

RESISTANCE



POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION M-L
P.O. BOX 513, TRIBORO STATION, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10035

VOL. 10/NO. 5 APRIL 1979

25¢

THREE MILE ISLAND INCIDENT CAPITALISM SPELLS DEATH

As we went to press the atomic plant at Three Mile Island, Pa. was still emitting radioactivity. The denial by the bourgeoisie and the government that there was any danger, and their refusal to take proper, and timely measures to protect the health and lives of plant workers and neighbors all speak eloquently to what the capitalist system is all about.

Even when the radiation had spread over a four county area, and further discharges were expected, even when the possibility of a catastrophic "core meltdown" with the accompanying massive release of radiation still hovered over their heads, the bourgeoisie continued to insist that there was no great danger. They had workers go into the plant after they found out about the serious radiation leak, and they waited over three days to evacuate pregnant women and children. As

far as they were concerned this was not their problem but something for the women to worry about.

Consistently throughout the most critical days they downplayed the seriousness of the problem and lied about the magnitude of the effects of the radiation. And even now their descriptions of the present status of the problem is vague and evasive. They say that the danger is "no longer significant" that it is "virtually eliminated" even though "new problems are popping up." But, is there still danger? They will not tell.

But this highly publicized nuclear accident and the potential danger it represents is just one among countless of thousands of incidents of radiation exposure that workers and other people are subjected to every day in the U.S.

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Angry students and neighbors gather in front of Columbia University in New York City to protest against nuclear reactor project. The administration has decided to drop the project.

ENVER HOXHA AND PLA: FOR IMPERIALISM, AGAINST REVOLUTION

For many years the U.S. anti-revisionist communist movement recognized the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Party of Labor of Albania as the leading parties in the international communist movement. All around the world anti-revisionist forces did the same.

This was a correct position, and was based on the recognition that these two great parties have led the struggle against modern revisionism. The struggle against the revisionist Khrushchov clique led to a major split in the international communist movement in the early 1960's. On one side stood genuine Marxism-Leninism led by the CPC and the PLA, and on the other modern revisionism led by the revisionist communist party of the Soviet Union.

Recently, the international communist movement has passed through another major split. The former fraternal relations between the peoples, the parties and the states of China and Albania have been severed. At the center of the controversy are the views on the international situation and the tasks of communists, the laws governing socialist construction, the character and role of the party, and many other fundamental questions of theory and practice facing communists and progressive people the world over. This split is the result of the acute class struggle that goes on, both in capitalist as well as in socialist countries.

Since the initiation of the open polemic between the CPC and PLA we clearly expressed our support for the CPC and its line on the major questions under discussion. Specifically we established our support for Chairman Mao's theory of the Three Worlds, which became the focus of the polemic. In doing so we also opposed

those forces who in supporting either the CPC's or the PLA's position began to label the other position and the other party as revisionists, opportunists, Trotskyites, etc. We did this convinced that such was the correct M-L approach to ideological struggle among fraternal parties.

Today, after the split has been completed, we reaffirm ourselves in the correctness of that position. Marxist-Leninists are not fatalists who at the sight of a contradiction begin to shout "split!, split!", but rather committed revolutionaries who believe that open and above-board struggle using the method of criticism, self-criticism, of unity struggle, higher unity is the correct way of dealing with contradictions among fraternal parties and comrades.

As a matter of fact, this way of approaching the contradictions between the CPC and the PLA is the way in which the Chinese comrades have consistently dealt with their contradictions—with the CPSU in the 1960's and with the PLA now. Their *Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement* (1963) and their *Chairman Mao's Theory of the Three Worlds: a great contribution to Marxism-Leninism* (Beijing Review No. 45, 1977) are examples of principled polemics in which, without labels, slanders or diatribes, the Chinese comrades explain their position and let it stand on its own merits.

On the other hand, you can examine the letter of the CPSU to the CPC or the PLA's *Theory and Practice of the Revolution* (or any of their recent documents) and you will see the reverse of the coin. It is quite clear that the CPC stands for principled unity

in the international communist movement. The CPSU and the PLA stand for split. The CPC patiently attempted to win over both the CPSU (in the polemic of the 60's) and the PLA today. The CPSU and the PLA opted for phrase-mongering and distortions. The CPC stands for the defense of Marxism-Leninism up to its highest development, i.e. upholding Stalin in the 60's and Mao today. The CPSU and the PLA attack Marxism-Leninism by attacking and denying Stalin's contributions (the CPSU) and Mao's contributions (the PLA).

We hold that the approach to polemics is part and parcel of the general line of any communist organization. You are to start from unity, I wish for unity and not from sectarianism and I wish to split. In light of this we defend the stand we took on this question in November 1977 at the Conference on the International Situation sponsored by the Revolutionary Communist League M-L-M, which appears as a Special Supplement of our paper (see *Resistance* Vol. 8, No. 10).

TODAY CONDITIONS ARE DIFFERENT

Though it was correct to stand for unity at the beginning of the polemic, that position was to be changed in the course of the struggle. While we don't claim to be the experts on the PLA in the U.S., we feel that we have done enough investigation and study of their political line and historical development to be able to take a firm stand on the PLA and to make clear and definitive lines of demarcation with this former revolutionary party. In doing so we uphold that in fact the PLA was a genuine communist party which has degenerated. We believe that in the course of this polemic we will provide enough evidence of the PLA's changes in line to back up our contention.

WHAT ARE OUR MAJOR DIFFERENCES WITH THE PLA?

The major differences at this moment center on (1) the international situation (main enemy, danger of war, united front, peaceful coexistence, and their overall attacks against the three worlds theory); (2) their evaluation of Mao Zedong, the CPC, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and other related matters; (3) their views on classes and class struggle under socialism; (4) their views on national liberation struggles and the New Democratic Revolution; (5) their views on inner party struggle.

These we repeat are the major differences we have identified up to now. We are studying the line of the PLA in still other areas like the trade union movement, the woman and national question, etc. We will start this polemic by dealing with the major changes in the PLA's assessment of Chairman Mao, the CPC and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

ON MAO ZEDONG AND MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT

The attitude towards Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought is a clear and definite line of demarcation between Marxism and modern revisionism. As we pointed out in September 1978,

Chairman Mao dedicated his entire life to the struggle for the liberation of China, the world proletariat and all oppressed peoples and nations of the world, from the yoke of imperialism. In so doing he creatively applied Marxism-Leninism not only to the concrete conditions of China and the Chinese revolution, but also

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7,200 IN COLORADO UNIVERSITY SAY NO TO CUTBACKS!

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WOMEN HOLD UP HALF THE SKY

DEFEND ABORTION RIGHTS! STOP FORCED STERILIZATION!

On March 31st, thousands of people, mainly women, demonstrated in many cities of the United States and other parts of the world in defense of reproductive rights. These worldwide demonstrations demanded the democratic right of women to decide whether or not to have children, to receive from the government free and safe abortions, and to stop the criminal practice of forced sterilizations.

In New York City over a 1,000 people participated in a march from the United Nations to Union Square, where a rally was held. The activity, initiated by the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA), was endorsed by a good number of mass and political organizations.

The LPR (M L) endorsed the activity and participated in the march and rally. As part of our independent work we published a supplement with a Marxist Leninist analysis of these questions, which was broadly distributed among the participants in the activity. The supplement was also distributed in Philadelphia where over 300 people turned out for a similar action. Besides, we set up a literature table at the site of the rally with Marxist Leninist literature on the woman question, the national question, the three worlds theory, and others.

Here we present some sections of the supplement that deal with some of the aspects of forced sterilization and abortion rights. You can get the whole supplement in English and Spanish by sending us a self addressed envelop with a 15 cents stamp. Bulk orders are available too.

In Capitalist U S A, poor and working women, especially of oppressed nationalities, are daily victims of forced sterilizations. This is a method used by the bourgeoisie to control our birth rates especially because it is 100% sure, relatively cheap and permanent. It is done in many ways.

For example, women are constantly being threatened with being cut off from welfare unless they agree to be sterilized. Or sterilization is imposed upon them as a condition for getting an abortion. Or they are not informed of the implications of the operation, or they are not given enough time to think about it, or simply, they are not told that they are being sterilized. Hispanic and other foreign born sisters are made to sign papers written in a language they do not speak. And so on.

Women are forced to become sterilized by other means also. Economic pressures is one, as illustrated by the example of the five women at the American Cyanamid Corporation in West Virginia. Last January it was disclosed that the high level of lead dust in some of Cyanamid's departments would endanger a fetus. Cyanamid used this as an excuse to transfer the women in those departments into lower paying jobs, or to kick them out altogether. Faced with the threat of losing their jobs, five of the women were forced to get sterilized.

Rather than eliminate the long term, less visible effects of lead dust, which affect both men and women (causing infertility, respiratory diseases, etc.), Cyanamid acted only to protect itself from damage suits for deformed or retarded babies. Like all capitalists, they were only concerned for profits, not the health and safety of workers and their families.

