

# RESISTANCE

April, 1977  
Vol 8 #3-4



POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION M-L

Box 513, Triboro Sta / N Y , N Y 10035



## WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!

## LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS DAY!

MAY DAY, THAT GLORIOUS DATE ON WHICH WE CELEBRATE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' DAY FAST APPROACHES. THIS DAY SYMBOLIZES THE INDESTRUCTIBLE UNITY AND STRENGTH OF THE WORKING CLASS. Brotherhood, confraternity and solidarity among all workers of the world will be the message presented in all languages and in all corners of the globe in thousands of activities that will be held to commemorate this great day. By celebrating May Day, we recognize the leading role of the working class in the revolutionary struggle. We also recognize that the working class is the only consistently revolutionary class, the only class with the need, potential and ability to end that system of exploitation of man by man - capitalism - and build socialism under its own dictatorship.

It is important to remember that the celebration of May 1st, that is to say, the events which led to the selection of this date as International Workers' Day (May Day), took place in the U S. Thus, May Day, as well as March 8, IWWD, are an acknowledgement of the international proletariat of the heroic and militant history of struggle of the multinational proletariat in the U S. It is important that we remember this fact, that we further study our own history so that we may better understand that we have a rich history of struggle.

Our class is a revolutionary class which has consistently struggled for its rights and this struggle will necessarily escalate, led and organized by the communist party which we must build, towards the revolutionary seizure of power, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism.

How did the May Day celebration come about?

In 1884, at a convention of the Knights of Labor, a working class organization, a resolution was approved to declare a strike starting on May 1st

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### ATM CONSOLIDATES RIGHT LINE

## RIGHT OPPORTUNISM IS THE MAIN DANGER!

In August 1976, we pointed out to ATM-ML that

"ATM-ML's line is a right line because it belittles the importance of building the party. Its implementation in practice will mean to make the mass struggle primary, to liquidate the building of a party and build the mass movement. The formulation itself is an economist formulation that sees the party as growing out of the mass movement, belittling in this way the subjective factor, the conscious Marxist-Leninists. If ATM-ML carries out its line fully it will fall into the "build the mass movement" right line on Party building."

In January, 1977, seeing that the process of degeneration developed at an alarming rate, we started an open polemic based on the principle of unity-struggle-unity. At that time, we considered this necessary in order to aid honest Marxist-Leninists within ATM to defeat the rightist, reformist line within their organization. At the outset of that polemic we pointed out

"ATM objectively liquidates party building as the central task, political line as the key link, theory as primary over practice in this period, 'Marxist-Leninists unite and win the advanced to Communism' as our two principal tactical tasks (MLs unite is primary, LPR), propaganda as chief form of activity, right opportunism as the main danger, and the ideological and political struggle against opportunism."

RESISTANCE, vol 8 #1, p 1

This characterization of the line of ATM is correct. Today, the consolidation of this opportunist line within that organization is a fact.

During the process of degeneration, we considered correct the attempts to stop this process based on the honesty of a majority of its membership. We consistently pointed out their empiricism, pragmatism, disdain for theory, continuous changes and mutations of line without any kind of serious self-criticism and repudiation, their narrow nationalism, their liquidation of the struggle against opportunism, etc.

The problem was much more than deviations, errors, lack of understanding of theoretical questions, poor cadre training, lack of organizational consolidation after their break with PRRWO-RWL-WVO, over-reac-

tion to their experience with the 'genuine wing'. It was a reformist and opportunist line, which under the cover of a struggle against "leftism", began to gain control within the organization. Thus today we do not speak of an "old" and a new ATM but of a development and consolidation of a right opportunist line in ATM that we have to expose, isolate and defeat.

For a long time, ATM tried to maintain its mask as a honest organization. In their relations with us for example, the leadership of ATM resorted to the bourgeois trick of making self-criticism in private with assurances that public self-criticism would follow. In this manner they repudiated their position of support for forced busing, community control of police, their two stage theory in regards to agitation and propaganda; their failure to polemicize with the opportunists of WVO and MLOC and their conciliation with their lines, the hegemonistic form in which they related to other Marxist-Leninist organizations and collectives, etc.

However, public repudiation of these positions was never done. Worse yet, the cadre and sympathizers of ATM - even members of their Central Committee in the South West, were not aware of these self-criticisms. Thus since October, ATM supposedly did not support community control of police, however, their cadre continued to support it. Since October, they have a "no-position" on busing, but members of their Central Committee continued to defend the same racist, counter-revolutionary position which ATM had taken publicly.

These events point out clearly the opportunism of the high leadership (from the centre) as well as the lack of democratic centralism in this organization. Following in the footsteps of their mentors from PRRWO, ATM's Centre functions similarly to the old secretariat of PRRWO. The line comes from the "centre" and the cadre become aware of it, when they read it in the newspaper of other organizations.

In a forum held recently in Denver, Colorado, ATM's mask was completely removed. In their presentation as well as during the discussion in this forum, they put forth the following:

- (1) That political line is not the key link to Party building
- (2) That agitation is in the forefront

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### SUM-UP DISTRICT I STRUGGLE

## FIGHT FOR QUALITY EDUCATION!

The community of the Lower East Side in NY City has been the site of fierce struggles by working class, mostly national minority parents for the quality education of their children. This struggle is not isolated, but part of the struggle by workers and oppressed people for their democratic rights throughout the country. As the imperialist crisis deepens, living and working conditions worsen and the struggle must become more acute.

What has been the history of the struggle for quality public education? The struggle for this democratic right has taken various forms. In communities where de facto segregation has facilitated the capitalist State in providing inferior education to oppressed nationalities, the struggle for quality education has been especially acute many times violent. The bourgeoisie, in an attempt to divert the mass struggle and put a peg on the revolutionary potential of the masses, has offered a reform - forced busing - which they claim will achieve the integration of the schools and thus, according to them, bring quality education to all. This has only served to further divide the class and create the conditions for further national oppression.

For example, in the Canarsie area of New York where the bourgeoisie tried force busing, this only served to fan the flames of racism and pave the way for the intensification of national oppression. Afro-american children were subjected here to the fascist attacks of the racists in the community who organized

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### WORKERS AND OPPRESSED ...

in favor of the eight hour day. As May 1st neared, meetings, resolutions, conferences, and parades multiplied around the demand. Labor leaders and socialists set out to prepare for the great day. The ruling class also prepared. Industrialists were predicting for May 1st a "communist insurrection modeled by the 'Paris Commune'". They started arming themselves and preparing their forces of Pinkertons, militia and the police. The meetings were broken up by the police in many places and labor leaders were clubbed and jailed in an attempt to stop the upsurge of militancy in the working class movement.

By April 30 more than 60,000 Chicago workers had pledged to strike on May 1st. And many more around the country. On Saturday May 1st (a work day) the city of Chicago was "dead" -- workplaces were empty, there was no smoke in the chimneys, machinery was still. The workers were out in the street, assembling on Madison Ave for their parade. At the same time, jittery police, militia and Pinkertons were posted at corners and rooftops, equipped with rifles and other war materials. The National Guard had been mobilized and was ready for "anything" in the Chicago Armory.

More than 80,000 workers militantly marched into the Lake Front. 340,000 more marched in the rest of the country. German workers, Polish workers, Black workers, Irish workers, Jewish workers, and workers of many other nationalities paraded in Chicago -- workers who were of all religions and political affiliations. On that day they heard speeches in many different languages, all urging to keep up the struggle for the eight hour day and to continue the strike until it was won. After this tremendous demonstration of workers' solidarity, they dispersed and went home jubilant on the prospects of their struggle. Many actually did gain from their employers the eight hour day.

On the other hand, the police and all the repressive forces that had been mobilized in the expectation of violence on the part of the workers, had to return home frustrated.

#### HAYMARKET SQUARE MASSACRE

At the plant of McCormick Harvester Works, workers had been locked out and had assembled at the entrance. The police opened fire at the workers, killing 6 of them. A protest meeting was immediately called by the workers' organizations to be held at the Haymarket Square on May 4th. Again workers assembled and protested the unwarranted murder of their 6 fellow workers. During one of the speeches at the Square an armed police squadron moved in on the demonstrators and attacked the crowd. Immediately afterwards a bomb (probably planted by the very police) exploded in the midst of the crowd. In the confusion, workers ran in all directions, and the police fired in all directions. As a result, many were wounded and killed, including a police officer.

The next morning, the newspapers hysterically called for "justice" for the perpetrators of the crime. "Hang them first, try them afterwards!", they cried. They claimed the movement was led by "aliens" and "communists", and it is precisely these sectors of the working class that were more fiercely attacked during the reign of terror that followed. Jails were filled with the foreign born, doors of private homes were smashed and homes searched illegally, presses of foreign language and progressive newspapers were smashed, offices of working class organizations and trade unions were raided, thousands of workers were beaten, jailed or tortured if they did not testify against the Hay market leaders. "Make the raids first and look up the law afterwards," said J S Grinnel, Chicago State Attorney who later prosecuted the cases.

The reign of terror spread to other cities. Wholesale arrests with charges of conspiracy were staged against workers, trade union leaders, socialists or otherwise. Seven outstanding leaders of the class: Albert Parsons, Sam Fielden, August Spies, George Engel, Adolph Fischer, Oscar Neebe, and Louis Lingg were indicted for conspiracy to murder the dead patrolman. Even though only Spies and Fielden had been at the scene they were all charged and taken to trial.

On June 21, the proceedings against the 7 started. However thanks to the campaign by the capitalists

press they were as good as hanged already. The jury, composed of several businessmen and their clerks (including a relative of the dead man) was clearly prejudiced and fixed. The mock trial dragged for 4 months and on October 9, 1886 the judge read the sentences. "You are to be hanged till you are dead."

Despite the great wave of protest that was spread all over the country and the world, to save the lives of the condemned men, all appeals were denied them and execution was set for November 11, 1887. Neebe was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment. Later Fielden and Schwab's sentences were commuted to life imprisonment. The others were executed. Beneath the dangling noose, Spies spoke historical words: "There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today!"

That day has arrived. The voices of the Chicago martyrs were strangled but not defeated. Millions of workers in all parts of the world have given new vigor to the cause of the proletariat for which they gave their lives. Each May Day we remember these martyrs and together with all the heroes and heroines which have given their lives for the just cause of the emancipation of the working class and all oppressed peoples of the world. May 1st is a day of struggle in which we celebrate our victories, analyze the reality which confronts us today, and with new strength we renew our efforts to dedicate ourselves to the struggle for the true liberation that is the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism as the road towards a classless society communism.

The voices of Chicago grow stronger day by day. A deafening cry was heard in the reddest of all Octobers in 1917, in which the proletariat of all the nationalities and nations in Czarist Russia, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, formed the first socialist state in the world. This same victorious cry was heard in Albania in 1945 and in the great People's Republic of China in 1949. The cry of the peoples in struggle are the prelude to the imminent defeat of imperialism and the triumph of the oppressed peoples and of socialism.

The voices of the Chicago have triumphed in many places around the world but not yet in the U.S. Inevitably, they will also triumph here. To make this take place and to advanced the day is the task to which we have dedicated our lives. In the spirit and tradition which has characterized the multinational proletariat in the U.S., we invite you to attend and participate in the celebration of International Workers' Day this year.

As we near May 1st everything becomes activity in the marsh. The OL has just published their "Draft Program of the Communist Party (M-L)". WVO assures us that "The Party is a settled question". The neo-trotskyites of the "genuine wing" announce their up-coming first party congress. ATM states that party building is even more protracted that what they originally thought and that we have to wait for them to build the mass movement and then we can move to build the party.

Genuine Marxist-Leninists will also celebrate May Day activities. We will dedicate this day to move the task of party building forward. In our case we propose to present in our May Day celebration a report on the international situation and on the state of the communist movement.

After May Day, we will emerge with a clearer view of the tasks ahead of us and how to carry them out. We invite all honest Marxist-Leninists, advanced workers and elements and revolutionary-minded people to participate with us in carrying this out. Let's make May Day a day of struggle for the Party!



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**MARXISTS-LENINISTS UNITE!**  
**WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!**

### ATM...

- (3) that practice is primary over theory in this period
- (4) that all the tactical tasks which we communist have to perform along with Uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning the advanced to communism are all equally important without any one being primary over the others
- (5) that they did not come to New York to speak about the Chicano National Question because no one over here gave a hoot about Chicanos
- (6) That they have a "no position" on forced "busing but that they consider it's neo-Trotskyite to oppose it
- (7) that they still have no position on the question of community control of the police, since, when they repudiated this position they did so under the influence of the 'neo-trotskyites' from LPR
- (8) that it is incorrect to view the first period or stage in the struggle for the party in the U.S. as characterized by eclecticism (In the majority of cases ATM stated that they had changed their position, however they did not state what their new positions were)
- (9) that LPR is a "neo-Trotskyite organization".

The struggle against ATM's incorrect line will be widened and intensified in this period. We are conscious of the fact that within ATM, as well as among their contacts, there are many honest elements and revolutionaries who have been confused by ATM's demagoguery. Honest Marxist-Leninists in this country have the important task and responsibility of winning these honest forces from the rightist line of ATM.

Below, we are printing some extracts from our presentation at the Denver, Colorado forum

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Comrades and friends

We want to commend the Colorado Organization for Revolutionary Struggle (MLM) for their initiative in putting together this forum. Activities like this help to move forward the party building building motion in this country. Marxism-Leninism develops through struggle and principled ideological struggle among the Marxist-Leninists and advanced elements here present can only help build the unity among genuine forces, to clearly demarcate sham Marxism from genuine, to establish clearer and firmer lines of demarcation. Remember that "Before we can unite, and in order that we may unite, we must first of all draw firm lines of demarcation" (Lenin, What is to be Done?)

