



PALANTE

FREE

YOUNG LORDS PARTY
NEWSPAPER OF THE DIVIDED NATION

FACTION LEAVES YOUNG LORDS PARTY

INTRODUCTION

On Sunday May 20, a division occurred within the Young Lords Party. Juan "Fi" Ortiz, member of the central committee, Juan Ramos, National staff member, Jesus Villanueva, staff captain in the Aguadilla branch and the cadres, Armando "Ujuru" Baez, Jaime Olivo, Gloria Colon and Josian Rias resigned their positions and have abandoned the Party's work in Puerto Rico.

In this edition of Palante we will explain the events and different political positions which resulted when this faction resigned.

What has happened is not strange, we understand that it is part of our struggle to destroy the invaders of our nation. A struggle that is part of the fight to finish with the yankee empire within and outside of the United States. The problem has been and is one of how that struggle is interpreted, and that is precisely what we want to address ourselves to.

HISTORY OF THE FACTION

The faction that split from the Party developed an ideology to justify their attacks on the Party. They have called YLP a "Trotskyite" or "Left Opportunist" organization. This is supposed to mean that the Party follows the political line of Leon Trotsky, a pig who tried to sabotage the working class movement as far back as 1917 in Russia. Trotskyites are known for being splitters of revolutionary organizations; that they constantly raise criticisms about how ideological struggle is not allowed in revolutionary organizations; they put theory ahead of practice, and do not have the consistency to do the daily work of organization-building. They then cover all this up by quoting Marx and Lenin to justify their actions. Marx, Lenin and Mao are leaders of the people who summed up the experiences of the proletariat in its battles to change society from the present rule of a few rich.

If we check out this group's practice, we see it is they who split the Party, destroying the unity of the Party, and in doing so, breaking a basic Leninist principle. Why did they leave? While they were still a faction in the Party (which violates a revolutionary principle of setting up a second center of leadership within the organization) they were asked to come to the United States and carry on the ideological struggle with the rest of the Party members. Yet, after raising a fuss about how the Party was trying to stop ideological struggle, when given the chance to struggle, they left the Party. What are they doing now? Attacking the Party from the outside, through the press and the grapevine.

On examining more of their ideology, we see it is full of holes and revisionist, an ideology that revises, or turns around, the universal principles of working class struggle developed by Marx, Lenin, and Mao. These universal principles are changed so that their strength is lost, and so that, if followed, revolutionary movements are led into an ambush; instead of serving the people, revisionism serves the ruling class (bourgeoisie) in the name of Marx, Lenin, and Mao. These are the revisionist ideas developed by the splitters:

1. They say the principal contradiction within the Party is left-wing opportunism, that we have abandoned Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought. In another part of this special edition (which deals with the history of both left and right opportunism in our Party), this lie is exposed for what it is. This charge denies the Party's history of development, from the time when we wore berets and field jackets and said the lumpen would lead the revolution, to today, when we are a Party in transformation that recognizes the proletariat as the leadership of the revolution. The principal contradiction in our Party today is not what their revisionist analysis claims, left-wing opportunism, but the resistance to putting working class ideas in power, to accepting leadership from the working class in practice. The leaders of the split themselves have contributed in keeping left and right opportunism in power within the Party.

Juan "Fi" Ortiz is a leader of the split who set the example for the others on how to break every principle of unity within revolutionary organizations. A former member of Central Committee, he broke the discipline of his collective time and again by seeing his role as representative of the faction instead of Central Committee. When incorrect ideas first arose among some Party members in Puerto Rico, he should have known the feelings of the rest of his collective and criticized them. Instead, he acted as though Central Committee never discussed the duty of Puerto Ricans in the us., how to organize in communities, elections, etc.. His own incorrect ideas he kept hidden on Central Committee rather than let them be known so we could all discuss them. The manner in which he dealt with the members of his collective, which he had been part of for almost 3 years, represents a stab in the back.

Juan Ramos is currently trying to build the faction by going around to the rest of the Party members and spreading lies. He begins by asking people to "forget you're a Lord and tell me what you personally feel", as though a Lord could separate themselves from the Party. Ramos takes Maoist principles of organization and revolution in general, quotes them out of context, and thus revises them to serve the faction's needs. Besides being a revisionist trick, this is also high opportunism. Opportunism is doing a thing in the name of the people, but really doing it to promote one's own selfish interest. Gloria Colon has shown she has no understanding of the reality our people face, and that she is in fact in class contradiction to working people.