THE HYDE AMENDMENT

Denying the right to abortion is ano-

ther form of forced sterilization. The Hyde Amendment does precisely this. By denying Medicaid funds for abortions this amendment forces poor women to turn to unsafe, illegal abortions, and to sterilizations. It denies them the right to decide whether or not to have children.

IMPERIALISM AND "OVERPOPULATION"

In order to conceal the real reasons for so much poverty and unemployment in capitalist society, so much crime, drugs and prostitution, the ruling bourgeois class has created the myth of "overpopulation".

According to them the cause of all our problems is that there is too many of us. Therefore, the solution they offer is to control the growth of the population. This "solution" is no solution at all. Capitalist exploitation, imperialism, and not "overpopulation", is the root cause of the increasing impoverishment of the working and oppressed masses.

Take the question of whether or not there is enough food for everybody as the most glaring example. Why is it that millions of people around the world are undernourished? Why is it that hundreds of thousands of people die of hunger every year? Is it because there is not enough fertile soil in the world? Because people don't want to work the land? Because of lack of technological development to make the earth produce more and faster? No, of course not!

The imperialists are furiously trying to hold back the population growth in third world countries. But ironically, despite high birth rates, these countries are sparsely populated. The population is still not large enough to exploit their own resources to a maximum.

In fact, the earth has enough resources and scientific advancements to feed all the people of the world for many centuries to come.

But not under imperialist domination.

Imperialism intensifies all the contradictions of capitalism to their highest degree. Under imperialism, the immense accumulation of capital stands side by side with the extreme impoverishment of the masses. The great development of the industrial branch of the economy stands side by side with the neglect of agriculture and consequent scarcity of food and hunger among the masses. The tremendous technological development of a handful of imperialist nations stands side by side with the backwardness, poverty and underdevelopment of a majority of oppressed third world countries. And capitalism cannot solve these contradictions, which can only become more and more acute under imperialism. Why?

Because capitalists can only accumulate capital by exploiting the vast majority of the people. Because for capitalists, large investments in agriculture are not as profitable as in the other areas. Because capitalist countries can only maintain themselves by

constantly expanding its markets, by plundering and subjecting other countries to their political and economic control.

In short, because profits, not the well being of the masses, is the motive force of capitalists. Thus the capitalists cannot solve the problem of hunger not because of "overpopulation", but because of profits. And the same holds true regarding unemployment, national and women's oppression, and the many other fundamental problems created by this system of private property and class exploitation.

The right to childbirth also goes hand in hand with the right to decent health care and child care facilities. Certain conditions have to exist in order for women to really be able to decide for herself, without any external pressures or interference. She must be free from all kinds of legal and economic pressures. That is why we fight for such demands.

as free universal day care centers, free and adequate health care, paid maternity leave, equal job opportunities, quality education for the children, and an end to all forms of discrimination and oppression of women.

In socialist societies, like China for example, these conditions do exist. Birth control and family planning in China is carried out on an entirely voluntary basis. It is a decision that women can make freely, knowing that if she decides to have children she will receive adequate and free health care for herself and her family, that she will be provided child care facilities that will enable her to continue involvement in production and in political, cultural and other activities, that free and safe abortions are an option open to her. Also, women in socialist society know that they will not be forced into abortion or sterilization by economic pressures, legislation or anything else.



ATTITUDE TOWARDS CHILD CARE EXPOSES NOW-CLUW STAND ON WOMAN QUESTION

On March 8th the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and the National Organization of Women (NOW) celebrated their "International Women's Day" event. There was wine, and cheese, and lots of speakers featured. But no childcare!

At first, it seemed kind of incredible that two women's organizations, celebrating a women's event, should provide no childcare. But upon analysis, we can see that this gross failure is really consistent with the pettybourgeois character of the women's movement.

This movement, of which NOW and CLUW are part, have been traditionally shunned by the working class because of its non proletarian stand on many questions. In fact, their stand on key questions such as providing child care, is linked with their line of attacking men as the enemy instead of capitalism, focusing on demands for petty bourgeois women, espousing degenerate trends on the woman question, and relying on the bourgeois courts and politicians and making reforms the final goal. It is no wonder that this movement is in the main led and composed of petty bourgeois women.

Asked why there was no childcare, a delegate explained that it was "because nobody wanted to do it, nobody wanted to miss the event". When pressed further that this reflected a very bad attitude towards the woman question because it liquidates the fact that the majority of working women need child care in order to participate in political events, the delegate went on to create theoretical justifications for the failure. She said that "it's the task of the State to provide 24 hour child care, and that therefore they weren't about to take up the responsibilities of the State".

What a sham argument! This is nothing but a big excuse for not concretely dealing with the woman question in all its aspects. NOW and CLUW claim that they are organizations struggling in de-

fense of women's rights, but, do they practice what they preach? By refusing to provide child care they are in effect refusing to address the problems and special needs of working and oppressed women.

How could they really expect to draw working women to their event given the fact that child care facilities are not available to working women? In the main, only petty bourgeois women could be expected to attend an event with no child care, since they are the ones that can afford maids or babysitting if they do have children to worry about. Because it's a fact that in bourgeois capitalist society, women are the ones carrying the primary responsibility over the children—a reality we cannot escape by mere wishful thinking.

During the activity, the sole two women who did attend with their children were repeatedly harassed by some in the audience who felt very annoyed by the children's occasional blabber. They expressed their utter disgust openly by looking back and making faces. One of them, who was wearing a delegate's tag, even yelled back at the women asking them to get out! But the sponsors of the event didn't bother to stop or even criticize this outrageous attitude displayed by their constituency.

To fight for child care is part of the struggle for working class leadership in the women's movement, for placing working class demands in the forefront of the struggle. Further, without the participation of women, no revolution can be successful. Therefore it is our task to struggle for childcare at all events. Without insuring this condition, it is sham to talk about women's rights, or about the full participation of women, particularly working women, in the struggle for complete emancipation.

**OPPOSE ALL MANIFESTATIONS OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION!
TAKE UP THE WOMAN QUESTION EVERYWHERE, AT ALL TIMES!**

\$ 50

**Fight for the
Full Emancipation
of
Women!**



**Defend and Expand
Affirmative Action!**

LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION (M-L)

POLEMIC WITH PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

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to the concrete conditions of the world,
and the world proletarian revolution

The attacks against Chairman Mao cannot be seen as isolated acts but in fact as a coordinated attack against Marxism-Leninism, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the same way in the 60s the attacks on Marxism-Leninism concentrated against Stalin, today they concentrate on Mao.

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In his recent book **Imperialism and Revolution**, Enver Hoxha says that "Mao Tsetung was not a Marxist-Leninist but a progressive revolutionary democrat." "He was an eclectic who combined some elements of Marxist dialectics with idealism, with bourgeois and revisionist philosophy, indeed, even with ancient Chinese philosophy" (p 448 Tirana Edition). But in November 1977 this "eclectic" was praised as "the great strategist of the Chinese revolution (who) applied and developed the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of China" (Albania Today, No 6, 1977). And under the correct title "The name and work of Comrade Mao Tsetung are immortal" (they are immortal indeed) Albania Today of November 1977 says "On the basis of the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism and relying firmly on the revolutionary struggle and efforts of the Chinese proletariat, comrade Mao Tsetung founded the glorious Communist Party of China".

MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT

Today, Enver Hoxha says "Mao Tse Tung Thought is a theory devoid of the features of Marxism-Leninism" (Imperialism and Revolution, p 385) and adds "Mao Tsetung Thought is a variant of revisionism which began to take shape even before the Second World War, especially after 1935 after Mao Tsetung came to power" (IAR, p 395).

Can he possibly be referring to the same Mao whose "name and work are immortal"? But in 1974 the PLA thought differently. In their article "The Struggle to Criticize Lin Biao and Confucius: A Great Revolutionary Movement" (Albania Today, No 1, 1974) evaluating how positive this struggle was, they said "The victory in the struggle against Lin Biao and Confucius is of great historical importance for the socialist present and future of China. It serves, in the first place, the further strengthening and ideological tempering of the Communist Party and the defense and consolidation of the position of socialism in China. It is still better arming the Chinese communists and people with the precepts of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse Tung Thought" (emphasis LPR). Clearly in 1974 they did uphold the precepts of Mao Tsetung Thought which today they claim are a "variant of revisionism".

ON THE CPC

Today Hoxha says "With such an organizational platform the Communist Party of China has never been and never could be a Marxist-Leninist Party" (IAR, p 401). But the same Hoxha in his report to the Seventh Party Congress of the PLA says "Our party and people will strive unceasingly to keep the fraternal friendship and collaboration with the great Chinese people, their glorious Communist Party, the great People's China, pure and strong." From

From "glorious" to "has never been a Marxist-Leninist Party" there is an unbreachable distance. We could provide at least a couple of hundred passages written within a time lapse of more than 10 years in which the PLA is all unity with the CPC all praises for Chairman Mao "the great and beloved leader of all the peoples and communists of the world". Not a single word of criticism of the CPC or Mao can be

found in all of the PLA publications, including Hoxha's speeches and books, until very recently. But today Hoxha claims that they knew all along that the Chinese were revisionists and that Chairman Mao was a "progressive revolutionary democrat". Proof of this, we are told, are the "minutes" the PLA has of their meetings and conversations plus "copies of letters" that the PLA sent to the CPC starting 18 years ago but which they have not seen the need to make public until now. This is sheer opportunism!

