

# RESISTENCIA

Vol. 7 # 4



POLITICAL ORGAN OF RESISTENCIA PUERTORRIQUEÑA

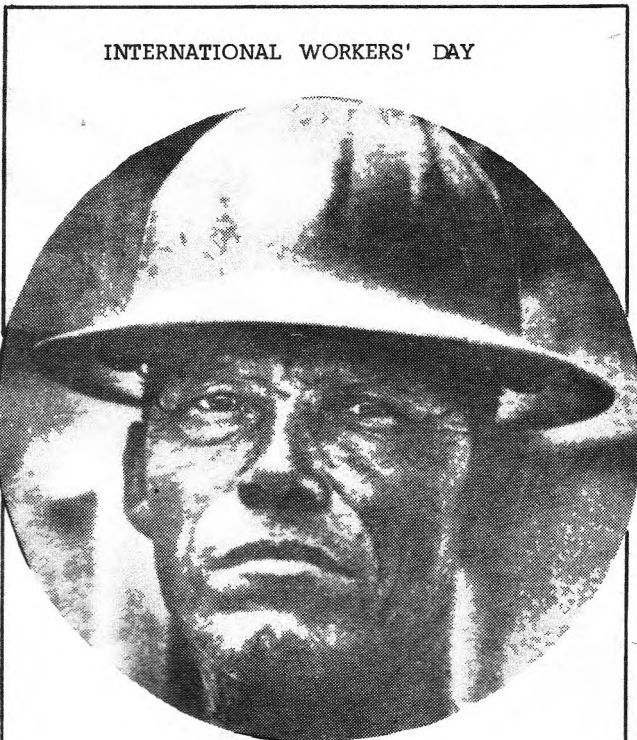
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## OL'S SHAM ATTEMPT AT PARTY BUILDING

In the coming days, the October League (OL) will change its name, will start to publish weekly its paper, *The Call* and will proclaim everywhere that the central task of communists in the U S. is no longer to build the Party, because according to them they are the Party. But there are parties and parties. There are revolutionary parties and reformist parties, new type Bolshevik parties and old type social-democratic parties. And what the OL is doing is a social-democratic organization painted red, a menshevik party formed along the right line that tails behind the spontaneous struggles of the masses, liberal politicians and the national movement. But one can learn from the negative example. And definitely by understanding the way in which the OL is building its party will help Marxist-Leninists as well as advanced elements to learn "how not to build a Communist Party".

### PARTY WITHOUT A PROGRAM

For Marxist-Leninists it is clear that the party is formed around a program voluntarily accepted by all members of the future Party and, that it is based on the unity on ideological and political line, that the first congress of the party is held to establish iron discipline based on democratic centralism and elect the leading bodies of the Party



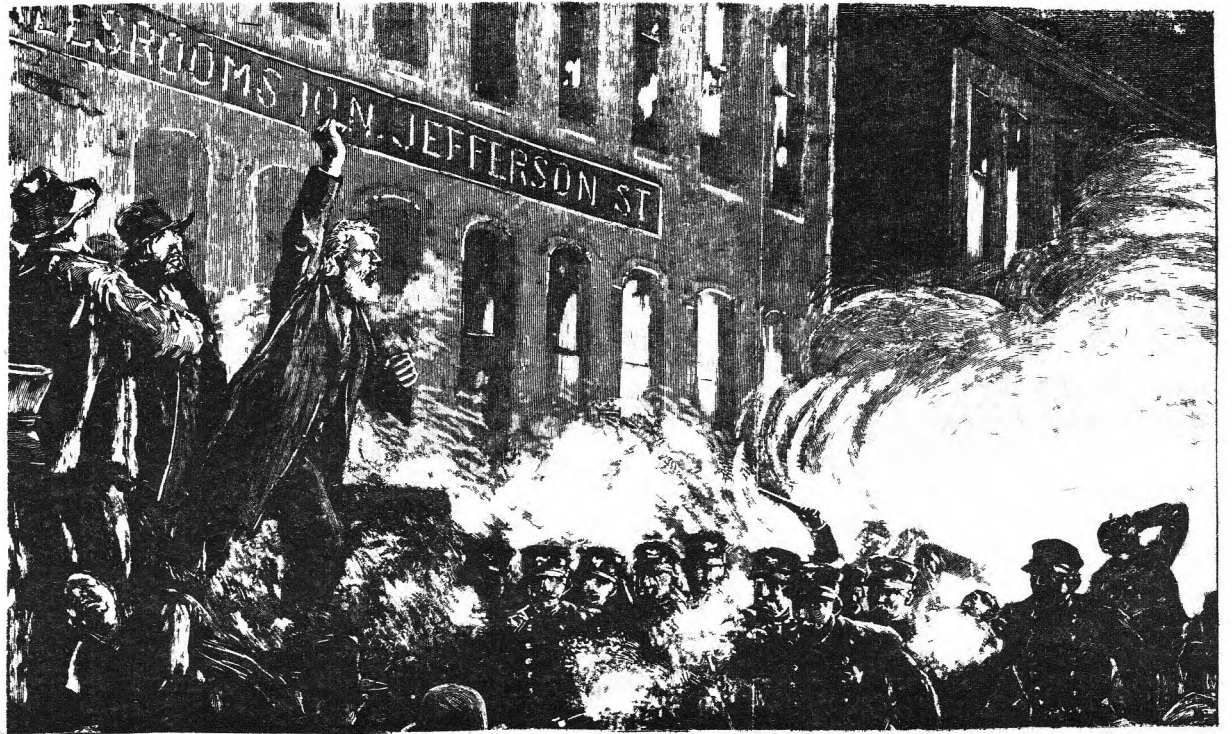
INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' DAY

Working men of all countries unite! But few voices responded when we proclaimed these words to the world forty two years ago on the eve of the first Paris Revolution in which the proletariat came out with demands of its own. On September 28 1864, however the proletarians of most of the Western European countries united to form the International Working Men's Association of glorious memory. True the International itself lived only nine years. But that the eternal union of the proletarians of all countries created by it is still alive and lives stronger than ever there is no better witness than this day. Because today as I write these lines, the European and American proletariat is reviewing its fighting forces mobilised for the first time mobilised as one army under one flag for one immediate aim: the standard eight hour working day to be established by legal enactment as proclaimed by the Geneva Congress of the International in 1866 and again by the Paris Workers Congress in 1889. And today's spectacle will open the eyes of the capitalists and landlords of all countries to the fact that today the working men of all countries are united indeed.

If only Marx were still by my side to see this with his own eyes!

