

RESISTANCE

POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION M-L

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PUERTO RICAN MASSES REBEL IN CHICAGO!

The masses are the makers of history

The heroic resistance of the Puerto Rican masses last June 4th in Chicago is a brilliant example of the capacity and determination of oppressed people to fight for their freedom and democratic rights!

The murder of Rafael Cruz and Julio Osorio by the Chicago police will be a long lasting reminder of the national oppression suffered by the Puerto Rican national minority in the U.S. The hundreds injured and more than 150 arrested after the fascist police invaded and brutally attacked Puerto Rican families in Humboldt Park will also be a constant reminder.

The outburst of popular anger also is a living symbol of the long history of struggle against class and national oppression by the oppressed Puerto Rican national minority in the U.S. And it was NOT the result of a "gang fight" or of a few "troublemakers", as has been claimed, but the response to decades of reactionary violence against the Puerto Rican masses. The political and economic crisis that is shaking the imperialist system has intensified this oppression, and all across the country more and more workers are losing their jobs, the masses must face higher prices, deteriorating health, education and housing conditions, more harassment by the police, etc. Within these conditions, Puerto Ricans, as an oppressed national minority, are among the hardest hit. But the attempts of the ruling class to shift the burden onto the shoulders of workers, oppressed nationalities and women has been met with increased resistance on the part of the masses. The Chicago rebellion is one example.

The events in Humboldt Park bring to the fore the miserable conditions and discrimination suffered by the Puerto Rican, as well as other oppressed national minorities and nationalities, in the U.S. It brings to the fore important lessons and tasks for revolutionaries to sum-up and learn.

The events confirmed once more that the masses will not stand passively while being attacked. They showed the boundless revolutionary energy and potential of the masses and their capacity to resist, with whatever is at hand - rocks, bottles, sticks - in an unequal battle against the oppressor. Hundreds of bloodthirsty, riot-gearned Chicago cops with helicopters and horses, wildly hitting and shooting at the crowd, could not halt the advance of the masses, who rightfully outraged would not stop at anything. Testimony of the fact that they were determined to make the oppressor pay for their many crimes are the thirty eight cops injured, many cop cars destroyed, and exploitive businesses set ablaze. Cops were chased out of the community, and kept out till next day!

The masses, and only the masses, are the makers of history. This is a truth that must be learned and always remembered. Without the participation of the masses, revolution is impossible. The Chicago rebellion was of great importance as it provided the masses with a schooling for future revolutionary ac-



tions. It was a preparation and prelude for the revolutionary seizure of state power that is the only road to liberation.

The events in Humboldt Park also clearly revealed what the nature of the bourgeois state is. The police, as part of the repressive apparatus of the state, manifested all the hatred of the bourgeoisie towards national minorities, violating their most elementary rights, killing two in the back and attacking even children, leaving a 10 month old child in serious condition. The events also exposed the loyal service rendered to the bourgeoisie by the poverty pimps, politicians, the "C" PUSA and other social props. The poverty pimps used the events for their own interests, as a lever to pressure for more government positions and funds. Their next of kin, the "C" PUSA, similarly paraded themselves begging the community to channel their anger into "constructive action", urging people to stop fighting and to give in to the bourgeoisie. This clearly exposed them as the social props they are, pacifying and diverting the revolutionary struggle of the people.

Chicago is by no means the first time in which the Puerto Rican masses spontaneously respond to discrimination and oppression. The Puerto Rican national minority in the U.S. has a long history of heroic struggle for their democratic rights, against class and national oppression. As a matter of fact Chicago itself has previously been the scene of fierce battles waged by the Puerto Rican community. These battles, indeed massive and brave, have not however solved the problems of the community, nor of the Puerto Rican national minority as a whole. Which is not to say, by any means, that the masses should stop fighting. What it does mean is that the masses require leadership and organization in order to realize their revolutionary potential, to give their struggles a planned and conscious character. And especially it means that the weaknesses of the U.S. communist movement must be overcome, that we must advance in our work in order to be able to participate and strive to provide correct communist leadership to the struggles of the masses. Only

thus can these struggles, separate and sporadic at this moment, converge in a single revolutionary torrent aimed at overthrowing capitalism.

Communists cannot be content with tailing the mass movement, or simply registering their struggles. We must be able to lead that movement, to set its revolutionary path, to organize it in such a manner that the immense potential of the masses is utilized to the fullest, that all resources are put to use - at the right time and in the correct manner, so that all energies are being directed

in the same direction, against the same target, with the same ultimate goal in mind. Communists must be able to respond in a timely and effective way to all manifestations of tyranny and oppression by the bourgeoisie. The Chicago rebellion provides an example of how we have failed in this task. This means that we must increase our efforts so that each step of the struggle may result in higher levels of organization and consciousness that prepare the masses for the final onslaught, for proletarian revolution.

The highest form of leadership and organization of the working class is the communist party. It is only through the communist party that the working class can exercise its leading role in the revolution and fulfill its historic task of overthrowing the capitalist system. In the U.S. today, neither the sold out "C" PUSA who long ago betrayed the interests of the working class, nor any of the other so-called "parties", are the genuine vanguard of the working class. The masses of workers and oppressed people in the U.S. have a long and heroic history of struggle and resistance. The great upsurge of the '60s for example showed the determination of the Afroamerican, and other oppressed people to fight for their freedom. However, communists were unable to take these struggles to a higher level. There was no genuine communist party to combine the efforts of all revolutionaries in a single movement and to organize and lead their struggles in a consistently revolutionary path.

Upsurge after upsurge the mass movement has found the U.S. communist movement lagging behind. That is why it is our central task to build our communist party to correct this situation. This of course does not mean that party building is our "only" task, that we should not in the meantime participate in the struggle of the masses or strive to provide communist leadership to such struggles. Very intimately connected with our central task is thus the need for communist propaganda to parallel the increasing mass actions, in order to increase the level of consciousness among the masses. More consciousness is necessary in order to be able to identify the enemy well, to understand the development of events and how our actions affect this development. More consciousness is necessary to be able to persist in the struggle despite its twists and turns, always with the ultimate goal in mind. Lack of consciousness gives the struggle a sporadic, spontaneous character, accounts for much lost and diluted efforts, and is fundamentally the result of the inability of the U.S. Marxist-Leninists to up to this date build our party and effectively develop our communist work among the masses.

Let us bear in mind comrade Lenin's words:

And so, we have become convinced that the fundamental error committed by the "new trend" in Russian Social-Democracy lies in its bowing to spontaneity, and its failure to understand that the spontaneity of the masses demands a mass of consciousness from us Social-Democrats. The greater the spontaneous upsurge of the masses, the more widespread the movement becomes, so much the more rapidly, incomparably more rapidly, grows the demand for greater consciousness in the theoretical, political and organizational work of Social-Democracy.
Lenin, *What is to be Done?*, p. 64

In order that such sparks as were lit in Chicago this year may spread the flames of revolution throughout the whole of the United States: let us strive for more consciousness in our theoretical, political and organizational work! let us build our Marxist-Leninist communist party!

Boycott Goya!

After 2 weeks of strike, the trucks of Goya Products are running again. But 41 workers of that company are no longer working there. They were fired for their militant participation in a strike which had as basic issues the right of the workers to a new contract - the old one already expired - and the right to choose the Union of their preference to represent them.

Despite previous preparation for the imminent strike, the actual call for it came before planned by the workers, as a result of the early firing of the leadership of the United Workers of Goya (UWG), a rank and file caucus, that unites over 60% of all Goya workers. Goya Products was able to obtain a court injunction immediately, prohibiting the workers to picket in front of the plant. A special police force trained to deal with "subversives and strikers" was mobilized immediately. More than 50 strike-breakers were brought to the plant under police protection in order to get the trucks running again. Today every Goya

truck carries an armed guard besides the truck driver and his helper. And each truck is escorted by a car with two other armed guards.

The 41 fired workers have decided to continue the struggle. Plans for a tri-state coalition - New York, New Jersey, Connecticut - are under way in order to boycott the Goya Products in their largest center of distribution. The UWG, despite the 41 firings, are still active trying to carry out the struggle under the new conditions of court injunction, no union recognized by the company, and the known existence of company spies besides the 50 strike-breakers recently hired.

We of LPR-ML support the just demands of the workers at Goya for a new contract, new union, and rehiring of the 41 fired workers, and we urge all comrades and fellow workers to show their solidarity with these class brothers.

NO GOYA PRODUCTS IN OUR HOMES!
REHIRE THE 41!

Ideological Struggle Is Never Ending

Australian Communist No. 56 (February 1973)



How to correctly conduct ideological struggle with comrades, from the standpoint of unity-struggle-unity, is a question which genuine marxist-leninists must answer correctly in order to move forward. We have to always remember Chairman Mao's teachings of "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and always strive to "cure the sickness to save the patient." In conducting ideological struggle we have to avoid both the right deviation of "all unity, no struggle" and the 'left' deviation of "all struggle, no unity." We must guard against both liberalism and sectarianism, take everything to the ideological and political line, and always differentiate between the fundamental and non-fundamental contradictions. On the ability of communists to carry this out in practice will depend whether or not the ideological struggle will result in higher unity - the striving of all genuine communists - or in further splits, as historically has been the case in our movement.

