

RESISTANCE

POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION M-L
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The Spirit of Camp David



SADAT AND BEGIN LECTURE A PALESTINIAN MOTHER AND HER WOUNDED CHILD ON THE LIMITS OF SELF-DETERMINATION
SEE CENTER FOLD

DEFEND CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

THE GREATEST MARXIST-
LENINIST OF OUR TIMES!

The stand that one takes in relation of Chairman Mao Tse Tung is a fundamental question of principle that divides genuine Marxist-Leninists from revisionists and sham Marxists of every hue. Chairman Mao was the greatest Marxist Leninist of our times, a great revolutionary who upheld, depended, and further enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism. Chairman Mao has a place in history as the continuator of the work of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, as one of the five Marxist-Leninist teachers of the world's proletariat.

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

Works such as *On Practice, On Contradiction, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?* and others have enriched the science in the field of philosophy.

His military writings, especially in the area of peoples' war, delineate the basic military strategy and tactics for carrying out revolution in feudal, semi-feudal, and colonial and semi-colonial countries.

His writings on the New Democratic Revolution put forward the only correct path of the socialist revolution in two stages, the only path that can successfully lead the revolutionary struggle in colonies and neo-colonies for socialism. The great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that he initiated and led not only consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, but

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The Crown Heights Struggle and Our Tasks

This is our third article on the struggle against national oppression and police brutality in Crown Heights, Brooklyn. In this article, we examine how we place our participation in this struggle within the context of party building.

The focus of our work in Crown Heights, we repeat, is the task of developing the united front of multinational proletariat and the afro-american national minority. In order to carry out this task, it is imperative to struggle for the hegemony of the working class in this front. Only through the leadership of the working class and its vanguard sector (the honest Marxist-Leninist forces) will we be able to guarantee that the struggle against national oppression and police brutality develops along a revolutionary path, instead of being co-opted by the reformist leadership which will lead it down the reformist path of bourgeois politics, reliance on the state and its courts.

However, as we all know, the hegemony (leadership) of the working class is something that is not achieved by way of decrees, but is won in the heat of revolutionary class struggle. Today, it is not the working class and its organizations that are in control of this struggle, but the radical petty bourgeoisie and its organizations (the churches, community poverty programs, etc.) Under such leadership, the unity of the workers of all nationalities is stifled. National chauvinism is not combatted correctly but opposed

with narrow nationalism. Thus, as a result, the working class becomes divided, the fragile and almost non-existent united front is further weakened and the struggle takes the defeatist path of electoral compromises, back-room deals, and fighting for crumbs off the master's table — the poverty funds. The task which we have before us then is to change this state of affairs.

UNITE MARXIST-LENINISTS

When we say "we must unite Marxist-Leninists" we are not referring only to ourselves (LPR(M-L)), but to all honest Marxist-Leninists and advanced elements who are participating in the struggle. It is our task to achieve a principled unity which will allow us to give leadership to the struggle.

There are many instances in our movement of honest Marxist-Leninists who hold similar lines on a number of issues but who, when it comes to working in a particular struggle, do not make a conscious effort to achieve unity of action. And though working within the same struggle, going to the same meetings, the same demonstrations, under the same conditions, etc., our forces remain scatter-

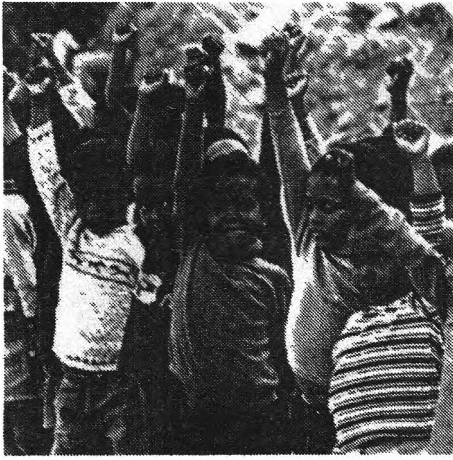
ed, our theoretical and practical work duplicated, and our influence diffused and weakened. There is no need for this, and the fact that differences do exist should not be the excuse, or the "theoretical justification" for this backward style of work. This is the line of "all struggle, no unity" that fails to differentiate between the contradictions among ourselves and the contradictions between us and the enemy. In fact, comrades have used the undeniable differences that do exist among honest Marxist-Leninists and the ideological struggle that has to be carried out in order to reach principled unity, as a pretext for avoiding to sit down and seriously attempt to reach unity around the tasks confronting communists in Crown Heights.

Some forces have in fact substituted gossip, back stabbing, distortion of line, etc. for open and principled ideological struggle. Nonetheless, we consider these childish attitudes not to be the principal contradiction in the struggle. We will not engage in a little war among ourselves which can only help to disrupt our already weak and scattered forces. That would only leave the door open for the further consolidation of reformism and narrow nationalism in the leadership of the struggle.

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It has been said that if you scratch a communist, you're liable to find a 'philistine' — or hypocrite — on the woman question. Although many revolutionaries may seem to believe in the equality of the sexes, deep down they don't.

This is the case of many people in our movement, particularly some organizations which pay lip service to the question of full emancipation of women, but liquidate it in practice. This is wrong and harmful to our movement. One of the great lessons proven by historical example, and pointed out by the great revolutionary teachers of our times, is that the success of any revolutionary struggle depends heavily on the participation of women.

One way capitalism gains strength is by keeping the oppressed from uniting. Capitalism has kept men and women divided in many ways: discrimination against women in jobs and education, keeping women in menial jobs with low pay, promoting ideas such as 'a woman's place is in the home', or that women are inferior to, and therefore less intelligent than, men, that their role is to please men, etc.

Communists, revolutionary and progressive people must struggle against these views, while explaining how the struggle against women's oppression is inseparably linked to the struggle against capitalism, for the liberation of the working class as a whole.

Yet, if we don't do anything to concretely transform conditions to enable women to participate in this struggle we are only giving lip service to the struggle for equality and full emancipation of women. Without an active and conscious effort to provide such conditions the participation of women in the struggle is merely an academic question, wishful thinking which doesn't go beyond the paper it's written on!

Under capitalist oppression, women are the ones entirely responsible for rearing children. Under such conditions they are stuck with the cooking, the cleaning, and all the other menial household chores. Under such conditions, comrades, what time can women expect to have for participation in political work and events? For reading communist newspapers? For becoming exposed to political events beyond the narrow scope of their home and neighbors? To study Marxism-Leninism and discuss political questions with others? Practically none! Besides, they are discouraged by stereotyping and male chauvinist attitudes from doing such things. It is our task to *make* that time available to women, to help women so they *can do these things*.

WHY CHILDCARE AT MOVEMENT EVENTS?

That is why we urge male comrades to take up a good part of the household load, as well as encouraging women to become involved in political life on an equal basis with men. This is done through consistent propaganda and agitation work around the evils of male chauvinism and the need for women to participate fully in the struggle. By creating special groups, study circles, etc., that serve the purpose of advancing women politically and ideologically, we are providing special training for women, so they can catch up with men. Those tasks which have been, historically, 'women's tasks' — typing, taking minutes, cooking for fund raisers, child care — must be assigned to men as well.

There is another aspect in the practice of creating conditions that facilitate the political involvement of women has been neglected by our movement: child care.

