



RESISTANCE

Political organ of THE LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION (LPR - ML)
(Formerly Resistencia Puertorriqueña)

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

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PUERTO RICAN NATION!

The Puerto Rican revolution is a two stage revolution.

October 30th is one of the most significant dates in the history of the Puerto Rican nation. Under the leadership of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, the Puerto Rican patriots rose in arms against Yankee imperialism on October 30, 1950. The town of Jayuya was taken by the revolutionaries and there, the second Republic of Puerto Rico was declared. (The first republic was declared on September 23, 1868 in the town of Lares.) While it is true that militarily the insurrection failed, this is no reason for us to fail to recognize the importance that this revolutionary act has in the development of the struggle of the Puerto Rican nation for its independence and national liberation.

support of the masses took a radical turn. The rise of Pedro Albizu Campos to the presidency of the Nationalist Party in Puerto Rico helped to turn the reformist and electoral independence movement into one that was revolutionary and anti-imperialist. The next 20 years were full of continuous struggles in which the Puerto Rican nationalists raised the need for armed struggle as the method by which independence was to be achieved.



As we pointed out, on the 25th anniversary of the Nationalist uprising:
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Puerto Rico is a colony of the U.S. since 1898. As a result of the Spanish-American War, the defeated Spain ceded its colonies - Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines - to the Yankee imperialists. On July 25th, the imperialist troops invaded Puerto Rico. Puerto Rican patriots under the command of the revolutionary Fidel Velez met them in armed combat. The Puerto Rican people's struggle for liberation was reaffirmed in that unequal combat in which dozens of patriots armed only with machetes faced a whole infantry battalion.

WVO's "UNITE TO EXPOSE"

A policy of class collaboration

During the decade of the 1960's, in the flow of the working class movement and of the national, student, anti-war and women's movements, a number of advanced elements came to the fore. Some of these advanced elements, through contact with communists, and together with other communists, reaffirmed the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, drawing clear lines of demarcation from the many other tendencies (anarchism, nationalism, reformism, etc.) which prevailed in the revolutionary movement of the masses. In the struggle against these tendencies alien to M-L-MTT, genuine communists also separated themselves from the sham communists, who did not demarcate themselves from these tendencies.

Thus, the unity among genuine communists is forged and deepened in practice, based on how we struggle against revisionism, as we move forward in the building of the party. It is in this context - the struggle against the main danger - that we will analyze the line of Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO) - "Unite to Expose" - This line reflects in practice how it is that this organization does not uphold and practice M-L-MTTT and how it sees the struggle against revisionism. In fact, it is in practice that we verify who are the genuine and who the sham communists, who really uphold and practice M-L-MTTT and who distort and revise it. As Mao Tse Tung teaches us:

Since the first moment of the invasion, the struggle of the Puerto Rican nation for its independence has been uninterrupted. All struggles have their ebbs and flows, thus, the first 30 years of domination were largely a period of ebb. The Puerto Rican independence struggle was led by the petty bourgeoisie and the weak national bourgeoisie of Puerto Rico. Without any real support from the working masses, the independence struggle took the route of reformism, raising parliamentarism as the main and exclusive form of struggle. They expected to achieve independence in "peace and friendship with the United States," through negotiations which would receive impetus by the "triumph of the independentistas at the polls."

Genuine communists recognized that our central task is the building of a genuine communist party in light of the betrayal of the CPUSA. Furthermore, we united in that revisionism represents the main danger to the communist movement. This was one of the fundamental questions on which the unity of communists was based and was also one of the major differences between genuine and sham communists.

"Only social practice can be the criterion of truth."
Four Essays of Philosophy, p. 4

Mao also teaches us that the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge holds that "human knowledge can in no way be separated from practice" and repudiates "all erroneous theories which deny the importance of practice or separate knowledge from practice." Ibid p. 4)

In the 1930's, there was a radical change in this picture. Objectively the political, social and economic situation in the colony became intolerable for the vast masses of toiling people - starvation wages, malnutrition, lack of medical and educational services, no electrification or running water, etc. Subjectively, the Puerto Rican Independence movement, now with the

At present, the lines of demarcation have been deepened, the law of dialectics, "one divides into two," has been confirmed in practice. The communist movement divides into two. It is not enough to merely affirm that one is anti-revisionist, this line must be applied to the concrete conditions in the U.S. In actuality, the unity among genuine communists is based on the application of M-L-MTTT to the concrete conditions. Specifically, in regard to the struggle against revisionism, lines of demarcation are drawn between those who in reality wage struggle against revisionism and those who leave that struggle in abstract formulations.

It is characteristic of opportunists to separate theory from practice, either by upholding one thing in theory and practicing another, or by reducing everything to theory, not carrying it out in practice, thus becoming philosophers who interpret the world, but make no attempt to change it.

W.V.O.'s opportunism is reflected in that they say one thing and do another. Instead of applying M-L-MTT to the concrete conditions in the U.S., they distort reality, adapt it to fit their own wishes and views. We maintain that their right opportunism is reflected ideologically in their empiricism, politically in their class collaboration and organizationally in their sectarianism. We will show these things concretely. In this article, we will deal with the political aspect of their deviations, as it is reflected in one of W.V.O.'s principal lines, "unite to expose," a line which aptly describes its general practice. This line summarizes how W.V.O. sees the struggle against revisionism in practice.

Independence for Puerto Rico! Free the 5 Puerto Rican Political Prisoners!



Oscar Collazo Lolita Lebrón Rafael Cancel Andrés Figueroa Irving Flores

WVO's "UNITE TO EXPOSE"

According to WVO

"United front from above tactics embody 'unite to expose' tactics"

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PUERTO RICO

"The anti-imperialist nationalism of Albizu, the politics of non-collaboration with the system, (electoral boycott, resistance to the military service, etc.) the preaching that only armed struggle will smash the imperialist seige in P.R., moved the U.S. to try to destroy once and for all, the resistance of the Puerto Rican people against the politics of imperialism. The greatest acts of repression known in our history are directed against the nationalists. Nationalists are massacred in Rio Piedras and Ponce, Albizu and the leadership will be found "guilty" in kangaroo trials and sentenced to jail in the empire. To be a member or a sympathizer of the Nationalist Party is to bring down all the fury of the empire upon oneself in this historical moment in Puerto Rico. But it was not only direct repression that the empire used against nationalism. Another leadership had to be created, another way out for the people. That is why the Popular Democratic Party, with its "bread, land and liberty" and "independence is just around the corner" was created. The nationalist leadership jailed, and the lack of political leadership to guide the people (the "Puerto Rican Communist Party", which was and continues to be an appendage of the American party, hid like an ostrich) could not detain the coalition between imperialism and the Puerto Rican petty bourgeoisie elements grouped in PPD. That is why in 1940, the PPD rose to power and began rapidly to complete the sale of P.R. and Puerto Ricans to the Yankee interests. Thus, when the Yankees no longer need sugar, the industrialization program was initiated. This program in less than 20 years, industrialized the country causing at the same time the complete ruin of Puerto Rican agriculture and the exodus of more than 1 million Puerto Ricans to Northamerican ghettos in which we find ourselves.

But the revolutionary movement was not liquidated and with the return of Albizu and other leaders to the island in 1948, they began to organize once again for battle. Imperialism prepared to bury them forever. On October 30, 1950, two unequal forces confronted each other in a struggle to the death in P.R. On one side, imperialism with all its power, its colonial police, its lackey national guard, its FBI, CIA, radio stations, newspapers, judges and D.A.'s. On the other side a handful of sacrificing, honest, and valiant patriots who were willing to give up their lives in a sacrifice in order to declare Puerto Rico's right to liberty and sovereignty. The Nationalists failed in their attempt to establish the Republic of Puerto Rico, but they showed clearly the path that must be followed to get there. That is why the history of Puerto Rico cannot be written without dedicating a chapter to this historic struggle of the Puerto Rican nationalists who spilled their blood for our people's right to liberty.

Armed struggle, not only in words but in revolutionary deeds commits life, property and personal liberty, was promulgated and put into action by the anti-imperialist P.R. nationalism, continues to be today the only existing road for those who seriously propose to liberate Puerto Rico from the yoke of Yankee imperialism.

Eliminating the most dedicated enemy that imperialism had at this moment, it moved to fortify its domination. On July 25, 1952, they established the Free Associated State (Commonwealth), a colonial political system which is not a state, nor free nor associated. It was no coincidence that the colonialists chose that particular day, July 25, the day of the invasion, to inaugurate their disguised colony. But their actions backfired because the 25th of July is the date Puerto Ricans associate with the colonial status of the island more and more each day. Now for two reasons: the invasion of 1898 and the Commonwealth farse of 1952.

