of the union?
5. Are shop stewards elected or appointed? Who are they, what is their stand?
6. How often are union meetings held? Who calls them? What is the percentage of attendance at union meetings? How much do the workers participate?
7. How is the grievance procedure?
8. What is the history of this union & other unions in the plant? What is the attitude of the workers towards the unions in the plant? Among how many workers (advanced, intermediate and backward) are the bureaucrats recognized as sell out? How many workers still trust the bureaucrats? What was the role of the union in the last strike?
9. Is there a Rank and File caucus? How many workers belong to the caucus? When and where do they meet? What are the principles of unity of the caucus? Who leads the caucus? Do they

have a newsletter or other publications? (Collect all newsletters or flyers.)

10. Get a copy of the contract immediately! Break down the general facts. What are the wages for the different categories and departments? Is there and what is vacation pay, sick pay, overtime pay, health benefits, pension plan? Is there a cost of living increase clause? Is there a lay-off clause?

THE SUBJECTIVE FACTOR

In order to develop a correct tactical plan and determine focus of work, main issues, demands, friends and enemies, methods of struggle etc. it is necessary to make an assessment of forces and class analysis within the factory. The level of consciousness, of multinational unity among workers, their history of struggle, their experience their acceptance of socialist ideas (advanced workers), as well as the presence of other communists, or opportunist elements, and the possible allies, are all essential to this plan.

1. What is the history of struggle in the plant? Have there been previous strikes and other forms of struggle? Who led them? What were the demands? What was achieved? Who stood out as leaders, as traitors? What was the role of the union? When did such struggles happen?
2. Are there signs of members or sympathizers of any other organization? Which ones? Do they distribute newsletters or flyers? Do they sell the newspapers outside the plant? (Collect all such newspapers & flyers, etc.) Do they have any visible influence?
3. What is the general level of consciousness of the workers? What are the main issues that most concern them? What are their demands (support for national liberation struggles, democratic rights of national minorities and women, economic demands...)?
4. What is the general attitude of workers towards each other - the level of multinational unity? What is the attitude towards "illegal" workers?
5. Start making a list of contacts, of advanced and intermediate workers, of possible allies in personal, clerical, maintenance and other departments, as well as lackeys and sell-outs.

ATM-ML

munism" are simultaneous tasks, no one being primary over the other, but on the other hand put mass work against the task of "Marxist Leninists unite" and put forward their involvement in the mass struggles as a justification for not carrying out correctly its task of struggling for Marxist-Leninist's unity

We feel that this contradiction between ATM's words and ATM's deeds is directly linked with their line "Party building has to be placed in the context of giving answers to the questions put in front of us by the mass movement" Lets examine the meaning in practice of this ambiguous formulation We say this is an ambiguous formulation because it doesn't deal with the character and content of such questions, and leaves them open to interpretation Also, it tends to subordinate the task of party building to that of "giving answers"

The comrades of ATM-ML recognize this ambiguity and, in polemizing with PRRWO-RWL, apparently have this ambiguity in mind when they put forward:

But lets go back again to our position of "solving the questions put in front of communists by the mass movement" We referred briefly to the meaning and importance of this above but we would like to explore it a little further This position can be interpreted either in a mechanical way (which is the only way that PRRWO and RWL can interpret anything), or as Marxist-Leninists

Mechanically this would mean limiting the struggle to those questions or demands arising SPONTANEOUSLY from the mass movement, i.e. higher wages, bilingual education jobs, etc This is how PRRWO-RWL interpret it

When we say that "party building had to be put into the context of solving the questions put in front of communists by the mass movement" we mean that we must build that party its program tactics and organization by correctly analyzing current historical conditions testing our views in the actual struggle training cadres to change those conditions and building an organization along illegal revolutionary lines so that it is capable of operating under all conditions of struggle

Revolutionary Cause, vol 1 #9 p 8

Despite the fact that no mention is made of the primary role of theory, of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in this statement (unless we take the phrase "correctly analysing" to mean that) we have no major disagreement with this statement But we fail to see how this explanation can be summed-up as "Place party building in the context of giving answers to the questions put in front of communists by the mass movement" It is true that this formulation can be understood in various ways (to a certain extent all formulations can be understood differently but some are more ambiguous than others).

