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CAST AWAY ILLUSIONS !

PREPARE TO FIGHT !!!

LESSONS FROM 1199 STRIKE

As the crisis of capitalism intensifies, the spontaneous response of workers and oppressed people against mounting attacks by the capitalists is also intensifying. Not only in the U.S., but also throughout the whole world, workers and oppressed people are surging forward, showing their determination and strength and waging revolution. This is the irresistible trend of history. That is why, when we addressed striking 1199 workers in a recent flyer, we said: "1199 rank and file workers are not alone, workers and oppressed people stand by them!"

Indeed the revolutionary struggle, particularly of Third World peoples against imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism, and the struggles of all workers in this country refusing to carry the burden of the capitalists' crisis are all part of one and the same struggle, the struggle against imperialism. In this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution the working class takes up its historic task of defeating capitalism and abolishing forever the exploitation of man by man -- first spontaneously, defending its rights, responding to the attacks by the capitalists, not yet a "class-for-itself", and then, consciously, with its Party at the head, waging relentless class battles against the bourgeoise and the bourgeois

SUM-UP 1199 STRIKE IN NEW YORK CITY

It is in the context of the crisis of capitalism and of a "class-in-itself" spontaneously fighting for its rights, without its General Staff to lead it, that

ACTIVELY TAKE PART IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PARTY BUILDING

There are some people, and political organizations also, who believe that by repeating a lie or a dream many times, it will become reality. These people live in a world of fantasies, in a bizarre world where everything is upside down. This is the case with PRRWO-RWL. Both of them "split and don't unite", "intrigue and conspire" and 'practice revisionism not Marxism". The stories the tall stories they write really deserve better luck than PALANTE. They are worthy of the comic strips in any of the bourgeois Sunday papers.

The complete degeneration of PRRWO-RWL - both organizations consolidated around the neo-trotskyite line , and honest elements within both organizations were purged or broke with it - has been in our judgement a temporary reversal for the communist movement in the U S Only right opportunists -

the O.L. and WVO - can see as positive the degenaration of an organization such as PRRWO which made important contributions in the development of this movement in the last years. They see it as positive because the ultra-"leftist" neotrotskyite line of PRRWO-RWL is nourishing their right opportunist line. This is so much so that the elusive and "timid O.L. is now opening debate with the "wing" WVO, so as to not lag behind made a tour around the country in order to capitalize-- read recruit any one that has differences with PRRWO-RWL. — on the degenaration of these organizations.

Besides the momentary strengthening of O L and WVO as a result of the liquidation of PRRWO-Rwl, another negative aspect of it has been the alienation from the struggle, transitory we expect, of many honest comrades $w_{h\sigma}$ were members of these organizations. These comrades in many cases have adopted a pessimistic view of the struggle. It has affected them to see their one time comrades become objectively agents of the bourgeoisie reaching the extremes of publishing their names under the excuse that they are "Mensheviks"—thus identifying

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we will examine the recent 1199 strike and draw the lessons for our revolutionary struggle

We need not go into the immediate effects of the crisis which are known to all hard earned rights being wiped out, real salaries shrinking, longer work hours, intensive speedups, massive layoffs, etc , as well as the intensification of attacks by the state against revolutionaries and the working class as a whole Cuts on health, education and day care services have been especially beastly Capitalists provide a minimum of these services (to keep healthy and educated servants) always organized under the profit making principles of capitalism. During a crisis, these services become expendable since capitalists must maximize their profits by centralizing its resources and power, reducing such services to the bare minimums, etc That is why the League of Voluntary Hospitals would not agree to cost of living increases, and the city plans to close down hospitals and continue to give thousands of lay offs.

Hospital workers have stood firmly against these attacks However, the capitalists have counted in



"I don't give a damn about what O. L. says You are not here to protect me. You are my enemy".

see O. L. ON THE STATE page . 4

O.L.'s "NEW" PROPOSAL

"When we speak of fighting opportunism, we must never forget a characteristic feature of present-day opportunism in every sphere, namely, its vagueness, amorphousness elusiveness. An opportunist, by his very nature, will always evade taking a clear and decisive stand, he will always seek a middle course, he will always wriggle like a snake between two mutually exclusive points of view and try to "agree" with both and reduce his differences of opinion to petty amendments, doubts, innocent and pious suggestions, and so on and so forth "

V.I. Lenin, One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, Progress Publishers, Moscow, p. 200

This characterization of opportunism fits the October League (O.L.) perfectly. Vagueness, diffuseness and elusiveness are the outstanding qualities of the line of this organization. Thus, it is on the most important question facing the communists in this country, the building of a genuine Marxist-Leninist communist party of a new type, that their opportunism is felt most strongly. Proof of this are the two calls to immediately build a party made by the O.L. in the last eight months.

O.L. made its first call in November of last year. In it, they speak of building a party without a program, of electing temporary leading bodies and having the first congress a year after the party has been established. They also stated that they supported the right of the Afro-American nation to self-determination, however, they opposed its right to secession, which, in effect, denied the Afro-American nation the right to self-determination, they called for the creation of an anti-imperialist front, which was called the "vehicle for revolution"; they spoke of "moving labor unions to the left"; they said that "ultraleftism" was the main danger in the communist movement, that agitation was the chief form of activity. Nothing was said about the role of propaganda, nor of the necessity of concentrating on winning the advanced in this period. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought was nowhere to be seen

Criticisms of O.L.'s Menshevik plan rained from all sides. In the following months PRRWO, RWL, WVO, CAP, IWK, MLOC, WC, ATM,

RP among other drew lines of demarcation between themselves and that plan in one way or another. It isn't our intention here to establish the differences which existed and continue to exist- between the organizations mentioned and ourselves, either in our appraisal of the O.L. proposal or any number of other fundamental questions. Those differences have been raised consistently in this paper. What we wish to point out is the fact that the O.L.'s call was severely criticised by a majority of the organizations in the communist movement at that time. On some questions, such as the abscence of a program, the postponement of the Congress, etc. there was unanimity in the criticism. While these polemics were being waged the O.L. maintained virtual silence. It never engaged in the struggle and later on simply announced some changes in their line without any type of explinations. And so now they come up with a "new" call.

In judging O.L.'s new call, we cannot use what is written as a sole basis. After all, one can write anything on paper. To reduce an organization's political line merely to its written formulations may be very intellectual, but not Marxist-Leninist at all. Opportunists, and the O.L. is a consolidated right opportunist group, are experts at reducing differences to "mere doubts, small amendments, and innocent, good intentions," etc. This is what has happened in this case. There have been many changes in the form or letter of the new call, but the essence remains the same Menshevism.

In the "new" call, they put forward the need to formulate a program prior to the party and to hold a founding party congress They now uphold the right of secession of the Afro-American nation, however, this right is viewed as the only form that self-determination can be expressed. They speak of "replacing the union leadership" The vehicle of the united front has been elevated to the level of strategy. They now hold that right opportunism and not "ultraleftism" is the main danger. To make this call more attractive, they have added that the need for the party to be built should be based on "the factory nuclei," that it

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1199 Strike

their attacks with the wholehearted cooperation of the labor union beaurocrats. Last month 1199 beaurocrats were forced to give in to the strike clamor by the rank and file after consistently trying to avert the strike. They consciously cooperated with their capitalist masters by agreeing not to launcha a simultaneous city wide strike by both 1199 and DC37 Local 420 (hospital workers of voluntary and city hospitals respectively). As slavish servants of the bourgeoisie Leon Davis and Victor Gotbaum and cohorts made sure that strikes did not occur jointly so that the capitalist would not hurt too much so that the municipal hospitals could pick up the business of the voluntary hospitals (and vice versa) during the respective strikes.

