

# RESISTANCE

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POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION M-L

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

## LONG LIVE THE GREAT, GLORIOUS AND CORRECT COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA!

One of the most important tasks of all Marxist-Leninists, advanced elements and revolutionary-minded people is to defend those countries under the dictatorship of the proletariat, countries that are building socialism. The People's Republic of China is one of those countries. The great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China is the party that is not only leading the Chinese people along the brilliant road of socialist revolution and construction. Together with the Party of Labor of Albania the CPC is giving revolutionary leadership to the international communist movement and world proletariat. The CPC and the PLA have led the struggle against modern revisionism and they have put forward the correct strategy of the oppressed nations and peoples against the main enemies of humanity the two superpowers.

The capitalists, revisionists and their press have put forward that what is going on in China is a power play between differing groups which they have branded as "radicals" and "moderates." They hope that China will change its revolutionary line - especially on the international situation. The capitalist press expresses its hopes that People's China will change its color and become an ally of U.S. imperialism, and the revisionists here, particularly the CPUSA, the CLP and the Guardian hope that the CPC will change its revolutionary stand against modern revisionism and Soviet social-imperialism.

The Trotskyites, holding the corrupt, bankrupt, counterrevolutionary thesis of the impossibility of making socialist revolution and building socialism in one country, have consistently slandered the People's Republic of China. This thesis has been consistently proven wrong and the experience of the Russian, Chinese and Albanian revolutions definitely defeat it.

Other forces that want to remain anonymous for the moment - like the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Workers Viewpoint Organization - are spreading pessimism among our ranks. They try to prove that history repeats itself, and that in the same way in which capitalism was restored in the Soviet Union after the great Stalin's death, capitalism will be restored in China after the great Mao Tse Tung's death.

IT IS PRECISELY THIS UNITED FRONT AGAINST CHINA THAT HAS OBJECTIVELY BEEN CREATED BY ALL THESE FORCES THAT GENUINE MARXISTS-LENINISTS HAVE TO RISE UP AGAINST AND DEFEAT!

The period of building socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat is one in which all along the road the defeated class makes all sorts of desperate attempts to recapture power and restore capitalism. In order to do this, they try to maneuver from within the Party, securing positions of leadership from where they will attempt to seize state power. That is why Chairman Mao clearly understanding that the best form of taking a fortress is from within put forward again and again "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet you don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party - those in power taking the capitalist road."

It is not difficult to understand why those who take the capitalist road in the Party will mask themselves as the most Marxist-Leninist and Bolshevik of them all. The capitalist roaders and revisionists know very well that the Chinese peoples will smash any attempt to change the color of China from red and to restore capitalism. That is why the capitalist roaders within the Party are very careful to at all times wave the red flag and vow loyalty to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao

and Teng Hsiao-ping are good examples of those that raise the red flag in order to attack the red flag. This has been correctly grasped by the Communist Party of China and was summed up by Chou En Lai in the following way: "For a long time to come, there will still be two-line struggles within the Party, reflecting these contradictions, and such struggles will occur ten, twenty or thirty times. Lin Biao will appear again and so will persons like Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi, Peng Teh-huai and Kao Kang. This is something independent of man's will. Therefore, all comrades in our Party must be fully prepared mentally for the struggles in the long years to come and be able to make the best use of the situation and guide the struggle to victory for the proletariat, no matter how the class enemy may change his tactics." (Report to the 10th National Congress of the CPC)

Guided by the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, the Communist Party of China was able to achieve decisive victories in the 10 major struggles against assorted renegades and capitalist roaders. The death of Premier Chou En Lai opened the way for a new major struggle in which the right deviationist attempts of Teng Hsiao-ping were defeated. It was to be expected then that the death of the great Chairman Mao would be the occasion utilized by the servants of the bourgeoisie in the CPC to launch their biggest attempt to seize state power and restore capitalism in China. This was the attempt orchestrated by the anti-party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan.

The "gang of four" put forward revisionist lines against the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao has correctly summed up that during the historical period of the construction of socialism the principal contradiction is between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the main danger is revisionism. However, the "gang of four" put forward that the main danger is empiricism and thus initiated a campaign against empiricism which objectively liquidated the questions of "study Marxism, criticize revisionism," as well as the struggle against dogmatism. Chairman Mao alerted the "gang of four" of their error, saying "It seems the formulation should be 'Oppose revisionism, which includes empiricism and dogmatism. Both revise Marxism-Leninism. Don't mention just one while omitting the other.' In my opinion, those who are criticizing empiricism are themselves empiricists." (See Peking Review, 1976, no. 49)

The "gang of four" refused to follow Chairman Mao's teaching on art and literature - "Let a hundred flowers blossom, a hundred schools of thought contend." The struggle around the film *The Pioneers* illustrates this point well. On different occasions, Chiang Ching stopped the distribution of this film, stating that the film has 10 major errors. The fact of the matter is that the attacks on the film were orchestrated as a campaign against the late Premier Chou En Lai, who is portrayed in the film as the great Marxist-Leninist revolutionary that he was. Chiang Ching persisted in attacking the film, disregarding Chairman Mao's statement that, "There is no big error in this film. Suggest that it be approved for distribution. Don't nit-pick. And to list as many as ten accusations against it is going too far. It hampers the adjustment of the Party's current policy on literature and art." (See Peking Review, 1976, No. 47)



## SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PUERTO RICAN NATION! - PART II

Puerto Rico is a colonial country under U.S. imperialist domination. Its economy is based on capitalist relations of production, despite small remnants of feudal relations. The working class comprises the majority of Puerto Rico's population. Only about 5% of the Puerto Rican labor force is employed in agriculture (mostly as agricultural proletarians). The national bourgeoisie is extremely weak and numerically small, there is a great sector of the bourgeoisie which is intermediary or "comprador" in nature, and there is a relatively large petty bourgeoisie.

In comparison with other colonies, Puerto Rico's relatively high level of education, modern roads, electric power, telephone communication, automobiles, concentration of population in urban areas are all indications of the relatively higher level of capitalist development in this nation - colony (Australia is another example of capitalist development in the colonies). These were the objective conditions which led us in the past to uphold the one-stage revolution for Puerto Rico - a country where contradictions between labor and capital are acute and clear due to its capitalist development. However this would constitute placing economics before politics and breaking the relationship between the two. In our analysis of the Puerto Rican national colonial question we must take into account (1) both the political and economic factors, what is the main contradiction (2) the historical development of capitalism, and consequently the two periods in the course of which the national question undergoes fundamental changes, and (3) the social character of the revolution, the role of the proletariat and other classes.

### THE MAIN CONTRADICTION

Despite its economic development, Puerto Rico does not rule itself, it is politically and economically tied to the U.S., all vital state functions are in the hands of the imperialist U.S. bourgeoisie, which controls customs, communications, postal service, currency, mass media, air and sea transportation, the highest court of appeals for Puerto Ricans resides in Boston, USA, the army is the U.S. army into which Puerto Ricans are drafted, U.S. Congress has veto power over Puerto Rico's rubber stamp legislature, and so on.

Obviously the Puerto Rican people do not have control of their nation. Such conditions constitute an

# STOP MURDER OF WORKERS

Two more of the 45 fellow workers badly burned in the explosion at American Chiclé Company have died. Another 40 are still fighting for their lives, suffering severe burns that will leave the majority of them scarred for life. And not a single arrest has been, nor will be made for this horrendous crime. The owners of the company, the police and the mayor, the Fire Commissioner and the capitalist newspapers have said in a chorus that the explosion was a "tragic accident." We say no! It was a crime!

Every year thousands of workers die or are injured due to health hazards and security risks that exist almost in every workplace in the U.S. The existence of this problem is well known to the capitalists that own the businesses. But they do nothing to resolve it. Our safety doesn't mean anything to the capitalists. Their only preoccupation is making more and more profits. That's why they refuse to install the necessary safety equipment, and even when they are pressed to do so by our militant struggles, they always do a half-ass job, buy cheap equipment, etc. They only invest money to make more money. And because there is no profit in providing for the safety of the workers, they let the workers suffer injuries and death. The capitalist logic goes like this: So what if the workers die? It's always cheaper for the capitalists to get new workers out of the thousands upon millions of unemployed in the country, to take the place of the fallen workers. The case in point - the explosion at Chiclé Co. in Queens proves this very clearly.

According to one of the newspapers of the capitalists, the New York Times, before May 1975 Richard J. Murphy, then a company inspector, reported that the continued use of volatile chemical dust as a gum-machine lubricant could cause an explosion" (N.Y.T. Nov 25). Nothing was done by the company to correct the problem. And the report made by Fire Commissioner John T. O'Hagan about the explosion established that the "explosion and fatal fire at the plant last Sunday was probably caused when sparks from a malfunctioning machine ignited dust in the air from magnesium stearate, the chemical described in the reported warning by Mr. Murphy" (N.Y.T. Nov 25). A security risk that was reported more than a year and a half ago and a malfunctioning machine" (which who knows for how long had been malfunctioning) caused the death and injuries of 45 fellow workers - and they call that an accident! Again we say no! This was cold-blooded MURDER!!!

We have to learn from the sad experience of our class brothers and sisters at the American Chiclé Co. We have to immediately move to deal with the health hazards and safety risks that exist in our plant. We can't wait until the next crime to deal with the problem. Let's unite in our rank and file caucus, or let's organize one if it doesn't exist already, to establish a series of demands around safety conditions, safety equipment, health conditions, etc. Let's demand a meeting of our local to discuss the local to include in our contract negotiations a clause to deal with our safety, or expand the actual clause if it already exists. The time to move is now. Tomorrow can be too late!