There are hundreds of events held every day in the U.S. where child care is not provided. Some times the only events organizations consider providing child care for are those relating to the woman question. For example, we see that at forums on party building, memorials for Mao, conferences on the international situation, etc., there is no child care, on the other hand, such services are provided during IWW events. This is an outright liquidation of the woman question because no importance at all is given to the fact that the majority of women cannot attend such events since they must take care of children. Secondly, it reflects the incorrect line that says the only events women should attend are those relating to women's issues. This condemns women to a narrow view of self-interest in politics. Both cases liquidate the woman question, either by not addressing it or by addressing it narrowly, implying that women are only to be interested in "women's events."

Child care is an essential part of our revolutionary work. We must strive to provide child care at all events, meetings, etc. Our attitude towards child care is also important.

First of all, they fail to advertise child care in their flyers. Why? Because they are not interested in promoting that children be brought to activities. They say "If they bring children, then we'll take care of them, but it's better if they don't, so we won't have to hassle." Such attitudes negate the fact that not to promote child care is equivalent to blocking the participation of many women in the struggle. To offer child care is to provide many more women with the means to participate in the struggle.

Another manifestation of the line is the quality of child care offered. Is it carefully planned and properly attended? Are children left on their own, or are there planned activities for them? Are these activities geared towards teaching children good attitudes towards sharing, cooperation, learning, etc., as well as exposing the children to certain socialist ideas, pride in the working class, and counteracting incorrect ideas and attitudes instilled in them by capitalist education? They should be!

Having child care at our events is not a burden. It is not "babysitting" or a means to keep the children busy and away from the event. Rather, it is an excellent opportunity to work with the children. After all, they are the future successors of the revolution. It is also an opportunity to reach their parents. Without falling into "leftism" and going beyond their understanding, political programs should be prepared for the children and explained to the parents. The results of certain activities during child care — such as drawing — could be exhibited at some point inside the hall where the event is being held. This helps to create a positive attitude in the parents towards child care and will be an incentive to bring them back next time.

The quality of child care at some of our movement activities is such that rather than helping parents, especially women, to continue coming with their children, it only helps to keep them away!

It is shoddy, children are found

the women question in practice! Many times we will see that a female comrade, a wife of a comrade, perhaps, whose interest in the event may be low, and who has "a way with children", is asked to take up the task. "It's a way of getting her involved", some may claim. But the point is that this is further reinforcing women's role in capitalist society. It doesn't allow her to benefit from the event. The same applies if comrades of lesser development — male or female — are assigned to child care.

This brings us to another example of the belittlement of the woman question — the attitude of comrades towards the task of being in charge of child care. Some comrades are all out in favor of providing child care at all events. Yet, when it comes time to assigning child care, they use all kinds of ruses and "theoretical" excuses to avoid it. They claim not to be prepared, not to know anything about kids, etc. They claim that they have to be present at the event itself, in order to "defend the line". They claim that they should not miss the discussion for any number of reasons. In short, they would "prefer" not to do it, but will only "if they have to."

What a great burden child care is to these comrades! They won't admit it, but their attitude shows disdain for both children, women, and the woman question. Child care is not a "menial" task. If these comrades have their way, it will be the less advanced cadres, many times women (and for the same reasons cited in this article!) who will end up doing child care and missing the events.

This tendency is especially dangerous, as these comrades are in special need of the experience of such events, also, those who profess to "champion" the cause of women are oftentimes the very same ones who liquidate that cause in practice. They must be criticized, and helped in correcting their practice. It must be made clear that some comrades need the benefit of special treatment when it comes to political events, that is the reason why they are being allowed to participate in the event directly, and not because child care is unimportant.

Finally, the issue of child care must be raised constantly in the context of coalition work. It is common in coalitions for organizations to avoid volunteering forces for child care. When they do, it is also common that they do not come prepared, do not bring materials, or don't carry out the tasks well or with enthusiasm.

These, in brief, are the negative, bourgeois attitudes towards child care that have been manifested in our movement. They in turn reflect a belittlement of the woman question. They must be rectified.

In the past, LPR(M-L) has belittled the woman question in this respect, but we are fighting hard to eradicate such incorrect attitudes from our ranks. This article is part of that struggle, it also responds to our recently launched rectification campaign which affects all areas of our work and struggle. We hope that other comrades will join us in taking this struggle to heart!

WOMEN HOLD UP HALF THE SKY

If we view child care as a burden — as something that we *have* to do simply because if we don't, we'll have children running around during the event, interrupting it, being a "nuisance", then we are still belittling the woman question. Child care should not be seen as a means of getting rid of children, but as a way to make sure that women can become involved in political work. It also is a means to reach the children themselves.

Many organizations consider child care a burden and view it as a pragmatic, non-political, unwelcome task. This reflects a belittlement of the woman question. Although they may deny this, their actions clearly betray their line.

How is this manifested?

crying, fighting, bored, dirty, hurt, etc., discouraging parents from bringing them back. The task of child care should be seen as any other political task: materials need to be prepared beforehand, planned, and cadre need to be trained. Finally, for evening events, provisions should be made so that at least the youngest of the children can nap, have snacks, etc. Parents should be consulted for special instructions regarding their children's needs, such as time for bottles, diaper changes, food preferences or allergies, etc. And we should take special care to carry these out.

Look at who is placed in charge of the child care and you can get a good idea of the level of consciousness of an organization concerning

Nicaragua : THE MASSES WILL DEFEAT THE SOMOZA DICTATORSHIP

At the cost of innumerable sacrifices the courageous Nicaraguan people have written glorious pages of heroism, dealing death blows to the criminal dictatorship that for more than 40 years has ruled their country. In the cities of Managua, Leon, Granada, and many others, as well as in the countryside, the Nicaraguan workers and peasants, students and intellectuals, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the patriotic sector of the national bourgeoisie have bravely and courageously fought against the forces of reaction.

Dictator Somoza — a lackey of U S imperialism — has been able to keep himself in power for a little longer only thanks to the military and economic aid of U S imperialism. But the days of the tyranny are numbered. The blood of the best sons and daughters of Nicaragua has

ragua, especially pilots to be used in the bombardment of the cities that are under the control of the insurgents. It's an inescapable reality that both the Somoza regime and U S imperialism have to be the main target of the Nicaraguan revolution.

CARTER MANEUVERS TO KEEP "SOMOZISMO" WITHOUT SOMOZA

Responding to the fact that Somoza is completely isolated both internally and internationally, the strategy of U S imperialism has been to play more than one deck of cards at the same time. Thus, we see that simultaneously with providing all types of military and economic aid to Somoza, Carter expresses "concern" for the "suffering of the Nicaraguan people" and sends a delega-

WORLD WIDE CONDEMNATION OF SOMOZA'S CRIMES

As we pointed out above, the Somoza regime is completely isolated nationally and internationally. Protests against the bloodbath being undertaken by the National Guard against the civilian population (cities have been bombarded, unarmed civilians have been routed and shot, etc.) have been carried out all around the world. The governments of Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, and Costa Rica have condemned Somoza and offered some support to the Sandinists.