She wrote two to three letters a day to different Party members, putting forth a position in contradiction to the Party's on a number of things. This, she said, was "waging struggle", but it was really faction-building. This style, of producing documents to divide revolutionary unity, all in the name of ideological struggle, she has done before in other organizations.

Armando "Ujuru" Baez has said that the Party must move out of the ghetto into working class communities because the ghetto is composed of "unstable elements". This class attitude against poor people is clear.

These are 4 of the leaders of the split.

2. By abandoning their posts in Puerto Rico, particularly at this time of building towards the first Party Congress, the group has shown in practice how it revises the Leninist principle of a disciplined Party. Since the victory of Soviet workers in 1917, it is clear that only a disciplined political party can be the workers' organization capable of guiding working class struggle. To split from such a Party is to weaken the Party. To weaken the Party serves only imperialists, which is what revisionists, in the name of Marxism-Leninism (and now Mao Tse-Tung Thought) do.

3. The group says that u.s. imperialism is only a



Juan Ortiz

Juan Ramos

particular of the united states, that the general struggle in the u.s. is between the u.s. ruling class and the multi-national u.s. proletariat; that because of this, Puerto Rican workers in the u.s. should devote most of their time to struggles in the u.s. and not the national liberation of Puerto Rico. This is a complete revision of reality. We live today in an era of world imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism. This is no particular of the u.s., but of the world today. As our Chinese comrades have pointed out, the major conflict in the world today is of oppressed nations against the imperialists. The primary duty of workers in the u.s., as one of the major imperialists powers, is to support national liberation struggles against u.s. imperialism. For Puerto Ricans, our contribution to the world fight is the liberation of Puerto Rico. In this, we become part of the world-wide united front against u.s. imperialism. In the u.s., that means we will come together in struggle with other workers of other nationalities, and that out of this practice will eventually come the multi-national party for the u.s. But the way in which the group talks of building this party is as though it should be formed tomorrow, an indication of their impatience. And their logic leads away from the world united front against u.s. imperialism, and towards isolated struggles in each country between the workers and "their own" ruling class. This revisionist policy would only serve the imperialists, who would be glad to deal with the people one by one.

4. After reading Lenin's Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder, which says that under certain conditions it is correct to participate in elections, they say the Party is Dogmatic (stubborn) in our position of not participating in elections. They feel that our people "are into" elections. This is wrong on two counts. First, the conditions for participating in elections does not exist in Puerto Rico because it is a colony of the u.s., it is owned by the u.s. How could elections under those conditions change anything? Can we vote to be free? And if we did, why should the u.s. respect that decision? Or so we believe the u.s. will "play fair"? Second, poor people clearly recognize politicians to be a gang of crooks and liars. We know it is a matter of

choosing what representative of what group of capitalists will rule over us for the next two years.

5. The group made clear its real feelings towards poor people when it backed the position, "we should move out of the ghetto and into working class communities". What country are they talking about? Working people in Puerto Rico and the u.s. live in ghettos. No, this is an excuse to live comfortably, as though they were professors or engineers.

6. They say working people do not want to live in ghettos and use this to justify their belief that Model Cities should destroy our communities "because the people must see progress". By no means is Model Cities progressive, it builds for the rich, not the poor. Yes, our communities are rotten, but we must demand that they be improved, not destroyed.

7. The group says the Party does not know how to organize in unions, that we are extremists in not working in unions. Our practice shows this lie. In the Art Steel workers strike in the South Bronx, we demanded they be organized under District 65. The same in the Brooklyn Chrome Platers Strike. We have not had a clear position on when and how to work in trade unions until recently, that is true; but to say the Party has never done such work or that we don't intend to is a lie.

These are the kinds of ideas being spread by the splitters. They are the ideas of people who want to make revolution and live well while doing it; they are the ideas of those who speak in the name of the workers, but lead workers' struggles

to failures; they are the ideas of those who claim to be using proletarian ideology, Marxism-Leninism- Mao Tse-Tung Thought, but in practice turn it around.

They are the ideas of revisionists. And revisionist ideas only support small groups and not the people as a whole. This only serves the ruling class, and that is how the ideas of the splitters must be seen - ideas of the enemy.

For this reason, the leaders of the group- Juan "Fi" Ortiz, Juan Ramos, Gloria Colon, and Armando "Ujuru" Baez have been purged from the Party. Because of their open attacks on the Party that only serve the enemy, they will never be allowed to return to the ranks of the Party or the mass organizations. We advise other revolutionary organizations to be aware of this and of this group of splitters and opportunists. As for Jesus Villanueva, Josian Rios, and Jaime Olivo, they are expelled from the Party. We understand that they did not lead the action to split the Party. If they want to work with a mass organization at some future time and wage struggle, they are welcome to do so.