FIGHT AGAINST THE MURDERERS OF CHICLE CO!  
END ALL DANGEROUS CONDITIONS IN ALL FACTORIES NOW!



The agitational leaflet on the left is being given out in a great number of factories in New York and New Jersey. This leaflet initiated a campaign directed at organizing around the risk and dangers we workers are subjected to in factories with unhealthy conditions: inadequate ventilation, bad electrical wiring, volatile materials, malfunctioning equipment, etc. The purpose of the agitational piece is to spread indignation among the working class at the crime committed against the class brothers in the American Chiclé Co. while pointing to unsafe conditions existing in other workplaces.

The leaflet is being accompanied by intense communist propaganda work and political agitation around this important issue in those places where we have cadres or contacts of the organization. Our shop publications have included articles demanding that the locals call for emergency meetings to discuss the question of workers' safety. The same demand has been raised in some rank and file newsletters in different factories. In fact, we are pushing that the struggle for a clause specifically dealing with safety measures be added to contract negotiations if it doesn't already exist or be expanded if it does. Also, cadres are to link it with other demands such as "equal pay for equal work", "Stop National Oppression", "Stop Discrimination of Women", "equality of languages and cultures", and others, as part of the principles of unity in the rank and file caucus in which we participate or organize in the factories.

The development of this work is still in its beginning stages. Our propaganda is geared towards linking this specific occurrence with the capitalist system as a whole - principally to explaining the role of the bourgeois state in this question and denouncing the role of the union bureaucrats, who collaborate with the capitalists and do nothing to defend the interests of the workers - the purpose for which unions were created. Also, our propaganda is aimed at giving answer to these problems, a tactical plan for action and struggle which is to be put in practice in different factories.

Comrades, saying that socialism is the only solution is not enough. Saying that what we need to do is build a party, is not enough either. Communists have the responsibility to present concretely what can be done, given the concrete conditions. At the same time, we must emphasize that it isn't enough to develop a struggle in our factory and forget what's happening in the rest of the world. We must concretely show why we have to destroy the capitalist system and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism in the same manner, we must concretely explain the need for building a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the U.S.

In the near future we will analyse the development of this work, its successes and failures, its positive and negative aspects. We exhort our comrades in the area as well as readers who are in general agreement and other honest Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers to develop work along these lines and to raise the issue of workers' safety in their daily work with the class.

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## SUMMARY OF THE REPORT ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

Submitted by the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania.

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## Puerto Rico Continued from page 1

obstacle for the independent political development of a Puerto Rican state and its further economic development. Thus, these obstacles i.e., the fetters of U.S. imperialism, must be removed before any further development, before socialism can be built in Puerto Rico, regardless of the development of its productive forces. Thus the principal contradiction is that between the Puerto Rican nation and U.S. imperialism. Therefore, the revolution in Puerto Rico must be aimed in the first place to resolve this contradiction, to fight for the self-determination of the Puerto Rican nation.

Some claim that the bourgeois democratic revolution already occurred "peacefully" in Puerto Rico in the 40's when the imperialists introduced drastic changes towards the industrialization of the island. We say, the bourgeois democratic revolution was not completed in Puerto Rico regardless of the economic "transformation". In the relation between politics and economics politics must be the dominant aspect in our analysis. Has the so called "peaceful economic revolution" in Puerto Rico placed political power in the hands of the Puerto Rican nation? No. In whose hands does political power still lie? - this is the question that must be answered, for the question of power is the fundamental question in all revolutions. And, since both politically and economically Puerto Rico continues to be a colony of U.S. imperialism, Puerto Rico's revolution is, first of all, an anti-imperialist revolution, and the task of the Puerto Rican revolutionaries that of national liberation.

### THREE PERIODS OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION

There are three periods of the national question - the national question during the period of rising capitalism, the national question during the era of imperialism and socialist revolutions, and the national question during the period of socialist construction and the dictatorship of the proletariat. We will only concern ourselves in this article with the first two. In the period of rising capitalism, when the new national bourgeoisie is fighting to secure its own home markets, the national movements are essentially wars between the bourgeois classes, and it is the bourgeoisie who leads the national movement rallying the proletariat behind its banners. During the second period of the development of capitalism - imperialism - its highest and last stage, the national movements are no longer led by the bourgeoisie, but rather by the proletariat, as the only class who can lead the revolution towards real victory against imperialism and carry the struggle on till the end.

In this period, the national movements are no longer a war between the bourgeois classes, but a war against imperialism, and as such, become an integral part of the worldwide struggle of the proletariat for socialist revolution. Thus, in this period of imperialism and socialist revolutions, bourgeois democratic revolutions no longer belong to the old category of the bourgeois democratic world revolution, but rather, to a new category as part of the world proletarian revolution. Why? Chairman Mao, in his brilliant thesis On New Democracy explains why.

Why? Because the first imperialist world war and the first victorious socialist revolution the October Revolution have changed the whole course of world history and ushered in a new era.

It is an era in which the world capitalist front has collapsed in one part of the globe (one-sixth of the world) and has fully revealed its decadence everywhere else in which the remaining capitalist parts cannot survive without relying more than ever on the colonies and semi-colonies in which a socialist state has been established and has proclaimed its readiness to give active support to the liberation movement of all colonies and semi-colonies and in which the proletariat of the capitalist countries is steadily freeing itself from the social imperialist influence of the social-democratic parties and has proclaimed its support for the liberation movement in the colonies and semi-colonies. In this era any revolution in a colony or semi-colony that is directed against imperialism i.e. against the international bourgeoisie or international capitalism no longer comes within the old category of the bourgeois-democratic world revolution but within the new category. It is no longer part of the old bourgeois or capitalist world revolution but is part of the new world revolution the proletarian socialist world revolution. Such revolutionary colonies and semi-colonies can no longer be regarded as allies of the counter-revolutionary front of world capitalism they have become allies of the revolutionary front of world socialism.

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Puerto Rico is one such colony whose revolution is aimed against U.S. imperialism. Despite its relatively high level of capitalist development which has swept away feudalism, still the main contradiction to be resolved is that with U.S. imperialism, thus requiring a bourgeois democratic revolution of new type in which the struggle of colonies becomes part of the worldwide front against imperialism. Not until after the contradiction with U.S. imperialism is solved can the Puerto Rican revolution pass on to its second stage, the socialist revolution which is aimed at resolving the contradiction between labor

and capital and building socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The New Democratic Revolution - In the second period of the national question - under the leadership of the proletariat and its vanguard, in coalition with all revolutionary forces clears the way for socialist revolution.

How soon the New Democratic Revolution will pass on to the Socialist Revolution will depend on the particular conditions of each country. However the creation of a genuine Communist Party is a decisive factor in this process - as we learned from the experience of the Chinese revolution.

### THE ROLE OF THE PROLETARIAT

A cornerstone of a correct analysis is the role assigned to the proletariat. In 1905 Russia, Lenin faced this very question; The bourgeois democratic revolution was unfolding in Russia and the Bolsheviks were faced with the concrete problem - what is the role of the proletariat in this revolution? What should be the Bolshevik tactics in this revolution? Lenin analysed the situation and concluded that the proletariat should, not only actively participate in the revolution, but also, lead it. And further Lenin said that only if the proletariat leads the bourgeois democratic revolution can it really be successful (be carried out through to the end). He said:

"Marxism teaches the proletariat not to keep aloof from the bourgeois revolution, not to be indifferent to it, not to allow the leadership of the revolution to be assumed by the bourgeoisie but, on the contrary, to take a most energetic part in it, to fight most resolutely for consistent proletarian democracy, for the revolution to be carried to its conclusion." V. I. Lenin, Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution, Lenin's Selected Works, p. 490.

And also:

"The outcome of the revolution depends on whether the working class will play the part of a subsidiary to the bourgeoisie, a subsidiary that is powerful in the force of its onslaught against the autocracy, but impotent politically, or whether it will play the part of leader of the people's revolution." (Same as above, p. 462)

The New Democratic Revolution, to be completely successful, must be led by the proletariat in alliance with all revolutionary classes who stand in opposition to imperialism. In no way can the New Democratic Revolution be led by the bourgeoisie because this class is neither willing to carry on the revolution through to the end, nor is it capable of leading the revolution successfully. As a class, especially its largest sector - the comprador bourgeoisie - its interests are tied in with imperialism and its very existence and survival as a class depends on imperialism. So the leading role of the New Democratic Revolution falls on the proletariat (who in the case of Puerto Rico is not only the leading but also principal force).

All other classes or strata, such as the petty bourgeoisie, who stand in opposition to U.S. imperialism are to be roused up and mustered as forces that can ally with the proletariat to overthrow U.S. imperialist domination from Puerto Rico. However these forces, because of their unstable character, their decline as classes, and their material ties with the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie, do not stand in complete opposition to the system of capitalism. In them, the contradiction between labor and capital is not so clear, and therefore they cannot carry the class struggle to its ultimate consequences of completely abolishing the bourgeois capitalist state.

Thus the working class, as the vanguard of the revolution and as the only class who can consistently and thoroughly carry out the revolution to the end, will temporarily ally with these other revolutionary, non-proletarian classes in order to carry out the aims of the bourgeois democratic revolution against the common enemy - imperialism. At the same time, the working class must also organize itself in an independent political party, a communist party, to lead both stages of the revolution. As Lenin taught us on alliances with other classes and strata:

"... they (communists, ed) will always point out that this solidarity is temporary and conditional, they will always emphasize the independent class identity of the proletariat who tomorrow may find themselves in opposition to their allies of today." LCW vol. 2, The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats, p. 334.

