

# RESISTANCE

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POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION M-L

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

## Overturn Bakke Decision !!



## Smash the K K K !!

The history of the multinational working class and oppressed masses in the U.S. is characterized by long years of intense struggles against national oppression, against the slavery, racial discrimination and brutal exploitation of oppressed nationalities. The special admission programs in colleges and schools, special hiring procedures in industries such as steel, and other "affirmative action" programs designed to increase the participation of minorities in educational, housing and employment opportunities were concessions forced out of the bourgeoisie through the struggle of the 60's. Now that the imperialists are suffering a world-wide crisis, they are striving to make workers and oppressed people pay for that crisis by cutbacks in salaries, services and benefits gained. Affirmative action programs are one of their targets. They are currently under consistent attacks by the racist U.S. bourgeoisie, by cuts in funding, as well as by the complete elimination of such programs.

### BAKKE CASE

The Californian Supreme Court's decision of last year on the Bakke suit is an example of these attacks. Briefly: the Medical School of California at Davis admits 100 medical students every year. Under its "affirmative action" program, 16 of these 100 slots are assigned to minority applicants. Allan Bakke, a rejected white applicant, filed a suit against the University, alleging "reverse discrimination" and a violation of equal rights according to the 14th amendment of the U.S. constitution. The California Supreme Court upheld his claim against the "affirmative action" program, and the case is currently being appealed in the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Bakke decision is a heavy blow against the rights of minorities, and already thousands of workers and oppressed people throughout this country are waging a militant struggle to demand the overturning of that decision. Its effects are not limited merely to the guarantee of minority admissions to the Medical School of the University of California at Davis. It establishes the legal precedent for the elimination of many such programs throughout the country, not just in education, but also in labor contracts and in housing. The Bakke case, constitutes the stepping stone for far-reaching attacks against the hard-won gains of oppressed minorities in the U.S. The most reactionary sectors of the bourgeoisie are using Bakke's claim that he was rejected from

Continues on page 3 ...

The KKK rides again. This time not on horses but cars. Their victims are Mexicans this time and as always, they will be rewarded by the bourgeoisie. Imperial Wizard, David Duke announced the mobilization of hundreds of fascist thugs to patrol the U.S.-Mexico borders in order to stop Mexican workers from crossing the border. Despite government allegations that they oppose the KKK involvement in the repression against the Mexicans, they already pay the Migra for that, it's clear that the KKK is not acting alone. This is definitely a highly organized plan to prepare public opinion for the escalation of the repression against Mexican immigrants as well as other undocumented workers.

In a violent, racist attack, Duke said that "by the year 2000, Mexican population will double. Most of those animals will try to come to our country to rob our jobs; to take our hospitals and schools, to cheat the government and get welfare and food stamps. We have to stop them now before they run us out of our country." (EL DIARIO, LPR's TRANSLATION) The KKK views are very similar to the labor bureaucrats that have started the "Buy American" campaign. The idea is to blame oppressed nationalities in general, and the undocumented workers in particular for all the problems and misery the broad masses are suffering as a result of the economic crisis.

By spreading such lies as that unemployment, high prices, deteriorating housing conditions, etc., are caused by the foreign born, the bourgeoisie fosters wide division among the people. This is the old 'divide and rule' trick.

It's clear that the KKK has to be stopped and it's also clear that only the organized effort of the masses can stop the Klan, and smash the KKK once and for all! The lives of the Mexican

workers have to be protected, their democratic rights to a decent job, housing, schools, medical services, etc. have to be defended.

We have to oppose the Klan in a massive way. It's not a question of writing letters to politicians, nor of court injunctions, etc. The KKK is as much part of this system as are the police, the courts, the politicians. And only idealists or thorough opportunists can put forward that the capitalists are going to repress themselves. The road to follow is one of mass actions, of mobilizing the broad masses to deal with the KKK as the fascist thugs, criminals and enemies of the people that they are.

The opposition to the Klan among the masses is strong and correctly organized we can rally the broad sectors of the population in this struggle. Although the issue at this moment is the Klan, we cannot forget that in the last analysis the KKK is just a front for the bourgeoisie; and it's one of our tasks to correctly show the masses the relation that exists between the KKK the Immigration and Naturalization Department, and the rest of the state apparatus that exercises the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie against the working class and other oppressed peoples in this country.

LPR-ML calls on all comrades and friends to join the struggle against the KKK and other racist bigots. We have to stop this fascist menace.

SMASH THE KKK!

DOWN WITH NATIONAL OPPRESSION AND RACISM!

PERMANENT RESIDENCE FOR UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS!

WORKERS OF ALL NATIONALITIES UNITE!

## \* inside:

### Dare to struggle, dare to win!



Andrés Figueroa Cordero raises the Puerto Rican flag at the San Juan airport.

The masses have freed Andres.!, after long struggles demanding the unconditional freedom of this Puerto Rican nationalist political prisoner held for 23 years in a Federal Penitentiary for his participation in the 1954 attack on the U S Congress.

The firm stand against any collaboration with the State taken by Andres and the remaining four nationalist prisoners are an example of the courage and determination of the Puerto Rican people to win their independence from U.S. imperialism. We are certain that, like Vietnam, a small nation like Puerto Rico can defeat a big and powerful enemy like the U.S. imperialism -- if it only dares to take its destiny in its own hands and dares to struggle, and dares to win!"

Andres has come back to fully integrate himself in the struggle from which he was never absent. Surely the Puerto Rican masses, led by their vanguard party, will one day soon complete the task to which Andres Figueroa Cordero has dedicated his life and his freedom.

FREE PUERTO RICO NOW!  
FREE THE FOUR NATIONALIST PRISONERS!

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\*

# WOMEN HOLD UP HALF THE SKY

The complete emancipation of women is a long and complex process of struggle. In order for it to become a reality, the society under which women live must be one free from the exploitation of man by man. In our world today, there are societies which indeed have eliminated this kind of exploitation, and subsequently are advancing in the road of women's emancipation.

The People's Republic of China and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are two countries which have made tremendous strides in the field of women's emancipation. Previous to the socialist revolution, women in China and Albania had a low social status and were bound to this position by feudal and bourgeois ideas. Today, under the dictatorship of the proletariat and on the road of building socialism, women are well on the road of real emancipation. Under socialism, China and Albania have laid the foundations for the true liberation of women. During and after their wars of liberation, the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania waged a campaign against the feudal ideas about women then existing in both these two countries. Both countries were under the influence of retrograde ideas in regards to women, stemming from the feudal relations, such as seeing women as inferior to men, as a means of increasing the family wealth, under the direct authority of men, etc. To break with these ideas, both parties carried out campaigns of education and conscientization around the woman question. In China, for example, a fight against the old teachings of Confucius and Mencius on all fronts developed. In Albania, a similar fight against feudal ideas was waged under the leadership of the PLA.

Most importantly, in the struggle for woman's emancipation, both parties have created certain conditions to insure woman's participation in the process of social production and correctly placed importance in the fact that woman must take an active part in leading this struggle.

The Albanian and Chinese women have seen great changes in their role in society and have taken a position in the front ranks for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and consequently, their own position. Whereas in the old society the Chinese and Albanian women were kept in the home, few participated in the production process and those who did received starvation wages; today, millions of women have joined the ranks of the labourers--in the city and in the countryside. In Albania, for example, in 1938 there were only 668 women in work relations outside the home; in 1971, there were 167,621 working in the city and 189,081 in the countryside. This is 47% of the labor force, and almost 1/2 of the adult populations (Figures taken from Albania Today, #2, March-April 1973). In the city of Tientsin, China, there were 24,000 women workers at the foundation of the People's Republic, in 1974 there were 530,000 women workers in state-owned and collectively-owned industrial enterprises. (Taken from Peking Review #12, 1974).

In both countries women have gained a number of rights that are written into the state law and constitution--freedom of marriage (for both sexes), monogamy, equal rights with men, equal pay for equal work, laws protecting the rights of mother and children, education, social security, etc. The state provides for maternity homes, health care, child care centers, etc., in order to aid women to go out to do work in production. In China for example, there are special regulations for the protection of women, giving special consideration to women "in four periods--menstrual, pregnancy, maternity and nursing... Maternity leave is 56 days with full pay; in cases of difficult births, it is 70 days. Nursing



Chinese women all workers.

mothers are given time off to feed their infants twice a day during working hours and they can put their infants in the nurseries run by the mills." (P.R. #13, 1974)

The Albanian constitution is an example of the care taken by the socialist state of women in particular and the family in general:

#### ARTICLE 46

*"The women, liberated by the peoples' revolution from political oppression and economic exploitation, takes an active part in the socialist construction of the country and the defence of the motherland."*

*"The woman enjoys equal rights with man in work, pay, holidays, social security, education, in all social-political activities as well as in the family."*

#### ARTICLE 47

*"Mother and child enjoy special solicitude and protection. A mother is entitled to paid leave prior to and after childbirth. The state opens maternity homes and creches and kindergartens for the children."*

The Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of China's correct line have brought the women of China and Albania into not only the economic but the social-political lives of these countries. These women have taken up their responsibility in building the socialist motherland and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the political sphere, these two glorious parties have, in implementing their mass line, stressed the need for the active participation of women through meetings, mass social controls, speaking, writing, voting and many other ways. Without the participation in the political life on the part of the women, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat would be impossible.