At this moment the organization is engaged in dealing with sharp contradictions with some of the comrades that have been working with the organization. The rise of subjectivity and sectarianism, the tendency to debate and accuse rather than exchange opinions in the search for truth, the tendency to factionalize or form opposition blocs, etc., are all bad practices that we must all learn to combat and overcome. As part of our ideological preparations in this particular struggle we are taking up and recommending all comrades and friends the same, the study of the valuable article we are reprinting below.

Since the struggle is beginning to unfold, the differences have not been fully drawn out yet and we will not go into details at this moment. Lessons will be summed up and shared with the rest of the communist movement.

We are aware that opportunists will always take advantage of the existence of contradictions to launch unprincipled attacks, gossip and slander our organization. But we are confident that in the course of the struggle we will be able to distinguish and separate the sham from the genuine, unmask and defeat opportunism, rectify our error and win over the honest elements. In order to do so, we must use as a guide the teachings of Chairman Mao who said:

"PRACTICE MARXISM AND NOT REVISIONISM,
UNITE AND DON'T SPLIT, BE OPEN AND
ABOVE-BOARD, DON'T INTRIGUE AND CONSPIRE."

* * *

The struggle to acquire correct ideology, politics and organization is certainly a never-ending one. Within the Party that struggle must proceed in an atmosphere of personal ease of mind and liveliness. The attainment of personal ease of mind and liveliness is in itself a struggle. What do we mean by this expression? We mean that everyone is alert to put forward his point of view, that he has ease of mind in doing so and that his point of view is considered carefully in an atmosphere that encourages him to put it forward and have it carefully considered. It means that it is put forward in an atmosphere where there is no backbiting, no scoring of points, no

debating tricks, no attempt to overawe him, no attempt to intimidate him. It means the free exchange of opinions - an exchange of opinions disciplined by the common striving for the correct Marxist-Leninist line. Certainly it does not mean just a debating society; it does not mean "freedom of criticism" so roundly condemned by Lenin in "What Is To Be Done". It does not mean that sort of thing; rather in terms of Lenin's "What Is To Be Done", it means that we recognise that "we are marching in a compact group along a narrow and precipitous path firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and are under their almost constant fire. We have combined voluntarily, precisely for the purpose of fighting the enemy . . ."

The great unifying factor in our Party and our Party life is adherence and devotion to revolution, to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We recognise that we are students of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We have made many mistakes. Our advance to knowledge occurs through the continual resolution of the contradiction between ignorance and knowledge - a process that must be recognised, respected and struggled for.

It is inevitable that different people look at the same problem in different ways. This extends to Marxist-Leninists. They have different solutions of the same problem or the problem itself assumes different shapes in different minds. This is due to imperfections in understanding the Marxist theory of reflection and imperfections in its practice. Because one person sees the problem or its solution in a way different from another does not mean that either of them is a scoundrel; even when one sees it differently from a majority or different from anyone else, does not make him a scoundrel. So long as the central struggle to attain Marxist-Leninist clarity remains, there must be ease of mind in attaining it. It is easy for comrades who always (or almost always) see problems and their solution in a similar way to unite; it is difficult to unite with an equally earnest adherent of Marxism-Leninism who sees problems or their solution in a different way. Moreover it is easy to condemn the latter as anti-Party or anti-Marxist-Leninist or even as a complete scoundrel. This is a heritage of past bad practices and reflection of capitalist competition which continually seeks the destruction of a rival. In seeking the truth, all who honestly and sincerely put forward a viewpoint, ought to be listened to with great respect. No single person is or can in the nature of things, be the repository of all wisdom.

There are sometimes cases where those who have different views go outside the limits of Party unity and of democratic centralism. Each of those ideas - Party unity and democratic centralism - is a Marxist-Leninist idea. So long as the Party adheres to Marxism-Leninism and its striving for Marxist-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in its ideology politics and organisation, party unity and democratic centralism are guiding principles of organisation. Internally that permits the expression of different views with complete ease of mind (no reprisals of any kind against those who differ). Externally it precludes the canvassing of a view that is different from that of the Party or a Party majority. It precludes Party members from taking up Party matters with people outside the Party. It demands the keeping of Party confidence including the confidence of who else is a Party member or who is the author of a Party document or other things of that character. Party spirit, Party discipline, is born of class consciousness, the consciousness that in its struggle for power the working class has no weapon other than Mar-

xist-Leninist organisation with Marxist-Leninist ideology and politics. Discipline is not something imposed from outside: it is voluntary, born of consciousness, born of ease of mind.

The tendency of people to agree amongst themselves readily or to see problems from the same point of view and to unite with each other to the exclusion of those who disagree with them or who don't see the problem in the same way, can easily degenerate into sectarianism within the Party, or to the formation of cliques within the Party. It can lead to recrudescence of left blocism. These are real problems.

"Ease of mind" is not just a mechanical formula for repetition or to be put up as an image to be worshipped but an important concept for Party unity, discipline and the correct resolution of problems. It applies to all. In one way or another people often in practice do not contribute to ease of mind; they do not easily understand that it applies to them, to me.

It should go without saying that we do not encourage disagreement just for the sake of disagreement. In fact all Marxist-Leninists fairly readily agree just because they do have a basically common approach. What we encourage is the full exchange of opinions in the spirit of arriving at agreement on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

There is a tremendous responsibility on all Communists to build up the Party, to build it up ideologically politically and organisationally. This is a responsibility that embraces every single Communist. There are those in whom the tendency to leave it to others is well advanced. But there can be no leaving it to others in such a tremendous cause as that of revolution. Again it is a question of Party spirit, Party discipline. If a comrade does not discharge his responsibility it is the job of his comrades to see that he does discharge his responsibility, that is, that his consciousness is raised to the stage when he does discharge his responsibility. Arbitrary denunciation or condemnation is of little use. Revolutionary responsibility increases all the time. Demands upon us increase all the time. There are many small things and many big things to be done. It is only we who will do them.

Sometimes questions arise as to the relative weight to be given to the opinions of experienced and inexperienced Communists. Of course we should give weight to the views of experienced comrades but we should never be overborne by them. Merely because an experienced comrade expresses an opinion does not necessarily make that opinion correct. It should be discussed and weighed in an atmosphere of personal ease of mind. The so-called inexperienced comrade often brings quite a new and fresh light to the solution of problems. It is the proper combination of all opinions in a correct atmosphere that leads to the correct solution of problems. Anyone who arbitrarily throws his weight around because of his "experience" does not act according to the spirit of ease of mind; indeed any conduct which makes the expression of opinion in any way difficult does not accord with Party spirit.

Sometimes agreement cannot be reached. Commonly in such situations some matters can be left on one side and resolved later. The solution of a problem only emerges in practice. What seems to be correct at one moment, ceases to be correct when practice shows its imperfections. Hence again the capacity to analyse and sum up practice and modify plans and decisions are essential parts of revolutionary struggle.

Some comrades hold their views with great intensity. They want to impose them on everyone. They as it were, see the light and they cannot understand why everyone else doesn't see it with the same clarity. It is good to hold firm views but it is also good to listen to other views and not to regard oneself as the last word.

There are many other aspects of these problems. Our conclusion is that the struggle to study problems together with personal ease of mind and liveliness is indeed a big and continuing struggle.

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RCL

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well as the Chinese and Albanian revolutions) were "historical accidents". This would be so because revolution did not take place in those countries with highly developed, productive forces and a more educated working class, i.e. Germany, England, France, etc., but in backward countries with illiterate masses.

We are sure that the illiterate Russian pre-October Revolution proletariat grasped a lot more Marxism-Leninism than the educated U.S. proletariat of today. And this is so, comrades, not because of the level of the productive forces, but because of the subjective factor. "Theory, when grasped by the masses, becomes a material force," and that is what happened under the leadership of the CPSU(B) and the great Lenin and Stalin in backward Russia.

Obviously, the fact that such a party does not exist in the U.S. and that the level of fusion of socialism with the working class is so low indicates that not only are the U.S. workers today less advanced than those in Russia before the Revolution, but also that a communist newspaper will be completely or well high incomprehensible to them.

And this comrades is something that has been tested in practice by those honest marxist-leninists that

know what the U.S. proletariat is, not from book definition but by actual participation in their day to day struggles.

To say the contrary ("we would question") would be the equivalent of saying that concepts such as "imperialism", "state", "socialism", "Marxism-Leninism", "contradictions", etc., etc., are comprehensible to the largest masses of workers because they can read, and this is pure and simple petty bourgeois nonsense. If we follow RCL's logic, we can just sit down and wait until the same productive forces that "produced more advanced workers" in the U.S., that allowed the largest masses to understand a communist newspaper, take care of building the party. Maybe they can even transform capitalism into socialism!!!

