

EDITORIAL: NINGUNA FIESTA DE 'TE' EN BOSTON-LA LUCHA POR EL PARTIDO SE INTENSIFICA

El 19 de febrero se llevó a cabo un foro en Boston auspiciado por la colectiva Harriet Tubman-Nat Turner. Participaron la Organización Obrera Revolucionaria Puertorriqueña, la Liga de Obreros Revolucionarios (M-L) y la Organización Workers Viewpoint. La lucha en el foro fue un reflejo de la lucha de clase intensificada entre el proletariado y la burguesía internacionalmente y en los EEUU. La lucha conducida por los camaradas en la OORP y la LOR (M-L) es una continuación directa de la lucha férrea contra toda forma de oportunismo, particularmente sobre la cuestión de la construcción del partido. La línea bolchevique marxista-leninista fue defendida en la lucha contra el oportunismo de derecha y la línea menchevique de la Liga de Octubre y la Organización Workers Viewpoint. En el curso de esta lucha se profundiza la unidad en el ala revolucionaria. El ala revolucionaria se ha purgado de una línea oportunista y su representante, la OWV, ha criticado el revisionismo y se ha movido hacia adelante.

Los oportunistas tratan de regar su pesimismo y su visión sin contenido diciendo: "Todo está terrible. El ala se ha dividido. La construcción del partido ha tenido un revés." Este es otro ejemplo de su posición pequeño-burguesa. Camaradas, no hemos tenido revés alguno. El ala no se ha dividido - el marxismo-leninismo crece mas fuerte en la lucha contra la falsedad. Igual como dijera Stalin:



"Los partidos proletarios se desarrollan y se hacen mas fuertes purgandose de los oportunistas y reformistas, de los social-imperialistas, social-chauvinistas, social-patriotas y social-pacifistas. El partido se hace mas fuerte deshaciéndose de los elementos oportunistas." (Fundamentos de Leninismo, p. 111)

Nos fortalecemos en la lucha contra la línea oportunista de derecha de la OWV y la OL.

La línea sobre la construcción del partido de la OWV en su esencia no es diferente a la línea menchevique de la OL. La OL intenta cubrir sus deseos hegemónicos y su línea de "organización como principal" con su debil e incorrecto "Principios de Unidad" -- mientras que la OWV ha desarrollado su engañoso paquete de "Las Premisas Teóricas Anti-Revisionistas". La haraposa línea de la OWV tiene

un atractivo especial para elementos (muchos de los cuales son honestos) que -- al igual que la OWV-- estan divorciados de la lucha de clase que lanza el proletariado industrial y los movimientos nacionales en los EEUU. Bajo una cubierta aparentemente profunda, la OWV revisa las lecciones de nuestros grandes maestros-- Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, y Mao Tse-Tung.

La esencia de la bancarrota, menchevique línea oportunista de derecha de la OL sobre la construcción del partido es la construcción de éste desde abajo. Ignoran las enseñanzas de Lenin sobre el rol del programa y sustituyen sus "Principios de Unidad", la OL esta uniendo fuerzas bajo el mínimo comun denominados-- buscado cantidad en vez de calidad. Sin un programa que enfoque, concretice y clarifique la lucha, las diferencias se cubren y la OL puede construir su partido alrededor de su haraposa y bancarrota línea. Están construyendo un partido menchevique donde cualquier huelguista, maestro, abogado, trabajador social, y ex-voluntario de los

Peace Corps es considerado un "revolucionario" porque gritan "A ripostar".

La OWV--viniendo del mismo punto y deseo hegemónico que hemos visto anteriormente en la RU, la OL y la CLP-- sostiene que su línea la línea en general correcta en el movimiento comunista. Su línea de que el ala revolucionaria se ha dividido y que la lucha por la construcción del partido ha sufrido un revés surge de su visión idealista de que son ellos el círculo dirigente de Iskra. No tienen un analisis del surgimiento del ala revolucionaria, sino que creen que el ala revolucionaria surgió cuando surgieron ellos.

Ambos, la OL y la WVO fallan en "Practicar el Marxismo". Ninguno resume y analiza científicamente la lucha por construcción del partido en el movimiento comunista. Ambos sustituyen el Marxismo-Leninismo-Pensamiento Mao Tse-Tung por sus anhelos y deseos hegemónicos. Ninguno hace una presentación científica sobre las cuestiones de fusión, períodos, dos tácticas de la construcción del partido o el eslabón principal. Ninguno se une al hecho objetivo que la línea política es el eslabón clave. Camaradas, el entender la línea política como eslabón principal es una necesidad objetiva.

La OL ha planteado abiertamente la organización como eslabon clave:

"el presente periodo llama por la actual formación organizativa del nuevo partido." (El Clarin, noviembre, 1975, p. 12 énfasis en el original)

La OWV cubre su línea con una discusión idealista de la ideología -- pero una vez que raspamos la superficie, resalta su línea de construir a su organización como el círculo dirigente de Iskra. Ambas líneas son en esencia las mismas. Ambas dependen del idealismo y de la metafísica para justificar su intento de retrasar la construcción de un partido bolchevique genuino.

Tácticas de los Oportunistas en la Lucha

Típico de las manipulaciones de todos los oportunistas de derecha, la OWV intentó constante-

mente desviar la lucha entre dos líneas sobre las candentes cuestiones que envolvía la construcción del partido. Sus tácticas pueden ser vistas en la forma con que bregaban con las cosas según revela su discurso. Después de haber balbuceado acerca de la construcción del partido, específicamente las dos tácticas y el eslabón principal, el portavoz de la OWV prosiguió diciendo, "seguro que la línea política es el eslabón clave, pero esta noche no tenemos tiempo suficiente para discutir eso. En lugar de eso nos gustaría hablar del papel de la ideología." Esto mostró una vez más la consistente oposición y la subestimación a lo que de hecho es el eslabón clave -- la línea política. Es altamente oportunista el parafrasear acerca de la línea política como eslabón clave y consumir 95% de un discurso en el papel de la ideología. La OWV mostró su total desprecio por los comunistas y los elementos avanzados, continuando su firme creencia de que no sabemos nada sobre la ideología. Su abstracto discurso, en el que solo presentaron sus "Premisas Teóricas Anti-Revisionistas" en una forma sintetizada, no elevó la conciencia alrededor de la ideología, pues no hubo aplicación a lo que significa en analizar el movimiento de la construcción del partido y otras cuestiones relacionadas -- períodos, fusión, tácticas y eslabón clave. La OWV vulgarizó y sacó el espíritu revolucionario de la ideología, al dejar su trato de la cuestión en las nubes, separado de la aplicación -- y seguro (creen ellos) de la crítica y la lucha, porque se supone que sea tan profundo.

Su naturaleza oportunista fue revelada más aún cuando la OWV intentó hacer autocrítica en "cientos aspectos" de sus "Premisas Teóricas Anti-Revisionistas". El sello distintivo de una organización comunista genuina es la habilidad de revelar la esencia de su error, trazar su base social e ideológica, y delinear un método de rectificación. La OWV no hizo ninguno de estos. Primero, dicen que no devieron haber "formulado" su línea con "terminos como Premisas antirevisionistas", porque "podría llevar a la sustitución del marxismo-leninismo." Luego dicen que por separado las premisas antirevisionistas no son nacionalmente específicas, pero que "tomadas en conjunto" lo son. También dijeron que no mencionaron el nacionalismo estrecho como una forma nacionalmente específica. Para resumir dijeron "sin embargo, nuestros errores fueron hechos en respuestas a la dominante corriente pragmática" y que sus errores fueron "mil veces mejores" que los de los "dogmáticos". También revelaron que no aceptarían crítica, y que no harán autocrítica frente al ala oportunista porque debilita la lucha de clase y que rechazan las críticas de la OORP y la LOR.

Preguntamos a todos los comunistas genuinos. Es esto un ejemplo de autocrítica bolchevique? Decimos que no! Lo que es, es un ejemplo de cubrirse -- culpando los errores a la causalidad externa, en vez de revelar la base interna; poniendo los errores en la formulación de términos, en vez de la línea de donde fluye su formulación; meneándose como culebras para evadir llegar a la esencia; profesando abiertamente la línea trosquista acerca de la auto-crítica -- que para ser despiadadamente crítico de nuestros errores frente a todos, nos debilita; usando la auto-crítica para lanzar ataques, particularmente hacia la OORP. La práctica es el criterio de la verdad -- la práctica de la OWV acerca de hacer auto-crítica confirma la verdad de su línea oportunista.

La verdad fue verificada más aún en la lucha entre dos líneas que siguió. Había definitivamente problemas objetivos -- falta de tiempo en el foro, no había un lugar claro en donde continuar la lucha, reflejos de anarquía en la práctica. Sin embargo el papel del factor subjetivo es luchar para sobreponerse estos problemas objetivos y mirar hacia el frente, de forma bolchevique, para continuar esta crucial lucha sobre nuestra tarea central. Había muchos camaradas dispuestos a quedarse a continuar la polémica y aprender de ella. Sin embargo la OWV huyó, diciendo que "era-muy tarde" para continuar la lucha. La OORP y la LOR lucharon para resumir los puntos claves y preparar los camaradas para la lucha que continuaría el próximo día, no empece la hora.

La construcción del partido es una cuestión muy importante para tratarla en forma tan liviana. Esto debe ser comparado al constante balbuceo de la OWV acerca de no temerle a la lucha entre dos líneas y su posición de "ir punto por punto, aspecto por aspecto, toda la noche si es necesario."

Esta cobarde y evasiva actitud continuó el próximo día. La OWV estaba determinada a no entrar en lo principal de las cuestiones envueltas en la polémica. La esencia de la lucha con la línea de la OWV acerca de la construcción del partido, según expresada en su artículo "La Construcción del Partido y las Premisas Teóricas Antirevisionistas", es que es un análisis ahistórico de la construcción del partido que muestra que no hay movimiento alguno surgiendo de la intensa lucha por construir el partido, contiene una línea conciliatoria que distorciona la verdadera naturaleza de los traicioneros revisionistas, subestima la lucha contra el oportunismo, y sustituye estas Premisas Teóricas Anti-Revisionistas por el Marxismo-Leninismo-Pensamiento Mao Tse Tung, llamándolas "el fundamento ideológico del partido" y "la única defensa contra su degeneración". Creemos que la OWV presenta la línea de ponerse al frente como el círculo dirigente con la línea general más correcta -- una posición sectarista y hegemónica hacia el ala genuina del movimiento.

La OWV rehusa defender su línea y en el proceso de comprobar, en base al Marxismo-Leninismo-Pensamiento Mao Tse Tung, que su análisis es correcto. El ala genuina ha estado exponiendo claramente como vemos el desarrollo del movimiento de la construcción del partido y las cuestiones claves -- períodos, fusión, tácticas, eslabón principal -- que esto envuelve. La OWV trató de mantenerse tan lejos de esto como le fue posible. Lanzaron lucha sobre otras cuestiones para no enfocar sobre las principales, sino para desviarnos de ellas.

Lo que intentaban hacer era hacernos entrar en un debate abstracto sobre "que es ideología" y sobre revisionismo "conciente e inconciente," sin interrelacionar esto a la defensa de su visión sobre como los revisionistas esta "confundidos y desorientados" o sobre porqué debemos nosotros entrar en unidad de acción con ellos. De hecho, en su intento de colarse, tuvieron el descaro de decir que la ideología del proletariado no es materialismo dialéctico e histórico o que la ideología de la burguesía no era metafísica e idealista. Esto es una revisión clara del Marxismo-Leninismo Pensamiento Mao Tse Tung.

Ellos lucharon alrededor de la cuestión de los avanzados no para interrelacionarlo a la fusión histórica de los movimientos comunista y obrero, dando lugar a los diferentes períodos de la construcción del partido, de las dos tácticas que fluyen del eslabón clave -- Marxista-Leninistas unanse y ganen los avanzados al comunismo bajo la base de una correcta línea política. En vez de esto, ellos enfocaron en la cuestión de los intermedios y los atrasados.

De nuevo, reconocen de palabra a los avanzados pero sus deseos son el consentir su tiempo lanzando lucha sobre los intermedios y atrasados. Ellos no defendieron su punto de vista de que los avanzados solo estan "abiertos al socialismo" y llegaron hasta a distorcionar la realidad al decir, por ejemplo, que líderes como Malcolm X y George Jackson eran "únicos", no que eran ejemplos de la verdad histórica de que toda clase obrera produce luchadores que dirigen a las masas y que luchan por encontrar respuestas cada vez más científicas a las preguntas que surgen en la revolución, atrayendolos al estudio del Marxismo-Leninismo. Estos son ejemplos de como la OWV ha intentado desviar la lucha de las cuestiones cruciales y ha tratado de diluirnos en viajes abstractos. Tras esta cortina de humo de demagogía y sofismo, intentan evadir el tener que defender su línea bancarota sobre la construcción del partido.

Las tácticas de lucha de la OWV dejan al descubierto su verdadero parecer sobre la construcción del partido, pues usan este mismo estilo dondequiera que van, un estilo que está opuesto a ir al grano en las cuestiones sobre la construcción del partido, y que en vez, está dirigido a impresionar al movimiento con lindas palabras. Por ejemplo, hemos descubierto que la OWV no ha hecho realmente su trabajo de llevar las dos tácticas aplicadas concretamente a la colectiva Harriet Tubman-Nat Turner. Los camaradas nos dijeron que, de hecho, eran culpables de ver las cosas a travez de "los ojos de la OWV", que su visión no se había expandido para entender la intensidad de la lucha entre las dos líneas. La OWV le ha dado muy poco tiempo a levantar y lanzar luchar sobre las cuestiones claves envueltas en la construcción del partido; en vez de esto inundandolos con documentos que tratan sobre un sin número de otras cuestiones que son importantes, pero que tienen que interrelacionarse con nuestra tarea

CARTA DE UN OBRERO AVANZADO: 3

'El Simbolo Del Terror'

(La siguiente carta fue enviada a Palante por un obrero industrial de la costa éste)

Uno de los principales líderes fascistas en el mundo murió en España el pasado 20 de noviembre de 1975. Fue éste el que dirigió la contrarrevolución que derrocó al gobierno electo por el pueblo el 18 de julio de 1936, el cual duró hasta el 28 de marzo de 1939. La contrarrevolución dejó un saldo de un millón de muertos, y el nombre del criminal que la dirigió es General Francisco Franco Baamonte. "El Tigre" y aquellos de nosotros que vivimos bajo su régimen de opresión lo recordamos como "el símbolo del terror."

Franco fue uno de los hombres mas tiránicos en la historia del mundo. Él era como Hitler, Mussolini y Salazar, sus socios fascistas. Él fué él que ordenó los bombardeos alemanes a Madrid, como también a Guernica en el país Vasco, en Cataluña, y en el resto del territorio español y fue él también el que llamó a 45,000 tropas italianas para matar al justo y valiente pueblo español. Y este asesino tiene la desfachatez de llamarse a sí mismo "patriota." Él también ordenó la muerte de miles de elementos progresistas después de terminada la guerra civil, como a los comunistas, los social-demócratas y hasta elementos de la burguesía y la pequeña burguesía liberal, como Miguel Hullahamuno, el famoso poeta andaluz que tuvo el coraje de decir lo que realmente estaba ocurriendo. Después de ser testigo de la matanza de miles de personas, incluyendo mujeres y niños, por las tropas de Franco, este poeta dijo: "Franco está usando el ejército para matar al pueblo español; este hombre es un asesino de masas."