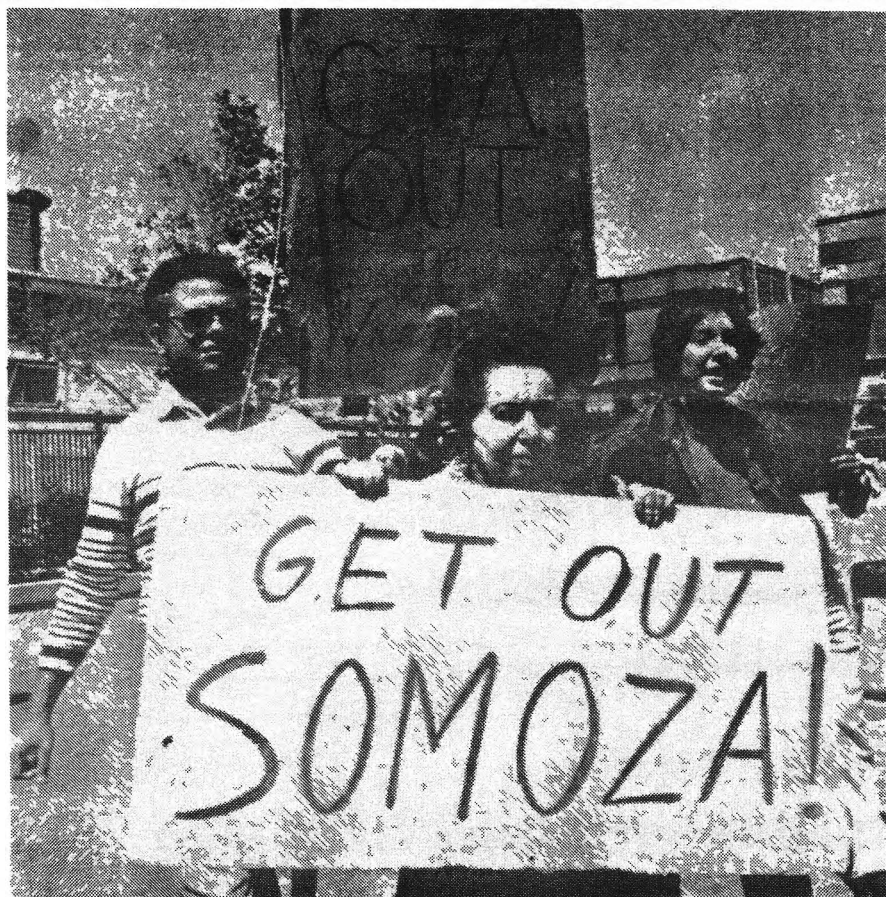
Panama, for example, provided asylum for the released Sandinist Political Prisoners, after their successful take over of the National Palace on August 22nd. In addition, it has been published that recruitment centers for volunteers to fight Somoza have been established in Panama. In the United States demonstrations have been carried out in San Francisco, Boston, Washington, and other cities. In New York City alone, four or five big demonstrations have been held, and other activities are being organized.

the meantime, the other types of intervention (CIA, mercenaries, economic aid, diplomatic ties, etc.) are actually going on, and should be the object of continuous exposure and opposition. By educating the working class and other oppressed people in proletarian internationalism, and by mobilizing the masses in support of the heroic Nicaraguan masses, we are not only supporting these just struggles, but we are also moving people towards actual involvement in the class struggle here at home.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE THIRD WORLD MOVES FORWARD

This struggle shows clearly how it is that the third world peoples and nations are the principal force in the struggle against imperialism, social imperialism, and superpower hegemonism.

The heroic Nicaraguan masses have risen up, arms in hand, to defeat the U S backed dictatorship that oppresses them. The overthrow of the Somoza regime will strengthen the Third World and weaken U S



From the battlefields of Nicaragua, to the streets of the United States, the cry is "Down with Somoza!"

not been spilled in vain. One day, not too far off, the struggle of the Nicaraguan masses will be victorious.

U S IMPERIALISM IS THE MAIN ENEMY OF THE NICARAGUAN MASSES

Nicaragua is a neo-colony of the U S, who plunders the natural resources, own the major industries and banks, own the largest plantations, etc. In fact, the Somoza regime came to power under the auspices of U S imperialism, who plotted the assassination of the great anti-imperialist revolutionary, Cesar Augusto Sandino, in the 'thirties. Since then, the dictatorship has counted with the military and economic assistance of Washington. The Nicaraguan National Guard and police have been trained and armed by the U S.

Just a month ago, the Carter administration approved a special \$12 million aid grant to Somoza. This action was denounced by the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN), who in recent declarations also accused U S imperialism of sending mercenaries to fight in Nica-

tion to Latin America asking the governments of eight countries in that region to "mediate" in the conflict. By the way, using the same approach as was used in the Middle East, Carter's envoy made clear that the Sandinists will not be part of the negotiations. In the middle east, the PLO was also excluded.

U S diplomats have been seeking a "solution" by which Somoza will resign and will be substituted by some pro-American "leader" who will be responsible for keeping things basically the same. In other words, keeping "Somozismo" (a government a la Somoza) without Somoza.

Also, the imperialists are trying to break the Broad Opposition Front (FAO) by seeking arrangements with the most vacillating sectors in the front who are being offered every possible concession up to and including the head of Somoza and the acceptance of one of their representatives as the new president.

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TODAY!**

WE HAVE THE SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF SUPPORTING THIS NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Although as part of our proletarian internationalist duty we have the responsibility of supporting all struggles that weaken imperialism, it's our special responsibility to resolutely support those struggles that are spearheaded against our own bourgeoisie. The U S multinational proletariat, the oppressed nationalities and other oppressed people have to establish a common front of struggle against our common enemy. The militant, resolute, and consistent support to the peoples and nations in struggle for liberation from the yoke of U S imperialism is vital for the establishment of this front.

Our support work for the Nicaraguan national liberation struggle should focus on opposing all types of U S intervention in Nicaragua. The possibility of a U S invasion of that country, although improbable, can not be belittled. In

imperialism. This will be a victory not only for the Nicaraguan people, but for all revolutionary minded, freedom loving and progressive people of the world.

**LONG LIVE THE NATIONAL
LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF
THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE!**

**U S IMPERIALISM, HANDS OFF
OF NICARAGUA!**

**WORKERS AND OPPRESSED
PEOPLES AND NATIONS OF THE
WORLD, UNITE!**

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**MARKISTS-LENINISTS UNITE!
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CAMP DAVID: Framework for Betrayal

Following a two-week summit meeting sponsored by Jimmy Carter at Camp David, Maryland, the leaders of Egypt and Israel signed a couple of pieces of paper. They called these papers a "framework for peace" in the Middle East. But this "framework", engineered from the ground up by U.S. imperialism, has nothing to do with peace. It is a framework for betrayal.

At the time of Sadat's first visit to Israel, we criticized him for selling out the cause of the Palestinian people.

"Sadat's betrayal of the national aspirations of the Palestinian and Arab people strengthens U.S. imperialism in the Middle East and gives the U.S. the upper hand in its struggle against the other superpower, the U.S.S.R., for hegemony in this strategic region."

(Resistance, Vol 9, No 1, p 1)

The same is still true, only now it is worse. The agreements signed at Camp David betray the Palestinian people's struggle for national liberation and self-determination. They betray the unity of the third world Arab countries, attempting to force them into a reconciliation with Israeli Zionism. And they betray the struggle of all the world's people against the hegemonism and war preparation of U.S. imperialism.

How could it be otherwise, with Jimmy Carter playing the role of Mideast "peacemaker"? The U.S. imperialists are only pretending to make peace in order to strengthen their grip on the oppressed people of the world, and to put themselves in a better position to make war later on. And the Camp David accords are designed to do just that for U.S. imperialism. Anyone who follows the leadership of this phony "peacemaker" is making a serious mistake.