The strike is a powerful tool in our hands to fight for our rights and in the political struggle to overthrow capitalism. As true agents of the bourgeoisie within our ranks the union beaurocrats tried to undermine the strike by constantly a stating. "The least thing we wanted in the world was a strike!" They fomented illusions on bourgeois democracy and trust in bourgeois politicians by demonstrating at governor Carey's offices pleading for his help in resolving the contradiction between workers and capitalists. This showed clearly their class collaboration, pretending that the bourgeois state is an above class institution which resolves class contradictions in a neutral way.

To further show their faith in bourgeois democracy beaurocrats diverted the workers from the militant picket lines at the hospitals to demonstrate at the Madison Square Garden claiming that the democrats could intervene and resolve the contradiction But these beaurocrats know well that neither democrats nor republicans can resolve the contradiction in favor of the workers since they represent the interests of the very capitalists that exploit us. The success of a strike is in the workers militancy and persistence, leadership, preparation and organization, and not in the goodwill of politicians, and poverty pimps, social props who like labor union beaurocrats serve the interests of the bourgeoisie

ll99 beaurocrats completely sold out the interests of the workers by submitting the strike to binding arbitration. That is, they placed workers' rights straight into the hands of the capitalists. The bourgeois state is an organ of oppression of the capitalist class against the working class. It can only moderate the class struggle in the interest of the bourgeoisie Binding arbitration is equivalent to giving up the right to strike, placing workers at the mercy of the capitalists that exploit us, disarming the working class rather than preparing it for forthcoming battles with our class enemy, the bourgeoisie

1199 workers demonstrated their revolutionary potential by their militancy and determination in defending their rights. The more than 142 arrests, the many injured through confrontations with the police attest to this fact. On the other hand, 1199 beaurocrats constantly preached legalism and attempted to tone down the class struggle. They had special teams of goons to prevent angry workers from stopping scabs, to allow the police to fence workers in, and to keep communists out, thus doing the work of the bourgeoisie within our ranks Also, the 1199 beaurocrats attempted to isolate the workers from each other and from their allies They undermined the developing solidarity with other workers and professional staff knowing that this would strengthen the position of the working class In Monteflore Hospital for example, after promising support for sympathy strikers, they turned their backs on professional staff who were fired after striking in support of 1199

All in all, the 1199 beaurocrats showed themselves to be thoroughly opportunist traitors to the cause of the working class, agents of the bourgeoisté within our ranks who have been bought off with juicy crumbs from the table of the capitalist's superprofits.

OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE STRIKE

In the light of propaganda being our chief form of activity in this period, we addressed workers in most of the hospitals on strike, with propaganda on the bourgeois state, 1199 beaurocrats, the need to build a communist party of new type in the U.S. Also as we dont see agitation as separated from propaganda, we agitated particularly around the beaurocrats sell out on scabs binding arbitration, their anti communism, etc. Cadre furthered their training in the midst of the class struggle, developing revolutionary skill in doing illegal work. Goons were planted in all picket lines with clear instructions to keep communist literature and communist away from striking workers. There was tearing up of literature,

red baiting of workers and communist cadre, threats on workers' jobs, threats and actual instances of calling the police to remove cadre, etc. Only union literature, and of course the revisionist <u>Daily World</u> were allowed. In the distribution of our propaganda, we had to confront these pigs, boldly expose their terrorist tactics as part of the beaurocrats stand against the workers

Training of cadre in the heat of the class struggle became intensified Advanced workers came to the fore and showed their leadership among the class in explaining the issues and in agitating around them However they were very few in number It was in areas where previous work had been where the strike situation became more productive this The identification and consolidation of ad vanced workers comes through the persistent and continuous communist work among workers, and not from a single instance of work during a strike, although the sharpening of contradictions that occur during a strike make workers more open to communist work and propaganda Our participation in these struggles and through the work of propaganda and agitation set the basis for further work within the class, to further the fusion between the communist movement and the working class movement, and especially to intensify the education of advanced workers on the science of Marxism Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought so as to win them over to communism.

LESSONS FROM THE STRIKE

The main danger within the working class movement - which prevents the working class from advancing in the road towards proletarian revolution - is reformism. The main source of the danger of reformism in the working class are the labor beaurocrats, part of the labor aristocracy which has been bought off by the bourgeoisie with high salaries and a priviledged position over the working class. These beaurocrats have betrayed the interests of the proletariat and serve as intermediaries between the working class and the bourgeoisie Posing as representatives of the working class they are really representatives of the bourgeoisie.

As our great teacher Lenin points out, strikes are a great schooling for workers. The activities of 1199 beaurocrats in this strike are a confirmation of the line we have been putting forward that these traitors are the main source of reformism within the working class, and that as such we must direct our main blows at them That is because they stand between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, serving as a buffer zone in order to divert our struggle for proletarian revolution and total emancipation towards a struggle for economic reforms. The labor aristocracy which is the social basis for opportunism within the working class movement must be made the main target of our exposures so as to clear the way for open class battles with our class enemy, the bourgeoisle, for revolutionary struggle to finally overthrow the system of capitalism and the yoke of wage slavery.

In further drawing lessons from this strike we must look at reality straight in the eye We must observe the strictest objectivity so as not to fall into idealist errors or pessimism. The Workers Viewpoint Organization for example in its analysis and description of the strike makes it seem like revolution is a bed of roses. According to WVO workers were "wide open to communist propaganda" and when a WVO cadre was not allowed to speak, they "rushed to his defense and attacked the police with fists and umbrellas." WVO then goes on to describe a strike entirely different from the one that really took place. (See Workers Viewpoint vol. 1 no.5) WVO either did work only in one place and generalized an exception into a rule, or they lie to conform reality to their own bankrupt theories, or they distributed something other than communist propaganda. In any case, their sum up of the strike is an opportunist one, which deceives both the working class movement and the communist movement

WVO holds that the distribution of workers by stratas resembles a "football" a small number of advanced and lower strata, a huge number of intermediates. This idea comes, not from a scientific analysis of the working class in the U S , but from the heads of WVO. And now they want to prove it by conforming reality to their wishes. We hold that such distribution is relative to the conditions of a given country and does not follow a set formula. In China and Albania for example a great majority of the workers are advanced as the ideology that guides them is MLMTT. In the U.S. the situation is much different, and we will be able to determine it, not by theorizing in the abstract but through concreteanalysis of concrete conditions Our daily practice within the class, and our sum ups of strikes shared with the communist movement and done in different parts of the country different sectors of industry, etc , will help us in this analysis. But WVO cannot do this because they must justify its right opportunist practice with appropriate theories and then twist reality to fit such theories They have to prove that the majority of workers are intermediate in order to justify their 'build the mass movement" line on

party building, in order to justify their constant bowing to spontaneity and tailing the masses

The need for a genuine communist party to lead the struggles of the working class and give them a planned conscious character can never be emphasized too much. And by distorting reality, by lying or by fostering false illusions on the communist movement and advanced workers we are not helping any in the building of this party, but only helping to retard it. The militancy of the working class is not what is in question. That is an unquestionable fact. It is its consciousness of itself as a class irreconcilable with the oppressor class, conscious

of revolution as the only solution, the identification of the class enemy, the bourgeoisie and
the need to completely smash the bourgeois state,
as opposed to focusing on better selling labor power to "the boss" without ever linking "the boss"
with the whole capitalist system. This is what makes
"a class-FOR-itself" We have a great task

ahead of us, and we must cast away all illusions, and struggle on, aware at the same time of the difficulty of our tasks, but never overwhelmed by them, confident that we will win.