HISTORY OF OPPORTUNISM

In the Party there's been other problems, internal problems, for example in the beginning of the Party, a conflict arose with the Chairman of the Party, Diego Pabon, the same person who was recently purged from the Puerto Rican Student Union.

Pabon opposed all organization work proposed by Party members at the time. He said we had to study and read more revolutionary literature and that we weren't prepared to lead in the people's struggles. In reality, what he wanted was to be "maximum leader", reactionary style, and he looked after his own interests rather than the people's interests.

After Pabon was removed from the Central Committee, he dedicated his political life to opposing the people's struggle and the Party constantly.

Another tremendous opportunist was Felipe Luciano, the second Chairman of the Young Lords Organization. Luciano participated in the Party's leadership from July, 1969 up until September, 1970. At the time, he gave much of the political leadership and methods of Party work. He too saw himself as "maximum leader" in the same fashion as our enemies. His style was and is that of an orator, which psyched many a Party member's and community's mind. He opposed alliances with the Black Panther Party, constantly attacking the Panthers which at the time was the revolutionary leadership of Black people. In the meantime, he pushed for our alliance with LeRoi Jones and other Black politicians who in reality are not struggling for Black people's liberation, but for Black capitalism. Luciano also made unprincipled contacts with politicians from Lindsay's city hall, etc. and tried to deny the revolutionary Party principals — another opportunist in the name of the revolution.

In Philadelphia, opportunists like Education Lieutenant, Wilfredo "Hawkeye" Ruiz, tried from within the Party to push their own interests. And after their expulsion, they tried to continue their anti-Party work with organizing groups to make race war between Black and Puerto Rican brothers and sisters, in order to make relations between our two peoples antagonistic.

In Bridgeport, Connecticut, extremists and opportunists

like Leo Lafitte, tried to oppose the Party when it was formed from the organization 'SPIC', and later tried to use the Party as a personal force to gain more power in city and anti-poverty programs.

All these opportunists opposed the poor and working peoples' struggle, but used the revolution for their own interests.

WHERE DOES OPPORTUNISM AND EXTREMISM COME FROM?

In the history of Puerto Rico many organizations and political parties have arisen which claim to be struggling in the interest of the people. Nevertheless a good search through that history reveals that for some reason none of these organizations have complied with what they declare to be doing.

An example of this is the Socialist Party of Santiago Iglesias Pantin. In the 1930's, when they were allegedly organizing the working class, Pantin's party underhandedly received with open arms, political businessmen and northamerikkkan militarymen, which have been enslaving our country for 74 years. On one hand the Socialist Party paid lip service to socialism and on the other accommodations were reached with the "republicans," the country's rich and with the foreigners to fortify the exploitive capitalist system.

Although the socialist party no longer exists, its opportunistic "buddy-istic" ideas and its hypocritical policy still exist. We still hear talk about socialism the peoples 'well-being,' and of putting an end to exploitation. Nonetheless, in practice, these organizations have demonstrated the contrary and have made clear that they seek only their own interests and not the peoples well-being, in general, because these organizations in their majority have risen from our suffering.

We can name many organizations that have betrayed, failed or that've taken our people on an incorrect road, but the important thing to understand — our struggle has to be guided by a clear ideology that comes from the people so that it in actuality represents our interests and puts an end to the inhumanity and exploitation that exists in Puerto Rico and the u.s.

On this depends the success of a revolutionary Party. Without a correct political line, we'll move only towards defeat. Nevertheless a correct line does not fall from the sky nor does it arise spontaneously or pacifically: It arises as a consequence of the struggle against exploitation, abuses, and the struggle against incorrect ideas in our ranks.

In another part of this special edition of PALANTE we explain how right opportunist and left-opportunist political lines have manifested themselves in the Party. These ideas that in the long run aren't in the interest of the people principally come from the middle class. As a class the middle class has no power. They are between the rich, the bourgeoisie, and the poor class, the working class.

The middle class finds itself well-off, since it is not as exploited as the working class, but it is threatened by the bourgeois class. From the threat it feels from the bourgeoisie, the left wing extremist ideas grow (ideas on spontaneous actions, a purely military viewpoint, impatience with the struggle and romanticism). On the other hand right - wing opportunist ideas develop from the same social base, but more from the reaction against work class ideas.