And further, in order to explain the need for an in-

dependent party of the proletariat, he says:

"the merging of the democratic activities of the working class with the democratic aspirations of other classes and groups would weaken the democratic movement, would weaken the political struggle, would make it less determined, less consistent, more likely to compromise." (Same as above, p. 336)

Chairman Mao also very clearly points out that in the New Democratic period the proletariat leads the revolution when he says:

Although such a revolution in a colonial and semi-colonial country is still fundamentally bourgeois-democratic in its social character during its first stage or first step and although its objective mission is to clear the path for the development of capitalism it is no longer a revolution of the old type led by the bourgeoisie with the aim of establishing a capitalist society and a state under bourgeois dictatorship. It belongs to the new type of revolution led by the proletariat with the aim in the first stage of establishing a new democratic society and a state under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes. Thus this revolution actually serves the purpose of clearing a still wider path for the development of socialism.

### THE ALLIES OF THE PROLETARIAT

To misunderstand the question of allies and tactical alliances with revolutionary non-proletarian sectors, proposing a "merger" of classes in one party, towards the aim of defeating U.S. imperialism is a strategy that is bound to fail, as it weakens the revolutionary movement. However the independence and leading role of the proletariat as only class thoroughly capable of leading and waging the revolution till the end does not mean that it is the 'only revolutionary class' that will alone wage the revolution. This is a grave error. It directly plunges the proletarian

into adventurism and failure that can only end up in great massacres, defeats and set backs for the revolutionary movement.

The question of allies is a crucial one for all honest Marxist-Leninists. It is essential for all those truly interested in waging revolution and it is a demarcation line between Trotskyism and Marxism-Leninism. Chairman Mao teaches us about the alliance of the Chinese proletariat with the Chinese bourgeoisie in the bourgeois democratic revolution. This alliance was based on the colonial, semicolonial situation in China, and the principles laid here apply just as well to other colonial and semicolonial countries fighting to free themselves from imperialism. We believe it applies to the Puerto Rican reality as well.

But China's national bourgeoisie has a revolutionary quality at certain periods and to a certain degree because China is a colonial and semi-colonial country which is a victim of aggression. Here the task of the proletariat is to form a united front with the national bourgeoisie against imperialism and the bureaucrat and warlord governments without overlooking its revolutionary quality.

At the same time however being a bourgeois class in a colonial and semi-colonial country and so being extremely flabby economically and politically the Chinese national bourgeoisie also has another quality namely a proneness to conciliation with the enemies of the revolution. Even when it takes part in the revolution it is unwilling to break with imperialism completely and moreover it is closely associated with the exploitation of the rural areas through land rent thus it is neither willing nor able to overthrow imperialism and much less the feudal forces, in a thorough way. So neither of the two basic problems or tasks of China's bourgeois-democratic revolution can be solved or accomplished by the national bourgeoisie.

Possible participation in the revolution on the one hand and proneness to conciliation with the enemies of the revolution on the other - such is the dual character of the Chinese bourgeoisie it faces both ways. Even the bourgeoisie in European and American history had shared this dual character. When confronted by a formidable enemy they united with the workers and peasants against him but when the workers and peasants awakened they turned round to unite with the enemy against the workers and peasants. This is a general rule applicable to the bourgeoisie everywhere in the world but the trait is more pronounced in the Chinese bourgeoisie.

Therefore the proletariat the peasantry the intelligentsia and the other sections of the petty bourgeoisie undoubtedly constitute the basic forces determining China's fate. These classes some already awakened and others in the process of awakening will necessarily become the basic components of the state and governmental structure in the democratic republic of China with the proletariat as the leading force. The Chinese democratic republic which we desire to establish now must be a democratic republic under the joint dictatorship of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal people led by the proletariat that is a new-democratic republic a republic of the genuinely revolutionary new Three People's Principles with their Three Great Policies.<sup>18</sup>

### THE NEW DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

In order to correctly apply the principles of New Democracy, all colonies and semicolonies, despite secondary differences must adopt the same form of state.

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and government. That is, the form taken by the New Democratic Republic is that of joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes led by the proletariat. Chairman Mao sums up the different types of state systems in the present world as being basically three according to the class character of those holding political power (1) the bourgeois dictatorship, (2) the dictatorship of the proletariat, and (3) the joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes led by the proletariat. On the third type he says

The third kind is the transitional form of state to be adopted in the revolutions of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Each of these revolutions will necessarily have specific characteristics of its own but these will be minor variations on a general theme. So long as they are revolutions in colonial or semi-colonial countries their state and governmental structure will of necessity be basically the same, i.e. a new-democratic state under the joint dictatorship of several anti-imperialist classes.

In the New Democratic Republic it should be pointed out also, the national economy, in the main will be socialist in character, allowing capitalist development only in so far as it "does not dominate the livelihood of the people." That is, under the leadership of the proletariat, and its vanguard the Communist Party, in alliance with other revolutionary classes, the state in the New Democratic Republic will develop socialist enterprises, and will closely control and guide the development of the economy that it at all times serve the interests of the people and clear the way towards the building of socialism.

### THE MENSHEVIKS IN PUERTO RICO

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) - revisionist advocates a two stage revolution from an opportunist standpoint, presenting a distorted view of Chairman Mao's New Democracy. In their strategic vision of the struggle, PSP views the petty bourgeoisie as the leading force of the first stage and the working class

as a mere appendage of the petty bourgeoisie. PSP rejects the joint dictatorship of all revolutionary classes led by the proletariat and advocates a "multi-party vanguard" (a vanguard of many parties and many classes). PSP itself is a multi-class organization which groups together all classes, merging the interests of all classes, thus liquidating the interests of the proletariat, and consequently of the revolution.

The correct stand on the Puerto Rican revolution and the embracing by honest Marxist-Leninists of New Democracy, requires a complete exposure of PSP's revisionist views and their reliance on one imperialism to fight the other. This reliance endangers the future of that liberation struggle and places it in the same road taken by the MPLA in Angola, which has cost so many thousands of Angolan lives in the past year at the hands of the mercenary Cuban troops led by the Soviet social imperialists. PSP is leaving the back door wide open for the Soviet social imperialists to meddle and control in that country.

PSP rejects the revolutionary United Front to wage armed resistance against the imperialists and puts forward the social-democratic electoral front, placing their efforts mainly on parliamentarism and bourgeois legalism while mentioning armed struggle as only a "last resort". Thus their Secretary General declares that

"This is why they would like to get us out of the (electoral, ed.) race. In these elections no voting results will have as much importance as the votes obtained by the Socialist Party (PSP, ed.) and the election of this Party's candidates. The political future of our country will be defined by that showing." Claridad, Bilingual supplement, Sept 26, 1976

PSP views the proletariat as an appendage of the petty bourgeoisie. They thus do not see the need to organize the proletariat in an independent political party. They oppose the creation of a true vanguard communist party in Puerto Rico. They also "file away communism" by only putting forward a mini-

program which is not even in accordance to the concrete conditions of Puerto Rico.

The fact is that PSP is not a proletarian party, not in the interests of the proletariat and proletarian revolution. Their reliance on Soviet Social imperialism shows on the one hand their bourgeois character which cannot stand for the complete freedom of the proletariat. Also it shows their weakness as representatives of that class, in that they will not rely on the masses and its vanguard, the proletariat (whom they fear more than imperialism). Thus they turn to a "strong" ally who promises to put them in power. The weakness, proneness to compromise of the national bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie is accurately reflected in PSP's reliance on one superpower - Soviet Social imperialism - to fight the other - U.S. imperialism.

Finally, and this is a most dangerous aspect of these Mensheviks, is their "socialism in words". Although PSP "files away communism", collaborates with imperialism, and does not have the interests of workers and oppressed people at heart, they use the red banner of socialism to attack socialism, fool the people, and rally the proletariat behind the Menshevik banner of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie in Puerto Rico. (It is not the topic of this article to discuss the anti-proletarian, anti-communist stand of PSP in the U.S. in relation to the role of Puerto Rican workers, their revisionist "Divided Nation" theory, the building of a multinational communist party in the U.S., etc., etc., but we would like to say at this point that their stance in these issues is equally corrupt, sold out and revisionist. On this topic we have consistently struggled in the past and will continue in the future.)

Honest Marxist Leninists must close ranks, build a genuine M-L communist party, vanguard of the proletariat that will lead the New Democratic and Socialist revolutions, along with the United Front and the People's army, and at the same time, heighten vigilance and keep that back door tightly shut. The future of the free and socialist Puerto Rico depends on that

# INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT HAILS VICTORIES OF CHINA AND ALBANIA!

The international proletariat joyously celebrates the great victories achieved by China and Albania in the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism. The comradely friendship which exists between the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania, between the two peoples and the two countries has been forged on the basis of clear revolutionary principles. It is a fraternal relation based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Both have been able to integrate the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions in their country, uniting their peoples in a united front and organizing a popular army which allowed them to defeat the imperialist aggressors, feudalism and capitalism and advance victoriously down the path of socialism. Both parties, dared to go against the tide and maintain a principled, uncompromising struggle against the Khrushchovite clique which brought revisionism to power and restored capitalism in the Soviet Union. Both parties are staunch allies of the peoples of the third world which struggle against all types of oppression, especially against the hegemonism of both superpowers.

The Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania are definitely in the vanguard of all forces which struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and modern revisionism. This vanguard role is theirs, not because they have declared themselves to be the vanguard but because they have shown, in practice, over a long period of time, and in a consistent basis, their adherence to the science of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian revolution, and selfless aid to the nations which struggle for their independence and national liberation. The Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania, do not have to say "we are the vanguard, join us". Their leadership is not open to debate among the genuine Marxist-Leninists around the world. Today, we joyously celebrate the triumph of the Communist Party of China against the anti-party clique of the "gang of four" (See article - Long Live the Great, Glorious and Correct Party of China in this issue). We also joyously celebrate the successful 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania, as this con-

gress marks a great step forward in the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism in Albania.