The October League's line is not too different from WVO's in this respect, regardless of the differences in rhetoric. If we examine the literature of both organizations we will find striking similarities in the content For example, both use the already "classic" worker who exclaims "If that's what communism is all about, then I'm for it!" They both reflect pettybourgeois illusionism in describing how advanced workers are won over - not through hard and consistent work, but through instant tranformations. The OL claims on the one hand, when their cadre went among the strikers with their literature most people were not influenced, but that, at the end of the strike, lo and behold!, the Call convinced the majority of them!

Comrades, we must be honest and scientific in our sumups otherwise we fall deeply into opportunism. From these negative examples of the OL and WVO, we can learn how not to analyse a strike. If we twist reality to fit our views, we would be rejecting materialist dialectics, bound to fall in both right and "left" errors. The line that workers spontaneously gain communist consciousness (simply by contact with communists) is a belittlement of the subjective factor and leads to right errors in party building.

On the other hand, communists cannot divorce themselves from the struggles of the masses and expect to win over and train advance workers in this way. This leads to "left" errors in Party building and eventually to degeneration as has happened with PRRWO-RWL (who would have nothing to do with the 1199 strike or any other mass struggle). Advanced workers do not come out of the woodwork in damp, dark closets where PRRWO-RWL hide. They are found actively fighting for the rights of the class, searching for answers to the practical and burning political questions of the working class - right in the midst of the class struggle.

Finally, we must lay-out our tasks. Despite the relative defeat in the economic sense, the strike provided fertile ground for the growth of workers' consciousness. The clear sell-out of union beaurocrats, the role of the state in repressing the workers, etc. provided excellent schooling for workers in a concentrated period of 11 days. It is our task now to siff further the training of these workers to help them become independent communist leaders of the class and to consolidate them in the science of Marxism Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought.

The fact that the working class movement in general is still very much under the influence of the labour beaurocrats and reformists should not discourage us but move us forward. We must struggle to provide communist leadership, to train advanced workers, to radically change the character of the working class movement from reformist to revolutionary. As Comrade Mao teaches us, we can turn defeat into victory by learning from our mistakes and correcting them, fulfilling the tasks in front of us.

The lack of a program of action for our future party around which to struggle and win over the advanced is a specially pressing task which stands out boldly. We have developed to certain degree the political lines around a number of issues but this line has not been synthetised and concretised in the scientific declarations of aims and tasks of our movement in the form of a program, and this is essential in our struggle to build a communist party of the new type which the working class urgently needs

DEATH TO RIGHT OPPORTUNISM!

DEAL THE MAIN BLOW AT THE SOCIAL PROPS OF

THE BOURGEOISE

BUILD THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE NEW TYPE!

OL'S 'NEW" CALL

should "combine open and secret forms of struggle" that "it practice democratic centralism," that the emphasis should be to win the advanced," that "propaganda is the chief form of activity in this period," and while you may not believe it, they say that "one should be open and above board in making criticism and self-criticism!"

Comrades, all these changes - these mutations in line, omission of previous positions, etc., appear without any explanation of the reasons for the change, without any self-criticism or repudiation of positions which were changed or abandoned. What kind of Marxism is this? What kind of "open and above-board" criticism and self-criticism is this? Changes as drastic as these made by O.L. in its "new" call would, according to Marxism-Leninism, result from one of two possibilities; either 1) the objective and subjective conditions have changed so drastically since last November, in which case the change of positions would be a direct result of the change in the over-all situation, that is to say, "a concrete analysis of concrete conditions," or 2) the previous position must have been incorrect; thus, after a new analysis they would arrive at new conclusions and after a thorough selfcriticism and repudiation of previous positions, new ones would be established. However, O.L. does not do one nor the other.

What the O.L. has done is to simply disguise their November call with a little rouge and lipstick, they have painted themselves red. They have made the decision to change their name to that of a party this year, and they are bent on doing it one way or another. Their "new" call is an attempt to stop defection from their ranks. For we must not forget that since November many organizations, collectives and individuals have broken with O.L. and their move to form a party. This is why they have "painted themselves red."

"The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists. Liberalism, rotten within, tried to revive itself in the form of socialist opportunism."

The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin, p. 77 - Marx, Engels, Marxism, Moscow edition

We call upon all honest Marxist -Leninists a relentless struggle against the Menshevik plan of O.L. This struggle must not be limited to an article here and there or a series of forums. These things are important, but they are not enough. Opportunism must be defeated in theory as well as in practice. We must not fall into the petty-bourgeois idealist error of believing that because we know O.L. to be revisionist and have repeated this many times, this will end matters and liquidate the O.L. and its opportunist line. This is pure idealism. The O.L. is alive and kicking. Its presence can be felt in many of the spontaneous struggles of the masses strikes, protests, demonstrations, pickets etc., in the national movements, especiall n the Afro-American movement, lesser degree, the Chicano and Puerto Rican movements. It is in the factory and other workplaces, in the communities, the schools. within the national movements that we must expose and defeat the O.L. if we really are to destroy right opportunism, which is the principal danger we face, the principal obstacle we must overcome in the long and tortuous process of building a communist party of a new type, making a proletarian revolution, destroying the bourgeois state, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism.

"Actions speak louder than words." Let us show in practice that we are antirevisionist, that we are willing to struggle resolutely against all types of opportunism. Let us not allow that our inactivity aid the O.L. to maintain under its
influence honest but confused individuals
who sincerely believe that Marxism-Leninism
and the O.L. are the same. Let us remember
the teaching of Stalin, who said:

"Some people imagine that it is quite sufficient to map out a correct party line, to proclaim it so as to bring it to everyone's attention, to set it forth in general thesis and resolutions and to vote it unanimously, and victory will come by itself, so to say of its own accord. This is a big illusion. Only incorrigible bureaucrats are capable of such reasoning. Fine resolutions and declarations in favour of the general policy of the party are just the beginning, because they only indicate a desire for victory, not victory itself."

G. Dimitrov, On United Front.

We need more than resolutions to fight opportunism; in order to put an end to it, we need revolutionary practice.

O. L.'S NATIONAL CHAUVINISM

The unity of the multi-national working class of the U S can only be possible on the basis of a correct policy in relation to the National Question. A policy based on proletarian internationalism, on the inalien able right of oppressed nations to self-determination including secession, on the struggle for democratic rights of oppressed minorities, on a relentless struggles against national chauvinism and narrow nationalism. In a multi-national state like the U.S., it is the duty of the communists of the oppressor nation to fight incessantly for the right of self-determination and democratic rights of nations and oppressed nationalities, while it is the duty of the communists of the oppressed nations and nationalities to consistently raise the banner of the unity of the working class above all national interests

On this question, Lenin teaches us that is oppressed nations the internationalist education of workers has to emphasize on the need to advocate the right of secession of oppressed nations. He also teaches us that communist of oppressed nations must emphasize on the second aspect of the question, the voluntary union of nations. Without this there can be no internationalism.