F Engels

London May 1, 1890



THE FIRST MAY DAY HAYMARKET SQUARE DEMONSTRATION BY WORKERS IN CHICAGO, USA

(Central Committee, Editorial Board of the Paper, etc., etc.). But the OL turns every thing upside down. They are going to hold the first congress, elect the central committee and editorial board of the paper, establish democratic centralism (?) and then, a year later they are going to meet to discuss and approve the program. There is no doubt that this method will allow the OL to create some kind of coalition where intermediate and backward elements will predominate, where instead of democratic centralism there will be anarchy on the one hand and blind discipline (obedience to the chairman's orders) on the other. A "party" built in this way will reduce itself to a series of collectives (with very little ideological development) absorbed by the OL, which is the major organization in this sham party building attempt. Just like the rich kid who owns the bat, the ball and the glove, and wants to be the manager, the clean-up batter and the short stop, the OL (who owns the economist paper *The Call*, the mass organization *Fight Back* and possibly even, the place where they will meet) intends to place everybody under the authority of Michael Klonsky and send them off to sell papers, call up the National Guard to protect the democratic rights of the masses (as they did in relation to Boston forced bussing) and to participate with as many revisionists and opportunists in different coalitions and fronts although always with the phoney slogan of "no unity with revisionists" (see part on Federico Cintrón Committee).

But it is not enough to criticize the OL for building a Menshevik Party instead of a Bolshevik Party, a Party built by bowing to spontaneity instead of through the bolshevik way based on the conscious element. It is important that we draw the correct conclusions from this sham attempt to prevent the creation of the Bolshevik Party that we need in the U S.

We consider that the most important lesson is that on the immediate agenda of the Marxist-Leninists is the development of the program of the future Party. The comrades of RWL pointed to this need in the polemics with OL in Boston.

"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".

We are in unity with this position. It is imperative that true Marxist-Leninists join efforts, along with advanced elements, to develop this Program. Armed with dialectical and historical materialism, the world out look and method of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse Tung thought, we have to reach conclu-

sions on the historical development of capitalism in the U S since its birth to its present stage of imperialism in decline. We also have to make a scientific analysis of the material reality in which we find ourselves. We cannot forget that political economy is what allows us to understand the economic base of society. This economic base is precisely the foundation over which society is built, as it is matter that determines all consciousness. Without a class analysis, without the study of the economic base of our society our analysis will continue to be incomplete. Without it we will not be able to clearly determine which are our reserves and thus, which should be our strategy, since strategy implies the existence and utilization of such reserves.

### OL APPEALS TO THE BACKWARD ELEMENTS

Another important aspect of OL's approach in party building is their emphasis on quantity over quality. Based on this, whoever has more "numbers" has the right, regardless of who is with them, whether workers or petty bourgeoisie, advanced intermediate or backward elements. This is reducing the concept of bolshevik to its purely semantic meaning (majority) stripping it of its political meaning genuine communist. It is clear that bolsheviks do not represent the majority in what we call the communist movement (which includes many opportunists such as the OL which is practically out of it, and WVO, RWC, Comite-MINP, Guardian, etc.). We cannot dream either of having more support among the masses than the mensheviks at this moment, such would be negating the fact that advanced workers - our fortress - are a minority in relation to the total working class, of which a great majority are backward due to the limited fusion of the communist movement with the working class movement. So we can't be fooled by "numbers" in the OL, nor are we impressed by their weekly (economist) paper. If this were the measure for communists, then the revisionist "C" PUSA would win out, along with revisionist PSP who publish their *Daily World* and *Claridad* daily! (daily except on Good Friday and Christmas).

No way, OL. Numbers do not impress us. You recruit appealing to the more backward elements, catering to the most opportunist and backward sectors of the national movement, crawling behind liberal politicians, labor bureaucrats, reformists and poverty pimps (including Trotskyites from SWP) in issues as "bussing" and ERA. This is the quickest way to build a party, yes, a menshevik party.

### OL SAYS ONE THING, PRACTICES ANOTHER

Divorce between theory and practice is not permissible in communists. An incorrect ideological line can only lead to an incorrect political line and an incorrect political line necessarily trans-

Continued on Page 6

# ON INTERNATIONAL WORKERS DAY OF THE PEOPLES OF

April 23, 1976

Comrade Mao Tse-tung  
Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng  
First Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China  
Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

Comrades

From the point of view of the class struggle, and the interests of the world's proletariat, we hail the great victories obtained by the revolutionary masses of the People's Republic of China, its Communist Party, and its great leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind, in continuing and deepening the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We have learned from the teachings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung that "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party, this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end." This is a universal truth.

That is why we are not dismayed, nor worried, nor frustrated, nor discouraged, nor uncertain of the Communist Party of China's correct political line and correct decisions in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads, the two lines, which manifested itself in the struggle against those who would attempt to reverse correct verdicts, with the purpose of negating the "Class struggle as key link", negating the gains of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and restoring capitalism. We understand that this struggle has to take place because the bourgeoisie will always attempt to restore capitalism, and it is only through revolutionary struggle that the fundamental contradiction can be resolved, the proletariat come out victorious, the Party safeguard its inner vitality, and society continue in its motion forward. Once again the Communist Party of China has tested in practice, and proven, through revolutionary struggle and example to communists the world over, the correctness of its fundamental line, the proletarian revolutionary line which has gained it a vanguard role in the international communist movement.

At the same time that we express our solidarity with the proletarian revolutionary line, we recognize the value of the great example given us by the revolutionary masses of the People's Republic of China, aroused in deep struggle to oppose the Right deviationist line and to develop and consolidate the great instrument of their emancipation the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The "Three directives as key link" is a thoroughly revisionist thesis, taken out from the same bag of tricks as those formerly used by Lin Biao, Liu Shao-chi and Yang Hsien-chen, and others who advocated the dying out of the class struggle. The "Three directives as key link" is a resurrection of the old revisionist theories such as the "Synthesized economic base" (which was nothing but an attempt to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat by making it serve both the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, with the aim of restoring capitalism), the "Non identity of thinking and being" (which was nothing but vulgar 'materialism' materialism in words idealism in deeds, and which preached that it is enough to acknowledge reality and not necessary to transform it, thus capitulating to the bourgeoisie with the aim of restoring capitalism) and the "Two combine into one" (which was nothing but an attempt to find "common points" and "common needs" between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and imperialism, between Marxism and revisionism, thus undermining the dictatorship

of the proletariat with the aim of restoring capitalism.) As were these former attempts, the most recent one of taking the "Three directives as key link" is nothing but an attempt to distort Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line of "Grasp the class struggle as key link" in order to negate the class struggle and reverse correct verdicts, also undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat with the aim of restoring capitalism. But they have all failed, as the Chinese revolutionary masses have earnestly followed Chairman Mao's teachings in that. "There is absolutely no room for compromise in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines."