The report given by Comrade Enver Hoxha to this congress is an extremely important document which we must all study conscientiously. It analyzes the successes of socialist construction in Albania, the new socialist constitution, the party's leading role, the struggle on the ideological front, the international situation and the foreign policy of the Party of Labor of Albania, the international communist movement and the struggle against modern revisionism. We must study these positions in order to deepen our understanding of the burning questions which face the Marxist-Leninists throughout the world.

As usual, the bourgeois chorus headed by the two superpowers especially, Soviet Social-imperialist, have already tried to imply that there has been a break between China and Albania due to the fact that there definitely exist differences between them. In the United States, this tendency is openly headed by the "CP"USA and the Guardian and in a hidden and surreptitious manner by COUSML, RCP and WVO. Comrades, it is true, that these differences do exist. However, there also exist unities, much more fundamental than these differences. That is why both parties consistently point out their fraternal ties. Thus, we see that in the very 7th Congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha stated

The Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people are loyal friends and allies of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people. Our two peoples and countries are comrades-in-arms of the same ideal, and are inspired by the same aims and internationalist tasks. No slander or concoction of the bourgeois-revisionist propaganda can cast any shadow over the Marxist-Leninist character and the vitality of the Albanian-Chinese friendship. Our party and people will constantly strive to keep the fraternal friendship and collaboration with the great Chinese people, their glorious Communist Party, great People's China pure and strong." (Summary

of the Report on the Activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, LPR publication, page 18)

By the same token, the Communist Party of China in the message of congratulation on the 7th Congress of the PLA, pointed out

"The two Parties, two countries, and two peoples of China and Albania have forged a militant friendship in protracted revolutionary struggles. Our friendship and unity are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and it is futile for imperialism, social-imperialism in particular, to sow discord and engage in sabotage." (Peking Review, No 49, 1976, pg 14)

Comrades, we must break with the metaphysical analysis, which characterize opportunists such as WVO, PRRWO, RWL, COUSML and other birds of the same feathers. Unity among Marxist-Leninists is not forged by one organization based on parroting word for word the words of the other. Nor is it based on "paper formulations". Unity is based on strategy and tactics, ideological and political line, based on the application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions - there are the things that unite Marxist-Leninists. As Enver Hoxha stated in the report to the 7th Congress.

"we, the Marxist-Leninist and workers' parties are duty bound to constantly strengthen and temper the close cooperation among our parties, of course, with none being dependent on, or taking orders from, any other. As internationalist communists, we need to exchange our experience and, each of us, in the conditions of his own country, must act on the basis of Marxism-Leninism." (Summary LPR edition, page 27)

It is on the basis of these teachings and not the metaphysics of those mentioned that we must study the positions of the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania on different questions. If we make an objective, scientific analysis, we will prove - in the same way that both parties have done - that on the most fundamental questions in theory as well as in practice, there exists unity between the Chinese and Albanian comrades. In the near future, after a thorough study of the Documents of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania as well as the different documents of the Communist Party of China, we will publish our analysis of the international situation based on the teachings of the vanguard of the international communist movement - the Party of Labor of Albania and the Communist Party of China

# COMMUNIST FORUM



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

## Our Disagreements with the PRRWO-- a preliminary statement by former PRRWO members and supporters

In the past months we have seen the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization fully consolidate an ultra-leftist line. The roots of this line have a much longer history and today, around the country honest Marxist-Leninists and advanced elements are summing up the historical development of this left line in the PRRWO. We believe that the degeneration of the PRRWO has been a definite, although temporary, setback for the U.S. communist and workers movements, but by analyzing and summing up, we can contribute to the efforts of all genuine communists to draw important lessons from this--and thus turn a bad thing into a good thing.

### Our unities in the past

The PRRWO has today abandoned the correct Marxist-Leninist positions around which it once united its cadres and advanced elements. For example

In the past, upholding that the building of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party was indeed the central task of all communists, PRRWO said that

"the communist movement armed with Marxism-Leninism must interconnect itself and lead the spontaneous movements giving them a conscious character tying up all forms of oppression and linking them up with the final goal--the armed overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. (Palante vol 1 #1 p 1)

"Primary in this period is the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism the work of explaining in detail key problems of Marxism-Leninism to the advanced elements. Secondly we have to selectively choose those struggles from which the entire communist movement can learn when they are summed up and which can through correct tactics intensify the ever-sharpening contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. We must never propose actions that won't accomplish anything and must give guidance on winning immediate demands without losing sight of our final aim--which must always be our primary focus. (ibid, p 4)

Upholding the Marxist-Leninist principle that the struggle against imperialism is a sham without a ruthless struggle against opportunism, the PRRWO said of the struggle against the revisionists

"We must thoroughly discredit and defeat these deceivers for their betrayal of the proletariat. They will be wherever the proletariat and toiling masses are--struggling in the factories the communities and the schools. They will spread their distortions and lead the people to defeat if we do not meet them head on and in our work smash them every time they raise their ugly heads. In this way we will win the leadership of the proletariat and its allies and prove ourselves worthy of being the finest elements the class has to offer.

"Then when we call our 1st Party Congress it will not be shrugged off as insignificant as is the case with the new Trotskyites the CL (Communist League--today the Communist Labor Party). Their isolated sect of theoreticians has had little or no influence among the people because they have not proven their worth in the heat of class struggle. They stand on the sidelines and quote from the 45 volumes and in this way expect the revolution to succeed. They are headed nowhere fast. Our Party will have influence among the working class because the class will have seen that elements composing that Party will have had a history of bringing Marxism-Leninism to the class and giving the spontaneous movement a conscious character. (ibid p 5-6)

Continuing the criticism and exposure of the ultra-left CL PRRWO said

While struggling against the main danger (in the communist movement) right opportunism we must relentlessly struggle against the left opportunists in our movement--those like the CL that break the relationship between theory and practice and try to isolate the communist movement from the workers movement. They reduce the theory of Marxism to a lifeless dogma and do not utilize it to solve the practical short and long-range problems of the proletariat. They call for a party of theoreticians arm-

chair revolutionaries unable to move the masses forward because they stand aloof away from the masses. (ibid p 6)

Today, the PRRWO has repudiated these correct Marxist-Leninist principles. Today, the criticisms it once leveled at the left-opportunist CL apply to the PRRWO itself.

### The left line of the PRRWO

The PRRWO today holds that "party building is the central and only task." They say that to struggle to lead the spontaneous struggles of the masses and give them a planned, conscious character during this pre-party period is "worshipping spontaneity" and that communists and advanced elements who are involved or advocate being involved in these struggles are "Mensheviks" and "backward elements." PRRWO attacks practice even while it boasts how it "applies" Marxism-Leninism.

"This is why the key link the application of the Universal principles applied to our concrete conditions i.e., hammering out of the Party's basic line program of action continues to flush them all out on the one hand and on the other hand the struggle against bourgeois line continues to bring forward genuine Bolsheviks staunch and active fighters of the proletariat because we apply what we've learned from our teachers we stand on principle and the authenticity the purity of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought." (Palante vol 6 #7)

According to the PRRWO, it is not by struggling, in practice, to apply the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought to the concrete realities of the U.S. today that cadres and advanced elements are trained. They are consolidated through theoretical work alone--study divorced from practice. The PRRWO says it will build its party by arming the cadres theoretically to uphold Marxism-Leninism and draw the line of demarcation with the opportunists. And we would agree that this is an absolutely necessary task. However opportunists are not exposed through ideological struggle alone--PRRWO liquidates the political and economic struggles which are also necessary to defeat the opportunists and to make revolution.

The PRRWO "definition" of revolutionary practice does not include direct participation in and leadership of the spontaneous struggles of the masses.

It has been Bolsheviks of the Revolutionary wing that have advanced the struggle for the proletariat's line that have purged the "RC P" out of the communist movement that have struggled to give the spontaneous movements a planned, conscious character by advancing the correct program of the seizure of state power the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the instrument of proletarian revolution to carry it to its completion in the abolition of classes in a communist society by developing the correct tactical line for this particular period in the revolution that party building is the central and only task that which most scientifically meets the immediate interest of the proletariat that have engaged in the revolutionary practice of bringing into being the Bolshevik Party of unifying genuine Marxist-Leninists winning the advanced to communism carrying out the chief form of activity--propaganda. (Palante vol 6, #8 p 5)

In keeping with this analysis of "revolutionary practice," over the last year PRRWO has steadily pulled its NY cadre out of mass work. Thus, while claiming to be "training Bolshevik cadre" PRRWO is really practicing the Trotskyite "theory of Cadres."

According to this theory the communists should not act should not approach the masses and organize them but they should shut themselves up in their cells and engage only in theoretical education. (History of Party of Labor of Albania p 32)

The PRRWO promises that it will lead the mass movement someday but not right now. Now, they say, the proletariat and the masses gain confidence in the developing Bolshevik party not from its deeds but rather only through the ideological struggle it conducts and the summing up of the advances and setbacks of the "revolutionary wing" the PRRWO and the Revolutionary Workers League (see Palante, vol 6, #7, p 1). The PRRWO is still trying to get over on its past accomplishments--while in reality it has repudiated the revolutionary practice that gave it any credibility in the first place.