Anybody has the right to break with a group, a leader or a line which they consider incorrect. When you do so, you must come out open and aboveboard and explain why the break. You must show concretely that you are breaking either because the other has changed its line from Marxist-Leninist to revisionist, or because you have been incorrect in calling revolutionary what was really counterrevolutionary. But Hoxha and the PLA do neither.

Instead they tell us that the PLA always had "the correct M-L line" (Imperialism and Revolution, p 461) and then give us this gem of pure sophistry claiming that they supported the Cultural Revolution "because Mao himself asked us to do so." They continue "In our press Mao Tsetung has been described as a great Marxist-Leninist but we never used and never approved the definitions of the Chinese propaganda which described Mao as a classic of Marxism-Leninism" (IAR, p 393).

Besides being false, this is nothing but an attempt to play with words in order to cover their rotten backs. First, what kind of Marxist-Leninist leader is the one that supports something of the magnitude of the

The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao Tse Tung personally created an unprecedented revolutionary situation. The triumph of this revolution which constitutes a valuable contribution to the treasure of Marxism-Leninism for the continuation of the revolution in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat led to the defence and consolidation of the socialist gains to the liquidation of the bourgeois-revisionist treacherous Liu Shao Chi gang, the successful exposure and smashing of the counterrevolutionary plot of the traitor careerist and agent of the Soviet revisionists Lin Biao.

This statement is correct and a very accurate sum up of the GPCR. We want to stress that the PLA recognized it as a "valuable contribution to the treasure of Marxism-Leninism", that they recognized the importance of the implementation of Mao Tse Tung's Marxist-Leninist teachings and that the contributions of the enrichment of the science were in the realm "of the continuation of the revolution in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat". We stress this because in attacking the GPCR today, Hoxha is also attacking the view that classes and class struggle continues all along the transition from capitalism to communism that is during the en-



Great Proletarian Revolution, just because "Mao asked us to do so"?

The PLA is trying, with no luck, to cover for the fact that up to 1977, they upheld the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which they now claim was "neither a revolution nor great, nor cultural, and in particular not in the least proletarian" (IAR, p 392).

On the second question we have already shown how the PLA refers to Mao as "applying and developing Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of China" (AT No 6 1977) and how they refer to the importance of the struggle against Lin Biao as arming the Chinese people with the precepts of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought (AT No 1 1974). This goes for Hoxha's claim that the PLA "never used or approved" the concept of Mao Tsetung Thought. But more important than showing Hoxha's lies is the fact that even if they had never used the concept it would still be equally incorrect to have called a "progressive revolutionary democrat" a "great Marxist-Leninist" as Hoxha admitted they did.

And on every question the PLA has the same problem. They want to prove to us that what Marxism-Leninism teaches us is that we should help build the prestige of those we consider opportunists, that we are to unite in line and practice with those who are revisionists for as long as 20 years or until they cut their economic aid from you. And then and only then will you remember about those old "letters" which you have in your files and the "minutes" of the conversations of 15 years ago. Really now! Only the most foolhardy (as well as neo-Trotskyites and revisionists) can go for such logic!

HOXHA ON THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

In one of at least 25 similar statements on the GPCR the PLA says

there is a struggle between the two classes, the two lines and the two roads within communist parties.

Hoxha says today "The course of events showed that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was neither a revolution nor great, nor cultural and in particular not in the least proletarian. It was a palace putsch on an all-China scale for the liquidation of a handful of reactionaries who had seized power."

Of course this Cultural Revolution as a hoax. It liquidated both the Communist Party of China and the mass organizations and plunged China into new chaos. This revolution was led by non-Marxist elements who have been liquidated through a military putsch staged by other anti-Marxist and fascist elements.

(Imperialism and Revolution, p 392)

From an enrichment of Marxism-Leninism to a hoax. And not a single line of explanation and no self-criticism!

NO CLASSES NO CLASS STRUGGLE IN ALBANIA?

NO TWO LINE STRUGGLE IN THE PLA?

By calling squabbles the struggles against the representatives of the bourgeoisie in the party and by denying that in every communist party there is a struggle between the two classes, the two lines, the two roads, Hoxha is not only attacking the CPC but also the CPSU(B) under Lenin and Stalin. And if not what was Trotsky's line in the CPSU(B)? The same Bolshevik line or a counterrevolutionary one? And what about Martov's and Bukharin's, Khrushchev's and Mikoyin's?

Hoxha's attacks against the CPC on this question are definitely in attack against the M-L concept of the party. They are the other side of the coin of Trotsky's concept of the party. In order to liquidate the par-

ty, Trotsky proposed the legalization of factions within the party with their own programs, separate press organs, etc. Hoxha goes to the other extreme and denies that bourgeois ideology and bourgeois agents do find their way into genuine communist parties. This disarms the party and leads to belittling the need for ideological struggle within the party.

Hoxha attempts to win credibility for his rotten line by quoting comrade Stalin at random. He uses Stalin's teaching that "The Communist Party is the monolithic party of the proletariat, and not a party of a bloc of elements of different classes." But he forgot that it was this same Stalin who, conscious of the fact that the bourgeoisie knows its ways, stressed that "The party becomes stronger by purging itself of opportunist elements." You have only to read Stalin's works in the struggle against Trotsky and other opportunists within the party to see that in fact more than one line develops in the CPSU(B) consistently and that the way of solving that contradiction was that of defeating the incorrect line. That is by ideological struggle and purging when necessary but not by denying the existence of the struggle between the two classes, the two lines, and the two roads within the party.

To the question of do we stand for factions within the party, the answer is NO. To the question of do we want a party of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, the answer is again NO. To the question of can bourgeois elements and careerists that represent the bourgeois ideology get inside genuine M-L parties, the answer is YES. That is the experience of all genuine M-L parties throughout the world.

HOXHA OPPOSES MAO'S THESIS THE COUNTRYSIDE SHOULD ENCIRCLE THE CITIES"

Hoxha claims that Mao's thesis that in the conditions of a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country in which the peasantry is the largest class and the main force in the revolution and in which the proletariat is still very small, that to carry our peoples war and the tactic of "the countryside encircle the cities" is a wrong one. He says so because according to him Mao's thesis is "absolutizing the role of the peasantry" (IAR, p 387).

For Marxists, practice is the criterion of truth and the practice of not only the Chinese revolution but also that of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean show that this thesis is correct and that it led to victory when correctly applied. In fact Chairman Mao's teachings on peoples war have been accepted as a great contribution by most of the revolutionary movements in the world. Be it in the Philippines or in Eritrea, in Zimbabwe or in Azania, revolutionaries the world over are proving with their practice that it is Chairman Mao's teachings and not Hoxha's superrevolutionary gestures that is helping them to move forward the revolution in their countries.

THE NAME AND WORK OF MAO ZEDONG ARE IMMORTAL

Once the PLA used these words as the title of one of their articles. Today we have to rescue these words from them. For the PLA and Hoxha and all those who are part of the bourgeois revisionist and neo-Trotskyite anti-Mao, anti-three worlds, anti-CPC, anti-revolution, anti-Marxist chorus, we quote these words from a once genuine Marxist-Leninist party.

The base anti-China calumnies and inventions of the imperialist revisionist enemies cannot deceive the peoples, they are smashed in face of the reality that is shining like the sunlight and cannot be darkened in the least. The great role of People's China as a fortress of the revolution and socialism in Asia and all the world as a staunch fighter for the defence and triumph of Marxism-Leninism for the freedom of the peoples, peace and real international security, socialism, the revolution, the liberation of the peoples, march forward because the People's Republic of China unswervingly marches at the head of this glorious road.

Albania Today, No 6, 1974

To be continued.

CAPITALISM SPELLS DEATH

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For example, doctors have found that workers at the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard who are exposed to radiation on the job are contracting leukemia at a rate four to five times higher than non-nuclear workers. It was also pointed out that this danger exists for workers at many other yards such as those in Norfolk, Newport News, Charleston, Pearl Harbor, and others.

In another report, doctors found that over four thousand atomic power plant workers are exposed on a yearly basis to enough radiation to damage chromosomes. The government has ignored these findings and instead has consistently covered up the dangers to the workers and the public in general.

