

# RESISTANCE



POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION M-L  
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## We won't be cannon fodder in imperialist wars!

A MARXIST-LENINIST VIEW

The answer given by the youth of this country to Presiden Carter's proposed registration and re institution of the draft has been a strong, militant, resounding **NO** No to registration, no to the draft, no to imperialist war

Tens of thousands of our youth have taken to the streets to show the big monopolies that they are not willing to serve as cannon fodder in their imperialist wars. The battle is only beginning, but judging by the broad mobilizations with which the resistance to registration has started, there is a mass movement in the making which will rally hundreds of thousands in this country against the draft and against imperialist war

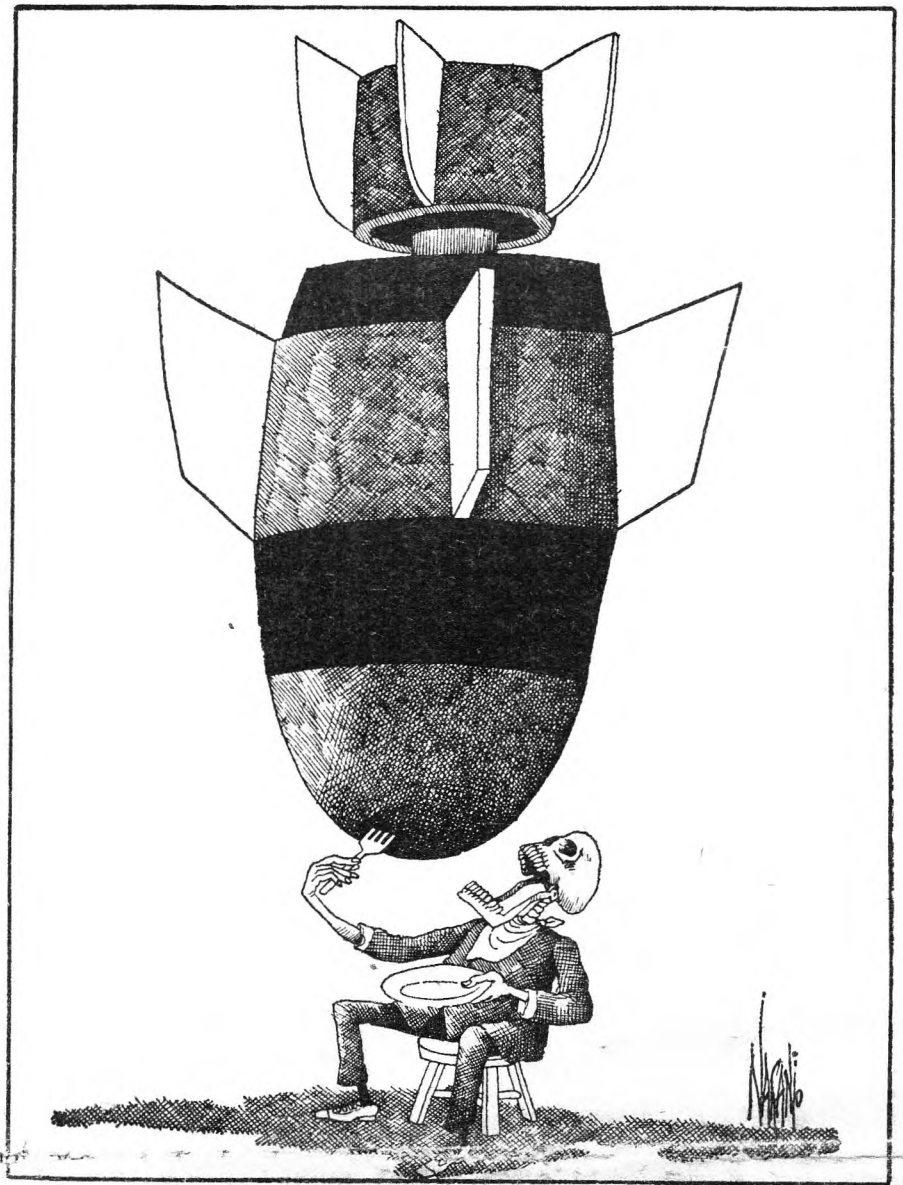
influence of the social democrats, revisionists and Trotskyites, the anti draft movement has been able to put forward a series of correct demands that can unite the most diverse sectors of the revolutionary and progressive movement in this country

Under the banner of opposition to the draft of both men and women, recognition of the right to self-determination of oppressed nations, and of opposition to the war, this movement has the potential of uniting broad sectors of the people in the US in a basically anti-imperialist direction

Obviously, not all is so positive. The influence of social-democracy and revisionism is really strong. That influence is felt

It is encouraging that despite the

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## For armed self-defense Against police brutality



A picket by the Black & Latino Coalition against Police Brutality in N Y C expresses the right of the oppressed to defend ourselves against the attacks by the police

Police brutality is on the rise throughout the country. Black and Latino people are being killed and assaulted with impunity by the police more and more frequently. And more and more people are being harassed and thrown in jail by the police for no good reason except that they are an

oppressed nationality, poor, a worker, women or youth.

In all parts of the country the police is being strengthened by more weapons, and emboldened in their brutality by more repressive laws and court decisions. This is

symptomatic of the crisis affecting capitalism and is especially blatant in cities like New York, where the crisis is more deeply felt

Consistent with this, all New York City policemen will be getting bullet proof vests. They will be allowed to carry a mace spray dispenser and will be provided with a shotgun when in a one-man patrol car. At the same time a crackdown on "illegal weapons" is announced, legislation to legalize the death penalty is again underway and the mass media has developed a campaign of hysteria creating very favorable conditions for the "legal" lynchings of suspects, police harrassments, etc

The pretext being used for all this is the death of four cops so far in 1980. But the real reason is the need of the ruling class to intensify the militarization of its police force in order to deal with the rising militancy and anger of the masses that are fighting the attacks of the bourgeoisie on our standards of living and our most basic democratic rights

When compared with all the citizens that have been killed, brutalized, illegally arrested, etc, by New York's "finest", the death of four cops is peanuts. Especially when some of those cops were killed in the process of beating up and possibly killing their killers. In at least one of the ca

ses the cop was shot with the extra gun he was carrying. This is a very common practice all around the US. Policemen carry guns other than the official piece, and sometimes use them to kill people. Obviously, when investigations are carried out, cover ups are easier because the bullets are not from the policeman's official gun. But even when policemen are shot in the course of armed robbery or other common criminal acts, this does not change the fact that policemen are not victims of violence in the US, but all the way around—they are the main perpetrators of it. They are not the victims, but in the great majority of the cases they are the ones guilty of innumerable and despicable crimes

The great threat to the safety of the people—especially to Blacks, Latinos and other oppressed nationalities—which further militarization of the police represents, should not be belittled. Neither should the mass hysteria campaign developed by the press go unchallenged. The ruling class is preparing the conditions for more and greater repression against the people and the time to step up the denouncing and fighting against such attempts is NOW

Take the mace for example. According to police officials the mace would allow cops to make arrests in a "more humanita

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UNCLE SAM WANTS WOMEN See Page 2

ANTI-WAR, ANTI-DRAFT MOVEMENT GROWS (See page 3)

PRICE TAGS ON PEOPLE'S LIVES (See Page 6) CHICANO MORATORIUM (See Page 7)



# WOMEN HOLD UP HALF THE SKY

## Uncle Sam wants women....

According to many the issue of women and the draft is dead because the Congress voted against it recently. But, don't be fooled, the facts that prompted President Carter's proposal still remain

\*The superpowers are headed towards war,

\*The U S needs to prepare its armed forces (now way below those of the USSR),

\*The draft is a necessary step in this direction,

\*The drafting of women is absolutely essential to them, considering the difficulties (economic and otherwise) of attracting more men into the service

First of all, it is crucial to understand that the drafting of women, or the reinstatement of the draft for that matter, is part of the U S preparations for world war. The U S imperialist bourgeoisie knows that sooner or later it will have to confront the other superpower, the USSR, in a world war. To do this, it would first have to solve some problems.

Right now, the U S armed forces, which operate on a volunteer basis (the draft was abolished in 1972), could hardly survive were it not for its women recruits. They are finding it increasingly difficult to recruit men and have quite successfully turned to women as an economical substitute. The U S armed forces are actually 8% women, a ratio that is continuing to increase rapidly, expected to be 11% in 1985 and to keep on rising (Newsweek, 2/18/80)

### A VAST RESERVE ARMY

We are faced with a familiar situation here. When not needed by the capitalists, women are kept at home subject to severe discrimination in jobs and education as one of the most oppressed sectors in capitalist society. But whenever the bourgeoisie needs to expand its labor force, for example, women are recruited by the thousands into the factories they were previously said to be unfit for. And now that the bourgeoisie needs to develop its armed forces, they have a "vast reserve army" of unemployed women to pick from.