### How PRRWO distorts Marxism-Leninism

Like opportunists the world over PRRWO tries to cloak itself in the mantle of Marxism-Leninism--but in reality they consistently distort Marxism, rob it of its revolutionary essence and reduce it to a lifeless dogma, take quotes out of their historical context, and try to impress and overawe people by their staunchness. We will provide only a few examples here of PRRWO's contradictions with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought.

On the relationship between theory and practice the Marxist-Leninist teachers have left us many valuable lessons.

Theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory. (J.V. Stalin)

But Marxism emphasizes the importance of theory precisely and only because it can guide action. If we have a correct theory but merely prate about it pigeonhole it and do not put it into practice then that theory, however good is of no significance. Knowledge begins with practice and theoretical knowledge is acquired through practice and must then return to practice. (Mao Tse Tung On Practice our emphasis added)

Clearly, the line and practice of the PRRWO on this question have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought.

The PRRWO also claims that it is upholding Marxism-Leninism when it says that during the party building period communists should not engage in mass political work--"party building is the central and only task." Study of history, however disproves this also. The Bolshevik Party was built while actively combatting tsarism. The Party of Labor of Albania was built while actively fighting fascism. The Albanian comrades say "The struggle (against fascism) of the Albanian communists themselves created at last favourable conditions for founding their party" (History of the PLA, p 85)--not as the PRRWO mechanically says first build the party and then, later on, fight imperialism.

Some other examples of how the PRRWO position contradicts the historic experience of the international proletariat.

Contrary to what PRRWO claims, at no time during the period of party building in Russia did Lenin advocate that communists restrict their work to "only propaganda" or to "work only among the advanced" (Comrades can study the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union-Bolshevik for further clarity on this.) The PRRWO phrasemongers about "fusing the communist and workers movements" but refuses to enter into the heat of the class struggle where advanced workers are found.

During the period of the formation, of the creation of the Bolshevik Party, Stalin said that the Party "focused its attention and care upon the Party itself, upon its own existence and preservation. PRRWO often distorts this to justify their current line. Stalin said

The principal task of communism in Russia in that period was to recruit into the Party the best elements of the working class those who were most active and most devoted to the cause of the proletariat to form the ranks of the proletarian party and put it firmly on its feet. (Stalin The Party Before and After Taking Power vol 5, Collected Works)

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How did the Bolsheviks accomplish this? By ignoring the spontaneous struggles of the masses? Studying in isolation from practice and telling the advanced workers that they should not lead the mass movement because this was a deviation from party building? This is how the PRRWO interpret "The Party Before and After Taking Power" History, however shows that the Bolshevik Party was built with inseparable connections to the struggle being waged by the Russian proletariat and toiling masses. For instance, in response to the political firing of a group of workers in 1902 (during the period of party building),

Comrade Stalin himself led the work of the strike committee, drew up the workers demands for presentation to the factory management, wrote leaflets and organized their printing and distribution. Comrade Stalin together with the leading workers of Batum succeeded in drawing the masses of the Batum workers into the revolutionary movement." (Bolshevik Organizations in Transcaucasia p. 26)

In Albania, the Comintern criticized the communist organizations that were "detached from the masses and shut in their own shell and, as such, they were incapable of carrying out the new line."

"From the communist groups from which it originated, the Party inherited very weak connections with the masses. (History of PLA, p. 52)

The Party of Labor of Albania in summing up the many difficulties and obstacles they faced in accomplishing their historic tasks pointed out that this detachment from the masses made the work of communists even more difficult.

Nowhere in history can the PRRWO find any example of a revolutionary party being built in isolation from revolutionary practice among the masses. However, the PRRWO leadership are subjective idealists (voluntarists), for them the wish is the father of thought. If events in the material world do not support their wishful thinking, they either ignore or distort these events. And so they go on, accusing their cadre and other honest communists of not upholding party building as the central task of pushing "build the mass movement as the central task whenever the correct Marxist-Leninist position is struggled for. To cloud the issue further, they go so far as to lump together honest comrades who are struggling against their left line with outright right opportunists like the OL and WVO, this is done constantly in their "polemics."

In the PRRWO itself, it got to the point where the cadres could not even raise criticism of what they believed were left errors. They were told consistently that the "right is the main danger" and were accused of raising the left to cover the right. In the pamphlet Party Building in the Heat of the Class Struggle, while the PRRWO mentioned its "left errors," (see pages 32, 56, 69) this was done superficially. They did not lay out the specific left lines, their manifestations, their ideological root, the social basis for them, and how they rectified them--even though they said that at one point "The left opportunist line became the strongest line that we were combatting, resulting in left deviations in our work" (p. 43)

In practice the PRRWO reduced the struggle against opportunism to a struggle against right opportunism--to have done otherwise would have taken the struggle directly to those "leaders" who were historically responsible for developing and promoting the left line. By focusing the struggle one-sidedly against the right (as if it were the only possible deviation or error), the ultra-leftist dogmatists in leadership covered themselves and set the basis for the left to flourish and grow--unchallenged.

On the struggle against right and left errors, Stalin pointed out that it is nonsense to say that a blow at the ultra-leftists indicates a swing to the right (see "The Fight Against Right and 'Ultra-left Deviations," vol. 8, Collected Works). At a given time in a given situation, either the right or the left can become the main danger in an organization. If you incorrectly determine the main danger or try to strike at both the right and the left equally--you will create conditions for the continued growth of the main danger. At the same time, while fighting to root out and defeat the main danger, communists must not be one-sided and totally ignore the secondary danger--for this will then create favorable conditions for this secondary danger to grow and possibly become the main danger.

One last point. The PRRWO attacks those who hold that communists must not ignore the struggle for reforms--but must take a revolutionary approach to them.

In this, the PRRWO shows how left and right opportunism are the flip sides of the same coin. The right opportunists like the OL and WVO (who are the main danger in the communist movement) tail after every reform struggle failing to give them a conscious, revolutionary character, failing to educate and train the advanced elements, and every step along the way liquidate the final goal of smashing by force the bourgeois state and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism. For them the movement is everything, the final aim is nothing. They ignore the struggles the masses are waging. They worship spontaneity coming from the left, they belittle the mobilizing and transforming role of theory and they belittle the role of the advanced elements by denying them their rightful position as leaders of the masses.

"The more degenerate type of left bloc is probably less dangerous. That is the really incestuous little clique who only talk and do nothing else. Perhaps such people will be won to the side of revolution eventually."

The more insidious left bloc is the one that does engage in some form of struggle and so gains a certain credence, a certain amount of capital for deception. Such a bloc usually arises out of activity around a specific issue, mass campaign or from a slogan purporting to attack the enemy. Whether such activity coagulates into a left bloc or not really depends on whether the people involved understand the relation of reform to revolution. This is closely bound up with the understanding that revolution is a mass process.

"All issues like stopping Omega, getting public transport, nationalizing GMH and so on are reforms. In themselves they do not alter the essence of capitalism. In Australia specifically they do not alter the rule by imperialism, i.e. foreign monopoly capitalism."

"One divides into two. So such a reform can become a thing in itself, a particular issue which is won or lost without in any way challenging the essence of capitalism in Australia. Or the reform can become part of the preparation for revolution. Only revolution, i.e. smashing the imperialist hold on Australia by means of a People's Army and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat (in a specific form not yet clear) will fundamentally solve the problems facing Australia. This is what we are working for, revolution."

"Thus there is unity between reform and revolution and also opposition between them. Put another way, the short term aims of a particular reform both conform with the long-term aim of revolution and also stand in contradiction to revolution." (Communist Party of Australia-ML: The Left Bloc -- Reform and Revolution)

### The development of the cadre in the PRRWO

Although the PRRWO talks a lot about "training Bolshevik cadre"--it is impossible to correctly train revolutionary cadres when you have an incorrect line. The political line of the PRRWO is ultra-leftist and the training of cadres is designed to make them proficient in practicing this line. For instance, the PRRWO says "theory is primary," but practices "study is primary--we should have very little practice so we don't deviate from party building." The meetings cadres attend reflect this. The great majority of the meeting time is spent on the ideological struggle in the communist movement and in the organization around different positions on different questions. Only a small amount of time is spent on the political work and the questions arising from it--questions that in order to be solved demand the application of Marxist-Leninist principles to concrete conditions--and by this time it is usually in the early hours of the morning, at the end of the agenda. This is true of all levels, from the Central Committee down to the study groups.

(PRRWO has "positions" on many questions and this is what it considers political line to be. However, they do not conduct the actual political and economic struggles that are part of the implementation of that line. For example, PRRWO has a "position" on the Puerto Rican national movement, but does no work in it. It has a "position" on the five imprisoned patriots of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico and a "position" on Puerto Rican working class leader and political prisoner, Federico Cintrón Fiallo--but does no political work in their defense. To judge an organization on line, we must judge not only what they say but most importantly what they do, evaluating how they are conducting the struggle against national oppression, the effects of the imperialist crisis, the rising menace of fascism and other questions.)

Some examples of what this left line led to in practice:

In the community area, cadres were told that if they did not raise the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat at all times, they were being "economist." This specifically included meetings of the local parents' associations. On the other hand, when the cadres were becoming actively involved in the strug-

gle for the parents' democratic rights, were beginning to win some advanced parents and teachers to the study of Marxism-Leninism, were beginning to win the respect of the broad masses involved in the struggle, and were beginning to expose and defeat the Trotskyite SWP who had temporarily gained a foothold in the area--they were left unprepared and discouraged from continuing forward. While they had a correct Marxist-Leninist analysis of certain questions involved in the struggle (i.e. the class nature of education, the role of the state, the opportunists' role, the immediate issues, the democratic rights of the mostly oppressed-nationality parents), they lacked concrete proposals, goals and methods for achieving them. They did not know how to formulate revolutionary demands. They had many questions of uncertainty about work in coalitions. They were able to tell the parents who were their friends and who were their enemies, how this struggle was part of the overall struggle versus imperialism and social-imperialism, how the needs of the masses could never be met permanently until imperialism was destroyed, why the opportunists had to be defeated. But they were not able to tell the parents how to take this immediate struggle on to victory. Because the winning of these reforms was considered "insignificant" to the ultra-leftists in leadership of the PRRWO, cadres who struggled for direction and for clarity on this question were labelled "worshippers of spontaneity." Almost all the cadres in this area have been purged.