What is absent from RCL's position is the fact that of all the differences that exist between RCL and LPR the fundamental one which we have struggled on repeatedly is the position on China -- and not on questions of definitions, quotes, etc. Since the great victory over the "gang of four" in China, LPR has raised that it is a matter of principle and proletarian stand to support the CPC, while RCL all this time is still "studying the question" and keeps dead silence on the matter and the struggles we have had on it!

(MORE ON THIS MATTER IN OUR NEXT ISSUE)

The struggle in Angola goes on ...

Lessons for revolutionaries the world over

The high level of instability, and the acute political and economic crisis that is confronting the puppet regime of Agostino Neto and the MPLA in Angola is of great concern for revolutionaries the world over. Angola represents in Africa what Chile under Allende represented in Latin America. A test case for the implementation of the theses of modern revisionism and a base of operations for Soviet social imperialist penetration.

At first glance, the cases of Chile and Angola appear completely different. Allende was elected president by popular vote, Neto was put in power with the help of 20,000 Cuban troops and the most sophisticated military weaponry. If we leave it here it seems that Allende took the parliamentary road (what Fidel Castro calls, "the other road to socialism") and that Neto took the road of armed struggle. But if we go deeper into this question, we will be able to see the similarities.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that in third world countries peoples protracted war, self-reliance, and the united front of all revolutionary classes led by the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party, is the only road to revolution. Furthermore, it teaches us that revolutions are neither imported nor exported and that the task of liberating the working class is a task that only the working class itself can carry out.

Allende and the "Unidad Popular" (the United front built in Chile), and Neto and the MPLA, denied these teachings. They denied the leading role of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party. In both cases the petty bourgeoisie took the leading role in the "revolution" and the united front under the hegemony of the petty bourgeoisie was "substituted" the party. "The fundamental question in any revolution is the question of state power", says Lenin, and without its M-L party to lead it, the working class cannot exercise its leadership, and seize state power.

In Chile because the revolutionary struggle in Latin America was at an ebb, and because the "guerrilla foco", a line put forward by the Cuban revisionists and the Trotskyites in that continent was proving to be incorrect in many of the Latin American countries, the conditions were ripe in Chile for testing the revisionist thesis of "peaceful transition to socialism." Allende and the "Unidad Popular" won the elections, decided that Lenin was incorrect in calling for the smashing of the bourgeois state apparatus, put forward that the Chilean army was an ally of the masses and with the applause of the revisionists the world over, Chile was "declared" a socialist country. Social democracy and revisionism prepared the way for some of the most brutal repression ever registered in Latin America.

*The fact that the CIA orchestrated the overthrow of Allende doesn't alter the fact that it was precisely the revisionists in power who created the conditions for the coup. Who can forget that 2 weeks before the coup Allende himself, in calling for "national unity", named Pinochet chief of the army; that Allende's government opposed the creation of peoples militias, etc.? The Chilean masses were not prepared neither ideologically and politically (which is the most important), nor militarily, to defeat the fascist offensive. They heroically resisted and thousands of patriots paid with their lives the revisionist's scheme of "peaceful transition". The Soviet Union then just closed its embassy, refused to play a football game in Chile and continued saying that Chile was socialist and that "peaceful transition" can work.

In Angola, the USSR used another cover, a more militant one, but in essence pushed the same line, i.e., denial of the leading role of the proletariat and its M-L party, the "non-capitalist road of development": This revisionist line is used by the Soviet social imperialists to oppose the new democratic revolutions in neo-colonial countries. According to it a neo-colonial country can "advance to socialism" through a series of reforms without a communist party, without a new democratic revolution, without the dictatorship of the proletariat. Neo-colonial countries like Egypt, Ethiopia, Angola, etc. are supposedly following that road today - a road that leads directly into the arms of the imperialist superpowers.

We said before that Angola represents today what Chile represented some years ago. A test case for Soviet social imperialism and modern revisionism. Let's examine the situation there today.

CUBAN TROOPS KEEP NETO IN POWER
Angola is not an independent country today, it is controlled by the Soviet social-imperialists

who keep a permanent and active military force of over 10,000 Cuban troops on Angolan soil. The fact that these troops remain makes it obvious that the so-called mass support for the MPLA rule is nonsense. Without the Cuban troops and the military agreements with the USSR the MPLA could not keep itself in power.

MPLA SPLINTERED INTERNALLY
Since seizing power the MPLA has gone through a series of splits. It is natural that this would happen being that the MPLA is a united front composed of different classes which have antagonistic contradictions among them. These contradictions have been especially sharpened by the dependency of on the Soviet Union and the permanent presence of Cuban troops in its territory.

When the Soviet Union instigated the civil war many honest forces within the MPLA saw the participation of Cuban troops in Angola as a correct thing. These forces were manipulated by the revisionists who claimed that the Cuban troops were there only to fight the South African mercenaries (in fact, there was no combat at all between Cuban troops and South Africans) and that they would leave as soon as victory was achieved. After more than a year, not only are the Cuban troops and the soviet "advisors" still in Angola, but it is also clear that they are not there under Neto's orders, but on the contrary, they are the ones giving the orders.

ANGOLAN MARXIST-LENINISTS SUM UP THE SITUATION
The Communist Organization of Angola (OCA), a split from the MPLA, "sets itself the difficult but great task of founding the Communist Party of the proletariat of Angola, the vanguard that will lead the workers, peasants, patriotic sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals in the struggle for popular democracy, for effective national independence, and for the ending of the exploitation of man by man" (Ikwezi, Vol. II, No. IV Dec., 1976, p. 52). They have summed-up the situation as follows:

"The Angolan communists organised themselves at a time when it became impossible to continue any longer within the MPLA, a movement that in the past united nationalists and revolutionaries. However, the very great influence of the political leadership of sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of a bourgeois nationalist political line managed to transform it, in the present political and military situation, into a movement under the orders of Soviet social imperialism. Under the pretext of the struggle against American imperialism and its agents, FNLA and UNITA, and the Zairean and South African invasion, the MPLA opened the doors to Soviet social-imperialism. This fact demonstrates that the MPLA is dominated by a new rising bourgeoisie which is not interested in creating a popular-democratic regime that serves the workers and peasants. This transformation has not been grasped, nor accepted, by many anti-fascist sectors in Portugal. These sectors are still taken in by the propaganda of the revisionists that presents the MPLA as the legitimate representative of the Angolan people. However, the repression that the MPLA has launched against communist and revolutionary nationalists, and even against the true anti-fascists inside the MPLA, must draw the attention of these sectors to the Angolan reality, to the new developing contradictions. In a word, it must draw their attention to the new content of the class struggle as it develops in Angola today, and to the class interests that the political leadership of the MPLA represents."

Ikwezi, Vol. II, No. IV, pg. 53.

THE UPRISING OF MAY 27
On May 27, 1977 an armed uprising took place in Luanda, capital of Angola, in an attempt to overthrow the Neto puppet regime. The insurgents, including army units, members of the Angolan Women and Youth Organizations, and many Angolan patriots started their action by attacking some prisons and liberating hundreds of political prisoners. Among those freed were Nito Alves, former Minister of the Interior and Jose Von-Dunen, former Political Commissar of the Armed Forces. Both men were prominent leaders of the MPLA and until very recently members of its Central Committee.

Alves and Von-Dunen took the military and political leadership of the uprising. After taking control of the government radio station, they broadcast a call to the Angolan masses to support the revolt and remove the traitors from power. They also called for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Angola.

All the information we have about the uprising comes from the bourgeois and the revisionist press. This means that there is no way in which we can really know if Alves and Von-Dunen are genuine patriots and revolutionaries or whether they represent one sector of the ruling class fighting with another sector in order to determine who will be the master: the USSR or the USA.

But the fact that the uprising did occur, the fact that prominent leaders of the MPLA were involved, the fact that it was the Cuban troops representing the USSR (the main enemy in Angola today), who defeated the insurgents, all point to the state of political instability to which we referred at the beginning of this article.

UNITA STILL FIGHTING
To make the rule of the MPLA more difficult, they still have to deal with UNITA, (another liberation movement) which has continued to wage guerrilla warfare against the government. We have said in the past, and want to repeat now, that the MPLA, UNITA and the now extinct FNLA, were 3 national liberation movements that waged armed struggle against the Portuguese imperialists. The thousands of Angolan peasants, workers and intellectuals of each organization were honest and genuine patriots who put their lives on the line in defense of the independence and national liberation of their homeland. The united front was under the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals; many in the top leadership of the 3 movements were agents and lackeys of either U.S. imperialism or Soviet social imperialism; none of the 8 movements was or is the Marxist-Leninist Party that will lead the Angolan masses toward socialism, along the road of New Democratic revolution.