We understand that the discovery, exposure and purging of bourgeois rightists, even from within the ranks of the leadership of the Communist Party, is not a bad thing but a good thing. Because bourgeois rightists do exist and their discovery simply means that the People's Republic of China is moving forward to communism, restricting the remains of bourgeois right more and more, further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. This of course is cause for bourgeois rightists, who were previously surviving comfortably, to leap forward and fight back like dying tigers, showing their true colors when the revolution hits them directly. They can no longer remain hidden and covered, spreading their poison among the people, but rather provide a field for the revolutionary peoples to temper their revolutionary spirit, heighten their consciousness, enhance their unity, promote the development of the revolutionary cause, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and impel society forward.

We, of "Resistencia Puertorriquena", along with other Marxist-Leninist forces guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, and enlightened by the lessons of the current struggle in China, are greatly indebted to the revolutionary masses of the Chinese people, its Communist Party, and its great proletarian leader, Chairman Mao, for their revolutionary example. We are particularly indebted for the many lessons drawn from the Communist Party of China's staunch battles against revisionism, not only within China, but in the international arena as well -- against modern revisionism in the world headed by Soviet Social Imperialism, the most dangerous source of war in the world today. We communists in the United States are moving on in a fierce class struggle against the main danger, right opportunism, revisionism, and the secondary danger, "left" dogmatism, to build a genuine, multinational Communist Party in this country, a Bolshevik Party, a Party of New Type, of the kind that led the Soviet peoples to socialist revolution, headed by great Lenin and Stalin, of the kind that led the Albanian peoples, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, of the kind that, headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, led the Chinese peoples to victory after victory, and that today serves as great example and inspiration to us, in order to continue the struggle through to the end.

Finally, in the occasion of commemorating INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' DAY, and in the spirit of Proletarian Internationalism, we salute the Chinese peoples with revolutionary greetings, and reiterate our commitment to fulfill our tasks to build the new communist party in the U.S. that will lead the working class towards the revolutionary seizure of power, to smash the U.S. bourgeoisie and state, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism in the U.S.!

LONG LIVE THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT!

LONG LIVE THE CONTINUING AND DEEPENING OF THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA!

Revolutionary greetings,

*Resistencia Puertorriquena*

Resistencia Puertorriquena



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MARXISTS-LENINISTS UNITE!  
WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!

# WE SALUTE VICTORIES CHINA AND ALBANIA



## Article 9

Officials serve the people, participate directly in work in production and are paid salaries in fair ratio with those of the workers and cooperativists with the aim of preventing the creation of a privileged stratum. The pay ratio is set by law.

## Article 10

The working class as the leading class of the society, as well as the other working masses exercise direct and organized control over the activity of state organs economic and social organizations and their workers for the purpose of defending the victories of the revolution and strengthening the socialist order.

## Article 14

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania, follows the policy of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance with the socialist states on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, supports the revolutionary movement of the working class and the struggle of the peoples for freedom, independence and social progress.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania stands for peace and good neighbourliness, for relations with all states on the basis of equality, respect for sovereignty, of non-interference in internal affairs and mutual benefit.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania opposes any form of imperialist aggression, colonial exploitation, tutelage, dictate and hegemony, national oppression and racial discrimination. It upholds the principle of self-determination of the peoples, the exercise of full national sovereignty and equality of all countries in international relations.

## Article 15

The economy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a socialist economy which is based on the socialist ownership of the means of production.

In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania there are no exploiting classes, private property and the exploitation of man by man have been liquidated and are forbidden.

## Article 16

The socialist property is the inviolable basis of the socialist order, the source of the wellbeing of the people and of the might of the homeland, it has special protection from the state.

Socialist property in the means of production is comprised of the state property and the cooperativist property in agriculture.

## Article 17

State property belongs to the whole people and is the highest form of socialist property.

The following are property of the state alone: the land and underground riches, the mines, forests, pastures, waters, natural energy resources, the plants, factories, machine and tractor stations, the state farms, the banks, the roads of communication and means of rail, water, and air transport, post, telegraph, telephone offices, radio and TV stations, cinematography.

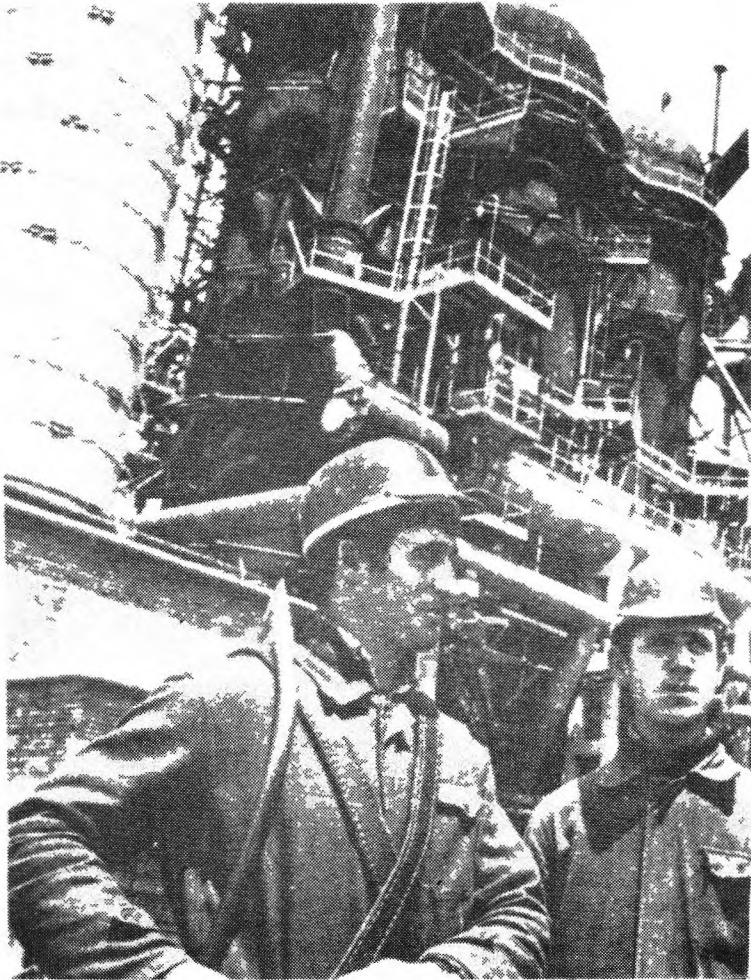
Any other wealth created on the basis of state property or which the state gains according to law is also state property.

## Article 91

The defence of the homeland and of the victories of socialism is ensured by the armed people, organized in the armed forces which comprise the People's Army, the forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Voluntary Forces of People's Self-defence.

The People's Army, as the main force defending the homeland, is the army of the people and serves the people. The armed forces are led by the Party of Labour of Albania.

**The new constitution, as the fundamental law of our State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, will reflect the rich experience gained by the PLA and the Albanian State in socialist construction, as well as the Marxist-Leninist principles of the PLA and its struggle for carrying out the revolution towards the attainment of the ultimate objective - the building of communism.**



Albania workers turning Albania from agricultural-industrial country to industrial-agricultural country.