While the PRRWO uphold, in words, the tasks of Marxists-Leninists unite and win the advanced to communism in order to build a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party, in deed it practices that Marxists-Leninists must unite on positions on paper, not positions that have been applied and tested in practice, and it separates winning the advanced from participation in the mass movement. Cadres and advanced elements are therefore not trained to apply what they have studied to the movement within which they are working; they are not trained to lead the struggles of the masses and do not study Marxism-Leninism as a tool for solving the problems that revolution places before us. For example:

In one case, in the industrial area, the smallest area of PRRWO's NY work (although they attempt to give a much different impression), study group members were pulled out of mass practice. One was criticized when he began to involve himself in the spontaneous movement in his area. He upheld that this was the only way to identify and win over the advanced and began, in fact, to group other workers around him. He was eventually purged and accused of being a "pig" because of his opposition to the organization's line.

The newspaper Palante also reflects this dogmatism and left sectarianism. The "political organ" of a communist organization is a tool for consolidating and training cadres and advanced elements. Palante, reflecting the increasing consolidation of the left line in PRRWO, became increasingly abstract. Today it is filled with page after page of phrasemongering, unsupported proclamation about the "revolutionary wing's vanguard role," unexplained shifts in position, and unsubstantiated charges against PRRWO's many "enemies." For example, PRRWO sings its own praises and proclaims:

"The Revolutionary wing has come to the head of the movement, is determining its character, has continuity with the past, are the only forces carrying out real polemics ensuring the social base of the party, purging the ranks of opportunist elements, fulfilling our ideological, political and organizational duties." (Palante vol. 6 #8 p. 5)

Chairman Mao Tse Tung, in Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing, addressed himself to the problem of windbags like these. He said:

"The second indictment against stereotyped Party writing is that it strikes a pose in order to intimidate people. Some stereotyped Party writing is not only long and empty, but also pretentious with the deliberate intention of intimidating people. It carries the worst kind of poison. Writing long-winded and empty articles may be set down to immaturity but striking a pose to overawe people is not merely immature but downright knavish. Lu Hsun once said in criticism of such people: 'Hurling insults and threats is certainly not fighting. What is scientific never fears criticism for science is truth and fears no refutation. But those who write subjectivist and sectarian articles and speeches in the form of Party stereotypes fear refutation are very cowardly and therefore rely on pretentiousness to overawe others, believing that they can thereby silence people and win the day. Such pretentiousness cannot reflect truth but is an obstacle to truth. Truth does not strike a pose to overawe people but talks and acts honestly and sincerely.'

This is the style the cadres of the PRRWO are trained in by the leadership. Cadres who do not in practice, adopt this sectarian style are criticized for

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"conciliating to opportunism and eventually to being opportunists themselves. To cover the organization's inability to scientifically defend the ultra-left line, the PRRWO leadership substitutes a style of struggle, a style characterized by bookworship and phrasemongering--many quotes out of context and unexplained, to prove that they 'uphold Marxism' arrogance and sectarianism, disguised as "staunchness", and a phony toughness--phony, because the source of real strength in the organization used to be its firm ties and unshakable commitment to the working class and toiling masses. This is now gone in the PRRWO

Another example of what this line led to:

In the student area in NY sectarianism towards the masses and other communists, and a lack of training resulted in many of the areas being unable to make any advances in mass political work winning advanced elements or uniting Marxist-Leninists. At City College in New York, for instance after six years of work in that campus the PRRWO was isolated, with few contacts and little influence among the masses.

However, at Brooklyn College in NY, an area where the dogmatism and sectarianism were at their lowest, PRRWO leadership and cadre adhering to the original unities around which the PRRWO has united made significant gains. They were involved in mass political struggle involving hundreds of students--for the democratic rights of oppressed nationalities and against the repression of the bourgeois state. They slowly won leadership of these struggles, bringing forward advanced elements of all nationalities and establishing a number of Marxist-Leninist study groups. They exposed and isolated the "CP"USA, the SWP, the PSP and the RU in the course of the struggle there. They took a principled public position against Zionism in a college which is the stronghold of the Jewish Defense League, and successfully defeated the charges of "anti-semitism" which resulted from this. They promoted and led revolutionary forms of struggle, which won a number of important demands, while continuously raising the political level of the participants in these struggles. After years of work, the cadres and supporters of the organization won the respect of the masses of students and were seen by them as revolutionary leadership.

This work was used by the PRRWO for a while as an example of good communist organizing and temporarily increased the prestige of the PRRWO among advanced elements and progressive forces. However, as the leftists steadily moved to further consolidate their line in the organization, this work too came under attack. Cadres were accused of holding 'build the mass movement' as the central task and consciously deviating the organization from party building. Most cadres and supporters of the organization at Brooklyn College resigned publicly, making a statement that condemned the organization for ultra-leftism, for the beatings of its members and supporters and for the physical disruption of a WVO forum at the college. In response to this the PRRWO stepped up its physical threats and resorted to spreading rumors and slanders that all the people involved were either "pigs" or opportunists that only backward elements had been involved in the struggle at Brooklyn College and recruited into the organization there. This continues to this day.

(Another area where good communist work was carried out and used by the PRRWO to temporarily increase its credibility was in a heavy industrial plant on the East Coast. Here linked to the everyday struggles of the workers a communist cadre brought forward and trained advanced workers, formed a functioning factory nuclei and was instrumental in the forming of a rank and file caucus at the plant. The PRRWO has since repudiated the winning over and recruiting of advanced workers through participation in the struggles of the workers--as "bowing to spontaneity". The cadre is no longer in the organization.)

### The last months of the PRRWO

Reflecting the sharpening of the contradictions in the world, the contradictions in the U S communist and workers movements have also been steadily sharpening--bringing forward on the one hand truly dedicated revolutionaries and on the other hand further exposing the opportunists of all kinds. Claiming to be the only real "Bolsheviks" the PRRWO has launched in the last year increasingly sectarian attacks on every organization in the communist movement (except RWL) as well as intensifying sectarian struggle internally. According to their subjectivist logic, anyone who differs with the PRRWO line is attacking Bolshevism and is therefore a "Menshevik opportunist", a "bourgeois agent", or a "right opportunist conciliator".

Internally, many cadres were labelled as "Mensheviks" and "right opportunists" and some were ac-

cused of being paid bourgeois agents. Meetings and revolutionary practice of criticism and self-criticism were turned into bourgeois interrogation sessions with the PRRWO leadership increasing imitating the bourgeoisie's armed protectors and secret political police. Comrades would go to a meeting and be met by a collective which had been "briefed beforehand on their supposed 'crimes'". Marxist-Leninist self-criticism and seeking truth from facts was discouraged and the bourgeois individualist attitude of "let me save myself and seek to avoid blame" was encouraged and practiced.

Accused comrades soon became responsible for every error that had ever taken place in their area of work, as other comrades copped to the ultra-leftists and started pointing fingers in order to absolve themselves of responsibility. For example, when a cadre in one area was accused of being an agent another cadre in that area who was also coming under a lot of criticism quickly did a confession-like "self-criticism" that said in effect "Yes, that comrade must be an agent. She picks me up to go to work every morning and we talk about our political work. The reason she does this is to pump me for information." Although she tried to parrot the Central Committee's position and find some "evidence" against the accused comrade, this cadre was soon purged herself. In another situation, a leading cadre "forgot" about study groups that had been established in his area with his knowledge he agreed when cadres were accused of trying to keep this from the Central Committee in order to set up an independent base in the organization. This dishonest, cowardly finger-pointing was a very bad development and hangs over the heads of many comrades today. Many of the cadres who pointed fingers and tried to avoid blame were purged later. A small number of former PRRWO cadre have still not broken with the left line of the PRRWO and are convinced that they are Mensheviks.

The main charges against cadre were factional activity (plotting to overthrow the "Bolsheviks," both as paid agents and unpaid Mensheviks) and promoting the worship of spontaneity and thus undermining the organization's line and belittling the tasks involved in party building. Accused comrades were told in essence, "You must thoroughly and completely confess your Mensheviks, factional plots against the organization and against Marxism-Leninism." And even though some comrades copped under pressure, there was no way to satisfy the ultra-leftists. All attempted self-criticism, no matter how honest, was rejected as "superficial." This same thing happened to comrades who agreed that they had made particular errors.

All errors were raised to a question of principle and therefore cadres had to agree that the matter being struggled over was both objectively and subjectively counter-revolutionary and had to show, for instance how deviating from an organizational directive was part of a conscious plan to overthrow the organization's leadership.

Soon "Mensheviks" were discovered everywhere, on every level, and in every area of work. The frenzied purge of "Mensheviks" spread to study groups and revolutionary organizations, like the Puerto Rican Student Union. More than one-half of PRRWO's NY cadre were purged.

The PRRWO's practice in this situation can only be characterized as social-fascist (socialist in words fascist in deeds) holding cadres forcibly for "meetings" that sometimes lasted days, severe beatings and torture breaking into cadres' homes, and threats of further beatings. All this was justified by the desperate PRRWO leadership by "We are the Bolsheviks and they are Mensheviks and pigs." The two-line struggle was reduced to "Marxism-Leninism versus right opportunism." And meanwhile the left opportunists hid out--and continue to hide out today. Many PRRWO cadre still do not know the true story of how the organization's leadership handled this situation.