It is important that we understand that the Commonwealth is the Yankee imperialists answer to the militant struggle of P.R. Nationalist struggle for the establishment of a republic. Again, imperialism's two favorite ways of resolving contradictions coincide, this time in P.R. On the one hand, brutal repression of the revolutionary movement. On the other hand, the granting of reforms to the comprador bourgeoisie and the native intelligentsia.

Since the establishment of the Commonwealth to the present, there have not been any fundamental changes in the political structure of the island. The colonial character of this imperialist gimmick has been exposed not only before the P.R. people but also before the nations of the world. This is so obvious that recently the United Nations has come out in favor of the right of the P.R. nation to self-determination as an independent country. The U.S., in an attempt to disguise its imperialist domination, ordered the celebration of a plebiscite in 1967, and is apparently in the process of ordering another one in the near future. But all the plebiscites in the world will not stop the forward march of history."

Resistencia vol.6 #12, p.4

"Countries want independence; nations want liberation and people want revolution. This is an irresistible trend in the world today. This irresistible trend is REVOLUTION, the main trend in the world today. Thus we see the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America moving along the path of revolution despite the criminal attempts of imperialism, especially Yankee imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, to halt the wheel of history.

In the case of Puerto Rico, it is Yankee imperialism which controls the economy and government of the island. Their military bases occupy more than 14% of the Puerto Rican national territory. It is their re-

pressive agencies - F.B.I., C.I.A., etc. - which operate on the island. Thus, it is important that in our support for the cause of Puerto Rican national liberation, we direct our main blow at North American imperialism, since at this moment, the principal contradiction is clearly between Yankee imperialism and the oppressed Puerto Rican nation. However, this does not mean that Yankee imperialism is the only enemy. In the last few years, attempts by the Soviet social-imperialists to dominate the Puerto Rican national liberation movement have increased. Unable to dominate this struggle through its official puppet, the Puerto Rican "Communist" Party, the Soviet Union has made strides to place PSP under its complete control. The Soviet Union wants to project PSP internationally as the only legitimate representative of the Puerto Rican national liberation movement. Their control over PSP is exercised by way of the Cuban revisionists. Examples of their attempt to place the Puerto Rican liberation struggle under their influence have been their maneuvering in the U.N. and their Havana Conference (see the article in this issue, "Unite to Expose"). This would clear the way for making out of Puerto Rico another Angola in the future. So, without losing the perspective as to what constitutes the main danger, one must also struggle against the secondary danger. In struggling against the wolf in the front door we must also guard against the tiger trying to get in through the back door.'

The warning of the Chinese comrades is one we must consistently raise in the case of Puerto Rico, as well as in all the national liberation struggles which take place around the world. (In our analysis of the Havana Conference, we did precisely this.) The danger which the Soviet Union represents to all the national liberation struggles in general and to Puerto Rico in particular cannot be fought with such slogans as the October League's "Superpowers out of Puerto Rico." This slogan does not establish the difference between the main and the secondary danger in Puerto Rico and obscures the fact that actually, the principal contradiction there is between the oppressed nation and yankee imperialism. Puerto Rico is part of the Third World and as such it is necessarily part of the worldwide united front against the two superpowers. However, from this objective fact to the O.L.'s slogan, a lot is left out. The slogan in point of fact tends to protect yankee imperialism by placing the Soviet Union on a par with the U.S. inside of Puerto Rico.



We believe that historically our organization has dealt with this question in a consistent manner and with a relatively correct line (relative to the lines of other M-L organizations in the U.S. in regard to this question). Our "Analysis of the Political Declaration of PSP in the United States," "The Puerto Rican National Question," "Analysis of the Havana Conference in Solidarity with Puerto Rico," "On October 27th in Madison Square Garden" are examples of this fact. However, despite the fact that the principal aspect of all our practical and theoretical work around the question of Puerto Rico has been positive, it is important to point out that throughout this same period, we have been defending an incorrect line in regard to one of the most fundamental aspects of the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico. This has been on the question of the character of the Puerto Rican revolution.

Will this be a one stage revolution or a two-stage revolution? We have, since the beginning of our organization, maintained that it would be a one-stage revolution. This is an incorrect view - a Trotskyite view - which if carried out in practice would condemn the Puerto Rican revolution to failure.

BASIS OF OUR ERROR

The ideological basis of our error was primarily a poor understanding of the national and colonial question in the era of imperialism after the first imperialist world war and the Great October Revolution, and secondarily liberalism. This allowed us to remain consolidated around this incorrect position for such a long time, in spite of the fact that there was always opposition to this position within our ranks. The fundamental theoretical errors we committed in analyzing the Puerto Rican colonial question were:

1. One-sidedness in our analysis. We did not consider the question in all its aspects. We did not make a distinction between the first period of the national question, the period of rising capitalism in which the bourgeoisie, in search of markets, leads the national movements; and the second period - the period of imperialism, in which only with the proletariat as the leader and vanguard can the national movement achieve a real victory against imperialism. Basically, we remained in the first period and we alleged that to advocate a two-stage revolution was to advocate a "banana republic."
2. We maintained that the concept of New Democracy put forth by Mao Tse Tung only applied to colonial countries where feudal and semi-feudal relations of production existed. Thus we held that New Democracy applied only to countries such as the Dominican Republic, but not to Puerto Rico, stemming from the erroneous conception that (a) both characteristics (feudal and colonial relations) had to be present for it to apply, and (b) the objective reality of a high development of capitalism in the island. Today we understand that the existence of either of the two characteristics makes the principle of New Democracy applicable.
3. The role of allies. We also failed in our analysis by underestimating the role played by the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and small (but existent) sector of the national bourgeoisie as possible allies of the Puerto Rican proletariat. Basically, we

discarded the question of allies with mere statistics such as that only 5% of the work force is involved in agriculture, or that the bourgeoisie as a whole was of a comprador nature, etc.

LIBERALISM

The liberalism in this question allowed the consolidation of the incorrect position within our organization. This was manifested in various ways:

1. Self-complacency. We developed a "lazy-bones" attitude and self-complacency in relation to our line on Puerto Rico. The incorrect position of the one-stage revolution in Puerto Rico was part of our general line on the Puerto Rican National Question. This line was developed in the course of the struggle against the revisionist theses of PSP -

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PUERTO RICO

the "divided nation theory", "the multi-party vanguard", the role of Puerto Ricans in the U.S., etc. In the struggle that we initiated against PSP's revisionism, their thesis of the "divided nation" was beaten, and more and more Marxist-Leninist organizations adopted the correct position that Puerto Ricans in the U.S. are a national minority. The Bundist thesis of PSP that every national group in the U.S. should have its own party had been also defeated and the correct Marxist-Leninist position, which is that the multi-national working class of the U.S. needs a multi-national communist party, made headway. But these victories for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought made us "dizzy with success" and we did not maintain a critical attitude towards our own position. We did not apply MLMTT with the necessary scientific rigor, and our position was only proven correct in comparison to PSP's revisionism. We took for granted the correctness of all the component parts of our line on Puerto Rico.

2. We adopted the same liberal attitude towards the criticisms on the one-stage revolution, put forth by other Marxist-Leninists. Instead of dealing with the criticisms to see if they were correct or not, we dealt with who was doing the criticism. However, as almost always the criticism was put forth by right opportunists or narrow nationalists, we dismissed them by pointing out their opportunism. We confused form with essence and this did not allow us to deal with the criticism itself, but rather to give more emphasis to who had said it, and how, rather than what was

said.

3. Conciliation. "To go against the tide" is a Marxist-Leninist principle. But the comrades who historically opposed this incorrect line within our ranks were not resolute enough in defending their position and ended up conciliating with the incorrect position. Instead of studying more the problem, looking for more evidence and information and trying to win the majority of the organization to their correct position, these comrades opted to go along with the tide.

These comrades' error reflects not only liberalism but also a poor understanding of democratic centralism in the organization. There's room within a Marxist-Leninist organization for comrades who have differences with the line. As long as these comrades don't propagate their ideas outside the organization, don't factionalize within the organization around their ideas and they submit to democratic centralism carrying out their tasks and responsibilities, they can and should be cadres of the organization.

It was precisely in the midst of a combat-liberalism-campaign within the organization, that these comrades became aware of their error and decided to wage ideological struggle within the organization, which resulted in our repudiation of the error being committed, and moving to correct it. In the process, we were able to understand better the question of democratic centralism and the deviations we were making in this fundamental principle of communist organization.

4. Marxism for others, liberalism for our comrades of PSR - In our fraternal relations

with the comrades from PSR-ML of Puerto Rico, we have always been very conscious to avoid falling into "great nation chauvinism". We cannot expect to dictate, from the U.S., how the revolution in Puerto Rico is going to develop. However, often one tendency covers another, and we fell then into liberalism towards the comrades. So as not to intervene with what we called "the internal affairs" of Puerto Rico's revolutionaries, we conciliated with PSR-ML of Puerto Rico and did not develop an open and strong ideological struggle with them. On the contrary, for a long time we limited ourselves to recommending certain readings and to privately question their line. This error - a right opportunist error - instead of aiding the comrades to understand their errors helped to consolidate them more.