In our Party, we have been able to understand this phenomena very well. In the 3 years of our existence many right opportunists have passed through our ranks, people such as the likes of Juan 'Fi' Ortiz and Juan Ramos, lazy characters that didn't involve themselves in the struggle.

They participated in making errors and later to take a position which they were always against, but just waiting for the opportune moment to defame and harm the revolutionary movement. Why? Because they fear and don't want to accept the leadership and direction of the class which the power will belong to—the working class. They land themselves to struggle against the Party (the highest level of working class organization), because they know that for the working class to reach power it needs its Party. This without a doubt is a universal principle that without a party we

people into taking actions which are incorrect. These people live in a dream, a dream that the time for armed struggle has come or that the revolution never comes to an end. In the end they take positions which are isolated from the reality and the strength of the people. We saw an example in practice of these left-wing extremist ideas in the Puerto Rican Day Parade of 1971 where we lost the correct concept and principal that the parade does not represent poor and working people, knowing this and insisting on taking the front of the parade which opened a situation where the police were able to start a riot. We've been extremist and leftism has been the reason why the Party has not worked more deeply with organizations formed by the people i.e. health councils, Parent Teachers Associations, social clubs, labor unions and others.

Both right opportunist ideas on one side and left-wing extremist ideas on the other only benefit the oppressor, the rich, and they have been the reason for the failures we have had in the past.

The Ideology that represents our interests is the ideology of the working class the PROLETARIAN ideology. The strength of the Party has been the result of struggle by people with proletarian ideas combatting ideas alien to our needs and to REALITY.

While the working class lives a life of immense exploitation at the hands of a government which represents the interests of the bosses (the owners of the large corporations-chemical plants, construction companies, etc.) it is the working class that moves society. Everything that is needed to survive, from clothing and food to housing, is produced by the working class. From this reality comes proletarian ideology of thinking of the many instead of the few, of loving our brothers and sisters more than oneself, of sharing instead of competing, of entering into honest, frank and serious relations with other human-beings, always looking for better ways for all to live and of starting something and taking it to its logical conclusion, — this is the logic of the PROLETARIAT.

The historic mission of the PROLETARIAT is to transform society in order to establish a system of life where there will not be exploitation, where the State represents our interests because we construct it with that purpose in mind and that guides production for the benefit of all.

The class for which it is not convenient for this to happen is the class which controls all. Contrary to the working class the bourgeoisie thinks only of itself and not of the majority. Competition is the form by which it survives. It is a degenerate class, dishonest, charlatan, wasteful, and finally exploitive. From this great difference, different as night and day, is why present day conflicts, wars and all problems that make our life difficult, exist. Nonetheless it's good to understand that class struggle is what moves us forward. It's what resulted in humanities great achievements. But it will not be taken to a higher level unless we put an end to the exploitation of a minority over the majority of humanity.

This division in the Party has been negative in the sense that it slows down our work on a short-term basis, especially Puerto Rico, but positive in the sense that it makes us stronger on a long term basis. Today we understand more than ever what is our responsibility in front of our people.

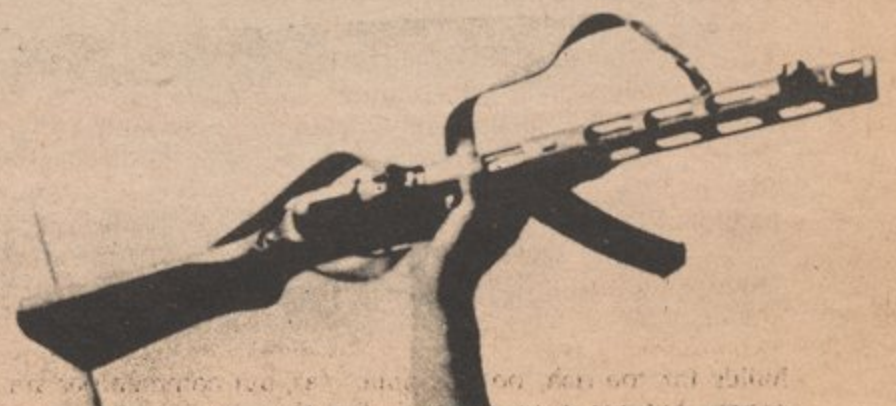
We are prepared and ready to combat any incorrect ideas inside or out of our Party, which may cause harm to our just struggle. In like fashion we understand that with UNITY there is strength and this is the reason why in the majority of cases we have tried to work with all our patriotic organizations. However let it be made clear that this unity is on the basis of Unity through Struggle and any other form except hypocritical policy. We will continue to struggle until we achieve living in a just society!