The OL attempts to camoflage its national chauvinism by pretending to be the champions in the defense of the Afroamerican nation as well as of the democratic rights, especially of the equality of language, of the national minorities. But if we scratch a little beyond the surface of the high-sounding phrases of the OL, we find out that in practice they still have a chauvinist position on both questions. Their opportunist stand does not, in any way, aid in forging the unity of the multi-national proletariat, but on the contrary, it reinforces divisions among the proletariat on the basis of national origin, cultural manifestations, etc. A specific example will help make this point clear

OL AND THE EQUALITY OF LANGUAGES

The OL brags that .

"The October League publishes its newspaper, The Call/El Clarin in two languages. This fact is an example of a basic Marxist-Leninst principle -upholding the equality of languages Revolutionaries attach such great importance to this question because of the close link between imperialist oppresion of languages and nations." The Call - 6/7/1976 page 6.

In this issue the OL declares itself the defender of the "equality of languages" But in practice in that same paper, this equality expresses itself in this peculiar way The Call usually consists of 12 pages, 8 in English and 4 in Spanish It seems that to the OL all languages are equal, except that some are more equal than others. To the lack of proportion between the number of pages in English and Spanish, one has to point, the selection of articles the OL chooses to translate. In Spanish, the most economist of the economist articles that appear Also, those dealing with some of the national movements. In fact, the series that was recently published on the State and Revolution does not appear in Spainish.

This opportunist practice of trying to win over elements of oppressed minorities by appealing to their patriotism and nationalism is one of the characteristics of right opportunists. Notice also how WVO imitates the OL in publishing a small part of their paper in Spanish and of including in this part the most nationalist and economist articles. We see how in their last issue of "Workers Viewpoint". They include in the Spanish part two articles about the Chicanos and one article on the hospital strike, while in English, besides those articles there also appear a series of polemics with PRRWO-RWL and a whole supplement against the OL.

As usual, those who imitate try to surpass. WVO, in fact, surpasses the OL's opportunism when they put on the Spanish front cover, the two articles about the Chicanos, while in English front cover, they had the articles on the Miners' and Hospital strikes

It is clear that we cannot accept filmsy excuses such as "we can't translate it all because the paper would have too many pages and would be too expensive" or "it's very hard to find somebody to translate" Those

are superficial questions which are in effect putting technical and organizational questions over the question of line and principle.

It's important that we point out that the OL article we are referring to was one which was published in the edition to be distributed during the Puerto Rican Day Parade which took place in New York City this past June. It is obvious that this was published to attempt to attract Puerto Ricans to the OL base on the defense of the language not on the basis of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought Notice that the OL marched in that parade with the revisionists of PSP and the "C"PUSA in the so-called "Peoples' Contingent". And they still insist that there's no unity with revisionist with them

The demand for "equality of languages" is a demand that sould be raised by all Marxist-Leninists and all advanced workers and revolutionaries in this country. We can correctly put this into practice by demanding that meetings take place in as many languages as necessary, that contracts be translated, that all jobs applications, complaints, etc be madeup in the languages spoken by the workers. We can also raise this demand in the area of education—bilingual, bicultural programs, and many other areas of our communist work where this demand becomes precisely and clearly in a way to foster the unity of the workers of different nationalities.

As for ourselves, we have for five years published RESISTENCIA in two languages and except for those articles from the classics of which no authorized translation exist (this is frequent in the case of articles by Stalin or articles taken from other publications such as the one taken from Claridad), We publish the same articles in both languages. The same has been true of our practice with other publications or reprints of Marxist-Leninist works.

Marxist-Leninists,

Unite and

Win the advanced

to communism!

O.L. ON THE STATE

The O L 's ibera' views on the bourgeois sate have constituted a clear line of demarcation between the OL and the communist movement. Although the OL has desperately tried to cover for its right opportunism, their just fications have been nothing but further deepening of those lines of demarcation. On the issue of bussing for example, after denying for more than a year that they called for the federal troops to protect the rights of Afro-Americans in Boston, they try to justify such actions by stating in their "theoretical" journal

"What do you do when a fasc st lynch mob is attacking Blacks? Do you promote armed self defense as the basic strategic line, while at the same time tactically taking advantage of contradictions in the enemy camp by demanding that the police break up the fascist gangs and provide effective legal protection (OL's emphasis). Or do you rant and rave against "relying on federal troops" and do nothing whatsoever except distort the position of the Markist-Leninists (who never called for "relying on the bourgeois state" in the first place)?" CLASS STRUGGLE, # 4-5, p. 10

And the OL goes on to say that of course the answer to this is obvious, they called for the troops. And, of course, according to them, this is not 'relying on" the bourgeois state! The OL thus justifies its calling for federal troops by saying that it is not relying on the bourgeois state, and by opposing its own right opportunist line with that of the "left'opposition as if those were the only alternatives. We ask the OL, what are federal troops, if not PART OF the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state?

Didn't they finish "studying" Lenin's The State and Revolution? Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought teaches us that the state is an organ of oppression of one class by another, that the state apparatus serves the interest of the ruling class However, the OL, by affirming that the police can 'break up the fascist gangs and provide effective legal protection' is legal protection" is in effect saying that the state is not really an organ of oppression of the ruling class, that its repressive apparatus can serve the oppressed class also! Is this Marxism? No This is reformism, petty bourgeois illusionism, and an outright betrayal of the interests of the working class by fomenting the bourgeois illusion that the racist attacks upon Afro-'Americans are simply "excesses" of the bourgeoise, or rather of sectors of the bourgeoisie. In the true Menshevik tradition, the OL does call for relying on the bourgeois state to give "effective legal protection" from the bourgeois state to the oppressed class.

ON STRATEGY AND TACTICS

To further justify itself, and further draw lines of demarcation, the OL implies that it was secretly calling for armed self defense as a strategy, but that tactically they called for the "effective legal protection". Again the OL rejects the teachings of MLMTT on the question of strategy and tactics. Comrade Stalin says "Tactics are a part of strategy, subordinated to and serving it." And further.

"A most important function of tactics is to determine the ways and means, the forms and methods of fighting that are most appropriate to the concrete situation at the given moment and are most certain to prepare the way for strategic success."

(Concerning the Question of Strategy and Tactics of the Russian Communists, Stalin, Vol. 4)

"On the one hand, the bourgeois and particulary the pettibourgeois ideologists, compelled under the weight of indisputable historical facts to admit that the state only exists where there are class antagonisms and the class struggle, "correct" Marx in such a way as to make it appear that the state is an organ for the reconciliation of classes. According to Marx, the state could neither arise nor maintain itself if it were possible to reconcile classes. According to the pettibourgeois and philistine profesors and publicists it appears - very frequently they benignantly refer to Marx to prove this - that the state does reconcile classes. According to Marx, the state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another it is the creation of "order", which legalizes and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the conflict between the classes. In the opinion of the pettyborgeois politicians, order means precisely the reconciliation of classes, and not the oppression of one class by another, to moderate the conflict means reconciling classes and not depriving the oppressed classes of definite means and methods of struggle to overthrow the oppressors...

.."That the state is an organ of the rule of a definite class which <u>cannot</u> be reconciled with its antipode (the class opposite to it), is something the petty-bourgeois democrats will never be able to understand. Their attitude towards the state is one of the most striking manifestations of the fact that our Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks are not Socialists at all (a point that we Bolsheviks have always maintained), but petty-bourgeois democrats with near-Socialist phraseology."