WHAT THE AGREEMENTS SAY

The basic thrust of the Camp David accords is easy to grasp. It is an attempt to establish a separate peace between Egypt and Israel, while squashing the Palestinian people's just demand for self-determination and ignoring the national and regional interests of the other Arab states in the Mideast.

The agreements call for a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel within three months, and the establishment of normal relations between the two countries. No new Israeli settlements may be established in occupied lands during the negotiations.

In the Israeli-occupied territories of the Sinai peninsula, there will be "phased withdrawal" of Israeli troops beginning three to nine months after the peace treaty is signed, and reaching completion within three years. All captured airfields in the Sinai will be returned to Egyptian civilian control.

The West Bank and Gaza Strip territories are to be placed under "Palestinian self-rule" during a five-year "transitional period". The Israeli occupation troops, which currently hold these areas under martial law, are to withdraw to "speci-

fied garrisons" to "protect the security of Israel." Negotiations on the final status of the West Bank and Gaza are to take place during the "transitional period", with the participation of Israel, Egypt, the self-ruling Palestinians, and Jordan if it agrees to the scheme.

BETRAYAL OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

The West Bank of the Jordan River, the Gaza Strip, and the land that is now called Israel all belong



The Palestinian Freedom Fighters are determined to intensify the armed struggle against Zionism.

to the Palestinian people. It was stolen from them at gunpoint by a gang of Zionist criminals, backed by U.S. and British imperialism, who used every imaginable kind of terrorism, violence and trickery to expel the Palestinians from their homeland. This is a matter of historical fact.

So, the Palestinian people's struggle must take the form of an armed fight to forcibly regain what was taken from them by force. It is a just, progressive, and revolutionary national liberation struggle against imperialism and a racist settler regime much like those in Zimbabwe and Azania. The Palestinian people are being led in this struggle by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The PLO stands unflinchingly and without compromise for the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people. And this means nothing short of the right to form an independent state, on their own land, without outside interference. Furthermore, the PLO has consistently advocated and carried out armed struggle as a means to this end. The PLO and its anti-Zionist, anti-imperialist line have the full support of the masses.

For this reason, the PLO is internationally recognized as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. No settlement of the Palestinian question, and no peace in the Middle East, can be arrived at without the full participation of the PLO.

All of the above is ABC for the

vast majority of the world's people. But Jimmy Carter, Menachem Begin, and now, Anwar Sadat, all refuse to listen to what the rest of the world is shouting out loud. With their bogus "framework for peace" they are trying to solve the Palestinian question without the PLO. They are trying to take away the people's right to self-determination once and for all. This is a hokey trick pulled from the same bag as Ian Smith's fully discredited "internal settlement."

"transitional period." *"I believe with all my heart in our people's right to claim sovereignty over Judea and Samaria"* [Biblical names for the West Bank and Gaza Strip] said Begin.

Meanwhile, Jimmy Carter is strutting around, bragging that now "the Palestinians will have the right to participate in the determination of their own future." This is a classic imperialist subterfuge, in which the principle of self-determination is limited, distorted beyond recognition, and then used as an empty slogan to justify continued national oppression.

SADAT BETRAYS ARAB UNITY

Having betrayed the cause of Palestinian liberation, Sadat has also given up on Arab unity. By recognizing the state of Israel, and opening up the possibility of normal relations, he had given the U.S. imperialists something they can use as a lever to try to get some of the other Arab states to do the same. In this way, the imperialists are hoping to create their own Mideast coalition consisting of Israel, Egypt, and whatever other Arab states can be drawn under U.S. influence. This will undermine the unity of the third world Arab countries, and help the U.S. get into a better position in its preparations for war with the Soviet Union.

Already Cyrus Vance has been sent to the Mideast to try to drum up Arab support for the "framework for peace." He's visiting Arab states in descending order of their likelihood to go along with the scheme. First, to Jordan, where the immediate hope is that King Hussein will like the idea of sharing sovereignty over the West Bank, and unite with the accords. However, a communique issued by Jordan recently "condemns separate peace agreements and also declares that the Palestinian people are the first and most important party in a peace settlement."

Next, Vance will fly to Saudi Arabia, which has already called the accords "an unacceptable formula for a definitive peace." Finally, he will go to Syria, which is the country least likely to jump on the bandwagon — especially since the question of sovereignty over the Golan

The idea is to set up phony "transitional governments" in Gaza and the West Bank, made up of Palestinian lackeys in the pay of Israel, while Israeli occupation troops keep the area clear of anyone who might "threaten Israel's security" — namely, the PLO. In this way it is hoped that the demand for Palestinian self-determination will never be heard again on "Israeli" soil.

As if this weren't bad enough, Begin has already dropped the pretense of his totally transparent annexationist scheme. The day after he signed the agreements with Sadat, he was telling reporters that Israeli troops would remain in Gaza and the West Bank even after the five year



No settlement of the Palestinian Question, and no peace in the Middle East, can be arrived at without the full participation of the PLO.

Heights (Syrian territory, occupied by Israel) was not dealt with at Camp David

However, we are certain that despite diplomatic efforts by the U S to wreck Arab unity and increase its influence in the Mideast, the Palestinian people will reject this imperialist plot to seal the take-over of their homeland. Despite Sadat's betrayal, and despite any compromises that may or may not be forced upon Jordan or any other Arab state, we are certain the Palestinian people will continue to struggle until victory!

THE OTHER SUPERPOWER WATCHES IN ANGER

The other superpower — the social-imperialist Soviet Union, — is not at all happy about the results of the Camp David summit. The new tsars were hoping to grab a nice slice of the Mideast pie through their participation in the Geneva talks, which they were to co-chair with the U S. But now it seems that the U S has taken the initiative, and it will be much more difficult to get the interested parties to the negotiating table at Geneva.

About all the Soviets can do at this point is to cling to their mask as the "natural ally" of the national liberation struggles. They are making a big show of support for the PLO, and they are denouncing Sadat at every turn. These would be correct positions, if they were taken for the right reasons. But they are not. We can expect to see the Soviet Union hatching new plots in the near future, attempting to gain the upper hand in the Mideast. Although, at least for the moment, they are the underdog, with the U S having the upper hand, the Soviet social-imperialists are not going to step aside that easily. We must watch out for any new tricks they may try in order to gain control of the liberation movement and further penetrate into the Middle East.

STAND WITH THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND THE PLO

Already the U S imperialists and the Israeli Zionists are launching an international propaganda campaign to give credibility to their "framework for peace." At the same time, progressive and revolutionary people everywhere are following the lead of the PLO in denouncing it. The PLO has pledged to intensify the armed struggle against Zionism as a wedding present to Sadat and Begin.

All genuine Marxist-Leninists, and all progressive workers and oppressed people in the U S must take a stand with their Palestinian brothers and sisters. Together, we look forward to a bright future, and the inevitable defeat of imperialism, Zionism, and all reaction!

DOWN WITH THE TWO SUPER-POWERS!

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE AND NATIONS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Rectify our Way of Thinking!

This is the second article on the rectification campaign recently launched by LPR (M-L). Here we present excerpts from a report made by the Central Committee on the question of the need to rectify our method of thinking.