The victories of the socialist countries are also the victories of all proletarians workers, peoples and oppressed nations of the world. That is why on this May Day, International Workers Day, we celebrate the victories of Albania in the construction of socialism.

During the 31 years of the dictatorship of the proletariat Albania has been transformed from a profoundly backward agricultural country into an advanced agricultural-industrial country. Today the Albanian people have undertaken another great qualitative leap that will transform their socialist country into an industrial-agricultural country. The socialist economic base is now firmly established in Albania. Private property over the means of production has been completely eliminated, eliminating as a result the exploitation of man by man.

Fundamental changes have occurred also in the superstructure. The struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism, the intensification of the mass line and the increase in direct worker control, the struggle against bourgeois ideas and revisionism, the successful development of the ideological and cultural revolution, the arming and military preparation of all the people, etc. has transformed Marxism-Leninism, the world outlook of the working class and its revolutionary party, into the dominating ideology while further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Celebrating this May Day we must firmly grasp the example of China and Albania, the vanguard of the proletariat and the international communist movement, which firmly and resolutely advances victoriously on the road towards communism. This glorious road that someday we will also undertake, led by our communist-bolchevik party that will lead us in seizing power towards the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism.

### READ AND STUDY

## Albania today



STUDY THE WORKS OF  
MARX  
ENGELS  
LENIN  
STALIN  
MAO TSE TUNG  
ENVER HOXHA

Following, we include an introduction, and several articles from the draft-constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

### INTRODUCTION

Throughout the thousands of years of their history the Albanian people have defended their existence as a people and nation in struggle against their external and internal enemies. They have fought for national freedom and independence for their native land and mother tongue, for their livelihood and social justice. After centuries of bondage they achieved the first victory with the creation of the independent Albanian national state in 1912.

The national democratic and revolutionary movement was given a new impulse and content with the triumph of the great October Socialist Revolution and with the spread of communist ideas which marked a decisive turning point for the future of all the peoples of the world.

In the grave conditions of fascist and nazi occupation and betrayed by the ruling classes the Albanian people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania (today, the Party of Labour) united in the National Liberation Front rose to their feet and arms in hand hurled themselves into the greatest war of their history for national and social liberation. In the fire of the war for freedom and on the ruins of the old state power the new Albanian state of people's democracy emerged.

On November 29, 1944 Albania won genuine independence and the Albanian people took their fate into their own hands. The People's revolution triumphed and a new epoch, the epoch of socialism, opened.

In the conditions of the people's state power, under the leadership of the working class and its Party great social-economic changes were carried out which were outlined by the first Constitution of the Albanian socialist state. The domination by foreign capital and plunder of the country's riches was ended. The capitalists and the big landed proprietors were expropriated and the main means of production passed onto the hands of the people. The way was opened for the socialist industrialization of the country. The Land Reform gave the land to those who till it and the collectivization of agriculture set the countryside on the road to socialism.

Social ownership over the means of production and the single system of socialist economy which prevails in town and countryside replaced the private ownership and the multi-form economy. The exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man were liquidated. The entire social development proceeds consciously according to plan and in the interest of the people.

In socialist Albania the working class is the leading class of the state and the society. New relations of mutual assistance and cooperation have been established between the two friendly classes of our society: the working class and the cooperativist peasantry as well as the stratum of the people's intelligentsia. The work readily contributed by free people has become the decisive factor in the flourishing of the socialist homeland and in raising the general and individual wellbeing. Albania overcame its age-old backwardness and has been transformed into a country with advanced industry and agriculture.

The vital forces of the people were freed and their inexhaustible creative energies burst out. The Albanian woman emerged from darkness, became a great social force and is advancing towards her complete emancipation. Education and culture have become the property of the broad masses of the people and science and knowledge have been placed at the service of society. The foundations of religious obscurantism were toppled. The moral figure of the working man, his consciousness and world outlook are moulded under the influence of the proletarian ideology which has become the dominant ideology.

Socialism has shown its absolute superiority over the old exploiting order.

Albania has entered the state of complete construction of socialist society. The great historic changes have created new conditions for the continuous advance of the revolution and socialist construction.

The development of the class struggle in favour of socialism, the continuous strengthening of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the deepening of socialist democracy, the development of the productive forces and the perfecting of socialist relations of production, the steady raising of the wellbeing of the working masses, the gradual narrowing of distinctions between industry and agriculture, town and country, mental and physical labour, the affirmation of the personality of man within socialist collectivity, the mastering of contemporary technology and science, the continuous revolutionization of the entire life of the country, are the main ways through which socialist society is growing stronger and advancing.

The Albanian people are determined to defend their national independence, the people's state power and their socialist victories against any enemy. Socialist Albania is always an active factor in the struggle for national and social liberation for peace, freedom and the rights of all the peoples against imperialism, reaction and revisionism. In its foreign policy it is guided by the great ideals of socialism and communism and fights for the triumph of the world over.

The Albanian people have found conscious inspiration in the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. Under the banner of which united round the Party of Labour and under its leadership they are carrying forward the construction of socialist society to pass over later gradually to communist society.



# AUGUST 29th MOVEMENT

The following are statements put forth by the comrades of ATM in answer to a series of questions that we presented to them in the spirit of Unity - Struggle - Unity that should characterize the relations among Marxist-Leninists. In no way do these brief statements represent the totality of formulations that on these issues the comrades of ATM have developed, but they reflect the method and reasoning with which these comrades approach these questions.

In terms of the ERA, we reaffirm our position of opposing it, as we consider it a sham reform (see the article in Resistencia - On the Woman Question, Vol. 7, No. 2 pgs 6-7). However, we want to make clear that (1) we make a distinction between the method and reasoning on which the comrades of ATM base their support for the ERA and the method and reasoning right opportunists such as the OL, use in their approach to it, (2) that we do not consider the position on ERA a line of demarcation between genuine Marxist-Leninists and opportunists at this time, (3) We will definitely take into consideration the positions of these comrades and their suggestions that we study a series of Lenin's articles, and the resolutions by the Communist International in order to better understand the question of reforms in the capitalist society. We think that it is the duty of all Marxist-Leninists and advanced elements to do the same and, (4) in the near future, we will deal again with the ERA.

On the question of the bribery theory, our organization deals in depth with it in the publication on the Communist Labor Party, which we announce our last issue and which will be out soon.

\*\*\*\* O N E R A \*\*\*\*

"We must disagree with your position on the ERA. We don't think that the comrades have reached their conclusion based on an all-sided analysis of the issue. We make a distinction however between comrades like yourselves, RWL and PRRWO which took an honest approach to the question -- and groups like WVO which took a dishonest, demagogic and sophistic approach to the question. Our view is that we must start by an examination of the MOVEMENT of women for their democratic rights, what the various forces are in that movement, the nature of their demands, and the tasks of communists flowing from this analysis.