El asesinato de Hullahamuno, como el de muchos otros, contribuyó a exponer la verdadera cara del gobierno fascista de Franco. Sin cometer todos estos asesinatos, el nunca hubiera consolidado el fascismo - ya que el fascismo, como bien sabemos los comunistas, usa el poder para defender los monopolios de los mas ricos. Ellos no pueden contar con el apoyo de la mayoría. Así es que, para intimidar a los demás, oprimen, encarcelan y asesinan a algunas personas. Franco fue él que le negó a los pueblos vasco, gallego y catalán el derecho a hablar su propio idioma en sus propios países.

Al finalizar la guerra civil con la captura del poder por el "partido falangista," Franco y su estado mayor decidieron pagarle al clero católico para que sirviera bajo el gobierno facista. Al hacer esto, unieron la iglesia y el estado, y como resultado, se empezó a exigir que para hacer cualquiera cosa se requiera el certificado del cura, como, por ejemplo, para casarse, para emigrar, para encontrar trabajo y así por el estilo. Aquellas personas que no iban a la iglesia eran criticados por el clero como si fueran criminales.

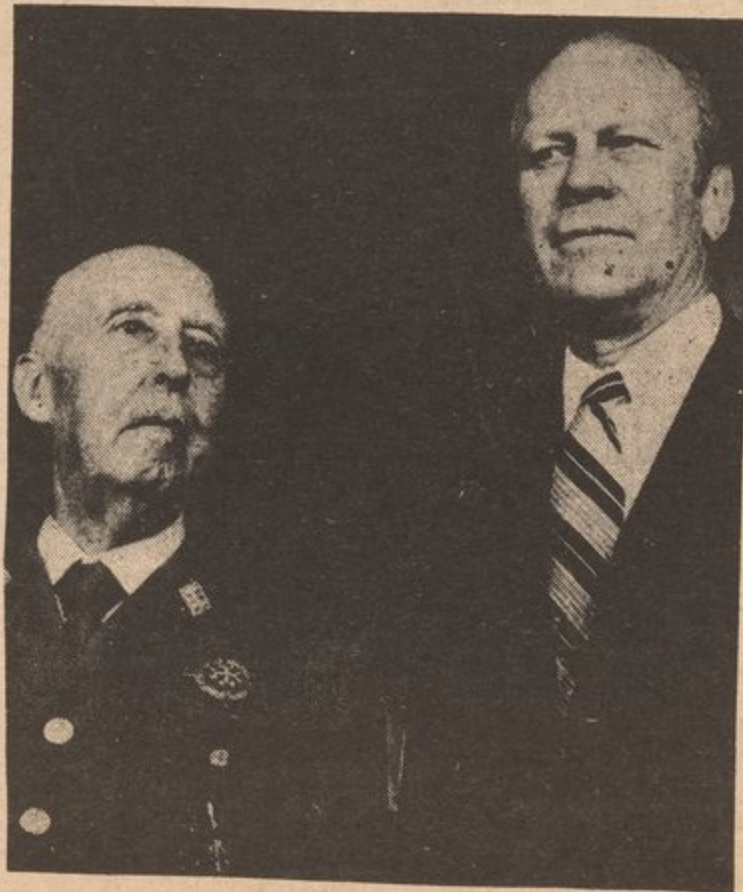
Ellos tienen una policía militar que le llaman la "Guardia Civil," la cual acostumbra a hostigar al pueblo todo el tiempo. Usualmente, se llevaban a las personas "al cuartel general" para darles palizas y maltratarlos físicamente, por ningún motivo, sólo para asustarles. Ellos

acostumbraban también a arrestar a la gente en la calle por la noche para registrarlos y darles palizas. Esto ha estado ocurriendo desde 1939 hasta hoy en día, pues hace unos días atrás, un joven llamado Sevilla fue asesinado de la golpiza que le propinaron la policía de Madrid al éste demandar cambios democráticos en el país. Así es que podemos ver que desde que Franco ganó la guerra civil española y llamó a España "El Estado Español," los derechos del pueblo español han sido pisoteados sin cuartel. La represión de los cuarenta causó la expulsión del gobierno de Franco de las Naciones Unidas en 1946. Sin embargo, para el 1955, ya había sido admitida en esta organización mundial. En España para el 1955, ya no había tanta represión porque no había tanta resistencia, y no había tanta resistencia porque los elementos progresistas estaban muertos o en la cárcel. Pero la política interna española no ha cambiado en lo mas mínimo. En los últimos 36 años, Franco se ha convertido en un hombre tan temido que habían muchas personas que tenían miedo hasta de mencionar su nombre. Muchos murieron apaleados por el mero hecho de haberlo criticado.

EL MOVIMIENTO ANTI-FRANQUISTA

Lenin dijo que, "donde hay opresión, hay resistencia." España no es excepción. En España existen algunas organizaciones anti-gubernamentales que formaron y todavía forman el movimiento anti-franquista, como por ejemplo, el Partido Comunista Español clandestino, el cual se dividió hace unos años atrás, después de la invasión a Checoslovaquia de las fuerzas del pacto de Varsovia, dirigidas por Rusia. Ahora existen dos partidos comunistas; uno está dirigido por la vieja dirigente, "La Pasionaria," y el otro por Santiago Carrillo. El primero sigue la línea de Moscú al defender su línea revisionista, y el segundo es tan degenerado como el primero.

Por un lado, "La Pasionaria" dice, "Nosotros tenemos que unirnos con la burguesía para luchar contra el franquismo," olvidando que Franco nunca ha sido otra cosa que el instrumento en las manos de la burguesía para oprimir y explotar al pueblo



Franco y Ford

español. Por lo tanto, la burguesía no puede estar de acuerdo con eso de luchar contra el franquismo. ¿A quién cree ella que está engañando? Por otro lado, Santiago Carrillo dice, "Si mi partido alcanza el poder, no le pediremos a los americanos que dejen sus bases, porque yo no quiero que los EE.UU. tomen represalias contra España," lo cual quiere decir que debemos seguir la cola del imperialismo. Y además, él propone que la vía electoral es la única vía hacia el poder. El rompimiento del partido comunista fue por diferencias tácticas; son todavía muy parecidos, los dos bandos. Por lo tanto, sus luchas contra el régimen fascista parece ser para ellos un forsejeo para quien toma el poder, no es una lucha de clases por la revolución socialista para establecer la dictadura del proletariado sobre la burguesía, porque todos los oportunistas temen a la dictadura del proletariado.

Hay cuatro otras organizaciones anti-gubernamentales. Una es la Comisión Obrera Laboral, cuyo presidente es Marcelino Camacho. Esta organización tiene una posición oportunista, o por lo menos, Marcelino Camacho tomo una posición oportunista después de ser sacado de la cárcel tras la coronación del Rey Juan Carlos. Cuando fue entrevistado por algunos reporteros extranjeros, dijo que, "Esto era un insulto porque beneficiaba mas a los 'criminales comunes' que a los prisioneros políticos." El señor Camacho nos ha desilusionado a nosotros, los Marxistas-Leninistas, porque Mao dice que los ataques de la burguesía no son algo malo, sino algo bueno, pues al hacer esto, nos demuestra a nosotros que estamos avanzando en nuestra lucha! Pero no lo mal entienda, Señor Camacho, porque el decir que es bueno que la burguesía nos ataque no quiere decir que estamos dispuestos a cruzarnos de brazos y dejar que la burguesía nos elimine. Todo lo contrario - esto quiere decir que tenemos que organizar a la clase obrera y todas las masas oprimidas para repeler todos los ataques que la burguesía le tire a la clase obrera y nunca parar en nuestra lucha contra la burguesía. Camacho también dijo que, "Solo aceptaremos al rey Juan Carlos si el pueblo lo elige." Aquí también el señor Camacho toma una posición oportunista, porque el príncipe ya ha sido "electo" por las Cortes, el parlamento español, el cual el gobierno español alega que representa al pueblo. Las Cortes, el parlamento, fue reestablecido en julio de 1942, per no hubo elecciones para elegir los representantes a las Cortes hasta el 1971, y esas elecciones eran solo para los representantes de las familias lo cual quiere decir que eran solo para elegir representantes que solo se encargaran de los problemas domésticos. Las Cortes eligieron a Juan Carlos, príncipe de España y el heredero de Franco, en julio de 1969. Para el 1966, Franco redactó un programa llamado "La ley orgánica." Ellos hicieron mucho propaganda. La radio, la televisión, y la prensa se desvivieron por complacer a sus jefes fascistas. Ellos se acostumbraron a decir, "Vote por una mejor vida. Vote 'Sí.' Vote por el bienestar del pueblo español. Vote por la paz y el orden social." Nosotros sabemos que el votar que "No" no iba a hacer ninguna diferencia, ya que había

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central. Como resultado, los camaradas estaban desarmados para la lucha que tomó lugar. Esto es altamente irresponsable, especialmente para una organización que tiene "la línea en general, más correcta," el círculo dirigente en el movimiento. Es altamente oportunista porque provee las condiciones externas para que, al unirse a un fundamento social e ideológico, pueda llevar a la consiliación y al centrismo en la lucha contra el oportunismo.

La OWV, por su práctica, nos muestra aún más evidencia de su degeneración y nos enseña claramente porque es que han caído en el fanguero del oportunismo.

RESUMEN Y LECCIONES APRENDIDAS

En el curso de cualquier lucha, la actitud de los comunistas con respecto a nuestros propios errores es una de exponerlos para aprender de ellos, para corregirlos y para seguir hacia adelante.

Hablando por los camaradas de la LOR y la OORP, analizamos que uno de nuestros puntos débiles en la lucha era el ceder a los obstáculos que nos tiraban al camino. Las constantes maniobras de la OWV para esquivar la lucha, levantando generalizaciones abstractas como las que se han presentado aquí, no es nada nuevo; ya hemos luchado anteriormente contra estas culebras de dos caras internamente en nuestras propias filas, como también cuando luchamos contra los revisionistas de la UR, LC, LO y contra el ala falsa de nuestro movimiento. (En referencia al foro de Boston, los cobardes de la LO conscientemente planearon otra actividad para esa misma noche para así evitar el tener que defender su línea oportunista.) El no tener un entendimiento completo y correcto de la situación nos hizo alabar la espontaneidad. En vez de tomar el liderazgo, nosotros a veces, perdimos la iniciativa - no usando de la mejor manera el tiempo valioso para exponer eficazmente la línea oportunista, la línea anti-teorética, anti-Marxista, elaborada en "Las Premisas Teóricas Anti-Revisionistas," publicación de la OWV, Vol. 2, #1, p.26.

Este error nuestro nos llevó a relajar la vigilancia, resultando esto, por lo tanto, en un fracaso de nuestra parte en traer la lucha consistente y sistemáticamente hacia la cuestión crucial en la discusión y el debate: la construcción del partido - la fusión, los períodos de construcción del partido, el eslabón clave, las tácticas y el peligro principal. No podemos tolerar ninguna laxitud en nuestro trabajo.

En las ediciones del futuro de Palante reproduciremos el texto completo, traducido al español, de las presentaciones sobre la Construcción del Partido por LOR y OORP en Boston.

A continuación presentamos el texto completo de los discursos presentados por los camaradas de La Liga de Obreros Revolucionarios y la Organización Obrera Revolucionaria Puertorriqueña.

Nos unimos a los esfuerzos de los camaradas de la Colectiva Harriet Tubman-Nat Turner quienes iniciaron y patrocinaron el Foro. Por otro lado, criticamos a los camaradas por no preparar las condiciones para la lucha, por ejemplo, tres horas para cuatro presentaciones, ningún tiempo para las polémicas presentadas desde la concurrencia - ningún tiempo o preparación para el desenvolvimiento de la lucha de dos líneas. Esto se reflejó a travez de todo el foro al fracasar los camaradas de la colectiva Harriet Tubman-Nat Turner en tomar una posición firme y clara en la lucha de dos líneas, como también por expresar una visión pesimista en relación a la lucha dentro del ala genuina para purgarse de una línea oportunista. Camaradas, tenemos que agarrar firmemente la lucha; la lucha de clase o la lucha entre las dos líneas no es una velada, ni un banquete. ¿Si no podemos bregar con esto hoy, como es que nos vamos a preparar entonces contra el derrocamiento armado de la burguesía?

Creemos que la OWV le dió a los camaradas un análisis subjetivista, y que en vez de investigar la situación, tomando una posición basada en el Marxismo-Leninismo, los camaradas de la Colectiva Harriet Tubman-Nat Turner se vieron abrumados, y vacilaron y por consiguiente ayudaron a la OWV a desviar la lucha de la candente cuestión, la construcción del partido. Creemos que los camaradas de la Colectiva Harriet Tubman-Nat Turner son honestos y que han sacado algunas lecciones de esta experiencia que les ayudaran a resolver algunas contradicciones internas.

El estudio y la aplicación del Marxismo-Leninismo, la lucha por la más estricta adhesión al Marxismo-Leninismo-Pensamiento Mao Tse Tung se tiene que enforzar hoy más aún. Ya que la experiencia directa solamente, es parcial e incompleta, tenemos que aprender de todas nuestras experiencias, directas e indirectas. Para nosotros, concluimos que el foro fué generalmente positivo, fortaleciendo el ala revolucionaria en la lucha contra el oportunismo. Sacamos esta lección. Tenemos que agudizar nuestra vigilancia contra la línea oportunista sobre la construcción del partido, tenemos que luchar golpe por golpe contra todo intento de desviarnos de nuestras tareas, lo cuales una lucha que sigue, día tras día.

Organización Obrera Revolucionaria
Puertorriqueña

Liga de Obreros Revolucionarios
(Marxistas-Leninistas)

¡MARXISTAS-LENINISTAS UNANSE
Y GANEMOS LOS AVANZADOS AL COMUNISMO!

CONSTRUYAN EL PARTIDO BOLSHEVIQUE DE LOS EE.UU!

solo un candidato - Franco. Y aún con esto, hubieron muchos que votaron "NO!" y muchas mas que no votaron nada, porque en España podemos decir que sólo un 10% quiere el rey. El 90% no lo quiere, pero muchos están confundidos y frustrados por la oposición en España, porque la mayoría de las organizaciones españolas no son capaces ni nunca podrán organizar la clase obrera y el pueblo oprimido mientras no sigan una línea correcta. El decir que ellos aceptarían al rey si el pueblo español lo elige es traicionar la justa causa del pueblo español, haciendo concesiones sobre principios y convirtiéndose en títeres. Esto es lo que parecen ser "La Pasionaria", Santiago Carrillo y M.R. Cañacho. Ellos parecen estar pidiéndole permiso a la burguesía para hacer la revolución.

Dos de las otras tres organizaciones son la ETA, Patria Vasca y Libertad, y la FPAF, Frente Patriótico Anti-fascista. El primero es una organización vasca, la cual clama por la independencia de la tierra vasca. Aunque su lucha es

por una causa justa, parece que ellos no ven la necesidad de educar a las masas. Están muy envueltos en actos terroristas. Al hacer estos actos, se echan en contra a los pueblos catalán y gallego, aunque ellos tienen el mismo enemigo, ya que los tres son naciones oprimidas. Ellos no tienen educación política para apoyar la lucha vasca y ellos no conseguirán la victoria solo con actos terroristas.