But more importantly than the ambiguity of the formulations, what really concerns us is that in practice ATM-ML understands (may we say, apply) its line in the way in which, according to ATM, is being summed up by PRRWO. Despite the fact that ATM-ML views this application as "mechanical" we can only conclude from struggling with the comrades, summing up their propaganda and agitation materials (e.g. R.C., Red Banner, leaflets and newsletters from ATM's mass work, etc) that this is precisely the application they are giving it.

Interesting enough, in What is to be Done?, Lenin addresses himself to a very similar question which we had pointed out to ATM back in August This is how Lenin examined the question:

But the *Rabocheye Dyelo* not only defended the Economists — it itself constantly fell into their fundamental errors The source of this confusedness is to be found in the ambiguity of the interpretation given to the following thesis of the *Rabocheye Dyelo* program "We consider that the most important phenomenon of Russian life the one that will mainly determine the tasks (our italics) and the character of the literary activity of the Union is the mass working class movement (*Rabocheye Dyelo's* italics) that has arisen in recent years That the mass movement is a most important phenomenon is a fact about which there can be no dispute But the crux of the question is how is one to understand the statement that the mass working class movement will determine the tasks? It may be interpreted in one of two ways Either it means bowing to the spontaneity of this movement i.e. reducing the role of Social Democracy to mere subservience to the working-class movement as such (the interpretation given to it by the *Rabochaya Mysl*, the Self Emancipation Group and other Economists) or it means that the mass movement puts before us new theoretical, political and organizational tasks far more complicated than those that might have satisfied us in the period before the rise of the mass movement The *Rabocheye Dyelo* inclined and still inclines towards the first interpretation for it has said nothing definite about any new tasks but argued all the time just as if the mass movement *relies* us of the necessity of clearly appreciating and fulfilling the tasks it sets before us. We need only point out that the *Rabocheye Dyelo* considered that it was impossible to set the overthrow of the autocracy as the first task of the mass working class movement and that it degraded this task (in the interests of the mass movement) to that of a struggle for immediate political demands

Lenin, What is to be Done? p 55-6

We feel that this is precisely what ATM-ML is doing.

Our disagreements with ATM are not whether or not communists should give answers to the questions put in front of us by the mass movement That we must do Our disagreements are on how we understand this and link it to the central task We believe that by building the party we will be taking a gigantic step towards giving answers to those questions put in front of us by the mass movement And that in the meantime (pre-party period) all our work in providing answers to those questions has to be aimed at facilitating the building of the party As Lenin says

"Without a strong organization, tested in the political struggle carried on under all circumstances and in all periods, there can be no talk of a systematic plan of activity, enlightened by firm principles and unswervingly carried out, which alone is worthy of being called tactics" (Iskra, No 4, found in Vol 5, page 6) quote from What is to be Done?, p 59

And that is why we must subordinate all 'special tasks and particular methods of struggle' to the building of the party On this question, ATM-ML muddles the need for the party (the task placed in front of us by concrete reality and by the guiding principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and how to build that party (the method of welding together the vanguard detachment of the proletariat around common line and program) This muddle confuses a description of the facts that the state of the spontaneous mass movement points to the necessity of giving conscious leadership to it, that is, to the need for the party, with the political line guiding Marxist-Leninists in this period of party formation which should establish the correct relationship between party building and all other tasks By so doing they establish an incorrect relationship between party building and the mass movement between, the communist movement and the working class movement, between the subjective factor and the objective factor.

Also, ATM-ML sums-up in the conclusion to its "Editorial" by saying

"Comrades, let's make fusion a reality Let's get serious about answering the questions posed by our movement We dedicate the REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE to this task" (R.C. vol 1 #10 p 12)

This statement is also ambiguous ATM-ML implies that fusion IS answering the questions posed by the mass movement Since solving those questions means, according to ATM-ML, to form the party, then fusion becomes the formation of the party We disagree with this view The party is the "biggest step towards fusion" but not fusion itself, which has to be built, strengthened, etc before, during and after the party is formed This interpretation seems to be the one meant by ATM-ML since it is consistent with their view of party building as a "protracted" struggle, and that in the meantime there are other just as important tasks to be carried out — which in reality means that the party can't be built (formed) until fusion is achieved Finally, this view confuses the means (the party, fusion), with the final aim (socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which can be the only answer communists give to the questions posed by the mass movement.