Summing up this part, it is important that we understand that it's not enough to repudiate publicly an incorrect line that has guided our work in support of the national liberation of Puerto Rico. It is necessary to correct these errors in our practice. A campaign of serious self-criticism in front of the masses and rectification must follow this repudiation. Our error in this question can only truly be corrected when we are able to develop among the multi-national working class in general - and the Marxist-Leninists, advanced workers and revolutionary minded people in particular - real support for the struggle towards Puerto Rico's independence

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W.V.O.

"United front from above has certain elements of formal agreement among different groups and organizations, such as a set of principles of unity... concrete plans of actions... and some organizational forms to carry these out". WVJ #4, p. 28.

(Stalin, "On the Opposition," p 358, W V Journal #4, p 24)

Stalin's quote on blocs used by WVO must be placed in the context in which it was used in order to understand the type of 'blocs' Stalin was talking about. Then we should compare these 'blocs' with those of WVO to see if there is any similarity between them. Stalin is referring to a bloc between Soviet labor unions (unions in a country under the dictatorship of the proletariat) and the English labor unions. Does Stalin say that communists unite to expose? Of course not. He states clearly that there must exist two basic conditions, one being the "right to criticize". However this is not the object for which one joins the bloc. Needless to say, WVO twists this quote substituting conditions with objectives for joining the bloc, arriving at the conclusion that according to Stalin it is correct "to unite to expose"! But we must not confuse conditions and objective Stalin is very clear on this and WVO conveniently leaves out the part of the article which states that

"Hence, the Anglo-Russian Committee is a bloc of our trade unions with the reactionary trade unions of Britain, the object of which is, firstly, to strengthen the connections between our trade union movement of the West and to revolutionise the latter, and, secondly, to wage a struggle against imperialist wars in general, and intervention in particular" J Stalin, Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, On Opposition page 356.

So they are doubly wrong Stalin was not talking about the types of "blocs" WVO is always forming, secondly they make conditions equivalent to objective. No, comrades, Stalin was not proposing the bloc - unity - in order to expose the reactionary leadership of the working class movement in England, but in order to "firstly, to strengthen the connections between our trade union movement of the West and to revolutionise the latter, and, secondly, to wage a struggle against imperialist wars in general, and intervention in particular" Besides clearly establishing the objective of the "bloc" (which was not - we repeat, to expose the reformist leadership) Stalin also clearly establishes the conditions under which such a bloc could be established. They are (1) those necessary to separate the masses from their reactionary leadership and (2) the right to criticize those leaders. Stalin is not talking about imaginary but of real conditions, with real results which have nothing to do with the wishful thinking of WVO. As a matter of fact, in his polemic with Trotsky, who alleged that the conditions for an Anglo-Russian bloc did not exist, Stalin said

"The question arises Is the policy of our trade unions in conformity with the conditions Comrade Lenin speaks of? I think that it is in full conformity. In the first place, we have completely reserved for

ourselves full freedom to criticize the reformist leaders of the British working class and have availed ourselves of that freedom to a degree unequalled by any other Communist Party in the world. In the second place, we are effectively severing, and have already severed, whole sections of the British working class from the reactionary leaders. I have in mind the rupture of the miners with the leaders of the General Council" (Ibid, p 359, emphasis LPR)

Could the same thing be said of the type of blocs of WVO? Comrades, there are blocs and there are blocs blocs that serve the proletariat, like the one just described, and blocs which serve the bourgeoisie, like the ones in which WVO participates daily

YOU DO NOT HAVE TO UNITE IN ORDER TO EXPOSE

Even WVO's formulation is completely wrong. The objective of communists' participation in activities is not the exposure of revisionists and reformists. One becomes part of a coalition, front, etc., because one considers correct the objective of the particular activity in question. One unites because one considers the struggle a just one which merits our support. While we strive to give communist leadership to the particular struggle so that it achieve its goals, and - in the course of that struggle, - we must also expose revisionists and reformists.

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WVO adds

"But under conditions when the united front from above tactics cannot be applied, (when there doesn't exist any basis for unity, when the conditions for an independent work and initiative are not present, ed LPR) communists can still, under appropriate conditions, use the "unite to expose" tactic" Ibid, page 29

What are these "appropriate conditions" which would allow communists to unite to expose, even though there are no basis for principles of unity or conditions which will guarantee the independence and initiative of communists? WVO does not say, However, judging from their practice, these conditions always exist. WVO finds the theoretical justification for its line in the fact that reformism is especially entrenched in the working class movement in the U.S. They say

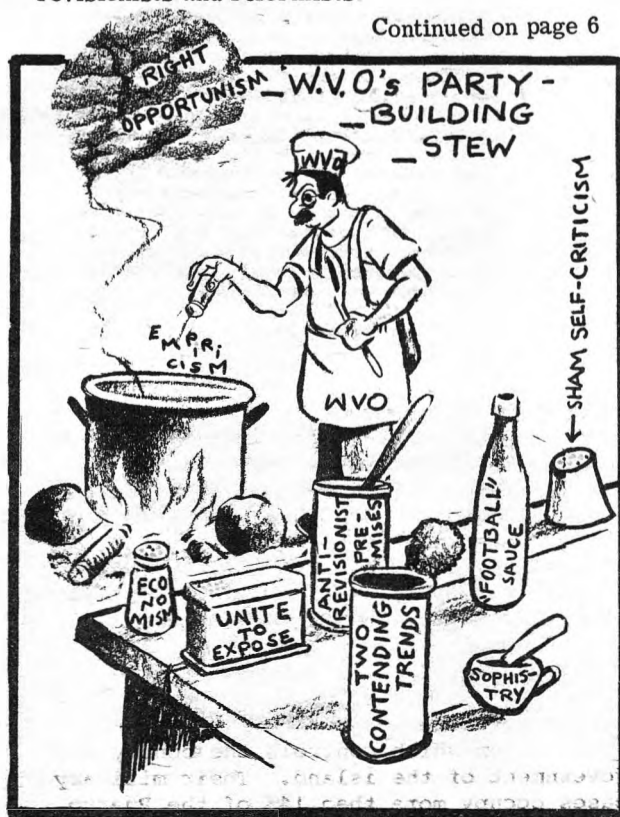
"The exposure of these labor misleaders and other liberal reformists, is more than 2/3 of the way to proletarian revolution in the U.S." WVJ #4, p 25

There is an element of truth in what WVO is saying it is correct to aim the main blow at the social props in this period. However, we do not unite with those that are the target of our main blow! By doing this WVO is objectively liquidating the exposures of the social props. This would be further entrenching reformism into the working class movement, and making those "2/3 of the way" even longer with obstacles such as the right opportunists of WVO.

THE MARXIST LENINIST POSITION

We will use the same quotes that W V O. uses out of context to justify their right opportunist line. They first quote Stalin

"Accordingly, such blocs (between the communists and reactionary leaders of the working class - ed. WVO) may be formed only on two basic conditions, viz., that we are ensured freedom to criticize the reformist leaders, and that the necessary conditions for severing the masses from the reactionary leaders are ensured.



COMMUNIST FORUM



TWO LETTERS FROM CHANGING TIMES COLLECTIVE
TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, OCTOBER LEAGUE

June 25, 1976

Dear Friends,

We have just finished reading the interview with
October League Chairman Michael Klonsky on the
international situation in the Call dated 5-31-76.
In the interview he states

"A few years ago, it was correct to say
that 'revolution is the main trend in the
world today' Now this statement is no
longer complete or applicable to the pre-
sent conditions. Today BOTH the factors
for war and revolution are developing
together. By saying that both factors are
developing together, we are clearly empha-
sizing the growing danger of a war. In
this way, we take note of the changes
since 1970 and help people to get pre-
pared."

While we agree that the factors for both war and re-
volution are increasing and that people must get pre-
pared for war, we disagree that the statement "Revo-
lution is the main trend in the world today" is no
longer complete or applicable. Revolution is the main
trend in the world today and will continue to be so
long as we are in the era of imperialism and proletarian
revolution. War is the objective situation in which
revolution may occur in the future and has occurred
in the past. As the Chinese comrades say, "No matter
if war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents
war, the future is bright," because in either case
revolution will inevitably occur. Again emphasizing that
people are moving history forward toward revolution
and that revolution is indeed the main trend in the
world, in spite of the imperialists' attempts to reverse
this irresistible historical trend.