La segunda organización no ha salido mucho a la luz pública, pero parece que también está muy envuelta en actos terroristas y no en preparar a las masas para la revolución. Se llama a sí misma una organización Maoista, pero parece que falla en seguir lo que Mao dice, que se tiene que hacer - el educar al pueblo y prepararlo para la revolución socialista, porque la revolución no puede ser hecha por un grupo de tipos que dinamitan algunos edificios. La revolución la hacen las masas, bien organizadas y bien dirigidas. No estamos diciendo que el terrorismo nunca se debe usar, pero solo como una táctica, no como un medio de organizar las masas. No nos van a seguir si recurrimos al terrorismo.

La última organización es la Unión Democrática Militar, UDM, la cual esta formada por militares. Esta es una de las organizaciones secretas. Algunos de sus miembros están en la cárcel, porque tomaron posiciones progresistas en el pasado favoreciendo mas derechos democráticos para el pueblo español. Pero ellos también están a un nivel bajo por falta de la guía de un verdadero partido comunista. Una cosa común a todas estas organizaciones es que ni siquiera hablan de China y Albania como los países socialistas principales.

Así es que tenemos que unir a los verdaderos comunistas con los elementos progresistas para exponer a todos los oportunistas y sacarlos del movimiento comunista. Viva los países Catalán, Gallego y Vasco y el pueblo español en general en su lucha contra el gobierno español, en su lucha no solo contra el franquismo, sino que también contra el capitalismo. Porque Franco se murió no quiere decir que la opresión y la explotación se van a morir por su cuenta.

Look at Its Past, and You Can Tell Its Present

SOVIET social-imperialism's outrageous intervention in Angola by provoking and expanding the civil war in that country is known to all and is something the Soviet revisionist renegade clique cannot deny.

For some differences to exist among the three Angolan liberation organizations was normal and they could have been settled through consultations without outside interference. In fact, as early as last January, all three jointly arrived at the Alvor agreement with the Portuguese Government and then jointly formed the transitional government in preparation for the country's independence. In mid-June, they signed the Nakuru agreement to cease armed conflict and jointly greet national independence. National unity of the three organizations was in sight. But the treacherous new tsars by supporting one and attacking the other two have single-handedly provoked a civil war in Angola and poured oil on the flames of war.

While inciting civil war in Angola, the new tsars cranked up their entire propaganda machine to confuse world public opinion by ranting that they "support the liberation struggle of Angola" and are "performing their internationalist obligation."

Are the new tsars "performing their internationalist obligation" or carrying out imperialist expansion?

In analysing the reactionary nature of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, Comrade Mao Tsetung pointed out: "Look at its past, and you can tell its present; look at its past and present, and you can tell its future."

Opposing National-Liberation Wars

Look at the history of the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique and its approach to just national-liberation wars, and you can tell its ulterior motives regarding Angola today.

The Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique invented the theory that "any small 'local war' might spark off the conflagration of a world war" which might even "destroy Noah's ark—the globe." Therefore, to "safeguard world peace" and protect "Noah's ark—the globe," they have all along opposed just national-liberation wars.

The Algerian national-liberation war in the late 50s and early 60s won the sympathy and support of the people throughout the world. But Khrushchov and his like, basing themselves on the theory that any small war might spark a big one, described the Algerian people's just national-liberation war as "an internal affair of France" and never gave it any support.

Early in the 70s after the U.S. imperialists had instigated the traitorous Lon Nol clique to set off a coup d'etat and then invaded Cambodia, the Cambodian people waged a vigorous patriotic national-liberation war against imperialism. Calling it "fratricidal" fighting, the new tsars aided and abetted the Lon Nol clique instead of supporting the Cambodian people's just war. They colluded with the clique so as to sabotage the Cambodian people's liberation war.

The new tsars are guided by the same absurd theory with respect to the just war of the Arab countries and the Palestinian people against the Israeli aggressors. They oppose any attacks by the Arab countries on the aggressors. If the Arab countries refuse to obey their orders, the new tsars rush to put out the fire with no scruples as to the means they use.

The Middle East war of October 1973 was a case in point. The Soviet ambassador to Egypt even lied to President Sadat, saying that Syria demanded a "cease-fire." Then the Soviet Representative to the U.N. Malik made use of a U.N. Security Council resolution to force Egypt and Syria to enter into a ceasefire with Israel.

All these hard facts of history explicitly show that both Khrushchov and Brezhnev are opposed to just wars for national liberation. Whenever there is one, they demand a ceasefire.

Starting Wars of Aggression Directly or Indirectly

But by single-handedly provoking the civil war in Angola, the Brezhnev clique suddenly changed from an opponent and saboteur to a "supporter" of just wars.

One will not be deceived by such sleight of hand if one goes back through the history of the new tsars.

In August 1968, they perfidiously occupied Czechoslovakia in a surprise assault as Hitler had done 30

After their treacherous invasion of Czechoslovakia, the new tsars carried out an armed aggression of China's Chenpao Island in the spring of 1969. But they were given head-on blows and were duly punished.

In the winter of 1971, the new tsars instigated and fully supported a "sub-superpower" to launch a war of aggression against Pakistan. In sharp contrast to their attitude towards the Middle East war which erupted later, the new tsars resolutely opposed a ceasefire in the subcontinent. The U.N. Security Council put a draft resolution on a ceasefire to a vote three times in December that year. But the resolution was vetoed each time by the Soviet representative.

This is the history of the new tsars starting armed invasions directly or indirectly from 1968 to 1971.

One can see that the new tsars' clamour that "any small 'local war' might spark off the conflagration of a world war" is to justify the theory of opposing all national-liberation wars. But they would not hesitate to unleash a war to achieve their ambition of world domination.

Look at their past, and you can tell their present. After the signing of the Alvor agreement the new tsars sent to Angola large quantities of missiles and armoured cars—never before supplied to Angolan liberation organizations—to support one faction against the other two. Soviet war vessels entered an Angolan port and fired rockets, thus adding fuel to the flames of the civil war in Angola. This by no means was support for a just war or carrying out "internationalist obligation," but an effort to replace the old colonialists in controlling Angola.

Angola's coast is on the eastern part of the South Atlantic. If the new tsars can control Angola, they will be in a very advantageous position to contend with the other superpower for world hegemony, posing a direct threat to NATO's shipping lanes in the South Atlantic. With impatient expectancy, the new tsars have long been hungering for the treasured land of Angola.

But they have miscalculated. The African people have awakened. They will never allow the new tsars to play the tyrant on the continent and will never let the tiger in through the back door while repulsing the wolf at the front gate.

(A commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent, December 8)

PALANTE

**POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE
PUERTO RICAN REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS
ORGANIZATION**



Party building is the central task of all genuine Marxist-Leninists. The two main tactical tasks which must be conducted simultaneously to achieve material unity in the form of a new party are:

Uniting all Marxist-Leninists, and
Winning the advanced workers and advanced elements from other strata to communism.
By putting forward the political line of the PRRWO, we believe that Palante is contributing to the fulfilling of these tasks.

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In the previous period, genuine Marxist-Leninists had to go from a perceptual to a rational understanding of Party building; through this we were able, through struggle, and summing up our practice, to formulate concepts and theories on Party building- fusion, periods, key link, tactics. This knowledge could not have been acquired full blown at one shot. Chairman Mao said that we must go from grasping a thing to firmly grasping it, not that if we don't grasp it firmly, we're not grasping it at all. This is a metaphysical conception of the theory of knowledge, the rationalist school of thinking which negates the need to go through perceptual stage of knowledge to go to the rational stage, from which we must proceed to revolutionary practice.

WVO obviously sees that the period when we were going through a perceptual stage of understanding Party building was "not grasping it at all". Therefore, everything previous to WVO was eclectic, opportunist and muddled. The movement was at a standstill, awaiting the anti-revisionist premises, which we will get into at a later point, to lead us and put the party on "the proper ideological plane".

We think this highly opportunist analysis is put out to put forth the WVO as the 'leading circle' with the "overall correct line", a hegemonist, sectarian stance towards the communist movement, especially the revolutionary wing. From this they now feel they must launch attacks on the "rising dogmatist trend", attacking the genuine wing for having no ties with the masses and no practice among the masses. If by ties and practice they mean their revival of the ghosts and monsters of the RU days, of tailing behind the mass movement, concentrating on the intermediate and backward elements, lowering the level of propaganda to go with the lowest common denominator, uniting with the revisionists and the bankrupt labor leaders instead of concentrating on our primary illegal work, of separating the struggle to build the Party from their work among the masses, making distinctions between Party Building and "the real world" (In a recent struggle in a International Working Women's Day Coalition, WVO opposed struggling over the line on Party Building and its relationship to the Woman's Question, saying, "You always want to talk about Party Building, but we want to talk about the real world." If by practice they mean shifting their forces to building the mass movement because of the flow period and the rise of the danger of fascism and war, then we agree-- we do not intend to carry on this type of economist, tailist practice. Our tasks are clear- to unite Marxist-Leninists and win the advanced to communism on the basis of political line, thereby bringing closer the day when we will have our Party, capable of leading all the mass movements under revolutionary proletarian leadership, in the process training and consolidating advanced elements, who because they represent the interest of the masses, are ever strengthening our ties with the masses. We must raise the struggle for the Party in all our work, for Party building is not just something for the Marxist Leninists to debate, but something which we must involve the masses, most especially the advanced in this period. There is nothing more real than the urgent need to complete our central task, and we are confident we will complete it.

It is WVO, for all their talk of nationally specific forms of revisionism, on the dangers of pragmatism, etc., who have slipped into the marsh of opportunism, conciliating with revisionists and resurrecting the same "Practice" line of the RU and the OL in a new form.

(For our position on the advanced, refer to Party Building In The Heat of the Class Struggle and to the speech of comrades of the RWL in this issue).

Rather than uniting Marxist-Leninists, WVO has been conspiring and intriguing. A clear example of this has been seen in practice in the consistent positions they took in the International Working Women's Day Coalition, where as the two line struggle on Party Building in relation to how were we going to tie up the work of the IWWD flowing from the central task intensified, WVO's position was that "You always want to talk about Party Building, but we want to talk about the real world." What is more real than the great task of the proletariat

in the building of its Party to make proletarian revolution. Any discussion with the masses on Party Building, WVO labels dogmatism, ultra leftism, "throwing obstacles" into the "work." This was nothing but a manifestation of their right opportunist line in practice - which opposes propaganda as the chief form of activity. They oppose winning the advanced to communism, Marxist-Leninists unite on the basis of line. the key link to party building.

But rather than be upfront and fight for their raggedy right opportunist line, the WVO instead in word agreed that political line is the key link to party building, in word agreed that the two tactics are: win the advanced to communism, Marxist-Leninists unite, only to go around and attempt to sabotage the growing unity within the wing, promoting a petty-bourgeois pessimistic view that sharp, open polemics on the two lines on party building is destructive, divisive. Their cry for unity is nothing but a sham attempt to block the deepening of the drawing of the lines of demarcation that has been taking place. That undoubtedly will continue to take place as we move forward firmly to the formation of a Bolshevik Party, demarcated from the Mensheviks, petty-bourgeois leeches, that insist on peace, and unprincipled compromises, that wiggle like snakes when you touch their opportunist nerve. For the WVO, that opportunist nerve is the "Anti-Revisionist Theoretical Premises."

The WVO, will reach a less receptive ear as they continue to show themselves, as they already have shown, that they are afraid of polemics. The WVO leadership will continue to develop theoretical justifications for their bankrupt line. Comrades in the WVO must make a thorough break, puncture that nerve, make them squirm, demand that they explain how they intend to build a Party which is not founded on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought. Check it out comrades, they say the Anti-Revisionist Theoretical Premises is the ideological foundation of their party. Break with that; cut loose their grip. They want to take you into the marsh. Stand on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, and watch them call you reductionist dogmatists, ultraleftists; like all right opportunists, what they are attacking is the quintessence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought.

We must not be fooled by the "leading circle", "overall most correct line". This is not impressive, it is only a further exposure of old hegemonic squirming, double dealing maneuvering, which the RU, OL, CLP and all the sham have tried to get over. These philistines are no different from the philistines which a great poet once described, "a philistine is a gut void of everything but fear, and hope: that God will have mercy on him."

At the IWWD Coalition, many comrades rejected WVO's schemes. The Puerto Rican Student Union and the February First Movement were exemplary in the struggle. We quote a comrade from PRSU, who took a stand at the IWWD Coalition. She said to the WVO, struggling against their attempt to squash struggle by calling for a vote:

"In Aspira, a poverty-pimp organization, they do things by voting. I'm not a communist, and I see the need to struggle over the line on party building here. You're supposed to be communists. You should be ashamed. You just want to get us involved in practical tasks, without dealing with the question of line."

Learn from the masses - WVO! Shame on you! "I hope our American friends will believe us. In this field of line struggle we have rich experience. We will always adhere to the correct line. We will always adhere to Marxism and will march from victory to victory. Whoever violates this line, whoever departs from this line, will fail.

The special character of our Party's 50-year struggle is this: the wrong line always fails. Lines that split the Party have always failed. In the end we have always united. The desire of the Chinese people for liberation, oppressed by imperialism as they were for 100 years, is reflected inside the Party. Our people need a Party to lead, and a leader. Even though our struggle is by no means ended, we can see that the victories grow greater day by day and that we will continue to win. Our line is out in the open, clear and open. Schemers can never win."

Comrade Chou En-Lai

REVISIONIST PREMISES

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This distorted view of ideological struggle could never analyze the history of the struggle to build the Party correctly- it could never see the development of two wings of our movement. The wings developed in the fire of the class struggle and the struggle between two lines, which represented a reflection of these struggles- one wing representing in the main bourgeois ideology within our movement, and another, representing in the main proletarian ideology. It leads to conciliation with opportunism and revisionism, because rather than seeing bourgeois ideology as hostile, incompatible, and therefore needing to be purged, it will have us seeing opportunism and revisionism as a part of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought (This bankrupt view is carried through in the anti-revisionist premises). More on this later.

That is why WVO refers to pragmatism in the Marxist-Leninist movement as tendencies existing equally everywhere. From this, they totally negate the heated struggles in the old period that continue through to the present day, struggles which exposed revisionism and chauvinism (nation of a new type), reformism (Throw the Bum Out), etc. WVO negates this whole process and in fact state that the movement is "only beginning... this task"- the struggle against revisionism. Let us examine more of WVO's historical analysis of the struggle that has gone down, and how they analyze the opportunists and revisionists. (In another part of this polemic, we will show, for example, how WVO reduces the reason for the separation between the communist movement and labor movement as "existence of political liberties", totally liquidating and covering again the treacherous role of the revisionists and right opportunists, given their material aid by the labor aristocrats and the upper petty-bourgeoisie in keeping the communist movement and labor movement separated).

This distortion of two line struggle continues. WVO states, in response to the RU's line on anti-imperialist consciousness, "It is not anti-imperialist consciousness that is absent, but our consciousness as communists that is questionable and needs to be raised."