Without a doubt, the U S bourgeoisie needs women desperately in the armed forces. There is ample proof of this. They have pretended to forget a long standing tradition of pushing the idea that women are the weaker, inferior sex, for the sake of having them in the services. While, in society at large, maternity leave is denied women, the military has granted its women pregnancy disability with up to six weeks paid leave. The Pentagon has been pressuring Congress to rescind the limitations on training women for actual combat.

Many other adjustments have been made for women in order to lure them into the military, such as changing the design of planes to adjust to women pilots' eye level, arms reach, etc., slowing down of

regulation stride, lengthening the 2 mile run time limit, having separate facilities and training, changing many of the standards required in training, designing new boots and uniforms, allowing certain "luxuries" such as showering during long periods of training, and others. Thousands of dollars are being spent on research to find out if women are fit for combat, whether or not they can take the physical and psychological stress and whether or not the positive aspects of women in the military would compensate for the negative. Yes, definitely, Uncle Sam wants women.

### SHOULD WE OPPOSE THE DRAFTING OF WOMEN?

Women have shown through their participation in the spontaneous movement that has developed all across the country, that they are in fact an ally of the anti-draft, anti-war struggle. However, despite this strong opposition, there are still many young men and women who support the draft. In the women's movement there is a sector that supports the registration and or drafting of women for a variety of incorrect reasons. For example, there are some feminists who feel that it would be "hypocritical" to demand equal rights with men yet refuse to serve with them in war. And although the National Organization of Women (NOW) has come out opposing the draft, one of its representatives recently declared that as "full citizens" women should serve "in every way" (Newsweek, 2/18)

Further, some feminists feel that supporting the draft for women would provide the lever for demanding the passage of the ERA. Others are saying no way to the draft, until the ERA is ratified, but OK if the ERA is passed, as if there were no grounds to oppose the drafting of women then! We say all of these positions are based on the fallacy of "bourgeois equality", not equality in the real world we live in, and they must be opposed.

Our position is based on three main points

1 We say no to the draft of both men and women because it serves the interests of the U S bourgeoisie by facilitating their war preparations. Specifically, we oppose the drafting of women because it serves to bail out the capitalists at a time in which they face increasing resistance to their war plans. Women have been traditionally oppressed and discriminated against. We have to expose the double standard now being applied by the bourgeoisie such as in Carter's statement announcing his plans. "My decision is a recognition of the reality that both men and women are working members of society. It confirms what is already obvious that women are now providing all types of skills in every profession. The military should be no exception."

2 We say no to the drafting of women even if the ERA is ratified. We believe that the U S bourgeoisie is willing to make

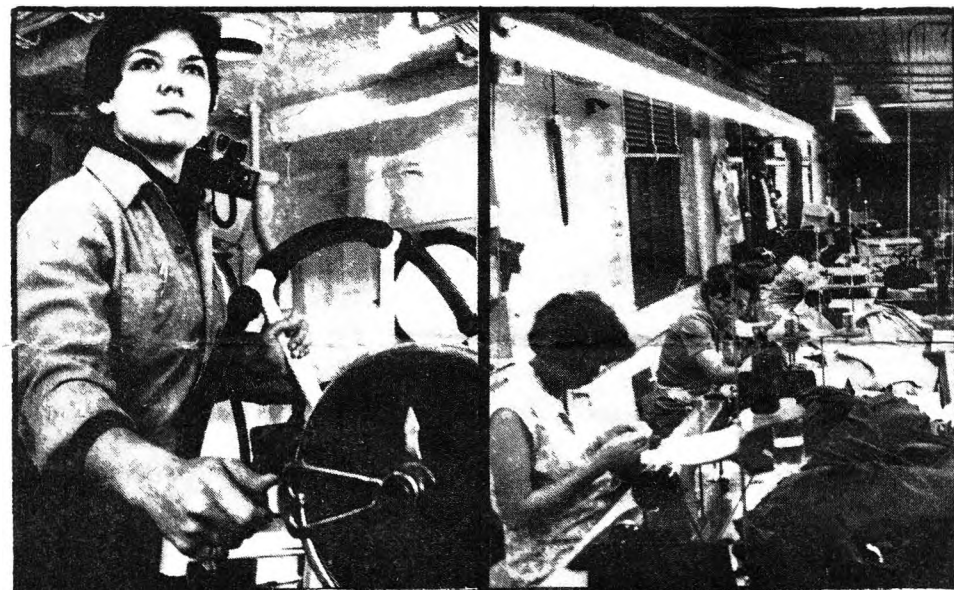
all kinds of adjustments in order to be able to draft women. ERA, which by the way we don't consider it's going to mean the end of women's oppression, or the granting of equal rights for them at all, is thus a "concession" the capitalists are willing to make. We cannot be fooled by this. Even though Carter hypocritically said, "Equal obligations deserve equal rights", this is nothing but another of the false promises of the capitalist system.

The drafting of men in the past did not in fact bring the working class men equal rights with men of the bourgeois class. And the drafting of women will not bring her equal rights with men either.

Our opposition to drafting women has nothing to do with arguments on the physical or psychological capabilities of women. We believe that there are natural differences and they must be taken into ac-

ing, special skills, veterans' benefits, etc.)

The same happens with women, being one of the most oppressed sectors of capitalist society. Women are treated as inferiors, denied basic rights to education, jobs, forcing them to look for those opportunities in the military. For this we can not blame women, but capitalism, and we can only struggle to educate both men and women on the oppressive conditions within the military and those faced by veterans when they come back home. If they do join, we have to help them organize so they can fight for their rights while in the service. But the most important thing is to win them over not to join. The false promises, the so-called "golden opportunities" offered by the military have to be exposed in the process of our work towards convincing women (and men) not to cooperate with the U S bourgeoisie, not to serve as cannon fodder for the imperialists.



Between the misery of a sweatshop and the supposedly "bright future" in a highly-skilled job promised by the military to trick women, many will choose the second. We must expose these lies and fight for the active participation of women in the anti-draft, anti-war movement today.

count in jobs, the military, etc. But it is capitalism that creates the inequalities, which the military does not end. It is thus because of the oppression of women that we oppose the draft in particular for women, not because we believe women are unfit for military service. In socialist countries, or in countries where national liberation struggles are being waged, women make an active part in the armed struggle. We hail this, for as Lenin taught us:

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

But we cannot make an abstraction of this and say that because we hail the participation of women in armed struggle against imperialists and class enemies, we likewise support their participation in the imperialist U S armed forces. What we must do here is struggle against all forms of male chauvinism and oppression of women and struggle so that some day women will actively participate in the armed struggle to overthrow the capitalist system and build socialism in the U S.

3 We do not attack women who register or volunteer to join the U S armed forces. They are not the enemy. Capitalist oppression, which forces poor and working class men to join the military as the only alternative left to them, is jobs and educational opportunities denied them, they are driven to search for the opportunities the military uses to lure them (technical, train-

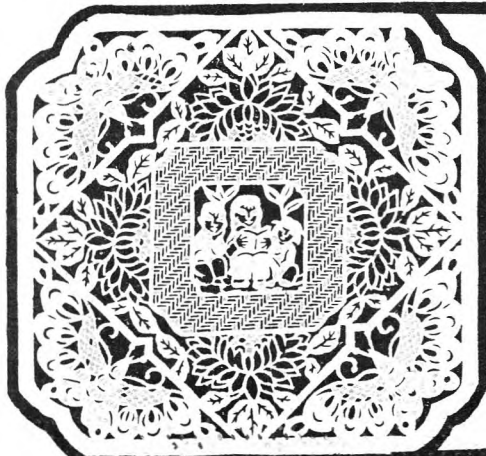
They are being tricked into serving in the imperialists' armed forces only to face a stark reality when they return home: drug addiction, unemployment, all kinds of abuse and discrimination, and possibly the loss of their lives. And all this in exchange for helping the imperialists in their wars of aggression against the oppressed peoples of the world.

### TASKS SUMMED UP

It is extremely important that we are not fooled by the current defeat of Carter's proposal on registration and the draft. The draft is coming our way, and we have to fight it now. We have to build a broad, anti-draft movement targeting on the U S imperialists and opposing the draft for both men and women (See pages 1,3 for more on this).