The State and Revolution, Lenin, FLP Peking, pp8-9



It is clear that tactics cannot be divorced from strategy as the OL would have it. How can calling for federal troops fomenting the view that you can expect "effective legal protection" from the state, aid in the armed self-defense of Afroamericans? Beisdes this inconsistency the OL muddles strategy and tactics. Armed self-defense is a form of struggle, a tactic itself.

So all the OL is doing is feeding the masses the bourgeois democratic illusions of reformism, constituting themselves into an obstacle to the proletarian revolution in this country while trying to cover this up with rethoric about strategy and tactics and raising the left' to justify its right opportunism.

In general, OL's reformism has been repeatedly opposed in the communist movement so much so that OL has felt the need to conjure a way of appearing as Marxists on the question of the state. To do so they have chosen to run a series of articles in the Call on Lenin's The State and Revolution. They fool no one. The OL pays lip service to the principles of MLMTT on the question of the state. Although in words the OL talks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in deeds it shows that it does not believe that the bourgeois state has to be completely abolished, and instead call for utilizing the state to protect our democratic rights, in the guise of "utilizing the contradictions in the enemy camp" relying on one part of the state against another

ON "OPEN AND SECRET WORK"

Finally, the OL in its "new" call for the party says that "The Party must combine both open and secret work," But the OL in words is not the same as the OL in deeds Again flowing from its liberal views on the state, relying on the "good" side of the state which can provide "effective legal protection" for our democratic rights, relying on the part of the enemy camp which is in contradiction with the "bad" side of the state, the OL thinks nothing of illegal forms of struggle Why should they, after all, if the state can protect them? So, they publish the names of workers which they inter view in the course of strikes, publish pictures of cadre or sympathysers in ongoing work such as in workshops in their Fight Back Conference the Call Vol. 4 #5 pp 4 and 5 and Class Struggle Vol 4 5 p 70), as well as the names of their Central Committee members and other collaborators to their journal.

All of these examples are a manifestation of their social-democratic style of work which is in line with their views on the state as a liberal organism, an "above class" agency which can serve the oppressed class. This puts in danger the security of the members, sympathisers and any contacts of that organization. This social-democratic style of work is also an indication of OL's halfhearted aim at revolution. One that endangers the security of its members, the possibility of serious Bolshevik work, and the very existence of the Party. They can in no way be said to have their real interest in the proletarian revolution, but can only be called Mensheviks, content with curbing the "excesses" of one of the sectors of the bourgeoisie, content with pushing reform, not revolution.



comes from the front page

ACTIVELY TAKE PART

them to the bourgeois state. It has affected them to see one time comrades enter their houses and forcibly take books documents and other personal belongings under the excuse that 'Mensheviks" have no rights to them Anyone can become disillussioned by these things. However, only those that lack a real committment with the proletariat, those that do not uphold Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought, will allow this temporary disillussion to become hardened an excuse for self-cultivation individualism and political inactivity

Comrades Chairman Mao has taught us that communists can make a "bad thing turn into a good thing". This is what we have to do in this case.

Faced with PRRWO-RWL's treachery and their stand against proletarian revolution and Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought faced with the temporary strengthening of the right opportunist lines of WVO and OL thanks to their treason and faced with the fact that OL and PRRWO-RWL are involved in a frenzied race -in which WVO has also entered to see who declares themselves the "party " first -the genuine Marxist-Leninists in this country must increase their efforts, multiply our theoretical and practical work to build the communist party of new type, which we so urgently need, and which we know OL, WVO PRRWO-RWL and other opportunists as them will never be capable of building They can however - and they are doing it - put obstacles in front of it which we must overcome

For these reasons we call on all hones comrades formerly members of PRRWO-RWL, to come back to their combat positions in this battle. Honest and serious self-criticisms have to be made Repudiation of all conciliation political cowardice right and "left" deviations committed to a lesser or greater degree also have to be made, since this objectively aided that neo-trotskyite clique to take control completely of your organizations and destroy them. Remember that the only ones that do not commit errors are those who do nothing

This is the logic of the revolution

FIGHT FAIL FIGHT AGAIN, UNTIL VICTORY!

WHO'S ENGAGING LINE STRUGGLE?

PART III - PRRWO-RWL

PRRWO -RWL are always bragging that carry out polemics in the communist movement. For them polemics is more like an obcession, another lie which they repeat to themselves, dreaming that it will become a reality, But reality cannot be covered by lies. These neo-trotskyites long ago ceased to wage polemics based on line and principles. Now all they do is name-calling, falsifying facts, openly lying, etc. A good example of what we are pointing out is the way in which these neotrotskyites have developed their so-called "polemics" against our organization. Especially if we contrast their"polemics", in form and in content, with the polemics we have been developing in the last 3 issues of this newspaper against their ultra-"leftist" cretinism.

PRRWO-RWL beat themse'ves on the chest saying "One of the hallmarks of the revolutionary wing is to consistently take all shades of differences, all struggles over line back to the two:-line struggle on the central task...'

Palante Vol. 6 #6 p 3 And again they beat themselves on the chest "The revolutionary wing has come to the head of the movement, is determining its character, has continuity with the past, are the only forces carrying out real polemics...'

Palante Vol. 6 # 8 p. 5

Lets see then their "real polemics". In the March edition of Palante (#5) PRRWO declared that Resistencia Puertorriquena (LPR) was "Menshevik" True to their style their proof was simply their word . "They are "Me sheviks because we say so and period." (Remember the Revolutionary Bloc who was supposed to be genuine and part of the wing because PRRWO said so?) In that issue they assured us that they would be polemizing with Resistencia in the future.

In the next issue the "real polemics" went full-

"We must take the lead in struggling against menshevism ... against the fruit flies of the movement like IWK CAP, Resistencia, who tail anyone that seems to be on the rise and where their careers can be best insured."

Palante, Vol. 6 #6 p.3 Some polemic. I The two line struggle has indeed been taken to the highest level of deepness of which they are capable. Not even a fruit fly can be so foolish as to call this "line struggle". But there is

In the next issue the 'fruit flyes' become loyal lackeys of the bourgeoisie." (Palante vol. 6 #7 p.1 Three months had elapsed since the promised' "polemics" and up to the moment not even a com-= mentary that could rescable line struggle.

Meanwhile in Resistencia we were waging a strug-

In our May edition we had pointed out the unities that had existed up to that moment as well as the differences that existed in line between both organizations. In that issue we criticised the line on "the party is the central and only task, that propaganda is the principal and only form of activity, the equivalence of the two tactical tasks, that we have to work only with the advanced, etc. Specifically we developed a polemic on their eclectic views on uniting M-Ls and winning the advanced to communism which held neither as primary.

(See Resistencia vol. 7 #5) In the next issue we polemized on their incorrect line on the relationship between propaganda and agitation, on the relation between theory and practice (See Resistencia vol. 7 #6) They have not said a word in relation to our line in these questions. Our serious scientific analysis of their neo-trotskyite line they can only answer with insults , falsification of history, demagoguery. So they come out in their next issue with

"Only one year ago, Resistencia was "not sure" whether or not capitalism had been restored in the Soviet Union.' Palante vol. 6 #8 p. 16

Even if this were true - which is not as we will show - that a year ago we were not sure on this question, what would this prove? Are we to base today's polemics with yesterday's positions? That is demagoguery. PRRWO is well aware that our position on Angola, on the analysis of the Havana Conference, show clearly our opposition to Soviet social imperialism. So they attempt a "fast ball" talking about one year ago. They hope to plant some doubts on the organization in some comrades that have entered in contact with the organization after that date. But that shot will backfire. Examine the waverings in PRRWO's line in the last year. Remember the teachers strike and organization is key?