However, not all of us agree that polemics among Marxist-Leninists--debates, forums, etc are important. The comrades of ATM-ML for example disdain the importance of the ideological struggle they see it as abstract, promoting only paper unity - something that remains in the "realm of ideas" and having no practical application in the real world. This view is incorrect. This view, in fact belittles the role of theory, contradicts Lenin's well known thesis that "without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement". It is Lenin, precisely, who, in his time, had to fight tooth and nail against those that accused him of being abstract, of giving more importance to the task of "revolutionizing" the dogma than to carrying out the work among the masses and who many times emphasized the importance of open polemics.

"Discussions (talks, debates, disputes) about parties and about common tactics are essential, without them the masses are disunited; without them common decisions are impossible and, therefore, unity of action is also impossible. Without them the Marxist organization of those workers 'who can get to the root of things' (advanced workers, ed. LPR) would disintegrate and the influence of the bourgeoisie on the unenlightened would thereby be facilitated" (The Struggle for Marxism, LCW, p. 346)

It is of utmost importance, that we understand the full meaning of these words. Lenin is saying that the discussions, debates, talks and disputes, which are the forms of ideological struggle among Marxist-Leninists, help to unite the working class. Also that it is impossible to have unity of action without having achieved unity on political line, and finally, that the ideological struggle among the different groups is essential to achieve such unity.

Comrades and friends, it is quite clear that to talk about unity of action, unity in practice, without referring to the question of how we are going to determine the character, the content, the direction of such practice, is to liquidate altogether the dialectical relation between theory and practice, to deny that in this period, we repeat, in this period, theory is primary over practice, and in fact it is to

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to defend their "all white schools" Although we oppose forced busing we participated in protests denouncing these racist attacks, exposed the complicity of the police who allowed the attacks to go on, and actually fought against these racists to protect the lives and safety of the children

#### THE STRUGGLE IN DISTRICT 1

In still other oppressed communities, such as the Lower East Side (LES), the struggle has taken the form of fighting for bilingual education and against national oppression. After many years of intense struggle, today the Lower East Side (LES), is in a period of ebb, right before the school board elections which for years has been the occasion for sharp battles. In order to understand this ebb, as well as our position on the upcoming elections, we will briefly sum up what has been the history of the struggle in the Lower East Side (LES), and of our participation in it, our errors and contributions to that struggle.

The LES has historically been the scene for intense class struggles (the militant demonstrations for women's rights which is commemorated internationally on March 8 by IWW is just one example) Around the 1960's, with the upsurge of the national movements in the U.S., oppressed nationalities such as the Afro-american, Puerto Rican, Chinese Chicano, were rebelling against their oppression and fighting for their democratic rights. This struggle was taking on a revolutionary character, and the bourgeoisie while repressing it, also offered reforms to quell it.

It is in this context that the "decentralization law" was passed in NY City which made school districts supposedly autonomous from the Central Board, with the right to hire and fire, elect local school boards, etc. This fostered the illusions that now the oppressed community "controlled" the education received by their children. The opportunists immediately moved in, to secure positions of their own within the districts, steal the masses away from revolutionary struggle and towards reformism, strove to divide the community along national lines, making school board positions the focus of activity, pitting one national group against the other for the crumbs thrown at the local boards.

When we initially became involved in District 1 - the Lower East Side (LES) - we had had the previous experience of the struggle in District 4 (East Harlem) in which we had been providing leadership in a successful district wide boycott which lasted several weeks and was one of the most militant actions waged by parents in the city. The struggle in District 4 was an inspiration to many other districts which were also struggling for better education.

At that period the struggle for quality education and other democratic rights was at an upsurge. Certain reforms had been won and the masses believed that through the use of elections they would be able to finally have a say in their children's education. As a result of the struggle of the masses in District 1, the courts granted a new election revoking a racist local board which had won through discrimination and fraud. The illusions spread by the bourgeois reformists had a strong hold over the masses. It was an uphill battle for communists. We had to combat the fallacy of "community control" and expose the opportunists who were then respected as leaders and representatives of the community. At the same time, we could not remain in the sidelines and watch the struggle go on. We did NOT support community control although the masses supported it. On the contrary, we opposed it, educated the masses as to why, (see pamphlet The Struggle in District 1) and at the same time struggle for the democratic rights of the masses.

Throughout our participation in this struggle we have actively exposed the opportunists and opposed their reformist slogans. In all our propaganda and agitation, in Parents Associations, mass demonstrations, school board meetings, and other mass organizations such as "Por los Ninos", we consistently raised the fallacy of community control, while supporting the right to bilingual education, fighting against sexism in books and school curriculums, against police presence in the schools, and the collaboration of school administrators with the State (the Immigration department) in providing information about the children of the foreign born, etc.

We summed up these demands and formulated them in our "Survival Program" (see The Struggle in District 1 and Resistance vol 5 #s 5 & 6) around which we developed our propaganda and agitation in the district. We held many meetings and assemblies of parents and community residents where these demands were discussed and improved with the suggestions of the parents. This program was submitted to the "Por los Ninos" as the program to which

school board candidates should ascribe themselves to. It was adopted with the exception of the opposition to the presence of police in the schools. This issue was utilized by the opportunists who raised the legitimate concern of the parents about drugs in the schools, claiming that the police would keep them out. We raised that it is precisely the police who brings or condones the drug traffic that as part of the repressive apparatus of the capitalist State, the role of the police is to protect the interests of the ruling class and not those of the workers. Thus the police beats up and jails workers who fight for their rights against capitalist oppression and exploitation and specifically in the schools they can only intensify the abuse against the sons and daughters of the working class.

We helped build the "Por los Ninos" organization which initially grouped hundreds of parents, as well as community residents and teachers. We fought for the formation of a Parents Council, composed of representatives from each Parents Association, which we held should be at the head of "Por los Ninos". We fought for the multinational character of "Por los Ninos" against the opportunists, chauvinists and narrow nationalists who wanted to make it their own power base, and we demanded translation of flyers and meetings, putting forward slogans and demands such as "Fight for bilingual education, stop national oppression", and others.

We supported the effort of parents to elect their own representatives at the local school boards (which ran against the UFT slate supported by the reactionary elements in the community such as merchants, landlords, police, JDL, etc.) At the same time that we campaigned and voted for such parents' candidates we made clear that we were doing so in so far as they represented the parents and as long as their actions so reflected. We put forward that the elections would not be the answer to our problems, would not bring "community control" and quality education but rather, that it would be the struggle of the masses, and finally socialism, that would.

The main slogan of our work was "All Power to the Parents Associations". This is a synthesis of our line on the need to build the united front from below. Although we saw the need to make tactical alliances, we emphasized the importance of organizing at the base and relying on the revolutionary struggle of the masses. The opportunists' line on the contrary was to maneuver at the top relying on the bourgeois courts, and the electoral process on the support of the poverty pimps, local democratic club, trade union bureaucrats such as Victor Gotbaum, etc. and focusing on securing positions on the school board as the "cure all".

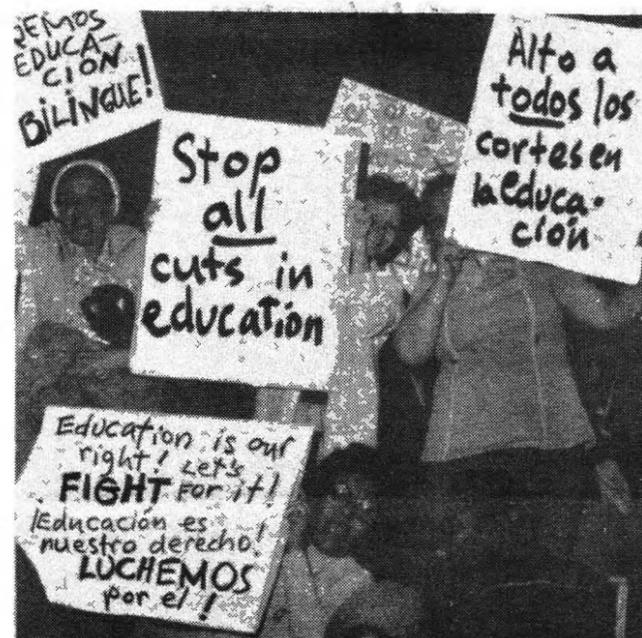
We saw the Parents Associations as the basic organization of the parents in the struggle for quality education and the success of that struggle as depending a lot on the level of organization and participation of parents in it. It is not the local boards, but rather the Parents Associations that are the key to moving forward that struggle. It is the masses and only the masses, that can wage a victorious struggle. We said then:

"In participating in the District 1 struggle, we've advanced the call of "All Power to the Parents' Associations". For these organizations represent the people in the community - the workers, welfare recipients, and unemployed. They have an immense potential for growth, a genuine and increasing desire to struggle. And thus it is in struggle, the fight to change this system that we unite with them,"

(The Struggle in District 1)

Meanwhile, the opportunist chorus of the revisionist of the CPUSA, and PSP, the Trotskyites of SWP, and the other opportunists such as the poverty pimps, the Democratic Club, and El Comité MINP, clamored the backward slogan of "Fuentes sí, Shanker no". This slogan concretizes the opportunists' stand of making the principal contradiction that between Fuentes (District superintendent) and Shanker (United Federation of Teachers' head), between the Puerto Ricans and Jews, between the parents and teachers. All of these are an attempt at muddling who the real enemy is the capitalist class, and the capitalist state, which really control the community by determining the budgets, the laws and institutions governing the education of our children, etc.

Fuentes was an SWP fellow-traveller who became district superintendent as a result of the decentralization law, and for several years was able, through hiring certain people, and firing others, and through his political maneuvers within the district to rally some strong support among some Puerto Ricans, and among assorted opportunists. He discriminated against the Afro-Americans, and Chinese, acting thus as a perfect tool of the capitalist class pitting national minorities against each other, causing



great harm in the movement for quality education.

Certain opportunists who sneaked into the "Por los Ninos" slate, posing as friends of the people, but who did not represent the interests of the working class parents and children, were also exposed in their concrete manifestations. Such was the case with Henry Ramos, poverty pimp who previous to the election put out a flyer urging Puerto Ricans to "vote for me and my own". We immediately exposed this as an attempt to divide our class, pit one nationality against another, by appealing to narrow nationalism and racism, which could only benefit the enemy. We also exposed the discrimination fraud and gangster type tactics of the UFT leadership and JDL thugs, the police and school administrators and the maneuvers of the State to prevent a victory by the parents.

As a result of the opportunist maneuvers, their collaboration with the capitalist state and the lack of extensive communist leadership, as well as the deepening of the imperialist crisis, conditions have worsened, education got worse, there have been more and more layoffs and more budget cuts in bilingual and other educational programs. Many brave parents and community residents have been beaten and arrested, and have suffered all sorts of abuse and harassment by police, school administrators, etc. The masses are clearly disgusted with the poverty pimps and assorted opportunists and traitors who have led them to defeat. The struggle of the masses is presently at an ebb. This period is for us one of reevaluation of work, of searching for new means of struggle and leadership, and of preparation for renewing the struggle. It is the task of communists to take the masses out of this ebb and provide correct communist leadership that will take the struggle to a higher level of consciousness and organization.

#### OUR MAIN ERRORS

Not having made a distinction between the different levels of development of political consciousness among parents was among our principal errors. This resulted in the lack of focus in our political work and in the propaganda and agitation. Relying for example on parents apparently very active and militant parents, who are not necessarily class conscious, led to serious setbacks in our work. This was due to the fact that we lacked a line on the advanced, on the need to win over, and rely on the advanced. This would have allowed us to utilize correct tactics according to concrete conditions and the level of development of contacts. The line on the advanced also facilitates the work of building a genuine communist party in the U.S. by placing mass work in this context.

An example of our school level work was that done at P.S. (x) where the principal was refusing to allow parents into the school premises provoking the anger of many. We exposed the principal's racist action as connected with the capitalist system in which education serves the interests of the ruling class and not the working class. We helped organize a protest for the right to enter the schools and even to meet inside the school as a group. A parents group was organized with the support and participation of some school aides. Under our guidance flyers were produced and distributed, and picket lines organized demanding the right to enter the school as well as fighting the gradual elimination of the bilingual program, and the lack of supervision in the play hours. A two day boycott was staged which forced the principal to give in to some of the parents demands. In the course of this struggle we were able to de-

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# IWWD EVENT



**\* 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**

International Working Women's Day (IWWD) is an important date for the working class. This date commemorates the long and arduous struggles of women for democratic rights and for emancipation. The ruling class has always attempted to hide the history of struggle of women. The struggle for women's democratic rights and full emancipation is part and parcel of the struggle for the emancipation of the working class. In dealing with it, as with all other questions in this society facing the working class, there are two outlooks - the proletarian and the bourgeois outlooks - reflecting the two classes that stand in open conflict in today's capitalist society.

The reformists, who hold a bourgeois outlook, have also tried to deny the relationship the struggle of women for full emancipation has to the struggle for the emancipation of the working class - the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism. They try to deny the class-content of the woman question. They are intent on diverting the struggle of women, attempting to make it a struggle against men and not against the bourgeoisie. We must fight against the ruling class' attempt to rob us of our history of militant struggles and the attempts of the reformists to strip the struggles for the full emancipation of women of its revolutionary character. IWWD commemorates the mass demonstrations of men and women workers in the garment industry in New York City demanding equality, better working conditions, better living conditions, the right to vote, etc. and the numerous struggles of women the world over for their democratic rights and full liberation, as well as their participation in the movements for national liberation and the emancipation of the working class.

On March 6, 1977, an event in commemoration of IWWD took place in New York City sponsored by the Committee for the Celebration of International Working Women Day. At the activity, the committee gave a presentation on the Woman question and presented a cultural event along with a film and a discussion. The League for Proletarian Revolution (M-L) participated in this activity and read a message of solidarity.