Women in China and Albania participate in the political life of the country at all levels. In the highest representative body of the state of Albania (The People's Assembly), for example, while in 1946, 3.6% of the representatives were women, in 1970 this percentage rose to 27.2%. In the 1970 elections of the People's Councils at all levels, the percentage of women deputies was 45.8%. Of those people elected as judges and assistant judges, 33.8% were women. In the field of education women are encouraged to advance and are given time off work and pay in full to study.

Both the CPC and the PLA have correctly understood the need to involve women and have proven our great teacher Marx's words: "Anybody who

knows anything of history knows that great social changes are impossible without the feminine ferment."

All these changes taking place in the economic and political spheres translate themselves in changes in the family life and relations. As the teachers of Marxism-Leninism have taught us, the family is a small reproduction of what goes on in society at large. The Albanian and Chinese women have in their husbands, brothers, sons, etc. a source of strength; and both, men and women together, are changing the feudal, bourgeois and retrograde relations within the family. They have developed a relationship of comradeship, mutual respect and help in the matters of the home and the state. Wang Tse, a worker in a Peking cotton mill correctly summed-up:

*"We cannot discuss women's liberation, women's independence, and women's freedom in isolation. I'm not for what is called women's rights in and for itself, as opposed to men's rights. We cannot make the men our target of struggle. Oppression of women is class oppression. When we talk about this we must remember that the liberation movement of women cannot be separated from the liberation of the proletariat. It is a component part of the proletarian revolution."*  
(Peking Review, #10, 1973)

Although China and Albania have made great strides in the emancipation of women, they still have some way to go. The old, feudal and bourgeois ideas die hard and surface again and again in different shapes. An example of this is the attempt of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao to revert the wheels of history. These two counter-revolutionaries attempted to restore capitalism in China and in this attempt they spouted that women were backward and should only take care of their husbands and children. They pushed the line that "housework is revolutionary work" when in fact they were pushing for the return of women from the social production to the home in an attempt to restore capitalism. But the Chinese masses led by their glorious party defeated this line and women more than ever are taking part in the socialist construction. This resurfacing of the bourgeois line is possible because, although the proletariat is in power, the bourgeois ideas still persist in society for a long time under socialism. The bourgeois line has been in existence for a much greater length of time and has permeated all areas of life. With the triumph of the revolution it goes into hiding, but it always shows itself in different forms, always trying to pass as a revolutionary line in an attempt to restore capitalism. Chairman Mao correctly summed this up in a speech to the Eighth Party Congress:

*"Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place."*  
(Peking Review #43, 1973)

These bourgeois ideas must be combatted at every turn and be exposed and criticized thoroughly when they appear. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labour of Albania, the Chinese and Albanian women have won great victories in their road to total emancipation; and together with their class brothers are working for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism. The women of China and Albania have given us an example to follow in the battles against the bourgeoisie.

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Continued from page 1 ....

medical school because he was white, in order to charge "reverse discrimination" and as a way to take back the small gains of the 60's. This is one of the many clear signs that they are attempting to prepare the grounds for fascism by stirring up racial hatred and division. In fact, two mass rallies in California were recently attacked by members of the American Nazi Party yelling "Bakke equals white power"--actions which are being especially encouraged and backed by the bourgeoisie today.

#### BAKKE AND WOMEN

Special mention must be made of the implications of the Bakke decision on the rights of women. Women, along with the oppressed nationalities, are the most oppressed sectors of the working class. Women too are oppressed and discriminated against in capitalist society and their basic democratic rights consistently denied. The mass struggle for women's rights also made some gains which capitalists have been taking back recently as one of the ways to resolve their crisis (remember the Supreme Court rulings overturning maternity and social security benefits for women). The Bakke decision is a legal precedent in which the so-called "constitutionality" of special admissions and hiring programs which establish quotas for women can be challenged. It gives the capitalists a legal excuse to eliminate those programs which they had already been forced to establish or to refuse to establish them on the basis of their supposed "unconstitutionality". Thus, the Bakke decision seriously threatens the gains that had been won as a result of the mass struggles, especially those for working women, such as the quotas establishing that a certain minimum of women has to be hired by companies such as American Telegram and Telephone, New York Telephone, General Electric and others. This is especially hard on working women who need to keep their jobs for the survival of their families in these times of serious economic hardships.

#### A GENUINE REFORM

"Affirmative action" programs do not eliminate racial discrimination and national oppression, but they open up a limited amount of educational and job opportunities that otherwise would be closed

to minorities. Due to the economic exploitation, inferior education and lack of opportunities of which they are victims in this racist, capitalist society, they are barred from such professions as medicine and from the higher paying skilled jobs. They are generally the last to be hired, the first to be fired and scarcely to be promoted. Affirmative action programs establish quotas that guarantee a certain amount of minorities to be admitted in universities, hired in certain jobs, etc.

#### OUR TASKS

We support the struggle to defend "affirmative action" and to overturn the Bakke decision. We also demand that these programs be continually expanded. We must be alert against leaving minority quotas at their present level as an attempt to put a ceiling on the number of minorities that can participate in educational and employment opportunities. Concretely, we are urging all progressive people to campaign in union locals for the passing of resolutions condemning Bakke. In the shops, we are struggling for a contract that guarantees the rights of oppressed nationality workers and implement affirmative action programs in hiring and promotions.

The struggle to overturn the Bakke decision is the struggle against national oppression. Understanding the national question and the need for multinational unity and solidarity in struggle are vital in the success of the U.S. proletarian revolution. In order to be successful in this struggle, we must rely on the struggle of the masses. The courts within the capitalist system are an instrument of the capitalist class which is in power. The capitalist class uses the courts to oppress the workers and maintain its own rule. The courts in turn serve the interests of the capitalists, and are not impartial overseers. They simply implement and interpret the system of laws which are designed to protect the rich and further oppress the poor. Thus we cannot rely on this instrument of class domination to grant us our rights. We must fight for them!

In the hundreds of mass demonstrations and rallies against the Bakke decision that have been held around the country, many different forces have participated. First of all, there are all the honest, progressive and revolutionary people--the masses--who spontaneously react against all forms of oppression. Then there also the many opportunists attempting to take control of the spontaneous anger of the masses. Reformists, for example, have jumped on the bandwagon spreading among the masses false illusions and faith in the system and on the possibility of resolving our problems through the courts. Trotskyites and revisionists as well have recognized in the issue an opportunity to peddle their own bankrupt lines. In the areas where we work there are a number of coalitions attempting to organize the anti-Bakke struggle. At present we are carrying out independent work in this struggle, while studying the different forces involved so as to make a correct decision, one that best serves the interests of the working class.

#### BAKKE AND THE WORKING CLASS

Affirmative action programs benefit not only minorities but the whole of the working class. It is in the interests of all workers to support the struggle to end national oppression and racial discrimination as this is precisely one of the tools of the bourgeoisie to continue to oppress workers by keeping us divided and fighting each other for a few jobs, and other opportunities. By keeping the oppressed nationalities much below the level of the rest of the population, the bourgeoisie uses the minorities to keep down the level of the rest of the workers and to divide and weaken the working class.

The anti-Bakke struggle is not just a matter of reserving a few slots for selected Blacks, Chicanos at a medical school, etc. Petty-bourgeois reformist are attempting to make the anti-Bakke struggle one for securing their "piece of the pie" in certain prestigious professions such as medicine and law. But the real issue, and this is what we must strive to focus in this struggle, is the right of all workers--whether white, Native American, Puerto Rican--to equal access to all jobs, all services, all educational facilities etc. It is really the working class that is most threatened by the Bakke decision since what is really at stake are some of its most fundamental democratic rights and its unity and solidarity as a class.