This analysis was confirmed by Changing Times com-
rade's recent discussion in China with a representa-
tive of the Foreign Ministry. The Chinese comrade
backed up the analysis that "revolution is the main
trend in the world today" by pointing to the increa-
sing unity within the third world and between the
second and third worlds in their struggles against
imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, and in
their struggles for national defense, sovereignty
and for a new international economic order.

When emphasizing the danger of World War and the
main danger being from the Soviet Union, the Chinese
comrade pointed out that the Soviet Social-Imperia-
lists are meeting with more and more resistance
from the Middle East and all of the third world. Due
to the crimes of the Soviet Union, their true colors
have been exposed, and their policies have been
shown to be bankrupt. The comrade said that the
continued expansion of either superpower will only
meet with continued resistance.

Furthermore, we would point to Premier Hua Kuo-feng's
speech in Peking Review #23, where he states: "The
third world people's united struggle against imperia-
lism and hegemonism has surged forward like a
sweeping tide. The two superpowers have found the
going tougher and tougher. Wind and thunder are
stirring flags and banners are flying wherever men
live." In fact, Peking Review in general continues
to point to the increasing unity and revolutionary
struggles of the world's people in opposing all plans
the two superpowers try to push.

The essence of Klonsky's statement is that revolution
is not the main trend, and that war and revolution are
two equal and contending trends in the world today.
This is seeing what is transitory, world war and
equating it with what is the rising aspect, the enduring
aspect of this period, revolution. This would say
that the workers and oppressed peoples of the world
are on the defensive and not in the position to take
up the attack on imperialism and social-imperialism.
The October League calls for retreat when the peoples
of the world are advancing. The consequence of
this pessimistic line is the call for the United Front
Against Fascism.

In this pre-party period it is imperative to have
clarity on political line. Please clarify the position
of the October League on this aspect of the interna-
tional situation. We would expect that this letter
will be printed and answered in the pages of the
CALL.

In struggle! CHANGING TIMES BOOKSTORE

WE URGE OUR READERS TO SEND THEIR
CRITICISMS, SUGGESTIONS, OPINIONS,
SUM-UPS OF STRUGGLES AND OTHER
CONTRIBUTIONS TO "COMMUNIST FORUM"

September 11, 1976

On June 25, 1976, the managers of the Changing Times
Bookstore sent the enclosed letter to the Call. It
stated our disagreement with the opinions expressed
by your Chairman, Michael Klonsky, and asked for
a clarification of your position. Many weeks passed
and we heard no response whatever from your organi-
zation.

Finally, on August 22, we did receive reply of a sort
Mr. Klonsky spoke on that date as the representative
of the October League at a forum of the Organizing
Committee held in San Diego. When the subject of
of the letter and its criticism was raised, and Mr.
Klonsky was called on to answer the questions in the
letter, he responded at some length. However, he did
not answer the question. His response consisted
entirely of the most irresponsible slanders, lies, and
attacks against the Changing Times Bookstore and
its members. Specifically, he

1. called one member a "phoney"
2. accused a second member of "acting just like a
police agent," later specifying that she received "a
weekly check from the San Diego Police Department"
3. accused this same member of consciously distort-
ing the line of the Communist Party of China
4. put forward vague innuendoes and insinuations
implying that she had acted in an unprincipled manner
during a recent trip to China
5. characterized the June 25 letter of the Changing
Times managers as "a little police letter"

Throughout the entire exchange, Mr. Klonsky offered
not one bit of evidence to support any of these charges.
The reason is simple: it is because all his
charges are completely false and have no basis in
the real world. They are nothing but lies, slanders
and groundless attacks.

We ask the October League to explain what its actions
in response to our June 25 letter have in common
with principled political struggle. We ask the Octo-
ber League to answer the question put forward in
the June 25 letter.

Finally, in view of Mr. Klonsky's behavior as a re-
presentative of the October League at the August
forum, we request the following of the October
League:

1. Full and public retraction, both by Mr. Klonsky
personally and by the Central Committee of the
October League, of the lies, slanders, and attacks
Mr. Klonsky made against the Changing Times Book-
store and its members. These retractions should be
printed in the Call, and distributed in San Diego.
2. Full and public self-criticism, Bolshevik self-
criticism, both by Mr. Klonsky personally and by
the Central Committee of the October League inclu-
ding a specific criticism of the errors of political
line that have led to the recent unprincipled and
sectarian actions of the October League towards the
Changing Times Bookstore and its members. These
criticisms also should be printed in the Call and
distributed in San Diego.

We feel it is important that the October League act
quickly on this criticism. Too much time has already
gone by since June 25. If the October League does not
explain its position on the international situation
and criticize its unprincipled and sectarian behavior
in the next two weeks, the Changing Times will dis-
continue selling October League publications until
we hear a satisfactory response. Copies of this
letter will be distributed publicly.

In struggle, Changing Times Bookstore

We are in agreement with Changing Times in that
Revolution is the main trend in the world today.
See future issues on this topic. We think the way
in which the O.L. dealt with these criticisms re-
veals one of the characteristics of all opportunists
who, rather than answer the criticism, label their
critics as "police agents" and with all kinds of
slander. The O.L. exposes itself once more.
ed. L.P.R.

A NECESSARY CLARIFICATION
A Letter from Linea Roja to the League for
Proletarian Revolution

Comrades of the League for Proletarian Revolution

Once again, we wish to make use of your central-
political organ, specifically the Communist Forum
section, in order to make a small but important
clarification on some critical comments which your
organization (LPR) made to ours (LR) in regards to
some statements we made on the international situa-
tion in a flyer which we distributed on July 28, 1976,
commemorating the 8th year of Marxist-Leninist
struggle. These statements, were specially on the
main trend in the world today. For the sake of
clarity, the following is the paragraph in our flyer
to which you alluded:

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.

Among a series of points raised by LPR, one in
particular was "Secondly, we have unity with Linea
Roja in their analysis by the Soviet Union as a
social imperialist superpower and 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." With the humility that is characteris-
tic of Marxist-Leninists, we recognize that we, as
LPR put forth, "were not sufficiently explicit," in
discussing this aspect. Despite the fact that we put
forth the great difficulties, which the two superpo-
wers and other reactionaries are experiencing with
the diverse and growing struggles of the proletariat
in the large cities and the struggles and triumphs
obtained by the people of Asia, Africa and Latin
America against imperialism, colonialism and hege-
monism and other forms of domination of one nation
over another. These events prove categorically
that the worldwide reactionary forces are doomed
to failure. From this assessment it follows, al-
though "not sufficiently explicit", that we recognize
the main trend is the one that points to the struggle
of the peoples of the world, for revolution and
socialism. Although we recognize the error, we
want to tell the comrades and readers, that this
error was made wholly by the Orlando Mazara
Committee, and by us alone, for the comrades of
our national leadership as well as Linea
Roja in general, is clear on this. In order to
achieve a better understanding, let us see some of
what Linea Roja has put forth in one of its most
recent pamphlets:

"The whole world is in a state
of commotion and intranquility, and although the
two superpowers - the United States and the Soviet
Union - are bent on pushing 'detente' as the principal
aspect of the world situation, the fact of the matter
is that their arms' race increases day by day.

In 1975, the two superpowers spent 200 billion dol-
lars for arms and other military activities, thus
heightening the factors for a new world war. In
spite of this, the struggle of the peoples of the world
for revolution and socialism is the main trend at
the present time" (pg. 18, of the document which
contains the resolutions of the 5th National Confer-
ence of Linea Roja (Red Line), Dominican Republic,
National District, April, 1976).

Linea Roja, has many times, put forth this correct
point of view. Other examples of this are two con-
ferences which were held in the capital of the Domi-
nican Republic when the gross intervention of the
Soviet social-imperialists in Angola became known.
At these conferences, those comrades speaking in
analyzing the international situation and the case of
Angola in particular in the light of Marxism-Lenin-
ism, reaffirmed that "Revolution is the main trend
in the world today," and they warned about the grow-
ing danger of a new world war, unleashed by the
two superpowers. The speakers also expressed
their firm conviction that the unity and struggle of the
peoples of the world would crush imperialism and
social-imperialism (Serve the People) Santo
Domingo, Dominican Republic, February, 1976,
#51, page 9, Linea Roja and Angola."

With our faith in the future and communist greetings,
Orlando Mazara Committee,
Linea Roja Movimiento "14 de Junio" (M-L)
October 6, 1976, N.Y., N.Y.

P.S. Comrades, the other point of disagreement
(The National Patriotic Front which will unite in

Continued on next page

Dialectics of the development of the "C" L P : From "left" wing Trotskyism to right wing Trotskyism

The struggle against revisionism, trotskyism, reformism and all kinds of opportunism has to be carried out at the theoretical level as well as at the practical level. It is not enough to make general attacks against the social props within the working class just in forums and newspapers, while in the factories, working class communities, the national movements, schools etc. these leeches place the masses under the influence of their reformist lines. In this page we offer an example on how we concretely combatted the trotskyites of the "Communist" Labor Party and their reformist line of "Vote Communist for Jobs, Peace and Equality". Following are both the leaflet distributed by the "C"LP as well as the one distributed by us in a certain factory in the state of New York. The names of the factories involved and of the local have been deleted and substituted for "X" and "Y" as we consider incorrect to publish them.