### COMMITTEE PRESENTATION

This presentation gave a historical view of the oppression of women. It correctly put forth that women's oppression arises with the division of society into classes.

"The addition of more labor power became desirable. This was furnished by taking captives from war and making them slaves. Slavery was the first development of society into classes - the exploited class was the slaves who owned nothing and the exploiting class was the slave-owners, who owned the slaves, herds and land. All the surplus resulting from the production fell to man, woman shared in consuming it but she had no share in owning it. Thus began woman's economic dependence on man which provided the material basis for her oppression and exploitation. Woman's relationship to the means of production was that she did not own or control them."

The presentation also pointed to the fact that women's struggles are tied to the struggle of the working class. "The basis of women's oppression and of the working class oppression is found in their relationship to the

means of production. The capitalist class owns all the means of production, the working class owns nothing. That is why woman's emancipation is tied to the struggle of the entire working class. The struggle of men and women for the full emancipation of women however, is being subverted by the bourgeoisie. The committee presented this clearly, pointing to one of the ways in which the bourgeoisie attempts to seize control of this movement and pointing to the correct path.

"Feminism is a variety of reformism which is manifested in the Women's Movement in several ways. Rather than relying on the militant struggle of the masses and pointing to the ultimate solution which is socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, it aims at achieving women's liberation within the framework of capitalism, relying on the courts and other institutions. Feminism is a set of ideas of the capitalist class that state that the basis of the woman's problems is man. That men are the enemy of women. What these ideas do is divide the working class - both men and women workers. As Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought, the science of the working class teaches us, we must proceed from an analysis of the objective facts. The fact is that the material basis for woman's oppression is the capitalist system in which we live.

As women take their place alongside men in many factories they are able to see that as workers they have a common struggle against a common enemy, and that this enemy is capitalist class. It is to overthrow this class that we struggle - so that we may set up our own dictatorship of the proletariat where the working class is in power, which is in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people."

Their presentation also dealt with the danger that revisionism represents to the movement for the emancipation of women and to the working class movement as a whole. An example of this is the revisionists undermining the Women's International Democratic Federation. This federation was a staunch fighter for the emancipation of women and was initially under communist leadership. After the takeover of power of the revisionist clique in the Soviet Union, the federation was led down the path of reformism and is now a mouthpiece for the Soviet revisionists' talk of 'detente', 'lasting peace', etc. In their presentation the committee correctly pointed out the importance of the woman question in the struggle for socialism and pointed to the need in the U.S. today for a genuine Communist Party.

The movement for the emancipation of women takes its leadership from this party, which alone is capable of merging all the great social movements into a single revolutionary torrent towards the revolutionary seizure of state power and at building of socialism. In the U.S. today, such a party does not exist. It must be built. It falls on the shoulders of all honest Marxist-Leninists to build such a party. That is our central task and a task in which working women must play a vital role."

### "SALT OF THE EARTH"

The film shown was 'Salt of the Earth' which deals with a miners' strike in New Mexico.

The main focus of the film is the women's role in the success of the strike and the struggle to assert their rights as equals. One of the most important points made by the film is the need for the unity of the class. This is shown through the solidarity of the women with their husbands while at the same time staunchly combatting the chauvinist attitudes of the men -- at the Union meetings, in the community meetings, at home etc. This point has to be stressed so as not to fall into the bourgeois idea that the source of the oppression of women are men, denying the class character of it. The film definitely underlines the fact that it is only in the unity of the class that its strength lies. It is not an individual leader, that moves the struggle or history forward, but unity and consciousness of the class. It is the masses that make history. This is emphasized over and over again -- in the strike, in the protection from evictions, etc. The film presents religion as part of the daily life of oppressed people. It fails to link it with the state and does not show the real role of religion as a means of placating people and diverting them from the struggles, by teaching that life on earth is not important and promising 'life after death'. In dealing with the repressive arm of the state (the police and the courts), the film does make a reference as to the alliance between these and the bourgeoisie. But this reference, however, is not strong enough. It does not show to what extent the state goes in or-

der to stop the struggles of the working class and that more than unity is needed to give the bourgeois state its death-blow. For this we must be highly organized in a party of the working class and carry out armed struggle against the bourgeoisie. These points were clarified in the discussion period. Also, the film portrays the union and union bureaucracy in a positive way that doesn't correspond to their actual role today. Instead of democratic unions and bureaucrats that organize and lead the workers' struggles, as seen in the film, they are today controlled by and responding to the interests of the capitalists. This labor aristocracy, along with revisionists and reformists are the object of the main blow today in U.S. revolution.

### PROLETARIAN SINGERS

The program also included some songs by the PROLETARIAN SINGERS. One of these songs was "The World is in Great Disorder". This song was done previously by the Socialists (previously PRRWO). In their introduction to the song the PROLETARIAN SINGERS pointed out that deals with the task of communists in the U.S. - the building of the U.S. Bolshevik Party. They also stated that the revolutionary wing has attempted to claim it as its own. The Proletarian Singers correctly pointed out that this song belongs to all honest Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary-minded people who have taken the task of building the party and moving the struggle forward. They also sang "Women of the World Hold Up Half of the Sky", dedicated to the revolutionary women of the world. We are including in this paper the words of both songs so that comrades all over the country may be able to use them (see page 8).

### LPR STATEMENT OF SOLIDARITY

The League for Proletarian Revolution (M-L) read a short message of solidarity with the activity. In this message we point to the importance of women's involvement in the national liberation struggles and the struggle of the working class to defeat capitalism giving the examples of women in China, Albania and the Third World countries. Underlining the fact that women in the U.S. have also historically taken up the struggle for emancipation, LPR (M-L)'s message pointed out how the bourgeoisie attempts to deal with the deepening economic crisis affects women and the working class in general we put forth:

Today, in the middle of this deep economic crisis, where the working class is heavily under attack, national minorities, youth and women are especially under attack and what little rights had been won through our struggles, the capitalist class is now attempting to take back. Just like women were brought into the labor force as a source of cheap labor and as a market for the capitalists' products, they are now the first to be fired, her rights curtailed more and more each day."

This situation has to be combatted while making clear at the same time the ties that bind the woman question to the struggle for the emancipation of the working class. Thus we further correctly pointed out:

"We have to struggle against these attacks, and in the process demarcate ourselves from opportunists of all hues. We have to first recognize and understand that the woman question is a class question. This means that the oppression of women marks historically the initiation of the division of society into classes and that women's oppression will survive as long as classes exist. Thus the woman question cannot be solved within the boundaries of capitalism which makes the struggle for the emancipation of women a component part, a very important and decisive one, of proletarian revolution."

In order to carry out the proletarian revolution, the working class needs its general staff, the organization capable of leading it to victory, to defeat of the bourgeoisie - its communist party. In the U.S. today the working class lacks its highest form of organization, its vanguard detachment. We must build such a party. We must ensure the participation of women in this process. Addressing this particular issue, we stated:

"Today the struggle for proletarian revolution is centered around the building of the party because without its vanguard detachment - which is the new Communist Party we must build, guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse Tung Thought - the working class is left without its general staff that will lead it to victory towards the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie - the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism.

"To build this party, the participation of woman is essential, and in this period advanced women must be won over to the cause of communism and the building of the party."

We closed our solidarity message emphasizing the need for all honest comrades to become full participants in the struggle for proletarian revolution in this country.

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## ATM

deny political line as the key link to party building in the United States in 1977

This is precisely what the party building line of the ATM-ML is all about. By labelling as 'leftist' anything that relates to theory by dispensing all ideological struggle with a simple "this is abstract, it's in the realm of ideas", they have become an anti-theory trend in our movement. An anti-theory trend that carries a line of practice, practice, practice, that unless defeated will take these comrades to the marshes.

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ATM-ML, as PRRWO before them, is liquidating both tactical tasks in practice. We believe that the comrades have consistently failed to try to unite Marxist-Leninists, and continuously justify this failure saying that they are involved in the mass struggle. We also believe that ATM-ML is failing in the task of winning the advanced to communism. With their line of "agitation in the forefront", with a newspaper that reads like a collection of agitational leaflets, with their consistent failure to raise party building, socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat in their mass work—even in their own newspaper, it is impossible to train, consolidate and win the advanced.

ATM-ML is objectively addressing themselves both in theory and in practice to the broad masses. Making this the principal task of the work in this period, is a serious right error.

Why is it that we have to concentrate on the advanced? Certainly not because we disdain the intermediate or the backward workers. It is because the advanced workers determine the character of the workers' movement. This means that the fastest and surest way to reach the backward workers, who in fact constitute the vast majority of the working class, is by winning over the advanced workers. It is these advanced workers that are won over and consolidated mainly by our propaganda work (such as newspapers, leaflets, study circles, meetings, oral one to one propaganda, etc.) and by the communist leadership and training provided in the heat of the class struggle. These advanced workers provide the bridge between the Marxist-Leninists and the broad masses. Comrade Lenin speaks on this question as follows:

Hence those who accuse the Russian Social Democrats of being narrow minded, of trying to ignore the mass of the labouring population for the sake of the factory workers are profoundly mistaken. On the contrary, agitation among the advanced sections of the proletariat is the surest and the only way to rouse (as the movement expands) the entire Russian proletariat. The dissemination of socialism and of the idea of the class struggle among the urban workers will inevitably cause these ideas to flow in the smaller and more scattered channels. This requires that these ideas take deeper root among the better prepared elements and spread throughout the vanguard of the Russian working class movement and of the Russian revolution."

Lenin, Collected Works, Vol 2, pg 331

### THE STRUGGLE FOR REFORMS

Another vital question is that of reforms. The attitude of communists toward the struggle for reforms is another line of demarcation between sham and genuine Marxist-Leninists. We recognize and uphold the importance of communist struggle for reforms despite the fact that they don't destroy the power of the ruling class. They can, however, prepare the way towards the seizure of power in the long run. It is key in this matter that we differentiate between reforms and reformists, because we communists can struggle for reforms but we do not support reformism, or reformers. As comrade Lenin said:

Unlike the anarchists, the Marxists recognize struggle for reforms, i.e. for measures that improve the conditions of the working people without destroying the power of the ruling class. At the same time, however, the Marxists wage a most resolute struggle against the reformists, who directly or indirectly restrict the aims and activities of the working class to the winning of reforms. Reformism is bourgeois deception of the workers who despite individual improvement will always remain wage slaves as long as there is the domination of capital.

The liberal bourgeois grant reforms with one hand and with the other always take them back, reduce them to naught, use them to enslave the workers, to divide them into separate groups and perpetuate wage slavery. For that reason reformism, even when quite sincere in practice becomes a weapon by means of which the bourgeoisie corrupt and weaken the workers. The experience of all countries show that the workers who put their trust in the reformists are always fooled.

Marxism and Reformism, LCW, Vol 19, p 372

Further, we should add that there are reforms, and there are reforms. We fight for reforms that "improve the conditions of the working class", their capacity to struggle, their unity as a class. We oppose reforms that, rather than facilitate the independence, militancy and unity of the working class, further tie the working class to the bourgeoisie, divide the working class, divert their struggles from a revolutionary path, and have the working class rely on the bourgeois State for the instrumentation of the reform. In other words, we fight for genuine reforms and oppose sham reforms.

### Comrade Lenin put forward in A Letter to the Northern League, (LCW, Vol 6, p 167)

We neither can nor will help in every way to improve the conditions of the workers under the present circumstances. For instance we cannot help in the Zubatov fashion and even if Zubatov corruption is involved we shall not do that. 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 (and is becoming more and more inclined) to buy itself off from revolution with various handouts 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.

Coming from the understanding of the existence of genuine and sham reforms it is the task of communists to analyze every reform. In the particular, and, after determining the character of each reform, put forward their line on it. Obviously, we have to oppose all sham reforms and fight for the genuine ones. It goes without saying that as communists there is only one way that we can struggle for reforms, that is in a revolutionary way, in a communist way. LPR-ML supports struggles for bilingual and bicultural education, against forced sterilization of women for free day care, etc. and opposes sham reforms like forced busing, E.R.A. and all community control of the police.

The comrades of ATM-ML in this question start by denying the existence of genuine and sham reforms. For them reforms are reforms. Based on this, the content of a particular reform is not important. Thus, the only important thing is how you struggle for it. If you struggle as a reformist then the reform is no good. If you struggle as a revolutionary, we understand ATM-ML to mean by this if you struggle very militantly, then the reform is good. This is a blatant distortion of Marxism-Leninism on this question. The criteria for determining whether we support a particular reform cannot be how we are going to struggle for it. This is ant dialectical. It is putting things upside down. How are we going to determine the form and method of struggle that we are going to use in a particular struggle without first determining whether or not we should support or oppose that struggle? This line can only lead and is leading ATM-ML, to tail behind the masses to worship the spontaneity of the mass movement. Let's take a couple of examples of ATM-ML's line and practice in the struggle for reforms. In doing this we again call the comrades' attention to the fact that first you have to determine the character of the reform and then and only then, the more feasible form of revolutionary struggle around that reform.

### FORCED BUSING

ATM-ML puts forward that they support forced busing because according to them it helps the integration of the different nationalities. They also say that they support the busing of whites but don't support the busing of the national minorities.

This position is incorrect in many different ways. To start with, it is clear that when we talk about integration we have to do so from the standpoint of the proletariat and not from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie sees integration as a violent process something that is forced upon people by the bourgeois state. The proletariat on the contrary sees integration only in a peaceful way. Lenin leaves no room for doubts:

The proletariat however far from undertaking to uphold the national development of every nation on the contrary warns the masses against such illusions, stands for the fullest freedom of capitalist intercourse and welcomes every kind of assimilation of nations except that which is founded on force or privilege."