The right to a decent job, and the right to quality education are basic democratic rights which are constantly denied to workers in capitalist society, especially those of oppressed nationalities, and women. Capitalism is based on the division of society into classes and on the exploitation of man by man--and national oppression is based on class society. It is in the interests of the capitalist to keep the working class from uniting. Consequently, they foster division along national lines, age, race, sex, job category, etc. This is done by offering better educational opportunities, higher pay and other benefits to a selected few and keeping each sector thereon at a higher level than the next one.

The national question in the U.S. is inseparably linked with the class question. We cannot talk of ending national oppression in the U.S. without ending the capitalist system. And only by defeating the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and establishing our own dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism we end all class divisions and definitely put an end to all national oppression. The working class, led by its vanguard party, and the oppressed masses in this country, will certainly continue to surge forward in revolutionary struggle until complete victory is achieved. The anti-Bakke mass struggle is but a step in this direction.

Let us continue to build it!

DOWN WITH THE BAKKE DECISION!

STOP NATIONAL OPPRESSION!

## Turkish masses fight fascist dictatorship!



SUBMITTED BY THE TURKISH STUDENT ASSOCIATION

WORKERS, DEMOCRATIC AND PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE, FRIENDS OF THE TOILING MASSES OF THE WORLD:

The fascist dictatorship in Turkey is intensifying its exploitation of the peoples of Turkey in order to place the burden of the economic crisis it finds itself in on the shoulders of the people of Turkey, and to implement the orders given to it by its imperialist masters. Life has become unbearable for the people in Turkey due to the high rate of inflation and unemployment, the reduction in wages and the very low margin in agricultural products. The people of Turkey are raising their voices against the blatant exploitation and plunder, and are waging a militant struggle for an independent and democratic Turkey. On the other hand, the ruling classes in Turkey are becoming more violent and aggressive; they are augmenting their terror, repression and murders to subdue the escalating struggle of the masses. But where there is oppression there is resistance. The heroic resistance of the people of the "May First" Shanty town in Istanbul has once more proven this fact, compelling the fascist dictatorship to retreat.

The fascist dictatorship which massacred 34 revolutionaries, patriots, and workers during the May Day Parade in Istanbul this year, renewed a similar attack on the people of the "May First" ghetto on September 2, 1977. The squatters of the "May First" Shanty town whose homes were destroyed twice before and who were forced to move from one place to

another, were again attacked by armoured police and gendarmery forces equipped with automatic weapons. The attack was designed to level down the slums located in the hunger and poverty stricken "May First" ghetto section of Istanbul. However, this time the people resisted. Without yielding to the threats of the fascist dictatorship, they opposed the police and gendarmery forces with what they had: sticks, stones and staunch determination. As has been the case on previous occasions, blood-thirsty forces opened fire on the people. As a result of this savage attack, H. Kizilkaya and nine others were killed and hundreds were severely wounded. Hundreds who were detained suffered in torture chambers and were thrown into dungeons.

Nonetheless, despite its tyranny, fascist dictatorship has not been able to subjugate the people of the "May First" ghetto. The people did not and are not allowing the security forces to destroy their homes. They are now rebuilding the demolished ones with the firm determination to continue in their struggle. The spokesmen for the fascist dictatorship are contradicting and blaming each other in their efforts to hide the facts and to cover-up the September 2nd massacre.

The heroic resistance of the people of the "May First" ghetto has been perceived jubilantly by the oppressed and exploited masses in Turkey. They regard and loathe the terror, repression, exploitation and bloody murders inflicted upon the people of the "May First" ghetto, as it has been inflicted upon them, as criminal acts of the fascist dictatorship.

Workers are sending solidarity messages from the factories; they are visiting the ghetto in groups and are collecting money, food and clothing for the squatters.

Peasants are starting donation campaigns and students are working in the reconstruction of the destroyed homes.

The people of the "May First" ghetto are sad with the thought of their martyrs, but they are also staunchly determined to continue in their struggle. They did not and will not abandon their homes. They should not be left alone in their struggle. Our task is to support their struggle by all possible means. It is the day to show our solidarity with the toiling masses in Turkey. The least we can do is to offer a donation to fund raising campaign started by the Turkish Student's Association.

- \*Down with the September 2nd massacre of the fascist dictatorship
- \*Roads, electricity, water and ownership of land for Shanty Towns
- \*Jobs, bread, freedom, land to peasants
- \*Security for jobs and lives of people
- \*Neither the United States nor Russia
- \*Down with fascism and social fascism
- \*Long live Independent Democratic Turkey
- \*Long Live the struggle of the people of the "May First Ghetto"

Donations are accepted by the specially assigned students of the T.S.A.-N.Y. or its personnel. Checks or money orders can be made on behalf of the "Turkish Student's Association".

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## Cheap Shots are not Ideological Struggle

For more than a year we have openly criticized the Revolutionary Communist League (M-L-M) for their petty-bourgeois vacillations in regards to the struggle in the Communist Party of China against the gang of four. In our newspaper (Resistance), in various leaflets, in our reprint of E.F. Hill's speech on the gang of four, as well as at different forums, we have raised the criticism and taken it to line. RCL's answer to our criticisms were evasions like "Enver Hoxha did not mention the gang in his telegram to Chairman Hua" or "we are checking out the lines." We held then, an repeat now, that this is above all a class stand.

A year after the struggle, RCL says now that they support the CPC, and labels everybody as followers of the gang. If they were checking out the lines, why is it that there's no analysis of their position? How is it that there is no self-criticism and repudiation of their old position? What happened with Enver Hoxha's telegram? The least we were expecting of the comrades was that they acknowledge their error. But instead they opt for this unprincipled attack.

Worst yet, is the attack around the NATO question. We have polemized and will continue to do so, against forces like the October League-CP and RCL-MLM which are calling for the military strengthening of U.S. imperialism and its NATO allies. This is a social-chauvinist line, a policy of class collaboration and as such we will continue to struggle against it. What RCL must prove is that we are incorrect and that U.S. Marxist-Leninists should go to Washington to lobby for the building of the B1 Bomber and the Neutron Bomb to be sent to the NATO forces (Although only the October League has said this openly, RCL's line objectively leads to the same conclusion). But instead RCL resorts to covering themselves behind the CPC and claiming that it is with the CPC, and not with OL RCL, that we are polemizing. This won't do, RCL comrades. Our relations with the CPC and with any other genuine marxist-leninist party or organization are based on Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, on historical and dialectical materialism and on proletarian internationalism. It is not our task, and the Chinese comrades-especially great Chairman Mao and Chairman Hua-understand this clearly, to parrot the Chinese line, or what we believe is that

"Some honest forces in the Anti-revisionist Communist Movement (ARCM) have also attacked the line of urging the West to unite against Soviet social imperialism and its fascist upsurge, and in doing this (in their publication) they take the same line about both superpowers being the same! Yet they have given lip service about supporting the CPC and coming out with a line against the "Gang of Four", when they could not have possibly, so quickly, done any real study on the question. In attacking the CPC's line on NATO, they also give lip service "loyalty" to the CPC but give less "loyalty" to dialectical materialism which is at the base of any Marxist-Leninist's actions.

THE 3 WORLDS THESIS, by RCL(MLM), p.8-9

line, in this country. It is our task to point the arrow of Marxism-Leninism to the U.S. proletarian revolution. But RCL is clearly substituting the necessary study of the science and of the concrete conditions, the long and arduous theoretical work, for a collection of quotes which they put together to form their position--and their position in the pamphlet on the international situation shows it.

Neither OL nor RCL are the U.S. representatives of the CPC. The CPC can speak for itself, as we and all other genuine Marxist-Leninists do. That there are differences on some questions is true, and we are the first ones to acknowledge these in a marxist-leninist way. That is, by putting our views on the different questions out in the open so that other Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces can judge them. But apparently for RCL it is a crime equivalent to revisionism to have any differences with the CPC, regardless of whether they are strategical or tactical. May we get a clear answer from RCL on just one simple question?

If your view is that the tasks of the U.S. Marxist-Leninists is to repeat everything that the Chinese say, why don't you join the October League-CP whom the Chinese comrades have recognized as the party of the U.S. proletariat and with whom they have fraternal relations? For us, the road is clear, far from joining the OL-CP, we have continued to struggle against the OL-CP's social-chauvinism. We know that the U.S. proletarian revolution will be waged by the U.S. proletariat and its allies, led by a genuine communist party which is yet to be built.

For an organization that puts forward that "ideological struggle over political line is they key link to party building", this is really a very poor show.

Cheap shots, RCL comrades, are not ideological struggle!



STEPHEN BIKO

Fight Like Him!