The main directives put forward in the rectification campaign sum-up our major weaknesses and shortcomings, and establish the method to rectify them. The first one, "Rectify our method of thinking and style of work", spells out clearly what is the nature of the main problems. The second one, "Study Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought, Practice criticism, self-criticism" establishes the method of rectification.

Obviously, it is not enough to refer to problems in the "method of thinking" and the "style of work". It is necessary that we examine what are the particular problems in each of these two great areas. Furthermore, we have to determine how these errors are manifested in our ideological and political line and in our revolutionary practice. We also have to determine what are the bases for those errors.

It is clear to all of us that the problems we face are not exclusively our problems, but that they are problems common to the U S anti-revisionist communist movement as a whole. Nonetheless, it is crucial that we focus the campaign on the errors and failures of LPR (M-L), and not on those of the whole movement. Only by focusing on our low theoretical development, our subjectivism, our sectarianism, our bowing to spontaneity, our narrow circle spirit, our incorrect methods of leadership, will we be able to, in fact, rectify our way of thinking and our style of work. And only by doing that, can we expect to lead others in the great process of rectification that our movement so badly needs.

A question is in order: *What is wrong with our way of thinking?* What is wrong, comrades, is that we don't always adhere to the Marxist-Leninist methods of "seeking truth from facts", of "making concrete analysis of concrete conditions". This is quite a heavy indictment. But failing to call a spade a spade can only cause harm to the proletarian cause. The sooner and the deeper we move on our case, the sooner can the disease be cured, and the patient move forward with the tasks ahead.

THE WORLD IS LIKE IT IS, AND NOT AS WE IMAGINE IT TO BE.

"Concrete analysis of concrete conditions", says Stalin, "is the soul of Marxism." And he adds "Everything depends upon time, place and conditions." Concretely, this means that in order to avoid errors we have to take as a point of departure things as they are, and not as we would like them to be. We have to base ourselves on concrete reality, not on wishful thinking.

For sure, everyone agrees with this proposition, but the point is to

apply it every place, every time. Any deviation from it, no matter how slight, breaks with the historical materialist method of thinking, and puts us in the camp of idealism. Idealists have a distorted view of reality. Thus, a political line that is based on an idealist view of reality has to necessarily, independently of the will of its authors, be incorrect. Whoever breaks the dialectics between the objective and the subjective, between theory and practice, between knowing and doing, between thinking and being, is making, we repeat, idealist errors, is making a subjective "analysis" of conditions.

We have done this many times, in many different ways. Sometimes we have completely relied on book knowledge of phenomena and, without a good grasp of the "time, place and conditions" we have put forward solutions which have served to solve problems in other places, at other times, but which have no application to our concrete reality. This subjectivist deviation is called dogmatism, and we have to plead guilty for having made dogmatic errors in our treatment of some questions.

Our approach to the Afro-American question is a good example of this. When in 1975 we put forward our support for the right to self-determination up to and including secession of the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South, we had not made any substantial investigation of the actual historical development of that nation, nor of its present socio-economic conditions. And yet, we adopted the position:

We based ourselves on the two Comintern resolutions of 1928 and 1930, in which the existence of the nation was in fact scientifically proven. But we did not really grasp the thorough and rigorous scientific analysis done by the Comintern on this question. Its scientific approach of "seeking truth from facts" was disregarded, and substituted by a lazy bone and dogmatic approach of taking positions without considering time, place and conditions.

It is clear that we need to deepen tenfold our understanding of the crucial question. Unless we do so, our support for the right to self-determination up to and including secession of the Afro-American nation, will not mean much.

On the other hand, we have also committed the subjectivist error of empiricism. This is relying only on our own experience ("own" meaning sometimes us, sometimes the U S anti-revisionist communist movement, or a section of it), thus liquidating the role of theory.

Our work within the student movement reflects this error. Based

on the experience gained through our involvement at Hunter and Hostos College, we developed a general line for the work in campuses. In doing so, we did not carry out enough study and investigation on the youth and student question, nor did we sum-up the experience of the communist movement in this area. As a result, our line and approach to the student question was based exclusively on our own narrow experience.

Another error of subjectivism in our way of thinking has been that of voluntarism. By this we mean acting irrespectively of the objective and subjective conditions, as if we were capable of making things come into being, out of our independent will.

This error led us to place over our shoulder a series of political projects, activities, tasks, etc., that were beyond our actual capabilities. All the obstacles, and all the concrete conditions which clearly told us that we could not carry out those tasks were belittled and brushed aside. We set out to overcome them just with our enthusiasm and will power. But obviously, this was not enough. Our May Day activity and the suspended Conference on Revolutionary Culture, are but two of the latest examples of this.

Our work provides many more examples of all of these evils in our way of thinking.

OUR LOW THEORETICAL LEVEL

For a movement in which many consider themselves the new Lenins, Stalins, and Maos, talk about low theoretical development sounds like heresy. But it is enough to open any one of the communist newspapers to see that reality hitting us in the face. We know that we do not represent the less-developed formation in the movement, but the fact that we are more developed than others does not mean much at all. This is not a question of trying to be one-eyed in the land of the blind. Our incapacity to deal in a Marxist-Leninist way with fundamental questions, such as party building, the present crisis of imperialism, the danger of war and fascism, the national questions, is a stubborn fact that has to be accepted. If others want to call their writings on these questions the "application of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete conditions of the U S", let them continue to insist on being "top-heavy, thin-stemmed and shallow of root", or "sharp-tongued, thick-skinned and hollow inside", as Chairman Mao described them so well.

But we should know better. It's a question of "shooting the arrow" (Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought) at the correct target (the U S revolution). We have to honestly accept that we don't yet have good control of the arrow, and that we have a poor understanding of the target. Thus, the study of the science with the target in mind is the only way forward. This, in a nutshell, means that we have to correctly in-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

Rectification Camp (cont)

tegrate theory and practice, and take no short-cuts from the only correct path of seeking truth from facts. Chairman Mao explained what "seek truth from facts" means in the following way:

"To take such an attitude is to seek truth from facts. 'Facts' are all the things that exist objectively, 'truth' means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them, and 'to seek' means to study. We should proceed from the actual conditions inside and outside the country, the province, county or district, and derive from them, as our guide to action, laws which are inherent in them and not imaginary, that is, we should find the internal relations of the event occurring around us. And in order to do that we must rely not on subjective imagination, not on momentary enthusiasm, not on lifeless books, but on facts that exist objectively, we must appropriate the material in detail and, guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, draw correct conclusions from it."

("Reform Our Study")

It is clear that in order for us to correctly use this method, we have to improve our knowledge in many areas.

WE HAVE TO KNOW THE TARGET

One of our principal weaknesses is the lack of understanding of both U.S. society today, and of its historical development. Thus, when defining friends and enemies we resort to an analysis based mainly on book knowledge rather than on the concrete understanding that only a class analysis of the United States today can provide.

We talk about periods in party building without ever attempting to sum-up the development of the communist movement in this country. We talk about the general crisis of imperialism without being able to go beyond the most blatant manifestations of that crisis: unemployment, inflation, cut backs, and so on.

The fact of the matter is that we know more — and talk more — of the Peoples' Republic of China (which has already been liberated

and is already under the dictatorship of the proletariat) than about the U.S. Since it is us, and not the Chinese comrades, who are going to make the U.S. revolution, it is time that we pay attention to our target, and learn to aim at it well. In order to transform the world you have to know it first, and in order to wage revolution in the U.S. we have to first know the U.S. very well.