V I Lenin, Critical Remarks on the National Question, page

But ATM-ML tells us that we should support the "integration" that will be achieved thanks to the bayonets of the national guard.

In practice—and Boston is a good example—busing, instead of integrating the Afro-Americans and the white communities, has created more divisions among them, causing more racial tension, more national oppression. As communists we know that the integration of peoples of different nationalities is a good thing but we oppose any attempt to carry this out by means of force.

ATM-ML's position, however, is in this case worse than the positions of other organizations that support forced busing including the October League. ATM-ML put forward forced busing for whites but not for national minorities. This is sheer narrow nationalism. Another version of the ultra-right line of "white skin privilege". How is it that if forced busing is something good, only whites should be forced to participate in it?

How can ATM-ML say that they stand for multinational unity and then propose that we should support the right of the bourgeois state to determine what school the sons and daughters of the white workers should attend? In fact, what ATM-ML is saying is that the white workers have the privilege of having better educational facilities and that the way to bring multinational unity is by the white losing this privilege.

Instead of fighting for better education for all children, instead of trying to give communist leadership to the struggle of the masses for real equality in education, struggles that put as demands an end to all budget cuts, rehiring of all laid-off personnel, establishment of bilingual and bicultural programs, tutoring programs, afterschool programs, adult education etc., ATM-ML helps pave the road towards fascism by legitimizing the use of the repressive apparatus of the State to implement forced busing.

We have struggled over this question with the comrades many times. We have let them know that in our view their positions on forced busing besides being based on sheer narrow nationalism is objectively class collaboration. After a lot of struggle over this question on October 9, 1976, ATM-ML put forward in a letter to us:

"We seriously considered your criticism of our position on busing Anglo students. We really couldn't defend our position. Nowhere have we implemented our line in practice. Therefore, we intend to thoroughly investigate the question over the next few months. In the meantime ATM has 'no position' on busing."

It is precisely things like the one we just read to you that led us to believe that as long as we were capable of proving that the comrades of ATM-ML were wrong, they would move to repudiate their incorrect positions. In the particular case of busing the struggle among both organizations on the question stopped and we were preparing for a statement of unity and differences between ATM-ML and LPR-ML that was to be made in November to further clarify the position of both organizations on this and many other burning questions. November came and went and the statement was postponed to January upon ATM-ML request. A new postponement occurred in January again upon the request of the comrades. Since the situation was moving from bad to worse, we moved to establish an open polemic with the comrades in January. Now we find out from a representative of ATM-ML that they never changed their position on forced busing. That all along, they have had the same position despite what the letter said. We expect that the comrades of ATM-ML here will be able to explain this conduct as well as defend their line on forced busing.

### COMMUNITY CONTROL

ATM-ML has put forth that it is possible to achieve community control under capitalism. We strongly disagree with that position. Community control is a false issue, a sham reform. The bourgeoisie spreads the illusion that it is possible for a community-elected board to control the schools, or the hospitals, etc. as a way of diverting the revolutionary struggles in those areas into a reformist path.

ATM-ML is not only saying that community control is achievable but the community should try to control even the police under capitalism. This is reformism all along the line. ATM-ML distorts the role of the State as an organ of oppression of one class over another class by putting forth that it is possible that the police, an essential part of the repressive military machine of the State, can be controlled by the community. This conception views the State apparatus, at least its police, as a neutral body in the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

But ATM-ML goes even further in their reformism. They put forward that the police should live in the working class and national minority communities. According to them the police will think twice before attacking somebody in the community for fear of reprisal. What ATM-ML doesn't speak to is the fact that what they are calling for is objectively class collaboration with this line on the possibility of control of the police, of making it neutral, etc. This line in fact was put forward by organizations like the Black Panthers and the Black Muslims who fought, in a very militant way, for the demand "Black cops in the Black ghetto".

In Harlem, an Afro-American community in New York, the great majority of the police are Blacks and despite this, there is no other community in the city that has a greater incidence of police brutality than this area. In Puerto Rico, all the police are Puerto Ricans and that has not changed the repressive apparatus. We should remember Lenin asked not for changing the nationality of the police, the army, etc., but asked for the struggle to smash the state apparatus.

... continues on page 6

## ATM

In their obsession over community control ATM-ML has also called for "community review boards" to deal with the question of police repression. This boils to the same thing: seeing the State as a neutral body.

We also struggled with the comrades on this question back in August. On this question, they also made self-criticism and said that they had changed their line. They told us that in October 1976, but in February 1977 in a conference against police repression held in Pueblo, a cadre from ATM-ML put forth the same demand again, under the guise that ATM-ML has no position on the question and therefore their cadres can put forth whatever line they prefer. Is this what ATM-ML calls communist leadership? Is this the type of democratic centralism in ATM-ML? Is this the understanding of ATM-ML on self-criticism and repudiation, on being open and aboveboard? We expect to get some answers to these questions in the discussion.

### CONCLUSION

We have consistently put forward, that we consider incorrect the proposition that the party in this country will be built on the basis of one particular organization. This is so because there does not exist in the U.S. Communist movement a leading theoretical, political and organizational center around which to build the party nor can any of the existing organizations by itself become this leading center. The road towards the party in the U.S. is the road of principled unity among genuine Marxist-Leninist organizations, collectives and individuals in a joint party effort. The development of this center must take place if we are to move forward on the road to party building. Call it a party building commission, organizing committee, Iskra effort, unity trend or whatever. It is not the name but the content that is important. We do not need petty bourgeois intellectuals like WVO who scream "the party is a settled question", we have the correct line--slaughter your circle and collectives and become part of WVO!?? We do not need party building proposals a la MLOC, which invites all who care to answer its invitation and promises to keep all discussion in the strictest of confidence, to do practical and theoretical work and even write a program. What we most definitely need is a joint effort to develop a party building plan. The question here is not the an organization proclaims itself to be the vanguard. But that the developing Marxist-Leninist trend unite on political line and prove its capacity to lead the struggle for the party. As Lenin said:

For not enough to call ourselves the vanguard the advanced detachment we must see in such a detachment that the detachments will see us and be obliged to admit that we are marching in the vanguard. And we ask the reader to be representative of the other detachments such fools, to be on guard for it when we say that we are the vanguard.

Lenin, What is to be Done?, Peking, p. 103

The other detachments are not stupid. Just because somebody says that they are the party (as RCP or CLP), or that the first congress is around the corner (as the OL or the Neo-Trotskyite Wing) or that the party is a settled question" (like WVO), these detachments are not going to cross their hands and stop struggling for the cause that these sham forces have double-crossed so many times. As genuine Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces, we share this responsibility. We have to stop waiting for messiahs that will come and build the party for us. The struggle for the party is not based on who has more money, etc., but it is based on who has the correct line, who correctly links revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice. It is time for all of us--small organizations, collectives, and individuals Marxist-Leninists to come forward and fight for the leadership in the U.S. Communist movement. As comrade Chou En-lai said:

'Chairman Mao teaches us that the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything'. If one's line is incorrect, one's downfall is inevitable, even with the control of the central, local and army leadership. If one's line is correct, even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be soldiers, and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained.'

Tenth Party Congress of the CPC

In the January issue of our paper, we put forward that

The Marxist-Leninist trend in the United States is composed of a few organizations, collectives and individual Marxist-Leninists around the country. The trend does not have organic connections among all its

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

### Resistance vol.8 #2

The most fundamental question on which we have to achieve unity on line in order to be able to move forward is precisely on the question of how to build the party.

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A component part of the struggle for the party, for proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism is the struggle against opportunism. Today we fulfill part of our responsibility by exposing the right opportunist line of ATM-ML.

It is true that birds of a feather flock together. ATM-ML flocks together with PRRWO-RWL and WVO in the sham party building commission that created the "genuine wing". Today, ATM-ML is going back

directly to the same swam of its former bedfellows. Despite the fact that in form ATM and WVO are right opportunists and PRRWO-RWL "left" opportunists, the similarities in their class stand, method and viewpoint are inescapable.

In our struggle against PRRWO-RWL, the favorite argument of the wing was how small we were. They claim that a small organization, a sect cannot have the correct line. That the correct line belongs to the "big organizations". We had the opportunity to participate in the funeral of the "wing". Today, they are definitely smaller than we ever were and we are growing strong. Today, ATM-ML is using the same bourgeois logic, trying to determine the correctness of the line based on numbers. They are doomed to failure. We will help them to go straight to the place that corresponds to them.

### As Lenin says

We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies and we have to advance under their almost constant fire. We have combined voluntarily, precisely for the purpose of fighting the enemy and not to retreat into the adjacent marsh, the inhabitants of which from the very outset have reproached us with having separated ourselves into an exclusive group and with having chosen the path of struggle instead of the path of conciliation. And now several among us begin to cry out: let us go into this marsh! And when we begin to shame them they retort: how conservative you are! Are you not ashamed to deny us the liberty to invite you to take a better road! Oh yes gentlemen! You are free not only to invite us, but to go yourselves wherever you will, even into the marsh. In fact we think that the marsh is your proper place and we are prepared to render you every assistance to get there. Only let go of our hands, don't clutch at us and don't besmirch the grand word "freedom" for we too are "free" to go where we please, free to fight not only against the marsh but also against those who are turning towards the marsh!

Lenin, What is to be done?, p. 10



Message of solidarity with the 5th Regional Congress of E S U N A from L P R (M-L)

# LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE ETHIOPIAN PEOPLES!

Comrades and friends March 18, 1977 Boston, Mass

On the occasion of the 5th Eastern Regional Congress of the ESUNA, the League for Proletarian Revolution (Marxist-Leninist) warmly salutes this celebration of the fifth anniversary of the birth of the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party. We consider this a date of great significance for the world's proletariat and for all oppressed peoples, as the EPRP constitutes a further strengthening of the forces favorable to the people and the revolution, and against imperialism. The EPRP is, in fact, dealing telling blows against the CIA armed fascist military Junta of Ethiopia, and against U.S. imperialism. We wholeheartedly support the EPRP's revolutionary struggle waged against the Junta's and its lackeys' plans to smash the revolutionary struggle of the Ethiopian masses and the Ethiopian revolution.

We also warmly salute the third anniversary of the Ethiopian Women's Day and wholeheartedly support the struggles being waged by the revolutionary women of Ethiopia, who have rightfully taken their position, side by side men, as dedicated soldiers of the revolution and servants of the masses, in particular the courageous women of the now-banned Ethiopian Women's Coordinating Committee held in the prisons and torture chambers of the Junta. We hail the new women fighters who have taken up their banners and continued the struggle against imperialism, feudalism, neo-colonialism and hegemonism. Lenin's words are truly wise: "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."

While the Ethiopian peoples are waging revolutionary struggles against U.S. imperialism, the Soviet social imperialism is also attempting to meddle and gain a foothold through its lackeys in the Junta - the revisionist Haile Fida renegade clique, who are sharing power in the Junta with the most reactionary elements in Ethiopia. But the people have seen through the "left" sounding phrases but fascist deeds of these scoundrels and are bravely beating them back. The women of the EWCC heroically repelled their attempts to convert their organization into an appendage of the Junta and provided a noble example for the people.

For Soviet social imperialism, Ethiopia is a juicy morsel to contend for with U.S. imperialism. The increased contention of the two superpowers throughout the world is increasing the danger of war and we must heighten our vigilance and get prepared. The best way to prepare and fight against these war

preparations is to further consolidate our forces and to wage revolution, opposing the two superpowers' drive for hegemony over the world -- and certainly not by preaching "detente" as the revisionists do, in an attempt to put out the flames of revolution in the name of "world peace."

We must repel this dangerous tiger - the Soviet social imperialists - trying to sneak in the back door. Their intervention in Angola backed by Cuban mercenary troops, and their temporary success there, is a self-exposure and will certainly backfire. And the recent visit by Cuba's Premier Fidel Castro to Ethiopia, is an attempt to smooth the way in for the upcoming visit this month of Soviet President Nicolai Podgorny to Ethiopia, which further exposes their imperialist maneuvers and the use of their puppets in the third world in order to meddle in other countries' affairs. These puppets, like the revisionist mouthpieces of Soviet social imperialism all around the world, and like the CPUSA here, are enemies of the people and we must resolutely expose their betrayal of the interests of the proletariat and the revolution. We Marxist-Leninists in the U.S. must build, guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, the true multinational communist party that is to lead the U.S. proletariat to socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism. This is the most concrete form of support that we can give at this moment to the struggles for national liberation and socialist revolution the world over. This is our highest internationalist duty - to which we are committed.

The fascist military Junta will not be successful in its last ditch attempts at mass murders and mass repression to stop the revolutionary storm of the Ethiopian masses. The Ethiopian people will be successful by continuing in the road of the New Democratic Revolution. And the national liberation struggles the world over will continue to surge forward, weakening imperialism, and especially the two superpowers, causing them set back after set back, proving the correctness of the irresistible historical trend: "Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and people want revolution!"

LONG LIVE THE INVINCIBLE WEAPON OF MARXISM-LENINISM MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

LET US BUILD EVER STRONGER AND BROADER, THE WORLD WIDE UNITED FRONT AGAINST THE TWO SUPERPOWERS!



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

"NO NATION CAN BE FREE IF IT OPPRESSES OTHER NATIONS "

These words of Engels take on a special importance at this historic time. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the peoples of the Third World, struggle under the most diverse conditions for their independence and national liberation. Their victorious struggles are what move history forward, advancing triumphantly along the road of revolution. We live in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The peoples of the Third World are showing by their struggles that revolution is an irresistible trend, the main trend in the world today, in which "Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and peoples want revolution."