In this struggle we also have to expose the lies and hypocrisy in this society which offer "better opportunities" in the military in exchange for the destruction of lives and the oppression of people through imperialist war. We must develop consciousness to the fact that the solution to poverty and unemployment is not the military, but to struggle for our rights against capitalist oppression.

Finally, the anti-draft struggle as it stands now is definitely part of the struggle against the oppression of women. We must then strive to link the women's movement with the anti-draft, anti-war movement, and thus help to make women not only an ally but an active participant in the struggle against U S imperialism's war preparations.



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## COLORADO TEACH-IN

## Anti-draft, anti-war movement grows

By CORES (M-L M)

Over 400 students participated in a 3-day teach in entitled "The Mid East Crisis and the Danger of WW III" in Boulder, Colorado beginning Feb 28th. It was a good example of the mass activities that are taking place in the US as part of the spontaneous struggle against the growing danger of imperialist war. CORES was involved in the preparation of the event and participated in it. We are sharing this experience with the rest of the communist movement to help in clarifying what should be a communist approach to the task of opposing the two superpowers in the US and the danger of war.

Registration and the draft was the immediate concern for many of the people who attended the conference but the teach in was broadened to include many aspects of the danger of war and the current political situation world wide. Panel topics included Iran, Afghanistan, the draft and the lessons of the Vietnam war, US and Soviet foreign policy, oil and imperialism in the Middle East and the sources of a WW III. In this respect, through the course of the event, many people benefited from the struggle and discussions that deepened their awareness of the different stands on these questions.

Another positive factor of the event was that many different groups that had never worked together before came together based on their unity against a new draft and the danger of imperialist war. Thus, the foundation of the conference, its starting point was that war preparations and not that of the people of the US. This orientation was generally adhered to throughout the conference and by the end of the teach-in, it was clear that high-level of consciousness unity existed.

The resolutions passed by the conference included generally

**\*Opposition to registration and the draft of either men or women and active promotion of resistance to the draft and within the armed forces**

**\*Opposition to war preparations of the superpowers, especially those of the US including the MX missile system, neutron bomb, the rapid deployment force, new military bases, especially in the Middle East, military intervention, increases in the Pentagon budget, etc**

**\*Opposition to the use of the Middle East situation by Carter to step up war preparations, create war hysteria, cover over the economic crisis, etc**

**\*Investigation and organization against institutions and companies involved in war-related work and support for workers of the same facilities.**

**\*Opposition to nuclear power plants as a way to build US energy self sufficiency**

**\*Support for self-determination of Iran and Afghanistan and opposition to any interference or intervention by US. A call for the removal of foreign troops from Afghanistan. Support for the investigation of the Shah's crimes and a speedy, peaceful solution to the hostage situation.**

**\*Opposition to Senate Bill 1722 (modified S 1 bill) and any strengthening of the FBI or CIA including covert activities aimed at overthrowing other governments.**

**\*Support for the struggles of the Third World especially those aimed against US Imperialism.**

This is not a complete list but does generally reflect the issues that were agreed upon by the overwhelming majority of the participants.

In practice, it turned out that with this largely white audience, it was more difficult than we thought to get across the need to support the Third World struggle in general as a concrete step to postponing war preparations. We learned that to carry this general question out we needed to do a

special division of labor among our forces (who were mostly oppressed nationalities) to better build that consciousness and support.

## OUR APPROACH

CORES saw it as important to work with the forces sponsoring the teach in and worked to clarify and build from the basic unities against US war preparations. We saw that our primary task was to deepen the question of US imperialism, how it was one of the two superpowers and main enemies of the world's peoples, and how here in the US it sought to put the economic burden and war preparations on the people, and how it had to be struggled against. We think the conference achieved basic unity on these questions.

Secondarily, we saw the need to expose the role of Soviet social imperialism. We needed to go beyond the exposures done by the US capitalists. The important thing was to show that the Soviet Union was no longer a socialist country, to expose how the US was using Soviet aggression to improve its own position strategically and get the people to support its war preparations. We tried to emphasize that the way to struggle against Soviet Imperialism was not by relying on the US, but rather by the revolutionaries taking a stand independent from either of the two superpowers or any sector of the US bourgeoisie.

There has been discussion in the communist movement about the anti-imperialist slogan of "Down with the two superpowers" as a tactical line in this anti war work. This line could be interpreted in different ways. Based on our experience, this tactical line means exposing both superpowers in a relevant way, while concentrating on our own US bourgeoisie. As such, the line would be correct and would serve to broaden and consolidate the anti war movement. At the same time, if the line is interpreted to mean in practice "equal blows" at the two superpowers, not only would it be incorrect theoretically, but would not move the masses forward and instead could confuse them as to the direction of the main blow in the US.

We also saw as important to struggle and give guidance for more organization in the event, develop better avenues of democratic discussion and avert the anarchistic tendencies that characterized the anti Vietnam war era. This proved crucial to setting up conditions to better consolidate forces and strengthen them against disruption and diversion.

## THE CPUSA AND COUSML DEFENSE LAWYERS FOR THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

The need to support national liberation struggles, especially those aimed at US imperialism, was put forward in a number of different workshops. Some marsh forces attempted to deviate the discussion in order to cover for US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. In the workshop on Iran, for example, the COUSML shows its neo-Trotskyite line, tailored in Albania, by focusing on criticizing the Iranian revolution and its leaders, and not on US imperialism and its attacks on the Iranian people. The COUSML joined hands with other reactionaries in attacking Khomeini and the militants' take-over of the US embassy and hostages in an attempt to undermine the support of the great majority of the conference participants for the Iranian revolution. They failed badly in their attempt and in reality their action showed the people the opportunist force the COUSML is.

The CPUSA was another defender of imperialism. They attempted to divert the attention of the people from the real problems in the Middle East with their peddling of "detente" and the need for ratification of SALT II. This serves to hide the predatory, war-mongering nature of both



the US and the USSR. For the CPUSA, the superpowers, and not the masses, are the makers of history. These revisionists justified the Soviet Union's intervention in Afghanistan and despite all their claims of opposing the US bourgeoisie, their program calls not for the violent overthrow of the imperialist bourgeoisie, but for the outright revisionist "peaceful transition to socialism."

The CPUSA and the COUSML show with their participation in this conference that they are better defenders of the superpowers than the superpowers themselves.

## ON SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM

Dealing with the Soviet Union within the US movement is becoming an important question within the communist movement. These are the lessons we have drawn regarding that question.

As we have stated, in our view our main task is to expose the US bourgeoisie and develop the concrete struggle against its war preparations. The Soviet Union's aggression and its agents must also be combated. What did this mean specifically at the teach in?

Only around two of the more than ten workshops was an exposure of Russia our main concern. In relation to Afghanistan and Soviet foreign policy, we conducted some educational work to help people better understand the danger and nature of Soviet Imperialism. (Strangely enough, the CPUSA chose not to speak on either of these two panels, but simply "defended" the Soviet Union from the audience.)

And this is the way we approached the issue of Afghanistan. Given the conference's unclarity about Soviet Imperialism and beginning from the unities of the conference, our flyer proposed a resolution of

**"We support the right of self-determination for the Afghanistan people, free from any foreign intervention and call for all foreign troops out of Afghanistan. We oppose the moves by Carter to use the situation to step up war preparations here in the US."**

This resolution (not unlike the UN resolution) did not mention the Soviet Union by name but put forward the principle of self-determination and non-intervention. Tactically, it was a way to build on the unity of the conference and still aim a blow at the social-imperialists.

The CPUSA (and the Workers' World Party) opposed this resolution by trying to get self-determination and foreign troops stricken from the resolution. They were unsuccessful in convincing the body of the conference to strike out these points which was a good indication of the consciousness of the people.

Nor was the CPUSA able to obscure the Afghanistan question. Rather than defend

the Soviet Union military intervention, they tried to convince people that the bourgeois press had lied about international events in the past (eg the Vietnam war in the 60's) and that by implication they were lying too about Afghanistan. This went over no one. By the end of the conference, it was more than clear that to a certain extent these American people understood the danger of the Soviet Union as well as that of their own bourgeoisie.

Based on that experience and proceeding from our line, exposures of the Soviet Union are relevant in the cases that

1 Only by deepening people's consciousness could the real danger of war be explained. The US will fight that war with the Russians and failing to get this across will make the character of the war vague or imply that the Carter Doctrine is simply sabre rattling with no specific enemy in mind. This only plays into the hands of both superpowers.