Armando Baez

Gloria Colon

cannot arrive at taking power. In the same way we cannot take power without armed struggle. These right opportunists seek only their own benefits. They confuse, lie, defame, are highly dangerous, and must be watched. Left extremists also cause harm to the revolutionary movement because they lead the



[Faint, illegible text at the bottom of the page]

At the same time that we see this split was necessary to rid cliques and factions from the Party, we must never forget the harm that has been done to our people by their Party. The effect this split has had, and will continue to have, on our work and planning, will demand more from all Party members, more from all militants of the mass organizations and more from all our supporters. We must all take on more responsibility and make more contributions in building the Party and the mass organizations, the Federation of Puerto Rican Workers, the Committees to Defend the Community, Puerto Rican Students Union, Third World Students League and the Women's Union.

We will continue with the work of organizing the People's Assembly and the Party Congress, and must work hard to assure that they are a success. This must be done while taking into account our own limitations, yet following the correct principles of working people, which is to work hard and consistently and patiently. In this way, we will not only correct the damage that has been done; we will move to a higher level of struggle.

The area of work most affected by the split has been our work in Puerto Rico, where we've been working since March 21, 1971. The great work that went into opening both branches in Aguadilla and El Cano was done while under attack from the enemy and with a lack of resources. It was done without the support of "independence" organizations in Puerto Rico, specifically the leadership of PSP and PIP. At a time of need, the Nationalist Party took responsibility and helped us, which will never be forgotten. Since then, the organizing has continued, until these individuals deserted the work assigned to them, because they felt they know better than the majority of the Party. The Majority of our Party believes in the struggle of different ideas, and in accepting criticism not only from each other but from people outside the Party. We believe in the practise of criticism-self-criticism. The splitters abandoned every revolutionary principle they said they believed in while being members of the party. With the f.b.i. on our backs, with Ferre and his lackeys trying to stop us, with wire taps on our phones, paid informers to infiltrate us, and arrests and harrassment of Party members and supporters, the enemy is not able to stop us. But some people from within our own ranks managed to do in 5 months what the pigs couldn't do in over a year.

We learn from this and move forward. We are forced at this point to close our offices and stop work in Aguadilla, but will continue our work out of Santurce (El Cano) Puerto Rico.

From here we will attempt to maintain communication and contact with our supporters and the rest of the people on the island. The main method we have to do this is through our Party Paper, PALANTE. The split has affected the getting of the paper to people in different areas. We will not be able to get the paper outside the metropolitan area, unless supporters of the Party take responsibility for distributing it in their hometown or other parts of the island. Also, we can circulate the paper to a broader number of people through subscriptions. We will take the responsibility to mail them to any part of Puerto Rico from our office in El Cano.

The group which will be operation from El Cano will cover the following responsibilities:

- 1) distribution of PALANTE
- 2) organizing the People's Assembly in El Cano
- 3) summing up our practise in Puerto Rico and making a more complete class and historical analysis of our people. From this understanding a report will be prepared with suggestions as to how we will continue our work in Puerto Rico, which will be presented to the Whole Party at our first Party Congress in July.

This division comes on month before our ~~FIRST~~ Party Congress. Again, an example of another attempt by the splitters to weaken the Party while the work was consolidating itself. In the 3 years of our existence we have accomplished many successes and made many mistakes. We see the First Party Congress as bringing together this experience, out of which will come a stronger Party with a unified political line and plan of action for the next two years. Because of this we will continue to plan for our First Party Congress.

One of the things which is a very important part of the Congress are the People's Assemblies which will be held on June 18, before the Congress. This Assembly will discuss with our people:

- A) why do we need a Party which represents the interests of the poor and working people;
- B) what is the ideology of the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Party (Young Lords Party)
- C) support of the Party in having the first Party Congress.

**DESTROY YANKEE EXPLOITATION!!!
LONG LIVE A FREE AND SOCIALIST PUERTO RICO!!!**

Central Committee

YOUNG LORDS PARTY



MARCH AFTER THE DEATH OF JULIO ROLDAN - IN N.Y., OCT. 18, 1970

"With the f.b.i. on our backs, with ferre and his lackeys trying to stop us, with wire taps on our phones, paid informers to infiltrate us, and arrests and harrassments of Party members and supporters, the enemy is not able to stop us."