The days of the Vorster fascist regime and the apartheid system in South Africa are counted. The irresistible trend of the peoples armed struggle is surging forward and nothing will stop it short from complete victory. Conscious of these facts, U.S. imperialism is trying to save face by ordering a six-month embargo on the sale of arms to the Vorster regime which it has historically backed. But the U.S. will not be able to fool anybody with these maneuvers. The Azanian freedom fighters know very well that U.S. imperialism is their enemy and as such they will treat it.

Soviet social-imperialism, as usual, is attempting by all means possible, to gain a foothold in Azania. But their imperialist dreams will not come true. The vast deposits of gold, diamond, uranium of this country will not end up in the pockets of the greedy Soviet imperialist bourgeoisie, but will be used by the Azanian masses to build an independent and democratic Azania.


The day of victory is very near for Azania and at the time of making their oppressor pay for all the crimes committed against their heroic people, the Azanian freedom fighters will remember, and will avenge, one of their most loved and respected comrades in arms, Stephen Biko. This patriot brutally assassinated by the Vorster fascist police, is one more reason for the Azanian people to struggle to the end against the oppressor.

Stephen Biko has physically died, but his example is loved not only among the Azanian masses but among all revolutionaries and progressive-minded people the world over. The blood of Biko and the thousands who like him have died in the struggle for national liberation, for independence, for socialism, has not been spilt in vain.

LONG LIVE THE AZANIAN PEOPLES STRUGGLE!

DON'T MOURN BIKO, FIGHT LIKE HIM!

THE AZANIAN MASSES WILL SURELY WIN!



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## Build the Revolutionary Press !!

### Build Resistance !!

Comrades and friends:

Comrade Lenin summed-up the role of a communist newspaper as being one of collective agitator, collective propagandist and collective organizer. This is true of a communist newspaper at any time--it must carry out all three tasks. This does not deny, on the other hand, that one of these aspects given certain conditions becomes the primary feature of a newspaper at a given period. In the U.S. today, where a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party does not exist, where the level of fusion of scientific socialism with the working class movement is low, propaganda becomes the chief form of activity for communists. One of our propaganda tools is our newspaper.

What is the role of our newspaper, and of the revolutionary press in general, in a period when there is no genuine Marxist-Leninist party? It must aid particularly in the process of uniting marxist-leninists and winning the advanced to communism. How do we integrate these tasks in our paper? We try to give direction, leadership and training to our readers. We attempt to do this by summing up experiences, struggles, work in particular areas, etc., and pointing to the general applicability of these syntheses to the overall struggle in the U.S. for proletarian revolution, and specifically to the process of party building. We strive to carry out a staunch and consistent struggle against right opportunism and revisionism, which are the main danger in the communist movement today, without belittling the "left" danger, always pointing to it when it surfaces.

We feel that a very important aspect of our paper is its striving for building unity with other marxist-leninists around the country. We are striving to carry out polemics with organizations and collectives that we consider honest with the aim of reaching an ever-higher level of unity, both around our line and practice, as well as theirs. This struggle for the correct line is a very important one in the process of party building and in laying some basis for the future party program.

We see as important and immediate task the building of the revolutionary, marxist-leninist press, and the widening of its circulation. In this spirit, we are launching a campaign under the slogan, "BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY PRESS, BUILD RESISTANCE", to improve and widen the circulation of our political organ RESISTANCE. We want not only to increase and widen our circulation, but also to improve the quality and size of our paper. We have outlined several areas towards achieving this goal, some of which have been taken from suggestions of other comrades and subscribers. In brief these are:

1. Establishment of more regular columns, following the format of WOMEN HOLD-UP HALF THE SKY, dealing with the international situation, national situation, youth, workers' struggles, culture, etc.
2. Developing a section for worker correspondents
3. Development of a network of correspondents around the country
4. Initiating a sustainer group
5. Providing guidance for the development of collective readings and discussions of RESISTANCE
6. Developing "Friends of RESISTANCE" in different areas around the country
7. A questionnaire which will be mailed to our subscribers so that the quality and contents of the paper can be improved
8. Involving new comrades in some aspects--such as translating, typing, photographs, graphics, etc.

In order to carry out this campaign successfully, we need your help. We ask that you become a RESISTANCE distributor in your area--among your friends, contacts, co-workers or even to a bookstore you know that does not carry our paper. You can also send contributions to RESISTANCE--news clippings, summaries of struggles, work, etc. We are also in need of finances--we ask you to become a regular sustainer, pledge whatever amount you can contribute on a regular basis. Send us your criticisms of the paper and suggestions for the campaign. Let us know if you can help in any of the areas mentioned--as a workers correspondent, translating, typing, graphics, etc. Join the campaign to BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY PRESS, BUILD RESISTANCE!

PANAMA :



# Against a Social Chauvinist Trend

the Treaty specifically states that Panama will be the only country allowed to maintain armed forces in the Canal area after 2,000." (Revolutionary Cause, Vol.2,#7, page4)

This is third in a series of articles around the New Panama Canal Treaty. In the previous articles, based on an analysis of the treaty, we have concluded that this represents a new imperialist scheme that strengthens U.S. imperialism in various forms and conversely, harms the Panamanian masses and their legitimate aspirations for national liberation and real independence. Concretely, we have shown how under the new treaty, the U.S. will continue its military intervention in Panama, that the Panamanian people will receive a very little share compared with the share received by U.S. imperialism for the operation of the canal, that by the year 2000, in which the Panamanians will receive control of the canal, such a canal will be obsolete, that the treaty has strings attached which are detrimental to the sovereignty of Panamanian nation over their national territory; eg. the right of the U.S. to intervene militarily whenever they consider that the neutrality of the canal is in danger and the commitment of the Panamanian government of gi-

ving priority to the U.S. in the building of a new sea-level canal.

There are other issues that we want to deal with around the Panamanian question. These are:

1. The social-chauvinist trend in the U.S. communist movement that supports the treaty.
2. Why do the extreme right wing, like the KKK, John Birch Society, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Trumond, Reagan, etc., oppose the new treaty?
3. The present strategic importance of the canal, superpower contention in the area, and the new treaty as part of the U.S. military preparations for the possible imperialist war with Soviet social-imperialism.
4. An analysis of the current situation in Panama, class analysis, political forces, especially the national liberation movement and of the communist movement in that country.
5. Our Tasks.

Plans for the publication of these articles in pamphlet form are under way.

Not a single one of the groups in the U.S. that support the new treaty have dealt with this question in the concrete. Although the October League-Communist Party, the August Twenty-nine Movement, and the Revolutionary Communist League (M-L-M) insist on calling it a victory for the Panamanian people, there is no factual evidence, no concrete analysis of concrete conditions that support their conclusions.

The sham OL-CP decided that the treaty was a victory for the Panamanian people even after it was made public. The main thrust of their position is that the fact that the U.S. accepted to negotiate a new treaty meant a defeat for the U.S. and a victory for Panama. Their analysis follows this logic: the old treaty was for perpetuity, gave little remuneration to Panama, and gave to the U.S. only, the task of defending the Canal. The new treaty will give the Canal back to the Panamanians in 22 years, gives them more money, and allows Panamanian soldiers to participate in the defense of the canal. When compared, the new treaty is better than the old; therefore, based on this, it is a victory.

What is left out of the OL-CP's analysis are the greater concessions made by Panama to U.S. imperialism in the new treaty, e.g. perpetual military presence in the canal, preferential treatment in the use of the canal, option to build a new canal, plus 22 years of peace in one of the nations of Latin America where the contradictions with U.S. imperialism have been historically very sharp.

The business-like approach of the OL-CP--whatever brings more money to Torrijos' cash register is better for the Panamanians-- is a reformist and not a revolutionary analysis of the Panamanian situation, a treason to the legitimate aspirations of the Panamanian masses.

For the sham OL-CP, the only thing that counts in Panama is the opinion of the Torrijos regime and of the Panamanian revisionists. Those are the views that they echo in their press. Take for example a recent article under the misleading title: "Panamanians say 'Carry the Struggle Through to the end'" (Call, Oct. 3, 1977).

The article reported a government-sponsored rally in support of the treaty which was held on Sept. 9, in the capital city of Panama. But the OL conveniently just talks about the "more than 100,000 Panamanians who rallied" and forgets under whose leadership it was and the reasons behind it. We all know that it is not a difficult task at all for a Latin American government to rally 100,000 people in support of their policies. We also know that mass approval--or apparent mass approval as in this case-- does not mean that something is correct. 500,000 Cubans, for example, rally in Havana to listen to the Soviet social-imperialist lackey Fidel Castro report on the Cuban invasion of Angola; Pinochet mobilized over 200,000 to celebrate the fascist coup in Chile, etc., etc.