Our position on Soviet social imperialism dates from not "only a year ago". On November 1972 we circulated a flyer signed also by the Communist League which stated

"There are two imperialist superpowers which have made a temporary agreement to divide the world among themselves the imperialist U.S and the socialimperialist Soviet Union (a socialimperialist speaks of socialism to cover its imperialist deeds) Each one has its colonies.

Is this a loss of memory in PRRWO?

Let's see if PRRWO has better memory in the next distortion

"It was Resistencia who less than two years ago was propagating that they were the voice of the Puerto Rican national minority"

Palante vol 6 #8 p. 16 gle against the neo-trotskyite line of PRRWO-RWL. RELAY RACE IN THE MARSH . HISTORICAL CONTINUITY OF RIGHT AND "LEFT" OPPORTUNISM.

Again going back two years? What of today's line? That is the one you have to combat and defeat if you are one thousandth of the Bolsheviks you claim you are Also, again you are lying. It is true, and not two years ago, but up to December 1975, we identified our newspaper with "voice of the Puerto Rican national minority" It is also true that in January 1976 - only a fruit fly mind can forget that it was only 8 months ago - we pointed out

'In biref, we consider that the heading "Voice of the Puerto Rican National Minority in the U.S." has fully accomplished its task , and that because it now has become an obstacle to the building of the multinational communist party, as it does not help to unite Marxist Leninists or to win the advanced to communism, we have decided to discard it."

Resistencia vol. 7 #1 p.6 We believe that the examples cited, plus the reading of PALANTE and RESISTENCIA can leave no doubt as to who are waging serious ideological struggle and who have turned to insults, phrasemongering, distortions and plain lies to cover for their bankrupt lines

PART IV - will continue in next issue

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CARICATURE OF A VANGUARD

By the end of this year - probably before - the marshes will count with two new "parties". The "Bolshevik Party of the USA" (PRRWO-RWL) and the "Marxist-Leninist Party of the USA (O. L.). There is still the possibility of even a third "party" this year "The Overall Most Correct Party" (WVO). All these organizations would-be parties already are clear in that they and only they are the vanguard of the U.S. communist and working class movements Neither of them pays attention to Lenin who says

> 'For it is not enough to call ourselves the 'vanguard', the advanced detachment we must act in such a way that all the other detachments shall see us, and be obliged to admit, that we are marching in the vanguard. And we ask the reader Are the representatives of the other detachments such fools as to take our word for it when we say we are the 'vanguard' ?"

> > WHAT IS TO BE DONE? Lenin

Regardless of the apparent differences between their approaches to party building - O. L from the right, all unity no struggle, worshipping spontaneity, belittling theory, PRRWO-RWL from the far neo-Trotsky-ite "left", all struggle no unity, "only, only, only", purges, purges, purges, etc, - there is basis of unity between these organizations. Especially now that both of them put forward that "organizations. Especially now that both of them put forward that "organization is the key link to party building" The O. L. came out in the open and put it boldly in their new call PRRWO-RWL continue to cover their line (remember CL) giving lip service to "political line is key" but carrying out the other line Proof of this is the merger of PRRWO-RWL that is reflected no only in line (they have unity of everything now) but also in the establishing of PALANTE as the "political organ of the genuine wing" and the signing "wing of New York" in all the statements of these neo-Trotskyites

As a matter of fact this question of the mergers goes back to early this year when the Revolutionary Bloc??? merged with PRRWO, who kept this in secret and continued projecting the RB as an independent organization that was part of the wing." (Curiously enough the merger was kept secret even from PRRWO cadres, many of whom found out just a few weeks ago when it was printed in PALANTE that PRRWO had purged all the former member of the RB (unbelievable, but true in the bizarre world of this insane stripe of "leftism") Neither the O. L. nor PRRWO-RWL (we should really sy just PRRWO assuming the merger has already been consumated) have said openly that they are laready the party, but for all intents and purposes, they do believe it and act accordingly. The O.L is more "humble" and just puts forward their auto-proclamation as the vanguard as follows

> "Through the course of deepening the struggle against modern revisionism, several trends have emerged, all calling themselves Marxist-Leninist One of these trends, represented by the groups who are issuing this call, as well as by other Marxist-Leninist organizations and individuals, has shown itself to stand for communist unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism This trend represents a rising force to which increasing numbers of Marxist-Leninists are gravitating

> > THE CALL

PRRWO, in the supreme tradition of Trotsky, brag about themselves as (all underlines are ours, LPR-)

> "The Revolutionary wing has come to the head of the movement, is determining its character, has continuity with the past, are the only forces carring out real polemics ensuring the social base of the party, purging the ranks of opportunist elements, fulfilling our ideological, political and organizational duties. The wing is already recognized as the vanguard by the sham wing, the parties of the pettybourgeosie, there is no better sing of this recognition than the raunchiness of the slanders, like hustlers, anti-party block, the main danger, 'the onlys', Bundists and on and on. There is no self-proclamation on our part that we are the party, for we have consistently put forward that the party must be built form above, starting at the First Party Congress, concretized in unity of program, member on a party organization and financial support. But the sham wing, seeing the strength of the current line of the Revolutionary Wing, the social composition which is mainly working class, multi-national through and through, and, in accordance with the bourgeois plan, come out in unison in the efforts to stop the first U.S. Bolshevik Party Congress, and slander that we claim we are the party, in the hope that we will stop hammering out the basic line and program of action, will become self-complacent optimists because of their recognition and not call the Party Congress. But sham wing, there ain't no way ".

PALANTE Vol 6 # 8 p.5

When PRRWO said that there is no "self-proclamation on our (their) part that we are the party" but that the "wing is already recognized as the vanguard sounds like somebody saying "I'm not god I'm only Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit " And the statement on the "revolutionary wing" having "continuity with the past" is correct. They are continuing in the tradition of Trotsky and the C L If you don't believe it compare this quote with PRRWO's statement quoted above

> "We are proudly aware of the fact that never in the history of this country has there been an organization with workers on the theoretical and political level as the Communist Leage. Our women cadre, our national minority cadre are without peers in the history of the revolution in the USNA. The violence of the slanderous attacks by the so-called 'left' is only testimony to the fact that we have developed the necessary cualitative base for the coming Congress ".

> > Communist Leage, Organization Manual, 1974, p. 17

As PRRWO would say, "check this out, shame on you!" Its clear that on these clear rotten lines of self-proclamation and being the vanguard, as O.L. PRRWO, CL, etc have pushed, organizations like WVO will take exception. They would prefer not to use the same quote we used to ridiculize this position, and very possibly they will attack these self-proclamations with something like this

> "They (the successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat) must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work. They must never cover up their errors like Khrushchov, and claim all the credit for themselves and shift all the blame on others.

> > Mao Tse-tung

And after defeating everybody with that quote WVO will have some time of rest to sleep for a while and dream with a fantastic world in which they will be able to put forward things like the following and where nobody will oppose it

> "The WVO has, in the last three years, waged fierce ideological struggle with both main representatives of right and 'left'opportunism. In waging the struggle on two fronts, WVO line has been firm and consistent. We have been true to the proletariat and its science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought. In the course of struggle, negation of opportunism has given rise to the 'negation of the negation ', a higher synthesis of the correct line. Its resilience and strenght has been tested in the fiery heat and deepest freeze of right and "left"opportunism Today, the WVO's line is clearly the most correct and consistent line that has turned into a material force pushing both the communist and workers movement forward. In the course of these struggles, Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers are coming forward wave upon wave. Comrades, presently the state of the U S. communist movement is excellent. The situation is better than ever before ".