2 We need to combat the anti communism of US' anti Russian propaganda, a so-called socialist country. If we allowed this to go unchecked it could be used for red baiting in the US or against the People's Republic of China.

3 To develop support for the struggles such as in Kampuchea and Afghanistan, aimed against Soviet imperialism. Only by exposing the facts of the so called Soviet "assistance" can we win over people to render support to Afghanistan etc.

4 To counteract that war hysteria of the US bourgeoisie. Failing to clarify the question of the SU would isolate us from the people who accept Carter's version of the Soviet danger. We can effectively build on the American people's consciousness and win them away from their own bourgeoisie's national chauvinism.

5 To expose that sector of the bourgeoisie that is providing technology, etc., to the Soviet Union, the appeasers.

6 To combat the "peaceful road to socialism" idea since its implications for the struggle in the US are just as suicidal as they were for Chile.

## ERROR

CORES made one significant error in the conference that deserves mention. A petition was presented to be endorsed by the conference—a letter to the Soviet people pointing out how the two superpowers' leaders (read government) were not able to solve international problems and that it was up to the peoples to do something to preserve world peace. We committed a leftist error of seizing on a secondary point (that the petition could imply all people want peace when the bourgeoisie of both superpowers do not) and belittled the general thrust, which was correct. This

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CORES-LPR JOINT STATEMENT

# Our work within the working class

The US multinational working class is the most and the only consistently revolutionary class in US society. It is both the leading class and the main force in the struggle for proletarian revolution. This, although it seems so clear and in words has almost universal acceptance in our movement, has to be consistently raised

Why? Because one of the major weaknesses of the US anti-revisionist communist movement is its lack of a real base in the working class. Without that base, all talk about a proletarian party is idle talk. We will never be the "general staff" or the "organized detachment" of the working class without being able to win over and recruit into our ranks the advanced elements of the class at this moment and great numbers of workers at a latter period.

The need for a more conscious effort with the working class, especially at the point of production and in the trade unions, can be and has in fact been understood in many different ways. While raising the strategic importance of concentrating in the working class, we uphold the view that it is party building and not fusion which is the central task today. The placing of all work in the context of party building is a correct view that both organizations uphold.

In upholding party building as the central task, both organizations have worked to develop a guiding line for our trade union and plant work. To a limited extent we have worked in plants and unions with other Marxist Leninists and have also shared sumups of this work with different communist groups. However, this has not gone far enough, largely due to the narrow view we have had of our tasks of uniting Marxist Leninists, doing propaganda and winning over of the advanced. The sectarianism of our two organizations as well as of the entire movement has also been an important factor.

Definitely, the task of establishing a real base among the working class, of fusing the working class movement with Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Zedong Thought, is one that goes far beyond the political, ideological and organizational strength of every US M-L formation. Not one of us, not even the arithmetic sum of all of us, is enough of a force to make fusion come about. The single, major step toward fusion would be the building of a genuine M-L Communist Party in our country, only that Party would create the necessary conditions to win over the working class movement to our side.

Does this mean that prior to the building of the party there would be no fusion

whatsoever? Does lack of a base among the working class respond solely to the absence of the party? Obviously not. Even the weakest and smallest of our pre-party formations can and must establish real ties with working class. That we cannot do it on a national basis without a party does not mean we cannot do it in a particular region, city or even a single factory or working class community. Without the party we cannot travel the whole road, but we have to begin walking up that road, and make real advances, if we are to build that party.

The strategy and tactics of US Marxist Leninists in their work among the working class is a fundamental question upon which principled unity must be achieved in our road towards the party. There is a real need for the summing up of the experience not only of individual organizations, but of the whole movement on the trade union question. There is also a definite need for more coordination, for joint work campaigns, etc., between different M-L formations on this crucial question. And very probably there is no other question in which it is so crucial to develop an uncompromising struggle against all sorts of opportunism. Without the defeat of all revisionist and opportunist trends, real fusion is not possible. Thus in the course of carrying out joint work, of summing up, of sharing experiences, of attempting to resolve existing differences, M-Ls are to raise the struggle against revisionism and opportunism within the working class movement to higher levels.

It is in this context that we are to look at the results that our organizations have had in their attempts to base themselves among the US multinational proletariat.

### BASING OURSELVES IN THE WORKING CLASS

Historically, both LPR and CORES have attempted to establish a base in the working class. We have sent cadres and contacts to work in plants in larger numbers than in any other area of work. This concentration has not brought the results we were expecting. Although a thorough sumup of each organization's line and practice in the trade union work is still to be made, we have identified fundamental unity in the main aspects of this question. Our unity on the approach and practice within the class allows us to move forward with the merger.

Overall, we feel that our limited resources, the low theoretical level of our organizations, the over-extended character of our mass work etc., contributed greatly to many of our failures in the work. These limitations

are of course evidence of our amateurishness, small size and working pretty much in isolation from the rest of the communist movement.

We have been able to make some progress in influencing working class people in the plants and trade unions we have worked in. For example, we are able to participate productively to some extent in strikes, strike committees, rank and file caucuses and union drives, some of which we initiated. Some of our cadres have been shop stewards, participated in contract committees and played good roles in some strikes. We have presented resolutions at union meetings which have been passed. We have even had some rank and file caucuses support some of the non-plant events we have participated in, such as around the third world liberation struggles, affirmative action work and women's movement work.

We have gained valuable experience and a grasp of the conditions of the working class in the locations and industries we have worked in. This will be useful to begin to participate in developing a program for the working class with other communists and advanced workers.

But in looking at how successful we have been in winning over the advanced which is crucial at this time, we see we have failed to do so. Far from being all pessimistic because of these failures, we are confident in that having been able to identify many of them and in understanding the reasons and sources of those failures, we are on the first step to rectifying them and moving forward in this strategically important work. By stepping up our tasks of uniting M-Ls, our work can definitely be improved. We also believe we can improve the local work in our areas, especially in finding more ways of building ties with the working class and broadening the scope of our work to reach more advanced workers.

### BRINGING SOCIALISM TO THE CLASS

In his monumental "Das Kapital", Marx made a thorough and all-round exposure of the capitalist system. He showed that capitalism is based on exploitation, the extraction of surplus value from the working class. He also demonstrated that the exploitation will not end as the result of the trade union struggle, the struggle of the workers against the individual bosses, but from a class struggle in which the working class overthrows the capitalists. The struggle would not be one of "a fair day's work for a fair day's wage" but rather had to be a struggle for the "abolition of the wage system". Obviously, Marx did not oppose the struggle for the improvement of better wages and working conditions under capitalism but instead was pointing out the necessity of going beyond the boundaries of capitalism to put an end to the workers' exploitation.

One of the basic problems we face in the trade union work is how to correctly link the struggle for the immediate needs of the working class with the struggle for its long range interests: socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. You overemphasize the struggle for economic demands while sacrificing the struggle for socialism and you become a militant trade unionist, you overemphasize the struggle for socialism, while belittling the immediate needs of the workers and you become isolated. You carry out both tasks in a correct way, making the struggle for immediate demands and reforms a revolutionary struggle and you



are contributing to the development of a real conscious working class movement.

In our experience, the one-sided emphasis in one or the other aspect of the working class movement has manifested itself many times and in many different ways. Overall in our work, we consider the tendency towards overemphasizing the trade union struggle, or economism, has been the predominant in our work, which has tended to be very narrow.

Our limitations in this respect have seriously held back our task of bringing Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Zedong Thought to the plants, of fusing the working class movement with socialism. Despite the hard work, dedication and commitment of our cadres to the great cause of the emancipation of the working class and all oppressed people from the yoke of US imperialism, the results of our plant work do not correspond in any way to the importance and great organizational efforts that we have historically assigned to it.

Some of the other problems we have identified and that are discussed somewhat in other places in this statement are closely connected to this failure of not being able to develop a revolutionary practice that concretely links the struggles for economic and other immediate demands in the plants with the struggle for socialism in the US.

One main weakness that has seriously hampered our ability to put forward socialist ideas to the working class where we have some influence or contact is our inconsistent communist propaganda and agitation. This is crucial in identifying and winning over advanced workers at this time.