MARXIST-LENINISTS, UNITE, AND WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM

Comrade Mao Tsetung teaches us

"There are many contradictions in the process of development of a complex thing and one of them is necessarily the principal contradiction whose existence and development determine or influence the existence and development of the other contradictions"

On Contradiction, in Four Essays on Philosophy, p 51

"Marxist-Leninists unite and win the advanced to communism" represent the resolution of two contradictions in the party building process Regarding the relationship between the two, ATM-ML reaches the following conclusions

What this line inevitably reduces itself to is this — in all of our work we must focus and pay attention only to uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning over the advanced (precious few of whom are actually being won over and with Marxist-Leninists our "work usually consists of discourse and polemic)

Revolutionary Cause, Vol 1, No 10, p 11

We believe that both tasks are equally important, in the sense that both have to be carried out in order to achieve our goal We must carry out all tasks in order to build the party and must continue to do so in each period in order to carry out proletarian revolution, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism On the importance and relationship between "Marxist-Leninists unite and win the advanced to communism" we hold

At this moment the level of fusion of the communist movement with the working class movement in the U.S. is low, as is reflected by the character of the

working class movement.

To resolve this contradiction is just as important as to resolve the unity of Marxist-Leninists because this is what determines the social basis of our future party as well as the party's role as vanguard of the proletariat Both correspond to essential features of the proletarian party But why is the unity of Marxist-Leninists primary and winning the advanced to communism secondary in relation to each other?

First of all the party is made up of Marxist-Leninists This is fundamental The party cannot be composed of every striker sympathizer or contributor to the revolutionary cause as Martov would have it in his polemics with Lenin on party membership From the point of view of Comrade Martov the borderline of the Party remains quite indefinite for every strike may proclaim himself a Party member what is the use of this vagueness? A wide extension of the title Its harm is that it introduces a disorganizing idea, the confusion of class and party (Lenin CW Vol 6, p 211)

The party must be composed of workers yes, but workers that are M-Ls and not of advanced elements who are not yet communists. So it is our task to unite those that are M-Ls and not confuse proletarian class with proletarian party or advanced elements with M-Ls

Resistance, vol 7 #5, p 5

We have consistently fought to correctly apply this relationship in practice in these tasks as well as in our other tasks, such as in propaganda and agitation, the struggle against the right, which is the main danger, without failing to struggle against the "left" danger, the relationship between theory and practice; between concentrating on the advanced workers, without failing to give attention to the broad masses, etc

INCORRECT REASONING

In the past, ATM-ML held both that "all work must be placed in the context of party building in this period" and "that Marxist-Leninists unite is primary over winning the advanced to communism" Why has ATM-ML abandoned these correct positions?

In the aftermath of the wing, ATM-ML abandoned these positions without making any kind of scientific analysis of the old or new lines, nor of the practice carried out while operating under such lines In reference to these two lines, which are in fact indissolubly connected, ATM-ML says

"The initial roots of our errors can be traced back to our Unity Congress, which failed to clearly define the tasks facing us — instead saying that all of our tasks must be put into the context of party building — rather than saying that party building had to be put into the context of solving the questions put in front of the communists by the mass movement"

This error was to lead later to more fundamental problems in regard to carrying out our tasks of uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning over the advanced, as well as in our approach to study, the struggle against opportunism, etc

R.C. #9 page 5

We suggest comrades to read the complete article, you will not find a single word to explain the connection between the line and the fundamental problems in relation to "carrying out the tasks of uniting Marxist-Leninists winning the advanced" "approach to study", "the struggle against opportunism, etc"

The comrades continue

In REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE #1 we laid out two tactical tasks to party building and that of the two, Marxist-Leninists Unite" and "Win over the Advanced the former was necessarily our primary one