Our starting point is that the masses of women lack democratic rights. This lack of rights is sanctioned outright by law, or is sanctioned de facto. They do not have the same rights as men when it comes to getting jobs, job promotions, training, control of their bodies, etc, etc. In response to this, women have fought back -- putting forward various partial demands. It was petty-bourgeois women who, as the most cultured and literate sector of women, summed up these partial demands and put forward the demand for EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN. There is nothing strange in this, Lenin once remarked, that every demand raised by the revolutionary working class (through its vanguard) had been raised before us by the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie, (and even the bourgeoisie is raising the cry for equal rights for women). And of course, these sectors and classes raise these demands for THEIR OWN CLASS INTERESTS. Nothing strange or profound about that either. However it is up to us (communists) to analyze the partial demands of the working class women, to sum-up and synthesize these demands (the mass line). It is our view that if we sum up all the partial demands of women we can see that the common thread to them all is equal rights for women. It then becomes our task to link all the partial demands and struggles of women to this basic demand to show women that their partial demands flow from this basic demand. Moreover, we must expose to women that their lack of rights flows from class society and that only the overthrow of the capitalist class can "solve" the women question ultimately. In the meantime, we

must utilize the struggle of women for equal (democratic) rights for three purposes:

- (1) to train the working class to wage a consistent struggle for democracy. Lenin teaches us that if the working class is ever to administer a true proletarian democracy (as part of its dictatorship) it can only learn how to do this through a consistent struggle for democracy under capitalism.
- (2) If we do our work right, the masses will learn revolutionary methods of struggle -- i.e., that only to the extent that they wage a revolutionary struggle for democracy will they win any kind of significant concession from the bourgeoisie. If they "win" equal rights by relying on Betty Ford or Bella Abzug, or on petitions, or on electing women city councilmen then they will get a watered down concession which the bourgeoisie will certainly use to split the class, as well as to dissipate the revolutionary energy of the class, (the recently passed Farm Labor Bill here in California is a good example of this). If however they win this concession as a result of mass demonstrations under revolutionary slogans, through political strikes, massive work slowdowns, etc., then it will be as genuine a concession as it possible under capitalism. This is what is meant by saying that real reforms is a by-product of revolutionary struggle.
- (3) We will show the masses of women, that it is not a question of "lack of rights" which underlies their misery, but the system of private property. Winning this concession will lay bare the class contradictions of society.

If we don't take up the struggle for women's democratic rights we will give the leadership to the petty-bourgeoisie. Right now there is a debate and struggle going on inside the National Organization of Women (NOW) between the bourgeoisie who want to confine NOW to feminist issues aimed at the upper petty-bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie, and the petty-bourgeoisie women who want to aim their work at working women and oppressed nationalities. The petty-bourgeois women have been winning out which means that they will be taking the democratic rights issue into the class. If WE don't give leadership to this struggle, we will default the leadership to the petty-bourgeoisie.

As for the arguments that the bourgeoisie will use ERA to take away protective legislation -- they aren't waiting for the passage of the ERA to begin this process. As the crisis intensifies, they are already wiping out protective legislation. It is not our task to counterpose protective legislation to the ERA but to fight to protect and expand protective legislation (to all workers), and as well as to fight for the ERA.

As for the argument that the ERA will help bring on fascism, we have not seen one fact which backs this up -- just quotes from Palme Dutt, etc. We must watch out for falling into a knee-jerk response to every reform struggle, which come forward which is not initiated by communists. Otherwise we will be standing on the sidelines on a number of issues. It is our view that we can only train the masses to make a revolution through a struggle for their economic and political rights -- it is in these struggle where they learn that capitalism cannot be saved, and that they learn revolutionary methods of struggle. It is our position that we should struggle to win the leadership of the women's struggle for democracy by fighting for their rights under the slogan -- EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN, FIGHT FOR THE ERA! This slogan puts forward the basic demand of women (mass line), and also shows that they must FIGHT for it (not merely support the ERA, or the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois women leading the ERA movement). We hope that this will give you a little better idea of our view on this question. We think that the way we pose the question differentiates us from the OL's basically reformist presentation of the question. We refer comrades to the first three articles in Volume 23 of Lenin's Collected Works, as well as Revolutionary Cause Vol 1 No 4, the Alamosa article, as well as the Communist International resolutions of 1928 and 1930 for more clarity on this question.

\*\*\*\* ON THE BRIBE THEORY \*\*\*\*

"The bribe theory. We should clarify that we make a distinction between bribery and privileges. While we hold that the social props of the bourgeoisie are certainly bribed (bought off), we do not hold that all, or the majority of the Anglo-American proletariat is bribed. However, we do believe that, as a whole, the Anglo-American proletariat has temporarily benefitted from the vast super-profits stolen by the U.S. imperialists from the nations and peoples of the world (included the oppressed peoples here in the U.S.). There is nothing strange about this -- Engels pointed out the same phenomena in regard to the English working class, and time has certainly proved how temporary those privileges were (the English working class is worse off than much of Europe). It is not hard to see that the Anglo-American working class has certain economic and political advantages denied (de facto and by law) to the oppressed nationality workers. We do not think that White workers must give up their privileges before we can have a revolution. What they must do is to struggle to end the system of national oppression which stands as the basis of privileges for one group and lack of rights for another. We are certainly confident that the entire working class will be able to unite in its common class interest to end the system of national oppression and privileges once and for all.

As for the social props, that's another story. They will definitely not be getting 20 grand a year, expense accounts, de todo -- under socialism. They are bought and paid for by capitalism to do a job, i.e., to channel the struggle of the working class into reformism -- the line of least resistance (Revolutionary Cause Vol 1 # 3, O.L. article)."

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# The Proletarian Class and the Proletarian Party

(Concerning Paragraph One of the Party Rules)

The time when people boldly proclaimed Russia, one and indivisible has gone. Today even a child knows that there is no such thing as Russia 'one and indivisible' that Russia long ago split up into two opposite classes—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Today it is no secret to anyone that the struggle between these two classes has become the axis around which our contemporary life revolves.

Nevertheless until recently it was difficult to notice all this the reason being that hitherto we saw only individual groups in the arena of the struggle for it was only individual groups in individual towns and parts of the country that waged the struggle while the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as classes were not easily discernible. But now towns and districts have united various groups of the proletariat have joined hands joint strikes and demonstrations have broken out—and before us has unfolded the magnificent picture of the struggle between the two Russias—bourgeois Russia and proletarian Russia. Two big armies have entered the arena—the army of proletarians and the army of the bourgeoisie—and the struggle between these two armies embraces the whole of our social life.

Since an army cannot operate without leaders, and since every army has a vanguard which marches at its head and lights up its path, it is obvious that with these armies there had to appear corresponding groups of leaders, corresponding parties, as they are usually called.