USSR FAILED IN CHILE, WILL FAIL IN ANGOLA
In Chile, Soviet social imperialism and modern revisionism received a thunderous defeat. Unfortunately it was the Chilean masses who suffered the tragic consequences brought about by the contention of the two superpowers in that country. Chilean social-democrats and revisionists opened the way to the fascist dictatorship.

We are confident that in Angola things will go in another direction. The Angolan masses know already that the two superpowers are their enemy. The Angolan masses have a long history of struggle and have shown in practice that they know that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun".

It is up to the genuine Angolan Marxist-Leninists, be they in MPLA, UNITA, OCA, or any other organization to build the Angolan Communist Party, in struggle against the puppet Neto regime and its Soviet social imperialist backers. Only with that party, with a united front, and a peoples' army can an Angola achieve real independence and national liberation.

People all around the world, but especially the African revolutionaries, are watching closely the developments in Angola. They see how they are related to the invasion of Zaire, to the Soviet social imperialist support of the Fascist Junta in Ethiopia, to the progressive stand taken by the government of Sudan in expelling the Soviet military advisors from its country and ordering the Soviet Union to cut in half its diplomatic personnel.

All Africa is standing up, and the African freedom fighters are learning a lot from what is happening in Angola. "A bad thing can turn into a good thing." The USSR's control and interference in Angola opened the eyes for many freedom fighters who can now see the true nature of Soviet social imperialism. It will not be much longer before the slogan "Superpowers Out of Africa!" become the battle cry of all genuine Marxist-Leninists and other revolutionaries in Africa.

As the Ethiopian Student Organization in North America (ESUNA) points out in a recent exposure of the soviet revisionists intervention in Ethiopia:

"It is a question of whether to uphold the New Democratic Road or to uphold the so-called Non-capitalist Road; whether to uphold the leading role of the proletariat (and its Communist Party) or to uphold the leading role of the "radical petty-bourgeois state power", whether to uphold the road of people's revolutionary struggle or to uphold the road of bourgeois reformism, whether to uphold the road of violent revolution or to uphold the road of "peaceful transition", and whether to uphold class struggle or whether to uphold class collaboration. In the final analysis, it is a question of whether to adhere to Marxism-Leninism or to wallow in the mire of modern revisionism.
Combat, Vol. VI, No. 2, page 6

**DEATH TO U.S. IMPERIALISM AND SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM!
SUPERPOWERS OUT OF AFRICA!**

**DEATH TO U.S. IMPERIALISM AND SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM!
SUPERPOWERS OUT OF AFRICA!
WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD,
UNITE!**

SUPERPOWERS OUT OF AFRICA !

EXCERPTS OF FLYER PREPARED BY LPR-ML FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY!

In this AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY of 1977, we warmly salute the heroic freedom fighters who day by day in Africa deal deadly blows to U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, feudalism, apartheid, zionism, racism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, bureaucratic capitalism, modern revisionism and all kinds of reaction.

The masses of African freedom fighters, especially those of Azania, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Zaire, Ethiopia and Angola require the militant and resolute support of the U.S. multinational proletariat, and of the peoples of the world.

This demonstration is just a small token of what our proletarian internationalist duty is toward the oppressed peoples and nations the world over, especially the third world-Africa, Asia and Latin America. It is important that we are here today, not only to support the African masses in struggle, but also to solemnly declare that we will spare no efforts to weaken and finally defeat our own bourgeoisie, the U.S. imperialists, as the highest form of support of their struggles. In order to defeat the bourgeoisie we must, just as the peoples in struggle in every country in Africa must build a genuine Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, that is capable of uniting all those who can be united to struggle against the enemy as well as of organizing and leading the people's army to wage armed struggle, the only road to revolution.

For more than 4 centuries the African masses have been submitted to the most cruel system of oppression by the European imperialist powers. One by one those imperialist powers-Holland, Spain, Belgium, France, England, Portugal-have been kicked out of the continent. But the new emerging power at the time, the U.S. imperialists, substituted these powers and through puppet regimes established neo-colonialist rule over most of those new independent states.

The multinational proletariat of the U.S. has close historical ties with the African peoples. It was based on the import and brutal enslavement and exploitation of the African slaves that this country was built, on their blood and sweat. Since then, Africans have "settled" in the U.S. and through long years of struggle they evolved into a nation with common economic life, common culture in the common territory of the Black Belt South of the U.S. This is an oppressed nation whose right to self-determination up to and including secession, we support.

It is important, and our participation in this International Committee for ALD is based precisely on this, that we understand the incorrectness of the narrow nationalists idea, also peddled by the revisionists, that the struggle in Africa is the exclusive concern, or at least mainly the concern of the Afro-American people in this country. This is a multinational state, with a multinational proletariat, and all those oppressed by the U.S. bourgeoisie, the root cause of all our problems, are our concern, as only together can we resolve them.

This is why the call for multinational unity in the U.S., and for a multinational Marxist-Leninist Party to lead us in struggle, is the only correct way to prepare ourselves for that great task of destroying, once and for all, U.S. imperialism.

Today, the independent states that exist in Africa, as well as the national liberation struggles in process, have to confront not only U.S. imperialism, but also Soviet social imperialism. This new superpower masks itself with the red flag of social-

ism which long ago they abandoned, and pose as the "natural allies" of the masses in struggle. They are attempting, with some temporary success, to substitute the rule of the U.S. imperialists in Africa, as well as in the rest of the third world, for their social imperialist rule...

...Soviet social imperialism knows that the system of colonialism and white rule which exists in Africa will be brought down by the struggle of the masses and will come to an end. They are aware of the general turmoil, the revolutionary storm that is already underway in many African countries. They know U.S. imperialism is widely discredited because of its alliance with, and propping up of, its most reactionary regimes. They know that U.S. imperialism is losing ground in Africa, which they could in turn take over. So the Soviet social imperialists pose as "friends", oppose U.S. intervention, white rule, colonialism, etc.-in words-while in deed strive to penetrate the movements for liberation with their sham "aid" which is only intent on hooking the victory of one liberation movement or the other on that aid, rather than mainly on self-reliance. They strive to deepen that dependency sending Soviet "advisors" and advanced technology, and Cuban troops to remain after victory, and thus help to consolidate their satellite regimes in Africa. This penetration is progressively stepped up with military installations, such as the Soviet Union's naval base in Somalia, which helps to guard those territories, as well as with economic penetration which does not allow the independent development of the national economy of those countries and obstruct the unfolding of the New Democratic Revolution under the leadership of genuine communist parties. This is precisely what they tried, and failed, in Zaire. It will not be long before the Zairian masses realize that after the complete defeat of the USSR backed invasion, the principal contradiction in Zaire will again shift toward the U.S. imperialists and their lackey Mobutu regime, and against them they will point their guns...

...Soviet social imperialism, comrades and friends, is not merely a topic for academic research and intellectual discussions. It is a reality that kills, that massacres, that oppresses. A reality that has to be confronted, just as U.S. imperialism is confronted, because both of them are the main enemy of the world's peoples. Cast aside all illusions about the possibility of an progressive role of the Soviet Union in any part of the world! We must be prepared to expose and fight this superpower staunchly so as no to become accomplices of the crimes committed every day by this superpower against the heroic peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

As part of the world wide United Front against the two superpowers we have come out in support of the struggles of the African peoples. Our struggles are the same. They are the struggle of all workers and oppressed peoples against a common enemy: U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social-Imperialism, whom we are certain will meet their fate: the people of Africa, and the peoples of the whole world, will defeat these aggressors and will surely win independence and true liberation!

LONG LIVE THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLES!
BUILD THE WORLD WIDE UNITED FRONT AGAINST THE TWO SUPERPOWERS!
DEATH TO U.S. IMPERIALISM AND SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM!
WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY

The struggle against imperialism rages on ferociously!

In Eritrea, the liberation struggle is raging on successfully, beating back the puppet troops, taking key towns such as Keren. Victory is close at hand for the revolutionaries and the Junta in desperation has imported Cuban advisors to train peasants to fight against the revolutionaries. But to no avail! Soviet social imperialism and its lackeys are increasingly being exposed, and Ethiopian revolutionaries are rapidly moving forward along the road of the New Democratic Revolution towards true liberation. Victory to the national liberation struggle of the Ethiopian and Eritrean people!

ETHIOPIA

On June 13 over 40 Ethiopian students in the USSR held a demonstration protesting the massacres by the fascist regime of Haile Mengistu in Ethiopia which is backed by the USSR. The students charged the complicity of the USSR with Mengistu's plans to massacre Ethiopian revolutionaries abroad. The USSR is asking these students to return to Ethiopia. In order to avoid being handed in by the USSR authorities to the fascist Junta, many of these students have had to go underground in the USSR!