We are part of the greatest and most powerful exploiter of peoples that humanity has ever known. Yankee Imperialism. This savage imperialism bombed the defenseless cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the most brutal and bloody massacre known to mankind. The list of crimes by Yankee imperialism is too long to print here. Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Azania, Zimbabwe, Santo Domingo, Panama, Puerto Rico, Haiti and hundreds of other cases testify to the oppressive character of our bourgeoisie. As part of the multinational proletariat of this superpower, in our struggle to defeat our own bourgeoisie, we are in fact supporting all those peoples who are struggling against feudalism, colonialism, imperialism and superpower hegemonism. In particular we are concretely supporting those who are victims of yankee imperialist domination.

"The struggles of the peoples support each other" and in our case this is translated into concrete support to all national liberation struggles which truly have as their objective the independence and the national liberation of the oppressed nations.

Haiti is an example of those people in struggle. The heroic Haitian people have struggled for centuries against the oppressors of their homeland. At this time, that struggle is centered around the fascist dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier, which, aided and controlled by Yankee Imperialism, keeps the Haitian nation under the most barbaric exploitation on the American Continent.

## HAITI: The Road to Freedom

Submitted by **ORGANISATION REVOLUTIONNAIRE 18 MAI**

In order to defeat the fascists (both nationally and internationally), the unity of all oppressed peoples and nations, all oppressed classes and social strata is necessary. The German, Italian and Japanese fascist dictatorship would still be spreading terror throughout the whole world if the victimized countries had not united on the basis of the anti-fascist struggle. Under similar circumstances, the particular class interest are subordinated to those of the nation and the struggle between different classes and social strata are relegated to a secondary level. Thus favorable conditions are created for the coming together of all oppressed forces under one flag in order to focus all fire against the common enemy.

In regards to Haiti and the Haitian people who for 20 years have suffered under the fascist yoke of the American-Duvalier clique, the only solution lies in a broad unity for all Anti-Duvalier patriotic and democratic forces based on a minimum program of struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship, democracy and national salvation.

The fact that the Duvalier clique has maintained itself in power is due in part to the unconditional support it has received from North American imperialism. However, we must point out that the maneuvering of the feudal clique, intrigues, personal animosities, betrayals, anarchist and revisionist adventurism disorganizes opposition and keep it divided and making the work of the dictatorship easier. The fascist dictatorship strengthens itself with our ineptitudes and with the opportunism and sectarianism which caused a great deal of harm to the democratic and revolutionary movement.

When in the course of the life of a nation such a situation arises the only thing to do is to firmly struggle against these evils which impede the development of its struggle for liberation. It is only through a firm attempt to achieve an alliance of its diverse sectors that the march down the path towards liberty, independence, national dignity and social progress can be undertaken. In Haiti, historical experience and an honest appraisal indicate that national liberation can be achieved through UNITED FRONT to overthrow the Duvalier clique and establish a na-

In their struggle against the fascist Duvalier dictatorship and yankee imperialism, which is the principal enemy of their people, Haitian revolutionaries have not lowered their guard in regards to the Soviet social imperialists. This superpower is attempting to expand their influence in Latin America and poses as the friend of the peoples and of revolution. However, in Haiti, as well as in other countries of the third world, the slogan is "Expel the entrenched superpower without letting the other one in!"

Proletarian internationalism cannot be a hollow phrase but rather it must be concrete action which solidify unity, fraternity, and the mutual support of all the peoples in struggle. Making this struggle known, developing concrete forms of giving aid to it, setting up a common front between the oppressed Haitian nation and the revolutionary proletariat in the U.S., is an integral part of our revolutionary duty.

We intend to publish, in a consistent manner, articles on the national liberation struggles of the Third World. We are conscious of the fact that there is a great deal of ignorance in our country about the concrete conditions in which these struggles develop - this also applies to the communist movement. Thus we have decided to invite different patriotic and Marxist-Leninist organizations of these countries as well as anti-imperialist organizations, their views on these struggle through the pages of our paper.

We want to make very clear that we do not see these articles as a substitute for our duty to study and arrive at positions on each and every one of these struggles. We see these articles as advancing a step forward in this process. And, we would like to point out that the positions which appear in this column are the sole responsibility of their authors. To the degree that we come to conclusions on the various positions here expressed, we will publish them in order to further enrich the debate.

It is in the spirit of solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Haitian people that we reproduce below a statement by the May 18th Revolutionary Organization, a patriotic Haitian organization with representative in the U.S., and some views on the Anti-Fascist Front in Haiti expressed by the Haitian Workers' Party (M-L).

tional coalition democratic government

\* \* \* \* \*

What follows is the statement of the Haitian Workers' Party (a Marxist-Leninist organization) in regards to the importance of the United Front tactic at the present time. This document was presented in 1973 and is entitled "Some Consideration on the Question of the United Front".

\* \* \* \* \*

### HOW IS THE FRONT DEFINED?

A front is an alliance between two or more classes for the purpose of achieving a goal or safeguarding some gain.

The experience of the workers' movement throughout the world teaches us that it is an important weapon, an indispensable arm to successfully lead the working class through all revolutionary stages until the victory of communism. This weapon permits the party of the proletariat to break the walls which the revolutionary classes build around it. Simultaneously it permits the greatest mass mobilization possible around the slogans of the party and each time to eliminate one of the links in the chain of oppression and reaction. It allows the revolutionary movement to move forward. This weapon allows the party of the proletariat to find a wider audience to whom it can promote its ideas and take the lead of the revolutionary movement and aim it towards victory. The front is a necessary instrument to develop the revolutionary process and to continue the revolution.

However, all this does not mean that the character or content of the front will remain the same from start to finish. Only one class within the front or that it goes through all the revolutionary stages from beginning to end.

The party of the proletariat must not be dogmatic. It must not lack flexibility and be rigid in its consideration of the content of the front. Only a correct analysis of the concrete situation at each given moment, will allow going through a given historical stage in a revolutionary way making

positive gains in the interest of the working class and popular masses. The Manifesto-Program of the Haitian Workers' Party (HWP) defines the character and content of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal Front for National Liberation. However, we consider it from a strategic perspective and not in a dogmatic fashion.

It is not enough to say that we want a front, and that immediately, automatically, it will come into being under our direction. A united front for national liberation will once again be a truly a reality only during a revolutionary period of national liberation. This united front would be linked with a people's war and with the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party. At the moment, we do not have one nor the other.

How can we initiate the revolutionary process which will allow us - the working class - to acquire these weapons? This is the problem currently confronting the HWP. In the text of "On the Foundation of the Party", we said that we cannot in one day create the united front for liberation or unleash a people's war for these elements are closely linked to each other and they depend on the level of political consciousness of the proletariat and the popular masses.

This consciousness will not fall from the sky. It is through the influence gained by the work of Marxist-Leninists that it will be acquired.

We have already shown that we're in a period of retreat of ebb in the mass movement, a period of stagnation in the mass struggles. The long existence of the Duvalier dictatorship, the defeat of the anti-Duvalier opposition and the abdication of the revisionists explain this stagnation.

In order to change this situation, in order that the working class and the popular masses participate in again in the political struggle of the country, in order that there be a resurgence of the revolutionary movement, an open crisis has to exist in the country. This crisis cannot be created except by the defeat of the Duvalier Clique.

The power of the Duvalier clique is the concentration and oppression of the masses to the extreme, in favor of world imperialism, mainly U.S. imperialism, of the feudal lords and of the compradors. U.S. imperialism is well aware of how weak the regime would be without the Duvalier clique. This is why they are incapable of extricating themselves from the Duvalier clique despite the difficulties they have had with the clique, and despite the detriment it has caused to the other sectors displaced from power.

The defeat of the Duvalier clique does not mean in any way the defeat of the semi-feudal, semi-colonial regime, but it will lead to national liberation if the party of the proletariat is prepared, it will be the beginning of the end. The defeat of the Duvalier clique will bring as a consequence the shake-up of the country's regime to its bones and the release of the energy potential of the masses. The defeat of the Duvalier clique create political and social problems in the whole country, which will undoubtedly be favorable to us.

It is our duty to take action to accelerate the defeat of the regime. It's our duty to promote the formation of a wide anti-Duvalier front that will mobilize the anti-Duvalier movements or organizations and the wide popular masses to isolate to the maximum the Duvalier clique and squash it.

### WHICH ARE IN OUR VIEW THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH AN INDIVIDUAL OR ORGANIZATION CAN BECOME PART OF THE FRONT?

They must combat the Duvalier clique and they must accept to fight effectively to overthrow it and eradicate the tontons macoutes (fascist gangs) and all their practices from the life of the country, sweep off all the remnants of Duvalierism and to establish all democratic rights.

In politics, we cannot be embarrassed with false scruples, and with the excuse that this or that group or individual are reactionaries and enemies of the people they cannot participate with us in a wide organization. Chairman Mao, after 10 years of fierce struggle against Chang Kai Shek, forced him at a given historical moment, to make an alliance. This fact shows us that these false scruples have no reason for being, but that we must work to force many organizations to accept the idea of the front and to work in it, and it is using the pressure of the masses and the just slogan of the front that we will force many people to work in it.

We have defined the front as a wide, anti-Duvalier democratic front that will struggle for the defeat of the clique that's in power. The experience of the revolutionary movement, of the Haitian communist movement show us that all past attempts of building a front were nothing more than marxist parties with other names - thus, the FDU (Unified Democratic Front) was in reality the PPLN (Popular Party for National Liberation) and the PEP (Popular Knowledge Party), the FNR (National Resistance Front) was only the FT (Franco Tirador) under another name.

We must break with this bad tradition. Similarly, we must analyze why these errors were committed so that we may avoid them in the future. We understand that these errors arise out of ignorance on what a

# REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE

"REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE IS A POWERFUL REVOLUTIONARY WEAPON FOR THE BROAD MASSES OF THE PEOPLE. IT PREPARES THE GROUND IDEOLOGICALLY BEFORE THE REVOLUTION COMES AND IS AN IMPORTANT, INDEED ESSENTIAL, FIGHTING FRONT DURING THE REVOLUTION."

MAO-TSETUNG

## WOMEN OF THE WORLD HOLD UP HALF THE SKY (Sung to the tune of "Up on the Roof")

Women of the world hold up half of the sky  
Together with their brothers holding the red banner high  
Fighting exploitation, towards their liberation,  
Shaping building revolutionary nations.

Chorus- Women can only be free in a socialist society

As the third world rises to break oppression's chains  
Women join in unity to end imperialist reign,  
In Asia Africa and Latin America  
In battlefield or factory they take a firm class stand.

Chorus Woman question is a class question  
which only class struggle can resolve

In China and Albania, women are free  
to join more actively the struggle for liberty  
Building socialism these women shine a light  
to lead us into victory with revolutionary might.

Chorus Women can only be free in a socialist society

Women who live in the belly of the beast  
Strike their blows with the same intensity  
In factories, hospitals, communities and schools  
Women stand firm against bourgeoisie rule

Chorus The woman question is a class question  
which only class struggle can resolve

In the struggle for our party women stand abreast  
Struggling to put our theory to the practical test  
Hammering out the unity, Exposing hidden scabs,  
Helping give the proletariat its general staff.

Chorus Women can only be free in a socialist society  
The woman question is a class question  
which only class struggle can resolve  
Women fight for real equality  
Men and women  
Side by side  
In production and in fight

## THE WORLD'S IN GREAT DISORDER

The world's in great disorder,  
and that's a good, good thing  
The people all over the world are fighting,  
are fighting to be free (2)  
In Asia and in Africa, in Latin America too,  
the masses are rising victorious  
to smash imperialist rule (2)

Chorus The world's in great disorder  
and that's a good, good thing (2)

We in oppressor nations  
have a duty to complete  
World-wide reaction will not end  
if it's base doesn't suffer defeat. (2)  
What do we need to lead our fight  
to take us to our final aim?  
A party of the working class,  
to lead us night and day (2)

Chorus That's why we need a Bolshevik Party (3)

This party will wield the two weapons  
that will bring the bourgeoisie down  
Uniting all those who can be united  
against this system we're suffering from. (2)  
The majority will be mobilized  
against the few who own all we've made  
We must support each other's just struggles  
so we can be free one day (2)

Chorus Unite the many to defeat the few (2)

This party will prepare the masses  
for the armed struggle we must wage  
We must remember that we're in a class war  
that has only one way to end. (2)  
If we're to achieve liberation  
the bourgeoisie must be smashed.  
So we can build a new system  
that's in our interests at last. (2)

Chorus Political power comes out of a  
barrel of a gun (2)

This party is built in the struggle  
against falsehood for the light  
There are many here among us  
who try to keep us from winning our fight. (2)  
It's in the struggle against these fools  
that the party will grow strong,  
and the dictatorship of the proletariat  
will be realized before too long. (2)

Chorus Let's build the U.S. Bolshevik party  
To smash the bourgeois state (2)  
The working class will be free,  
the party will lead us to victory (2)

## THE INTERNATIONALE

Arise ye prisoners of starvation  
Arise ye wretched of the earth  
For justice thunders condemnation  
There's a better world in birth  
No more traditions' chains shall bind us  
Arise ye slaves no more in thrall  
The earth shall rise on new foundations  
We have been naught, we shall be all.

Chorus 'Tis the final conflict!  
Let each stand in his place  
The international working class  
Shall be the human race  
(Repeat the whole chorus)

We want no condescending saviours  
To rule us from their judgement hall  
We workers ask not for their favours  
Let us consult for all  
To make the thief disgorge his booty  
To free the spirit from its cell  
We must ourselves decide our duty  
We must decide and do it well

Chorus

The State oppresses, the law tricks us  
The wage slave system drains our blood,  
The rich are free from obligations  
The laws the poor delude  
Too long we've languished in subjection  
Equality has other laws,  
"No rights" says she "without their duties,  
No claims on equals without cause"

Chorus

Behold them seated in their glory,  
The kings of mine and rail and soil!  
What have you read in all their story,  
But how they plundered toil?  
Fruits of the workers, toil are buried  
In the strongholds of the idle few,  
In working for their restitution  
The people only claim their due

Chorus

We toilers from all fields united  
We are the great workers' party  
The earth belongs to us the workers  
And from all shirkers will be free  
How many on our flesh have fattened!  
But if the norsome birds of prey  
Shall vanish from the sky some morning  
The blessed sunlight then will stay.