A general raising of communist consciousness is a nice cover by which opportunist swindlers, when exposed, can cop to needing to have had their "consciousness raised". It is only in the heat of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines that we distinguish sham and genuine, and thereby raise our consciousness, our vigilance, about the need to safeguard the purity of Marxism-

Leninism against all distortions. WVO continues to belittle the struggle against falsehood, this time reducing the role of the treacherous union leadership, the labor aristocracy:

"Keep the rank and file cool to prevent the emergence of spontaneous mass leadership".

The labor aristocrats' role is to prevent the emergence of conscious leadership, to isolate the communists and advanced elements so that they will not rise up and seize the trade unions, winning them under communist control. The labor aristocrats are in fact trying to coopt the spontaneous mass movement, bringing the workers under the wing of the bourgeoisie, promoting the theory of spontaneity among the workers. WVO's blurring over the role of the labor aristocrats is why they can refer to the labor leaders as "misleaders" and not conscious leaders, under bourgeois orders, of the workers.

This conciliation continues. WVO states that the main weakness of the CP was a "weak theoretical base". Wasn't it the slimy revisionists and opportunists, who found a home in the social basis of the Party, who promoted the worship of spontaneity, part of which is the lack of training of communist cadre? To place it on a phenomena without dealing with the essence of that phenomena is to leave us disarmed without an understanding of the true role of revisionism.

To further illustrate our point, see how WVO analyzes the reason for uneven development of communists.

"Our movement is marked with theoretical weaknesses resulting from the different origins of the various communist forces."

WVO places the main reason for uneven development completely on the objective factor. It is true that communists come from different class backgrounds, and are rooted among different classes and strata of the society; this is not the principal reason for uneven development at this time. The primary reason is to what extent we struggle to master and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought to the concrete questions of the American Revolution. It is in this struggle that we see who's struggling to grasp the tasks and who is not. It is on our ability to accomplish these tasks that our development must be gauged. WVO reveals a reductionist view on the communist movement. If uneven development is only gauged by social origins,

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ganzation could not do anything. Because in Spain we can say that only 10% or less want the King. 90% don't want it, but many of them are confused and disappointed by the Spanish opposition, because most of the Spanish organizations are not able and can never be able to organize the working class and the oppressed people as long as they don't draw a correct line. To say that they would accept the King if he was elected by the Spanish people means to betray the just cause of the Spanish people, make concessions on principles and being flunkies for the bourgeoisie. And this is what M.R. Camacho, Santiago Carrillo and "La Pasionaria" seem to be. They seem to be asking permission from the bourgeoisie to make revolution.

Two or the three other organizations are ETA, Vasque Fatherland and Freedom, and APF, Anti-Fascist Patriotic Front. The first one is a Vasque organization which claims independence for the Vasque land. Even though they fight for a just

cause, they don't seem to see the need to educate the masses. They are involved in terrorist acts. By doing this, they even get the Galician people and the Catalan people against them, even though they have the same common enemy. Because the three of them are oppressed nations. They do not have political education to support the Vasque struggle and they are not going to get it just through terrorism.

The second organization has not shown much publically, but seems to be involved in terrorist acts and not in preparing the masses for revolution. It calls itself a Maoist organization, but it seems to fail on doing what Mao says has to be done -- like educate the people and prepare them for the socialist revolution, because revolution can't be made by a few guys blowing some buildings up. It's made by the masses, well-organized and well led. We don't mean that terrorism is never going to be used, but only as a tactic not as a way to organize the masses. They are not going to follow us through terrorist acts.

The last organization is the Military Democratic Union, UDM, which is an organization of military men. It's one of the secret organizations. Some of its members are in jail because they took some progressive positions in the past favoring more democratic rights for the Spanish people. But again they are at a very low level for lack of a real communist party. One thing about most of these organizations is that they don't even talk about China and Albania as the leading socialist countries.

So let's unite the real communists with the progressive elements to expose all the opportunists and throw them out of the communist movement. Long live the Vasque, Catalan and Galician countries and the Spanish people in general in their struggle against the Spanish government, to fight not only the Franquism, but to overthrow capitalism. Because Franco died, the oppression and exploitation is not going to die by itself.

LETTER FROM AN ADVANCED WORKER: 'The Symbol Of Terror'

13

(The following letter was sent to Palante by an industrial worker on the East Coast)

One of the world's most important fascist leaders died in Spain on 11/20/75. He was the one who led the Spanish counter-revolution against the people's elected government on 7/18/36 and lasted until 3/28/39 and left behind more than 1,000,000 people dead. His name was Gen. Francisco Franco Baamonde. His supporters called him "Generalismo" and "Caudillo". His enemies called him "the Tiger," and those of us who lived under his oppressive regime remember him as "the symbol of the terror."

He was one of the most tyrant men in the known history of the whole world. He was like Hitler, Mussolini and Salazar, his fascist partners. He was the one who ordered the Germans to bomb Madrid as well as Guernica in the Vasco country, Catalonia, and most of Spain's territory and called in 45,000 Italians to kill the righteous and brave Spanish people. And he had the cynicism of calling himself a "patriot." He also ordered the killings of thousands of progressive elements after the civil war ended, like Communists, social-democrats, and even bourgeois and petty-bourgeois liberal elements, like Miguel Hullahuno, the famous Andaluz poet who had the courage to say what was really happening. After seeing the killing of thousands of people, including women and children, by Franco's troops, he said: "Franco is using the army to kill the Spanish people, he is a mass murderer."

Hullahuno's killing, like many others, contributed to exposing the Franco fascist government. Without committing all these killings he could never have consolidated fascism -- since fascism, as we communists know, uses all the power to defend the monopolies or the richest. They can't have the support of the majority. Therefore, they have oppressed, killed and put in jail some people to intimidate the rest. Franco was the one who denied the Vasque, Galician and Catalan people the right to speak their language in their own countries.

When the Civil War ended and the "Phalangist Party" took power, Franco and staff decided to pay the Catholic clergy to serve his fascist government. By doing this, they married the church and state, so that for everything you needed a priest's certificate, like to get married, to migrate, to find a job, and so on. Those who did not go to church used to be criticized by the priest like if they were criminals.

They have a military police called "La Guardia Civil" or the "Civil Guard", that used to harrass people all the time. They used to take the people to "the headquarters" and beat them up for no reason. Just to scare them. They would stop people in the streets during the night, question them and beat them up. This was happening from 1939 to today. Because a few days ago, a young man called Sevilla was beaten to death by the police in Madrid just for urging democratic

changes. So we can see that since Franco won the Spanish civil war and called Spain "the Spanish State," the rights of the Spanish people have been trampled under foot.

The repression of the '40's led to the exclusion of Franco's government from the UN in 1946. By 1955, however, it was admitted. In Spain, by 1955 there was not so much repression because there was not as much resistance -- and there was not as much resistance because the progressive elements were dead and in jail. But the Spanish internal policy had and has not changed any. In the last 36 years, Franco has become so dreadful that many people were even afraid to mention his name. Many were beaten to death for just criticizing him.

The Anti-Franco Movement

Lenin said "Where there is oppression there is resistance." So that Spain is not an exception. In Spain, there are some anti-government organizations that formed and still form the anti-Franco movement -- like the Spanish underground Communist Party that split a few years ago, after the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact forces headed by Russia. Now there are two communist parties. One is headed by the old leader called "La Pasionaria," and the other one is headed by Santiago Carrillo. The first one follows Moscow's line by defending the revisionist line, and the second one is as degenerate as the first.

On the one hand "La Pasionaria" says "We have to unite with the bourgeoisie to fight the Franquism", forgetting that Franco was never more than an instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie to oppress and exploit the Spanish people. Therefore, the bourgeoisie can't be willing to fight the Franquism. Who does she want to fool? On the other hand, Santiago Carrillo says "If my

party would take power I would not ask the Americans to leave the bases because I don't want the USA to take revenge against Spain," which means to drag behind imperialism. And he proposes the elections as the only way to seize power. Their split was for differences of tactics; but they are much alike.

Therefore, their struggle against the Spanish fascist movement seems to be a struggle to put themselves on the top, not a class struggle for socialist revolution and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat on the bourgeoisie. Because all the opportunists fear the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There are four more anti-governmental organizations. One is the Workers Commission Labor Organization, whose chairman is Marcelino Camacho. This organization has an opportunist line, or at least Marcelino Camacho took an opportunist position after being released from jail after the king Juan Carlos was crowned. When he was interviewed by some foreign reporters, he said "This was an insult because it favored more the 'common criminals' than the political prisoners." Mr. Camacho disappoints us, the Marxist-Leninists, because Mao says the fact that the bourgeoisie attacks isn't a bad thing, but a good thing -- by doing so they show us that we are advancing in our struggle. But don't you misunderstand it, Mr. Camacho, because to say that it's good that the bourgeoisie attacks us doesn't mean that we are supposed to cross our arms and let the bourgeoisie piss us off. But all the contrary, that means that we have to organize the working class and all the oppressed masses to repel all the bourgeois attacks on the working class, and never stop in our struggle against the bourgeoisie. Camacho also said, "We would only accept King Juan Carlos if the people would elect him." Here again Mr. Camacho takes an opportunist position because the Prince has already been "elected" by the Cortes, or the Spanish parliament, which the Spanish government claims represents the people.

The Cortes, parliament, was re-established in July 1942, but there were no elections for the Cortes' representatives until 1971, and those elections were for family representatives only which means they were going to deal with domestic problems. The Cortes elected Juan Carlos, Prince of Spain and Franco's heir, in July 1969. By 1966 Franco put out a program called the Organic Law. They made alot of propaganda. The t.v., the radio and the press came out to please their fascist boss. They used to say, "Vote for a better life. Vote Yes. Vote for the welfare of the Spanish people. Vote for Peace and Social Order." We know that to vote No would not make any difference because there was only one candidate and that was Franco. Even so, there was a lot of people who voted No and many more who did not vote. Those were the people who wanted a change but for lack of or-



Franco and Ford

cont. on pg. 14

This article, written in 1974, makes no mention of the rupture that had been taking place since 1972 with the right opportunist trend, headed by the RU. Instead of one dividing into two-sham and genuine, they see the movement suffering from a "left" hook and a "right" punch. Instead of the process by which genuine Marxist-Leninists went from a perceptual to rational understanding of our task of party building, the WVO says we have a movement suffering from these "hooks and punches" that lead to unprincipled methods of party building, like the NLC. This completely negates that the NLC was a crystallized example of how one movement divided into two; the NLC was initiated by genuine communists and degenerated through the opportunist maneuvering of the RU.

This view can only lead to a Hegelian concept of how we have a revolutionary wing existing today. WVO would have us believe that the old period was a total mess of opportunism, low level of theory, etc., but that somehow, without tracing the development of the struggle in the communist movement and how through this struggle a wing emerged, which went from a lower to a higher level of understanding of just what it takes to build our Party) we are to believe that the wing just popped up.

In fact, we must draw out how WVO sees this development and see how it is a part of a system of views which leads them to proclaim themselves as having the overall most correct line and being "the leading circle" in the movement today.

In the article WVO states that it was the "right punch" that temporarily disarmed the communist movement. This covers the treacherous role of the revisionists of the CPUSA, who backed up by the CPSU, distorted and revised fundamental principles, leaving us with nothing but slimy

bourgeois ideology. We will never be able to adequately sum up the role the RU, OL, Guardian, etc. play in spreading bourgeois ideology among the masses, if we don't bring out in the stark light of day the fact that these fools are merely carrying on in the traditions of the Modern Revisionists, sinking deeper and deeper into the marsh as they create more justification for their errors. Without tracing the opportunism in the communist movement to its source, the modern revisionists, we are blinded. This in fact, is a conciliation to the treacherous revisionists.

WVO attitude towards left errors is further proof of their missing the essence of all opportunism as was summed up by the teachers, most especially Lenin in What Is To Be Done. WVO states that left errors are a "senile disease" that "will not spread far". This line belittles the left danger, which although is not the main danger must be actively struggled against. We cannot expect ultra-leftism to vanish of its own accord, or just stay isolated. One could only hold this view if there is no understanding of the basis for all opportunism. Only by staunchly struggling against the worship of spontaneity, which can assume either a right or left form, can we insure that both right and left errors will be checked. For example, anarcho-syndicalism, promoted by the frenzied petty-bourgeoisie with its hatred of discipline and organization, and receiving support from workers fed up with the treachery of union leadership, has had historically strong roots in this country- from the line of DeLeon and the Socialist Party in the late 1800's and the IWW to the anarcho-syndicalist line of the RU on trade union work. This is no "senile disorder" but rather, an error that got to be rooted out, for it is definitely dangerous.

Instead of holding to what Lenin laid out so long ago regarding the basis for all errors, WVO creates a new theory- saying that the "root of all these manifestations" is a peculiar form of bourgeois ideology, pragmatism.

Pragmatism is one of the many forms that bourgeois ideology takes which leads to the worship of spontaneity, but not the only one. WVO narrows the scope of communists and advanced elements into looking for different examples of pragmatism instead of broadening our outlook to deal with the essential question - idealism and metaphysics, which can take the form of chauvinism, voluntarism, reformism, centrism or empiricism. This view itself flows from an empirical method - looking at form, phenomena, manifestations of pragmatism instead of looking for the essence, the source of all ideological deviations.

WVO makes a grave mistake in analyzing pragmatism as a "uniquely American bourgeois philosophy". Pragmatism is a form of bourgeois ideology which negates the guiding, mobilizing, and transforming role of theory (consciousness). It breaks the inter-relationship between objective and subjective factors. It is part and parcel of the many forms in which idealism and metaphysics are promoted to pacify the masses and keep the international bourgeoisie in power, and it is not unique to any particular bourgeoisie.

It takes a stronghold in advanced capitalist countries, but is not confined solely to them. WVO raises the part, "American Pragmatism", before the whole, bourgeois ideology, and this in itself deals with bourgeois ideology in an exceptionalist way. In fact Lenin, in his great work Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, warned against considering pragmatism, which he regarded as the latest "fashion" in American Philosophy as unique.

"From the standpoint of materialism, the difference between Machism (which Lenin struggled against in Russia) and pragmatism is as insignificant and unimportant as the difference between empirio-criticism and empirio-monism. Compare, for example, Bogdanov's definition of truth with the pragmatist definition of truth, which is:

"Truth for the pragmatist becomes a class-name for all sorts of definite working values in experience".

Lenin taught us, as did Marx, Engels, Stalin, and Chairman Mao that in philosophy, we must not be fooled by all the verbiage of new systems of thought that constantly bombard us, but rather we must grasp the common thread running throughout, which is idealism and metaphysics. If we fail to do this, we ourselves fall into an empirical method of combating bourgeois ideology and this is exactly what WVO does by placing pragmatism as a "unique bourgeois

The rapid development of capitalism in the U.S. did not mean that the U.S. developed its own particular ideology. This is a negation of universal principles guiding bourgeois ideology. Bourgeois ideology in all countries has the same source, the same materialist base- private ownership of production- socialized production- upon this economic base is built a superstructure- the courts, institutions of learning, etc., through which bourgeois ideology is promoted. The different forms it takes does not mean that one form is unique to a particular country- this would imply that the material base for these bourgeois ideas are unique. This is American Exceptionalism. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought teaches us that the laws governing capitalism, in both its economic base and superstructure are universal and not that there are exceptions to this universal law.