MILITANT TRADITION

OF AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY

CONTINUED



IN CELEBRATION OF AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY, A MILITANT DEMONSTRATION WAS HELD IN NEW YORK BY THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES SUPPORT COMMITTEE (NLSSC), ETHIOPIAN STUDENT UNION IN N.A. (ESUNA), ETHIOPIAN WOMENS STUDY GROUP IN N.A., ERITREANS FOR LIBERATION IN N.A., TURKISH STUDENT ASSOCIATION, MAY 18 REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION, LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION (ML), AND OTHER MARXIST-LENINISTS AND REVOLUTIONARY MINDED PEOPLE. PHOTOS ON LEFT SHOW ASPECTS OF MARCH THROUGH HARLEM ON MAY 28TH.

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COMBAT

OPPOSE THE
COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY
NEEDLING
OF THE SOVIET REVISIONIST
RENEGADE CLIQUE
IN THE
ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION

(A statement of the Central Committee of ESUNA)

Prepared by the
ETHIOPIAN STUDENTS UNION
in NORTH AMERICA
Member of the World Wide Federation
of Ethiopian Students

Vol. VI No. 2 March, 1977

\$1.00

SOVIET SOCIAL- IMPERIALISM:

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

EXCERPTS FROM "Albania Today" No. 1

Published by The League for Proletarian Revolution-ML

ALD SUM-UP

TO BE PUBLISHED SOON
BY LPR-ML

Daily World traitors picketed

On June sixth (6), the League for Proletarian Revolution-ML held a militant picket in front of the offices of the Daily World - newspaper of the revisionist CPUSA on W. 19 St. in N.Y. City. This picket was significant as part of the struggle against revisionism and right opportunism, the main danger in the communist movement.

Under the slogan of "Daily World: mouthpiece of Soviet social imperialism!" we called the picket to protest the slanderous attacks appearing in the Daily World (see DW May 4, 1977) against genuine revolutionaries in Ethiopia. The Daily World referred in an article to the heroic revolutionary fighters of the Marxist Leninist ETHIOPIAN PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY PARTY (EPRP) as "a group of hit men", and "CIA backed assassins", and to the heroic Eritrean fighters as "stooges", accusing them of assassination campaigns, etc. At the same time, the Daily World referred fascist Ethiopian Junta - which is engaged in barbarous mass murders, bloody torture and imprisonment of thousands of revolutionaries and democratic people - as progressive and Marxist Leninist. Just like their masters in the Soviet Union, they prop up this Junta in order to stop the revolutionary struggle of the masses and allow the Soviet social imperialists to come in and control Ethiopia. (Already there are a number of lackey Cuban advisors who have arrived in Ethiopia to aid the Junta's troops in suppressing the revolutionaries and to train the Junta's troops in counter-insurgency tactics.)

Among the slogans chanted, which reflected the line and the character of the picket, were: "Stop the revisionist slander of the Ethiopian struggle", "Long live the struggle of the Ethiopian masses", "Long live the EPRP!", "Down with the fascist Junta", "Superpowers out of Africa", "Death to U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism" and "Marxism-Leninism will defeat revisionism". The Daily World staff, as they trickled out of building were especially angered by the slogan "CIA, where are they?, in the CPUSA!", a slogan which was creatively deepened by the crowd attending the picket with yet another slogan "KGB, where are they?, in the CPUSA!"

The picket provided the opportunity to demarcate ourselves from the revisionists and to explain to the passersby, who showed great interest, why the CPUSA is neither revolutionary nor Marxist-Leninist but rather, counterrevolutionary, and to expose its support for the enemies of the people and its attacks against their true representatives. Mainly it was a way to show the masses our repudiation of the CPUSA and Soviet social-imperialism and our support for the revolution in Ethiopia under the leadership of the EPRP. It is our duty to rally the North American multinational working class and oppressed masses in support of Third world national liberation struggles, and to expose and defeat all attempts by the revisionists to undermine and control those struggles. This duty is carried out, not only in polemics, and propaganda in our press, forums, and conferences, but also in our daily work among the masses, in the workplace, in the communities, through pickets, rallies and other actions.

As we said in our flyer calling for the activity: "The CPUSA is a party of counterrevolution, and as such must be exposed, combated and defeated. Its support of the fascist Junta in Ethiopia and of the crimes of the Soviet social imperialists are ample proof of this. We call on all honest Marxist-Leninists, advanced workers and revolutionary minded people to show their hatred for the CPUSA and to show their support for the Ethiopian masses and their struggle against the fascist dictatorship which; supported by both superpowers-the U.S. and the USSR - murders, massacres, tortures and imprisons the true fighters for liberation in Ethiopia."

One of the pickets carried by a comrade from ESUNA said: "

"A specter is haunting the fascist Mengistu Junta in Ethiopia. It is the specter of revolution!"

We are certain, Marxism-Leninism will, and is, defeating revisionism; and the national liberation struggles of the Third world will be, are being, victorious!

ETHIOPIA

WHAT IS BEHIND THE "RED" MARCH?? JUNTA'S TOTTERING REGIME GRIPPED WITH DESPERATION TO CONTAIN THE ADVANCEMENT OF:

- ETHIOPIAN PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY ARMY
- ERITREAN LIBERATION FORCES
- OTHER NATIONALIST INSURRECTIONARY FORCE

...The contention and collusion between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. has created a war hysteria in Ethiopia and the neighboring countries. The counter-revolutionary collaboration between the Soviet Union and the Mengistu regime and U.S. imperialism's stepped up support to the royalist EDU is a treacherous, but futile attempt to crush the raging struggle of the Ethiopian and Eritrean people.

PLACE - HORACE MANN AUDITORIUM TEACHERS COLLEGE 120 51ST & BROADWAY
DATE - SATURDAY JULY 30, 1977
TIME - 6:30 P.M

ESUNA & EWSG N.A. MEMBERS W.W.F.E.S

Response to RCL

In the latest issue of Unity and Struggle (Vol. VI, no. 1-6), RCL listed a series of "unities" and disunities with LPR-ML. The purpose of this article is to answer the criticisms raised by RCL; show how they distort our line in said criticism, while not putting forward their own position on the different issues; and how on every issue they conveniently forget to deal with the essence of the open struggles we have had in different forums, coalitions, meetings, etc.

* (Revolutionary Communist League - MLM)

ON TWO LINE STRUGGLE BEING THE EXCEPTION

"In Resistance Vol. 8, #1&2, LPR began polemicalizing with ATM. We are also doing an analysis of ATM's line which will be forthcoming. But we see the need to raise questions to LPR about these polemics. In a forum in Newark several months ago, LPR repudiated the position they previously had held in common with the ATM on two-line struggle being the exception to the rule inside communist organizations. Since LPR repudiated this erroneous line, we question why we have not seen this repudiated publicly or seen it in the criticism of ATM.

Unity & Struggle, 6/77

In August, 1976, we held a closed forum with ATM in New York. At the forum ATM put forward its position that two-line struggle is the exception in a communist organization. They equated two-line struggle with the existence of an opposition line within a communist organization. At the forum we united with this position. Weeks later and after further struggle within the organization and with some of the comrades who attended the forum, as well as further study on the question - particularly the section on the "Basic Line of the Party" in A Basic Understanding of the Communist Party of China (Toronto: Norman Bethune Institute, 1976), we concluded that this position was incorrect. It is a right line that leads to the liquidation of all struggles within an organization.

In October, RCL sponsored an open forum in Newark, and LPR-ML used the occasion to read a self-criticism and repudiation of the line referred to above. This was obviously a public self-criticism. LPR-ML has also repudiated this erroneous line at other forums and at closed and open meetings held in other places.

It is very revealing that RCL has kept complete silence in relation to ATM's turn toward consolidated right opportunism and instead of polemicalizing against them, the main proponents and defendants of "two-line struggle - the exception", they prefer to try to score some points by implying that LPR-ML did not make public self-criticism. (For more on ATM and two-line struggle see an excerpt from a speech given by Colorado Organization for Revolutionary Struggle (CORES-MLM) that appears in the latest issue of Resistance (Vol. 8, No. 5, p.8).

REVISIONISM AND REFORMISM

RCL says:

"We have already criticized LPR for the formulation, "Revisionism is the main danger in the communist movement and reformism is the main danger in the workers movement." LPR still has not offered sufficient basis for their position and in studying this further we found further justification for RCL's line that revisionism is the main danger in the communist and workers movements." Ibid, page 11.

The "further justification" they give consists of quotes, neither of which deals with the essence of this important question.

LPR-ML does uphold that revisionism is the main danger for the U.S. communist movement and reformism is the main danger for the U.S. workers' movement. The line was explained and defended by us in the Newark forum. But RCL again prefers to try to score some points by just saying "we have already criticized LPR" and conveniently forgets what our position was.

Our position is based on the understanding that due to the low level of fusion in this country, there do exist two distinctive movements - a communist movement and a workers' movement.

As Lenin said in A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social-Democracy:

"The separation of the working class movement and socialism gave rise to weakness and underdevelopment in each: the theories of the socialists, unfused with the workers' struggles, remained petty, fragmented, and did not acquire political significance, was not enlightened by the advanced science of its time. For this reason we see in all European countries a constantly growing urge to fuse socialism with the working class movement in a single Social-Democratic movement." Lenin, Retrograde Trend in Russian Social-Democracy, LPR Edition, page 3.