In Alabama, the government has promoted the building of homes made from a radioactive phosphate slag sold by the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). This has endangered the health of thousands of people. The blocks made from the slag by private contractors and used in home and school construction emit a radioactive gas called radon. Under pressure from the public, the TVA agreed to stop the sale of the slag in 1975, but in reality did not stop selling it until December of 1978. At that time, the TVA made sure that it would get rid of its radioactive slag by notifying contractors that they would be selling the slag for only two more weeks, giving the companies plenty of time to stockpile their raw materials. What was the TVA's response when questioned about twenty years of selling the slag which they knew was radioactive? Simple: "There was no regulation that said you couldn't do it."

Private companies have been found to have numerous safety violations every year and nothing is done by the government's so-called watchdog agencies. In 1973-74, Ken McGee, a producer of plutonium pellets for nuclear breeder reactors, among other things, was found to have 3,333 violations by the Atomic Energy Commission, but yet only eight penalties were levied against the company!

THE GOVERNMENT COVER UP

The government will make believe that they are regulating the use of radioactive materials and will even intervene in cases of obvious abuse but only under the force of mass public pressure. It is clear that the government is not only acting in complicity with the capitalists in their murderous use and sale of radioactive materials but also that it is further placing the lives of thousands of people in danger by allowing unsafe atomic plants to operate in many densely populated areas in the U.S. Why?

Because the State exists for one reason: **to protect the interests of the ruling capitalist class.** This can take a number of forms ranging from using the National Guard, the army and the police to protect those interests to allowing unsafe working conditions so that the capitalist companies can continue to operate profitably. In the Three Mile Island Incident, they acted hand in glove to deceive the public as to the dangers involved.

Almost two months ago, a special government committee reported that a serious nuclear reactor accident was a "once in a million probability." Even the Nuclear Regulatory Commission realized that no one would buy that lie, and so they didn't accept this public relations speculation. The NRC did not, however, say that nuclear power plants were less safe than that either; they just said that there isn't enough experience to support that conclusion.

THE CAPITALISTS PROFITS

Practice is the criterion of truth, but we did not need the Three Mile Island incident to know that the production of energy under capitalism is full of contradictions. One of them is the contradiction between the safety of the workers and the public on the one hand, and the

profits of the capitalists on the other. And it is clear that for the capitalists, their profits come first.

One sector of the capitalist class is arguing that the continued growth of the economy is dependent upon the continued growth of nuclear power. With the emerging strength of the OPEC nations and the weakened U.S. oil situation, the bourgeoisie must maneuver on all fronts if it is to temporarily put off a further intensification of the economic crisis, no matter what the cost.

Besides, they know that oil must be conserved in order to be able to wage war successfully. Thus, the rapid (i.e. unsafe) development of nuclear power is a must in their preparations for war.

These pro-nuclear energy sectors point out self-incriminatingly that there are dangers and casualties in any form of energy production from miners being killed (almost every day) or dying of black lung to cancer in the general population caused by coal smoke. But the fact is that the dangers in the mines do not justify the added nuclear dangers and both can be prevented!

We are not opposed to the production and use of nuclear energy per se. The use of nuclear energy represents a great scientific and technological development that should and must be utilized to improve the living conditions of the people. What we oppose is the unsafe and criminal way in which nuclear energy is produced and utilized by the ruling class under capitalism.

To insure themselves the highest possible rate of profit, the capitalists economize in key areas like health and safety, which are not profitable for them. When they have to balance their profits on the one hand and the health of working and oppressed people on the other, the choice is always for the profits. It is that drive for profits, and not the mere use of nuclear energy—that is the enemy we must fight against. Targeting nuclear energy, and not capitalism, would lead us to mere reformism and to a certain extent to oppose the progress of society.

OUR TASKS

What can we do? For one thing, we cannot count on the State to substantially change our working and living conditions. We have to rely on our struggle to force the State and the bourgeoisie to grant our demands. History, as well as our everyday experience, show this to be true.

For example, while OSHA puts forward that it is an employer's obligation to inform workers about toxic substances on the job, appropriate safe procedures and so on, it is quite another thing for that to happen. What we have to do in those cases is to make sure that every health and safety guideline level or procedure that is set is followed and if it is not, then we have to be prepared to take appropriate action.

Our conditions will not improve if we rely on the companies making improvements on their own, out of some sense of responsibility towards their workers or the community. The answer is to organize. Those of us that work in factories, shops, etc. should form rank and file Health and Safety committees in our workplaces. We must demand the complete disclosure of hazardous materials and dangerous working conditions that absolutely safe levels of exposure to dangerous substances be set (we also have the additional problem that compliance with many guidelines such as the recommended level of radiation exposure is now proving to be too high and consequently hazardous to our health), and the right to monitor and oversee operations. In addition, we should demand that these conditions be stipulated in our contracts.

COReS (n

For some time now the League for Proletarian Revolution (M-L) and the Colorado Organization for Revolutionary Struggle (M-L-M) have had fraternal relations based on Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong-Thought and our commitment to the struggle for socialism in the United States. These fraternal relations have strengthened in the course of joint theoretical work and practice in the communist and mass movements. Today we feel that the unity on ideological and political line that does exist between our organizations should be raised to a higher level—that of organizational unity. Therefore, we have agreed in principle that the conditions exist for the merger of our two organizations.

The proposed merger of the LPR(M-L) and the COReS (M-L-M) into a single pre-party formation will, to a greater degree, improve our total capacity to carry out the tasks facing the U.S. Marxist-Leninists in this period. Be it in the struggle for M-L unity and party building, the struggle against revisionism, Trotskyism and all forms of opportunism, the struggle to provide communist leadership to the spontaneous struggles of the masses, the struggle to defend the countries under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the national liberation struggles of the third world, or in the struggle against national oppression and women's oppression, it is an indisputable fact that, as a single organization, we will be better prepared and more effective in carrying out our revolutionary work.

Being under the democratic centralism of a single pre-party formation will allow for a better and more centralized leadership, for a better and more centralized propaganda apparatus, better and more centralized cadre training. The overall theoretical, political and organizational ability of the resulting organization to participate in the overall class struggle in this country will qualitatively increase. And we have no doubt that in the course of the struggle to merge our two organizations, our ideological and political line will also improve a great deal. This is so because of the correct Marxist-Leninist way in which we are approaching the merger.

OUR MERGER LINE

In approaching our merger we have taken into consideration both the experience of the international communist movement, as well as the experience of previous merger processes in the U.S. We were able to sum-up that in the main, previous merger attempts in our country have been characterized by a lack of an open and vigorous ideological struggle among the participants, by an attitude of "all unity, no struggle," of

praising each other and swinging important ideological differences.

Another characteristic feature has been the lack of cadres and contacts of those involved in the merger process. These have been viewed as secret differences between the top leadership involved. You can take the example like that of the National League for Revolutionary Struggle (NLR) (RU, PRRWO, BWC, IWK), the Revolutionary Wing of PRRWO, ATM, and those that did not merge with O.L. with a series of contacts of the CPML, and that of those who formed the League for Proletarian Struggle, and you will find a running through all of the contacts, without real participation and contacts and the rest of the movement.

Our merger plan is not a serious mistake. First, beginning of our relationship differences between both organizations have been kept in the open for contacts to see. Furthermore, those involved in the relations all had contacts of each organization in other organization's areas, in propaganda conferences, events, etc. of both organizations. More, both organizations had been carrying out joint theoretical and propaganda conferences, seminars, open forums and other events, the international situation, union question, the Chicano question, the woman question, carried out joint work in the liberation struggles of Puerto Rico, the woman question, etc. We have also jointly carried out a number of questionnaires, activities have provided the contacts of each organization with a better understanding of the line and practice of the other organization. Cadre actively participating in the

Another very important feature of our merger process is that it is being carried out in the midst of a major campaign of both organizations in RESISTANCE, Vol 10. This is a crucial step in building

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RESIST

Finally, the struggle has to go on also in the communities, in the schools and every place in this country. Only the force of the masses can stop the threat that the capitalists' use of nuclear energy represents to our health. The struggle against this danger is another front of struggle against the bourgeoisie that oppresses us. Let's unite all those that can be united to face this capitalist threat!

COReS (mlm) and LPR(m)

For some time now the League for Proletarian Revolution (M-L) and the Colorado Organization for Revolutionary Struggle (M-L-M) have had fraternal relations based on Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong-Thought and our commitment to the struggle for socialism in the United States. These fraternal relations have strengthened in the course of joint theoretical work and practice in the communist and mass movements. Today we feel that the unity on ideological and political line that does exist between our organizations should be raised to a higher level—that of organizational unity. Therefore, we have agreed in principle that the conditions exist for the merger of our two organizations.

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In approaching our merger we have taken into consideration both the experience of the international communist movement, as well as the experience of previous merger processes in the U.S. We were able to sum-up that in the main, previous merger attempts in our country have been characterized by a lack of an open and vigorous ideological struggle among the participants, by an attitude of "all unity, no struggle," of

praising each other and sweeping under the rug important ideological and political differences.