(To cover their social-fascist activities, the PRRWO leadership told cadres that since the PRRWO were the 'real Bolsheviks', they had been targeted for special attack by the bourgeoisie under Operation Chaos--a CIA program designed to disrupt the revolutionary movement in the U S (see June 1975 CIA Commission Report). The leadership then carried out its own well thought-out plan which included physical beatings, torture, disruption and splitting of mass organizations, unsubstantiated charges against other communist organizations, falsifying and distorting the positions of other communist organizations, physical attacks and disruption of activities of other groups, unsubstantiated accusations and systematic 'purges' of its own members, which resulted in ex-PRRWO cadres being scattered, isolated from each other and distrustful of one another--thus making it more difficult to sum-up, draw the necessary lessons and thereby expose the real wreckers. Under the disguise of "combatting the bourgeoisie," PRRWO did the work of the bourgeoisie--camouflaging

their counter-revolutionary activities with 'revolutionary phrases'.")

### Summary

This is a preliminary statement. In it, we have tried to show our fundamental differences with the PRRWO. We have tried to show that the thread running through the degeneration of the PRRWO has been their failure to establish the correct relationship between the objective and subjective factors in revolution, between theory and practice, reform and revolution, agitation and propaganda.

"It is clear that one of the most characteristic features of the opportunists of all hues is the ignoring of the distinction between evolution and revolution, between reforms and the qualitative leap between the struggle for democracy and independence and the struggle for socialism between the day to day demands and the struggle for the fundamental objectives. The establishment of a correct relationship between these two aspects of the revolutionary process as well as distinguishing the Marxist-Leninists from the reformists and modern revisionists also distinguishes them from the left opportunists. The ideological root of these two currents reside precisely in the unilateral treatment of the revolutionary process. In Lenin's words they constantly exaggerate, elevate to a one-sided theory to a one-sided system of tactics, now one and now another lesson of this development. But real life, real history include these different tendencies just as life and development in nature include both slow evolution and rapid leaps, breaks in continuity." (PLA "Objective and Subjective Factors in the Revolution")

We understand that this analysis is far from complete and that like all things it will go from a lower to a higher level. In the future, we will deepen the analysis of the historical development of the left line in PRRWO, including the roles we played in the development, defense and implementation of this line--as well as the roles played in combatting this line. Recognizing the unhealthy sectarian atmosphere created by the dogmatists, we must nevertheless hold ourselves responsible, where applicable, for liberalism, political cowardice--not daring to swim against the tide.

We have tried to learn from the error of the Revolutionary Bloc which failed to put out an analysis from which all communists and advanced elements could learn after they broke with the Black Workers Congress. We are not waiting indefinitely until we have a better analysis before we put out any analysis at all. We are confident that there are many honest revolutionary brothers and sisters who are waiting for former PRRWO cadres and supporters to take up their responsibility and help them in summing up this situation--and in return want to help us. Former PRRWO cadres and supporters have much to contribute in drawing lessons from these developments. The overwhelming majority of PRRWO cadres were honest and committed to transforming themselves into proletarian fighters--we urge former PRRWO cadres and supporters to come forward and help in summing up the degeneration of the PRRWO so that we may rip the mask off these left opportunists who destroyed our organization.

We hope that this statement and our future efforts will be a contribution to the combined efforts of all honest Marxist-Leninists and advanced elements who want to build a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party.

Our comrades must understand that we study Marxism-Leninism not for display nor because there is any mystery about it but solely because it is the science which leads the revolutionary cause of the proletariat to victory. Even now there are not a few people who still regard odd quotations from Marxist-Leninist work as ready-made panacea which once acquired can easily cure all maladies. These people show childish ignorance and we should enlighten them. It is precisely such ignorant people who take Marxism-Leninism as a religious dogma. To them we should say bluntly: Your dogma is worthless. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have repeatedly stated that our theory is not a dogma but a guide to action. (Mao Tse Tung "Rectify the Party's Style of Work")

October 1976

SEE NEXT PAGE FOR  
OUR VIEWS ON THIS  
SUM-UP BY FORMER  
PRRWO MEMBERS AND  
SUPPORTERS.

## COMMUNIST FORUM

In the struggle being waged by honest Marxist-Leninists around the country against the neo-Trotskyite sect of PRRWO and RWL, and the consolidated right opportunists of OL and WVO, one voice was missing. The voices of those honest Marxist-Leninists and advanced elements that were either members or supporters of PRRWO before its complete degeneration. In our paper we have consistently point to the incapable responsibility of coming forward and summing up the process of degeneration of the PRRWO that these comrades have towards the proletariat and the communist movement in the US. They, better than anybody else, can help explain this process.

Today, we can present to our readers the first attempt to carry out this task. This preliminary statement by former PRRWO members and supporters is important in various ways. First it is the first written public statement (already some comrades have come through in forums, meetings, etc.) by former PRRWO members

Secondly, the assesment made of PRRWO's line is on the main correct. We have fundamental unity with it. The sum-up shows how these neo-Trotskyites divorce theory from practice, party building from all other tasks, propaganda from agitation and treat all contradictions as antagonistic.

Thirdly, it's important because it will help honest Marxist-Leninists and advanced elements in this country to deepen their understanding of the degeneration of PRRWO and learn from that experience in order to avoid committing the same errors.

Finally, we are confident that this will be just the spark that will move other former PRRWO members and supporters to come forward and not only sum-up the degeneration of the

PRRWO, but also move to actively participate in the struggle for proletarian revolution.

In Resistance Vol. 7 #7, we wrote an article addressing ourselves to those former PRRWO members and supporters who for months had been sitting in the sidelines and not taking active part in the motion towards the building of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party in the U.S. The failure of these comrades to come forward was objectively helping right opportunist forces like OL and especially WVO that are running around in a frenzy promoting all kinds of unprincipled unity, in an attempt to win over to their right opportunist lines those forces that at one time had unity with PRRWO and RWL.

In the article referred to above, we pointed out

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

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We believe that this preliminary draft has serious errors of omission. The most serious of these is the absence of a self-criticism and repudiation by these comrades. This in view of the fact that to a major or minor degree they helped either by actively aiding in the development of the neo-Trotskyite line by passively uniting with it or by not struggling against it even when convinced of its incorrectness. The comrades should have begun their sum-up by making a self-criticism, because only acknowledging our errors, getting to the roots of these, repudiating them and putting forward a process of rectification can we move forward and help other Marxist-Leninists avoid these errors

Another important omission in the sum-up is the actual line held by these comrades. They correctly criticize PRRWO in many questions but most of the time don't put out what they see as the correct line.

The comrades also fail to deal with how this "left" line developed within PRRWO, the internal view, which only they can provide.

As we said at the beginning, on the main we unite with this statement. We particularly want to express our unity with these comrades' view on the dialectical relationship between theory and practice. Also, we specifically want to unite with the sum-up made of PRRWO's incorrect view of what political line is

"(PRRWO has 'positions' on many questions and this is what it considers political line to be. However, they do not conduct the actual political and economic struggles that are part of the implementation of that line. For example, PRRWO has a 'position' on the Puerto Rican national movement, but does no work in it. It has a 'position' on the five imprisoned patriots of the Nationalist Party of P.R. and a 'position' on Puerto Rican working class leader and political prisoner, Federico Cintron Fiallo - but does no political work on their defense. To judge an organization on line, we must judge not only what they say, but most importantly what they do, evaluating how they are conducting the struggle against national oppression, the effects of the imperialist crisis, the rising menace of fascism and other questions.)"

Honest Marxist-Leninists should look in the mirror that is the legacy left by the PRRWO. Anyone who breaks the dialectical relationship between theory and practice, between thinking and being is doomed to fail.

Marxist-Leninists, unite!  
Win the advanced to communism!

LPR M-L

## Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

-comes from the first page

The "gang of four" consistently tried to sabotage production in order to prevent China from becoming a powerful socialist country and to ultimately restore capitalism. They attacked Chairman Mao's directives on agriculture - "learn from Tachai" - and in industry - "learn from Taching." Instead, they advanced the metaphysical concept that "Production will automatically rise when revolution is carried out well," which in practice meant to break the dialectical relationship that exists between revolution and production. Everything hinges upon class struggle, revolution, and this must be understood well because otherwise all our tasks will go astray. But to expect that tasks will "automatically" accomplish themselves is to liquidate all tasks, including class struggle. To promote production means to solve the particular contradictions and practical problems that arise in production, which requires hard work, dedication, study and correct leadership. To negate these tasks is to liquidate production, and to liquidate production is also to liquidate revolution. "In the period of socialism, only by taking class struggle as the key link, developing production actively and building socialism successfully can we provide a solid material basis for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, build up a powerful national defense, support the world revolution better, improve the material and cultural well-being of the working people step by step, and create the material conditions for the gradual elimination of the three major differences, for the triumph of socialism over capitalism and the realization of the ultimate goal of communism" (*Peking Review* #48, p. 13). In sum, the "gang of four," by rejecting the Marxist-Leninist principle formulated by Chairman Mao of "grasping revolution, promoting production," (in which revolution plays the leading role) and only taking the aspect of revolution separating it from production, have liquidated both revolution and production.