Revisionism, right opportunism is indeed the main danger to the entire international communist and workers' movements. This means that right opportunism, in the form of revisionism is overall the main danger. How does this apply to the U.S.? Right opportunism is also the main danger in the U.S., both to the U.S. communist movement as well as to the U.S. workers' movement. In the U.S. communist movement right opportunism takes its highest form in revisionism which is the main danger. In the U.S. workers' movement right opportunism takes the form of reformism, the main danger.

It is clear that neither the revisionist, right opportunists nor the "left" opportunists and trotskyites have real influence among the masses. The right opportunists obviously have a little more influence among the masses than the "left" opportunists, but their influence is very weak and limited in comparison to that of the labor aristocracy, the labor bureaucrats, the poverty pimps, etc.

The "CPUSA, RCP, CP-ML, PRRWO-RWL, WVO, ATM, MLOC, etc. together don't account for half the influence among the working class exercised by Meany, Miller, Fitzsimmons, Watts, Sadlowski, Gottbaum, etc. This is why we consider it incorrect to say that revisionism is the main danger in the U.S. workers' movement today.

In any of the big industries, whose ideas do the great majority of the workers follow, George Meany or Gus Hall? Who are the ones that are in control of the workers' struggle - RCP or the union bureaucrats? In the great majority of the shops in this country, comrades, it is not the OL (now they call themselves the "CP-ML) implying that it is the party, or WVO with its "two contending trends", or ATM with its "agitation in the forefront", who represents the main danger. It is the Meany's, the Sadlowskis, the Millers and local bureaucrats.

In Italy, Spain, France, etc., in contrast to the U.S., revisionism is the main danger to both the workers' and communist movements. In those countries, the revisionists have control over the trade unions. Labor aristocrats, labor bureaucrats, and revisionists are one and the same. This is not the case in the U.S., with a few exceptions. Revisionists such as the CPUSA are part of this main danger as they are in theory and practice essentially reformists. However their influence and control over the U.S. workers movement is minimal compared to those of the other reformists in the working class, the rest of the labor aristocracy who are not revisionists but simply reformist labor bureaucrats, reformist trade unionists, etc. By not making this qualification that corresponds to the concrete conditions of the U.S. working class we would be reducing the main danger - and thus the object of our attacks - to the revisionists. This would result in many comrades leaving other reformists off the hook in their agitation and propaganda in the plant and concentrating their attacks in an enemy who very probably has no work developed, or influence at that plant. Thus we consider correct to refer to the main danger as reformism in the U.S. workers movement, and not exclusively or mainly revisionism.

Instead of attempting to prove us wrong, to show us what is incorrect in our analysis, RCL wants to solve very complex problems by taking a quote out of context and relating only to the general, and never to the specific, concrete situation we are analysing.

Remember that PRRWO, before its complete degeneration, denied the fact that within a particular organization "left" opportunism can be the main danger, despite the fact that right opportunism is the main danger for the movement as a whole. And the failure to make concrete analysis contributed a lot to their degeneration.

ON THE DIFFERENT STRATA OF THE WORKING CLASS

Here again RCL distorts our line and conveniently forgets the essence of the struggle we had in the Newark forum.

"LPR once denied, but now openly and fully embraces the line reminiscent of the left in form right in essence "wing" and Liu Shao-chi line "the masses are backward." Ibid, page 4.

This is a distortions of our line as well as a repulsive method of struggle. Every time that we have written or addressed ourselves to this question, we have always put forward that the majority of the workers in this country are part of the backward or lower stratum of the working class. What is repulsive is RCL's opportunist method of struggle on this question. They try to discredit our line not by proving it incorrect, but by trying to link it to the "wing" and Liu Shao-chi without concretely proving it. (RCL's mention of Liu Shao-chi reminds us of the thief crying thief, as we will see further on.)

RCL has obviously inherited WVO's discredited football "theory" according to this "theory"

the working class is shaped like a football. At the two ends of the ball are the advanced and the backward workers, in the middle are found the majority of the workers - the intermediate workers.

WVO, (apparently also RCL) equates backward workers with reactionaries, with lumpen elements, with labor goons, those "thoroughly entrenched with the old world outlook and cannot see beyond their own individualistic self-interest..." etc. (WV Journal, #4, pg.6). WVO puts forth this view in their polemic against PRRWO stating that PRRWO "shows disdain and pessimism because if the majority of workers are backward, how can you win them over to overthrow the bourgeoisie?" (WV Journal, No. 4, p.5-6)

WVO's view is pure revisionism. Backward workers can definitely be won over to overthrow the bourgeoisie. As Lenin said, and WVO denies:

"Even the most backward worker will understand the idea, provided of course, the agitator or propagandist is able to approach him in such a way as to communicate the idea to him, to explain it in understandable language on the basis of facts the worker knows from everyday experience. But this condition is just as indispensable for clarifying the economic struggle;...it is an idea that can be absorbed by a few educated workers whom the masses will follow guided by their instincts and their immediate interests." Lenin, CW, Vol. 4, page 291.

Obviously, it was not just PRRWO who was showing disdain for the masses, but also WVO. PRRWO, coming from the far "left", from neo-trotskyism, disdains the masses and refuses to have anything to do with them, (only party building, only the advance, only polemics, etc.). WVO, coming from the far right, from consolidated right opportunism and revisionism disdains the masses by calling backward workers reactionaries, goons, etc. But more importantly, by denying that revolutionary theory can in fact raise the consciousness of the masses of workers and move the great majority of the workers to fight, under communist leadership, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. WVO is in fact liquidating proletarian revolution because proletarian revolution is impossible without the participation of the broad masses.

In contrast to this incorrect line, we uphold that the number of advanced, intermediate and backward workers in a given society is determined by the level of fusion between Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung thought and the working class movement that exists in that society. The higher the fusion, the larger the number of advanced workers and intermediate workers. Further, we believe that in the U.S. the majority of the workers are backward. The working class in the U.S., or in capitalist countries, when divided in terms of political consciousness look like this:

On the top are the advanced workers, the smallest stratum; underneath them is a broader section - larger than the advanced, but smaller than the backward - of intermediate or average workers; and at the bottom, the great majority of the workers, the lower stratum, the backward workers. This view of the working class is correct because it conforms both with the theory of Marxism-Leninism on this question (as enunciated basically by Lenin), and to the concrete conditions of the U.S.

The fact that Lenin considered the majority of the workers not only in Russia, but also in the developed countries of Western Europe backward can be properly documented!

"To refuse to work in the trade unions means leaving the insufficiently developed or backward masses of workers under the influence of the reactionary leaders, the agents of the bourgeoisie..." Lenin, Leftwing Communism..., LCW V. pages 52-53.

And the Comintern under Lenin's and the CPSU(B)'s leadership wrote:

"In those capitalist countries where a large majority of the proletariat has not yet reached revolutionary consciousness, the communist agitation must be constantly on the look for new forms of propaganda in order to meet these backward workers halfway and thus facilitate their entry into the revolutionary ranks. The communist propaganda with its watchwords (slogans) must bring out the budding, unconscious, incomplete, vacillating and semi-bourgeois revolutionary tendencies which are struggling for supremacy with the bourgeois traditions and conceptions in the minds of the workers." Third Communist International, Principles of Party Organization (Thesis on the Organization and Struggle of Communist Parties, Mass Publications, Calcutta, Nov. 1975 (LPR-ML emphasis)

This quote also shows the Marxist-Leninist concept of backward workers as opposed to WVO's revisionist position on them.

Continued on page 7

Women hold up half the sky

EXCERPTS FROM . . .

On the Relations Between the Sexes PHILIPPINE COMMUNIST PARTY (M-L)

The relation between the sexes is a topic not very often touched upon by our communist press, although one of great importance. In the relation between the sexes under capitalism, the male plays the dominant role. This has a material basis in reality, in the capitalist relations of production which govern human relations. Communist couples living under capitalism are also subject to these objective conditions, and often we find that it is the male that is more developed politically, etc.

However, just because this has a material basis, we cannot become complacent and accept such a situation. We must struggle to make the power of our communist ideas become a material force to transform reality. Thus, although capitalist relations between the sexes cannot be eliminated without socialist revolution, without eliminating their material basis, communists must strive to establish revolutionary communist relations at home by setting up those objective conditions most favorable to the development of communist relations, and making the conscious factor the dominant aspect in those relations. Otherwise we will have the case so well describe by comrade Lenin in which "You scratch a communist and find a phillistine" (a male chauvinist).

The following are some quotes which we expect will be of great use to all comrades, taken from a document prepared by the Communist Party of the Philippines giving guidance to party members in dealing with this question. (The complete work, soon available in pamphlet form, may be requested.)