Another characteristic of those mergers have been the lack of participation of cadres and contacts of the organizations involved in the merger process. The mergers have been viewed as secret negotiations between the top leadership of the organizations involved. You can take those that failed, like that of the National Liaison Committee, (RU, PRRWO, BWC, IWK), or the Revolutionary Wing of PRRWO, RWL, WVO and ATM, and those that did succeed, like that of O.L. with a series of collectives that formed the CPML, and that of IWK and ATM who formed the League for Revolutionary Struggle, and you will find the same thread running through all of them: unity over the table, without real participation of cadres and contacts and the rest of the communist movement.

Our merger plan avoids committing this serious mistake. First of all since the beginning of our relationship, unities and differences between both organizations have been kept in the open for cadres and contacts to see. Furthermore, they have been involved in the relations all along. Cadres and contacts of each organization have visited the other organization's areas, have participated in propaganda conferences, study circles, events, etc. of both organizations. Furthermore, both organizations have been carrying out joint theoretical and practical work for some time now. We have held joint propaganda conferences, seminars, closed and open forums and other events on party building, the international situation, the trade union question, the Chicano national question, the woman question, etc. We have also carried out joint work in support of national liberation struggles of Puerto Rico, and Kampuchea. We have also jointly published leaflets on a number of questions. All of these activities have provided the cadres and contacts of each organization with an understanding of the line and practice of the other organization. Cadre and contacts are actively participating in the struggle for unity.

Another very important feature of our merger process is that it is being carried out in the midst of a major rectification campaign of both organizations. As we said in RESISTANCE, Vol. 10, No. 2, "With all probability the most significant early success in relation to M-L unity has been the decision of the comrades of the Colorado Organization for Revolutionary Struggle to also initiate a rectification campaign." This is a crucial step in building genuine

and principled unity. We are both "getting rid of the old baggage and starting up the machinery," on the road towards merging.

The active participation of cadre at all levels, and contacts, in the merger process will guarantee that all fundamental questions are dealt with in a thorough way, that criticism, self-criticism as the correct method of dealing with non-antagonistic contradictions is used to reach higher unity, and that the merger of the two organizations paves the way for the further participation of our contacts in the party building process and in all aspects of the class struggle.

WHAT WE UNITE ON

LPR (M-L) and COReS (M-L-M) unite, first and foremost around the following fundamental questions:

1. We base ourselves on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong-Thought. This for us represents the highest present-day development of dialectical and historical materialism.
2. We are firmly committed to the task of overthrowing the U.S. bourgeoisie, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism in the U.S.
3. We uphold the three worlds theory.
4. We have fundamental unity on line and practice around the trade union, national and woman questions.
5. We see that party building is the central task of U.S. Marxist-Leninists and that all work has to be placed in the context of party building in this period. Furthermore, we consider right opportunism, revisionism, as the main danger; propaganda as the chief form of activity, and theory as being primary over practice in this period.

These unities have been developed in the course of our joint theoretical and practical work in the communist and mass movements, by summing-up our practice, by criticism, self-criticism, repudiations and rectification. In the pages of RESISTANCE some of these questions have been treated, and will continue to be treated, as well as unities being clearly established.

In briefly stating the present unities between our two organizations, which call for a merger, we recognize that uneven development has existed and does exist between us. In many of these areas, it is LPR who has played the leading role or has the better grasp and ability to implement the line. COReS has also contributed to the advancement of the line and practice. At the same time, we both recognize that our cumulative grasp, experience and ability on the many questions falls yet short of what it means to be communist leadership. We still need to

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RESISTANCE



SUPPORT
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There will be an activity in support of the National Liberation Struggle of the Dominican people on the 14th anniversary of the Yankee invasion of 42,000 Marines.

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ment of the line and practice. At the same
time, we both recognize that our cumulative
grasp, experience and ability on the many
questions falls yet short of what it means to
be communist leadership. We still need to

emphasize even more the tasks of study,
training, summing up, investigation, recti-
fication, criticism-self-criticism, etc so
as to improve ourselves as Marxist-Leninists

WHAT'S NEXT?

We hope to create a situation that
facilitates the participation of other Marx-
ist-Leninists in our merger process. We urge
M-L organizations and individuals to involve
themselves in this process, by expressing
their criticism, and suggestions. In writing,
or through meetings, others can help to clar-
ify the level of unity and line differences in
the process. The "Communist Forum" in
RESISTANCE will be open for the exchange
of views on these fundamental questions

We are now in the process of jointly
writing unity positions around the interna-
tional situation, the trade union question, the
national question and party building. These
documents will represent the result of our
struggle for unity on these questions. We will
be distributing them widely in the near future
and will expect criticisms from comrades and
friends in order to improve them

The views on the merger of other or-
ganizations and individuals will be incorpor-
ated into our joint and internal discussion.
Timely responses are promised to any criti-
cism received. The communist movement has
the responsibility to encourage and partici-
pate in this merger attempt if they see it as a
positive step for party building. Likewise, the
communist movement has a responsibility to
point out where they see it is being done in-
correctly

Joint work for the two organizations
will continue alongside this merger work. In-
deed, we will be expanding our joint work in
several areas as part of the effort to continue
deepening our unities. Generally, this will in-
clude joint work on the newspaper, RESIS-
TANCE, commemoration of revolutionary
holidays, theoretical work on the interna-
tional and national questions, coordinating
the rectification campaigns, support for na-
tional liberation struggles, joint cam-
paigns, etc

At the end of all this process described,
we hope to emerge as one organization based
on a more clearly-established and deepened
line, with cadre firmly consolidated on that
line. We intend to publish periodic accounts
of the progress and the line struggle that oc-
curs. We urge other M-Ls to take up this strug-
gle with us

MARXIST-LENINISTS, UNITE!

WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!

IN THE MIDDLE EAST

continued from page 7

THE TREATY MAKES A MOCKERY OF THE RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION

The separate peace treaty calls
for negotiations between Egypt and
Israel around the possibility of esta-
blishing Palestinian self rule in the
West Bank. Jordan will be invited to
the meeting. "Palestinians" are invi-
ted to participate as part of the de-
legation from Jordan or Egypt, but
Israel will have the right to veto the
participation of any Palestinian suspec-
ted of being part of, or sympathiser
of the PLO. (In other words, only
Palestinian traitors can participate.)

But there is still more. The ne-
gotiations will take place independen-
tly of whether or not Jordan, or any
Palestinian agree to participate, and
the clauses of the peace treaty will
not be altered.

STAND WITH THE PALESTINIAN AND ARAB PEOPLE SUPPORT THE PLO!

US imperialism has won a
battle. A very important one, but
still, a battle. The war is long and pro-
tracted, and will end with the victo-
ry of the just cause of the Palestini-
an and Arab people.

The Palestinian question, which
is the central question in the Middle
East, cannot be solved by peaceful
negotiations between Israel and the
traitors to the Palestinian cause.
The Palestinian Liberation Organi-
zation (PLO) is the legitimate repre-
sentative of the Palestinian people,
and they have, clearly and categori-
cally, arms in hands, established their
position towards the treaty. **No peace
with the Israeli aggressor, political and
economic sanctions against Egypt, oil
boycott and revolutionary struggle
against US imperialism.**

Many Arab governments have
also come out against the treaty. The
governments of Algeria, Syria, Libya
and Iraq have proposed an economic
boycott of Egypt, and are showing
their willingness to unite with the
PLO in a united front against the
Israeli Zionists. All of these are in-
dications that the struggle will es-
calate to higher levels and that in
the last analysis, neither US impe-
rialism nor Egypt can assure peace
for Israel, nor save it from its de-
feat at the hands of the Palestini-
an and Arab people.

NO NATION CAN BE FREE IF IT OPPRESSES OTHER NATIONS

The US multinational working
class has a special duty to fulfill in sup-
port of the just cause of the Arab and
Palestinian people. It is **our own bour-
geoisie** that is oppressing them, and
therefore, it is our duty to be in the
forefront of the struggle to defend
the right of self determination of the
Palestinian people, in support of the
PLO and in support of the Arab
countries in their struggle against
the Israeli enemy.