The task of bringing scientific socialism to the working class has to be carried out in the course of our involvement in the day to day struggles. We must bring to the workers a broad range of political struggles that help them to grasp all the aspects of capitalism and go beyond the

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# Class movement



legal We have used the legal forms of participating in shop newsletter committees, rank and file caucuses, union meetings, grievance procedures, safety committees, etc., and also use illegal forms like communist propaganda, study circles, certain job actions, etc

In some of our work we have tended to be so "illegal" that our presence in a factory was secret from everyone including the workers. In other cases, we have made social democratic errors that led to the isolation from the workers or to firings before probation was even over. Both tendencies are incorrect. At the same time that we must keep in mind that the capitalists are our enemy, we must become better at the task of bringing socialism to our fellow workers.

## FUTURE DIRECTION

There are still other tasks which we will be undertaking to improve this work. Recognizing the necessity to participate in the trade unions, both organizations have struggled for union democracy, workers' safety, better working conditions, the rights of women and equality of nationalities. To further develop in this direction, we need to improve our capacity to raise these questions in day to day struggles as communists.

We both agree on participating in trade union conferences, study projects, and meetings with other Marxist-Leninists and with in the trade union movement. We are looking more to coordinate our work in the economic and political struggle with the rest of the communist movement. This is especially important when the movement is striving to break with tendencies of sectarianism.

relations of exploitation between the workers and the bosses. It is the task of educating the workers through summarizing their own experiences, of pointing out the way forward. In the process, workers become conscious of their role in society, of their relation with other classes and strata, the role of the bourgeoisie, the State, the police, the need for armed struggle, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## ON THE ADVANCED WORKERS

Both organizations have reaffirmed the line on the advanced workers. Our experiences confirm that in this period, we will not be able to win over the whole of the working class. But, because of their sympathy and influence over the broad masses of workers, the advanced constitute our link with the whole class. By winning them over to communism, we are in fact guaranteeing our future influence over the whole of the working class. Thus the strategic importance of advanced workers.

In our practice, we have made many errors in attempting to win over the advanced. We have either failed to identify those who were advanced, or we have identified as advanced those who were not. We equated militancy or intellectualism with being advanced. But, independently of which we sum up to be our main error, we have learned a valuable lesson: the advanced cannot be identified in the abstract. We learned that although discussions with workers and militant actions can help to identify advanced workers, we have tended to overlook that concretely they do come forward and develop in the context of the day to day struggles.

## LEGAL AND ILLEGAL WORK

A hallmark of communist work is the ability to combine legal and illegal work. This applies in the plants too where the livelihood of the workers is at stake. We use both in our work but particularly use the legal to strengthen and expand the il-

Qualitatively changing our ability to do communist work can serve the effort of uniting Marxist Leninists to build a genuine proletarian party.

We will strive to increase our knowledge on the trends in the communist movement concerning factory work and the working class itself. This would aid in improving our work and line as well as in enabling us to better participate in the development of Marxist Leninist unity on the trade union question. For similar reasons, we must investigate the trends within the labor movement so as to lay out the direction of our work. We will then be in a better position to allocate our forces in those sectors that have the most revolutionary potential.

We have reaffirmed the urgent need of a class analysis to identify sectors of the working class and its allies and enemies. Both organizations today and the new organization tomorrow look forward to working with others to conduct this work which is overwhelming for any one or two groups. By joining forces, we can all be in a better position to deal with our common problems.

Lastly, we have reaffirmed our view on the crucial role of propaganda and agitation, especially directed at the advanced, in eventually winning over the broad masses. This will encompass the national issues which affect the whole class and should be linked up to local struggles.

The U.S. bourgeoisie's motion towards a new imperialist war with the social-imperialists affects not only the working class but also the majority of the world's people. It is the responsibility of communists to bring this issue to the workers and oppressed people. In this period the work of uniting the Marxist Leninists and winning over of the advanced workers will be permeated with the question of war. This will be a good testing ground for our line and stand and provide excellent soil to ad-

vance the struggle for the building of the party.

We need to conduct exposures and work on the role of the labor aristocracy, imperialism, the roots of the economic and political crisis, the correct stand of the proletariat towards that war and all the urgent tasks against war preparations.

## REMAINING QUESTIONS

There are still a number of non-fundamental questions that will be resolved after the merger. First of all, both organizations have unity on the need to base ourselves in the working class. However, our strategic aim of concentrating on the working class can be implemented in various ways. We presently don't have unity on the tactics of concentration.

Secondly, both organizations have maintained in the past that the main blow is aimed at the social props. In the course of discussions, some unclarity has arisen on the part of LPR as to what this means and both organizations have agreed to further study the theoretical basis and practical implications of this formulation.

Thirdly, as a result of our practice in affirmative action work, both organizations have seen the need to reevaluate our positions on super seniority. Further sum up of our experiences in affirmative action work will therefore be continued after the merger.

In conclusion, we can say that despite these differences, CORES and LPR have fundamental unity on the trade union question. We are certain that the honest and self-critical way in which we are approaching the sum up of our line and practice in this area of work will enable us to correct our errors, further enrich the line and arrive at a position, as a single organization, on those questions still remaining to be resolved.

## PROGRESS REPORT

# Forward CORES - LPR merger!

Since our last progress report on the merger (see Resistance vol 10, no 10), our two organizations have decided to complete this work by Spring 1980. During the last few months we have continued to sum up our line and practice and have stepped up coordination of the organizations' tasks. From this process, a series of articles are being drafted detailing our positions on the woman question, the trade union question (in this issue), the national question, party building and the international situation (the latter appeared in Resistance vol 10, no 10 & vol 8, no 10).

Although we have not identified any fundamental differences, secondary differences, both old and new, have arisen in the course of merging. For some time we have handled these in the spirit of unity-struggle-unity with discussions and position papers circulated among rank and file, as well as liaison meetings between our respective leading bodies.

One of the lessons we have learned that we want to share with others is on the level of unity we should strive for in merging groups. This of course varies according to the concrete conditions in the movement and the level of development of the organizations themselves. In our particular case we found that we were taking too long in completing our merger, considering the high level of unity that exists between us.

In the course of summing up the progress of the merger we found that we had been falling into tendencies of wanting to

make the line 'fully developed', the tendency to view all differences or new positions which came out of the summing up as questions that had to be struggled out before the merger. These tendencies concretely meant that at times we lost sight of our main focus. Rather than proceeding on the basis of our unities, which were fundamental, we got deviated into trying to settle all of the differences immediately.

Although contradictions and line differences will always exist, not only between organizations, but within a single organization as well, these differences should not constitute an obstacle to merging unless they are fundamental. In our case, they were differences that could be resolved within the new organization, given our fundamental unity on all important questions.

The roots of these errors we have identified as our amateurishness, inexperience, and internal "left" tendencies (as described above). We proceeded to correct these errors by better implementing our original merger position and goals (see merger statement in Resistance, vol 10, no 5) in order to better practice what we had already agreed upon on principle.

Many in our movement have warned about 'endless debates' in the process of uniting Marxist Leninists. Though the warning is well taken, we also understand that many times such a warning is made in order to cover for the liquidation of struggle over differences. In our case, the realization of our error led us, not to the liquidation

altogether of the struggle over differences, but to the differentiation between fundamental and non-fundamental differences, seeking unity on the fundamental and leaving the non-fundamental to be resolved after the merger as a single organization. In this way, secondary differences that have arisen in the course of our merger process will not prevent us from working in the same organization and from collectively solving the problems of getting two previously separate organizations to function as a single democratic centralist organization.

Among the non-fundamental differences that we have set aside to be dealt with after the merger are the re-evaluation of our positions on ERA and super seniority, some tactical problems on the woman and trade union questions, mass work, etc. These differences will be resolved through the process of principled struggle, though the forms may vary. For example, differing positions on some of these issues will be circulated among cadres and also among friends from whom we welcome participation. The IWD/IWWD question is being handled in this manner (See Resistance vol 11, no 1).

Again, we want to reiterate to all comrades and friends to openly take part in the process of merger between CORES and LPR, to criticize, make recommendations, raise questions, etc. that can help clarify the issues and move forward the process, not only of the unity between us, but of all Marxist Leninists as well.

## WATER DECONTAMINATION REPORT

## Capitalism puts price tags on people's lives

How much is your life worth under this system we live in? It all depends on where you live, how much money you earn, how much taxes you pay, what's your training, what type of job you have, the color of your skin, your nationality, sex and other similar factors. And, who determines the value of your life? The ruling class in this country and their representatives (read lackeys) in government

A recent report on cancer-causing agents was done as a result of the Love Canal incident in Niagara Falls. At the Love Canal site, industries had been dumping toxic chemicals for years. Had it been up to the state, these families would have died in Love Canal without knowing what was killing them, but the residents of Love Canal put up a fight when the facts became known to them. The state government was forced to pay \$22 million to relocate the families.