This was a left sectarian error on our part In practice it led to focusing our work almost exclusively to work with other communists on the basis of struggling for unity on line (in the general sense) without concerning ourselves about the question of common work i.e. revolutionary practice Although we were proceeding from an honest desire for the unity of Marxist-Leninists this 'left' position worked against us and our movement

Like it or not, it inevitably led us (and will lead others) to detach the question of Marxist-Leninist unity from the question of winning over the advanced in mass struggle, of the training of the advanced in an all-sided way, of training ones own cadres for this work

R.C., Vol 1, #9, p. 8

Why was this line a "left" sectarian error? The comrades fail to explain They substitute the explanation with the results that supposedly that line brought them in practice It is clear however that by carrying out only one of the two tasks, they were not applying their own line, "two tactical tasks" They were deviating from it by absolutizing one and liquidating the other (this was, remember, in the period in which they united with the "genuine wing") At that time PRRWO put forward the line that the two tactical tasks were simultaneous with neither being primary over the other (This is ATM-ML's line today.)

How do the comrades explain that coming from two different lines both organizations "detached in their practice the unity of Marxist-Leninists from the winning over the advanced?" The comrades don't explain this either (On the question of Unite Marxist-Leninists and winning the advanced, we refer comrades to the article in Resistance, Vol 7, #5)

Continued on p 9 (p.12 in Span. section)

Continued from page 8

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ATM-ML was objectively practicing the "onlys"!

By the admission of the comrades, we can conclude that the problem was not the correct position of "everything in the context of party building" nor the also correct position of Marxist-Leninists unite as primary, but rather the fact that, in practice, the comrades were carrying out the same line of the "onlys" of PRRWO. It is clear that they were absolutizing one aspect while liquidating the other. Thus we had two organizations, who carried out the same line in practice, while maintaining that their lines were different. ATM-ML does not deal with this question in their polemics with PRRWO-RWL (from which we have quoted their change of line)

The only proof offered by ATM-ML to substantiate that their previous line was incorrect is their practice. If they were to be consistent and use the same empiricist method in analysing PRRWO's line the only conclusion they could reach is that since PRRWO's practice was incorrect, then their line (the line that ATM-ML is holding now) must also have been incorrect! But ATM-ML does not do that.

INCORRECT METHOD OF STRUGGLE

In the article, "Revolutionary Cause and Our Tasks" the comrades create a straw man to polemize against our line. They say:

"That is why we fight so hard against the line (emphasis LPR) that party building is our ONLY task, and that "everything must be seen in the context (emphasis ATM) of party building". This latter position is often interpreted to mean that all of our tasks must serve to build, develop and strengthen the party. But when is this not true? Won't we be trying to build, strengthen and expand the party even under socialism?"

R C. vol. 1 # 10 p 11

By the omission of a plural, the line instead of the lines, ATM-ML has decided that the line of LPR-ML ("everything in the context of party building") and the line of the neo-Trotskyites of PRRWO-RWL ("central and only task") are the same line. This is a very incorrect style of struggle. Marxist-Leninists should, in polemizing with other Marxist-Leninists, look for the best argument of the opponent in order to prove it incorrect, instead of twisting their posi-

tion and creating a straw man that can be easily destroyed.

LPR-ML has consistently fought against PRRWO's "only", "only", "only" line. In the first article of our open polemic with the neo-Trotskyites of the "wing" we put forward:

6 They have a "left" opportunist line characterized by their "onlys" only party building only propaganda (rejecting agitation only line struggle (discarding all other forms of class struggle) only political line (ideology and organization are not important for them) only theory (all practice is economism according to them) only the proletariat (denying the existence of allies of the proletariat like poor farmers lower sectors of the petty-bourgeoisie etc

Resistance, Vol 7, #5, page 6

ATM-ML quotes this in Revolutionary Cause and comrades can review all the Marxist-Leninist press -sham and genuine- and will find that such characterization of that line as the "onlys" was precisely established in that article and since then almost every other organization has referred to it in this way. The straw man falls on its own weight. In the second article of the polemic with the neo-Trotskyite wing we clearly and precisely established the difference between both lines.