The OL-CP also conveniently forgets to inform its readers that the negotiations have been carried out in secret for the last 3 years, that freedom of speech, freedom of the press, etc., are unknown in Panama since Torrijos took power and these facts made it impossible for the Panamanian masses on Sept. 9 to know what the Treaty was all about. Even the New York Times has been more objective

than the Call; and reported in its weekend edition of the same week not only the Torrijos-sponsored demonstration but also the demonstration against it by the popular forces that oppose the treaty in which thousands also participated.

But let's look at who were the Panamanians that were saying they would carry on the struggle thru to the end:

"At the rally, President Demetrio Lakas accepted the new treaty in the name of the Panamanian people and declared that it represented 'a decisive victory for our cause.'" *The Call*, Vol. 6, No. 38, pg. 8.

It is a decisive victory for the cause and the class interests represented by President Lakas, all right; but not for the cause of the Panamanian masses.

Let's continue with the sum-up of the rally made by the OL-CP:

"Torrijos also pointed out that the Panamanian people's struggle 'is not over' and that 'there is still a long way ahead'." *Ibid*

This is pure and simple bourgeois rhetoric, a very militant, a la Fidel-speech appealing to the patriotic and genuine anti-imperialist sentiments of the Panamanian masses. OL-CP conveniently forgot to mention that this same Torrijos, as a sergeant was in charge of the armed forces that shot at un-armed workers and students during the big demonstrations in October 1964 demanding Panamanian sovereignty over the canal.

The OL-CP can claim that there were speakers other than the government officials who addressed the rally and that even helped to organize it. And they are correct. Let's look at those that the OL-CP selected as the most representative:

"The Federation of Students of Panama, for example, stressed that the national liberation struggle 'will not cease' and 'should not be confined to the signing of a treaty'." *Ibid*

Why doesn't the OL-CP tell its readers, more about this student federation. Why doesn't the OL-CP tell its readers that this federation is the student arm of the Partido del Pueblo (People's Party) the revisionist "communist" party of Panama. This is the same party that has supported Torrijos all along, that talks about the progressive sectors of the government, etc. The same party that, in the meeting of the revisionist parties of Latin America held in Cuba in 1974 (see LPR-ML's Analysis of the Havana Conference), slandered the CPC and Chairman Mao. As a matter of fact, the Partido del Pueblo also spoke at the rally, as reported by the Panamanian press, but apparently the OL-CP ran out of space or forgot to include it.

ATM repeats all the O.L.-C.P. 'facts' and line of reasoning and even go a little further than they do in an attempt to justify their support of this imperialist plot. They, plain and simply, lie and distort the facts putting forth such gems as:

"Despite statements by U.S. politicians, the Treaty doesn't give the U.S. any rights to intervene militarily after 2,000. In fact,

Here we have a good combination of a lie with an opportunist use of a half-truth. The treaty that was printed in full in the bourgeoisie press does, in fact, guarantee the right of the U.S. armed forces to intervene in any case in which the 'neutrality' of the canal is in danger. It was precisely around the interpretation of these clauses that General Torrijos was brought to Washington. He was brought in order to reassure Carter that the "Panamanian side" understands that, in fact, the U.S. can intervene militarily to assure the 'neutrality' of the canal. And that was precisely what the lackey Torrijos said on national television one week ago.

ATM opportunistically played a trick with words to try to prove that the treaty means something else. They said that "only Panama will be allowed to maintain armed forces in the canal after the year 2,000". But the issue is not who will be allowed to "maintain armed forces in the canal after the year 2000". U.S. imperialism doesn't need their forces in Panama to intervene in the canal. As a matter of fact, even today, if they have to defend militarily the canal, they will do it from their military installations in Puerto Rico and Cuba (Guantanamo) and not using its forces in Panama. These forces are in Panama to protect the canal only against the Panamanian masses.

The history of bourgeois diplomacy provides us with examples of treaties that have similar clauses as the ones in the Panama Treaty. After the Spanish-American War, for example, the U.S. signed a treaty with Cuba to which they added an amendment- the Platt Amendment- that guaranteed the U.S. the right to intervene in Cuba whenever the national security of Cuba was in danger. And every time that either the Cuban government came in contradiction with U.S. imperialism or a friendly government came in contradiction with the Cuban masses, the U.S. immediately intervened. This is what will happen in Panama if the new treaty is put into effect as it exists now.

RCL-MLM has not even attempted to back up their position that the Treaty is a victory for the Panamanian people. During the Conference on the International Situation, we struggled this point with them and it was clear that they have not even studied the treaty, much less analyzed the concrete conditions under which that treaty was being proposed.

All three organizations mentioned try to cover what objectively is a social-chauvinist position, an alliance with their own bourgeoisie against the legitimate interests of the Panamanian masses, under the cloak of opposing Soviet social-imperialism. The fact that the other superpower has consistently tried to gain a foothold in Panama, the fact that they have ordered their puppet Fidel Castro to court Torrijos--whose government is defined as a progressive one, taking Panama in the road of "non-capitalist road of development"--, etc. does not justify the support of a treaty that perpetuates the U.S. neo-colonial domination of the Panamanian nation.

The Chinese comrades correctly have said that "in repealing the tiger from the front door, we have to guard against the wolf in the back door." But in relation to Panama, as well as the Second World, the position advanced by the O.L.-C.P., the ATM, and the RCL-MLM is to keep the tiger in, in order to keep the wolf out. And this is not proletarian internationalism but social-chauvinism.

VICTORY TO PANAMANIAN PEOPLE'S JUST STRUGGLE!

DOWN WITH THE SHAH!

CONDEMN THE \$ SHAH'S

U.S. VISIT!

DEMONSTRATIONS IN WASH., D.C. AND SAN FRANCISCO

NOV. 15 & 16

# COMMUNIST FORUM



\*\*\* SUMMATION OF TEACHERS STRIKE \*\*\* By: Kansas City Revolutionary Workers Collective

( Excerpts )

## FUSION OF MARXISM-LENINISM WITH THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT.

Another of our tasks in this period of party building is to fuse the science of Marxism with the spontaneous worker's movement. This is done primarily through our propaganda and agitational work. We are still in the process of developing a guiding line on prop/agit work. Having a guiding line on this question is crucial to our practical work. Without this line, we were not capable of developing systematic and adequate propaganda and agitation on those points that we were clear enough on theoretically to put forward. Our literature was limited to leaflets. We were able to provide some advanced with some readings in Marxism, but again this was not systematic.

In our literature, discussions with workers and teachers, and talks in mass meetings, we tried to get across basically four points. The first of these was to clarify for workers why they should support the strike, and to point out to teachers what was the correct position for them to take during the strike. Secondly, we pointed out to teachers and workers why the teachers' right to strike should be defended. According to Missouri law, public employees, especially teachers, are forbidden to strike. The bourgeoisie and all its mouthpieces attempted to sway public opinion on the basis of this law. We saw the need to counter their propaganda. Thirdly, we tried to expose the social props involved as enemies of the working class. This was necessary in the KCFT, as well as in the United Concerned Parents. Since most of our work was in the parent group, we directed most of our exposures at the social props in the UCP, and at Black community "leaders". As said in a previous summation, the direction of the main blow in our present strategy is at those whose role is that of social support of the bourgeoisie. Those props who are most dangerous at present are the trade union bureaucrats in the working class movement, and those "leaders" in the national and other peoples movements with mass appeal, such as Jesse Jackson. We also pointed out that workers must understand the historical and political role of social props and their relationships to imperialism. When workers understand this, they won't be susceptible to the newer, more militant props that will always come forward. In all of our leaflets and discussions we attempted to put forward the correct line on social props. The third leaflet, however, was to particularly go into exposure of the props because they had become particularly treacherous at the time of its appearance. In summing up this leaflet, we felt that it failed to adequately carry out this exposure. The leaflet focuses on the incorrect tactics and maneuvers of the props, and this should always be brought out. However, the advanced and intermediate workers must understand social props from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism. This leaflet was an economist deviation because of its failure to do this. The fourth point we felt important to put forward was how the class struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie was manifested in the strike. This showed what forces were on the side of the proletariat and should be united. This was particularly important since the black social props were using various divisive tactics.

Our work in exposing social props continues to leave much to be desired. This was especially true in our exposure of the KCFT leadership. The union president is one of the "sincere" type social props, and is strongly supported by the more active membership. We were ineffective in driving a wedge between him and the rank-and-file. Again, this comes from not having a developed line on how to carry out exposures. Also, we did not strongly defend our line against the red-baiting that frequently occurred during the strike. This passivity in the face of red-baiting reflects a lack of thorough Bolshevization of our collective, and a manifestation of petty-bourgeoisie philistinism that we must continue to struggle against.

## WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM

Through our participation in the spontaneous struggle of the masses we win the advanced workers to communism. We must pay particular attention to the

theoretical and practical training. It is with this stratum of workers that fusion between the communist and spontaneous movements initially takes place.

Historically in our mass work we have downplayed the role of the advanced. This was because of the basically economist line that guided our work. During the course of the strike struggle we sought to remedy our deficiencies on the question of the advanced, and established an organizational form with the purpose of consolidating them. The key to doing effective work among the advanced is having a clear guiding line on how to win them over and train them. In the absence of a guiding line spontaneity will reign. Our collective is still in the process of establishing a basic line on this question. We are doing this through our own study and experiences as well as that of other comrades. As a result of not having a clear guiding line, our work with the advanced suffered from some spontaneous, incorrect decisions.

We felt that the best method of consolidating the advanced in this struggle would be to establish a core around the question of quality education. It would include advanced from among workers, parents, and teachers. We moved to initiate this core. However, our core was established before we had thoroughly studied the question of cores theoretically. Consequently, there were many errors in its formation and composition. One important error was that we did not carefully select the people who would participate on the basis of the Leninist line on the advanced. Also we included some comrades that we were working with in other areas but who had not been active in the strike. Finally, and most important, we did not have a clear line on the purpose and nature of the core, its functions and responsibilities. All of these errors resulted from our bowing to spontaneity on the question of conducting political work, and not seeing the need to develop a guiding line on this question as we do on all other questions of theory. We have not completed our study of method in winning and training the advanced but we do have some initial ideas. We were particularly interested in the article "The Building of Cores" in the January issue of *Resistance*, organ of the LPR-ML. We would like to put forward here some of our agreements and disagreements with aspects of that article.

LPR-ML puts forward that cores are communist forms of organization whose members are both party and non-party. They state further that cores, although not part of the communist organization or party, work under its leadership. This is correct for cores, factory groups, propaganda circles, etc. We also agree that they are made up of party cadre, advanced and intermediate workers, and individual Marxist-Leninists. And we unite that the membership into these groups be selective and based on unity with the line and practice of the organization, and that these groups are illegal. LPR-ML goes on to state that:

"A core is established with the purpose of providing communist leadership in a particular area, give communist leadership to established mass organizations, or to establish and lead such organizations. The core, acting under the leadership of our organization, is responsible for bringing the line of the organization to that particular struggle, mass organization, etc." *Resistance*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pg. .

We have differences here. We feel that the comrades liquidate the role of the primary organizations of the party (factory nuclei, fractions, etc.). The question is whose responsibility is it to bring the line of the organization into the mass movements, trade unions and mass organizations. LPR-ML would entrust this task to a core, which, although under the leadership of the organization, is made up of advanced and intermediate who may not yet be communists, or are only beginning to study and be trained in Marxism-Leninism. The responsibility of giving communist leadership and bringing the line of the organization into the struggles can only be the organization's responsibility, through its primary organizations. Cores, propaganda circles, and the like, all facilitate our work in giving leadership and putting forward the line. But we must never delegate the responsibility for our line to anyone other than ourselves. We see the purpose

BELOW WE ARE REPRINTING IN PART THE SUMMATION MADE BY THE KANSAS CITY REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS COLLECTIVE (KCRWC) OF THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE KANSAS CITY TEACHERS STRIKE. SINCE IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO PRINT THE FULL TEXT, WHICH INCLUDES OTHER PARTS OF THE SUM UP AS WELL AS THE PROPAGANDA PRODUCED DURING THE STRIKE, WE RECOMMEND COMRADES TO WRITE TO THE KCRWC AT:

BOXHOLDER  
BOX 6056  
KANSAS CITY, MO. 64110

FOR MORE INFORMATION OR MATERIALS ON THE ISSUE. WE ALSO REFER COMRADES TO OUR RESPONSE TO KCRWC'S CRITICISM WHICH APPEARS ON PAGE 8 UNDER THE TITLE "THE BUILDING OF CORES".

ALL COMRADES AND FRIENDS ARE WELCOME TO CONTINUE SENDING THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE COMMUNIST FORUM TO:

LPR - ML  
BOX 513 TRIBORO STA.  
N.Y., N.Y. L10035

of a core as being primarily to "win the advanced to communism". This means that we utilize these forms of organization to conscientiously train the advanced and intermediate in the theory and tactics of Marxism-Leninism.

As regards the functions of the core, LPR-ML states:

"In providing communist leadership and direction to these struggles, mass organizations, etc., the core is responsible for the preparation and distribution of communist propaganda and agitation in its particular area of work. (The particulars under what name the propaganda is put out, how and who is to distribute it, etc., have to be determined by each core according to the place, time and conditions under which it is operating.) Besides producing the propaganda, the core is also responsible for oral propaganda and must carry out political education and training within the mass organization and the participants of the particular struggle in which it is involved." *Resistance*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pg.

Again, LPR-ML put the tasks of the nucleus on the shoulders of the core, and liquidates the role of the nucleus. We are not sure what, according to the comrades, is the role of the factory nucleus. We think that the core's members can facilitate our preparation and distribution of communist propaganda and agitation, and also to some degree assist the party cadre in giving political education and training to others. But again, the responsibility belongs to the organization. Also, we feel that propaganda which represents the line of the organization should come out under the name of the organization. This helps to establish the leading role of the organization (party).

The level of unity in a core can not be as high as the level of unity in an organization. Workers who are new to communism can not be expected to function as a party cadre. Consequently, cores can not be expected to carry out the work of the party organizations. We think that by not making distinctions between the roles of party and non-party organization, LPR-ML, in effect, liquidates the leading role of the party. This is a right error and could lead to negative consequences in practice. The Chinese comrades state:

"The primary organizations of the party are the structures through which the Party's line, orientation, policies and the various fighting tasks assigned by the party are implemented; they constitute the core through which the Party exercises its leadership of the primary units and other revolutionary mass organizations; they are the bastions of the revolution guiding the party members and the revolutionary masses in their struggle against the class enemy. Only by developing and strengthening the primary organizations of the Party can the Party's leadership be strengthened on all fronts, and can the Party retain its nature as the vanguard of the proletariat." *Basic Understanding of the CPC*, p. 126.

## CONCLUSION

This summation is to provide comrades with some of our development of line and practice. Although both are still on a low level we are making advances. We encourage comrades to help us move forward by offering criticisms of our summations. Through our struggle on theoretical, political, and organizational questions, we can move forward towards the necessary unity for building a genuine Marxist-Leninist party in the U.S.

K.C.R.W.C.

# THE BUILDING OF CORES

\*\*\*\*\*  
COMMENTS BY LPR-ML ON KCRWC'S SUMMATION  
\*\*\*\*\*

As we established in our last issue, we are striving to make the Communist Forum a tool for the higher unity of Marxist-Leninists and the development of the Marxist-Leninist line on the major questions that face the U.S. communist movement. We consider that printing the above sum-up by the K.C.R.W.C. furthers this process.

In our comments, we will limit ourselves to addressing the question of the building of cores. It is very positive that many communists are in fact addressing themselves concretely to the problem of how to provide communist leadership to the mass struggles. Despite the errors committed the comrades of KCRWC tackled the problem concretely and have drawn important lessons that we can all use.

## UNITIES

First of all we want to establish our unities with the line put forward by the KCRWC on the following aspects: (a) that cores are a necessary tool that we must develop in the course of participation in the struggles of the masses and a method of winning and consolidating the advanced in these struggles; (b) that cores are communist forms of organization under the leadership of the communist party (organization); composed of Party (organization) cadres, advanced and intermediate elements and un-affiliated Marxist-Leninists; (c) that they are illegal forms (secret); and (d) that the basis of unity among those who form the cores should be a unity both in theory and in practice. We have unity also with the main thrust of the criticism raised by KCRWC on LPR-ML's line on cores, on which we will expand here.

In our position on cores, we stated that the core is responsible for bringing the line of the organization to the particular struggle, mass organization, etc. This is incorrect. We unite with the KCRWC in that the organization's line is the responsibility of the Party (organization) and not of the non-party organizations such as the cores. To delegate such a responsibility is in fact, a liquidation of the leading role of the Communist Party (organization) and of our line, and to state it in this way does lead to that error in practice.