WVO must view it differently, because they say that "The ideology (Pragmatism) can be bodily transferred from the bourgeois superstructure- the realm of ideology- to the Marxist-Leninist movement and superstructure of Marxist-Leninist ideology..."

We have never heard of one country having 2 superstructures at the same time. The tasks of Marxist-Leninists are to smash the capitalist economic base, construct a socialist economic base and then, through ideological struggle, crystallized through the continuance of class struggle and struggle between the two lines, transform the superstructure so that it can conform to the socialist economic base. That's why, for example, 800 million people in the People's Republic of China today are studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, grasping the key link, the class struggle. To view two superstructures, a bourgeois one and a Marxist-Leninist one, with one capitalist economic base is not only totally metaphysical, it is dangerous. It denies the need to smash the state so that we can transform the superstructure. This would follow with the revisionist theory of peaceful transition to socialism- gradual changes leading to socialism. It's also dangerous because it combines the two into one, stating that pragmatism can be part of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought develops and grows in a steel to steel struggle against bourgeois ideology, because ideological struggle is a reflection in the realm of ideas of the hostile, irreconcilable conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

DEFEAT O.L. cont. from pg. 7

The aim, main blow, target and reserves are strategic concepts - scientific terms. It is significant that the OL does not use either them or corresponding terms but instead loosely talks about the core of the united front and replaces the struggle for socialism with anti-imperialism. Instead of a plan for the disposition of class forces, they put forward that we should build the Black united front, the womens' united front, very similar to the RU five spearheads of struggle. To them, revolution is simply a collection of little united fronts under the signboard of unite all that can be united.

By replacing socialism and the struggle for it with "anti-imperialist struggle" and turning the science of strategy and tactics into an eclectic mish mash, the OL seeks to turn the wheel of history backward and transpose the conditions of Third World countries onto the US single stage revolution. They are trying to struggle for new democracy in a stage where only proletarian revolution will resolve the contradictions in US society. This is not semi-feudal China. This is the U.S. A single stage proletarian revolution is our aim. These strivings are manifestations of the frenzied petty bourgeoisie, being ground under by the monopoly capitalists.

The direction of the main blow refers to those strata and representatives which must be isolated in order for revolutionary struggle to fully develop. In this country the revisionists, the poverty pimps, the trade union bureaucrats and the labor aristocracy are all props of bourgeois rule which must be exposed and isolated. They are petty bourgeois reformers.

The reserves are forces which stand outside the proletariat but can be used strategically in a manner favorable to the revolution. There are direct and indirect reserves. How does the OL distort strategy and tactics to divert our struggle from its revolutionary aims?



There is a fundamental difference between a two stage and a one stage revolution. In a two stage revolution, the first stage - as in China and Russia - has a democratic content while the second stage has clear socialist content. Therefore in the first stage the reserves-strategic allies - of the proletariat are determined by their class relationship to the content of the revolution which is anti-imperialist and democratic. In China, the reserves of the proletariat were the poor and middle peasantry. In the second stage of the Chinese revolution, the content of the revolution was socialist. Therefore the reserves of the proletariat were the poor peasantry.

The reserves shift according to what kind of revolution is necessary.

What kind of revolution are the petty bourgeois revolutionaries of the OL talking about?

It is clear, that in the U.S. it must be a single stage socialist revolution. This is objective necessity. The struggle for proletarian revolution has a democratic content, which the minimum program focuses on - housing, quality education, against national oppression - but these struggles do not make up a separate stage and are fused to the struggle for socialism. These struggles cannot be consistently "anti-imperialist" unless they are given conscious direction and linked to the struggle for socialism. They cannot be suspended in Communist Youth Organizations and Intermediate Workers Organizations at some middle level.

When the OL substitutes anti-imperialist struggle for proletarian revolution, they are trying to slip a second anti-imperialist democratic stage into our one stage revolution (in through the back door).

Therefore the reserves of the proletariat are determined not on the basis of their class outlook toward socialism but on whether they fight around democratic issues. This is one

of the reasons why the OL has run around for the past several years shouting about fascism. To them fascism is the most anti-democratic thing they can imagine and therefore anyone who seemingly fights this must be an ally. This determination of allies, based on the democratic content of an invented second stage in the U.S. revolution allows the petty bourgeois OL to say in their unity statement - "...intellectuals and middle classes are reserves of the proletariat..." instead of seeing the petty bourgeoisie as a class whose instability must be neutralized.

Comrades, this is revisionism.

It is revising of Marxist-Leninist principles under the signboard of Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse Tung Thought.

How did "anti-imperialist" as a third ideology and a nationally specific form of revisionism develop inside our movement? What class forces carried it in and perpetuate it today? Whose interest does it represent?

"Anti-imperialism" as a concept, grew in the U.S. on the fertile soil of the struggles of the oppressed nationalities, workers, students and petty bourgeoisie for democratic rights, against war and for revolution. Petty bourgeois theorists took the term from the national liberation struggles and used it to refer to the content of these struggles in the U.S. Many people said, "Since these struggles are objectively in opposition to the monopoly capitalists, they are anti-imperialist."

Later, the RU took this formulation, because of its popular acceptance, and called it the strategy for revolution on the basis of their five spearheads. This formulation was not based on the aim of socialism nor on a scientific analysis of class forces. It is a view which promotes every fighter for democratic rights - regardless of class interests and severed from the final aim as a revolutionary.

Comrades, this is not Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse Tung Thought. This is the view of the petty bourgeoisie. This unscientific view was taken over wholesale by the Menshevik liberals in the OL. They just, as Bernstein and Millerand before them, demand that "...Social democracy must change from a party of social revolution into a democratic party of social reforms. Bernstein has surrounded this political demand with a whole batter of well attuned 'new' arguments and reasonings..." (Lenin, What Is To Be Done) Our modern day Bernsteins have promoted an entire system of views, altering Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse Tung Thought, denying the existence of the main blow, changing the aim of the revolution to "anti-imperialist struggle." This is revisionism.

The OL denies the existence of the main blow. They tail behind E. Mays at GM Fremont, Arnold Miller and the NAACP's sham reform schemes in Boston. Instead of seeing that these are forces to be isolated, smashed, they view them in fact as stable allies - in the fight against fascism and for democratic rights. Comrades, we are struggling for proletarian revolution and not against fascism. The OL represents reformism in its purest form.

The nationally specific form "anti-imperialism" has many consequences for our revolutionary struggle. It is closely tied to the OL's lack of view of the advanced worker, their attempt to build a Menshevik party, the fight back, the Black united front and the Black womens' united front to name a few. Their deviation from Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse Tung Thought is in essence the same as the RUS'. We do not have the time to run all of the aspects in this presentation - but we will be coming forward with a pamphlet on anti-imperialism and strategy and tactics.

The OL's Menshevik view of revolution leads them to say that the target of the revolution, who is going to be expropriated, is only the monopoly capitalists and not the bourgeoisie as a whole. It allows them to say that we may have a coalition government and not the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Both the OL and RU see anti-imperialism as a middle ground between the stand of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat - as some type of third ideology. They do not strive to bring Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse Tung Thought to the working class and even formulate retrograde definitions of the advanced or don't bother to really speak to this question.

On Advanced Worker

Advanced workers are the life and blood of the Party, the best elements produced by our class, the proletariat. These elements are the target of our agitation and propaganda in this period, those who, when armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse Tung Thought, can change the character of the workers movement from spontaneous to conscious. Winning these advanced to communism is one of our two main tactics of party building. Analyzing an organization's attitude toward these "diamonds of the class" is a good method for helping to distinguish the genuine from the sham. We view the advanced as independent leaders, who have practically demonstrated their desire and commitment for fundamental change, leaders who study, study, study a wide range of materials in an effort to find answers to the problems facing

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ialism is not closely connected with the fight against opportunism' emphasizes Lenin, 'the struggle against imperialism becomes an empty phrase and a fraud.' For our Party of Labor, the idea that 'unity of action' with the Khrushchevite revisionists against U.S. imperialism is a touchstone and a positive and effective form of struggle against revisionism, is absolutely unacceptable.

"In fact, to cooperate with the revisionists, to enter into unity of action with them, is to slip gradually into the revisionist positions, to accept their treacherous line...

"With their slogan of 'unity of action' the revisionists are trying to attain their sinister aims of putting aside the deep ideological and political differences of principle, for the sake of the alleged struggle against imperialism headed by the USA. This would be nothing but complete capitulation to revisionism, giving up the struggle against it, an acceptance of ideological co-existence with it." (Ibid, p. 222-223)

Flowing from this right opportunist line, here is what WVO analyzed about centrism. They explain that:

"The theory of centrism is the theory of the 'golden mean', taking the average of two opposites, balancing out the two aspects of an antagonistic contradiction, staying neutral in the struggle between two lines... it combines two into one and compromises between revisionism and Marxism-Leninism." (WVO journal, Vol. 2, #1, p. 29)

They then go on to say that "In wavering between two lines, centrists tend toward opportunism". Comrades, centrism is opportunism. This is how Lenin dealt with Kautsky and the opportunists of the Second International:

"The imperialist epoch cannot tolerate the existence in a single party of the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat on the one hand, and of the semi-petty-bourgeois aristocracy of the working class, which enjoys crumbs of the privileges of the 'Great Power' position of 'their' nation, on the other. The old theory that opportunism is a 'legitimate' shade of a single party that avoids 'extremes' has now become a great deception of the workers and a great hindrance to the labour movement. Open opportunism, which immediately becomes repulsive to the working masses, is not so dangerous and harmful as this theory of the golden mean, which with Marxian catchwords justifies opportunist practice, and by a series of sophisms tries to prove that revolutionary action is premature, etc. Kautsky, the most notable representative of this theory, and also the greatest authority in the Second International has revealed himself as a first-class hypocrite and a virtuoso in the art of prostituting Marxism." ("The Collapse of the Second International")

WVO too, have revealed themselves hypocrites, prostituting Marxism-Leninism, who intend to sway all petty-bourgeois vascillators into an all-out attack on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, and they too have become repulsive.

WVO in their fixation on ideological line is distorting Marxism-Leninism to come up with new theories that in essence cover the revisionists and opportunists of all shades. Any one in the least familiar with the development of our movement knows that the anti-revisionist communist movement didn't develop by some mystical "understanding of ideology"-- that in fact the struggle against metaphysics and idealism in its infinite variety of forms-- stemming from the ideological root, the worship of spontaneity-- is an ever uncompromising struggle against opportunism.

But WVO, in their subjective idealist, hegelian dialectical approach, negates totally the development of the movement and the struggle against opportunism. They popped up as the "leading circle" to enlighten the movement. In fact their attempt is nothing less than to promote the "freedom of criticism" which to the petty-bourgeois radicals in the leadership of WVO and all those that support their treason to the working class,

amounts to attacking, distorting and revising the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought. The days of claiming to be profound, of claiming to be the sole representatives of the line which is going to "vaccinate" us against "old germs" the sole basis, and guarantee that the Party won't degenerate, the days in which as a result of belittling theory, as a result of



We must carry out our internationalist duty and build the Party. Above, demonstration in Peking, Feb. 7, 1965, after the first U.S. bombing of North Vietnam.

the reality that our movement, a young movement, has had to go from a perceptual to rational level of understanding, and therefore these swindlers could temporarily get over, those days are over. We stand on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, and no accusation that we're dogmatists will make us conciliate to the treachery of our accusers. We stand guilty as charged- we hold to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought tightly - we fight to hold on tightly, to defend, to apply, to build a Bolshevik Party, free of Menshevism, to lead the proletarian revolution. It is no wonder WVO has slipped backward with such a line on opportunism. We would like to disclose this further by a more in-depth elaboration of their position on pragmatism, showing how in essence WVO and OL have no fundamental differences.

The right opportunist line of not strictly adhering to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, dialectical and historical materialism regarding philosophy and ideology, takes the form of trying to render the teachers more profound and in the process unleashes all sorts of anti-Marxist positions, cloaked in a mass of abstract phraseology. An example of this form of right opportunism can be found in the Worker's Viewpoint, who claim to have made a great contribution to the communist movement, by, according to them, placing "Party building on its proper ideological plane, raising questions of ideology previously ignored." The problem is that the ideological plane WVO speaks of placing the Party on is not Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, but bourgeois ideology- mechanical materialism, Hegelian dialectics (clashes and explosions giving rise to new phenomena without a process of development) and a totally subjectivist and erroneous appraisal of the Party building motion.

To illustrate this point, we would like to polemicize with WVO's line on pragmatism and party building, as expressed in their article "Marxism or American Pragmatism". The article's purpose is to expose the essence of the right opportunist line on party building promoted by the RU, and in the

process put out the correct line. WVO does a good job of analyzing how pragmatism was one of the main philosophical trends guiding RU's line- "Practice, Practice, Practice", sum up the advances of the last period of building the mass movement and poof! we'll have our Party. However, WVO fails to get to the essence of the ideological and social basis for the economist, right opportunist trend crystallized by the RU- because they do not grasp the essence of all opportunism - the worship of spontaneity- and they do not have a dialectical-historical materialist analysis of the central task. They do not see two sides of the movement- a reflection of the struggle to grasp the truth in the struggle against falsehood- that has propelled us forward.

8 REVISIONIST PREMISES

cont. from pg. 5

whole system of views which they have called the "Anti-Revisionist Theoretical Premises".

In their attempt to disclose nationally specific forms of opportunism, what the WVO really discloses is their distortions of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought. In their fixation on ideological line (which they use as a way to introduce new theories), the WVO has failed to integrate Marxism-Leninism with the concrete problems of the U.S. proletarian revolution. They have failed to analyze the critical questions we face in party building--fusion, periods of party building, key link to party building, tactics of party building. (For a more in-depth analysis of our position on these and other questions, see our recently-published pamphlet, Party Building in the Heat of the Class Struggle). Instead, they give us a set of "anti-revisionist theoretical premises," which, according to the WVO, we will develop further as we go along in struggle, and which are the sole basis and guarantee that the party won't degenerate into revisionism.

In failing to outline any real nationally specific forms of opportunism, the WVO instead shows us how they haven't grasped the essence of the struggle against opportunism and revisionism internationally and how, in fact, they have distorted this struggle. The WVO lays out 4 so-called nationally specific forms of opportunism. They are pragmatism, centrism, bourgeois democratic illusions, chauvinism, and a fifth so-called "premises of the premises", which is supposed to be Marxism-Leninism.

These "premises" are not nationally specific forms of opportunism. The Second International was riddled with all of the above. Lenin proved this in his works Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky and the Collapse of the Second International, especially. All of these are manifestations of bourgeois ideology, most especially in the highly-developed capitalist countries.