SUPPORT THE STRIKE

X is on strike! Ten blocks away 1,500 Local members have been walking picket lines for 6 weeks! Why are they out? Many work for minimum wages and what they can make from a killing piece rate system. Their fringe benefits are few and the working conditions are bad.

This strike is important for Y workers but our union has told us nothing (as usual). Next year we may be on strike. A victory by our union at X where conditions are worse will make our contract struggle easier. We know how hard it is to live on the \$40-\$50 strike benefits. We must spread the word and urge that a special collection be taken up for our fellow union members. We may need some help when we go out.

In these hard times strikes are not easy to win. The last two years in N.Y. have seen city workers lose many benefits. Even workers in private industry have been hit by companies crying high costs and threatening to move away. The banks have declared war on us - where we work and in our communities. So now more than ever we must support the X workers and also get ready for our contract talks next year!

- Take up a collection for the strikers and give any help they need!
- Protect our right to strike! Vote Communist in November - for Jobs, Peace and Equality!

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

COMMUNIST FORUM

Continued from page 4

its ranks Dominican patriots both in the Dominican Republic and those overseas) will be dealt with at another time, as long as the pages of your newspaper continue opened to our organization. L.R.

We see as positive the clarification made by the comrades of L.R. We expect to publish soon their position in relation to the Dominican national question. For a better understanding of this comradely polemic we refer our readers to Resistance vol. 7 #7, p 7 *** ed L.P.R. ***



COMRADES AND FRIENDS

We are having serious problems with the U.S. Postal Service. Our mail is being intercepted, kept for weeks before being delivered, etc. If you have written to LPR, subscribed to our paper, ordered books, etc., and have received no answer from us as of yet - please contact us immediately!

"JOBS, PEACE & EQUALITY" . . . PROMISES, PROMISES, PROMISES . . .

Brothers and sisters of Y

We want to comment today on the flyer that was given out at the factory by the so-called "Communist" Labor Party ("C"LP). We say so-called because these people are not the party of the working class and they cannot be called communists either. Genuine communists struggle for the rights of the working class. We struggle in order to end this system that exploits us all. The sham communists like those of "C"LP are agents of the bourgeoisie within our ranks and they only serve the interests of the very class which oppresses us.

WHAT DOES "C"LP TELL US?

They say that we should support the striking workers of X for 2 reasons:
1. "We may need some help when we go out", and
2. "A victory by our union at X will make our contract struggle easier." These sham communists also claim that "in these hard times strikes are not easy to win." And the concrete form of help that they propose is a "special collection".

As true agents of the bourgeoisie the "C"LP sees relations between workers as a buy a sell thing. However, the solidarity that must exist among ourselves and the class brothers and sisters of X is based on our common interests as workers, regardless of where we work, of what nationality we are from what country we came, our sex, age, etc. We are all exploited by the same capitalist system. Our solidarity is not based on "today we help so tomorrow we can ask for payment", nor is it based on the fact that we belong to the same local either. We must support other workers, no matter if they don't belong to our same union!

Also as true agents of the bourgeoisie, the "C"LP tell us that "in these hard times strikes are not easy to win". These people come here to spread pessimism among our ranks as if the working class were not capable of fighting against the capitalists. With this defeatist attitude what "C"LP intends to do really is to prepare the way to push their bourgeois line which goes something like this: "Things are so bad that you workers don't stand much of a chance so you should vote for us." But they are wrong. What they want is for us to place our struggles at the hands of the union's corrupt leadership and at the hands of their corrupt party. But we know that even though it's true that we're stronger if the union is stronger, we also know that we will win by relying on our own efforts, while also striving to transform the union into an instrument of struggle for our own interests.

We also know that in order to win, our class must be organized in a revolutionary way, that is, in a true communist party. Special collections fall short of our goals - not that collecting money is bad, but that there is much more to be done which "C"LP doesn't even mention, such as participating in the picket lines, planning actions together, opposing all kinds of oppression, pressuring the union bureaucrats, and laying the foundations of our unity in practice, on a day by day basis.

THE REAL REASON BEHIND "C"LP'S FLYER

Supporting the strike was the excuse used by "C"LP so they could come around to push their opportunist line. The real reason was their electoral campaign - so they could tell us to vote for them so we could get "jobs, peace and equality". "C"LP use the very same tricks as the capitalists to try to fool us. They voice the same false promises as Carter and Ford. These hypocrites of "C"LP use the question of the strike as a wedge in order to come and push the same boloney in a different wrapping.

As long as the capitalist system exists, there cannot be jobs for all, nor equality, nor permanent peace. And in order to fight against these evils we cannot depend on the lousy methods created by the capitalists in order to prevent that we wage a real struggle against them. Elections

don't solve anything in this system. To vote for Carter is the same as to vote for Ford or for the sham communists of the "C"LP or their buddies in the so-called "C"LPUSA. "C"LP is only trying to fool us.

"PEACE"

But we are fed up with empty promises. None of these bourgeois politicians can end wars because wars are an essential part of this system. Capitalists need wars in order to protect and acquire new markets in foreign countries, in order to keep their colonies and annex new territories where to invest their capital and squeeze out huge superprofits. Without wars the capitalist system can't survive and only by ending this system can we end imperialist wars. But "C"LP wants to spread the illusion that permanent peace is possible within the capitalist system and that they are going to get it for us. Sheer LIES!!!

Besides, when we speak of wars we have to distinguish between imperialist wars of aggression and just wars of liberation. We have to oppose the first and resolutely support the latter. But "C"LP doesn't want us to make this difference. That is why they talk of "peace" in the air, just like Ford and Carter do. The "C"LP wants to cover up the difference that exists between the armed aggression that are constantly carried out by the principal enemies of humanity - the U.S. and the Soviet Union - against the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, Czechoslovakia, Angola, etc., and the just struggles waged by heroic peoples such as in Azania and Palestine for their liberation.

The danger of a third world war exists. And it is our duty to alert and prepare the working class and all oppressed peoples to face this eventuality in order to make this war become the cemetery of imperialists throughout the world. But "C"LP wants to put us to sleep with their lullabys and promises of "peace".

"JOBS AND EQUALITY"

The same happens with their promises of "jobs and equality". Unemployment, national oppression, racial discrimination, etc., are, along with wars, all evils caused by the oppression of man by man which is characteristic of the capitalist system. The reason for there being so many millions of unemployed workers, or the reason why we get kicked out or laid off from our jobs is not because there is not enough jobs in this society. In the U.S. there is enough work to be done to have us all employed. But the capitalists, in order to keep their margin of profits way up, need to maintain an army of unemployed people, a reserve to use whenever they see fit.

The same happens with the question of "equality". The particular oppression against some groups and against women in this capitalist society is another method used by our oppressors to get bigger profits and at the same time to keep us divided and pitted against each other. We know damn well that in X, as well as in Y, the national minority workers (Afroamericans, Latins, Asiatic and Jamaicans in our case), and the women, have the worse jobs, the lowest salaries, less opportunities to change from one department to another, etc. This whole situation benefits the capitalists' pockets who use their famous "divide and conquer" tactics - pit workers of one nationality against workers of another nationality, women against men, etc. - to our disadvantage. And in the face of this reality the only thing that the "C"LP can think of is to tell us is "vote for us in the november elections"!

Next Tuesday November 2nd we are not going to vote, neither for Carter, nor for Ford, nor for Gus Hall. We know damn well that none of them stand for our rights, none of them can solve our problems!

WORKERS OF ALL NATIONALITIES, UNITE!
LET US STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHTS
OF OUR CLASS, AGAINST THE CAPITALIST CLASS!

LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

Continued from page 3

W.V.O.

Communists work inside labor unions not with the purpose of "exposing" the labor aristocracy, but because unions are the basic organizations of the proletariat and we must turn them into units that fight for the rights of our class. The constant exposure of the labor aristocracy is one of the most important means that we use in order to free the workers from the control of the bourgeoisie, from the control of reformism and the reformists in the working class movement. However, we must never confuse the tactic - the exposure - with the strategy which is to separate the labor unions from the control of the bourgeoisie and place them under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat and its party.

WVO distorts the Marxist-Leninist position on united fronts and political exposures, by absolutizing ONE of the forms of struggle within a united front. By absolutizing political exposures it is turned into the objective of the united fronts, thus liquidating the objectives for which communists form or join united fronts with other forces. But WVO needs theoretical justification for its narrow practice of unity with everybody under the guise of "to expose", without a concrete analysis of the nature of the bloc or activity, the forces involved, the present conditions, the results, etc.