> > Workers Viewpoint Vol. 1 #5 p. 25

Awake, idealists from WVO! Come down to the real world, the or which the only path you determine is your own path toward the marsh, and the corresponding wave upon wave of criticism that all genuine Marxist-Leninists do on your rotten economist practice and your right opportunist line.



COMMUNIST FORUM



Dear comrades

The present letter is to greet your organization and at the same time submit the following document on the anniversary of our Red Line-Revolutionary Movement 14 of June and ask that it be included in the section Communist Forum.

Revolutionary greetings Orlando Mazara Committee Red Line-M.R. "14 of June"

Between 1959-1966 many were the actions taken by the progressive forces of the Dominican nation for the liberation of our people. Failing to achieve victory, many were the theories advanced to explain these failures. The majority of those in the leadership of the revolutionary movement (particulary the "14th. of June", principal organization of the Anti-imperialist struggle) attributed them to insufficient military preparation, to the terrain, to the methods of struggle employed, and to the superiority in arms and men of the enemy, but to the political line that guided the actions.

By 1966, these answers no longer satisfied the questioning of the more advanced nuclei who pointed out that these failures were due to political view towards which the movement was oriented, giving birth to serious contradictions which resulted in the rise of five different groupings of the RM-14 June, one being our Red Line (on the 28 of July, 1968). Our appearance was a great step forward for the Dominican revolutionary movement as this was the only organization which objectively questioned the political lines orienting the movement and signalled the only alternatives for the realization of national liberation, socialism, and communism

We celebrate this eighth anniversary in the midst of an international situation characterized by a developing crisis of the capitalist system, constant superpower contention by Soviet social-imperialism and Yankee imperialism for world hegemony, which aggravates the danger of a third world war. At the same time we see the rising struggles of the workers in the great cities, the victories of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism demonstrating that the reactionaries are doomed to failure.

In the political sphere of our country, the Dominican Republic, we find ourselves with ten years of the Yanqui-Balaguer dictatiorship, a decade that is characterized by dependence and colonialism, underdevelopment in all spheres of national life, oppression, political repression against patriotic and democratic sectors, while the aspirations for freedom and happiness are blocked by insecurity, uneasiness and sufferings due to the evils of this decadent and unjust system. Before this painful situation suffered by the noble and heroic Dominican people, we believe that the unity of all the people is imperative.

In this 8th. Anniversary, we reiterate that it is our duty to continue pushing for unity along two lines: the socialist and the patriotic. Socialist, for the unity of Dominican Marxist-Leninists in a single, solid vanguard detachment, the Party of Dominican Workers, patriotic, in order to achieve a broad unity of the progressive and anti-imperialist forces of our nation(whether they find themselves inside or outside the country) in a Patriotic National Front which will mobilize politically all Dominicans for a patriotic government which will lead the country towards independance, economic development, the freedom and general welfare of the people. For precisely this noble, revolutionary cause, Duarte, Luperon, Maximi' ano, Manolo y Caamano gave their lives.

PATRIOTIC NATIONAL FRONT, POPULAR ALTERNATIVE IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC!!!

LONG LI VE THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES AGAIN ST IMPERIALISM, SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM AND THEIR LACKEYS'''

BUILD THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF DOMINICAN WORKERS'''

We want to let our readers know that we've received a great number of letters including polemics criticisms and suggestions to be included in this section and which we will be publishing in future numbers of RESISTANCE Some deal with the consolidation of the revisionist 'Communist" Party of the U.S., with the slogan "Marxist -Leninists Unite!" with propaganda and agitation, Etc., We've also received some positive suggestions which we've considered such as dating each issue of the dating each issue of the paper These comrades have a good point It"s important, so as to sum-up the struggles and development of the Communist Movement, to refer back to the time in which they took place. This former practice of RESISTENCIA in which they took place This former practice of RESISTENCIA was abandoned in February of this year when our political organ first came out in a newspaper format. We incorrectly took a programatic view-that because it would be a while before the paper would come out regularly, dates would not be included

In this issue, Comunist Forum includes the declaration of Red Line of the Revolutionary Movement of 14 June, a Dominican communist organization with whose Orlando Mazara committee we have been doing political work. It always been our practice to raise criticisms openly in the spirit of "unity-struggle-unity" with those whom we consider genuine and honest communists, contrary to the line of unity without principles of the opportunists. We publish this declaration of Red Line in salute of the 8th anniversary of that organization. We will establish what are our unities and difference with the positions expressed by the comrades to continue the polemic which we share at the same time with the rest of the revolutionary and communist movement.

In the first place, we want to point out that we consider the founding and development of Linea Roja as a step forward in the development of the communist and revolutionary movement in the Dom Rep and therefore a contribuion to the world proletariat We beleive that Linea Roja has provided the working class and the oppressed people of the Dom Rep clear ans vers to some of the questions put forth by the revolutionary struggle of that country We consider correct the nalysis made by the comrades on the events of 1959-1966 The revolutionary mevemnt at that time pointed (to external factirs (arms, military preparations etc. Without making an analyis fo key factors such be as the political line of the movement Pointing to political line opened the way of correcting errors and carry ing out the tasks of the future

struggle of workers and oppressed people the world over for liberation and complete emancipation from the system of capitalist oppression Forward comrades!

As to the differences We want to refer here to what was raised regarding the National Patriotic Front to include "the progresive and anti-imperialist forces of our nation (be they within or outside)...to mobilize politically all Dominicans for a patriotic government. "We consider this position to be incorrect in the aspect that relates to the national question in the U.S.

In upholding the M-L principle of Proletarian Internationalism, and the thesis on this question developed by Lenin and Stalin, we see the necessity for the "formation and consolidation of a common revolutionary front" of the working class in develope countries and the national liberation movement in the colonies. (SeeStalin, Foundations of Leninism)

We know that without this there can be proletarian internationalism. We assume that the comrades are not referring to this front since in such case one would have to speak of mobilizing both the oppressed Dominican people and the U.S. multinational working class, instead of "all the Dominicans". This is where the differences come in in how we place politically and organizationally the Dominicans residents in the U.S. (We are not referring here to the revolutionary and patriotic forces who are temporarily exiled here, but rather to the majority of the Dominicans who have left their homeland "in search of a better life" to establish themselves in the U.S., regardless of the fact that they may dream of going back.)