Right after the Love Canal occurrence, the NY State Health Commissioner, David Axelrod, commissioned a study to determine which communities' water supply would be decontaminated of cancer-caus-

ing agents. This study was done in order to prevent further government expenditures to evacuate families from places where toxic chemicals in water are found. In fact, it has become a tool for the bourgeoisie to determine which communities are to be free of the threat and which will remain threatened.

What does the report do? It recommends that the cancer-causing agents be removed from rich communities, but not from poor communities. It grossly goes on to place prices on people's lives. As was disclosed in New York Magazine of the week of March 3, 1980, a senior citizen of Brooklyn's Brighton Beach community is worth \$60 thousand, while a Scarsdale broker is worth \$1 million, and so on. When asked about the report, Axelrod answered that "social decisions have to be made" and equated this to the state's school system where "affluent people pay more taxes and have better schools." In fact what Axelrod means is that the rich gets to live, while the working class, the national minorities and other poor communities don't have that right.

Other state officials have similar views. For example, State Senator John Daly, although calling the study "cold-blooded as hell", in the same breath asks "Can you give me a better way?"

Yes, there is a way. That industries not be allowed to dump toxic wastes in our water supplies. And that all communities with cancer-causing agents in their water supplies be immediately decontaminated. Human lives are endangered by this accepted daily procedure. But the bourgeoisie is not interested in human lives, their profits are more important to them. It is up to us to organize ourselves and put a stop to this.

What does the report mean for us? First, of all, it shows the hypocrisy of a system in which we're told "every man is created equal." Obviously, some are created "more equal" than others. And again obviously, the working class, the national minorities and other poor people of this country are not part of this sector which is "more equal." For the working class, the national minorities and other poor sectors of this

country, who in their daily lives come in contact, directly and indirectly, with all kinds of health hazards, it means that the bourgeoisie is threatening our existence with one more weapon. The decontamination of the water based on the income of a community once again reminds us of the fact that the majority of people in this country, the working class, have no control over our own lives. We, who create all the wealth of this country, are looked upon as expendable commodities by the few who have control of that wealth.

The fact that a report of this kind was commissioned is another sign of the deepening economic and political crisis in the US. The incapability of the capitalist system of solving this crisis drives it more and more to fascist measures in order to secure its profits. Decontaminating the water supply of some rich communities while leaving the contamination in other, poorer ones, is an outright case of genocide that cannot be tolerated. And it will not be long till the people will rise up in outrage to overthrow this oppressive system!

## POLICE BRUTALITY

Continued from first page

rian way" Yes, exactly as you read it, they said "more humanitarian." The police officials expand "Instead of having to use the club or the revolver to control a possible attacker, the police can use mace that creates a non permanent damage in the eyes that would cause such discomfort that the assailant would not be able to cause major problems for the arresting officer." (This is almost a direct quote from an explanation given in an NBC interview)

Now we ask: What happens after the mace is sprayed? Because the cop still has

do now is think that somebody "looks" suspicious in order to search that person "legally." And we don't have to comment on who cops will think "look" suspicious, we know that the victims of this new fascist ruling will be none other than oppressed nationality people in particular.

At the same time that more weapons are being given to the cops, Mayor Koch, the same one that is criminally closing down schools, hospitals and other social services in our communities, is leading a holy crusade against "weapons" or to be

protect themselves and their families from the attacks that, independently of who is the direct perpetrator, are always the responsibility of this barbaric system of exploitation that is the US capitalist society. How can they expect that we sit with our arms crossed and allow the police to get all kinds of hardware to suppress us while they attempt to take from us whatever small means of defense we have? **The right to bear arms and to use them in self-defense is a democratic right of all citizens and we advocate and will actively organize in its defense.**

It is important for all revolutionary and progressive-minded people to take up the struggle against the further militarization of police and proposed gun control policies, as well as the struggle against police brutality in general. The opposition to the use of mace and shotguns by cops in NY or any other city is a correct demand that should be part of our program of struggle against police brutality. The struggle for the right to armed self defense is also a correct demand that should and must be put forward.

In the course of struggle, as we move toward developing a mass opposition to police brutality, we have the responsibility of summing up our experiences, taking into account the rich history of struggle against police brutality that exists in this and other countries, in order to develop a correct program of struggle that responds to the needs and aspirations of the oppressed people of this country. Based on that history of struggle, we can say that our program has to be a revolutionary program, one that in no way contemplates the possible conciliation with the police. That history of struggle clearly shows that the police is not on the side of the masses, cannot be won over to the side of the masses, or even that the masses cannot "control" them in such a way that they no longer serve their role in capitalist society.

The masses have learned, time and again in this country, that no amount of "community control" of the police, or "more minority cops", etc., can change the character and role played by the police in capitalist society. The oppressed masses in

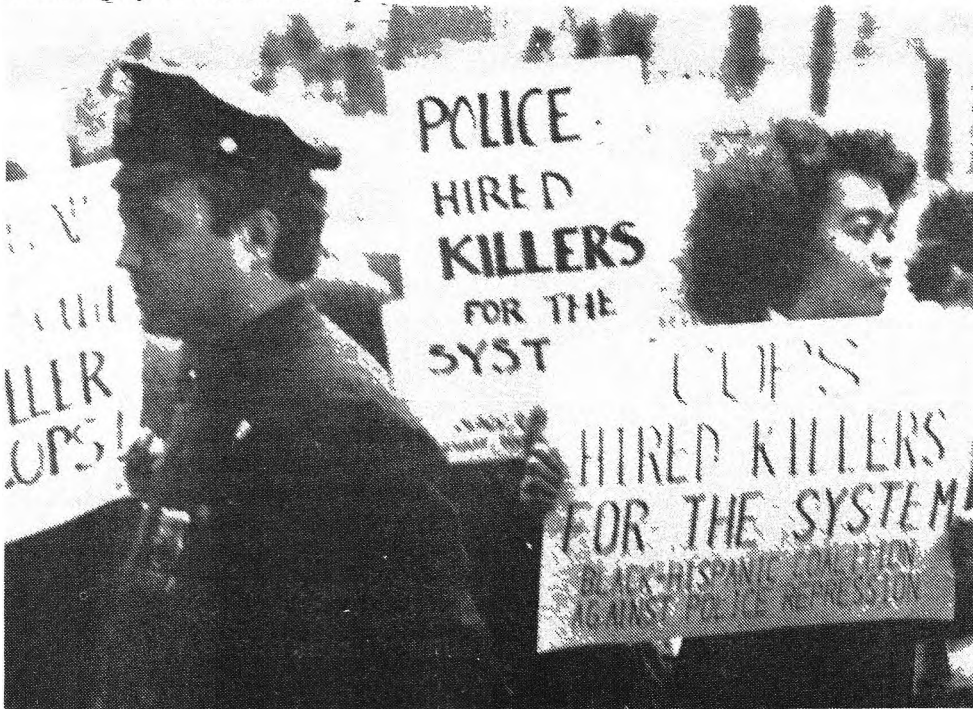
the US have fought for, and in many cases won, programs that supposedly have civilians watch over or supervise and judge, the activities of the police (such as civilian review boards, which have been implemented in hundreds of cities in the US). They have ample experience to show that all these programs have only served to deviate them from the real aims of the struggle to stop police brutality, and have ended in frustration of honest people and the cooptation of the movement by reformists, hack politicians, and even by the very police. They have thus learned that those "civilian" review boards will find police murders to be within the "legal and proper police procedures", that Grand Jury investigations will fail to get indictments of killer cops, and that it is only mass militant actions that can in any way beat back police repression.

The police is definitely part of the capitalist state apparatus. Its role is to protect the interests of the ruling capitalist class keeping the oppressed class in line by the sheer force of arms, jails, and the whole system of bourgeois courts, the Grand Jury, the office of the DA, etc. all of which work hand in glove. Therefore, there is no way that we can change the character of the police, of whose interests they serve, without changing the whole capitalist system in a radical way. That is why we say our program of struggle against police brutality has to be a revolutionary one. This means that we cannot rely on the bourgeois courts and politicians, on the so-called official investigations, on "community control" of the police and so on, which are nothing but illusions that have already been shattered by the practice of the masses in the history of our country. Our program thus is one that calls for revolutionary mass struggle, as the real path towards ending police brutality and oppression.

NO MORE WEAPONS  
FOR THE POLICE!

FIGHT POLICE BRUTALITY!