As a matter of fact their slogan "unite to expose" has become the most important theoretical justification for their politics of class collaboration, which WVO has historically practised. We will give concrete examples of how WVO carries out "unite to expose" in practice. First, we will point out how WVO seeks theoretical justification for their right opportunism, especially in their "polemics" with PRRWO.

PHILISTINE METHODS OF STRUGGLE

The ultra-"leftist" line of the opportunists of PRRWO is just what WVO needs. Setting it up as a strawman, WVO defends its line by implying that since PRRWO's line is incorrect, theirs must be correct because this is supposedly a "two line struggle".

PRRWO, quoting from the Comintern, accepts that the united front from above is correct if from a position of strength. WVO unites with this. But in practice both liquidate the correct position of the Comintern. For PRRWO communists are never in a position of strength to unite from above, and never do they work to create the conditions for developing that position of strength. For WVO the position of strength is always there and thus they find it permissible to unite from above at all times. Both collaborate with the revisionists as, on the one hand, the "left" opportunists (PRRWO) refuse to participate in the concrete struggle against revisionism, and think that it is enough to denounce them in their papers and closed meetings. On the other hand, the right opportunists (WVO), under the guise of "unite to expose", liquidate the exposure by all the concessions they make to the revisionists, etc.

Comrades, the "struggle" between WVO and PRRWO is not a "two line struggle" as these opportunists would have us believe. And it is not "centrist" to oppose them both. Genuine communists are only bound to choose between the correct and the incorrect line, they must not allow themselves to be manipulated or threatened to choose between two deviations, or be labelled "centrist". But actions speak louder than words, let us examine the examples.

OCTOBER 27, 1974 PSP AT MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

Undoubtedly, WVO considers their participation in the event organized by the revisionist PSP and "CP"USA in Madison Square Garden on October 27, 1974 as a good example of what "unite to expose" means in practice. We couldn't agree with them more. Their participation in this activity is a fine example to show how in practice what WVO does is make concessions, substitute real exposure for phrase-mongering and consistently unite with reformists and revisionists.

This activity was organized by the revisionists of PSP and "CP"USA under the slogan of "Bicentennial without colonies". WVO became part and co-sponsored the activity whose main purpose was to promote PSP as the legitimate representative of the movement for the national liberation of Puerto Rico and to muster the forces and material resources of the "left" in the U.S. towards supporting their revisionist and reformist line.

What did WVO do to expose PSP? NOTHING. What did they do to expose the "C" PUSA? Again, NOTHING.

WVO "behaved itself" for 5 months, peddled its national origin, and thus were given permission to speak for 3 minutes at the activity. So WVO limited their independent agitation and propaganda to a less than 3 minute speech against Soviet social imperialism, in the middle of the boogie organized by the revisionists, and with the microphone shut off.

In the first version of their participation (which we agree with) nothing was said about any agitation or propaganda being carried out by WVO before or after the activity. (WVJ vol 2 #1) Further, WVO did not distribute any propaganda exposing the activity, its aim, its organizers, or its slogan, during the activity, neither inside nor outside. Not only did WVO ignore the real objective of the activity and substituted its with its own - "to expose" - but in the long run they didn't even carry this out, and objectively ended up collaborating with the revisionists, giving them credibility among the masses by participating with them in their activity, mobilizing for it and giving up to them complete independence and initiative.

What was LPR's participation? (then Resistencia Puertorriquena). We did not support the activity. Our position was based on the revisionist line being pushed and on the fact that in no way did this activity help to advance the struggle against colonialism, hegemonism, imperialism and social imperialism. Thus we widely propagandized against the activity and exposed the revisionists behind it.

The revisionists of PSP and "CP"USA announced their activity 5 months in advance. During that time PSP held a series of conferences throughout the city. We attended these activities and openly struggled with them there. WVO did not. We published a series of 3 articles before the activity (RESISTENCIA Vol 5, Nos. 16, 17 and 18) where we put forth our position which was reprinted in pamphlet form and given out free to the attendants at the Madison Sq Garden. Also our articles were reprinted in IRA POPULAR and distributed in Puerto Rico by the PSR-ML. We also held small activities that helped to consolidate advanced elements, and also some agitational street corner rallies in working class communities. All of this was previous to the activity where we explained that the independence struggle of Puerto Rico and PSP are not synonymous and we linked PSP's revisionism and reformism with their slogan, their ties with the "C" PUSA, their "divided nation" theory, etc.

Comrades, the question we should ask ourselves is which of the two types of work described (of WVO and of LPR) advances the cause of the Puerto Rican liberation struggle? Sacrificing principles, accepting revisionist slogans, staying quiet for 5 months in order to speak for 3 minutes "before 17,000 persons and the TV cameras" or spreading propaganda and agitation as did LPR before, during and after the activity in order to separate honest elements from their revisionist leadership? WVO on the other hand with their unity, only helped to project PSP, consolidate their forces and broaden their influence in the U.S. The answer is obvious.

THE HAVANA CONFERENCE

According to WVO, they denounced Soviet social-imperialism at the Garden and there ends all their responsibility to the Puerto Rican liberation struggle. In fact, WVO, since 1974, has not participated even in order to "unite to expose" in the other activities held by the Puerto Rican national movement or in support of the liberation struggle of Puerto Rico. What better self-exposure than the fact that WVO has yet to determine what is their position on the Conference in "Solidarity" with the Independence of Puerto Rico held in Havana in September, 1975? This was the biggest event put together by international revisionism, in Latin America, to date.

Under the leadership of the "C" PSU, it was also held to push PSP as the legitimate representative of the Puerto Rican national movement (Note: Shortly before the Conference, another meeting of revisionist "parties" of Latin America took place in Cuba, in which China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung were condemned, Fidel Castro himself calling them traitors, fascists, etc.)

WVO remains tongue tied before the attacks on China. At the United Nations, Cuba's representative (prime mouth piece for the USSR in Latin America) presented a resolution that, under the cover of backing Puerto Rican independence, proposed that PSP be granted permanent observer status at the UN as legitimate representative of the Puerto Rican national liberation movement. The Peoples' Republic of China didn't vote for the resolution, neither did it vote against it. They support the independence of Puerto Rico, but could not support the PSP revisionists as genuine representatives of the Puerto Rican people. The anti-China campaign was escalated in the U.S. around this issue. Throughout that period, WVO kept silent, they didn't distribute a single piece of propaganda. At several forums, they were asked about their position to which they replied that they were still studying the question.

What kind of support does WVO concretely give to the Puerto Rican liberation movement? The case of the Havana Conference clearly betrays WVO. Give them 17,000 people anywhere and they will "unite to expose", but if the revisionists don't organize something for them to participate in, then they do nothing. It's clear that the basis of this policy of WVO is their line on party building which is really "build the mass movement". Their political line is that of dragging behind revisionists and reformists, taking part in the activities these organize, hiding behind the line of "unite to expose" so they may worship in the cult of spontaneity and promote their right opportunism. The truth is clear - WVO wants to build the mass movement, not the party. To do it they depend on the revisionists and reformists to bring them the masses behind which they will crawl.

In their own words, in an article which nowhere mentions the party, they say:

"The key thing in our fight to defend the standard of living is the building of the mass movement in a revolutionary way by mobilizing the masses to fight cutbacks and layoffs. By doing this, we can strike heavy blows at the monopoly capitalists and raise the fighting spirit of the masses. If we don't, the masses will be increasingly demoralized and ground down by the attacks on them."

Workers Viewpoint Journal, Vol 1 No 2 p 62

As far as the Havana Conference, we denounced it, pointing out that it was a colossal attempt by the Soviet social-imperialists to intervene and control the Puerto Rican national liberation movement, a logical sequence to the Garden activity. We analyzed in detail the maneuvers of the revisionists before the conference and the opportunist line they followed. We defended China's position on the issue, consolidating a great number of advanced elements around these ideas. This can be found in a propaganda piece - "Analysis of the Havana Conference" widely distributed throughout the U.S. before and after the Conference. The day the Conference opened in Havana, LPR held a forum on it, at which WVO advanced the position that "as yet we have no position on the Conference but if the masses are there then communists too should be there. Otherwise, they should expose it". BUT WVO neither participated in the Conference, nor exposed it neither in Havana nor in the U.S. Rather, they dedicated themselves to attacking our position.

Continued on page 7

FAN THE FLAMES!!

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY POSITION ON THE CHICANO NATIONAL QUESTION!