Thus, the picture presents the following scene: on one side there is the bourgeois army, headed by the liberal party, on the other there is the proletarian army, headed by the Social-Democratic Party, each army in its class struggle, is led by its own party.

We have mentioned all this in order to compare the proletarian party with the proletarian class and thus briefly to bring out the general features of the Party.

The foregoing makes it sufficiently clear that the proletarian party, being a fighting group of leaders, must, firstly, be considerably smaller than the proletarian class with respect to membership; secondly it must be superior to the proletarian class with respect to its understanding and its experience, and, thirdly it must be a compact organization.

In our opinion, what has been said needs no proof, for it is self-evident that so long as the capitalist system exists with its inevitably attendant poverty and backwardness of the masses, the proletariat as a whole cannot rise to the desired level of class consciousness and consequently, there must be a group of class conscious leaders to enlighten the proletarian army in the spirit of socialism, to unite and lead it in its struggle. It is also clear that a party which has set out to lead the fighting proletariat must not be a chance conglomeration of individuals, but a compact, centralized organization so that its activities can be directed according to a single plan.

Such, in brief are the general features of our Party.

Bearing all this in mind, let us pass to the main question.

fight and consequently the more fully will they apply the Party's program tactics and organizational views. It is not for nothing that our Party is called an organization of leaders and not a conglomeration of individuals. And since the Party is an organization of leaders it is obvious that only those can be regarded as members of this Party of this organization who work in this organization and therefore, deem it their duty to merge their wishes with the wishes of the Party and to act in unison with the Party.

Hence to be a Party member one must apply the Party's program, tactics and organizational views to apply the Party's views one must fight for them, and to fight for these views one must work in a Party organization work in unison with the Party. Clearly to be a Party member one must belong to one of the Party organizations.\* Only when we join one of the Party organizations and thus merge our personal interests with the Party's interests can we become Party members, and consequently, real leaders of the proletarian army.

If our Party is not a conglomeration of individual windbags, but an organization of leaders which, through its Central Committee is worthily leading the proletarian army forward, then all that has been said above is self-evident.

The following must also be noted.

Up till now our Party has resembled a hospitable patriarchal family ready to take in all who sympathize. But now that our Party has become a centralized organization it has thrown off its patriarchal aspect and has become in all respects like a fortress the gates of which are opened only to those who are worthy. And that is of great importance to us. At a time when the autocracy is trying to corrupt the class consciousness of the proletariat with 'trade unionism' nationalism clericalism and the like, and when on the other hand the liberal intelligentsia is persistently striving to kill the political independence of the proletariat and to impose its tutelage upon it—at such a time we must be extremely vigilant and never forget that our Party is a fortress, the gates of which are opened only to those who have been tested.

We have ascertained two essential conditions of Party membership (acceptance of the program and work in a Party organization). If to these we add a third condition namely that a Party member must render the Party financial support then we shall have all the conditions that give one right to the title of Party member.

Hence a member of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party is one who accepts the program of this Party renders the Party financial support, and works in one of the Party organizations.

That is how Paragraph One of the Party Rules, drafted by Comrade Lenin\* was formulated.

The formula, as you see springs entirely from the view that our Party is a centralized organization and not a conglomeration of individuals.

We say that real Party members cannot possibly rest content with merely accepting the Party program, but must without fail strive to apply the program they have accepted. Martov answers: You are too strict, for it is not so very necessary for a Party member to apply the program he has accepted, once he is willing to render the Party financial support and so forth. It looks as though Martov is sorry for certain windbag 'Social Democrats' and does not want to close the Party's doors to them.

We say, further that inasmuch as the application of the program entails fighting and that it is impossible to fight without unity it is the duty of every prospective Party member to join one of the Party organizations merge his wishes with those of the Party and in unison with the Party lead the fighting proletarian army, i.e. he must organize in the well-formed detachments of a centralized party. To this Martov answers: It is not so very necessary for Party members to organize in well-formed detachments to unite in organizations, fighting single-handed is good enough.

What then, is our Party? we ask. A chance conglomeration of individuals, or a compact organization of leaders? And if it is an organization of leaders, can we regard as a member one who does not belong to it and, consequently does not consider it his bounden duty to submit to its discipline? Martov answers that the Party is not an organization or rather that the Party is an unorganized organization (fine centralism to be sure!).

Evidently, in Martov's opinion, our Party is not a centralized organization but a conglomeration of local organizations and individual Social Democrats who have accepted our Party program etc. But if our Party is not a centralized organization it will not be a fortress, the gates of which can be opened only for those who have been tested. And indeed to Martov, as is evident from his formula, the Party is not a fortress but a banquet which every sympathizer can freely attend. A little knowledge an equal amount of sympathy a little financial support and there you are—you have full right to count as a Party member. Don't listen—cries Martov to cheer up the frightened 'Party members'—don't listen to those people who maintain that a Party member must belong to one of the Party organizations and thus subordinate his wishes to the wishes of the Party. In the first place it is hard for a man to accept these conditions, it is no joke to subordinate one's wishes to those of the Party! And, secondly, as I have already pointed out in my explanation, the opinion of those people is mistaken. And so, gentlemen, you are welcome to the banquet!

It looks as though Martov is sorry for certain professors and high-school students who are loth to subordinate their wishes to the wishes of the Party, and so he is forcing a breach in our Party fortress through which these estimable gentlemen may smuggle into our Party. He is opening the door to opportunism, and this at a time when thousands of enemies are assailing the class consciousness of the proletariat!

But that is not all. The point is that Martov's dubious formula makes it possible for opportunism to arise in our Party from another side.



by  
**J. V. Stalin**

Whom can we call a Party member? Paragraph One of the Party Rules which is the subject of the present article deal with precisely this question.

And so let us examine this question.

Whom then can we call a member of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party—i.e., what are the duties of a Party member?

Our Party is a Social-Democratic Party. This means that it has its own program (the immediate and the ultimate aims of the movement), its own tactics (methods of struggle) and its own organizational principle (form of association). Unity of program tactical and organizational views is the basis on which our Party is built. Only the unity of these views can unite the Party members in one centralized party. If unity of views collapses the Party collapses. Consequently only one who fully accepts the Party's program tactics and organizational principle can be called a Party member. Only one who has adequately studied and has fully accepted our Party's program tactical and organizational views can be in the ranks of our Party and thereby in the ranks of the leaders of the proletarian army.

But is it enough for a Party member merely to accept the Party's program tactics and organizational views? Can a person like that be regarded as a true leader of the proletarian army? Of course not! In the first place everybody knows that there are plenty of windbags in the world who would readily accept the Party's program tactics and organizational views, but who are incapable of being anything else than windbags. It would be a desecration of the Party's Holy of Holies to call a windbag like that a Party member (i.e. a leader of the proletarian army)! Moreover our Party is not a school of philosophy or a religious sect. Is not our Party a fighting party? Since it is it is not self-evident that our Party will not be satisfied with a platonic acceptance of its program tactics and organizational views that it will undoubtedly demand that its members should apply the views they have accepted? Hence whoever wants to be a member of our Party cannot rest content with merely accepting our Party's program tactical and organizational views, but must set about applying these views, putting them into effect.