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE SEXES IS FUNDAMENTALLY A CLASS QUESTION

"The question of the relation of the sexes is fundamentally a class question. It is a struggle between two world outlooks - the bourgeois and the proletarian."

"The bourgeois outlook sees the relation of the sexes as static, one-sided (in favor of the male and the ruling class) and isolated from the existing culture and the economic base of society. The bourgeois relation of the sexes, being part of the superstructure, mirrors the exploitative capitalist relations of production. In a society which sees all relations as cash relations, women are looked down upon as mere commodities and sources of relief from the dehumanizing effects of capitalism. Bourgeois relation of the sexes, like the capitalist relation of production, is competitive, exploitative, individualistic and decadent."

The proletarian outlook, on the other hand, is opposed diametrically. It sees the relation of the sexes as dialectical - a unity of sexes. The proletarian relation of the sexes is part of rising culture that negates the feudal and bourgeois relations. Hence, it is liberating, progressive and relevant to the objective conditions.

There is no doubt that in this question, the Party of the proletariat should take the class standpoint of the working class. The Party has always upheld the equality of the sexes. It further genuinely upholds freedom in love, marriage and divorce."

ON PROLETARIAN LOVE

"The Party is aware that proletarian love cannot stand solely on political unity without any amount of sex-love."

If political unity were the only basis for love, then we could easily fall in love with anybody within the national democratic movement. But we choose somebody over the others."

Proletarian love has two aspects: the political and the personal. The absence of one already negates its essence. The political is the principal aspect; the personal, the secondary aspect. While the principal aspect determines the character of the proletarian relationship, it cannot be denied that the personal element, the reciprocal or mutual feeling, is an indispensable factor. Having met the political conditions in choosing a partner, the personal element, which is secondary becomes principal. Throughout the relationship, however, politics prevails."

All comrades within the Party have political unity. But its precisely the personal unity nurtured by political unity which makes the husband-wife relation inside the Party different, distinct from other proletarian relations."

COMMUNIST MARRIAGE IS THE UNITY OF THE SEXES IN ORDER TO SERVE THE PEOPLE

"The proletarian relationship between husband and wife is one of unity - it is the unity of the sexes in service to the people. There are two aspects of this unity, that of the unity of the sexes and the unity in service to the people. Thus, in the proletarian relationship between husband and wife, we should be guided by the principle of equality of the sexes; while in dealing with the contradiction between the couple and society, we should be guided by the principle of service to the people."

In our struggle towards a proletarian relationship, we should stress the method of criticism and self-criticism, hold regular assessment of the relationship, share experiences with other couples and collectively discuss problems within our units."

UNITED BY THE CORRECT LINE, NOT BY A FALSE SENSE OF "LOYALTY"

"There are some cases where the husband may have differences or contradictions with other comrades, and the woman comrade feels that it is her duty to be loyal to her husband, to take her husband's stand. Her personal relation with her husband overshadows her objectivity. She may even think that this proves her love and understanding for him."

She take her unity with her husband as absolute and her unity with other comrades as conditional, as long as the latter are united with her husband."

ALWAYS PUT POLITICS IN COMMAND

"Comrades concerned must remember that the proletarian relation of sexes is not based on personal unity alone, or else we will be no different from the feudal and bourgeois romantics who take the stance that "love conquers all". A couple's personal unity must not give way to political disunity with other comrades."

Being herself an advanced element in the revolution, the woman comrade must be firm in not allowing her political judgment to be colored by her personal prejudices. Neither should she take a neutral position, a liberal stand - "I am caught in the middle". She should see things objectively, be fearless of criticism like a thoroughgoing materialist."

RCL

Continues from page 6

RCL serves objectively as a receiver for WVO's quarterback and ends with the football in its hands.

RCL, despite its denials, is following in WVO's footsteps on this question. In the Newark forum in October 1976, RCL said that they don't have a position on this, that they were not upholding the football theory. In their paper, they don't put out any either. If the majority of the workers are not backward for RCL, what are they? And unless RCL believes that the majority are advanced workers, then, they receive the football from WVO's hands.

This becomes clear when RCL, like WVO before them, states that saying that the majority of workers are backward is insulting them, and that this is equivalent to taking Liu Shao-chi's line.

Lenin vs. Liu Shao-chi on the backward masses

In his book on self-cultivation, Liu Shao-chi puts forward that the masses of Chinese people were backward and that they would remain so. Liu Shao-chi denied the transforming power of theory and saw Marxism-Leninism as the private property of the revolutionary intelligentsia, denying that it is the masses and not individuals who make history.

Lenin, on the contrary, realized that the majority of workers were backward, that it was necessary to change this situation if revolution was to take place. He consistently pointed out that it was the task of communists, in relation to the broad masses of the backward workers, to change this situation. See quotes above that address the question.

This is where the difference lies. Liu Shao-chi like WVO, used the word backward in a derogatory sense and denied the possibility of changing the situation. This led to the demagogic accusation put forth by WVO and now echoed by RCL, that LPR insults the workers because we recognize that the majority of them are backward.

"The simple fact of the matter is that the working class, exclusively by its own efforts will develop only trade union consciousness. This consciousness is a bourgeois, capitalist consciousness. This is a matter of

Marxist-Leninist truth, and not an insult to the workers or anything of the sort." Australian Communist, No.82, page 95.

RCL contradicts itself

On the one hand, RCL puts forward:

"Lower strata represents an economic strata as well as political consciousness, because of their economic situation workers from this strata are usually at a lower level of consciousness although you will find some advanced in the lower strata." Ibid, page 4. (emphasis LPR-ML)

On the other hand, a couple of paragraphs later they state:

"Even though Lenin stated the masses are lower strata, this was a description of the economic level not political consciousness." Ibid, page 4. (emphasis LPR-ML)

How soon RCL forgets its own "as well as political consciousness!"

Thief crying thief

Now that RCL introduces Liu Shao-chi into the debate, let's remember comrades that the main line that characterized this traitor was the revisionist line of the theory of the productive forces. And RCL's position on the advanced worker is not "remniscent of that line", but it is in fact the same line. Let's hear from them.

"We held that the productive forces in the U.S. had produced more advanced workers but that because of the absence of a genuine CP and the level of opportunism created by imperialism and the scattered state of the anti-revisionist communist movement, fusion was low." Ibid, page 8 (Emphasis ours).

"Productive forces" "produce more advanced workers." This is an outright revisionist line.

How is it that the productive forces produced advanced workers who "consciously accept socialism" and all the other characteristics listed by RCL? How can somebody claim that they uphold the essence of Lenin's definition, and on the other hand uphold that the productive forces are what produce advanced workers? Lenin himself explained how

communists develop advanced workers from the intermediate workers.

"The newspaper, on the contrary, must raise their level and help promote advanced workers from the middle stratum of workers." Lenin, Retrograde Trend in Russian Social-Democracy, LPR Edition, page 27.

It is clear that when Lenin talks about the newspaper helping to promote advanced workers from the middle stratum he is referring to a strata based on consciousness and not on economic status as RCL claims. It is not with a raise in economic status, but in consciousness that we are dealing with. RCL's line if taken to its logical conclusions, will lead to say that the advanced workers come from the labor aristocracy, who, economically speaking, would be the "better situated strata" of the proletariat. However, the "better situated strata" as Lenin used it refers to the industrial proletariat - workers who, because of their relationship to the means of production are placed in a better position to grasp socialist ideas because of their highly socialized labor, their link to the key sectors of the capitalist economy, etc.

Reading and understanding are not synonymous

Consistent with their line on "the productive forces" being the determinant factor, RCL puts forward in the conclusion of their criticism us:

"Given the advanced state of the productive forces, we would question whether in the U.S. today the largest masses of workers would find a communist newspaper "completely or well nigh incomprehensible to them". The masses of Russian workers in Lenin's day were illiterate, Russia not even a bourgeois democracy. But these conditions that produced the makeup of the U.S. working class must be studied practically before we come to a conclusion! And the LPR "lazy bones approach" merely repeating Lenin, and incorrectly at that, will not do." (Unity and Struggle, Vol. VI, No. 1-6, page 4.)

If we follow RCL's logic we would have to conclude that the Great October Revolution in Russia (as



We again want stress the importance of comrades and friends around the country utilizing the columns of Communist Forum in the struggle to move forward our central task of building a genuine communist party. This struggle takes place in all fronts and the Communist Forum (CF) is one of them. Although limited by itself, the CF can further the unity of marxist-leninists by exchanging views, conclusions, criticisms, etc. and in the party spirit combat sectarianism and small circle spirit. We expect that C.F. can also help in clarifying our tasks in this period, in developing the correct political line and in striving for principled unity around this line. We will do our best to print in the C.F. all future contributions that aid in this struggle.

In this issue we will again be dealing with the question of the formation of communist cores, which has brought out a lot of discussion in the communist movement.