Thus it is our understandingthat Dominicans living in the U S are part of the multinational working class that is to carry out the proletarian revolution in the U S and the most advanced elements will undoubtedly incorporate into the communist party of new type that will lead that revolution Of course the Dominicans, as well as the Puerto Rican, Afroamerican, and the working class as a whole has the duty to actively and concretely support the struggle of the Dominican people in the Dominican Republic, as well as of all oppressed people of the world for their national liberation This is how we see concretized the principle of Proletarian Internationalism in the resolution of the national question in the U S

Otherwise, we would be falling in the incorrect bundist theory of the "divided nation" which is held by the revisionists of PSP among others. This thesis objectively represents an obstacle to the building of the multinational communist party



Secondly, we have unity with Linea Roja in their analysis of the Soviet Union as a social imperialist superpower and in the fact that it is condemned to failure However the comrades have not been sufficiently explicit in pointing out what is the main trend in the world today war or revolution. The line of two contending trends" (no main trend) held by organizations such as WVO, is incorrect necessary to point out at this moment, that despite the "contention" between the two superpowers, and the real danger of a third world war, the main trend in the world today is definitely ${\tt REVOLUTION}$, and that the main contradiction remains that between the underdeveloped and dependent countries on the one hand, and imperialism on the other As chairman Mao says "Either war will bring about revolution or revolution will prevent war "This is the international situation

Thirdly, we salute the revolutionary struggle and efforts of Linea Roja in the task of building a genuine communist party in the Dominican Republic, as well as the building of a National Patriotic Front under the leadership of that party The building of such a party, as well as the building of a communist party in the U S will mutually strengthen our respective struggles, which are ultimately one the

in the U.S., leading towards the division rather than the solidarity among workers of different nationalities

We believe in open and frank ideological struggle, based on principles, and we believe that by widening the polemic on the question, we are fulfilling a communist duty, as well as positively contributing to the revolutionary movement in the Dominican Republic and in the U.S. We expect to receive from our readers their opinions criticisms, etc. on this topic and those which we will cover in the future

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM HEGEMONISM AND COLONIALISM!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

SEND YOUR COLLABORATIONS TO COMMUNIST FORUM TO RESISTENCIA BOX 513, TRIBORO STA N Y , N Y 10035



HONDURAS

IN SALUTE TO THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE MARXIST LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY OF HONDURAS AND IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF HONDURAS, WE PUBLISH THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT.

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

SECOND NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY OF HONDURAS

MESSAGE TO THE HONDURAN PEOPLE

From the first to the third of May of this year, somewhere in our country, the Second Congress of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Honduras, the political party of the Honduran proletariat and vanguard of all our people, was held.

The Second National Congress approved a new program, and new set of party rules, as well as examined the current national and international situation and elected a new Central Committee.

The program, rules and other documents approved by the Congress have given our party greater political, organizational and ideological unity; they have defined more precisely our objectives of struggle; opened more possibilities to a greater development; placed the party in a better situation to fulfill the responsibilities which it has before the masses of our country.

The Second Congress was dedicated to the martyrs of the Party. Individuals like Manuel Calix Herrera, Juan Pablo Wainwright and others in the 1920's, and more recently, Manuel Rodriguez Reyes and the martyrs of El Jute, have given up their lives for the goals of Marxism-Leninism in order to make the aspirations of social emancipation of the working and exploited masses of Honduras a reality.

In examining the national situation, the Second Party Congress ascertained that the general crisis which exists in the country sharpens more each day. There exist two large social groups which have formed as a result of the intensification of the class struggle, which, in light of the demands for change by the masses, takes place in the city and countryside. On one side are the North American companies, the large land owners and the intermediary bourgeoisie, obstinately opposed to any changes in the conditions of backwardness and dependence of the country. They are involved in feverish conspiratory activity, have formed repressive groups and have carried out terrorist acts, all aimed at establishing a fascist dictatorship, a reign of terror and repression which would put an end to even the most basic rights won by the working masses. On the other side are the workers, peasants, teachers, students and other sectors of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, who have demanded democratic changes in the institutions and structure of the country. They have asked for agrarian reform and an end to the "latifundios"; respect and widening of the rights of the working class; democratic reform of the educational system; that the resources in the hands of American companies be nationalized; that the basis for dependency in which the country finds itself with respect to North American imperialism be combated, etc., first steps for the future advance towards revolutionary transformations which will

conquer for the country full national sovereignty and independence.

Between these two social groupings an intense struggle is taking place, which manifests itself in every problem of national life. Recently, this struggle has expressed itself in regards to the Advisory Council to the head of state—the ultra-rights boycotted it, while the popular organizations decided to join it in order to turn it into a platform for their politics and as a means to push for changes which the country needs at this moment.

The Second National Party Congress approved a call to all political and social organizations in the country to, independently of their ideological belief and with the fundamental goal of the defense of the national popular interests, form a National Front based widely among the masses, to defeat the fascist intentions of the ultra-right, headed by the C.O.H.E.P. and the Zuniga and Roda cliques of the traditional parties. Thus, based on a common program of democratic rights, struggle for the changes which the Honduran people urgently demand in the decrepit structures and institutions of the country.

In the international arena, the Second Congress corroborated that imperialism, social-imperialism and colonialism - the fiercest enemies of humanity - are quickly moving towards their total destruction, while the peoples of the world, amid powerful class struggles, obtain new victories and move forward, irresistibly, toward the conquest and affirmation of national independence, democratic transformation and the creation of a socialist society, confirming that, indeed, the main trend in the world today is revolution.

The profound contradictions and struggles which are developing in the world - between exploited and exploiter, between oppressed and oppressor nations; between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism; between the two superpowers, etc. are without a doubt the prelude to decisive revolutionary changes in the whole planet.

The general crisis of world capitalism becomes deeper, shaking up the whole system. The United States, head of the capitalist world, despite its descent, which has strategically placed it on the defensive, is preserving its aggressive, exploitive, expansionist nature. It still continues to be a source of war and aggression.

Soviet social-imperialism is part of the world-wide imperialist system. It is ruled by the same laws, has the same economic base, seeks the same expansionist and exploitive goals of capitalist imperialism. Socialimperialism and imperialism have an identical nature. Soviet social-imperialism is also being shaken by its numerous inherent contradictions. It is also in crisis, in decomposition and moribund. The overthrow of the revisionist, bureaucratic bourgeoisie, the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat are the objectives which the workers, peasants and peoples of the various nationalities in the Soviet Union have before them today.

The struggles between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are of an imperialist character. They can lead

to-the unleashing of a new world war.

The Third World, made up of developing and backward countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa, have emerged as a powerful revolutionary force of our time

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China has been the means by which communists and the great Chinese people have continued to develop the revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism. Through it, they were able to defeat the attempts of revisionism and the bourgeoise to usurp power and restore capitalism. They were able to realize profound changes in the base and superstructure of socialist Chinese society, strengthening the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and consolidating socialism.

The non-intervention in the affairs of other countries, and the right of nations to self-determination are principles zealously defended at all times by Marxist -Leninists. These principles are very dear to the people and have cost many struggles and great sacrifices.

The recent intervention in Angola was characteristic of the imperialists. This country has become the focal point of the fight between the two superpowers.

Our party equally opposes the aggression, intervention and counterrevolution of the imperialists, as well as the interference, control and intervention of the social-imperialists in any country or continent. Each nation must decide for itself its destiny. Revolution is the work of the people in each country.

During its existence, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Honduras has carried out various struggles against nationalist groups and their right or "left" opportunist lines, especially against revisionism, which these groups, instead of weakening it, have strengthened it further, have helped it to consolidate itself ideologically, and have given it more solidity and unity.

The Second Congress affirmed the proletarian, Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, which responds to the interests and aspirations of the majority of the people of Honduras. This Congress marks a new stage in the existence of the Party a stage of greater commitment, greater responsibility to the exploited masses of the country and their just struggles for democratic rights and total emancipation.

The Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Honduras, on this occasion, reaffirms its determined disposition to struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reactionary elements; for the economic-social demands and the democratic rights of the working masses, for the liberation of Honduras from interference and from the dependency on North American imperialism; for the future creation of socialism in our country and for the abolition of the exploitation of man by man and all class and national exploitation.

Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Honduras

Honduras, C.A., May 12, 1976

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