The "gang of four" continuously intrigued and conspired, formed factions and split the workers failing to distinguish between contradictions among the people and antagonistic contradictions between the people and their enemies, thus making all contradictions antagonistic, to be resolved by the use of force. In the spirit of revisionism, they advanced many incorrect lines, made many violations of de-

mocratic centralism and finally attempted to organize an armed revolt against Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people. But, "Poisonous weeds can be transformed into fertilizer," and this is precisely what the Chinese people and communists throughout the world are doing by the deepening of the criticism of the "gang of four" that is presently being unfolded by the Communist Party of China and the Chinese masses.

The struggle of the CPC and the Chinese masses against the "gang of four" is a matter that concerns all genuine communists the world over. Since revisionism was consolidated in power and capitalism restored in the Soviet Union, causing the split and disintegration of the socialist camp, the CPC and the PLA have been the parties giving leadership to the international communist movement. This was one of the foundations upon which the anti-revisionist communist movement in the U.S. was developed. On the death of Chairman Mao many forces agreed and put forward in their press that one of these contributions was the founding of the CPC. All these forces put forward the slogan "Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!"

Today, a few months after this, the CPC is engaged in a life and death struggle against those who practice revisionism and not Marxism, and attempt to restore capitalism in China. And now these forces claim that they have to "study more the question" (RCP, WVO) or that they have to "check the lines out" (RCL). The crux of the matter is that this is not a question of lack of information (there's plenty of it) or of "checking lines" that have been put forth and defended historically by the CPC. It's a question of stand, comrades. And RCP and WVO stand is with revisionism and the "gang of four" against the CPC and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. RCL is doing what it has done on every burning question waver



### THE CORRECTNESS OR INCORRECTNESS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL LINE DECIDES EVERYTHING

This is a Marxist-Leninist principle on which all communists agree. We ask: What lines have been changed in China since Chairman Mao died? Why is it that some of those who until recently claimed that they support China, are "neutral" today? Some try to cover themselves arguing that there has not been enough time yet for the changing of the lines. In other words, that lines have not yet been changed but somehow they know that they will be changed (!). And based on the possibility of such change (which actually exists throughout the whole period of socialist construction and not just at the present time), they don't support the Communist Party of China today. Comrades, this is a crucial question. It is not a question of lack of information, since the line of the CPC is consistently put out in the *Peking Review* in the speeches made at the U.N., and in the reprints of the *Hsinhua News Agency Press Releases* available from the Peoples Republic of China's mission to the U.N. For example, Comrade Wu Teh vice-chairman of the National Peoples Congress in his speech of December 1, 1976 has said:

"The shattering of the plot of the 'gang of four' to usurp party and state power is a great victory. The task at present is to boldly arouse the masses, concentrate our efforts on thoroughly exposing and criticizing the vile crimes of the gang of four' politically, ideologically and organizationally, eliminate their poisonous influence, heighten our class consciousness and the consciousness of two-line struggle and raise our ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism in the course of struggle. Persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry through to the end the proletarian revolutionary cause pioneered by Chairman Mao in China.

"In our struggle, we should further consolidate and develop the gains of the great proletarian cultural revolution, wholeheartedly support the new socialist things and take the initiative in restricting bourgeois

**LONG LIVE THE GREAT GLORIOUS AND CORRECT  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA !!!**

right It is necessary to uphold the principle of three-in-one combination of old, middle-aged and young cadres, strengthen and expand the ranks of the new emerging forces that are up to the five requirements for successors to the revolutionary cause continue to do a good job in the revolution in education, in literature and art, in health and medical work and in science and technology and the work in encouraging educated young people to settle in the countryside, continue to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts Our cadres at all levels should adopt a correct attitude toward the great cultural revolution, the masses and ourselves We should apply ourselves to anything on which Chairman Mao gave a directive or which he approved and do it well Now that we have got rid of sabotage and interference by the gang of four, we should, and certainly can, do our jobs better

"We should continue to persist in taking class struggle as the key link and grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war We should adhere to the principle of building our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift, and go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism We should continue to deepen the movements to learn from Taching in industry, learn from Tachai in agriculture and build up Tachai-type counties throughout the country We should redouble our efforts and make up for the losses caused by interference and sabotage by the 'gang of four' We should follow Chairman Mao's consistent teachings and, first of all run our own affairs well so as to strive to make a greater contribution to humanity

"The people of all nationalities throughout the country should rally most closely round the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng consciously uphold the unity and unification of the party, defend its democratic centralism, develop its style of work which essentially entails integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practising self-criticism and its fine traditions, strengthen the sense of organization and discipline and obey the commands of the party Central Committee in all our actions. Unite to win still greater victories "

Comrades, it is in fact a question of stand. Either you support or you don't support the Communist Party of China If you support the CPC then it is your duty to come out and explain to the masses the struggles presently going on in China and actively counter the campaign of slanders and distortions that have been developed (intensified) by the Trotskyites, the bourgeois press, the revisionist CPUSA, CLP the Guardian, and others.

**NO POSITION IS A POSITION**

Among those always chanting how much they support China, the revisionist RCP (Revolutionary Communist Party) and the WVO (Workers Viewpoint Organization)

are actually the leading forces of an opportunist attempt to begin to discredit the CPC by spreading rumors, loose comments, etc All of this is done not by coming out open and aboveboard but coming out 'unofficially' for the consumption at this moment of only cadres and close contacts But they will not be allowed by the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces to keep this "neutral" approach in their official statements while at the same time they stab the CPC in the back in their closed meetings.

**RCP'S POSITION**

In its latest issue of Revolution, the so called Revolutionary Party described the historical class struggles within the CPC However, when they reach the present struggle, they say nothing, and resolve everything by stating that they have faith and hope When asked directly in one of the workshops of their recently held Conference on the International Situation their Chairman Avakian could only answer that the question was not relevant RCP is clearly consolidating forces before coming out in the open attacking China Engaging in much sophistry and demagoguery, the RCP did not answer our question on the present struggle in China and accused LPR of trying to break the Conf

**WVO's POSITION**

In their last newspaper WVO followed the suit of the RCP by writing an article on the line struggles in China but failing to mention anything on the present struggle In private, WVO is putting forward that "the right is in power in China", that "a process of capitalist restoration has been initiated in China", etc They raise to their contacts that the struggle in China today is the most important question and they have to take a stand Meanwhile, WVO refuses to take an open stand on the question WVO tries to justify its opportunist private stand toward the CPC by proclaiming that the 'gang of four' were the leaders of the cultural revolution" and this is supposed to prove that they upheld the correct line This is an anti-dialectical-anti-materialist view which denies the development of all things, and is also, pure and simple the revisionist theory of hero worship On the process of development of things, Chairman Mao taught us that 'a good thing can become a bad thing' Comrade Hoxha has also said

"In socialist society there exists the danger of the degeneration of individuals, of the emergence of new bourgeois elements, of their transformation into counter-revolutionaries As Marxism-Leninism teaches, this comes about not only because the new socialist society preserves traditions, customs, ways of behaviour and concepts of the bourgeois society from which it has emerged, but also because of certain economic and social conditions which live on in this society in the transitional phase "

And further, Comrade Chou En-lai, at the 10th Party Congress of the CPC in describing the dialectics of the development of Lin Piao, said

"Lin Piao, this bourgeois careerist, conspirator and double-dealer, engaged in machinations within our Party not just for one decade but for several decades On his part there was a process of development and self-exposure and on our part there was also a process of getting to know him "

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was initiated and led by Chairman Mao Tsetung Millions upon millions of workers, peasants, soldiers, women, students and youth were mobilized in this great revolution to 'study Marxism and criticize revisionism'

to "grasp revolution and promote production". The masses, and only the masses, are the true makers of history, and it was in fact the masses who brought the Great Proletarian Revolution to victory - and not WVO's heroes the anti-party clique of the "gang of four".

**RCL WAVERING**

The comrades of the Revolutionary Communist League are wavering on this question They claim they don't have enough information We believe this is a poor excuse (RCL's official position until recently was of support for the CPC. RCL should come out and reiterate precisely that Or come out and repudiate that position and put forward that they no longer consider correct the slogan "Long Live the Great, Glorious and Correct Communist Party of China") To not take a stand on this question is objectively to place yourselves in the camp shared today by the many marsh forces.

**RALLY IN SUPPORT OF THE CPC**

On December 10 (Friday), we will be participating in an activity of support for the CPC in its struggle against the "gang of four". For us that will be the point of a new campaign to spread among the working class, the oppressed nationalities, women, youth and other oppressed people, the achievements that in the construction of socialism have been made both in Socialist China and Albania In this campaign, we will also continually address ourselves to the question of the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, how class struggle is carried out in socialist countries and all other related questions

The League for Proletarian Revolution (ML) urges all comrades around the country to initiate similar campaigns in your areas Peoples' Republic of China needs today the militant support of all those Marxist-Leninists, advanced elements and revolutionary minded people that are conscious of the leadership role for all oppressed peoples that Peoples' Republic of China plays in the world today

Let us joyously repeat the words of Comrade Chou En-lai in the 10th Party Congress

"Under the guidance of the correct line represented by Chairman Mao, the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China has had prolonged trials of strength with the class enemies both inside and outside the Party, at home and abroad, armed and unarmed, overt and covert Our Party has not been divided or crushed On the contrary, Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line has further developed and our Party grown ever stronger Historical experience convinces us that "this Party of ours has a bright future Just as Chairman Mao predicted in 1966, "If the Right stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived, because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 per cent of the population " So long as our whole Party bears in mind historical experience and upholds Chairman Mao's correct line, all the schemes of the bourgeoisie for restoration are bound to fail No matter how many more major struggles between the two lines may occur, the laws of history will not change, and the revolution in China and the world will eventually triumph

**LONG LIVE INVINCIBLE MARXISM-LENINISM-  
MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!**

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