VICTORY TO THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE
AND NATIONS OF THE WORLD
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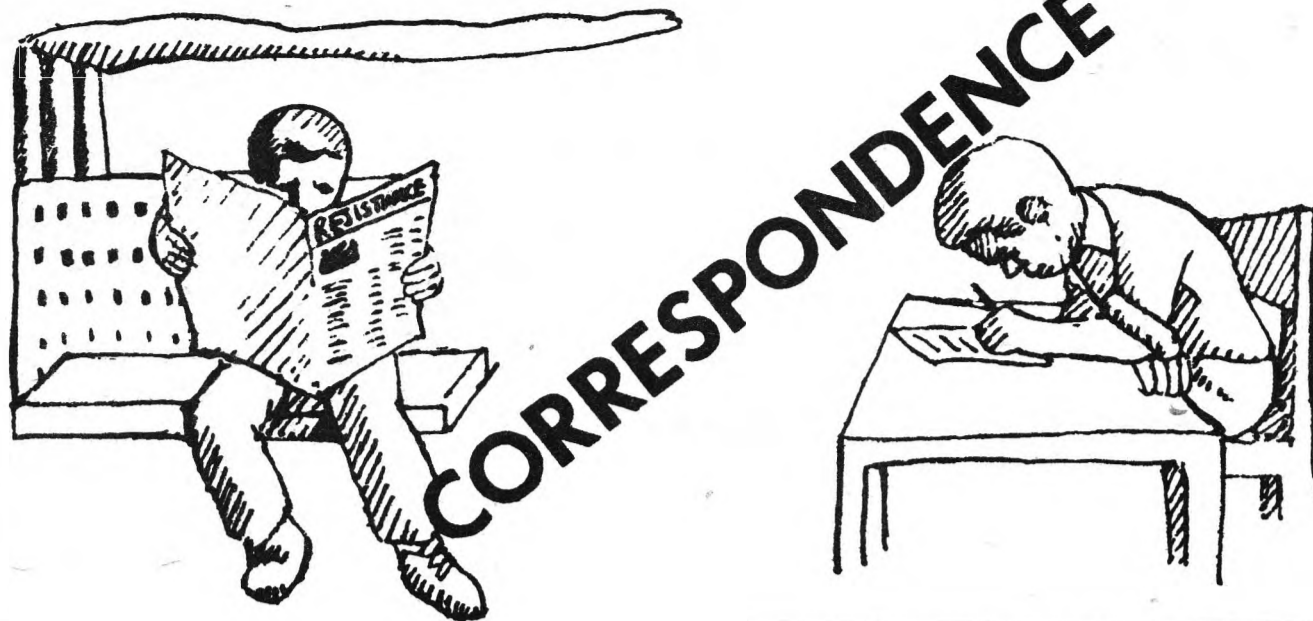
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SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE
OF THE
DOMINICAN PEOPLE!

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support of the National Liberation
Struggle of the Dominican people
on the 14th anniversary of the
Yankee invasion of 42,000
Marines

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One of the ways in which comrades can help build *RESISTANCE* is by writing us expressing their criticisms of our line, reporting about struggles they are involved in, expressing their views on the burning questions facing us. This column will complement the *COMMUNIST FORUM* in an attempt to air out views other than our own and contribute in the struggle for the correct line.

Send all letters and contributions to

RESISTANCE
Box 513, Triboro Sta.
New York, N.Y. 10035

Dear Comrades of Resistance

In your article, "Iran Shah on the Run," we read

"At its present stage of development the Iranian revolution is not yet a New Democratic Revolution, the new-type national democratic revolution which led by the working class and its communist party will lead directly to socialist revolution and total liberation for the workers and oppressed people of the country. But it is most certainly a progressive step for the people of Iran. However, opposition to both superpowers has been made equivalent with opposition to both capitalism and communism with the creation of an "Islamic Republic" as the solution. This is incorrect.

We believe your analysis of the character of the Iranian revolution is correct but not precise enough to justify your conclusions that "the broader conditions of democracy that may be established in the wake of the Shah's fascist dictatorship will prove fertile soil for the growth of the Marxist Leninist forces in Iran." Unless such an analysis is forthcoming your conclusions remain merely formal statements without an historical understanding of the particulars of the class struggle in Iran to back them up. Since this has not been the kind of writing we have come to expect from *Resistance!* we would like to take this opportunity to raise some criticisms and questions around the crucial question of the nature of the Iranian revolution. At this time in history, with the world poised on the brink of a new global imperialist war, polemics alone will not help to win over people to communism and a Marxist Leninist analysis of world historical events.

It goes without saying that the recent events in Iran have proven to be objectively anti-imperialist, and key to other anti-imperialist struggles in the Near and Middle East. For instance, Iran has broken diplomatic relations and oil sales with both Israel and South Africa. This in itself would be a major victory for the oppressed peoples of the Middle East and Africa. But the present government went further, establishing diplomatic ties with the PLO, and implying that aid in the form of arms would be forthcoming to the Palestinian freedom fighters. Coupled with the new relations between the U.S. in terms of

oil and other economic dealings, clearly demonstrates the key strategic role Iran occupies in the context of world wide anti-imperialist struggles.

In this respect we support the revolution in Iran and applaud its staunch position in opposition to both U.S. and Soviet social imperialism. Yet this much is common knowledge to every Marxist Leninist throughout the nation.

On the other hand, we have to deal with and explain Khomeini's insistence that Iran become an "Islamic Republic." There is also the ever present distortion of the Western press, which pictures the Shah as a modernizer, while Khomeini is planning to plunge Iran back into the abyss of religious superstition. Finally, there is very little material available to us which can help us sort out the situation in terms of the relation of forces between Marxist Leninists and other groups, such as the Fedayeen.

In spite of all this, we have to admit that it will be the internal development of the class struggle in Iran that will move that nation forward. The specific features of the Iranian revolution—features which make it on the one hand a specifically Iranian revolution, and on the other hand a revolution of world historical importance—still elude us.

In *On New Democracy* (presumably the theoretical basis of your analysis) Mao clearly points out what he means by that concept in relation to China. Further, he points out how that stage of the Chinese revolution relates to the socialist revolution in China. Given the Iranian situation our first task would appear to be a determination of the class contradictions which gave rise to this revolution in the first place. Clearly the role of the broadly united anti-imperialist forces cannot be belittled, nor denied. Yet that would only be a limited view of the reality of Iran, certainly it gives us no insight into the causes for the current developments, nor even lays a foundation for the rise of anti-imperialism in the first instance.

In fact, to talk of the Iranian revolution in a concrete way means we must be able to grasp the precise features of the class struggle which continue to unfold in Iran. This would enable us to understand both the anti-imperialist character and the internal significance of Khomeini's appeal.

The most obvious feature of the Iranian revolution (aside from its anti-imperialist stance) is its link to Moslem religion. At the same time, it would be incorrect to say that the "Moslem" component of the Iranian revolution in fact gives us a true picture of the revolution. Clearly, the revolution was carried forward by a united front, and that means concretely that Moslem, Marxist Leninist, and all other anti-imperialist, anti-Shah forces were participating, cooperating and jointly planning strategic moves. But of all the factors in the Iranian revolution, this Moslem aspect is the most vexing to us. It certainly places itself in opposition to Marxism-Leninism within Iran. We believe that Marxist Leninists in Iran seek to develop the productive forces of their country to the fullest, to advance the political and cultural life of the broadest sections of the masses, and to help them overturn their semi-feudal, semi-colonial conditions. Islamic Law, with its basis in the economic, political and cultural life of feudalism and autocracy, however, is in direct contradiction with Marxism-Leninism. Though Iran is still a semi-feudal nation, with a rapidly growing working class and capitalist enterprises, the ideological impact of Islam and Islamic traditions is strong. This in itself is not a unique phenomenon—take, for example, the similar case in Saudi Arabia. So the first question to be asked is who such an Islamic Republic, during the transition from a feudal to a capitalist nation, will benefit. Which classes have an interest in maintaining this sort of state structure? This is not a negation of the importance of the Iranian revolution by any means, even in Iran our Marxist-Leninist comrades say that they must push the revolution to its conclusion, lest the blood of their people be shed in vain. The reason why Marxist Leninists must strive to fully understand the nature of this so-called Islamic Republic is because such a state form will have definite negative consequences for the Marxist Leninists of Iran, and perhaps the entire Middle East. What immediately springs to mind is the role women are relegated to under the law of Islam, and the relationship to ideas considered heretical in terms of the Moslem faith, or the Koran, etc. Concretely, we have to follow how the Islamic Republic will settle the question of land for the

peasants of Iran, or will deal with the petroleum industry, education, etc.

In short, during this transitional period of the Iranian revolution, we must ask ourselves, as Mao asked in *On New Democracy* a basic question: "How does this revolution manifest itself concretely in internal political and economic relations?"

It is not enough to anticipate that this first stage of the Iranian revolution will in fact lead to a New Democratic Revolution and thereupon lay the foundation for Iran's transition to socialism. Without a class analysis of the internal situation it is impossible to do more than speculate on the outcome. The way *Resistance!* puts it, i.e. "at its present stage of development, the Iranian revolution is not yet a New Democratic Revolution" strongly implies that this first stage will necessarily develop into the New Democratic Revolution. But we are not told how or why *Resistance!* comes to hold this view? What is the relation of forces in Iran that shows this to be the case? Is it not possible that the revolution will, at this point, develop into something quite different than we speculate? This is not meant to contradict the long range historical trend towards socialism throughout the world, but then again, no one can really argue with such general statements. Insofar as the New Democratic Revolution in China was aimed at getting rid of the odious colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal political and economic and cultural aspects of their society, it appears that the Iranian revolution is far from this conscious and consolidated transformation of Iranian society. But certain forces that comprise this "thing" we call the Iranian revolution, do in fact, wish to push the revolution forward towards socialism.