AFTER DECADES OF OPPORTUNISM ON THIS MOST VITAL OF QUESTIONS, A MARXIST-LENINIST POSITION HAS FINALLY BEEN DEVELOPED! THIS PAMPHLET PROVIDES A CLEAR ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT OF AN OPPRESSED CHICANO NATION AND EXPLAINS CLEARLY WHY IT IS THE DUTY OF COMMUNISTS TO UPHOLD THE RIGHT OF THAT NATION TO SELF-DETERMINATION — ITS RIGHT TO POLITICAL SECESSION!

BY THE AUGUST 29th MOVEMENT (M-L)

P O BOX 32026
L A CA 90032

[price \$2.50]

Continued from page 6

W.V.O.

PUERTO RICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

We want to emphasize that the exposure must be done concretely and consistently. It cannot be reduced to a one-shot-deal as in the case of WVO's 3 minutes. For example, in March 1975, the Committee for the Defense of the Puerto Rican Political Prisoners was organized with the legitimate objective of struggling for the liberation of these prisoners. The Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, El Comité - MINP, a series of patriotic individuals as well as our organization were members of the Committee. Subsequently, PSP asked to become part of the committee and was accepted. We invited WVO to join (as well as PRRWO) and they never answered. Sponsored by the committee, a series of conferences and demonstrations were held in New York, Boston, Chicago and Los Angeles. WVO was outstanding in its absence at all of them. The committee decided to organize for a mass demonstration on Nov. 1 in front of the United Nations. Our line was clearly laid out in the committee throughout. We waged struggle against PSP's incorrect lines, such as the "divided nation" theory, the opportunist line of relying on politicians and the social props instead of the masses and concretely defeated proposals which called for the support of the MPLA in Angola, support for Trotskyite and revisionist sponsored activities in relation to Chile and several other issues which arose in the Committee. Our struggle against PSP was not limited to a 15 minutes exposure from the speakers' platform (incidentally PSP attempted to stop us by proposing that they would relinquish their opportunity to speak, if we did the same). Having lost a series of struggles in the Committee, PSP resorted to their social-fascist practice of intimidation and provocation, thus they destroyed a series of murals our organization had painted in different parts of the city. (See RESISTENCIA, Vol 6, Nos 16-17 where this was exposed.)

For the Nov. 1st demonstration, we organized a MLMTT contingent under the slogan of "Death to imperialism and social-imperialism" to which we invited a series of organizations whom at that time we considered were part of the communist movement (Organizations such as PRRWO, Linea Roja, MPP, O.L. and others marched in this contingent. WVO did not participate in the march nor the rally to which about 2,000 persons attended. At the activity, we clearly established our position in regards to Puerto Rico, we criticized the revisionist peaceful transition line, exposed the attempt by the Soviet Union to control the Puerto Rican national liberation movement, etc. Subsequently, PSP resigned from the committee, stating in its letter of resignation that they could no longer function in the committee as Resistencia had constantly used it as a tribune to voice its attacks on PSP and the Soviet Union.

Our exposures were concrete, a day to day, line by line struggle against the manifestations of PSP's opportunism. We did not engage in the opportunist practice of WVO of "behaving ourselves for 5 months" in order to expose them for 3 or 15 minutes in the "ambush" fashion. As a matter of fact, no matter how justified the attacks may be, the masses will reject them (as well as advanced elements) as they view it for what it is: not genuine support but a jumping in the bandwagon of the mass struggles.

NEW VERSIONS APPEAR ON THE EVENTS IN THE GARDEN

It is significant that in their second version of their participation in the Madison Sq. Garden activity, WVO adds some things which were not included in its first article. They say in their second version

"Did we maintain our independence and initiative in this? Both before and after the rally, we helped sponsor forums where we and other Marxist-Leninists criticized the PSP's line, especially their slogan for "Bi-centennial Without Colonies". This slogan was especially dangerous, as it raises the illusion that all colonies can be freed without smashing imperialism, and appeals to US patriotism to boot." Workers Viewpoint - Supplement to Vol. 1, No. 1, page 5 March 1976 (newspaper)

After the self-exposure which had characterized their participation in the Garden, WVO, instead of engaging in serious self-criticism, has seen fit to correct their mistakes through a "slight touch" of the typewriter keys and viola! - forums magically appear "before and after the activity." We believe that WVO is shamelessly lying. We know of at least one instance, on July 28, 1975 (8 months after the Garden and

after WVO supposedly exposed PSP's revisionism), a forum was held in N.Y. co-sponsored by WVO, OL, CAP, El Comité MINP and MSP around the issue of Puerto Rico and WVO for some very "strange" reason" did not criticize PSP. As a matter of fact, when we (LPR) questioned WVO about the Havana Conference, they stated that they had no position, that they had yet to be invited.

The suspicion that WVO is making things up is further substantiated by their third version of their participation at the Garden.

"Under clear communist leadership in different cities, we also organized and sponsored separate forums in support of Puerto Rican independence." WVJ #4, p. 27 May 1976

Here they no longer "helped" to sponsor but now they "organized" these forums. Also not a word of the "other Marxist-Leninists" who sponsored the forums in the second version. And now a new thing is added - the question of forums in "different cities." We ask, where and when, WVO? Where is the propaganda for these activities? Where are WVO's lengthy diatribes a special supplement, a flyer, something? It is quite possible that WVO did hold an event outside of N.Y. There is nothing wrong with this. However, it is rather peculiar than one would unite with revisionists in one place and go to expose them somewhere else, without anybody knowing anything about it. Weak, WVO very weak! It seems that not only are they opportunist, they are also liars.

INTERNATIONAL WORKING WOMEN'S DAY-1975

For International Working Women's Day, WVO united with the "CP"USA, PSP, the Trotskyites, Bella Abzug, Gloria Steinman, lesbian collectives and even the Girl Scouts. According to them the masses would be at this activity. This was in March 1975. After the supposed forums in which WVO allegedly exposed PSP. As criticisms, for their opportunism pour, WVO sees fit to reconstruct the facts surrounding certain events. Let us see how.

First Version.

The IWD Coalition had the full spectrum of left center and right forces within it. Over 40 organizations including PSP, El Comité, CLUW, District 1199, Coalition of Asian Women's, the Third World Women's Alliance, New York Women's Union, Women's Caucus of New York Taxi Rank and File, LEMPA and many other anti-imperialist and Marxist-Leninist organizations were in it. In the March 8th rally, anti-imperialist speakers directly attacked US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism." Workers Viewpoint Journal, Vol 2, No. 1 page 24. (emphasis LPR)

If you will note, PSP is listed among organizations characterized as Marxist-Leninists or anti-imperialist. But didn't WVO denounce PSP 5 months earlier for their revisionist and reformist line? March 8, 1975 happened after Oct. 27, 1974. There are 2 possible explanations: either WVO is lying about the forums and exposure of PSP and really considers PSP Marxist-Leninists as anti-imperialist until March, 1975, or WVO opportunistically includes PSP among the Marxist-Leninists in order to justify their participation in said activity. Furthermore which of those organizations made all these exposures? Comrades, this is all pure fabrication. WVO is caught in their own lie. For example, how could PSP expose Soviet social-imperialism if they are one of its lackeys? How could El Comité denounce Soviet social imperialism when they don't even believe it exists and even support the armed intervention of its armed Cuban mercenaries in Angola? In the same issue of their magazine they state

"First, instead of fighting for leadership of the broad coalition around the N.Y. Union Square Rally, which represented all the right and left positions within the women's movement, the OL dismissed this coalition as "revisionist" and went off to have a pure "anti-imperialist" rally. It rejected the Leninist premise of going wherever the masses are to be found. It liquidated the Communist responsibility to provide and build proletarian leadership in the mass movement against women's oppression." Ibid, page 24

Notice how they limit the criticism to only OL as if the OL had demonstrated alone in this activity.

Second version March 1976

"With more than 40 organizations participating and 4000 people at the March 8

demonstration, the IWD coalition was definitely a mass event. It had the full spectrum of left, center and right forces, many forces from the national and working class movements, anti-imperialist organizations and Marxist-Leninists, as well as the revisionist "CP" and their friends." Workers Viewpoint, Vol 1, No. 1 Supplement - page 4 (newspaper)

Here we have a "slight" change. The list of anti-imperialist and Marxist-Leninist organizations does not appear. Why WVO? Come on, give us at least 2. They're caught in their own lie. In criticizing the OL they said that many Marxist-Leninists took part in their coalition (they brought in PSP, El Comité, and a host of others). The task of really exposing these revisionists (PSP) and centrists (El Comité) has been carried out by organizations like ourselves. And WVO can't hide behind their names now. They have to speak of "Marxist-Leninist organizations" without mentioning them. In the same paper they speak of all the exposures they supposedly carried out and how at the meeting many speakers publicly attacked the Yankee imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists. False WVO, false. We were there. Not "uniting to expose" but exposing without uniting.