Capitulation to the Revisionists and Opportunists

The most alarming feature of the WVO line and the reason why they have slipped into bankruptcy is their capitulationist line towards the revisionists. This is what they say about revisionism:

"The revisionists have illusions on the nature of the bourgeois state. They don't understand that the bourgeois state machinery has to be smashed-- and that there must be the dictatorship of the proletariat. Revisionists don't understand the role of force in history..."
(WVO journal, Vol. 2, #1, p. 28-29)

Comrades, if the revisionists simply didn't understand the nature of the bourgeois state, they wouldn't be revisionist. Revisionism is a system of views. It is conscious bourgeois ideology in the communist and workers movements. The role of the revisionists is, in fact, to consciously distort the role of the state. To do this, they have developed an elaborate set of views-- the theory of peaceful transition to socialism, peaceful coexistence, the productive forces theory, the theory of the inevitable peaceful collapse of capitalism. They are not confused or muddled. They are very conscious. They profess to be Marxist-Leninists, only to try and lull the communist and workers movements to sleep while they carry out their criminal designs in peace. Lenin constantly explained the conscious treachery of the revisionists:

"The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism obliged its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists. Liberalism, rotten to the core, tried to revitalize itself in the form of socialist opportunism." ("The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx", emphasis in the original)

But the WVO says, "Revisionism is characterized by muddle on the question of bourgeois democracy, which objectively disarms the proletariat and the oppressed." No, we must insist that this is anti-Marxist. The struggle against modern revisionism today is not characterized by Marxist-Leninists struggling against some "muddled" being. It is, in fact, a struggle against a vicious ene-

my. Wherein does this struggle lie? We stand with the line of the international communist movement. We quote from the Party of Labor of Albania in Battle Against Modern Revisionism:

"Such illusions (about the revisionist's nature--PRRWO) are very harmful. The present Soviet leaders are the closest collaborators of Khrushchev. It was they together with Khrushchev who prepared and carried out the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, who worked out the revisionist line and put it into practice, who launched the frenzied attack on Marxism-Leninism in ideology, politics, economics, organization, art and culture, etc. It was they who attacked and are fighting against the Marxist-Leninist parties, who linked themselves with U.S. imperialism, the bourgeoisie and world reaction, who are doing everything in their power to set up an imperialist-revisionist Holy Alliance against Communism and the peoples of the world.

"Marxist-Leninists are not to be deceived by the outward appearances, or the demagogy that the new Soviet leaders use so freely. Behind it they should look for the content, the essence of things, and distinguish words from deeds. If we look at things in this way, then it is clear that the present Soviet leaders have not changed and do not intend to change. They are determined to follow their road of betrayal. And this is only reasonable. They cannot turn back on to a correct road without sentencing themselves to death. So there can be no hope that the revisionist traitors will change their course. Change will certainly come about some day, but it will not be the revisionists who will make it, but the Marxist-Leninists, who will put an end to the revisionists rule and will bring them before the court of revolution. ("The Struggle of the Party of Labor of Albania Against Modern Revisionism, In Defense of the Purity of Marxism-Leninism", p. 216)

From WVO taking such a soft line on revisionism, it naturally follows that they would pursue unity of action with the revisionists. Again, allow us to quote from the Party of Labor of Albania on this question:

"The anti-imperialist front of the peoples must be achieved on a sound basis. It must be a true anti-imperialist front, in which all those, who to this or that extent are effectively fighting against imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism are to be united. With their entire policy and activities the Khrushchevite revisionists have excluded themselves from the anti-imperialist front. To include the revisionists in this front means to introduce 'the fifth column', 'the Trojan Horse', to undermine it from within. Our Party firmly upholds the great Lenin's idea that it is impossible to fight successfully against imperialism without, at the same, resolutely fighting against its offspring and close ally, revisionism. 'If the struggle against imper-

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three main points: (1) they are not isolated and weak; (2) their style of work is different; (3) their stance on support for Third World peoples.

We think none of these are ideological demarcation, but an attempt by the OL to slide in an appeal for communists emerging out of the national movements to join their ranks. This is linked to their line that presently national forms of Marxist-Leninist organizations are a step backwards because the communist movement is no longer a "white" movement. We think that this is a continuation of the OL's policy and line of conciliation toward Marxist-Leninists emerging primarily out of the national movement and reflects the flip side of the outright blatant chauvinism that has characterized other formations - like the RU - and in essence the same content only in a covert liberal, conciliationist form.

Style of work, like political line arises from basic ideological stance; an incorrect ideological stance can manifest itself in a variety of opposing styles of work. In the absence of establishing ideological and political differences between them and the RCP and the CLP, the OL's claim to style of work (which is "patient and principled") is fundamentally incorrect.

In addition, our experience and the experience of other comrades has proven that their view of "patient and principled" in fact means that they are willing to conciliate, that they want to show they are nice people and conduct criticism and polemics behind closed doors; anything except ideological struggle. Not holding up the principle of multi-national communist forms of organizations in all periods, but only in a period when the Communist Movement cannot be called white, illustrates this conciliationist, popularity contest the OL has been playing in the Communist Movement. Comrades this is Menshevism, Menshevism, Menshevism - of the American type, opportunism in ideological content.

Comrades, we think that at the root of the organizational and political Menshevism of the OL and its Call to the Menshevik Party are three main general ideological deviations: pragmatism, reformism, and liberalism - whose philosophical root is empiricist method of thinking.

Maneuvering, doing whatever works best for the OL, elevating truth to the success of the OL, worshipping their own narrow experience, hustling other people into its sham Menshevik Party, we think reflects the pragmatic outlook of the OL. Raising the struggle for reforms to the level of final aims, and not as by-products of the revolutionary struggle reflect the reformist, bourgeois democratic outlook of the OL.

"To a reformist, reforms are everything, while revolutionary work is something incidental, something just to talk about, mere eyewash. That is why, with reformist tactics under the conditions of bourgeois rule, reforms are inevitably transformed into an instrument for strengthening their rule, an instrument for disintegrating the revolution. To a revolutionary, on the contrary, the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms; to him reforms are a by-product of the revolution." (Foundations of Leninism, J. Stalin, p. 98, FLP)

At its basis this reformist outlook is metaphysical. It does not see that society and all forms of matter develop through quantitative steps and qualitative leaps. It sees things statically and therefore starts with the view that capitalism is permanent - that bourgeois rule will last forever. This outlook is contained in the OL's line particularly on strategy and tactics. They replace proletarian revolution with "anti-imperialist" struggle. On the question of busing in Boston, the OL sees the sham reform of busing as everything and the revolution as nothing. In short, the OL is creating an entire system of views that revise the fundamental doctrine of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought - the class struggle - and in its place they substitute petty bourgeois reformism. These views reflect the class position of the petty bourgeoisie in monopoly capitalist society. They want in the worst way to live like the bourgeoisie, but at the same time are being crushed by the monopoly capitalists. Caught in this dilemma, the petty bourgeoisie struggles to maintain the world essentially as it is (with minor reforms). This reformism of the petty bourgeoisie is at the base of the OL's Call to form a Menshevik Party. They wish to capture leadership in the revolutionary struggle in order to contain it - hold it back.

Conciliating to all in order to maintain sham unity, not engaging in principled polemics, is a manifestation of liberalism. In sum, we think the OL will form its anti-imperialist Party - but, our response is - Stop clutching at us for we have two views on unity.

"In order to build the Party, it is not enough to be able to shout "Unity!" it is necessary, in addition, to have some sort of political programme, a programme of political action. The bloc of liquidators, of Trotsky, the Vperyodists, the Poles, Bolshevik Party members, Paris Mensheviks, etc., etc., was foredoomed to a scandalous downfall because it was built on a lack of principles, on hypocrisy and empty phrases. It wouldn't be a bad thing if these siphers finally got down to solving

for themselves the most complex and difficult question: Whom do they want unity with? If it is with the liquidators, then why not say so without grimacing; if they are against uniting with the liquidators, then what sort of unity are they sighing for?" (Liquidators Against the Party, May 8, 1912)

Now we would like to briefly look more closely at the OL's view of strategy and tactics, our initial thinking on a Marxist-Leninist view of strategy and tactics and show how the OL blatantly revises Marxist-Leninist principles on this question.

The bankrupt Menshevik line of the OL on party building and their view of strategy and tactics are a clear example of nationally specific forms of revisionism in the U.S.

We must identify these erroneous lines and their representatives, expose them and drive them from our midst.



Lenin said:

"To talk of freedom of criticism and of Bernsteinism as a condition... amounts to talking with the aim of saying nothing."

Comrades, today in our revolutionary movement it is not enough to criticize revisionism internationally or just the CP-USA. We must link their counter revolutionary line to its representatives in our midsts.

The different raggedy lines and tendencies we made a break with in the late 60's and early 70's have slipped into our movement and now hide under the signboard of Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse Tung Thought.

They are constantly seeking to divert our march toward revolution into the swamp of reform. They are daily, hourly trying to distort Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, turning the Bolshevik party into a reform party - a Menshevik party of the social democratic type.

The OL and the RU have been the leading representatives of revisionism within the U.S. Anti-Revisionist Communist Movement. The OL, in the "Call to the Party" reduces the aim of socialism to an anti-imperialist struggle. We quote from the "Call to the Party."

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is our strategic objective. This objective is based upon the leading role of the working class within the anti-imperialist struggle..." (our emphasis)

It is clear that the OL is twisting Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought to fit their petty bourgeois view of revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat is not a strategic objective - it is an instrument of the proletariat led by its vanguard party. Our aim is socialism and the struggle is for socialist revolution not anti-imperialist struggle. This replacement of socialism and the struggle for socialist revolution with anti-imperialism runs throughout the OL's work.

They have replaced Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics, which is based on a scientific analysis of the historical period, mode of production and assessment of class forces with a muddled petty bourgeois analysis which transposes the democratic content of the first stage of a two stage revolution onto the one stage revolution in the U.S. They therefore propagate anti-imperialism as a third ideology.

"Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at a given stage of the revolution, the elaboration of a corresponding plan for the disposition of the revolutionary forces (main and secondary reserves), the fight to carry out this plan throughout the given stage of the revolution." (Stalin, Foundations of Leninism)

This is the opportunist line of the OL that has to be defeated. In raising the left - the OL attempted to cover its right line of tailing the mass movement as the central task. It is precisely in struggling against this line that the genuine are now forging with honor the highest form of organization of the proletariat, and raise high the ideals of this most precious instrument of the proletariat - the Bolshevik Party. Only a Menshevik, a party builder from below would slander the party of the proletariat with such language as that used by the Renegade Klonsky.

Second, the OL distorts the development of the communist movement with an unscientific analysis of periods. They see periods essentially as "...going from little organizations to big organizations..." which is less than simplistic. The significant ideological struggles they point out were characterized by victories over Trotskyism, anarchism, syndicalism, revisionism and the main danger of ultra-leftism, which set the basis for this ideological leap that was made and the conditions that make the formation of the party possible now. This is no analysis and amounts to nothing but phrase mongering. This "ideological leap" is certainly not reflected in their principles of unity which anyone who even claims to be in the anti-revisionist movement can unite with, nor in their Menshevik approach to Party Building. The OL even fails to draw a line with the CLP - a Trotskyite organization - and says the CLP is within the Communist Movement.

As another condition that has laid the basis for the party formation, the OL states that ultra-leftism had to be checked, as it would merge with modern revisionism. All deviations from Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse Tung Thought, unless checked, will merge with modern revisionism (witness the OL and the WC). The central question is whether they are checked by exposing their ideological and political deviations, and uncovering their social basis. Checking them does not mean - as the OL thinks - simply repeating general formulas and passing this off as ideological struggle. It is the ideological and political exposure of revisionism in its nationally specific form in the course of 2 line struggle - drawing lines of demarcation that lays the ground for the formation of the party. The empty phrases of the OL are no substitute for struggle to hammer out political line. The OL's ranting about "ultra-leftism" covers its right line and practice; its ranting about "no united action with the revisionists" is a cover for the OL's left feint, in a false attempt to look and sound like genuine communists.

After all this ideological leaping the OL claims to have caused by its ruthless struggle against opportunism, why is it not reflected in the principles of unity around which their party is to be formed? Because the OL's principles of unity mainly reflect its own development (or rather degeneration) and not the development of the communist movement which has divided into two - the genuine and the sham. The principles of unity represent the retrograde trend in the communist movement. Because the OL has in fact belittled theory, tailed the spontaneous movement, failed to draw sharp lines of demarcation, but conciliated with opportunism, ran from principled polemics (has seen them as something to defend yourself with/respond when attacked) as opposed to seeing the necessity of waging ideological and political struggle, drawing lines of demarcation, and educating and tempering the genuine communists in the struggle against the sham, it has degenerated and could not rise above the level of only restating the general truths of Marxism and quoting a few formulas they have learned by heart. The process of raising Party Building to the ideological plane has been carried out by the genuine in struggle against the opportunism of the sham (who sought to hold back and retard the movement from gaining clarity on what kind of a party and for whom). From the very beginning the OL has shown a disdain for drawing lines of demarcation, a disdain for ideological definiteness - leading to a line of all unity, conciliationism, and lack of grasp of the fact that Marxism develops in the course of struggle; truth emerges in the struggle against falsehood.

Again, at that Guardian Forum, attended by RU, BWC, PRRWO, Guardian and OL, the renegade Klonsky put forward the basic line of how to fight "ultra-leftism" as mainly by not abandoning the mass struggle to build the united front. He said:

"...We've got to unite the communist forces and we've got to combat everything that stands in the way of unity, whether it be on the level of divisive rumor spreading and gossip which the police and revisionists use to their advantage - the approach of always putting differences first or looking for differences as the main thing. We have to see that within every communist party there is a sharp struggle. We've got to build unity and we've got to fight for unity...So we're very confident that unity can be built. We've seen a spirit among all groups represented here today. This has encouraged us a great deal. If we all stick together and take a principled stand in a very short time we'll be able to forge a Communist Party..." (our emphasis)

Here the OL reveals its spineless, liberal, all unity attitude toward Party building that has led straight to Menshevism. Lenin, in the preface to the Collection of Twelve Years wrote:

"The old and in many respects outdated polemic with Struve is important as an introductory example. One that shows the practical and political value of irreconcilable theoretical polemics. Revolutionary Social Democrats have been accused times without number of an excessive penchant for such polemics with the Economists, the Bernsteinists and the Mensheviks. Today too their accusations are being bandied about by the conciliators inside the Social Democratic Party and the sympathizing semi-socialists outside it."

And in The Declaration of the Editorial Board of Iskra, Lenin wrote:

"As we have said, the ideological unity of Russian Social Democrats still has to be created, and to this end it is in our opinion, necessary to have an open and all-embracing discussion of the fundamental questions of principle and tactics raised by the present day economists, Bernsteinites and critics. Before we can unite, and in order that we may unite, we must first of all draw firm and definite lines of demarcation. Otherwise our unity will be purely fictitious, it will conceal the prevailing confusion and hinder its radical elimination...open polemics conducted in full view of all Russian Social Democrats and class conscious workers are necessary and desirable in order to clarify the depths of existing conditions in order to afford discussion of disputed questions from all angles, in order to combat the extremes into which representatives, not only of various views, but even of various localities, or various specialities of the revolutionary movement inevitably fall. Indeed as stated above, we regard one of the drawbacks of the present-day movement to be the absence of open polemics between avowedly differing views, the effort to conceal differences or fundamental questions."