It would do well to point out that while we hold that all our work must be seen in the context of our central task which is party building, this quite different thing that to say "our principal and only task is to build the party" (PRRWO). The first position recognizes that because our principal and fundamental task is to build the party, all our work must be seen as a function of and in the service of this task. The second position is purely "left" infantile petty bourgeois idealism which results in the liquidation of all the practical activities of communists.

Resistance, Vol 7, #6, page 5

To sum-up, the line of no one task being primary is incorrect because it denies the fact that in all complex processes in which there exist more than one contradiction, one is always primary over the other, while we must establish the dialectical relationship that exists between them. This applies to tactical tasks, to types of activities, to slogans, etc. Thus we say for example that in this period "theory is primary over practice", "propaganda is the chief form of activity", "party building is the central task", "political line is the key link", "right opportunism is the main danger", "revolution is the main trend in the world today", and so on.

For it is impossible to carry out in practice a political line which is based on an eclectic, non-dialectical, view of the relationship between things, tasks, etc. Such a political line would not correspond with objective reality, with the laws of dialectics, and thus could not be carried out in practice. Thus PRRWO, claiming that the two tasks were simultaneous and neither one primary, ended up liquidating both.

Right and "left" lines, errors and deviations are consistently committed as a result of an incorrect understanding of the relation between the central task and all other tasks. From the right, which is the main danger, party building is subordinated to the tasks of building the mass movement. Party building is not raised consistently in all the work. Practice is made primary over theory, agitation over propaganda, win the broad masses over unite Marxist-Leninist and win the advanced to communism.

The "left" disconnects party building from the class struggle. Either they want to build a party in a closet, like the PRRWO-RWL "only" line, or limit its "participation" in a particular struggle to pure phrasemonger about the need for the party, fusion, periods, etc., etc. The "lefts" with their dogmatism and subjectivism absolutize theory, propaganda, unite Marxist-Leninist and win the advanced, etc.

In both directions, party building as the central task is liquidated. From the right, by making party building a secondary task subordinated to the ups and downs of the spontaneous mass movement. From the "left" by disconnecting party building from real life, from the concrete conditions of the U.S. revolution.

We must do neither.

PLACE ALL WORK IN THE CONTEXT OF PARTY BUILDING!

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las implicaciones y manifestaciones de esta en la práctica claramente lo señalan. A pesar de esto, los camaradas insisten que el peligro principal en ATM-ML ha sido y sigue siendo el "izquierdismo."

El no identificar correctamente la fuente de nuestros errores necesariamente conlleva un metodo incorrecto de solucionarlos. Brevemente, señalamos dos ejemplos de esto:

1. ATM-ML se auto-criticó porque en muchas ocasiones no planteó la construcción del partido en distintas luchas. Este error es de derecha. Pero insistiendo que su entrenamiento de cuadros es "izquierdista," ellos enfatizan "sobre el peligro de plantear la construcción del partido en una forma dogmática," en vez de decir, "Camaradas, la construcción del partido es la tarea central, asegúrense que la planteen y planteénla en una forma concreta."

2. En el editorial que acabamos de discutir, ATM dice:

" Los comunistas debemos intensificar nuestro trabajo en la clase, y no sentir miedo a dirigir sus luchas nomas porque alguien pudiera acusarnos de 'idolotrar la espontaneidad' ".
(R C. #10 p 8)

y señalan más adelante:

" También se nos dirá que nos estamos haciendo 'iguallitos a la O L. Esta reacción automática sólo puede venir de gente confusa o que no piensa' ".
(R C #10 p 8)

Esta advertencia a los cuadros refleja un punto de vista derechista en entrenamiento. Uno no puede decirle a sus cuadros que hagan trabajo y que no se apuren si se les critica por "economismo," porque solamente gente "confundida" o "que no piensan" harían eso.

Tal entrenamiento, objetivamente, hara que los cuadros estén en guardia solamente contra los errores de "izquierda," y que le respondan a quien les critique por cometer errores de derecha con "estas confundido," o "no sabes pensar." La O O R P (P R R W O) usa el mismo

Continúa en la pag 10

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