SOME CONCRETE TASKS IN THIS RESPECT

Although the areas in which we have to greatly improve our understanding of the concrete conditions in the U.S. are innumerable, we believe that the areas of primary importance are:

1. Analysis of classes in the U.S.
2. The national question, especially the Afro-American and Chicano national questions.
3. The history of the U.S. communist movement, with special emphasis on the degeneration of the CPUSA, the sham party building attempts of the CLP, RCP, CPML, the "wing", etc. This is crucial in order to make a re-assessment of the movement at this moment.
4. The development of the U.S. working class and its trade union movement.
5. The present economic crisis and its effects on the working class, oppressed nationalities and women.
6. The menace of fascism.
7. The danger of imperialist war.

Although we have done some study in each of these questions, and have developed positions on some of them, it is clear that those positions were not developed in a thorough Marxist-Leninist way. Therefore, it is important to deepen our understanding of each of them, and that we submit our present position to the supreme test of the "concrete analysis of concrete conditions."

OUR ARROW HAS A DEFECT THAT WILL NOT ALLOW US TO HIT THE TARGET EVEN IF WE KNOW IT WELL

Lenin talks about three component

the great proletarian leader who led the international communist movement in the struggle and break with modern revisionism.

As of late, the attacks against Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line have escalated. An Unholy Alliance of all sorts of revisionists, Trotskyites, and other opportunists have concentrated their fire on the correct Marxist-Leninist theory of the differentiation of the three worlds. In so doing, all of these forces place themselves on the side of modern revisionism, and in fact objectively collaborate with Soviet social-imperialism. At the beginning, some of these forces attacked only the three worlds theory and in fact made it a point to try and disconnect the theory from Chairman Mao himself. They tried to invalidate a correct line by claiming that Chairman Mao had nothing to do with it. As of late, and as a result of the further isolation of these forces, they have come with an all-out attack against Chairman Mao and the CPC. Now they accept the fact that the three world

parts of Marxism. These are: political economy, historical materialism, and socialism. Although we are weak in all three areas, political economy is by far our Achilles heel. Without grasping political economy, it is obvious that no real class analysis can be made. It is obvious also that it is not possible to understand the present crisis of imperialism either, without a knowledge of political economy. Thus, our arrow cannot be as powerful when it is almost completely deprived of one of its components. And therefore, the study of the science, and especially of political economy, is a must in the immediate period ahead. This must



be done without losing perspective and becoming complacent about our grasp of the other components, which in fact also needs improvement.

INTEGRATE THEORY AND PRACTICE

In order to rectify our way of thinking and therefore be able to rectify our style of work, we have to integrate the study with the doing, the words with the deeds. As Stalin teaches us: "Theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illuminated by revolutionary theory." We have correctly emphasized the primacy of theory over practice in a period like the one we find ourselves in, where there is no guiding

theory is Chairman Mao's theory, and therefore attack one and the other. But they have raised a big rock only to drop it on their own feet. Facts are stubborn things, and the facts prove that it is Chairman Mao and his true followers in the CPC and the world over, who have upheld and defended Marxism-Leninism from all attacks.

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

In the same way, attacks against Stalin did not stop there, but became attacks against Marxism-Leninism as a whole. We have no doubt that the present anti-Mao, anti-CPC, anti-three worlds theory campaign will end up in the same way. And it can't be any other way. In the 60's under the leadership of the CPC and Chairman Mao Tse

line, no leading revolutionary center that can guide us forward. Nonetheless, pointing to what is primary doesn't mean that everything else can be liquidated, or is not important, or is only for whenever we have some free time, etc.

We all agree that although this is the line we have put forward, and that in the main we have stuck to it, we have also committed some deviations here. Of particular importance is the tendency to separate the study from the practice. On many occasions comrades have been studying materials which, although very important in themselves, were not related at all to their area of work in revolutionary practice. People were studying about what they were not involved in, and practicing in another area without systematically studying it. This was rendering theory "purposeless", a dogma, and not a guide to action. On the other hand, the practice was "groping in the dark" deprived of the theory to lead it.

SOME TASKS IN THIS AREA

1. Every unit should develop study related with the particular area of work they are involved in.
2. We have to assure that every contact of the organization involved in practical work is also involved in study. At the same time, we must be sure that we don't have cases that only want to study, but not practice.
3. The Central Committee will develop a centralized study on the party building question for the whole organization, including contacts.

We are confident that in the discussion of this document, comrades will be able to deepen the understanding of the points raised here. Knowing the staunch proletarian stand of all comrades, your dedication to the cause of revolution, and determination to overcome all weaknesses in order to march forward, we look ahead towards a bright future.

**FORWARD WITH THE
RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN!
RECTIFY OUR METHOD OF
THINKING AND STYLE OF WORK!
STUDY MARXISM-LENINISM
MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT,
PRACTICE CRITICISM, SELF-
CRITICISM!**

Tung, the International communist movement closed ranks to defend the great Stalin and his revolutionary line from the attacks of the Soviet revisionists. Today, the International communist movement has to, and in fact is doing so, close ranks in defense of Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line.

Today, it is already two years since Chairman Mao left us, but his teachings and his name are immortal. We will do everything in our power, we will not spare any efforts to defend and uphold Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought against every and all attacks, no matter from which opportunist quarters they may come from. We will defend Chairman Mao and his teachings, convinced that in doing so we are defending the invincible science of the proletariat, the great cause of revolution and socialism, the freedom and independence of the oppressed peoples and nations of the world.

**LONG LIVE INVINCIBLE
MARXISM-LENINISM
MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!**

Chairman Mao (cont)

also tremendously advanced Marxism-Leninism in the fundamental question of the continuation of the class struggle under socialism. His theory of the differentiation of the three worlds is a great Marxist-Leninist theory that establishes the strategy and basic orientation to carry out the struggle for the world proletarian revolution under the present conditions.

Naturally, Chairman Mao was hated by the imperialists, the revisionists, and the opportunists of all hues with the same intensity that he was loved by the Chinese people, the communists and revolutionaries, and the workers and oppressed peoples the world over. Since the great polemic of the 60's between the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces, led by the CPC, and the revisionists, led by the Khrushchev clique, Chairman Mao and the CPC have been subjected to all sorts of slanders. But no amount of calumnies and distortions can overshadow the figure of

CROWN HEIGHTS (Cont.)