(Yes, PRRWO, we are again dealing on cores, the question which you have purposely and maliciously confounded with the ML organization called Colorado Organization for Revolutionary Struggle (COREs) of whom we have reprinted excerpts of a speech Resistance, Vol. 8#5) appearing in a pamphlet on party building which has been available for months. This certainly could not have escaped your "scrutinious" eye. And, yes, PRRWO, we say to you: You can continue trying to confuse the people by telling them lies instead of the truth, by offering them counterrevolution instead of revolution, Trotskyism, instead of Marxism-Leninism. And, we further say to you: here is further ammunition for your endless chatter. It will provide you with ample material to fill up your 36 pages of slander for months to come! Go ahead, we urge you, since this is a process of further unmasking yourself that can only benefit our struggle to build a genuine communist party and proletarian revolution.

In this C.F. we will begin by referring comrades back to Resistance, Vol. 8, #1 (the article Building Communist Cores) which lays out our position on cores, as well as to following articles appearing in the Communist Forums of Resistance, Vol. 8, #'s 2 and 3-4, in which we have printed some polemics on the question, including a previous article by the MLC (see insert above). There are 3 points we want to refer to in the MLC

article: (1) the inclusion of intermediate workers in the cores; (2) the inclusion of cadre of other ML organizations in the cores and (3) the tasks of cores.

1. We hold that cores should include intermediate elements. The comrades of MLC raise that this incorrect because it (a) muddles the distinction between cores and rank and file caucuses and (b) it contradicts our requirement of enough fundamental unity to struggle for the line and move forward the work of the core.

Rank and file caucuses in general should group as large a number of workers as possible from all strata of the working class advanced, intermediate and lower. They are democratic organizations of the working class, in no way a communist form of organization, although communists should participate and provide leadership to them. The distinction should be clear, unless communists are operating under a "left" line on caucuses, making them open only to those workers who "consciously accept socialism" (the intermediate and the advanced). On the question of fundamental unity the MLC raises some good points to which we are giving serious consideration. Our aim in including intermediate workers into cores is to provide the training - ideologically, politically and in practice - that is to help them become advanced and eventually communists. This does not necessarily mean a lowering of the level of unity that must exist within the core. We must remember that the basic difference between the advanced and the intermediate is the fact that while the advanced are leaders of the class, the intermediate differ from the preceding strata (the advanced) only in that they cannot become fully independent leaders of the Social-Democratic working class movement. The average worker will not understand some of the articles in a newspaper that aims to be the organ of the party, he will not be able to get a full grasp of an intricate theoretical or practical problem." (Lenin, A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social-Democracy, LPR Edition, page 27) And this is where the training comes in. The intermediate will not be providing leadership to the mass struggle on an equal basis, but will be gaining valuable experience, example and guidance as to how this is done, as well as the ideological preparation necessary to insure correct communist leadership. It is true that the intermediate will not necessarily fully grasp the shades of difference that sometimes separate genuine from sham Marxism (and again, that is what the training provided by cores is all about) but it is also true that it is often difficult even for the advanced to fully grasp these shades of difference - so much so that advanced elements will be recruited by the opportunist organizations. But both can be trained through their participation in the core to struggle for the line and to be able to distinguish it from the opportunists' in the course of the struggle so long as they unite with the line, and are willing to defend it and to receive leadership from communists in order to do so. A concrete analysis must be made in each situation - the needs of the particular area of work, the resources of the or-

COMMUNIST FORUM



MARXIST-LENINIST COLLECTIVE ON

CORES

In our article "Build Communist Cores!" we erred and were not explicit concerning the role of factory nuclei. We agree with LPR - ML that of all the forms of organization that communists participate in at the workplace, factory nuclei are the most important. The task of building nuclei should be taken up now, as LPR - ML stresses, and not wait until after the party is formed. We are attempting to carry this out. However, when conditions do not exist for setting up nuclei, communist organizations must participate in cores, caucuses, workers' committees, etc. In the course of this work an organization must recruit advanced workers and independent Marxist-Leninists, thus creating the conditions for the formation of factory nuclei. Regardless of whether a core is formed before or after a factory nucleus, there is no contradiction between the two. We agree that nuclei and cores are necessary forms of communist organization which complement "each other and work in coordination, both in the pre-party period and once the party has been built".

What about the composition of cores? We accept LPR - ML's criticism that our position is too narrow. We originally included in our concept of cores our cadres, advanced workers won to communism, independent Marxist-Leninists, and cadres of other organizations. In summing up our work, and especially in getting clarity on the main tasks of the cores at this time, we now include advanced workers who are not yet communists. The recruitment of advanced workers into a core is one of the best ways we have right now to win them over, consolidate them ideologically, involve them in communist work and train them to be practical leaders of the class. We do have a difference with the LPR's position. The LPR includes intermediate as well as advanced workers in its cores. We see two possible errors here. First, this tends to muddle the distinction between cores, which are a communist form of organization, and caucuses or other rank and file organizations that communists work within. Second, at the same time as LPR calls for wider membership, they call for deeper, more extensive unity less 'general' unity in the cores. We feel these points contradict each other.

The LPR says that membership in the core is determined by whether or not an individual has 'fundamental unity' with the line of their organization (which they explain does not mean unity with every position). However, if a worker has 'fundamental unity' with an organization and is advanced enough to "struggle for that line" (as LPR requires, and which implies an understanding of the shades of difference which often separate Marxism from revisionism), shouldn't such a

organization, the particular intermediate worker being considered, etc., in order to decide whether or not should be included in the core.

2 In relation to the participation of other M-L organizations in the cores, we unite with the position the MLC puts forward:

"cores can serve as an important vehicle for joint work between communist organizations."

In the past, although in theory we didn't see anything incorrect in two or more M-L organizations working in a core, in practice we disregarded it. This was due to the absence of other M-L organizations in our area with which LPR M-L has unity in the fundamental questions that make such joint work possible. This was sheer pragmatism that takes into account only our narrow practice and not the experiences of other comrades around the country.

In a nutshell, we will work jointly in a core with any M-L organization which we consider a genuine M-L organization and with which we have developed principled unity in theory and in practice.

3. The main task of the cores is to provide communist leadership to the struggle of the masses. As

person be recruited into the organization itself, as well as the core? We use the following criteria for recruitment into the core: (1) agreement with the core's principles of unity, although in the case of the advanced workers some points may not be fully grasped at first; (2) this unity is not just in words; and advanced worker or Marxist-Leninist must show a willingness to uphold and fight for the principles of unity in practice; (3) willingness to accept communist leadership; (4) agreement to accept binding democratic discipline, and the willingness to carry out the work of the core. Thus we agree with the LPR that the basis of unity within a core cannot be simply a list of general principles.

We may have a further difference with the LPR - the comrades do not seem to include other Marxist-Leninist organizations in the composition of cores. As we explained in our first article, we believe cores can serve as an important vehicle for joint work between communist organizations. We look forward to more explanation from the LPR on this question.

We were ambiguous in our article about the tasks of a core, listing a number of them without isolating the central task. Further, we were unclear about the relationship between cores and the primary and secondary tasks of a communist organization in this pre-party period. The central task of a communist organization is to build the party, and this is done primarily by uniting Marxist-Leninists and secondarily by winning the advanced to communism. The central task of a core, which is based upon the minimum level of unity necessary to carry out communist work in a particular struggle, is to win the advanced to communism, and secondarily to unite Marxist-Leninists in the process.

Thus, for a communist organization, participation in cores is part of taking up the secondary task of winning the advanced. A communist organization (or organizations) provides leadership to the core and the core implements its central task by giving communist leadership to the spontaneous movement, participating in a caucus or other rank and file workers organization, and conducting communist propaganda and agitation. When unclarity or difference of line occurs in the course of this work, the core does sum-up and internal study to try to move to a higher level of unity and facilitate its central task of winning advanced workers.

In the main, we feel we have unity with the LPR's position on communist cores. We look forward to hearing from other Marxist-Leninists who are attempting to build cores, and push forward the task of building a genuine communist party!

a communist form of organization - initiated, developed and led by communists - the cores have to be placed in the context of party building.

The communist propaganda and agitation developed by the core, the training of its members on how to provide communist leadership, the study of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought - both by the core members and the advanced and intermediate elements that are recruited to the mass organization, etc. - are concrete forms in which we carry out our central task.

We think that in forming the core M-L Unite plays the principal role. In the course of the struggle, however, the primary task can shift to winning the advanced and back again to Marxist-Leninists Unite (in periods of consolidation) and so on.

In the main there is unity between the MLC and the LPR-ML positions on cores in that factory nuclei are the basic units of the ML party and in that communists should strive to form these units today, despite the absence of the party. Also, on the inclusion of advanced workers who are not communists into the core, and on the level and nature of the unity that should exist to form the core. We urge comrades around the country to deepen these questions by striving to apply them in practice, summing up their experiences and further developing the line in order to move forward in our tasks in this period. And we again urge comrades to use the Communist Forum as one of the vehicles through which they can share their views with the rest of the communist movement. *****