Now comrades, does not the renegade Klonsky of 1973 sound like the philistine liberal who sees differences as a bad thing to be covered up, who sees struggle and splits always as a bad thing, and that the road forward is to all stick together. And has not the OL failed its responsibility to engage in open polemics, denied the educational value of them to the Communist Movement and in fact used polemics only to defend its raggedy line when attacked, and in fact responded with a slanderous method and guilt by association tactics. And does not the OL of today still represent this bourgeois liberal trend with its Call to the Party, by stating "...We must move towards unity with great speed and oppose endlessly redefining our differences and eternally drawing even further lines of demarcation - outside the organization structure of the Party..." Comrades, how can these people have the audacity to say this when this Party has no program - but only vague incorrect principles of unity! This is out and out Menshevism. Even the bankrupt RU put forward a draft program in its rush to form its Menshevik Party. But the frenzied, petty-bourgeois madness of the OL, trying to scare others into this Menshevik formation by raising up the danger of war and fascism, refuses to even put forward a program. This is an affront to even the most backward elements. And the OL has the audacity to say that this is not "a-get-rich-quick-scheme."

This line of the OL comes out clearer in other places in the Call as they equate weaknesses in the course of sharp ideological struggle with splits, and strength with quantitative growth, and then claim that they have passed the test and proceed to beat their breasts for never having a split. Every genuine Bolshevik knows that splits are also good things as they separate the Mensheviks from the Bolsheviks and reflect the truth of one dividing into two. Of course the OL has never had a split, as only firmness and ideological definiteness based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse Tung Thought provides the basis to draw lines of demarcation and purge our ranks.

The actual content of the principles of unity themselves reflect the opportunism of the OL's call to the Party - they reflect no ideological leap - and consciously attempt to demarcate no one. The Call to the Menshevik Party omits any reference to Mao Tse Tung Thought nor does it even mention a Bolshevik Party. Neither does it sum up the national question as a class question nor does it uphold the necessity to support the revolutionary struggles of peoples against their own reactionary ruling classes. It does not claim factory nuclei as the basic form of organization of the party. Again we think this reflects the outright opportunism of the OL's Call to the Menshevik Party and the OL, as it attempts to suck up loose and unclear elements - an attempt to not keep anyone away, but scare everyone in. Other than this the principles of unity are very general, and in content contain very little. We think that this allows the OL to be, as they say, "flexible in tactics" in discussion over these principles, which in the final analysis amounts to flexibility over principles. The principles of unity do reveal most clearly the OL's line on strategy, that we will go into deeper, later on.

In the last section of the Call to the Menshevik Party Communists Unite, the opportunism of the OL grows visibly sharper, as they attempt to distinguish their bankrupt scheme from the RCP and the CLP. In the main the OL stresses

EXPOSE THE ANTI-THEORETICAL REVISIONIST PREMISES OF WVO

the struggle against the OL.

It is true that the WVO has made some contributions in the struggle against the OL, but they also failed to go to the essence of the OL's right opportunist line. This is because, in essence, they are in unity on how they see party building. The Menshevik line on party building coming forward in the WVO line is contained in a

Comrades and friends:

The struggle against opportunism and for the strictest adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought has been and continues to be at the heart and guts of the struggle for party building. As comrades of RWL have already shown, the October League's call for the party is nothing but a Menshevik call, a bankrupt line with a historical development--the successors of the RU-- no different, in essence, from the bankrupt call of the CL. The thread running throughout is that they are those good-for-nothing parties, that Lenin described.

"A political party can combine only a minority of the class in the same way as the really class conscious workers throughout the whole of capitalist society represent a minority of all the workers. For that reason, we are compelled to admit that only a class conscious minority can guide the vast masses of workers and get them to follow it... If the minority is really class conscious, if it is able to reply to every question that comes up on the order of the day, then it is in essence a Party. If the minority is not able to lead the masses, link itself closely up with them, then it is not a Party, and is good for nothing even if it calls itself a Party."

Still another manifestation of the main danger in the communist movement is the right opportunist line of the Workers Viewpoint Organization. The WVO, who we considered a fraternal organization, who we believe has made some contributions in the struggle for the party, has also slipped backwards, propelling themselves into the marsh of opportunism. The WVO makes the same old error of considering itself the leading circle, boasting that they have the overall correct line, bragging about how they in the main have led



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EDITORIAL

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times, lost our initiative--not making the best use of valuable time to thoroughly expose the opportunist line, the anti-theoretical, anti-Marxist-Leninist line elaborated in the "Anti-Revisionist Theoretical Premises," WVO journal, vol. 2, #1.

This error on our part led to a relaxing of our vigilance, therefore resulting in a failure on our part to consistently and systematically bring the struggle back to the crucial question for discussion and debate, party building--fusion, periods of party building, key link, tactics, and the main danger. We cannot tolerate any laxity in our work.

We unite with the efforts of the comrades of the Harriet Tubman-Nat Turner Collective who initiated and sponsored the forum. On the other hand, we criticize the comrades for not preparing the conditions for struggle, e.g., three hours for four presentations, no time for polemics from the floor--no time or preparation for unfolding the two-line struggle. This we believe was reflected throughout the course of the forum in a failure on the part of the comrades of the Harriet Tubman-Nat Turner Collective to take a clear stand on the two-line struggle, as well as expressing a pessimistic view regarding the struggle within the wing to purge itself of an opportunist line. Comrades, we must firmly grasp that struggle, class struggle, the struggle between the two lines is no tea party, no banquet. If we can't deal with it today, how are we going to prepare for the armed overthrow of the bourgeoisie?

We believe comrades were given a subjectivist analysis by WVO, and that rather than investigate the situation, take a stand based on Marxism-Leninism, the comrades of the Harriet Tubman-Nat Turner

Collective became overwhelmed, vacillating and thus assisted WVO in taking the struggle off the burning question, party building. We believe the comrades of Harriet Tubman-Nat Turner Collective are honest and have drawn some lessons from this experience that will aid them in resolving some internal contradictions.

The study and application of Marxism-Leninism, the fight for the strictest adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought must be insisted upon even more so today. Since direct experience alone is partial and incomplete, we must learn from all our experiences, direct and indirect. For us, we conclude that the forum was over-all positive, steeling the revolutionary wing in the struggle against opportunism. We draw this lesson--we must raise our vigilance against the opportunist line on party building, struggle tit-for-tat against all attempts to deviate us from our tasks, which is an ongoing, day-in and day-out struggle.

Following is the full text of the speeches delivered by comrades of the Revolutionary Workers League and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization.

The Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization

The Revolutionary Workers League (Marxist-Leninist)

MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE AND WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!

BUILD THE U.S. BOLSHEVIK PARTY!

In the coming issues of Palante we will be reproducing translations in Spanish of the full text of the presentations on Party Building by the RWL and PRRWO in Boston.

Revolutionary Wing that is practicing marxism, forging deeper and stronger unities in the heat of class struggle against opportunism, especially against these Menshevik lines on Party building, that it is the Revolutionary Wing that tonight is being open and aboveboard, eager to carry out principled struggle. And it will also be clear who is practicing revisionism, revising Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse Tung Thought, and who see every split of the genuine from the sham as a terrible and frightening thing - and who will intrigue and conspire to avoid exposure.

The OL's call to the party does not represent as they say a "call on the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces in the U.S. to unite and build a new Communist Party", but in fact represents a call to the confused, the unclear, the opportunists, and to every striker, to build an unprincipled Menshevik Party, thereby further consolidating the retrograde trend that the OL currently represents.

In exposing the outright opportunist call to the party, we should be perfectly clear that the opportunist character of the call, reflects the opportunist character of the OL itself. There can be no wall drawn between the two, between the "Call to the Party" and the OL.

The OL's "Call to the Menshevik Party" reveals a number of features that can be summed up as nothing short of Menshevism, opportunism in matter of politics, opportunism in matters of organization and opportunism in ideological content.

Opportunism in Matters of Organization

The Call to the Menshevik Party, although putting forward the principle of unity as the approach to uniting Marxist-Leninists. It is a newspaper approach that sees organization as the key link which OL attempts to cover up in a half hearted way with their sham principles of unity. This organizational line belittles struggle as the prerequisite to ideological and political unity concentrated in a maximum and minimum program based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse Tung Thought and cemented by democratic centralist rules of organization. What does the call to the Menshevik Party put forward?

"It is the position of the OL that Marxist-Leninists should unite around these principles not as a final statement of full program of the party but as a minimal basis for unity at the present time...after this discussion (in which flexibility of tactics will be utilized in discussing the minimal principles) we propose the new party be established around a temporary leading body which can survey the organizational forces represented in the party, establish democratic centralism and prepare us for our first party congress to be held within a year of our founding. A newspaper of the Leninist type should be established under the central leadership which would appoint the editorial board... the work around the paper would serve as the main way for the units (cells) to put forward our political line and program... The paper should serve as the nerve center and until the first congress act as the focal point for ideological struggle (based on practice) to determine how national and international events are analyzed and what theoretical works are published."

Comrades, what is this but backwards opportunist Menshevism! First, the OL proposes that we unite around vague, incorrect principles of unity. Second, establish a chump central committee (establish democratic centralism?); third, thru struggle in the newspaper develop the political line, concentrated in a program.

Lenin was very clear on this question - the necessity to inject the program in the process of drawing lines of demarcation in the struggle for ideological unity, because it is only through political line, concentrated in the program, that differences reveal themselves the sharpest, and the genuine is separated from the sham, and a congress, as the highest body of the party can be held to establish the iron discipline of democratic centralism.

But the OL, because it is attempting to build a lowest common denominator Menshevik Party, first attempts to unite people behind the principles of unities, set up a rump central committee and democratic centralism without a congress, then develop the political line and program and call a congress, a year later. Meanwhile, every striker in this Menshevik party will be running around worshipping the spontaneous movement, building the fight back with no political line or program, which Lenin said was necessary to give scope and orientation to our propaganda and agitation. This is outright Menshevism - conciliationist, centrism - and not the road to building a genuine Bolshevik party, firmly united around program and cemented by the iron discipline, unity of will and action that flows from democratic centralism. But the OL, because it represents the interests of the declassed petty bourgeoisie and anarchist intellectuals and unstable elements, and attempts to appeal to every striker, professor, vacillating and unstable element, puts forward under the section on party organization that: "...It (the party) must practice democratic centralism with one center and full democracy for

all members..." Comrades, centralism restricts democracy. Full democracy (to do whatever you want - your own thing) is the outlook and aspiration of the alienated petty bourgeoisie. The proletariat demands and understands the dialectical relationship between centralism and democracy. There can be no freedom without discipline, nor democracy without centralism. In order to have democracy, centralism is necessary. Chairman Mao says: "...We need democracy, but we need centralism even more..." Engels said freedom is the recognition of necessity (which Chairman Mao enriched with the view that "...freedom is not only the recognition but also the transformation of necessity...").

The bourgeois and the anarchist intellectual promotes a metaphysical view of freedom as equaling free will, with no restrictions, no centralism.

In One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, Lenin wrote:

"Martov's formulation ostensibly defends the interests of the broad strata of the proletariat, but in fact it serves the interests of the bourgeois intellectuals who fight proletarian discipline and organization. No one will undertake to deny that it is precisely its individualism and incapacity for discipline and organization that in general distinguishes the intellectual as a separate stratum of modern capitalist society."

Comrades, when you undertake to build a lowest common denominator Menshevik Party you inevitably have to lower the level of discipline. We ask "who is the OL appealing to but the non-proletarian elements, with its promise of full democracy?" The proletariat recognizes that in order to make proletarian revolution democracy is necessary in the Bolshevik party, but centralism is needed even more. This is the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism. To the Menshevik, the Party is a debating club. To the Bolshevik the Party and its organizational principles are an instrument for carrying proletarian revolution through to the end.

Comrades, we think that the essence of the Menshevik method of party building is to build a party from below, not a Leninist method of building the party from above. Building the party from above demands principled ideological struggle to reach the highest level of unity around program - the formation of a leading center by the Congress and then direction to all other parties from the Bolshevik center. Genuine democratic centralism flows from unity around the correct line. The opportunist OL instead attempts to build its party in the opposite manner - unite people around a minimal level of unity, with no program (clear line), establish democratic centralism, then develop line. What is this but an opportunist attempt by the OL to sneak its opportunist line into the "Menshevik" Party through the back door? The whole process is a cover for ensuring the minimal disagreement with OL's line in the formative stages of this Menshevik formation, and reflects a philistine attitude towards struggle, that has characterized the OL since its inception. Build the party from above - this is a Bolshevik principle.

Opportunism in Matters of Politics

We think that we could go on all night, drawing out the opportunist character of their call to the Menshevik Party, but because of time, we would just like to speak to a few of the most revealing points in this section.

In the introductory section of The Call as well as in the sections outlining why the conditions exist for the party, the OL makes a number of opportunist errors, besides the conscious attempt to be vague and unclear throughout all sections of the Call. First, the OL states that party building has always been viewed as the central task by this movement (which movement?). Obviously, this is an attempt to raise up plausibly that the OL has always held that party building has been the central task, to distinguish them from the RU. But what this statement reveals is their ahistorical, metaphysical analysis that the OL has of the development of the communist movement in the U.S. The OL liquidates the fierce struggle waged by the genuine Marxist-Leninists against the attempts to place party building as a secondary task and as a byproduct of tailing the spontaneous movement as well as the struggle over what type of party, and for whom. The OL does not raise this because it in fact tailed the RU in practice. In the Party Building Forum sponsored by the Guardian in 1973, Klonsky, speaking to the question of what road to building the party, said,

"We've got to expose opportunism. We've got to expose revisionists... We can't stand on the side lines of the mass struggle and attack them. That's why it's so important that this new rising communist movement is beginning to sink its roots in the mass struggle of the people... this is essential. We cannot wait until after there is a party to do this work. Or what kind of party are we going to build?..."

"We will end up building a little clique that's isolated from the masses, that doesn't understand the sentiments and aspirations of the people. That's not the way we intend to do things. This ultra leftist view, that abandons the mass struggle today for some high idealism, some ideals about a communist party..."

DEFEAT OL'S (MENSHEVIK - LIBERAL) CALL FOR THE PARTY

INTRODUCTION

"Profound changes have taken place in the international situation since the 29th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. A serious capitalist economic crisis plagues most parts of the world. All the basic contradictions in the world are further sharpening. The trend of revolution by the people of the world is actively developing. The Asian, African and Latin American peoples have advanced valiantly and won a series of significant victories in their struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. On the other hand the contention between the two superpowers for world hegemony has become more and more intense. The whole world is in greater turbulence and unrest. Rhetoric about detente cannot cover up the stark reality. The danger of war is visibly growing."

(p.1 Speech by Chiao Kuan-hua, at the Plenary Meeting of the 30th UN General Assembly)

"We hope that the people of all countries will heighten their vigilance and get prepared against the growing danger of a new world war. It is better to be prepared than unprepared. Without preparations one will suffer. The superpowers look strong but are inwardly weak and very isolated. The more evils they do, the more thoroughly they will reveal their true features, and the stronger the resistance of the people of the world will become. At present, the factors for both revolution and war are increasing on a world scale. Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case the international situation will develop in a direction favourable to the people. And the future of the world will be bright."

(p. 9, Ibid)

Comrades and Friends,

It is in this light that we must view the current struggle inside the communist movement in the U.S. For as Marxist-Leninists we understand that the intensification of class struggle is not something that occurs just in the international arena, or in the general domestic arena; in fact we clearly grasp the fact that class struggle in the communist movement is a reflection of the international struggle between two classes, two lines and two roads.