The revolutionary forces in Iran, by overturning the Shah, and, in turn, his hand-picked agent of chaos and reaction, Mr. Bakhtiar, performed a great service to the masses of Iran. Nevertheless we in the U.S. still tend to view the Iranian revolution primarily from the point of view of its anti-imperialist aspects. It is time to focus our attention on the other aspects of the Iranian revolution with as much thoroughness and interest as we have expended on the objective outcome of that revolution. We look forward to seeing this type of analysis in the international reporting of *Resistance!*



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Our Response

The comrade's letter raises a number of important questions concerning the Iranian revolution, and exposes a point of unclarity in our article in *Resistance* Vol 10, No 2. We will briefly express our views on each of them.

ON NEW DEMOCRACY

This comrade incorrectly attributes to us the statement that the "first stage of the Iranian revolution will in fact lead to a New Democratic Revolution".

First of all, we definitely do not consider the present revolution in Iran to be a first "stage" in a New Democratic Revolution. Nor do we believe that the present revolution will "necessarily develop into the New Democratic Revolution". Rather, our optimism as to the future development of New Democratic Revolution in Iran is based on several facts.

One is the important role played by the Iranian working class in the revolution -- as was repeatedly stressed in our coverage of the struggle. Second is our direct and direct contact with many Iranian revolutionaries, both here and in Iran, which leads us to believe that there are genuine Marxist Leninists in struggle in Iran and that they are consciously taking up the tasks necessary to launch New Democratic Revolution, especially the task of Party building. Finally, there is the general factor mentioned in the letter -- the long range historical trend towards socialism throughout the world -- which, for Iran and all third world countries, can only mean the two stage, New Democratic Revolution.

ON WHETHER OR NOT THE PRESENT SITUATION IS FERTILE SOIL FOR THE GROWTH OF MARXIST-LENINIST FORCES IN IRAN

Even the scanty facts available show that the defeat of the Shah, his army and the secret police (Savak) have created conditions in which communists can work much more freely among the masses -- openly printing and distributing literature, organizing and holding rallies, etc. -- than was ever possible under the Shah's tyranny.

The Ayatollah Khomeini has stated that under an Islamic Republic, all political forces will have the right to express their views and organize political parties. This should open up possibilities for many types of broad communist work which will help to prepare the way for the New Democratic Revolution. Certainly we will never see the Khomeini led government putting out a call for New Democratic Revolution, in fact we can expect them to do many things that will obstruct it significantly. But in meeting the democratic demands of the Iranian masses, they will also create many conditions beneficial to Marxist-Leninists.

In the last analysis, what guarantees this "fertile soil" is the consciousness of their revolutionary potential and strength that the Iranian masses have today. It was the Iranian masses, in the millions, who were responsible for the overthrow of the Shah. Implying, as the letter implies, that they will now allow somebody to take from them their revolutionary gains is really lack of confidence in the Iranian masses. The masses, and not the Khomeinis, are the makers of history, and the Iranian revolution will surely move forward to more and greater victories.

SOME DISAGREEMENTS

First of all we consider incorrect the view that the "most obvious feature of the Iranian revolution (aside from its anti-imperialist stance) is its link to Moslem religion". This to say the least belittles the democratic content of the Iranian revolution, which -- as we have shown above, makes the Iran of today much more democratic than the Shah's Iran.

The comrade holds that given the Iranian situation our first task would appear to be a determination of the class contradictions which gave rise to the revolution in the first place -- and to this end call for grasping the precise features of the class struggle which continues to unfold in Iran. However it is our under-

standing that the present Iranian revolution came about as a result of the contradiction between the broad masses of the Iranian people, on the one hand and U.S. imperialism and its lackey the Shah on the other. In the face of the Shah's imperialist backed tyranny, many disparate classes and strata in Iranian society were able to put aside their differences and unite in opposition to their common enemy.

At the present time, when the Iranian revolution is still threatened from all sides (particularly by the two superpowers) and the working class, the peasantry and the Marxist Leninists are unprepared for the seizure of state power, we believe that the united front, and national unity in general, must be maintained and consolidated. At the same time, the Marxist Leninists must destroy all false illusions about the Islamic Republic, and prepare themselves and the masses for the launching of New Democratic Revolution.

The comrade's treatment of Islam and the Islamic Republic reveals a metaphysical error in thinking. Obviously if you view Islam simply from a bare bones ideological standpoint, it is totally in contradiction with Marxism-Leninism -- only a gross opportunist would try to reconcile the two. But in the real world, we see that Iran's Islamic opposition has put forward many progressive policies which far overstep the feudal and autocratic basis ascribed to it in the comrade's letter.

Furthermore, Iranian communists must take account of the fact that Islam does hold an important place in the lives of the great majority of their people and this cannot be changed overnight -- certainly not by the Trotskyites' slogan of "Down with the Mullahs!". A long and patient process of education and persuasion will be needed to break the grip of such backward ideas on the people's minds.

The point is that by portraying the contradiction between Marxism and Islam in an abstract way, as an absolute inflexible antagonism, the letter seems to be implying that Marxist Leninists must oppose the as yet undefined Islamic Republic as a matter of principle. As we stated above, this is incorrect.

Finally, we have to strongly disagree with the comrade's call to change the focus of our attention from the "anti-imperialist aspects of the Iranian revolution" to the "other aspects". In the context of the letter the "other aspects", we are led to conclude are the internal class struggle in Iran.

But, may we ask what are the tasks of communists and other progressives in the U.S. in relation to the Iranian revolution? Obviously not to determine "how the Islamic Republic will settle the question of land for the peasants of Iran or will deal with the petroleum industry, education, etc." and based on that decide what our position is in relation to that revolution. This would be analysing a revolution from the standpoint of formal democracy and not from the general balance sheet -- as Comrade Stalin teaches us in *Foundations of Leninism*.

For us in the United States it is crucial to look at the Iranian revolution primarily from the point of view of its anti-imperialist aspects. These aspects are precisely what tell us that the Iranian revolution objectively weakens imperialism -- the two superpowers and Israel to begin with and that as such it is to be supported.

Furthermore it is oversimplistic to think that the overthrow of the Shah has solved the anti-imperialist question in Iran. U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism -- the remnants of the Shah regime and the revisionists alike -- are doing everything they can to undermine the Iranian united front and are preparing the conditions to overthrow the revolutionary government. Thus our task remains to support the Khomeini government in so far as it continues to oppose imperialism.

U.S. IMPERIALISM HAS WON A BATTLE, PALESTINIAN PEOPLE WILL WIN THE WAR!

The separate peace treaty between Egypt and Israel is a major victory for U.S. imperialism. As a result of it a military alliance of the U.S., Egypt and Israel has been formed which represents a big threat to all the oppressed peoples and countries in the Middle East.

In denouncing this treaty we are to condemn first and foremost U.S. imperialism who orchestrated it and who has emerged from it as the most to gain. We also condemn the Israeli Zionists who thanks to the treaty have strengthened their position in the area and are now in a stronger position for maintaining the Palestinian people in bondage and keeping the illegal occupation of the Arab territories taken since the 1967 war. We finally condemn Anwar Sadat and the sector of the Egyptian bourgeoisie that has united with him in the betrayal of the Palestinian and Arab peoples.

WHAT ARE THE PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY?

In a nutshell these are the gives and takes in the treaty.

Egypt to Israel: Recognition of the Israeli state (the first Arab state to do so). End to the economic boycott and initiation of full diplomatic relations. Israeli ships and cargoes will now be allowed to use the Suez Canal. Egypt will sell oil to the Zionists (who need it desperately after the decision of the revolutionary government of Iran to sever all political and economic ties with Israel).

Israel to Egypt: Israel will return to Egypt the territories they took from them in the Sinai (Israel will keep control of all other territories illegally occupied in the 1967 war. These are the territories in the Golan Heights, Gaza, the West Bank and Jerusalem that belong to Syria, Jordan and other Arab countries).

U.S. imperialism to Egypt: Massive economic and military aid. Projects to improve the Suez Canal with U.S. aid are under way. And all kinds of modern military hardware are also under way. This economic and military aid and the full political and military support of U.S. imperialism is crucial for Sadat whose regime confronts serious internal problems.

U.S. imperialism to Israel: Besides relieving Israel from the military and political weight of a un-

ified Arab world by orchestrating the Sadat betrayal, the U.S. has added all kinds of moneys and arms for the Israeli Zionists. They approved funds for new military bases to substitute for the ones located in the Sinai. Besides they are negotiating to establish a "mutual defense treaty" that would guarantee Israel the assistance of the U.S. in case the recently signed peace treaty collapses.

U.S. IMPERIALISM-- THE REAL WINNER

Although the treaty will cost tax payers in the U.S. over 15 billion dollars for the U.S. bourgeoisie it is a real bonanza. Faced with defeat after defeat the U.S. bourgeoisie was in real need of this treaty which gives them the upper hand in the Middle East. The benefits are political, military and economic.