DEMAND THE RIGHT  
TO ARMED SELF-DEFENSE!



The repressive role of the police in capitalist society is put out loud and clear by these demonstrators.

his club and his revolver—since these were not substituted by the mace. Then the mace really becomes another weapon that can be used not just as a substitute, but in addition to the club and the revolver. It would definitely be a lot easier to club and/or shoot somebody under the effects of mace when he or she cannot fight back and is not even capable of seeing their killer. "More humanitarian?" Balloney. More repressive and inhuman in fact.

The shotguns are even worse. A policeman with a track record of shooting first and asking questions later, of shooting in the backs of Black and Latino kids as a sport (remember Clifford Glover, Randy Evans, etc., etc.) is now granted a shotgun to be able to shoot wholesale. This will make their actions even bolder and more repressive. Killer cops are free to kill and on the loose in NY city and now with more weapons than ever.

To make this all even worse, a NY judge ruled in favor of allowing the police to search without a warrant. All a cop has to

more precise, against the right of the people to bear arms. He is talking about one year mandatory sentence to whoever is found guilty of "illegal" possession of a weapon. As you know, in this country "illegal" means if you are poor and oppressed, because if you are rich, if you own a business, if you have a bigshot profession, etc., you can legally have all kinds of weapons.

Obviously, Koch and for that matter, all the proponents of gun control in this country, are not proposing to disarm the KKK. Nothing farther from their minds. Nor are they talking about taking the guns away from the John Birch Society and other right wing organizations that have all kinds of hardware. They are not talking either of taking away the guns from organized crime, the big drug pushers, prostitution and gambling operations. No, all of these can legally have weapons and the police is there to guarantee that right.

The weapons they want are the ones oppressed people have to carry in order to

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EXCERPTS

# LENIN on War and Peace

"War is politics continued by other (i.e., forcible) means"

This famous dictum belongs to one of the profoundest writers on military questions, Clausewitz. Rightly, the Marxists have always considered this axiom as the theoretical foundation for their understanding of the meaning of every war. It is from this very standpoint that Marx and Engels regarded wars.

Social-Democracy has never regarded and does not regard war from a sentimental point of view. Unswervingly denouncing wars as a brutal method of deciding the disputes of mankind, Social-Democracy knows that wars are inevitable as long as society is divided into classes, as long as the exploitation of man by man exists. And in eliminating this exploitation we will not be able to get by without wars which the exploiting, dominating and oppressing classes always and everywhere begin themselves.

From "The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government" (published in *Proletarii*, No. 7, July 10, 1905)

★★★

The Socialists have always condemned wars between peoples as barbarous and bestial. Our attitude towards war, however, differs in principle from that of the bourgeois pacifists and Anarchists. We differ from the first in that we understand the inseparable connection between wars on the one hand and class struggles inside of a country on the other, we understand the impossibility of eliminating wars without eliminating classes and creating Socialism, and in that we fully recognize the justice, the progressivism and the necessity of civil wars, i.e., wars of an oppressed class against the oppressor, of slaves against the slave-holders, of serfs against the landowners, of wage-workers against the bourgeoisie. We Marxists differ both from pacifists and Anarchists in that we recognize the

necessity of an historical study of each war individually, from the point of view of Marx's dialectical materialism.

From "Socialism and War" (July-August 1915)

★★★

How, then, can the "real nature" of a war be ascertained, how can it be determined? War is the continuation of politics. We must study the politics that preceded the war, the politics that led to and brought about the war. If the politics were imperialist politics, i.e., politics in the interests of finance capital, of the robbery and oppression of colonies and foreign countries, then the war that emerged from these politics is an imperialist war. If the politics were national-liberation politics, i.e., the expression of a mass movement against national oppression, then the war that emerged from these politics is a war for national liberation.

The philistine does not understand that war is a "continuation of politics," and therefore limits himself to saying, "the enemy is attacking," "the enemy is invading my country," without trying to understand *why*, by *which* class, and for *what* political object the war is being conducted.

From "A Caricature of Marxism and 'Imperialist Economism'" (August-October 1916)

★★★

The position, however, is that to understand the present war we must first take a general view of the policies of the European powers as a whole. We have not to take individual examples, or individual cases, which can always be easily torn out of the context of social phenomena and are valueless because an opposite example can also be easily cited. No, we have to take the entire policy of the entire system of European states in their economic and political interrelation, if we are to understand how this system steadily and inevitably gave rise to the present war.

From "War and Revolution" (May 14, 1917)



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## Build for Chicano Moratorium celebrations

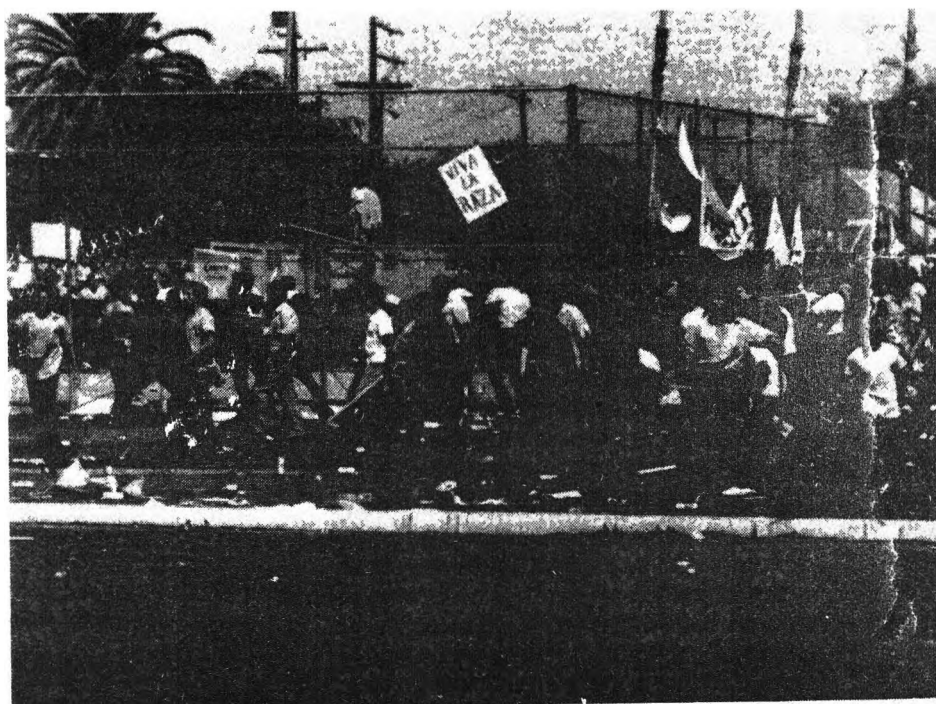
Over 300 people, mostly Chicanos, met in Los Angeles on February 17th at the National Unity Organizing Conference sponsored by the August 29th Chicano Moratorium Coalition. The conference was an important step toward the commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the Chicano Moratorium. The August 29th Chicano Moratorium in which more than 20,000 demonstrated in Los Angeles against the war in Indochina and the oppression of the Chicano people by US imperialism has become an important revolutionary symbol of struggle of the Chicano people against national oppression.

As the US political and economic crisis has worsened, the Chicano people, like others, have increased their spontaneous struggle, not only against the general exploitation by the US ruling class but also against the specific manifestations of oppression aimed at their culture, language, nationality. Thus, the struggles on the campuses to safeguard minority programs, struggles against stepped-up police brutality and killings, the struggles in New Mexico and

Colorado to regain stolen land, struggles to safeguard the democratic rights of Mexican immigrants, etc., have all been a part of the Chicanos' answer to the everyday increasing attacks of the US bourgeoisie who in its drive for war has escalated the exploitation and oppression of the multi-national working class, the oppressed nationalities and women.

In our view, the intensification of the national oppression of Chicanos by the US bourgeoisie has brought as a result a new awakening among the Chicano people. It's the responsibility of all US MLs and other progressive and revolutionary people to assist and support the just struggle of the Chicano masses for their full democratic rights and equality with each and every other nationality in the US.

CORES and LPR attended the conference and are committed to help make the 10th anniversary of the Chicano Moratorium a real success. In the near future we will be putting forward our views of the plans for the celebration, points of unity, some aspects of the Chicano struggle, etc.



## CANNON FODDER

Continued from first page

at each step, and there are many attempts to deviate the resistance movement towards a reformist path. They try, for example, to sabotage the efforts of taking up the right of oppressed nations to self-determination to its logical conclusion—concrete material and political support for national liberation movements. As a matter of fact, the need to develop consciousness on this question is one of the tasks of Marxist Leninists within this struggle.