But what does applying the Party's views mean for a Party member? When can he apply these views? Only when he is fighting when he is marching with the whole Party at the head of the proletarian army. Can the struggle be waged by solitary scattered individuals? Certainly not! On the contrary people first unite first they organize, and only then do they go into battle. If that is not done all struggle is fruitless. Clearly then, the Party members too will be able to fight and consequently apply the Party's views only if they unite in a compact organization. It is also clear that the more compact the organization in which the Party members unite the better will they be able to

Therein lies the supreme merit of this formula.

But it appears that some comrades reject Lenin's formula on the grounds that it is narrow and inconvenient, and propose their own formula which it must be supposed is neither narrow nor inconvenient. We are referring to Martov's\* formula which we shall now analyze.

Martov's formula is: 'A member of the RSDLP is one who accepts its program supports the Party financially and renders it regular personal assistance under the direction of one of its organizations. As you see this formula omits the third essential condition of Party membership namely the duty of Party members to work in one of the Party organizations. It appears that Martov regards this definite and essential condition as superfluous, and in his formula he has substituted for it the nebulous and dubious personal assistance under the direction of one of the Party organizations. It appears, then that one can be a member of the Party without belonging to any Party organization (a fine party to be sure!) and without feeling obliged to submit to the Party's will (fine party discipline to be sure!). Well and how can the Party 'regularly' direct persons who do not belong to any Party organization and consequently do not feel absolutely obliged to submit to Party discipline?

That is the question that shatters Martov's formula of Paragraph One of the Party Rules and it is answered in masterly fashion in Lenin's formula inasmuch as the latter definitely stipulates that a third and indispensable condition of Party membership is that one must work in a Party organization.

All we have to do is to throw out of Martov's formula the nebulous and meaningless 'personal assistance under the direction of one of the Party organizations.' With this condition eliminated there remains only two conditions in Martov's formula (acceptance of the program and financial support) which by themselves are utterly worthless since every windbag can accept the Party program and support the Party financially—but that does not in the least entitle him to party membership.

A convenient formula we must say!

Just as every complex organism is made up of an incalculable number of the simplest organisms so our Party being a complex and general organization is made up of numerous district and local bodies called Party organizations provided they have been endorsed by the Party Congress or the Central Committee. As you see not only Committees are called Party organizations. To direct the activities of these organizations according to a single plan there is a Central Committee through which these local Party organizations constitute one large centralized organization.

Lenin is an outstanding theoretician and practical leader of revolutionary Social Democracy. Martov is one of the editors of *Iskra*.

Proletarians Brdzola (The Proletarian Struggle) No 8 January 1. 1905  
Translated from the Georgian

We do not mention the other parties in Russia, because there is no need to deal with them in examining the questions under discussion.

Continued from first page . . .

lates into incorrect practice. This is plain fact that anybody can accept. What some will not accept is that correct ideological and political line do not guarantee the correctness of practice. That is why Lenin taught us not to base our positions on what people say of themselves but on what they do. Deeds speak louder than words. OL's case is very similar to that of the parties of the Second International that were always throwing radical sounding slogans in order to cover for their reformist and revisionist positions. But no matter how hard they tried they failed because Lenin and the Bolsheviks made sure to dispose of these revisionists of the Second International, starting with the renegade Kausky into the trash can of history.

## INTERNATIONAL WORKING WOMEN'S DAY

OL started its own coalition under the slogan of "No unity with revisionists". In that coalition also participated CAP and other organizations and fronts of both. (Although CAP has broken with OL since, at least organizationally as they have expressed in a series of forums recently held). After establishing their coalition OL and CAP joined the other coalition which had been formed by WVO (See Resistencia vol 7 #s 2 and 3) that included all kinds of opportunist forces and organizations as well as PRRWO, RWL and Resistencia Puerto-riquena. In the coalition OL showed that it was willing to negotiate on principles. They would have us establish only those principles of unity that separate us from the trotskyites and the "C" PUSA, without drawing lines of demarcation with all the others opportunists as themselves.

Thus, instead of defending their position on party building, ERA, bussing, etc. OL would rather negotiate on those things so we could all march together to the UN. In the course of struggle, opposition to both superpowers as a principle of unity was approved (including OL and CAP). In previous issues we have discussed the development of this struggle but it is important here to show clearly how the OL divorces theory from practice as we pointed out. OL and CAP left the coalition and marched together to the U.N. as they had planned. But in the principles of unity for that march, opposition to both superpowers was dropped and instead they used the general slogan of "opposition to imperialism". In a forum on Angola sponsored by CAP with the participation of many opportunists besides the OL this point was debated where CAP held that it was incorrect for the OL to have dropped "opposition to both superpowers". The OL claimed that "By making opposition to both superpowers a principle of unity would have liquidated the work we were doing in Baltimore, where the people we were working with were not clear on this issue". (Take note, comrades of Baltimore, on how backward the OL pictures you, and how well the OL is working that it cannot even advance its own slogans with the people they work. Any similarity with WVO is not pure coincidence, but menshevism).

## COALITION AGAINST S-1 BILL

The OL, CAP and el Comitè-MINP created a so called "anti-revisionist coalition against S-1 Bill". In a forum they held in Harlem, before the first presentation (made by the OL), the chair stated that after the presentations there would be time for questions but that declarations and polemics would not be allowed. It was clear that ideological struggle between the two lines was being squashed and the OL was tacitly approving this anti-Marxist stand. In its presentation the OL spoke of the imminent danger of war and fascism and of the need to stop the S-1 Bill through the creation of an anti-revisionist coalition in order to unite all who can be united. Although when speaking of war they mentioned soviet social imperialism in passing, they did not expand on this issue nor denounced soviet social imperialism as the main source of war in the world. Even though the forum was in february, 3 months after their call for the creation of the party, the representative of OL did not mention it even once in their presentation. During the short discussion that followed after all the presentations OL consistently evaded defending its line. They claimed that in the face of the threat of fascism they limit their analysis to the S-1 Bill that what has to be done is to form a united front and not to build a bolshevik party. In the course of the struggle which consistently they tried to limit, we questioned OL when they said that the coalition was an anti-revisionist one when there were forces (El Comitè-MINP) that denied the existence of soviet social imperialism and that supported its intervention and that of Cuban puppet troops in Angola. This question they answered clearly. They established that the OL always and everywhere opposes soviet social imperialism but

that in the face of the danger of fascism (of the S-1 Bill according to them) they have to unite whoever can be united and that the question of soviet social imperialism should not be a line of demarcation or a point of unity. That is to say, OL' in its right opportunism has invented a new type of anti-revisionist coalition which does not have to take a stand on the soviet social imperialists who are the ideological leaders of international revisionism. At this moment the OL's coalition against the S-1 Bill does not exist as this, was one of the many fronts OL created to try to strengthen its "Fight Back Committees" and therefore it's menshevik party.