## SOME DIFFERENCES

We take exception to refer to this responsibility as "only the organization's responsibility". Although we can at no moment rely solely upon the non-Party organization to bring and defend our line among the masses, we must share that responsibility with the advanced, precisely so that in the course of doing so we train and consolidate them (around the line), as well as with the un-affiliated Marxist-Leninists, in order to further test and deepen the unity of Marxist-Leninists. We must remember that when we speak of bringing the organization's line we are not speaking in the narrow sense of simply "LPR-ML's line", but of the correct Marxist-Leninist line that LPR-ML, as well as all genuine Marxist-Leninist organizations and collectives should strive for, develop and uphold. It is thus also the responsibility of the advanced workers and un-affiliated Marxist-Leninist to strive to put forward and defend that line, while this is

primarily, though not exclusively, the responsibility of the communist organization.

Again on the question of producing and, or distributing written and oral communist propaganda and agitation, it is a mistake to state that the core is responsible for such things. Again here we agree with KCRWC that to delegate on the core the responsibility of the communist organization is a liquidation of its leadership role. This would be a serious right error. On the other hand, to not demand from the core such a responsibility, to strip them of this task and make it exclusively the task of the communist organization is to negate the tasks of communists and advanced forces who under the leadership of the communist organization are capable of and must be trained and consolidated in carrying out this task. Although in the main it is the communist organization that puts out the communist propaganda and agitation, it is not the only one that does so. Furthermore, in the absence of factory nucleus (a situation very common under present conditions) the communist organization can and should train and rely on the core for preparation and distribution of communist propaganda, while striving to build the nucleus.

Whether or not the propaganda and agitation of the organization should always come out in the name of the organization we consider is a tactical question depending on the concrete conditions of the workplace.

## CLARIFICATIONS

On the principal task of cores, the KCRWC states that is winning the advanced to communism by training and consolidating them. We agree on this important role of the cores. We are not clear if the KCRWC sees this as different from what we state as the main task of the cores, that is, to provide communist leadership to the mass struggles. On this question we want to establish that we see both winning the advanced, and providing communist leadership to the mass struggles as tasks that go hand in hand. The winning, training and consolidation of the advanced is done in the course of providing communist leadership to the mass struggles, so that these become part of a single revolutionary current under the leadership of the communist party that we are striving to build. Even in this period of mustering the advanced forces toward party building, to isolate the advanced from the mass struggles or to see these two tasks as separate could lead to the serious errors of the Trotskyite "theory of cadres".

We would also like to clarify that although the Marxist-Leninist organization and the core are organizationally and politically distinct, we don't see them as completely separate. We see the core facilitating the work of the organization and working closely with it. The core which is giving leadership to a particular mass struggle is in turn led by the fraction of cadre of the organization that works within the core. In this way we see the organization exercising its leading role, besides training and consolidation that it does in the course of the struggle. In the case of existence of both a nucleus and a core, leadership is primarily exercised by the nucleus, which, without opening itself up, works closely with the core, within the core, as part of its tasks.

We would like to refer comrades to previous Communist Forum appearing in Resistance, Vol. 8, No. 3-4, pg. 10, in which we clearly establish that cores are not a substitute for factory nuclei. In this issue we polemized with aspects of the line of the Marxist-

Leninist Collective on cores, which in part stated that cores are the main form of communist organization in the shop in the pre-party period (a position which they have since correctly repudiated). On this we said then:

The position of the Marxist-Leninist Collective contains a fundamental error: the liquidation of the factory nucleus. The comrades ask themselves: "In this pre-party period, what are the transitional forms which communist organizations must establish within basic industry?" And they answer: "A core is a communist form of organization required in this period when a party does not exist." This is incorrect.

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

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

Of all these forms, the most important is the factory nucleus. It is this form which in the last analysis guarantees that the line of the party (today - of the Marxist-Leninist organization or collective) is implemented in the shops,

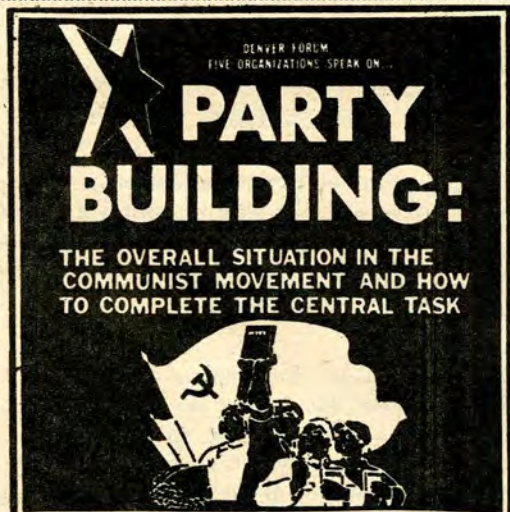
## SELF-CRITICISM:

The KCRWC has made an important contribution to the Marxist-Leninist line on cores by pointing to the real danger that exists of liquidating the leadership role of the communist organization if it delegates its responsibility on the core and does not take up that responsibility itself. We agree that the line as has been laid out is weak in that it does not clearly distinguish the role of cores and the role of the communist organization. They have been muddled by our failure to clearly lay out how the communist organization excercises its leadership in each. (We will attempt to further clarify this point in the future.) Also they have been muddled by not clearly establishing the differences and relationship between each.

Although this error has not been fully reflected in our practice, some deviations due to this particular weakness in the line have been manifested. For example, although we have not liquidated the leadership some right errors have been committed. At certain points, we have belittled the work of our fractions within the cores by doing all work through the core. Also, in an attempt to avoid bourgeois hegemonism and imposition of line, we have fallen into ultrademocracy and liberalism at the expense of our leadership and line. These are right errors that can result in the complete liquidation of the leadership role of the primary organizations of the party (organization) if these are not clearly seen as carrying primary responsibility over the line and if such responsibility is delegated over the non-party organizations such as cores.

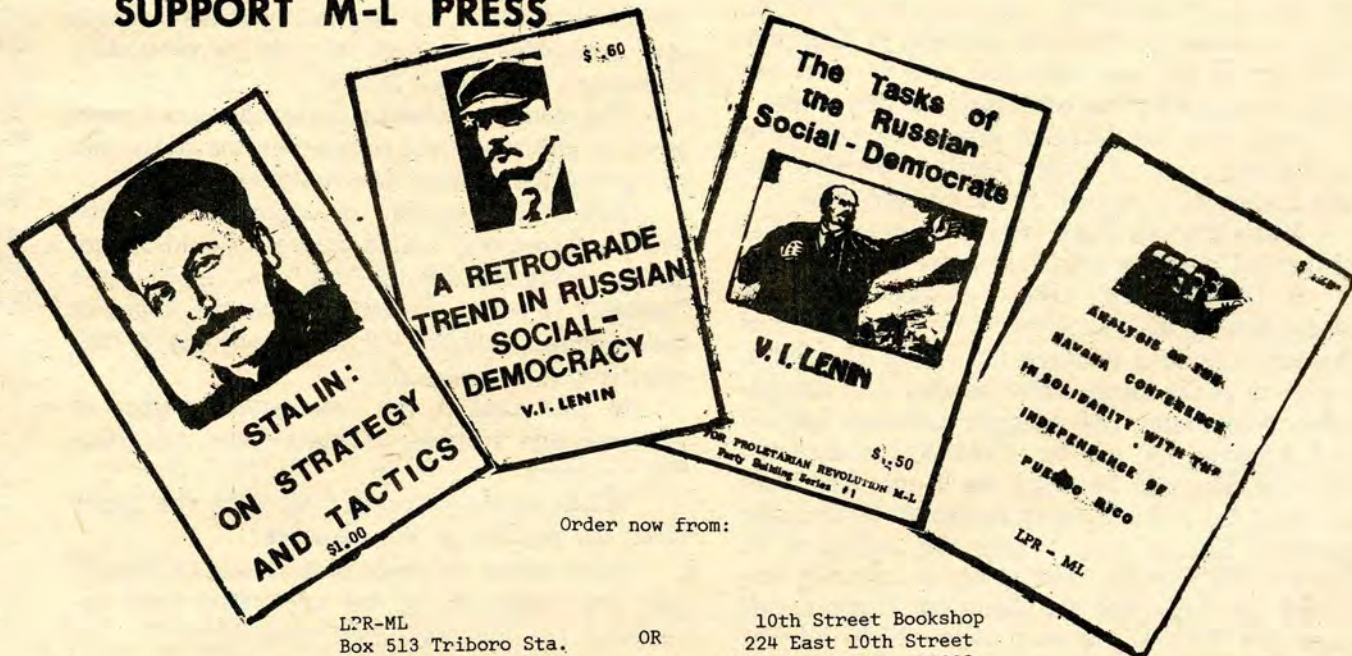
The practical and theoretical work done by comrades throughout the country in the course of developing and implementing a correct Marxist-Leninist line on cores has definitely improved the general understanding of the communist movement on this question. We consider the approach taken by the KCRWC and LPR-ML on this issue has been a correct one that has helped in the process of Marxist-Leninists unite and has further sharpened our line to more effectively win the advanced to communism in our concrete work. We urge other comrades to continue sending to Communist Forum those sum-ups, comments, etc. that can still deepen this process and move us closer to complete our central task of party building.