We believe that it is still possible, and we will continue to work for it, to establish a tactical leading center to provide communist leadership to the struggle against national oppression and police brutality in Crown Heights

Our views on the struggle and on how to move it forward have been laid out in an open and above-board manner. We will answer any criticisms similarly put forward

Genuine Marxist-Leninist organizations, individuals, and advanced elements participating in the struggle should strive to plan strategy and tactics collectively, to allocate our forces properly and consciously, and to sum-up and criticize our work systematically as the work progresses. In fact, it is in this way that we can iron out our differences and achieve unity on the correct line. This provides us with the opportunity to test in practice those agreements in theory we profess to have, and consolidate them

In this struggle, in which reformism has the upper hand, it is even more necessary that we transform that reformist leadership through unity of line and action, into real communist leadership. The slogans "Marxists-Leninists, Unite" and "Win the Advanced to Communism" must become a living force that will allow us to move the struggle forward. That is why we are calling for the formation of a tactical leading center in this struggle

Obviously there exist certain unities between ourselves and other comrades participating in this struggle. This unity has become apparent at those times when we have struggled against some of the incorrect views of the leadership of the Black United Front (e.g. the struggle against the view that more Black policemen would move to solve the question of police brutality). This unity, however, has manifested itself in a completely spontaneous manner, since there has been no major progress in the attempt to unite our forces

It is imperative that we try to establish among ourselves a minimum basis of unity which will allow us to jointly carry out our tasks in this struggle. We are proposing to other Marxist-Leninist organizations, collectives and advanced elements participating in the struggle the following principles of unity around which we can establish a tactical leading center for this struggle

- 1 **Opposition to all forms of national oppression. Equality of all nations and nationalities**
- 2 **Recognition that the masses are the makers of history. Accordingly, reliance on the strength and the initiative of the masses, not on the bourgeois courts and politicians**
- 3 **Opposition to police brutality**
- 4 **Stand for multinational unity. Oppose all manifestations of great nation chauvinism and of narrow nationalism**

We are presenting this proposal to other comrades in the spirit of unity-struggle-unity. Concretely, this means that we are open to discussion on these principles of unity

Besides printing this call, we have initiated conversation with some comrades around this proposal with the purpose of establishing that tactical leading center immediately

Further, the systematic, joint planning, summation and criticism of our work helps to develop the political line of all Marxist-Leninists. Specifically, the struggle in Crown Heights can help develop the line on such questions as united front work, the Afro-American national question. This is particularly important when we place Crown Heights struggle in the context of party building, since there is a great need to develop a *draft party program* that must deal with these key questions

The unity of Marxist-Leninists in this struggle, manifested through joint theoretical work and joint action, common goals, slogans, etc., will undoubtedly help to move forward the task of winning over the advanced as well as influencing the broad masses. The concentration of all our efforts in a single direction makes us all the more stronger and puts us in a better position to gain



Women fight against National Oppression and Police Brutality

proletarian leadership in the united front. This is especially important in placing the Crown Heights work in the context of party building because it facilitates the task of fusing our socialist ideas with the working class. It facilitates the task of tearing away the masses from the current reformist leadership which they now follow

We believe that our line in this struggle has been propagated extensively and is known to all comrades and advanced elements, so that they will all be in a position to judge whether or not what we are proposing is or is not correct. Let us show with deeds that we are for the unity of Marxist-Leninists. Down with right and "left" sectarianism!

WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM

It is of great importance to rely on the advanced elements in all struggles, to train them, bring them the science of Marxism-Leninism, and win them to communism. In Crown Heights this is even more so. The great majority of Marxist-Leninists participating in this struggle have no real social base in the

area. In a situation in which narrow nationalism is really strong, the fact that we do not have a real base of support in the community makes our work extremely difficult. The masses tend to distrust strangers, which is logical. The sham leaders use this fact to sow the seeds of mistrust and to avoid having to deal with our views at an ideological level and as a political line. If we add to these facts the previously mentioned disunity that exists among the honest Marxist-Leninists in the struggle and the reformist (economism and pure tailism) role being played by the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) (CP (M-L)) and Workers' Viewpoint Organization (WVO) (See *Resistance*, Vol 9, No 6), we can clearly see the urgent need that exists for us to win over the advanced elements in that community

To the degree that we are able to carry out this task, we will be creating the communist leadership that will make of Crown Heights, as well as of each oppressed and working class community, a bulwark of revolution and socialism. Our propaganda is mainly geared to carry out this task

we try to provide not only our newspaper, but other publications and Marxist-Leninist materials. We try to discuss these materials with them, asking for criticisms of our views as well as suggestions on how to carry out particular tasks. We explain our plans, what we will propose at various meetings, how we are going to organize for the demonstrations, etc. Those contacts not only criticize our views, but also put forward their own views, which are often incorporated in the work. This method not only helps to raise their political consciousness and their understanding of the political issues which this struggle raises, but it also permits us to consolidate them around our line in the struggle. This work in the social base, and concentrated on those with the potential and capacity to be true revolutionary leaders of their communities in struggle, is the guarantee that we won't be a passing force in the Crown Heights struggle, but a force whose presence grows daily

The work with the advanced as well as the work with the Marxist-Leninists should not in any way limit our work with the broad masses in the area. We must try to raise their consciousness and win their support for our positions in the struggle

WORK WITH THE "BROAD" MASSES

Around this question we have developed special forms of agitation and propaganda which have made possible the bringing of our views to the broad masses. We have printed leaflets in which we have raised in simple, clear, and direct manner issues such as the need for multinational unity, the danger of reformism, and the struggle against the idea that the answer to the problems are more Afro-American cops, more poverty programs, etc. A good example of this was the leaflet we gave out at the July 16th demonstration. In that leaflet we pointed out that the capitalists, not the Hasidic Jews, are the enemy, the need for multinational unity, and the demand to jail killer cops

At the same time, we make it a point to speak to advanced elements as well as other individuals (as a matter of fact, a great many of the people we speak to are neither advanced nor intermediate) before and after meetings, during the distribution of the newspaper, propaganda, etc. In these discussions, we make it a point not to speak in a rhetorical fashion, not to be sectarian by attempting to have people accept all our ideas at once, and while respecting their religious and national feelings, we struggle against the reactionary aspects of these allegiances. We keep in mind the fact that education and persuasion are the only forms with which we can instill our ideas among the broad masses

AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA IN THE STREETS

One of the methods we are using is to set up teams which engage in agitation and propaganda regularly in the community. The teams of 3 or 4 persons set up a table at a busy intersection. On the table we

OUR PROPAGANDA WORK. IT'S KEY TO WIN THE ADVANCED

It is through our propaganda that we try to bring Marxism-Leninism—Mao Tse-tung Thought to the struggle in Crown Heights. We put forth our analysis of the class forces involved, the objective of the struggle, the role of the state, reformism, etc. This work has been divided so that we can address ourselves to this sector in a collective way as well as at an individual level

The articles in *RESISTANCE* have been the main written form to address ourselves to the advanced collectively. The leaflets we have distributed so far have been mainly directed to the broad masses, but have also helped in the work with the advanced. Other important forms of propaganda have been our participation in the meetings of the Black United Front. One-to-one propaganda has been carried out before and after the meetings, during the distribution of agitation and propaganda pieces in the community, during the course of Black United Front activities (demonstrations, committee meetings, etc.)

To the most conscious individuals

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

Crown Heights (Cont.)

have different issues of our news paper, works by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tse Tung, speeches by Malcolm X, the autobiography of Paul Robeson, William Foster's "The Negro in American History", etc. We also have leaflets relating to the particular struggle, and others relating to different struggles and campaigns, such as "Sneakers for ZANU" and in support of the National liberation struggle in Nicaragua.

In front of the table we set up a photo display which deals with the theme of national oppression, police brutality, and the resistance of the masses. Another part of the display has photos which brings out the message of multinational unity under the slogan *Black, Brown, Yellow, White, United We Must Fight!* The brigade also makes use of an agitational flyer which speaks to the issues of the moment.