Also, we understand that our greatest duty as proletarian internationalists in this superpower is to overthrow "our own" bourgeoisie, to make proletarian revolution. And how is it that we fulfill this great historic mission? We believe that our central task is Party building. Comrade Stalin taught that we must:

"locate at any given moment the particular link in the chain of processes which if grasped, will enable us to keep hold of the whole chain and to prepare the conditions for achieving strategic success.

"The point here is to single out from all the tasks confronting the party the particular immediate task, the fulfillment of which constitutes the central point, and the accomplishment of which insures the successful fulfillment of other immediate tasks." (Stalin, Foundations of Leninism)

Comrades, we believe that the formation of a genuine Bolshevik Party is the central task in the process of the U.S. revolution at this time, and tonight we will be polemicizing against the Menshevik line on party building. Our main focus will be on the OL "Call to the Menshevik Party." We have unity with the comrades from PRRWO on the fundamentally incorrect "Anti-Theoretical Revisionist Premises" of the WVO and the OL's right opportunist line on Party Building.

These two organizations, despite all their apparent differences, have unity on the line of "how not to build a Bolshevik Party." True, each of them will in the not too distant future, declare themselves a party, or the only correct organization in the communist movement, but as we hope to make clear tonight, these will be Menshevik parties composed of liberals and anarchistic intellectuals of the 2nd International type.

Before beginning our presentation, we would like to use the telescope that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought provides us with to foretell what the basic line of defense to these polemics will be. First, the WVO and OL have unity on left dogmatism being the main danger in the genuine wing of the Communist Movement. We think the following quote from the great teacher Lenin makes clear our position.

"Dogmatism, doctrinarism, ossification of the Party - the inevitable retribution that follows violent strait-lacing of thought - these are the enemies against which

the knightly champions of 'freedom of criticism' in the Rabocheye Dyelo rise up in arms. We are very glad that this question has been placed on the order of the day..."



"Thus we see that high-sounding phrases against the ossification of thought, etc., conceal unconcern for and impotence in the development of theoretical thought. The case of the Russian Social-Democrats very strikingly illustrates the phenomenon observed in the whole of Europe (and long ago also noted by the German Marxists) that the celebrated freedom of criticism does not imply the substitution of one theory for another, but freedom from all integral and considered theory; it implies eclecticism and lack of principle. Those who have the slightest acquaintance with the actual state of our movement cannot but see that the wide spread of Marxism was accompanied by a certain lowering of the theoretical level. Quite a number of people with very little, and even a total lack of theoretical training joined the movement because of its practical significance and its practical successes. We can judge from that how tactless the Rabocheye Dyelo is when, with an air of triumph, it quotes Marx's statement: 'Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes.' To repeat these words in a period of theoretical chaos is like wishing mourners at a funeral 'many happy returns of the day.'

(our emphasis) Moreover, these words of Marx are taken from his letter on the Gotha Programme, in which he sharply condemns eclecticism in the formulation of principles; 'If you must unite,' Marx wrote to the Party leaders, 'then enter into agreements to satisfy the practical aims of the movement, but do not allow any bargaining over principles, do not make 'concessions' in questions of theory.' This was Marx's idea, and yet there are people among us who strive in his name - to belittle the significance of theory. Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This thought cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time when the fashionable preaching of opportunism goes hand in hand with an infatuation for the narrowest forms of practical activity." (Lenin, What Is To Be Done)

Comrades, we've also been and will be called splitters and neo-Trotskyites by these organizations. Tonight, we will make clear who it is who revises the Marxist-Leninist principles on the Proletarian Party, who fundamentally revises Stalin's teachings on strategy and tactics, replacing them with "anti-imperialism" and the United Front Against Imperialism. The comrades from PRRWO will point out who reduces Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse Tung Thought to the "premises of the premises," just as Zinoviev tried to reduce Leninism to a correct line on the agrarian question. After these presentations, we think that it will be clear that it is the

in their speech. After phrasemongering about party building, specifically the two tactics and the key link, the WVO speaker went on to say; "of course the key link is political line, but tonight we don't have the time to sufficiently discuss it. Instead we'd like to talk about the role of ideology." This showed again the consistent belittlement and opposition to what in fact is the key link--the political line. It is highly opportunist to give lip service to political line as key link and spend 95% of a speech on the role of ideology. WVO also showed its utter contempt for the communists and advanced elements, continuing in their firm belief that we don't know anything about ideology. Their abstract speech, in which they just put out the "Anti-Revisionist Theoretical Premises" in a synthesized form, did not raise consciousness around the ideology because there was no application to what it means in analyzing the party building motion and other related questions--periods, fusion, tactics, key link. WVO vulgarized and took the revolutionary spirit out of ideology by leaving their treatment of the question up in the clouds, devoid from application--and safe, they think, from criticism and struggle because it's supposed to be so profound.

Their opportunist nature was further revealed when the WVO attempted to do self-criticism for "certain aspects" of the "Anti-Revisionist Theoretical Premises." The hallmark of a genuine communist organization is the ability to disclose the essence of their error, trace its ideological and social basis, and outline a method of rectification. WVO did none of these. First, they said that they should not have "formulated" their line with "terms like Anti-Revisionist Premises," because "it could lead to substitution for Marxism-Leninism." They then said that it's true that separately the Anti-Revisionist Premises are not nationally specific, but "taken together" they are. They also said they did not mention narrow nationalism as a nationally specific form. To wrap it up, they went on to say "however, our errors were made in response to the dominant pragmatist trend" and that their errors "were a thousand times better" than the "dogmatists'" errors. They also revealed that they will not accept criticisms from, nor do self-criticism in front of the opportunist wing because it blunts the class struggle and that they reject the criticisms of PRRWO and RWL.

We ask all genuine communists and advanced elements--is this an example of Bolshevik self-criticism? We say, no! What it is is a further attempt to cover-up--blaming errors on external causality, rather than revealing the internal basis; laying the errors on formulation of terms, rather than the line from which your formulation flows; wiggling like a snake to avoid getting to the essence; openly professing the trotskyite line on self-criticism--that to be ruthlessly critical of our errors in front of all weakens us; using self-criticism to launch attacks, most particularly against the PRRWO. Practice is the criterion of truth--WVO's practice of doing self-criticism confirms the truth of their opportunist line.

The truth was even further verified in the two-line struggle that ensued. There were definitely objective problems--lack of time at the forum, no clear place in which to continue the struggle, reflections of anarchy in practice. However, the role of the subjective factor is to struggle to overcome these objective problems and look forward, in a Bolshevik manner, to continue this crucial struggle over our central task. There were many comrades willing to stay to continue the polemic and learn from it. Instead, WVO copped out, saying it was "too late" to continue the struggle. PRRWO and RWL struggled to sum-up the key points and prepare comrades for the struggle that was to continue the next day, regardless of the hour. Party building is too important a question to treat lightly. This should be compared to WVO's constant phrasemongering about not having fear of two-line struggle and their willingness to "go point by point, aspect by aspect, all night if necessary."

This cowardly, evasive attitude continued the next day. WVO was determined not to get into the main questions involved in the polemic. The essence of the struggle with the WVO line on party building, as expressed in their article "Party Building and the Anti-Revisionist Theoretical Premises," is that it is an ahistorical analysis of party building which shows no motion resulting from the fierce two-line struggle to build the party, contains a conciliatory line which distorts the true nature of the treacherous revisionists, belittles the struggle against opportunism, and substitutes these "Anti-Revisionist Theoretical Premises" for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, calling them "the ideological foundation of the party" and "the sole safeguard against degeneration." We feel WVO puts forward the line to put itself forward as the leading circle with the overall most correct line--a hegemonic and sectarian stance towards the genuine wing of the movement.

WVO refused to defend their line and in the process prove, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, that their analysis is correct. The genuine wing has been laying out clearly how we see the development of the party building motion and the main questions--periods, fusion, tactics, key link--that this involves. WVO tried to stay as far away from this as possible. They raised struggle over questions not to focus in on the main questions, but to deviate us from them.

Their attempt was to have us go through abstract debate over "what is ideology" and "conscious and unconscious revisionism," without interrelating it to a defense of their views on how revisionists are "muddled and confused" or why we should enter into unity of action with them. In fact, in their attempt to slip and slide, they had the nerve to say that the ideology of the proletariat was not dialectical and historical materialism and that the ideology of the bourgeoisie was not metaphysics and idealism--a clear revision of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought.

They struggled around the question of the advanced, not to interrelate it to the historical fusion of the communist and workers movements, giving rise to the different periods in party building, the two tactics flowing from the key link - Marxist-Leninist Unite and Win the Advanced to Communism on the basis of a correct political line. Instead, their focus was to struggle over the question of the intermediate and backward. Again, they give lip service to the advanced, but want to spend most of the time struggling over the intermediate and backward. They did not defend their views on how the advanced are just "open to socialism" and even went so far as to distort reality, saying, for example, that leaders such as Malcolm X and George Jackson were "unique" and not that they were examples of the historical truth that every working class brings forth advanced fighters who lead the masses and struggle to find ever-more scientific answers to the questions raised by the revolution, driving them to the study of Marxism-Leninism. These are examples of how the WVO attempted to sidetrack the struggle, keeping it off the crucial questions and instead attempted to take us off into abstract trips. Under this smokescreen of demagogy and sophistry, they tried to evade defending their bankrupt line on party building.

WVO's tactics of struggle unmask their real views on party building, because they promote this style wherever they go, a style opposed to getting to the nitty-gritty questions of party building, but instead trying to impress the movement with pretty words. For example, we found out that WVO has not really done its job in carrying out the two tactics as concretely applied to the Harriet Tubman-Nat Turner Collective. The comrades told us that they had indeed been guilty of seeing things "through WVO's eyes," that their scope had not been broadened to understand the intensity of the two-line struggle. WVO had devoted very little time to raising and struggling over the key questions involved in party building, instead flooding them with documents covering a host of other questions which are important, but must be interrelated to our central task. As a result, the comrades were unarmed for the struggle that took place. This is highly irresponsible, especially for an organization having "the overall most correct line," the leading circle in the movement. It is highly opportunist because it provides external conditions which, when linked to an internal social and ideological base, can lead to conciliation and centrism in the struggle against opportunism.

WVO, by this practice, shows further proof of their degeneration and clearly shows why they have slipped into the marsh of opportunism.

SUMMARY AND LESSONS LEARNED

In the course of any struggle, the attitude of communists towards our own errors is one of disclosing them in order that we may learn from them, correct them and move forward.

Speaking for comrades of the RWL and PRRWO, we analyzed that one of our weaknesses in the struggle was to bow to the obstacles that were thrown in our way. WVO's consistent maneuvers to dodge the struggle, raising abstract generalities as has been shown above, is nothing new; we have struggled against these double-dealing snakes before internally in our own ranks, as well as when we struggled against the revisionist "CP"USA, "RCP", the Trotskyite CL, and the opportunist wing of the movement headed by the OL Menshevik Liberals. (In reference to the Boston forum, the cowardly OL consciously scheduled another activity that night to avoid having to defend their opportunist line.) In not having a complete and correct appraisal of the situation, we worshipped spontaneity. Rather than taking the lead, we at

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PALANTE

MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE AND WIN
THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM TO
BUILD A GENUINE COMMUNIST PARTY

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EDITORIAL: NO TEA PARTY IN BOSTON- THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PARTY INTENSIFIES

A forum sponsored by the Harriet Tubman-Nat Turner Collective was held in Boston on February 19th. The Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, Revolutionary Workers League (ML) and Workers Viewpoint Organization participated. The struggle in the forum was a reflection of the intensified class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat internationally and inside the U.S. This struggle conducted by the comrades in PRRWO and RWL (ML) is a direct continuation of the steel-to-steel struggle against all forms of opportunism, particularly on the question of party building. The Marxist-Leninist Bolshevik line on party building was defended in the struggle against the right opportunist, Menshevik line of the October League and Workers Viewpoint Organization. In the course of this struggle the unity of the revolutionary wing deepened. The revolutionary wing has purged itself of an opportunist line and its representatives, WVO, criticized revisionism, and is moving forward.

The opportunists try and spread their pessimism and bleak outlook by saying: "Everything is terrible. The wing has split. Party building has been set back." This is another example of their petty-bourgeois stand. Comrades, we have not been set back. The wing has not split--Marxism-Leninism grows stronger in the struggle against falsehood. Just as Stalin said:



"The proletarian parties develop and become strong by purging themselves of opportunists and reformists, social-imperialists and social-chauvinists, social-patriots and social-pacifists. The Party becomes strong by ridding itself of opportunist elements. (Leninism, p. 99)

We are tempered in the struggle against the right opportunist line of WVO and the OL.

The WVO line on party building is in its essence no different from the Menshevik line of the OL. The OL attempts to cover its hegemonist desires and "organization as key" line with their weak, incorrect "Principles of Unity"--while the WVO has developed a slicker sales package, "the Anti-Revisionist Theoretical Premises." The raggedy line of WVO has a special appeal for elements (many of whom are honest) that are--like the WVO--divorced from the class struggle waged by the industrial proletariat and national movements in the U.S. Under a seemingly profound cover, the WVO revises the lessons of our great teachers--Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tse-Tung.

The essence of the bankrupt, Menshevik, right opportunist line of the OL on party building is to build the party from below. They ignore Lenin's teachings on the role of the Program and substitute their "Principles of Unity." The OL is uniting forces at the lowest common denominator--seeking quantity instead of struggling for quality. Without a program, which focuses, concretizes, and clarifies the struggle, differences are covered up and the OL can build their party around their raggedy, bankrupt line. They are building a Menshevik party where every striker, school teacher, lawyer, social worker, and ex-Peace Corps volunteer is considered a "revolutionary" because they shout "Fight Back."

The WVO--coming from the same hegemonic view and desire we have seen before in the RU, OL, and CLP--maintains that their line is the overall correct line in the communist movement. Their line that the revolutionary wing has split and the struggle to build the party has been set back flows from this idealist view of themselves as the leading Iskra circle. They do not have an analysis of the emergence of the revolutionary wing, but instead think that the wing came into being when they did.

Both the OL and the WVO fail to "Practice Marxism." Neither scientifically sums up and analyzes the party building struggle in the communist movement. The both substitute their hegemonist and petty-bourgeois wishes and desires for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought. Neither makes a scientific presentation on the questions of fusion, periods, two tactics of party building, or key link. Neither unites with the objective fact that political line is the key link. Comrades, grasping political line as key link is objective necessity.

The OL has come straight forward with organization as the key link:

"the present period calls for the actual organizational formation of the new party." (The Call, November, 1975, p. 12, emphasis in the original)

WVO covers their line with an idealist discussion of ideology--but once you scratch the surface, their line of build the WVO as the leading Iskra circle jumps out. Both lines are in essence the same. Both rely on idealism and metaphysics to justify their attempt to hold back the building of a genuine Bolshevik party.

TACTICS OF THE OPPORTUNISTS IN THE STRUGGLE

Typical of the maneuvering of all right opportunists, WVO constantly sought to deviate the two-line struggle on the crucial questions involved in party building. Their tactics could be seen in their whole approach as revealed

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SPECIAL ISSUE: Inside

- Expose the Anti-Theoretical Revisionist Premises of the WVO
- Defeat the OL's (Menshevik-Liberal) Call for the Party