Chorus

O comrades, keep your eyes wide open  
And see behind the traitors' mask  
Dispel the mist and the smokescreen  
Join your brothers in the task  
Shout, Down with revisionism!  
Down with their mistifying lies!  
Long live Marxism-Leninism  
It's there that freedom's key reside

continued from page 7

## HAITI...

front is and from the subjectivism of the old organizations. The old organizations never understood what a front is. The PEP and the PPLN hid behind the FDU and deceived people. In reality they deceived themselves. They made no distinctions between the FDU and the parties. They had elaborated a program for partisans that only existed in their dreams and they took the "direction" of the front in a mechanical and bureaucratic way. To the PEP and the PPLN - as well as the FT - the fronts that they created were nothing more than their appendages. These were organizations for their own members who could now peacefully preach marxism and its theses. They were pro-marxist organizations. This type of organizations are very important and necessary, but in no way do they constitute a front. The front we propose is in no way an anti-imperialist front, nor is it a front against all reactionary classes in Haiti. It is only a front against the Duvalier clique that's in power. Thus, the front does not exclude certain reactionaries who may have some ties with U.S. imperialism, or at least it does not exclude their neutralization in the struggle. What the front does exclude is the Duvalier's clique, U.S. imperialism which supports the clique, and reactionaries who, despite opposing the regime, have sold their conscience to U.S. imperialism and the CIA. But it does not exclude the elements who despite being reactionaries, have decided to effectively fight the Duvalier clique, in spite of U.S. imperialism's orders to the contrary.

The front that we propose, represents a danger to our organization. We are aware of this. But, should this danger keep us from creating and participating in such a front? We have shown that such a front would move the struggle of the people forward and this is why it is necessary. However, we can never dissolve ourselves as an organization within the

front. We must never commit this error. And, besides, even in an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist front, we do not have to make this error, we should always keep our organizational autonomy.

Let's examine an aspect of the PEP-PPLN front. This front was able to mobilize some members of these parties who were initially in agreement with marxist ideas, but they were unable to effectively mobilize other people within a concrete framework. An even more serious fact was that when the front was created, there wasn't a fusion of organizations, but rather an absorption of the PPLN by the PEP. To build a front, we have to prove our capacity to mobilize all the people who are not of the same trend as we are, otherwise, we'll be going in circles. To build a front, we have to prove our capacity to make concessions and at the same time keep our principles. The type of front and concessions we make to the front are dependent on the concrete conditions and political problems to be resolved.

At every step in the struggle, in the 30's, the Vietnamese communists, have created different types of fronts given each situation. The differences between these fronts have been minimal, but important, in the process of struggle because they have allowed for the neutralization of this or that enemy. All this makes it viable in certain cases for our enemies to fight on our side against a common enemy.

At this time, we want to defeat, or at least weaken the Duvalier clique and we want to break our isolation to be in contact with people who are capable of listening to our anti-imperialist message and assimilating Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought.

## WHAT TYPE OF RELATION SHOULD EXIST BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE FRONT?

The Party is fundamentally different from the front from the point of view of ideology, organization and aim. This is why the party cannot be dissolved in the

front. But the objective of the front is, as well as the immediate objective of the party, the same. The party struggles honestly with no reservations for the realization of the objectives that are an end for the front, but that for the party are merely a stage in the long road that leads to national liberation, socialism and communism. The objective of the front is a determining factor for the development of the party so that it can have some weight in the nation's political life and can be in a position to carry out its historical role - that of the Party of the working class.

We do not participate in a front just because of the advantages that it offer us in the area of propaganda as a means of breaking our isolation, but because we believe the front's slogan is a just one and we struggle for it to become a reality, a force that will lead us to the defeat of the Duvalier clique.

We struggle as a loyal ally, but we will keep our independence. By no means will we stop our work of propaganda and agitation among the masses and other strata of society, to the work of research on the economic, political, social and cultural reality of the country. But all this work will not be done in detriment of the work developed in the front, nor of the front itself. Further, the work in the front is not in contradiction with the work of the party.

We know that in doing work in the front we may fall into a right deviation within the party. We cannot forget the class struggle, nor our final aim. We have to guard against any right deviation within the party. But, we must not, on the other hand, fall into "left" opportunism and under the pretext of no mingling with reactionaries, of not renouncing the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal character of the national liberation front, feel complacent in our inaction and passivity - an not take into account the level of consciousness and mobilization of the masses. Such an attitude would only serve to isolate us more and more.

# COMMUNIST FORUM



Dear friends,

"I would like to offer some friendly criticism concerning your article on ATM. It's not a defense of ATM but a criticism of your approach.

Bourgeois ideology is extremely strong in the U.S. and it really messes up communists (e.g. OL, RCP, CLP, etc.). This ideology manifests itself in communist organizations in that they begin to develop incorrect views on the relationship between the objective and subjective factors. The right deviation places the objective factor "above all things" causing spontaneity, tailism, and even degradation of Marxist-Leninist principles. The "left" deviation puts the subjective factor "above all things" causing sectarianism, small circle spirit and mechanical application of Marxism-Leninism.

It is expected that a communist organization will make right and "left" errors but if it capitulates to either direction then it becomes pseudo-communist, an anchor to the movement not a compass. Friends, I believe your criticism shows that at this point you have strong shades of "leftism."

I don't know what your practice is but if you carry it out on the premises you establish then you are probably making "left" errors. This is, I say again, a friendly criticism based on my knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and experience in the Chicano National Movement.

Firstly, you seem to base yourself on the premise that the subjective and objective factors are in some way "contradictory." I say this because you seem to analyze them as a "contradiction." The underlying tone of your article is that there is some tug of war between the subjective and objective factors, each trying to take the lead from the other.

The objective and subjective factors are not contradictory but complimentary. Only when communists counterpose them do they become "contradictory" to the communist himself. An incorrect analysis or understanding can make it seem that both processes oppose each other.

Why do I say that you are counterposing them? Because you counterpose Theory vs Practice, Marxist-Leninists Unite vs Win Over the Advanced Proletarians, Party Building vs Mass Struggle and Propaganda and Agitation. By making the subjective factor "primary" you are counterposing.

Theory and Practice should be complimentary to each other. The development of revolutionary theory and movement depends on their inter relationship. Saying that Practice is primary presupposes that practice "teaches you everything." Saying that theory is primary presupposes that theory "teaches you everything." Don't misuse Lenin's quote "Without revolutionary theory, you cannot have revolutionary movement." But without a MOVEMENT you cannot develop a revolutionary theory. Where did Lenin develop his theory on Imperialism, the role of oppressed nations, two stage revolution, etc. Not just from the books of Marx and not just by the world movement, but by both. It was the character of the world movement from which Lenin developed his theories. Marx had the same "subjective" knowledge but Imperialism was not yet born, the objective process present in Lenin's time was barely being born in Marx's. I've read WHAT IS TO BE DONE? and it doesn't say that "Theory is primary over practice, but Lenin does teach that the neglect or overemphasis of either leads to serious errors.

The slogan Marxist-Leninists Unite and Win Over the Advanced, I agree with, but don't counterpose them. The carrying out both is complimentary. It's not a question of "who's more important?" Marxist-Leninists cannot unite by just being in agreement with positions, i.e. I believe in the ERA and so do you, so let's unite. The basis for winning over the advanced is revolutionary practice, i.e. political line carried out and developed in mass struggle. It's not a question of winning people over to ideas but to struggle. The advanced

know mass struggle and they will be won to communism primarily if they see Marxist-Leninists taking mass struggle to a higher more positive level.

On the question of Party Building and Mass Struggle, let me begin with an example. Sometime ago the immigration department was really coming down in California. One of my friends asked a communist from there "why don't you do anything about it?" His answer "We can't, we've got to concentrate on building the party." Party Building is done in struggle not apart from it. The Party is the fusion of the working class movement with socialism. A true proletarian party is born from the masses, not spontaneously as the RU did it but consciously, suffering the pangs of birth of warfare against the enemy. Struggle is the water we must use to nurture the Marxism-Leninism (seeds) we take to the working class.

The role of propaganda and agitation is also distorted in your article. Somehow you seem to think that agitation is a degradation because we should concentrate on the Marxist-Leninists and the advanced. If communists are to forge roots in the working class, to attach themselves to the fetus from which their party will be born, to lead mass struggle, then the political organ must be used to carry out struggle. Its agitational character doesn't mean it will just be like a "big leaflet", but the proletariat as a whole must understand it to learn from it. An organ is a tool for struggle not a forum for polemics unless an organization has no theoretical paper or journal. And please don't shout Iskra at me, at the time it was developed it was used as a theoretical journal but agitation was done in the factories through other organs of the various communist organizations.

Lastly, I would like to comment on "Political Line is Key Link." Everyone from Marx to Mao has held that but they did not say "Political line is a magic wand". The Albanians define political line as the strategy and tactics of the party or Marxist-Leninist organization. Political positions, like yours for ERA, busing, etc. are not "political line" but a subdivision of it. So we have Marxist-Leninist theory, but to implement it we must develop a line. Where is that done? In struggle. For Marxist-Leninists to unite and the advanced to be won over, it must be done on the basis of the strategy and tactics for Proletarian Revolution in the U.S. They must participate in its development and see its development and learn from it.

This development is a complimentary process between the objective and subjective factor, between struggle of the masses and the work of Marxist-Leninists, between the study of Marxism-Leninism and its implementation. No Marxist-Leninist Party has ever been built apart from struggle nor by tailing struggle but by leading struggle. It is not a mechanical process of first we do this then we do that, i.e. first we unite the Marxist-Leninists and Win over the advanced (first uniting Marxist-Leninists) THEN lead struggle. It's a complex dialectical process of we do this WHILE doing that, i.e. Unite Marxist-Leninists and Win the Advanced WHILE participating in and leading struggle.

"The struggle of the Albanian communists themselves created, at last, favorable conditions for the founding of their party. The anti-fascist war waged by the communists of the various groups shook the very foundations of sectarianism and the group spirit, which had prevailed up to that time. This struggle and their common ideology became the decisive factors which led to the 1941 agreement to organize a meeting of all the principal communist groups which would take up the question of amalgamating these groups and founding the Communist Party of Albania." History of the Party of Labor of Albania, pg. 85  
En lucha por Tierra y Libertad  
X X X X X X  
El Paso, Tejas Aztlan

## LPR (M-L) ANSWERS COMRADE FROM AZTLAN

We are publishing these criticisms as part of the struggle for the correct political line which must take place in all fronts. We urge other comrades to continue to use COMMUNIST FORUM, to put forward their views, criticisms, sum-ups, suggestions, etc., so that we may move forward in the tasks confronting communists in this period, in particular our central task.

First of all we want to establish that we have unity on the importance of grasping the correct relationship between the objective and subjective factors in the revolution. Absolutizing one or the other factor will lead to serious right or "left" errors. Also we unite in that our party must be built, not apart from the struggle of the masses but, actually providing

correct communist leadership to the spontaneous movement of the masses. Your "communist" from California was liquidating not only the tasks of communists to struggle for our democratic rights but also, party building itself!

Secondly, there are fundamental errors in the line you are putting forward - which we will point out here, as they are very common among other comrades in the communist movement who we believe will also benefit from our doing so.

Over all, your line is characterized by eclecticism. You place everything on a par: theory and practice, subjective and objective factors, all tasks facing communists, etc., regardless of the concrete conditions or period in which we are in. This is inco-

rect. Communists must analyze the concrete conditions in order to best determine the corresponding tasks and the relationship between them. Otherwise we can only end up losing our bearings and eventually liquidate all tasks. As a matter of fact, the meaning of tasks being "complimentary" is that by grasping which is primary and carrying it out we are better able to carry the others out.

You also contradict yourself. You don't say so, but objectively you are holding the line that in this period practice is primary over theory. In effect, by failing to determine what is primary you have ended up counterposing! For example, look at what you say "It's not a question of winning people over to ideas, but to struggle." And also "An organ is a tool for struggle not a forum for polemics." You are counterposing theory VS practice, struggle VS polemics, etc. What good is it to win workers over to struggle if you don't win them also to the ideas of communism? What good is it to struggle without understanding why or where we are headed? This is the old maxim of the economists of the "movement" is everything - the final aim is nothing."

We hold that to determine what is primary is not equivalent to counterposing, but on the contrary it is to establish correct dialectical relationships between tasks and concrete conditions. In learning there is a constant interrelationship between knowing and doing, between theory and practice and in that process, as in all processes in nature and society, one is primary over the other. Our great teacher Chairman Mao puts it simply:

"The dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge places practice in the primary position, holding that human knowledge can in no way be separated from practice and repudiating all the erroneous theories which deny the importance of practice or separate knowledge from practice."

Four Essays on Philosophy, p. 4

Is Chairman Mao counterposing because he holds practice as primary? Of course not! And again, to show how this is not a mechanical, arbitrary determination but the result of concrete analysis of concrete conditions, allow us to again quote Mao:

"But it must also be admitted that in certain conditions, such aspects as the relations of production, theory and the superstructure in turn manifest themselves in the principal and decisive role. When it is impossible for the productive forces to develop without a change in the relations of production, then the change in the relations of production plays the principal and decisive role. The creation and advocacy of revolutionary theory plays the principal and decisive role in those times of which Lenin said, 'Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.' When a task, no matter which, has to be performed, but there is as yet no guiding line, method, plan or policy, the principal and decisive thing is to decide on a guiding line, method, plan or policy."