(1) They have weakened the united front of the Arab peoples and countries and the Palestinian people against the Israeli aggressor. Remember that Israel is the local police of U.S. imperialism in that area.

(2) U.S. imperialists have assured themselves of oil supplies and sea routes from Egypt.

(3) They have strengthened their military power by winning an ally in Egypt and increasing the military capabilities of Israel.

(4) They have put more obstacles to the creation of a Palestinian state led by the PLO which was one of their major worries.

(5) They have more ways now to pressure other Arab countries into signing separate treaties with Israel.

(6) In their contention with the Soviet Union for world hegemony they have won a very important political victory by being able to arrange a treaty outside of the Geneva Conference thus letting the USSR hang.

But the Soviet social imperialists who are no friends of the Arab and Palestinian people are very busy trying to capitalize on the discontent of the Palestinian and Arab masses and of the Arab governments for their own purposes.

It's enough to open up the pages of any bourgeois newspaper to see all the prisms for the treaty. President Carter sums it up bluntly by saying "This is a great victory." And in fact it was for the imperialist U.S. bourgeoisie who at home and abroad bring only misery, oppression and exploitation to the workers, oppressed peoples and nations of the world.

continued on page 5



In Colorado education cutbacks is one way the capitalist economic crisis is affecting the livelihood and democratic rights of oppressed and working people. In Denver alone, 12 of the public schools are being closed. Higher education is also on the list of statewide cutbacks.

On March 14th, 7200 students, faculty and supporters rallied to protest the Colorado Legislature's proposed cutbacks at the Colorado University Boulder Campus. This is typical of the wave of spontaneous protest in the US against the bourgeoisie's attempts to make the masses pay for the crisis. This article explains our view of the struggle and how we see carrying out our tasks.

THE ISSUES

The State legislature is working on recommendations to

- (1) Cut student enrollment at the Boulder campus by 430 this year and probably more next year
- (2) Cut \$2.4 million from financial aid for higher education in the state this year
- (3) Cut 204 faculty positions at Boulder campus in the next 2 years
- (4) Phase out the School of Education (Boulder) and cut down the School of Nursing (Denver)
- (5) Cut 52 faculty and 400 students from the Colorado State University
- (6) Eliminate lower division courses at CU Denver and cut 1700 students this year
- (7) Other actions aimed at "consolidating" higher education that would eliminate or lessen the opportunity for a decent education.

Inflation in the bourgeois economy requires an increasing amount of funds to pay even for existing facilities, services and jobs. Additionally, the State apparatus is forced to rechannel funds from education to elsewhere, such as the repressive tools of the police, courts and jails. On a national scale, they rechannel funds more and more into its preparation for war. Thus what is taking place in Boulder is integrally linked to not only to the entire state but also the national and worldwide crisis of the bourgeois state.

THE FORCES

The cutbacks have set in motion forces representing various classes, strata and political tendencies. Legislators and regents pose as either defenders of quality education or as upholding the mandate of Proposition 13. Upper echelon university administrators have assumed staunch to jelly bellied stands against the cutbacks. Their intention is to serve the bourgeoisie by selling the cuts to the public in some modified form and by taking leadership of the spontaneous protest and confining it to reformism. The ex CU president who spoke at the rally has called for being "polite" to the legislature and not "antagonizing" them.

Many faculty and university staff have also responded to the cutbacks which endanger their jobs or would curtail their ability to teach. This sector of the intelligentsia has taken a better stand than the upper echelon of the university and was a main force in calling for the rally. Presently they are part of the leadership of the struggle. At the Boulder campus, past experience has shown that they play a progressive role insofar as their direct interests are threatened but, as a body, they

have not been stable allies in defending for instance the affirmative action programs on campus, i.e. issues which they don't think directly affect them.

The student government (UCSU— or, University of Colorado Student Union) is the present student leadership of the struggle. UCSU has historically played the same role on campus as the state legislature does with the population at large. They provide the semblance of participatory democracy while their real function is to keep student activity confined to toga parties and cultural events. In case of a spontaneous student struggle, they at times assume a progressive stance for the purpose of keeping student leadership out of the hands of revolutionary students. National minority students on this campus are well aware of the racist stands taken by leading members of the UCSU.

has fought against the Bakke Decision, attacks on the special programs for oppressed nationalities and women, etc.

THE STUDENT COALITION TAKES THE LEAD

By the time of the rally, the Student Coalition had already been revitalized to gather together the revolutionary students. They are attempting to unite with the masses of students, progressive and revolutionary faculty and staff and workers. Their target is those in the university and legislature who advocate or help implement these attacks.

This is a complex task of building the struggle and utilizing allies and contradictions correctly. This means that the multi-national students who have already proven their stand must provide leadership and correctly unite with staff, facul-

7,200 IN COLORADO UNIVERSITY SAY NO TO CUTBACKS!!

CORES (M L M)

in recent struggles around student group funding, grand jury harassment, etc. UCSU locally also serves as a training ground for those with aspirations of becoming grown-up politicians.

While the average median annual income of parents of Boulder students is \$50,000 (this is not a typographical error!) there are a sizeable number of low income, working class and oppressed nationality students on campus. We see that students are best analyzed by their political stands. Although the majority of students have largely not participated in anti-imperialist struggles in the past decade, this cutback has helped activate them on a broad scale (the rally represented over 1/4 of the campus). Politically, it is the anti-imperialist, multi-national students continually grouped together as the Student Coalition who have been the most consistent and self-sacrificing in the struggle against bourgeois attacks on education.

In the last few years, the Student Coalition in many forms, has continued the militant tradition of the '60s by serving as the best tool to unify and organize the revolutionary students on campus. The Student Coalition has utilized many forms of struggle but especially mass action and has even successfully used illegal means to win their demands (A building takeover in 1977). The Student Coalition

and workers in building a united front of campus forces. They should strive to unite with non-campus forces, especially the working class, to build the struggle beyond just the Boulder campus, to other campuses and into a statewide effort against the cutbacks.

Faculty and staff must be united with on a level of equality with the students. And the UCSU must particularly be dealt with correctly. *At this moment*, UCSU is objectively being attacked by the cutbacks and thus there is a concrete basis for unity. Then too, the UCSU has a reformist character and does not represent the true interests of the students. For instance, they kept the Student Coalition from speaking at the rally because of their "radicalism." This means they must be allied with but criticized whenever they act counter to the interests of the united effort.

The surest way of revolutionary students providing leadership is to be aggressive in putting out their line as an alternative to reformist ideas. This has already taken the forms of banners and leaflets. Also, the Student Coalition must maintain its independence by building its own forces and doing independent actions including demonstrations, rallies, teach-ins, etc. *At the same time*, they should try to put the faculty and UCSU in a position where they must unite in a broad united

front or expose themselves for sabotaging the united effort.

In past struggles the Student Coalition has repeatedly warned the rest of the campus that earlier attacks on special programs for minorities and women were just a prelude to larger attacks against everyone later. They did this to try to get the majority to understand the duty of supporting the special programs. The Student Coalition prediction was obviously correct. This lesson should not be lost sight of. The Student Coalition should continue its special tasks, particularly educating everyone about the need to defend the gains of affirmative action. The more success they have with this the greater the possibility that a principled united front effort can be built and the cutbacks stopped.

COMMUNIST TASKS

Chiefly we see the need to provide theoretical and practical training to the more conscious elements on how to lead the struggle.

Our first flyer at the rally elaborated the strategy, for the struggle and was chiefly an agitational piece. This is a radical improvement over our past errors of tailing the struggle or lagging in our tasks. We were able to reach over half of the rally participants.

We will follow this up in written and oral form with periodic propaganda and agitation on what we understand to be the chief obstacles in the struggle, expose the opportunist lines, do propaganda on intellectuals and education under socialism and in China, the need to overthrow the bourgeoisie that education presently serves, the roots of the economic crisis and the bourgeois preparations for war. At every opportunity, we will take our views to the masses and present the communist view of the question in the vein of showing that we not only fight for socialism but also can provide guidance on defending the immediate demands of the people.

All revolutionaries should help link the campus united front effort to the workplace and elsewhere, and we have done some work explaining why workers must support this struggle and the role they can play in it. Depending on the course of the struggle this could be built up through arranging speakers, fund-raising, etc.

As with any spontaneous struggle, we will attempt to help guide it beyond the confines of legality, reformism and just university issues. The better the masses can see the real target (the bourgeois class), the ultimate tactics (the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie) and the ultimate solution (socialism), the more revolutionary it will become. This struggle will continue, intensify, and broaden. We will try to report on its progress and the strengths and weaknesses of our work so that it will serve as a concrete example of how revolutionary work should and shouldn't be done. We encourage anyone to criticize our work and propaganda and agitation, particularly through the pages of Resistance. We can be reached by writing: Boxholder, P.O. Box 11084, Denver, Colo. 80211. **LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS!**

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