Their article continues

"And what did the OL do? They refused to work in this and instead set up their own "pure" "anti-imperialist coalition, under their calls for a "break with revisionism." What was this but a total failure to expose the revisionists in front of the masses and win the masses to our side?" Ibid, page 4

Once again WVO identifies only OL as part of the other coalition.

Third version (2 months later, May 1976)

"In last year's IWD event, PRRWO joined the opportunist OL forces and marched themselves down to the U.N. where they just agitated among themselves. They totally abandoned their duty as communists to provide and build proletarian leadership in oppression." WVJ #4, p. 26 May 1976

My, my, how quiet they kept it. WVO waited exactly one year and 2 months to tell the communist movement that PRRWO had united with OL in the IWD march which they've criticized so much in their paper and journal. What is this if not out and out opportunism? Let's go back a little. From November, 1975 to March 1976, WVO and PRRWO were "comrades in the genuine wing." At the time, WVO attacked OL over what OL had done in 1975 but said nothing of PRRWO uniting with OL at the time. No sooner do PRRWO-RWL throw WVO out of the "genuine wing", than WVO reveals their secret. "Friends in crime - when they fall out, one rats on the other." That proves once more the unprincipled unity which WVO promotes.

Comrades, both WVO with their unprincipled unity with revisionists, lesbians, trotskyites, etc. as well as PRRWO with their unity with the right opportunists of OL were wrong on this question. As we didn't unite with either of the coalitions, then according to PRRWO and WVO, we are centrists. This stems from their incorrect idea that the struggle between PRRWO-RWL and WVO is a "two line struggle." That is wrong. The three of them represent the same line, the bourgeois incorrect line.

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W V.O

EPILOGUE ONE YEAR LATER, INTERNATIONAL WORKING WOMEN DAY - 1976

In order to celebrate IWWD in 1976, WVO organized a coalition to which it invited precisely those forces which it allegedly had "exposed" in 1975 - revisionists, opportunists, Trotskyites, lesbians, etc (Our sum-up and analysis of these events appeared in RESISTANCE, Vol 7, Nos 3 and 4). In that analysis we must point out, we wrongly made the generalization that opportunist organizations only attract elements of the lower strata. This was a "left" error which led us to conclude that organizations like OL were incapable of winning advanced and intermediate elements to their organizations. This was "wishful thinking" - contrary to objective reality, and an overestimation of the capacity of the advanced, as if they could always determine what is the correct line and never unite with right opportunists. We muddled the difference between the consolidated opportunist and bankrupt leaderships and the base of those organizations which do have honest elements in them. This is a serious error that comrades should learn from, since, by failing to divide one into two, by lumping together leadership and base, we can only achieve to isolate ourselves from honest elements and help to consolidate them around the opportunist line of those organizations.

The IWWD coalition is one more concrete example of WVO's policy of class collaboration. It's true that communists must find ways of speaking to the masses, not to be isolated from them. Lenin teaches us that to speak to the workers we often must pay a "price of admission" - and "bargain" (struggle for our line) to bring down the price as low as possible (make the least compromise possible). But Lenin doesn't tell us to make donations!!! Let's see what Lenin says

"Imagine that a Communist has to enter premises in which agents of the bourgeoisie are carrying on their propaganda at a fairly large meeting of workers. Imagine also that the bourgeoisie demands from us a high price for admission to these premises. If the price has not been agreed to beforehand we must bargain, of course, in order not to impose too heavy a burden upon our Party funds. If we pay too much for admission to these premises we shall undoubtedly commit an error. But it is better to pay a high price -- at all events until we have learned to bargain properly -- than to reject an opportunity of speaking to workers who hitherto have been in the exclusive "possession", so to speak, of the reformists, i.e., of the most loyal friends of the bourgeoisie." We Have Paid Too Much, Lenin, LCW Vol. 33 p. 330)

It's clear that the price to which Lenin refers is concessions, tactical compromises. To enter into an activity controlled by revisionists and reformists, some "payment" must be made, which if it is not previously determined may be too high, if we have

not learned to bargain well. Note comrades that Lenin qualifies entry into a place on that (1) there be "a considerable number" of workers (2) we have the opportunity to speak to them", (develop propaganda and agitation, ed LPR). In addition, we should try to fix the price beforehand and bargain to pay the least possible. One thing that is plain for all Marxist-Leninists is that, in so far as compromises and concessions are concerned - the price to which Lenin refers - is that we can never make concessions of principles. That is a price we can never pay to enter any place.

WE MUST PAY, BUT NOT MAKE DONATIONS

WVO does the reverse of what Lenin points out. To start with, they don't even make sure that there are workers in the places they enter with the revisionists and reformists. On the contrary, in most cases, what they do is unite with the opportunists first, then later on, in unity with them, they try to mobilize the masses. The Budget Cut Coalition, International Working Women's Day of 1975 and 1976, are good examples of this fact. Secondly, WVO always pays the highest price demanded by the revisionists, and thirdly WVO, is willing to make donations.

This year, WVO was the principal organizer of the coalition. Why did they have to invite the revisionists? Our task is to struggle to reach those forces organized by the revisionists and separate them from them, Not to organize the forces and then bring the revisionists into our premises. This is making donations! Further, that's letting the revisionist in for free!

WVO's policy of making donations to the revisionists etc, is part of their tactical principle of "unite to expose" and in practice it translates itself, as we have seen, into class collaboration. Because of the severe criticism WVO received on this opportunist policy in IWWD, they were compelled to print a self-criticism in their newspaper (WV - Vol 1, No 1 Page 21). This self-criticism is a fine example of superficiality, opportunism and philistine methods. Instead of identifying the root causes of their errors, they choose instead to blame certain comrades, and in this manner avoid having to tie mistakes to their political line or leadership. However, it is an undeniable fact that this policy of class collaboration, is intimately tied with their line on party building, their "build the mass movement" line, with the help of the "marsh" forces. (This style of self-criticism is characteristic of all opportunists. PRRWO-RWL do the same, blaming a line on a Menshevik and then purging.)

CONCLUSION

WVO's line of "unite to expose" is totally incorrect, in its theoretical as well as practical aspects. As we have seen thru the 3 concrete examples of the practice of WVO, the following conclusions of WVO practice can be made

- (1) "Unite to expose" is an incorrect right opportunist line that substitutes Objectives for conditions.
- (2) WVO sacrifices all independence and initiative when it "unites to expose". Political exposure is not necessarily tied to "unity".
- (3) Political exposure cannot be reduced to three minutes of rhetoric. Communists must expose revisionists and reformists in a concrete and consistent manner in our daily work among the masses.

(4) In order to separate the masses from its reactionary leadership it is sometimes necessary to make tactical compromises, but never on principles and one must never make donations which is WVO's usual practice as manifested in their IWWD coalition this year.

(5) WVO has shown in practice that their support for the national liberation struggles is mere phrase mongering. In the specific case of Puerto Rico, all they have done is to speak for 3 minutes "in front of 17,000 people and the TV cameras", so that later they can bolster their organization milk-potting political mileage out of the supposed "exposure".

(6) "Unite to expose" is simply an excuse to opportunistically collaborate with the revisionists and tail behind the masses. Their theoretical justifications, falsifying the facts, line mutations as on the international situation, advanced workers and the anti-revisionist premises, and finally their sham "self-criticisms" are manifestations of what is really lies behind all of this: their line to "build the mass movement" instead of building the vanguard party.

WVO distorts MLMTT in order to justify their practice of class collaboration clearly showing their right opportunism. This deviation has its ideological base precisely in their anti-revisionist premises, particularly the one that speaks about pragmatism, WVO states

"Empiricism is the theory of knowledge of pragmatism - "Whatever I experience is true". This substitutes the absolute with the relative, the objective with the subjective. This is substituting Marxist-Leninist theory, which is the science of the whole of human experience of class struggle, with one's own narrow experience." WVJ - Vol 2, No 1, p 28

This is precisely the basis of their error, Their premises - which according to their own words - "We derived these four specific struggle with the lines of the RU, OL and other communist organizations in the communist movement" - are a product of their own limited experience, which WVO has elevated to theoretical principles.

In the same manner, politically, WVO has combined two correct methods (united fronts and political exposures) incorrectly, raising this combination to the level of a "tactical principle" which is always in operation for them.

Finally, their empiricism is also reflected in their organizational sectarianism which can be summarized as follows: "what is true for WVO is true for the rest of the communist movement". Thus in a recent forum in New York, they stated that (1) since (according to them) WVO has the most correct political line, (2) all other organizations are either right or "left" opportunists or centrists and, (3) the fundamental problems in WVO are problems of organization then (according to them) the key link to party building for WVO and for the rest of the communist movement must be organization!

What is this but a vulgar General Motors logic of what's good for WVO is good for the communist movement? Ironically, we are here dealing with an organization that claims to have discovered a vaccine against revisionism! However, WVO vaccine and all, are headed straight down the path of revisionism.

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