But its right opportunist line still exists. They continue screaming fascism is coming, fascism is coming, and they run around uniting with opportunists, revisionists of all hues, poverty pimps and liberal politicians while in the movement they paint themselves red - talking of "no united action with revisionists".

## COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF FEDERICO CINTRON FIALLO

Another good example of OL's right opportunism is their participation in the Committee for the Defense of Federico Cintron Fiallo (CDFCF). While they raise their slogan of "No unity with revisionists", in this committee they not only pushed unity with revisionists but with trotskyites as well. Through-out the two line struggle that developed in the CDFCF OL consistently took a centrist position, refusing to defend its line and remaining "neutral" supposedly for the sake of "unity". The OL was proposing Unity at the cost of principles, and it is this same unity what they are proposing for their new "party". In the CDFCF struggle unfolded around three main questions when principles of unity were being discussed: 1) who would be admitted into the committee, 2) soviet social imperialism, and 3) the national question. In all three questions we will see how the OL showed its right opportunism, allying with the most opportunist and backward elements in that committee.

**MEMBERSHIP IN COMMITTEE** Refusing to take a position on this question, the OL objectively allied with El Comitè-MINP who numerically dominated the committee and who were proposing that anyone claiming to be interested in working in the defense of Federico Cintron could enter. So when the question of Trotskyites was discussed they supported the claim of El Comitè-MINP that "Trotskyism is not on trial here". So for the OL the trots are bad only in words, but in practice they can unite with them and help them spread their counterrevolutionary poison among the masses. It was clear that not attacking the Trotskyites on the part of OL responded to their right opportunist line on party building and their attempts at seeking unity with El Comitè-MINP who do not oppose the trotskyites, that is, to their "build the mass movement" line.

**SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM** The two lines on Soviet Social Imperialism centered on whether or not it represents a danger for the national liberation struggle in Puerto Rico. Our position is that it is necessary to oppose both superpowers, U S imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism, in order to really support that struggle. Soviet Social Imperialism is the most dangerous source of war in the world today, and it is making all kinds of preparations to wage imperialist war and gain hegemony over the world. Examples of their hegemonic attempts and the danger they represent to liberation struggles is their recent armed intervention in Angola. Other examples of how politically they try to sneak in through the back door (which is being held open by revisionist PSP) are the Havana Conference and Cuba maneuvers at the U.N. aimed at placing the liberation struggle of Puerto Rico at the hands of PSP, and through them gain hegemony over this colony.

The OL knows this and has even denounced it in their paper, but in order to move into the national movement they are willing to make any compromises. Thus, in order to maintain relations with opportunists of El Comitè-MINP and remain in the CDFCF they refuse to wage struggle, remain "neutral" and even try to conciliate the two line struggle with a "third" alternative. They claimed that to say "all imperialism", or imperialism wherever it occurs" is enough since it includes Soviet Social Imperialism without having to mention it. How convenient! This attitude towards struggle only leads to building a "party" to fit all kinds of social scum, based on "principles" so vague and wide that they can mean anything and satisfy everybody (except genuine communists!). So the OL is one day screaming in frenzy "No unity with revisionists!" and "Down with both superpowers", and yet the next day unites with them, "forgets" about one of the two superpowers, unites with El Comitè-MINP who hold that U S imperialism is the principal and ONLY danger in Puerto Rico, and that Soviet Social Imperialism does not exist.

**THE NATIONAL QUESTION** El Comitè-MINP whipped up the revisionist theory of the "Divided Nation" claiming that the CDFCF should be under the complete leadership of the committee in Puerto Rico for the defense of Federico Cintron (that is, under MSP, their fraternal organization in P.R.) Again, the OL crawled behind this narrow nationalist line of El Comitè-MINP, who threatened that the CDFCF in N.Y. would lose the "sponsorship" from Federico Cintron since neither him nor his committee in P.R. agreed with what we were proposing (opposition to trotskyites, revisionists and soviet social imperialism, etc.) Confronted by the threat of being "left out in the cold" the OL culminated its opportunism by accepting the complete proposal of El Comitè-MINP, negating the struggle between two lines, glossing over the class questions being raised there. As a result, El Comitè-MINP's proposed principles of unity were approved, we and advanced elements in the committee abandoned it as a matter of principle, while the OL remained, restoring "harmony" and making of the committee a nestling ground for right opportunism.

(We recommend that comrades and friends read the articles "Right opportunism the Main Danger" (Revolutionary Cause #3), "How not to Build a Communist Party" and "Historic Conference in Alamosa" (Revolutionary Cause #4) and "Defeat OL's (Menshevik-Liberal) Call for the Party" (by RWL in Palante #3) to get a better understanding of why we must tenaciously oppose this menshevik hegemonic attempt to build a reformist party and not a revolutionary party.)

The OL's party cannot in any form stop our work towards the building of a genuine bolshevik party. This is - and continues to be despite OL's menshevik attempt - our central task. Within our central task we must realize our two tactical tasks. Unite Marxists Leninists (which is a primary tactical task) and win the advanced elements - particularly in the working class. These two tactical tasks are carried on simultaneously and political line (which is key in this process) is the bond that unites both tasks. To unite Marxists Leninists and win the advanced to communism we use propaganda as the chief form of activity. For us "agitation among worker is inseparably linked to propaganda" (Lenin, The tasks of the Russian Social Democrats, Complete Works, Vol 2). We consider the right danger (revisionism, economism, right opportunism, etc.) the main danger in the communist movement, and in the working class, and the OL and WVO as the main proponents of this line. We point to the need to be on guard of a secondary danger, "left" dogmatism, which tends to develop in the heat of the struggle against the right.

The future is bright. Before us the task of smashing one of the two superpowers. To achieve this we need our party. Lenin's ending words in "The Tasks of Russian Social-Democrats" ring so true today.

"And so, to work, comrades! Let us not lose precious time! Russian Social-Democrats have much to do to meet the requirements of the awakening proletariat, to organize the working-class movement, to strengthen the revolutionary groups and their mutual ties, to supply the workers with propaganda and agitational literature, and to unite the workers' circles and Social-Democratic groups scattered all over Russia (Ed. U.S.) into a single Social Democratic Labour (Ed. Communist) Party!"

"IT IS NECESSARY TO LEARN, COMRADES, TO LEARN ALWAYS AT EVERY STEP, IN THE COURSE OF THE STRUGGLE, AT LIBERTY AND IN JAIL TO LEARN AND TO FIGHT, TO FIGHT AND TO LEARN"

G. Dimitrov

SEE CORRECTIONS

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