Four Essays of Philosophy, p. 58

Such is the period in which we find ourselves a period in which there is as of yet "no guiding line, method, plan or policy" for fulfilling our central and all other tasks around which Marxist-Leninists can unite, advanced workers can be won over, and the broad masses mobilized for Lenin describes the pre-party period in the Soviet Union emphasizing the role of theory at such a time in which Marxist-Leninists are scattered and there is no guiding line. We have to quote again:

We can judge from that how tactless the *Rabocheye Dveto* is when, with an air of triumph it quotes Marx's statement "Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programs." To repeat these words in a period of theoretical chaos is like wishing mourners at a funeral many happy returns of the day. Moreover, the words of Marx are taken from his letter on the Gotha Program in which he sharply condemns eclecticism in the formulation of principles. If you must unite Marx wrote to the party leaders then enter into agreements to satisfy the practical aims of the movement but do not allow any bargaining over principles do not make concessions in questions of theory. This was Marx's idea and yet there are people among us who strive - in his name - to belittle the significance of theory!

Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This thought cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time when the fashionable preaching of opportunism goes hand in hand with an infatuation for the narrowest forms of practical activity. Yet for Russian Social Democrats the importance of theory is enhanced by three more circumstances which are often forgotten: firstly by the fact that our Party is only in process of formation its features are only just becoming outlined and it is yet far from having settled accounts with other trends of revolutionary thought which threaten to divert the movement from the correct path. On the contrary: precisely the very recent past was marked by a revival of non-Social Democratic revolutionary trends (which Axelrod long ago warned the Economists would happen). Under these circumstances what at first sight

... continues on page 10

## COMMUNIST FORUM

appears to be an unimportant mistake may lead to most deplorable consequences and only shortsighted people can consider actual disputes and a strict differentiation between shades inopportune or superfluous. The fate of Russian Social Democracy for many years to come may depend on the results of one or other shade.

What is to be Done?, p 27

Similarly, the objective and subjective factors must be analysed in their interrelationship. It is a fundamental principle of dialectical materialism that it is the objective conditions which determine the development of nature and society. The subjective factors interact with the objective in this development and, under certain conditions, at certain periods of development, become the decisive factor. Such is the case in the concrete conditions of the U.S. today regarding the party building process. Objective conditions are over-ripe for the building of the party. The spontaneous movement of the masses advances rapidly (the objective factor), while the subjective factor, the consciousness and organization of the working class, lags behind and does not meet up to the tasks of our times. The working class on its own cannot acquire socialist consciousness necessary to overthrow the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system. It must be through the conscious efforts of Marxist-Leninists through the Party that it will become conscious as a "class for itself", and be able to fulfill its historic mission. Therefore, today, under the present concrete conditions and corresponding tasks that face us, the subjective factor becomes the decisive factor. The objective conditions demand it, so that we may be able to carry out the revolutionary transformation of objective reality.

## COMMUNIST FORUM

Submitted by MARXIST-LENINIST COLLECTIVE

The factory nucleus in large scale basic industry is the organizational foundation of a genuine communist party. In 1926, the Communist International stated "The factory cell is the basic unit for all parties in capitalist countries." It is in industries such as auto, steel and mining that the most oppressed and exploited strata of the working class is found. The work of a revolutionary party must concentrate on winning over and mobilizing this decisive section of the proletariat. Factory nuclei are essential if the party is to carry through this task.

In this pre-party period, what are the transitional forms which communist organizations must establish within basic industry? What are the tasks of communists in the workplace during this period? What is the relationship between party-building and our work within industry?

The Marxist-Leninist Collective erred when we proposed joint work between communist organizations in the form of factory nuclei (see WP V2 #12). Factory nuclei are a form of party organization. All members are under the discipline of the party (or in the case of the US now, the same organization) and adhere to a common political line. What the MLC intended to propose was a call for joint work in the form of communist cores. A core is a communist form of organization required in this period when a party does not exist. A core is composed of members of one or more communist organizations, independent Marxist-Leninists, and advanced workers who have been won to communism. The core is under the leadership of a given organization or organizations. However, within a core, democratic-centralism functions on an internal basis. Unlike the factory nuclei, the core is not subject to the discipline of a party or organization. Similar to a factory nuclei, the core is clandestine and secret. Upholding the science of Marxism-Leninism is the basis of unity for a communist core. Joint work between communist organizations within a core would then exclude oppor-

Comrade, your methodology reflects empiricism in the way in which you view the development of line and theory. You ask, referring to the development of line "Where is that done? In struggle." And further you say that advanced elements "must participate in its development and see its development" (your emphasis). The materialist conception of knowledge holds that the process of learning goes from practice to theory and again to practice in a continuous process each time taken to a higher level. A correct line is not simply developed from "struggle." You cannot discard the role of theory in this process, i.e., of the enormous wealth of historical experiences of the international proletariat which has been summed up in its general aspect by the great teachers, and is known as the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The line is developed both from theory, the sum-ups of struggles shared by other communists, and, our own struggle. We cannot expect to experience everything, to participate in all the process of development of the line, to see that development. This empiricism is very dangerous since we are unable to participate in all struggles, and leads in politics to right opportunism, economism. Remember what the Albanians say in the very passage you quote, that it was the struggle of communists in the anti-fascist war and their common ideology, and not just the struggle, what became decisive factors in building the party.

On propaganda and agitation you distort our line. You say that we "seem to think that agitation is a degradation" and then continue to defend ATM's right line that a communist newspaper in this period should be mainly agitation. ATM talks about making it more "accessible" to the class and you say that "the proletariat as a whole must understand it." The relation between propaganda and agitation as any other dialecti-

cal relation is determined by the specific time, place, and conditions in which it exists. The fact is that you address your newspaper in every period to the particular sector that must be won over to the side of proletarian revolution. We say that these are today the Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers who will compose the bulk of our future party cadres. And as long as this is our task, we hold that propaganda is the chief form of communist activity. Lenin said in "Retrograde Trend" that instead of adapting the paper to the lowest strata of workers, we must develop "different forms of agitation and propaganda" in the form of popular pamphlets, local leaflets, etc. Emphasizing that chief form of activity doesn't mean "only" form, Lenin also warned against "such an exaggeration of one side of our activities to the detriment of the other." We hold that propaganda is a higher level of political education, and that ATM's paper reads like a collection of economist agitation leaflets representing a retrograde trend in our movement.

Finally we would like to clarify some things. By the use of quotation marks on some phrases, you imply that our line is the two stage theory in propaganda and agitation and on MLs unite and win the advanced, etc. None of those quotes are ours nor do they represent our line. We have combatted ATM's two stage theory on propaganda and agitation as it appeared in RC vol 1 #3 (Our position appears in Resistance vol 7 #6). On MLs unite and win the advanced it appears in vol 7 #5 where we establish that both are just as important and simultaneously carried out though the first primary.

Let us fight against right opportunism which is the main danger, and against "left" opportunism as well! MARXIST-LENINISTS, UNITE! WIN THE ADVANCED WORKERS TO COMMUNISM!

Many comrades have sent us their criticisms, commentaries, questions, etc. on our articles "The Building of Cores" (Resistance vol 8 #1) and "Investigation Guide for Factory Work" (Resistance vol 8 #2). These articles are part of a series on the question of organization which we consider of vital importance for all honest Marxist-Leninists who seriously consider the organization of our class in the most adequate ways

to effectively fight the capitalist enemy and in particular to facilitate the task of building the Communist Party - the highest form of organization of the working class. By publishing these articles we intend to provide concrete orientation so as to develop the correct line and revolutionary practice on the question. We are publishing below an article submitted by the MARXIST-LENINIST COLLECTIVE from San Francisco,

tunist and revisionist groups such as the CPUSA, OLR, PRRWO, RCP, CLP and trotskyite organizations.

Organizations participating in communist cores would conduct regular meetings to take up ideological and political questions with the aim of uniting Marxist-Leninists as well as discussing ongoing work of the core. Independent Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers who are recruited into a core would share this commitment to Marxism-Leninism in both theory and practice. However, they would not need to have unity with all the questions of political line of the organization(s) that initiate and lead the core. We agree with the formulation of the LPR in this point:

"Members of the core do not have to agree with every position of our organization. That would be equivalent (complete unity) to placing non-organization members under the democratic centralism (which in practice would turn out to be only centralism) of the organization. This would be in fact an error." (Resistance, Vol 8, #1, p 2)

However, for a communist core to exist, there must be unity at least on the following fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism: recognition of the need for proletarian revolution by armed struggle, the role of the party, the role of the state, the character of national oppression under capitalism.

Party-building is the central task of all Marxist-Leninists in the US today. Our work within communist cores must be seen in this context. As theory is the decisive and principal aspect during the pre-party period, a core can serve as a vehicle for the testing and development of political line which will facilitate the formation of a party. What differences exist between organizations or between organizations and non-organizational members of the core, principled struggle will occur within the core and a majority decision reached. The core will systematically sum-up the application of political line, thereby consolidate the unity of Marxist-Leninists and help cons-

truct the theoretical foundations for the future party. We can concretely see the dialectical relationship between the primary aspect of theory and the secondary aspect of practice. While one is primary, neither aspect can exist independent of the other.

The practical tasks of a core are to conduct communist propaganda and agitation and give communist leadership to the spontaneous struggles and mass organizations. The core must win over the most advanced workers and train them in Marxist-Leninist theory through study circles. Moreover, within the core the discussion of tactical questions, the summation of practice, and criticism and self-criticism will enable the advanced to become practical leaders in the day to day struggles of the proletariat.

We have addressed ourselves to the question of a core within a particular factory or shop. A core is also an appropriate form of communist organization within a trade union or any other mass organization of the working class. The same principles would apply to a core in this context. In a trade union where a broad caucus exists based on the struggle for trade union democracy and opposition to the union bureaucrats, the core will seek to give leadership to the caucus. Careful attention must be paid to the constant exposure of the labor traitors as well as the revisionists and opportunists (who may participate in a caucus). The success of a rank and file caucus is generally dependent on the existence and leadership of a core. As a rule, the formation of a core should precede the organization of a caucus. Yet, where caucuses exist, but it is not possible at the time to form a core, communist organizations and independent Marxist-Leninists must join the caucus, strive to win over the advanced, and form a core as soon as possible.

We believe this question of the formation of communist cores to be most important. We urge all Marxist-Leninists to take up this issue, publish this article and put forward criticisms of it.

# THE BUILDING OF CORES

By LPR (M-L)

There are a number of unities between the position advanced by LPR-ML in January and that submitted by the MLC. These are (1) that factory nuclei are the basic organizational unit of a genuine communist party, (2) that cores, just as factory nuclei, are clandestine and based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and that this unity is manifested both in theory and in practice (thus excluding oppor-

tunists of all hues). All members of the core are not necessarily in unity with all aspects of the line of the organization that initiates and leads the core, (3) that the building of cores should be seen in the context of building the party, that theory is decisive in this pre-party period, and that the core is a vehicle for implementing, verifying and developing the line, and for moving forward the building of the party, (4) that the core functions democratically, waging principled struggle, systematically summing up work, and that its goal is to provide communist leadership to mass struggles and organizations, carrying out communist propaganda and agitation. The training of future cadres must be carried out both in the theory and in the practice of proletarian revolution.

The position of the Marxist-Leninist Collective contains a fundamental error: the liquidation of the factory nucleus. The comrades ask themselves "In this pre-party period, what are the transitional forms

which communist organizations must establish within basic industry?" And they answer "A core is a communist form of organization required in this period when a party does not exist." This is incorrect.

The factory nucleus is the basic form of party organization. In the absence of the party, this form is not eliminated, on the contrary. The development and consolidation of factory nuclei allows Marxist-Leninist organizations and collectives to establish deeper ties within the class, to proletarianize their ranks, and thus move forward the party building process.

There is no contradiction in building of cores and factory nuclei. In fact, they complement each other and they work in coordination both in the pre-party period and once the party is built.

In a factory, we can develop the factory nucleus - composed of cadres of the organization, and the core-

continued on pg. 12

continued from pg. 3 ....



monstrate the need for better organization among the parents, to expose the principal as a loyal representative of the capitalist system in the schools and rip away his mask as a "friend" of parents This contributed in starting to sever the ties between the principal and the Parents Association, and helped us gain firmer ties among the masses

This kind of work was of course slow and painstaking We made many errors, sometimes "left" errors of demanding too much of parents consciousness, and sometimes right errors, failing to link up the concrete issues with the overall struggle. Victories although small were not grasped clearly in their significance The fact that we did not rely on the advanced, but rather on "activists" led to many of the ups and downs of that struggle The "active" would soon tire out, causing confusion on the rest, where the advanced, if correctly led, would have continued to advance at a steady more consistent pace The lack of steady progress led us to conclude that we should concentrate more on the "por los Ninos" where results were more immediate, more palpable, although less significant in the long run

This was another of our main errors. to belittle our base work during the latter period of our work in District 1, emphasizing on "Por los Ninos" rather than intensifying our work in the Parents Associations at the school level This was a deviation from our line on building the united front from below

The "Por los Ninos" was a loose knit mass organization. Its character was initially democratic, and parents based The steadily growing number of revisionists and Trotskyites that sneaked into it posing as "innocent parents" or "hard working" community residents, finally took control over it, no longer serving as a parent-community mass organization We waged an intense struggle against them, but were unable to reverse the trend as we failed to understand that it was not concentration on the work within "Por los Ninos", that would achieve this, but rather an intensification of the base work.