Regarding the question of war, social democrats are basically bourgeois pacifists who oppose war in itself and adopt a pacifist attitude towards it. For them there is no difference between imperialist wars and wars for national liberation and socialist revolution. They do not recognize the inevitability of war under the imperialist system, and spread the view that it is possible to avoid war—by defeating war-mongering politicians, through the election of so-called “pacifist” and “progressive” politicians. It is not mere chance that many of them promote the candidacies of Jerry Brown and Ted Kennedy, in opposition to those of Carter and Reagan, as a way of combatting the draft and the war danger.

The work of the social democrats helps to a great extent the work of revisionists, who also spread false illusions and reformist solutions to the problem. For them, all is solved with “detente” between the two superpowers and with the ratification of SALT II. Obviously, it is the task of MLs in this struggle to clarify the question of what is war, what are the different types of war, and what should be our attitude towards each one of these.

The anti-war movement creates very favorable conditions for the work of MLs. Objectively, it creates a pool of hundreds of thousands of young people who have been mobilized against the war for different reasons (EG they don't want to join the army, they don't think the reasons given for registration are correct, they don't feel the Afghanistan issue is sufficient reason, they don't believe in violence, they oppose it for religious or philosophical reasons, etc.), but the fact that they do oppose it gives us the opportunity to reach them through our work and propaganda and agitation. It is crucial that we utilize this opportunity in a correct way and not allow right or “left” errors to keep us lagging behind isolated from the masses in the struggle.

At this moment we see the tasks of communists within the anti-draft, anti-war movement as follows:

**1 to participate actively** in the different anti-draft coalitions that have been formed citywide and nationwide, in colleges, schools, communities, etc. This is so, independently of who has the upper hand in these coalitions.

**2 to promote and defend the ML principle of uniting all those that can be united in this struggle.** We have to oppose all sectarian attempts to narrow down this broad mass movement so that it serve as a front for one tendency or another. One of the areas in which this danger is greater is regarding the superpowers. The revisionists and many of the Trotskyites try by all means to get the movement to adopt its counterrevolutionary point of view of the Soviet Union as a “socialist” peace-loving country that respects the freedom of other nations. The specific case of Afghanistan and the rejection of the Soviet invasion of that country by many of the forces composing the anti-draft, anti-war movement showed how the revisionists and their followers are a source of division that deviate, split and therefore, weaken this movement.

Although up to this moment it has not been manifested in terms of a clearly defined line, there is the danger that some comrades who uphold the correct thesis of the three worlds mistakenly attempt to make opposition to both superpowers a basis of unity of this movement. We believe that unity has to be based on opposition to the draft and imperialist war. These two principles provide a broad

basis of unity to develop a great mass movement against the imperialists' strategy and at the same time allows MLs to put forward particular points of view around the issues confronted by this movement.

**3 to stress the need to provide concrete support for national liberation struggle,**



Veterans are a very important sector of the anti-draft, anti-war movement. Here a Vietnam veteran tells anti-war demonstrators of oppressive conditions faced

gates, in particular those spearheaded against US imperialism. We have to concretely link our opposition to imperialist war with the struggles waged by oppressed peoples and nations of the third world for national liberation and against imperialist war. In fact, some of the coalitions (the one at Columbia, for example) have taken correct positions condemning the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the US attacks against Iran. We have to promote the understanding among our people on the role of the third world—detering imperialist war.

**4 to concretely denounce the role of the Soviet Union in the world today.** It is not a matter of merely talking about Soviet social imperialism (of which in fact we do have to talk about a lot in our propaganda and agitation) but of proving in concrete terms what it is that the Soviets are doing in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Ethiopia, etc. We have to combat the revisionists, Trotskyites and other opportunists who reduce imperialism to the US.

**5 to combat anti-communism.** We have to be very careful in our exposures of the Soviet Union so that we don't commit the error of feeding on the anti-communist sentiments that exist in wide sectors of the anti-war movement. Many are opposed to the actions of the Soviet Union but claim that the problem is in that the Soviets are communists. In this light their opposition to the Afghanistan invasion, the occupation of Kampuchea, etc. are positive. But it could be a serious right error not to combat backward ideas among the masses simply because those ideas may lead to positions that in general coincide with ours.

**6 to raise socialism** as ultimately the solution. The need for socialism, the need for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country is a demand that we are to propose as a point of unity for a mass coalition. But we have the responsibility, the unavoidable responsibility, may we say, of raising the question of socialism, of explaining to the people, in the course of the anti-draft struggle, that as long as imperialism exists imperialist wars will exist and therefore the draft for imperialist wars will also exist. Failure to do this would be a serious right error that would help the opportunist forces to maintain a grip on the anti-draft movement.

Our strategic goal of transforming the imperialist war to a civil war for the defeat and overthrow of our own bourgeoisie

thus has to be raised. And it is a matter of correctly fighting for the interests of the working and oppressed people today (opposing the registration and the draft), without sacrificing the propaganda and agitation for the long term goal—the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. We have to make the struggle against the draft

We must then bring this issue into the shops and trade unions. Not only because there are many workers of recruitment age, but because it is the sons and daughters of workers that are marked as future cannon fodder in the event of war. The working class is the most revolutionary class in our society and its participation is a determining factor of how successful the anti-draft, anti-war movement will be.

Special attention has to be placed on women—who must now face the draft directly, and on high school students. The latter, after graduating or dropping out of school, will be confronted with no jobs, no college education, etc., and the draft will appear to many of them as the only alternative left open.

**8 to develop a relentless struggle against social democracy, revisionism and Trotskyism within the movement.** It is crucial to develop this struggle correctly so as to help us win people over to the correct line rather than isolate us from the masses in struggle. We are not to expose the opportunists and ask the genuine forces to walk out with us. First and foremost we are to actively take part in the struggle without sacrificing our independence and initiative. This is at the crux of the matter.

It is not a matter of trying to outmaneuver the marsh forces, of “sneaking” in a speaker or of having people unite with us under an incorrect line. It's a matter of putting forward a program of struggle that can, in fact, lead the movement in a revolutionary path.

It's not a matter of denouncing the Trotskyites, because they believe in the theory of “permanent revolution.” Nor is it a matter of denouncing the revisionists because they push the theory of “peaceful transition to socialism.” It's not even a question of denouncing the social democrats because they support a particular wing of the Democratic Party, but of pointing out how at each step these forces come out with proposals, slogans, resolutions, etc., that are incorrect, that weaken the struggle, etc.

**9 to promote serious, open and above-board discussion** on the different political lines that we, the ML forces involved in this key issue, uphold. We should promote joint work wherever possible, unified slogans, etc. This will not only help us in better combatting opportunism within the anti-war movement, but also help us improve the relations among the genuine forces in this country.

So, let's move forward comrades, let's get to work in the anti-draft movement, let's make it part and parcel of the struggle against US imperialism. Let's make sure that the spontaneous struggle of today is the conscious struggle of tomorrow!

## TEACH-IN

Continued from page 3

error played into the hands of the CPUSA and the petition was withdrawn as a resolution.

## SUMMATION

Overall, we feel that our work in the conference was productive because of the line and tactics, the consciousness and genuine anti-imperialist aspirations of the people, the blatant opportunism of the CPUSA and the blatant actions of the two superpowers in war preparations. We plan to continue to work with various forces and will strive to help build this movement, continuing to build on the positive results of the conference.

We also learned that many of the young elements in this movement do not have a direct or clear grasp of the anti-Vietnam war or anti-draft movements of the 60's. Erroneous ideas from that time have not yet been rejected by this movement, such as reformism (write your congressmen), pacifism (mystical approaches to opposing the draft), etc. The absence of significant

working class participation, the lack of a genuine party, etc., will also take their toll and unfortunately, could result in unnecessary repetition of previous errors. We summarized that that history will need to be explained and summed up to this movement especially by the communist forces and that consequently, the Marxist Leninists must acquire a more detailed grasp of that history.

We see that the real qualitative step in advancing this work among the US people to postpone the outbreak of WW III would be the principled uniting of Marxist-Leninist forces. This should be clear to every one. In this vein, we and LPR will continue concrete efforts to break down whatever sectarianism and big organization chauvinism that remains in our movement. In this way, we can all struggle for unity on a correct line, approach and practice. Then our individual efforts can have a direct bearing in clarifying a correct direction to oppose superpower war preparations (especially those of the US) and aid in the establishing of a new communist party.