During the course of the day hundreds of people stop to look at the photo display. Each person receives a flyer and an attempt to strike up a conversation is made. During the past few weeks, the flyer announced the march of September 28, urging people to take part in it. Many of the people who stop also have a look at the literature table. Some scurry away when they see the communist books we have, some ask us what that has to do with their struggle and we take the opportunity to explain, not only to the person who asked, but to whomever is nearby. In fact, though it may surprise many, by the end of the day we usually sell more Marxist-Leninist books than materials relating specifically to the Afro-American national movement. More important is the fact that we have made a number of contacts. Some seem promising, as they have purchased some Marxist-Leninist books and in conversation have shown some degree of unity with our ideas. Others are definitely less developed politically, but in many cases are participating in the struggle or show an interest in taking part in the struggle. Some people offer to give out flyers, take propaganda on the ZANU campaign, etc. Many ask us if we'll be back again and we let them know when and where. This method, used by our organization for many years in communities, factories, etc., has consistently proved to be a reliable means of making contacts among the masses.

One key aspect of these agit-prop teams is that they are multinational. It is crucial that comrades of other oppressed nationalities, as well as white comrades, participate in the work. This shows others concretely that it is possible for workers and oppressed people of all nationalities to unite. It is time for the oppressed Afro-American people to see that besides the white national chauvinists and the white liberals—who, full of guilt feelings, just bow to the most backward sentiments of the masses—there also exist white revolutionaries who stand for real multinational unity based on the equality of all peoples and nations.

CADRE TRAINING

One of the key aspects of communist work is the training of cadres and contacts. It is clear that although "the correctness or incorrectness of

the ideological and political line decides everything", it is also true that after the line is put forward, every thing hinges on the capacity of the cadres to implement that line, defend that line, win people over to it, etc., — including that line itself.

In training cadres and contacts we must always keep in mind that the theory of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse Tung Thought is our "guide to action", that the correctness or incorrectness of the line can only be proven in the heat of the struggle, and finally to keep close ties with the masses, learning from them at the same time that we educate them. We have tried to develop the training of cadres and contacts along these lines.

STUDY MARXISM-LENINISM MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT

In the study of the science, emphasis has been placed on those questions which are closely linked to the actual struggle in Crown Heights. Among those the National Question, United Front, struggle for reforms, strategy and tactics stand out. These questions are not selected at random but decided upon based on the actual needs of the cadres involved in the struggle to master those questions in order to correctly deal with them.

CONCRETE ANALYSIS OF CONCRETE CONDITIONS

A great deal of emphasis has been placed on the study of concrete conditions in Crown Heights. We have been developing a rudimentary class analysis of the Crown Heights community to provide our cadres with a general orientation as to who the friends of the people are, and who the enemies of the people are, and who are the middle forces that have to be won over, which forces are compromising and who are the social props towards whom M-L forces address their main blows, etc.

It is not enough to establish that the petty bourgeoisie of the national movement is an ally of the proletariat based on book knowledge alone. The dual character of the petty bourgeoisie is also present in the national movement. Amongst the Afro-American petty bourgeoisie there is a reactionary sector as well as a revolutionary sector. In order to correctly orient ourselves in Crown Heights it is important not to talk of the petty-bourgeois as a whole, but to take into consideration its different sectors and strata. Making the class analysis in the concrete allows us to differentiate, let's say, between the "poverty pimp" sector, the clergy, the professionals, the shop owners, etc. Although all of them are part of the petty bourgeoisie, their interests, as reflected in the struggle, are not exactly the same.

One error committed by comrades who have not attempted to analyze the question in the concrete has been to divide the leadership of the Black United Front into only two sectors. One they call the narrow nationalist sector, the other is termed the progressive sector. But it just so happens that the "progressive" sector they are talking about is composed mainly of reform-

ists who peddle the electoral road, the creation of poverty programs, the election of Black politicians, the hiring of Black cops, etc., as a way to move the struggle forward. This incorrect division has led to class collaboration and a stand of "all unity, no struggle" in the Black United Front.

"LEARN FROM PAST MISTAKES TO AVOID FUTURE ONES"

Other very important aspects of the training is to sum-up the work in order to establish strengths and weaknesses, successes and failures. Using the method of criticism, self-criticism, comrades and friends are able to see what it is good and what is wrong in the work. We are able to determine if

BLACK, BROWN, YELLOW, WHITE: UNITED WE MUST FIGHT!

we are advancing according to the overall tactical plan established for the work, or if we are moving in circles.

It's crucial that the sum-up of the work is done closely in connection with our mass work in the area. By this we mean that we have to create the conditions by which we receive the input of the advanced forces we come in contact with, as well as from the broad masses to the extent that this is possible. In other words, it is important that we practice the mass line "from the masses, to the masses."

"FROM THE MASSES TO THE MASSES"

Despite the absence of communist leadership, despite their low-level of political consciousness, the oppressed Afro-American masses in Crown Heights — and elsewhere — have a long history of resistance and struggle against U.S. imperialism. Their struggle provides rich experience from which we can learn. In fact, the Afro-American masses know the concrete conditions in their community better than anyone else. They know what areas of the community are better to concentrate on, what issues people are more receptive to, etc. Others have military experience that can be used in training for self-defense or security.

Most important is their view of the struggle. They consistently raise questions, criticize what they feel is incorrect, warn us against making mistakes in our relations with people, that is, either struggling too zealously with honest elements, or not struggling enough with "windbags." They are constantly putting out their views on the state, the courts, bourgeois politicians, etc.

By keeping close ties with the masses, we not only learn from them, but also reinforce the basic law of revolution: the masses are the makers of history.

In Crown Heights the masses will be the ones responsible for the possibility of forward movement in the struggle against national oppression and police brutality. Nonetheless, "learning from the masses" is only one aspect of the mass line. The other aspect, one that has to play the principal role, is the one of educating the masses, of explaining the basic issues to them from a communist point of view. In sum, bringing them the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought.

This is accomplished, as we pointed out earlier, by actively participating in the struggle, by using propaganda as the chief form of activity, and using agitation also, by concentrating on uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning over the advanced to the side of communism, by training the advanced and relying on them, by practicing the mass line, by carrying out the struggle against all forms of opportunism, by forging the united front between the multinational U.S. proletariat and the oppressed Afro-American national minority.

LOOKING FORWARD

The struggle which began months ago as one more case of police brutality — the assassination of Arthur Miller by police — has become today one of the most important struggles of the oppressed Afro-American people, not only in this area, but in the whole country. All the lines and tendencies that exist in our movement are represented in the Crown Heights struggle. As always, the truth surges forward in struggle with what is false, the correct line is developed in struggle against the incorrect lines.

Our views up till now have been consistently put forward — in words and in deeds — all along the course of the struggle. We call on comrades and friends to come forward and help us carry the tasks ahead. In the spirit of seeking principled unity, we invite other comrades to put forth their views, to criticize what they consider incorrect in our line and practice, to make concrete proposals on how to go about forging the necessary tactical leading center in this struggle, etc. The pages of *RESISTANCE* are open for any organization or individual that wants to put forward their views in a principled way concerning this issue.

We are confident that as this struggle surges forward, it will definitely contribute greatly to the struggle against national oppression and for the democratic rights of the Afro-American people. In addition, it will contribute to the forging of the unity of workers and oppressed people of all nationalities and in the building of our much-needed multinational U.S. communist party.

DOWN WITH NATIONAL OPPRESSION AND POLICE BRUTALITY!

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE!

BLACK, BROWN, YELLOW, WHITE UNITED WE MUST FIGHT!