THE TEACHERS STRIKE

In Spetember, 1975, a teachers strike had renewed political activity among the masses We saw the strike as a result of the overall crisis of imperialism, causing thousands of lay offs even among teachers, and extensive cuts in education services Although the UFT leadership, sold out to the interests of the bourgeoisie, tried to avoid the strike, the overwhelming majority of teachers and aides demanded it. The attacks against teachers and aides were fundamentally an attack against public education, in particular against working class children Thus we supported the strike We said

"It is also true that there does exist a difference between the leadership of the UFT and a good number of paraprofessionals and teachers (thousands of which are not even UFT members) who can and must be won over to serve the needs of the working class community For the honest teachers and paraprofessionals who are willing to fight for the education of working class children the basic tool to fight for their rights at this moment is the strike And what are we to gain by breaking this strike? By allying with the capitalist state in their budget cuts and lay offs, we would be helping them to solve their crisis By breaking their strike we would be denying honest and progressive teachers and paraprofessionals the right to fight for their rights, thus driving them away, rather than closer to the side of the interests of the working class community."

(see "Strike against layoffs and budget cuts! Fight for decent education!")

In supporting the strike we clearly demarcated ourselves from forces like the CPUSA, the Trotskyite SWP and the WVO who saw the alliance with the corrupt and fascist leadership of the UFT as the way to express their support WVO's only concern in the strike was the building of their economist "Budget Cuts Coalition". With the same strategy they use in every struggle - "Unite to expose" - they went as far as to establish an alliance of all unity no struggle with TAC, a CPUSA front in the UFT WVO didn't expose the sell out leadership of the UFT in the course of that struggle (that they left for future editions of their newspapers in which they change history according to their needs) nor did they fight for working class leadership in it

It is in this way that WVO has been in the "forefront" of the struggle in District 1. Today WVO thinks that by changing the name of their paper organization from "Budget cuts Coalition" to "Forefront of the Struggle", they will be able to get over But they don't have a chance The masses have good memory, and they

don't forget nor forgive those that come around only to leech off their struggles PRRWO, already showing their neo-Trotskyite tendency, opposed it They took the position of the poverty pimps and narrow nationalists who claimed that the teachers should not be supported because they are white, Jewish, anti-Black, etc. PRRWO catered to the most backward, anti-white feelings in the community, equaled this strike with the reactionary teachers strike of 1968 and fanned the flames of racism that divides the class, creates national antagonisms, and objectively aids the bourgeoisie - showing concretely how the "left" opportunists are in essence rightists in the service of the ruling class They proposed for parents to break the picket lines and some of their members who were teachers actually scabbed during the strike resulting in their complete isolation and discredit

In our propaganda we explained the nature of our support and why communists must oppose all manifestations of tyranny by the bourgeois state We said

"Many of the attacks on teachers directly affect the education of the children (such as overcrowded classrooms, less preparation periods, less teachers and assistants, less programs, materials, etc It is the demands centering around these issues that have to be advanced in addition to those which teachers are not advancing at all but that refer to the most pressing needs of parents and workers in the community Parents have to take the lead in raising these demands and teachers must be won over to support these demands"

(see "Strike against lay offs and budget cuts! Fight for decent education!")

We agitated in "Por los Ninos meetings, in spontaneous meetings held everywhere of parents searching for the correct answer to the problem and went school by school, where large gatherings of parents discussed the situation. We urged teachers to support the parents demands for better education, and parents to support the teachers right to strike We uphold that this was the only correct stand to take and through our propaganda and agitation work we were actually able to win over many parents whom the opportunists were pushing to break the picket lines, scab or oppose the strike

The "Por los Ninos" has lost all remaining support among the masses and ceased to exist. There have been certain attempts to revive it, especially by the Trotskyites, but they have failed They are now trying to run a slate of candidates for the school board elections in May and ride on the name, past prestige and support of the masses for "Por los Ninos" Their slate, composed mainly of opportunists and lackeys, in no way represents the interests of the multinational working class community of the Lower East Side and we must not support it

The upcoming school board elections present no real alternatives to the masses in the Lower East Side They have gained experience in the electoral process and even though they are unable to identify the class basis of this problem, it is becoming evident that there is growing discontent with the political demagoguery and lack of solutions that it has to offer in regards to their problems This tendency is concretized in the growing absenteeism from the elections for local school boards and in a growing general apathy toward the whole electoral process Thus our duty is to transform this discontent, to use it to raise the level of revolutionary struggle and organization of the masses We must educate the masses pointing out the root causes for this situation, perceived superficially at this time we must show the discriminatory, corrupt and limited electoral process is a logical and necessary outgrowth of capitalism This is why we are urging all parents to boycott the upcoming elections and at the same time intensify our work in the parents associations at the school level. We must put into practice the very important lessons learned from summing up our experience in the District 1 struggle to rely on the advanced We have understood the need to have a guiding line on the advanced, to be able to identify the advanced, and through correct tactics, to win over train and consolidate them In this manner we will be fulfilling our tasks towards party building More and more parents must become involved in the parents associations We must turn the parents associations into combative mass organizations, independent from the administrative structure of the schools. Their ties with the principal, or other officials, weaken them, make them appendages of the ruling class, and must be severed Instead we must turn the parents associations into a tool for the struggle for the quality education of our children With strong parents associations, grouping conscious and dedicated parents, the basis is laid for higher levels of organization and struggle of the masses for channeling their revolutionary potential towards our ultimate aim which is communism

BOYCOTT THE MAY SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS! BUILD INDEPENDENT PARENTS ASSOCIATIONS! STOP NATIONAL OPPRESSION FIGHT FOR QUALITY EDUCATION!

# IN ETHIOPIA: U.S. & RUSSIA COLLABORATE...

FASCIST ETHIOPIAN JUNTA SLAUGHTERS 4,000 PATRIOTS!

While Carter is busy preaching about "Human Rights", American supplied guns in the hands of the fascist Ethiopian Junta are daily used to slaughter workers, peasants, progressive students and intellectuals.

Even according to conservative western estimates up to 4,000 patriots were savagely butchered in 5 weeks alone (BBC, April 2)

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The strategic as well as economic importance of Ethiopia to both U.S. imperialists and the Soviet modern revisionists is self-evident

In spite of the "Human Rights" demagoguery, the U.S. imperialists are still the main suppliers of arms to the Junta At the same time, U.S. imperialism backs the royalist EDU (so called Ethiopian Democratic Union) with the hope of prolonging its neo-colonial grip in one form or another

The Ethiopian Junta has bayoneted pregnant women It has massacred thousands whose only crime is opposing fascist rule It is still waging a war of genocide against Eritrea Not only has it used all the tricks in the fascist handbook, but has also contributed some new ones

To cite some of its methods \*forced feeding of mud mixed with urine \*mutilating of essential parts of the body such as tongues, fingers, breasts, sexual organs, etc \*immersing prisoners into a barrel of heated oil \*rape and forcing of snakes into womens' sexual organs \*mass arrest a mother with her 10-month old baby and a grandmother of 80 years old are among the over 10,000 prisoners languishing in the junta's concentration camps

Just like the U.S. imperialists, it is this same junta that the Soviet Union parades as "Socialist" and "Marxist-Leninist"

The junta is currently besieged by an unprecedented popular struggle That's why the present campaign of atrocities is specifically directed against the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) -- a party which is leading this massive opposition and which enjoys the support of the majority of the people WE CALL UPON ALL FREEDOM LOVING PEOPLE TO JOIN US IN THE VIGIL AT THE U N We demand

- Immediate stop to the house-to-house search and state of emergency!!!
- Immediate stop to torture and summary executions !!
- Immediate release of all democratic political prisoners !!!

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ETHIOPIAN WOMEN STUDY GROUP IN N A

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## SOVIET SOCIAL- IMPERIALISM:

SAVAGE ENEMY OF THE  
REVOLUTION, SOCIALISM  
AND THE PEOPLES OF  
THE WHOLE WORLD

REPRINTS FROM Albania Today NO 1

published by The League for Political Education ML

# LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE DOMINICAN PEOPLE

This month we commemorate the 12th anniversary of the glorious insurrection of April 1965. The popular masses in Santo Domingo proved in these heroic deeds that they are willing and capable of struggling for their freedom. That the Yankee imperialists and their puppet government in Santo Domingo will be defeated, that the masses, arms in hand, will extend revolutionary justice to these enemies of their people.

The struggle of the Dominican people against their principal enemy, Yankee imperialism, continues. This struggle is part of the world-wide proletarian revolution. It is part of that irresistible trend of history which is Revolution. It is part of the struggle of the Third World which is dealing blow after blow to Yankee imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, and all reaction.

In demarcating the forces of the people, the masses with the proletariat and its ML Party as vanguard, from those of the enemy, headed by Yankee imperialism, the Dominican revolutionaries must be vigilant against the enemy dressed in "red" who strives to infiltrate the revolutionary forces in order to undermine it from within. Such enemy is international revisionism headed by Soviet social imperialism. These revisionists have a foothold in the Dominican Republic through the traitorous and counterrevolutionary Dominican Communist Party, whom the Dominican people will justly punish as lackeys of imperialism.

The struggle of the Dominican people for national liberation and socialism will be victorious to the extent that it relies on the struggle of the masses (in a worker-peasant alliance), unite all patriotic forces against the principal enemy (Yankee-Balaguer dictatorship) and based on its own strength take the road of protracted war and New Democratic Revolution, guided by their party and with the invincible weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE DOMINICAN PEOPLE!

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SUNDAY

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SPONSOR APRIL 24 UNITY COMMITTEE

THURSDAY

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SPONSOR APRIL 24 UNITY COMMITTEE

SUNDAY  
**MAY 1**



CELEBRATE  
INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' DAY

3 P.M. - P.M.

P.S. 161 - AUDITORIUM  
499 W. 133 ST. BET. AMSTERDAM & CONVENT AVE.  
(ACROSS CITY COLLEGE)

INTERNATIONAL MAYDAY COMMITTEE

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## COMMUNIST FORUM

composed of cadres, other Marxist-Leninists, as well as advanced and intermediate workers, and rank and file caucuses or workers' committees that group together any worker that is in disposition to struggle for a democratic union, against national oppression, women's oppression, etc. All these forms of organization allow us to make out of every factory a fortress for communism.

Of all these forms, the most important is the factory nucleus. It is this form which in the last analysis guarantees that the line of the party (today - of the Marxist-Leninist organization or collective) is implemented in the shops. However, only those who know of factory nucleus because they have read it in a book will mechanically say that the way to develop work in a factory is by first developing a factory nucleus, then the core and finally the rank and file caucus. We agree with the Marxist-Leninist Collective in that this is not a mechanical question of first one then the other, independent of conditions.

In practice this varies from factory to factory. To build a factory nucleus, we need to have a certain amount of cadres in the same factory. So, if we begin with the factory nucleus we would have to build it by placing the necessary cadres in every factory we are to work in. What happens if there is only one or two cadres working in a factory? What happens if there is only one contact? In these cases, which are the rule rather than the exception in this period of gathering forces, we first develop the core which has as its aim the creation of a rank and file caucus, development of communist work within the factory, preparation of shop newsletters, the development of a study circle, etc. (There are cases in which the rank and file caucus already exists previous to our work in the factory, in which case we would incorporate the core, as soon as it is formed into the caucus). Our work within the core, within the rank and file caucus and within the study circle, as well as the communist propaganda and agitation that we put out in the factory allows us to develop, win, train and consolidate the advanced workers that will eventually make up our factory nucleus.

What is important, we repeat, is that the development of factory nuclei is a task for the present moment, not for after the party is formed. In fact, only by organizing ourselves along the lines of factory nuclei, by implementing democratic-centralism and by practicing criticism-self-criticism in our organizations in this pre-party period, will we be able to fulfill our central task - the building of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the U.S.

Further more, we differ with the views of the Marxist-Leninist Collective on (1) the composition of the cores which is limited by the MLC to Marxist-Leninists and "advanced workers who have been won to communism". LPR-ML includes intermediate workers in the cores it develops, as well as advanced workers who are not communists. (2) the basis of unity in the core and that "there has to be unity at least on the following fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism: recognition of the need for proletarian revolution by armed struggle, the role of the party, the role of the state, the character of national oppression under capitalism." We believe this is too general a way in which to define the type of unity that has to exist among different organizations, collectives or individuals in order to carry out joint practice. Struggling against the tendency to establish unity exclusively on these terms, we pointed out in our position:

Let's establish first what we don't mean. Members of the core do not have to agree with every position of our organization. That would be equivalent (complete unity) to placing non-organization members under the democratic centralism (which in practice would turn out to be only centralism) of the organization! This would be in fact, an error. Neither do we mean unity on a series of general formulations or abstractions. Fundamental unity is determined not only in terms of issues but more importantly in terms of how we achieve this unity, how we deepen it and how it is manifested in our common revolutionary practice. Thus, core members not only have unity with the line of the organization on key questions - e.g. need for a Party proletarian revolution, armed struggle, role of the state, etc. - but also they have been tested in practice in terms of their disposition to (a) struggle for that line, (b) participate in its further development (through 1. implementation of the line and sum-up of the work, 2. study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought and 3. criticism and self-criticism). In a nutshell, members of our cores are individuals that have been tested in the heat of the class struggle. Individuals that come forward in different struggles that are led by our cores. This "fundamental unity" will be tested not only by the propaganda carried out with them on a one to one basis but also by the stand and viewpoint they show towards our propaganda and agitation as well as towards the mass work we are involved in. Recruitment to the core is then based on whether in practice they show in fact that fundamental unity with the line of the organization. (Each core should discuss this question based on particular examples of individuals that the core is in contact with or relating to in order to deepen our understanding of this. But remember that unity that has not been tested is no unity.)

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Overall we it as positive that other comrades are taking up the question of building cores and urge honest Marxist-Leninists to continue this work and to continue to use the Communist Forum to develop the discussion on this and other important matters.