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# THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES



BY:  
J. V.  
STALIN

Of a number of phenomena of decisive significance in the international situation, the following basic facts should be noted:

1. Undoubtedly, capital has succeeded in extricating itself from the quagmire of the post-war crisis. The stabilization of the currency in a number of capitalist countries, the growth of world trade and the expansion of production in individual countries, the export and investment of capital, especially Anglo-American capital, in Europe and Asia—all this testifies to the successes capital has achieved in its "constructive work." As is known, that "work" is being conducted under the aegis of the Anglo-American bloc. Of the results of this "work," the so-called "Dawesation" of Germany, i.e., the transition from the method of military intervention to the method of financial intervention, to the method of financial enslavement of Germany, must be regarded as one of the most important.

2. It is also beyond doubt that in Germany, in the centre of Europe, the period of revolutionary upsurge has come to an end. The period of the upsurge of revolution, when the movement seethes, rises and boils over, whereas the Party's slogans lag behind the movement, when the masses break the bounds of legality, storm the old order and establish their own, new law—that period has now gone by in Germany. The working-class movement in Germany has passed from the period of assault to the period of accumulating forces, to the period of forming and training a proletarian army under the banner of communism. It scarcely needs proof that this circumstance is bound to be of great importance. All the more definitely, therefore, must this be said, in order to be able quickly to find our bearings in the new situation and to start the work of preparing the revolution on new lines.

Such are the facts of *positive* significance for the bourgeoisie, for they testify to the strength and successes of capital at the present time.

But alongside these facts there are a number of facts of *negative* significance for capitalism.

1. Undoubtedly, side by side with the strengthening of capitalism, there is a growth of the contradictions between the capitalist groups, a growth of the forces which weaken and disintegrate capitalism. The struggle between Britain and America for oil, for Canada, for markets, etc.; the struggle between the Anglo-American bloc and Japan for Eastern markets; the struggle between Britain and France for influence in Europe; and, lastly, the struggle between enslaved Germany and the dominant Entente—all these are commonly-known facts which indicate that the successes that capital has achieved are transient, that the process of capitalism's "recov-

ery" contains within itself the germs of its inherent weakness and disintegration.

2. The growth and consolidation of the national-liberation movement in India, China, Egypt, Indonesia, North Africa, etc., which are undermining capitalism's rear. Since, for its "recovery," imperialism must enlarge its sphere of influence in the colonies and dependent countries, whereas the struggle of these countries against imperialism is undoubtedly becoming intensified, it is obvious that the successes of imperialism in this sphere cannot be durable.

3. The fight for trade-union unity in Europe and the crisis in the Amsterdam Federation.<sup>1</sup> The fight of the British trade unions for trade-union unity, the support of this fight by the Soviet trade unions, the transformation of the fight for trade-union unity into a fight against the counter-revolutionary leaders of the Amsterdam Federation (Oudégest, Sassenbach, Jouhaux, and others), who pursue a policy of splitting the trade unions—are all facts which indicate that the Amsterdam Federation is in a state of profound crisis. And what does the crisis in the Amsterdam Federation mean? It means the instability of bourgeois rule, for the Amsterdam trade-union bureaucracy is a part and a prop of this rule.

4. The economic growth of the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that the stories of the bourgeois hack writers about the Soviets being incapable of organizing industry have been completely refuted. There is no doubt that during the past two years, after intervention and the blockade ceased, the industry of the Soviet Union has revived and gained strength. There is no doubt that the material and cultural conditions of the workers have substantially improved during this short period. There is no doubt that this improvement will continue. All these circumstances are now of decisive importance for revolutionizing the workers in the capitalist countries. I think that the workers of the West have never displayed such interest in Russia as they are doing now. Why? Because rumours are reaching them about the *new way of life* of the Soviet workers in the workers' state called the Soviet Union, and they would like to test the truth of these rumours. The fact that scores and hundreds of workers holding diverse views come from Europe to Russia and peer into every nook and cranny undoubtedly indicates that interest in Russia will grow month by month among the workers of the West. There is no doubt that this pilgrimage to Russia will grow. And when the Western workers become convinced that every step in the development of industry in Russia also means a step in the improvement of the conditions of the workers, and not the deterioration of these conditions, as usually happens in the capitalist countries, they will realize that it is high time for them, the Western workers, to set up workers' states in their own countries. That is why the very existence of the Soviet state is a deadly menace to imperialism. That is why no successes that imperialism achieves can be durable as long as the Soviet state exists and develops.

Such are the facts of *negative* significance for the bourgeoisie, for they testify to the strength and probable successes of the revolutionary movement in the near future.

The conflict between these opposite trends, positive and negative, constitutes the basis and content of the present international situation.

Amidst this conflict of opposites, so-called pacifism arose and wilted before it could bloom, failing to mark either an "era," an "epoch" or a "period." It failed to justify either the hopes of the compromisers or the apprehensions of the counter-revolutionaries.

In this conflict the "renowned" names of Poincaré and Hughes, of MacDonald and Herriot, perished.

Which of these trends will gain the upper hand, the positive or the negative?

There can be no doubt that *in time* the trends that are unfavourable for capitalism and favourable for the revolution must triumph, for imperialism is incapable of resolving the contradictions that are corroding it, for it is capable

only of alleviating them for a time with the result that they break out again later on and manifest themselves with fresh destructive force. It is also beyond doubt, however, that at the *present* time the positive trends, that are favourable for capitalism, are gaining the upper hand.

That is the specific feature of the present international situation.

As a result we have a sort of lull in Europe and America, "disturbed" by the national revolutionary movement in the colonies and "marred" by the existence, development and growing strength of the Soviet Union.

For the bourgeoisie it means a *respite*, increased exports of capital, increased wealth, increased oppression and exploitation in the colonies, increased pressure on the Soviet Union, the concentration of all the counter-revolutionary forces around Anglo-American capital.

For the proletariat in the capitalist countries it means the opening of a period of accumulating forces, the opening of a period of forming and training the proletarian armies under the banner of communism in the conditions of a system of repression alternating with a system of "liberties."

For the colonies it means an intensification of the struggle against national oppression and exploitation, an intensification of the struggle for liberation from imperialism.

For the Soviet Union it means the exertion of all efforts to develop industry further, to strengthen the country's defensive capacity, to concentrate the revolutionary forces of all countries against imperialism.

Hence the tasks of the Communist Parties:

1. To utilize to the utmost all contradictions in the camp of the bourgeoisie with the object of disintegrating and weakening its forces and of strengthening the positions of the proletariat.

2. To devise concrete forms and methods of drawing the working class in the advanced countries closer to the national revolutionary movement in the colonies and dependent countries with the object of rendering all possible support to this movement against the common enemy, against imperialism.

3. To promote the fight for trade-union unity and to carry it to a successful conclusion, bearing in mind that this is the surest means of winning over the vast working-class masses; for it is impossible to win over the vast proletarian masses unless the trade unions are won over; and it is impossible to win over the trade unions unless work is conducted in them and unless the confidence of the masses of the workers is won in the trade unions month by month and year by year. Failing this, it is out of the question even to think of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat.

4. To devise concrete forms and methods of drawing the working class closer to the small peasantry, who are crushed by the bureaucratic machine of the bourgeois state and by the extortionate prices of the all-powerful trusts, bearing in mind that the struggle to win over the small peasantry is the immediate task of a party that is advancing towards the dictatorship of the proletariat.

5. To support the Soviet regime and to frustrate the interventionist machinations of imperialism against the Soviet Union, bearing in mind that the Soviet Union is the bulwark of the revolutionary movement in all countries, and that to preserve and strengthen the Soviet Union means to accelerate the victory of the working class over the world bourgeoisie.

<sup>1</sup>The Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions was formed in July 1919 at an international congress held in Amsterdam. It consisted of the reformist trade unions of a number of countries of Western Europe and the U.S.A. In 1919 its affiliated membership reached 24,000,000, but by the end of 1923 it had dropped to 16,000,000. In subsequent years the influence and membership of the Amsterdam Federation steadily declined. During the Second World War it practically ceased to function. It was dissolved in December 1945 owing to the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions.