

RESISTANCE

Political organ of THE LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION (LPR)
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COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION

DEFEAT THE 'LEFT' OPPORTUNIST, MENSHEVIK LINE OF PRRWO-RWL !
PART II

Our ability as Marxist-leninists to understand what is propaganda and what is agitation and to correctly develop both in our practice are extremely important in this period. The very creation of our future party hinges upon this. The formulation "propaganda is the chief form of activity in this period" is being used by many forces. Among these forces are the right opportunists of OL and WVO and the "left" opportunists of PRRWO/RWL. We uphold that this formulation is correct. The problem has been that the right opportunists as well as the "left" opportunists have in practice liquidated this position. In addition, these groups don't even understand what is propaganda or agitation, nor do they understand what is the relation between the two, neither do they, in practice, make good propaganda or agitation.

WHAT IS PROPAGANDA? WHAT IS AGITATION?

When all these groups speak of propaganda and agitation, they refer to Plekhanov's formulation which Lenin puts forth in WHAT IS TO BE DONE? Thus we see in all their publications the famous quote

"A propagandist presents many ideas to one or a few persons, an agitator presents only one or a few ideas, but he presents them to a mass of people."

What is to be done? Page 82 Foreign Languages Press

Without any concern for the type of ideas to which Plekhanov and Lenin are referring to, and without any preoccupation as to how the propagandist and agitator transmit these ideas, groups like PRRWO have reduced this question to a mere formulation spouted by their cadres at the May Day Coalition as "propaganda is many ideas to the few and agitation is few ideas to the many" and that's it. If we see this from such a mechanical point of view, only the number of ideas involved would matter. From

this point of view, it would be enough to include many topics in a newspaper article or in a leaflet to make it a propaganda piece. Hence, The Call (OL's paper) would be "propaganda" because it deals with many topics e.g. strikes, national liberation struggles, party building, social-imperialism, war, fascism, etc., and Palante (PRRWO's paper) would be "agitation" because it deals only with purges. But this is an incorrect way of looking at this question. Lenin, as a matter of fact, explains clearly what is propaganda, what is agitation and the relation between both. We are including this long, and hardly known, much less understood and applied, passage from The Tasks of the Russian Social Democrats:

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IN LOS ANGELES

W.V.O.'s FORUM BACKFIRES

On Friday, June 11th, the Workers Viewpoint Organization sponsored a forum in Los Angeles, California. This was part of a series of forums which that organization sponsored throughout the country. The participants at this forum were WVO and the Boston Chapter of The February First Movement (FFM) which, based on the line they defended, left no doubts that that chapter is WVO's student appendage in that city.

The Boston Chapter of FFM made the first presentation which concentrated on the OL. It specifically criticized OL's position on "bussing", the ERA, etc. Later, the FFM spoke of the "two contending trends", war and revolution, which according to them (and WVO) characterizes the present world situation, the right of the Afro-american nation to self-determination and wrapped up their presentation with a call for "building the party on an ideological plane grasping the political line as 'key link'". The representative of FFM did not, at any time, mention the tasks of revolutionary students (FFM is a student organization), or the struggle between the different manifestations of the menshevik line which resulted in the division of their organization between those who support the "left" menshevik line of PRRWO-RWL and those who support the right menshevik line of WVO and the purging of some advanced elements.

On their turn, WVO limited itself to reading pages upon pages from their recently published pamphlet After WVO's presentation, a period for polemics followed in which different communist organizations were asked to establish their points of unity and the differences with the presentation. ATM, IWK and ourselves proceeded to polemicize with WVO on various aspects of the presentation. In the polemics with ATM, WVO's representative resorted to excuses such as that he didn't know much about the strike that was being discussed because that was in San Francisco and he was from New York (the particular strike that was being discussed was that of the Moulders, See Revolutionary Cause and Workers Viewpoint to better understand the differences between ATM and WVO in this respect). There was also an attempt to justify their line on the basis that "you don't know the work that is carried out by our factory nuclei during that strike". We made it clear that in dealing with concrete questions, we would limit ourselves to specific instances in N.Y. where both organizations work and that in terms of practice we would limit ourselves to the legal work both organizations so that excuses such as 'you don't know what I do in secret' could

not be used. Of course we don't know. But since it's a secret and we don't want to nor should make it public, then we can't justify our open errors with the clandestine successes.

In our presentation, we raised three questions to WVO and one to FFM. Since he was unable to respond to any of the four, the WVO representative became hysterical and resorted to calling us "agents of the bourgeoisie". We are putting them forth again through this medium so that our readers can learn from that experience with the opportunists of WVO.

1) In their presentation, WVO pointed out that RWL had had a "right opportunist line for over two years" and that it wasn't till January that they turned "leftists" and became the "left" opportunists they are now. WVO also pointed out that there were plans for merging RWL with WVO in December-January and that "due to the maneuverings of PRRWO these plans were not carried through". We asked WVO: How do you call an organization (WVO) which attempts to merge with another organization which has a right opportunist line (RWL) in December-January? We call this opportunism. What does WVO call it? We are still waiting for an answer. It's obvious that when WVO was considering the organizational merger with an organization that they considered had a right opportunist line, it could not explain this without pointing to their own opportunism - their right opportunist line in party building that sees the building of the Party as a merger of all opportunists in a unity without principles.

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A striking nurse aide at Columbia Presbyterian Hospital, beaten by police while defending her rights. See page 2.

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1199 RANK AND FILE ARE NOT ALONE, WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE STAND BY THEM!

The strike by 1199 workers is a just strike and must count with our support and solidarity. The thousands of workers in the picket line that are fighting for their rights need our militant support in order to continue the strike despite the violent attacks against them by the capitalist state. This strike, like thousands others that are waged daily throughout the capitalist world, clearly demonstrates the antagonism that exists between the interests of workers and oppressed people on the one hand, and the interests of a small minority of capitalist exploiters with their servants and lackeys on the other hand. A brief look at some aspects of the strike clearly shows us which side we must support in this conflict.

BACKGROUND OF THE STRIKE As a result of the deepening crisis suffered by the whole capitalist system, U S imperialists have been currently escalating their attacks against the working class in their own country. These attacks are manifested in many ways. Massive unemployment, high prices, lack of needed services, etc., etc., are only some of them. Medical services for workers and oppressed people have been hit especially hard. Thousands of lay-offs, drastic cutting of services, and the attempts to definitely close Gouverneur and Fordham Hospitals are clear examples. Recently it reached the point where hospital workers are being told that they must practically give up all their rights - salary increases, seniority, cost of living clauses, paid vacations, etc., - if they want to continue working. These rights were torn from the capitalist class, thanks to the heroic and militant struggles of workers, and now they want us to give them up! 1199 workers are fighting in defense of those rights.

WHAT DOES THE CORPORATION GOVERNING THE LEAGUE OF VOLUNTARY HOSPITALS HAVE TO SAY? They claim there is no money and thus there can be no negotiations. According to them, there is only two ways of solving the strike. One of them, which they prefer, is that the workers go back to work without a new contract and reduced benefits. The other one, that the state government eliminate the limit on Medicaid and Blue Cross payments that make up most of the hospitals income.

WHAT DOES THE STATE GOVERNMENT SAY? That they are going to eliminate the limits on Medicaid and Blue Cross payments and that hospitals are to look for ways of dealing with the situation by making "better use" of their budgets.

WHAT DOES THE CITY GOVERNMENT SAY? Mayor Beame says that whatever the solution they cannot depend on any help from the city because it is bankrupt. So, while the capitalists and their representatives at various levels pass the buck, the strike continues so do the attacks by the state.

We know better than that. The League of Voluntary Hospitals is swimming in money. Millions of dollars are divided among them every year. Hospital administrators, as well as state and city administrators all have very juicy salaries, large and luxurious offices, limousines, etc., while they deny their employees even a cost of living increase. Refusing to meet our demands, limiting Medicaid payments and claiming bankruptcy are all part of the same capitalist strategy to make us - the workers, the poor, the oppressed - pay for their economic crisis so they can maintain their profits.

ATTACKS BY THE POLICE At least in three hospitals, Columbia Presbyterian most recently, the police has physically attacked the workers on strike. This shows once more that the role of the police is that of an instrument of the ruling class and part of the repressive machinery of the capitalist state. The police are there only to protect the interests of their capitalist masters. As the capitalist state is based on the repression, by the use of force, of one class over another, it is no mere accident (as the reformists claim) that the role of the police is always to attack the working class and other oppressed people.

WHAT DOES THE UNION LEADERSHIP SAY? The labor bureaucrats of 1199, especially its president Leon Davis, are sold out to the capitalists. They were against the strike from the beginning. They would have preferred to follow the shameless path of DC 37 and the sell-out Victor Gotbaum who completely capitulated to his capitalist masters, and in fact handed over to them the rights of his union members in a silver platter. But Leon Davis could not do this with 1199. Not because he did not want to, but because of the militancy

and long history of struggle of 1199. So, Leon Davis decided to listen to the demands of the rank and file and called for a strike in order to keep his leadership and be able to undermine the strike so that it fall.

This is precisely what he and the high level leadership are doing when they say they did not want the strike, promising that workers of 1199 will accept any decision made by an arbitration panel, opposing and avoiding communications between the strikers from different hospitals, peddling illusions and faith in the system by promoting a demonstration at the Madison Square Garden to ask the Democratic Convention to help them find a solution to the strike in the "democratic way". But it is only through revolutionary struggle that we can win out.

UNITY AND MILITANCY OF THE RANK AND FILE Despite attempts by the union leadership to undermine the strike, despite hysterical attacks by hospital administrators and the capitalist press, despite violent police repression, the workers desire to struggle has overcome. The unity and militancy of the workers who have defended and struggled for their rights have increased. A strike is not measured only by whether demands are met or not. Other things must be taken into consideration such as whether the solidarity among the workers grows and develops. This is clearly happening in this strike. The attempts of the social props (Leon Davis and Company) to divide the workers on the basis of department, hospital, length and type of service, sex, nationality, etc., are failing. The workers are more united.

The working class in the United States is multinational. The national minority workers are its most oppressed sectors. Similarly, working women are more oppressed than male workers. But this diversity in degrees of oppression does not point to disunity but rather indicates the need for unity of all workers, over and above these differences, against a common enemy. This is necessary to be able to struggle against the capitalist system that oppresses us all. As we abolish this system, we will also eliminate these artificial divisions imposed by the capitalists in order to divide workers and keep us from defeating them.

Strikes are schools for workers in which we prepare for greater battles. Our enemy, in the last analysis, is not the administrators of the hospital, nor Mayor Beame, nor governor Carey. It is not even President Ford. These are all representatives of a system - of capitalism in its highest and last stage, imperialism. This is our enemy. It is this class and this system that we must struggle against and defeat, in order to put an end to the system of oppression that allows a small minority to live in luxury at the cost of the great majority who lives in misery and in need. We need a different system, one that serves the interests of the working class and oppressed people. Such a system is socialism - the only real solution to our problems. And only through revolutionary struggle can we solve our problems definitely and achieve socialism.

SOCIALISM IS NOT A DREAM BUT A REALITY THAT IS BUILT Socialism will not happen because we wish it or talk about it. That is only the beginning. In order to build socialism the working class and its allies have to defeat the bourgeois, seize power, smash the bourgeois state and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to succeed, we need a revolutionary vanguard to organize and lead the working class in this task. Such a vanguard is a multi-national, Communist, Marxist-Leninist Party. Such a party does not exist today in the United States. It is in the process of formation. Struggles such as this one be linked to the process - the process of fusing the communist movement with the working class movement.

The workers of 1199 are not alone. Alongside with them are the workers and oppressed peoples of the world. We are struggling against the same enemy. Against U S imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, against the system of private property and the slavery of the wage system.

CONTINUE THE STRIKE, DON' RETREAT,
THE RULING CLASS WE MUST DEFEAT !

LONG LIVE SOCIALISM !

WORKERS OF ALL NATIONALITIES, UNITE !

LEAGUE for PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

This month marks the 6th year of the existence of our organization. It was exactly six years ago, on July 25th 1970 that the first issue of RESISTENCIA was first published - an 8 1/2 by 11 mimeographed sheet folded in half. Written exclusively in Spanish, it bore the inscription "In exile", indicative of the understanding we had at that time that Puerto Ricans in the U S were part of the Puerto Rican nation, and as such we were in a foreign country, in exile.

We have gone through a lot of changes since then. In July 1971, RESISTENCIA became bilingual publication. This was done after an intense internal struggle against those who alleged that to write in English was to assimilate. This line was defeated, as it was a sectarian error, which liquidated the possibility of reaching thousands of young Puerto Ricans who through imperialist oppression had lost the language of their parents. But still, we continued with our nationalism and in exile.

Our main objective at that time was the independence for Puerto Rico although our program included socialism for the United States. However confronted in our daily work with the particular problems which arose out of the concrete situation we were involved in and through a study of the works of Lenin and Stalin

on the national question (especially Marxism and the National Question by Stalin) and the application of the fundamental principles of this work to the concrete reality of Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans in the U S, we repudiated the incorrect thesis of the divided nation. Thus in 1972 we put forward that Puerto Ricans in the U S constitute a national minority and that the great majority are part of the multinational working class in the U S. Thus, in exile" was eliminated after a struggle against those who represented the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and narrow nationalism still within the organization. We then put forth as our principal task the building of a new multinational communist party in the U S. At this time we adopted the inscription "Voice of the Puerto Rican National Minority" in our publication as part of our struggle against the revisionism and opportunism regarding the national question. Parallel to our ideological development and the purging of unstable elements, we intensified the struggle around the national question particularly against PSP. However our efforts were still limited.

A struggle arose, again around the inscription (Voice of the Puerto Rican National Minority) We persisted in the prolonged battle against the incorrect line of those who held that to remove the slogan

as a "left" error equivalent to liquidating the national question. This line was defeated and the slogan eliminated with the understanding that while it had played a positive role, it had now become its opposite, and constituted an obstacle in our daily work among the multinational working class.

Finally while in essence we are a communist organization in form, elements of nationalism still lagged in our name. Resistencia Puertorriquena. Thus we have adopted the name LEAGUE FOR PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION (M-L), a name which more accurately reflects the revolutionary character and objectives of our organization. We stand for revolutionary struggle towards the seizure of power, the building of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. We believe that this action constitutes a step forward in the struggle for the building of the party against all types of opportunism, and towards the fulfillment of our ultimate objective, which is Communism.



LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE DOMINICAN PEOPLE

"U S imperialism has never ceased to subject Latin American countries to its interference, control, subversion and aggression. On this occasion the U S Government has abandoned all such deceptive phrases as "the good neighbour policy" and "the principle of non-intervention", and carried out naked intervention and aggression in the Dominican Republic. This has further revealed the true features of the U S imperialist gangsters" (Mao Tse-Tung's Statement Supporting the Dominican People's Resistance to U S Armed Aggression - May 12, 1965)

This quote of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung which supports the struggle of the Dominican people against Yankee imperialism, clearly shows the nature of Yankee imperialism and their open political aggression. In this way, they have been subjugating Latin America and other parts of the world in order to fulfill their hegemonistic ambitions to establish spheres of influence throughout the world. In the last century, as well as with other colonies in Latin America, there have been plans to annex the Dominican Republic to the United States, as part of the Monroe Doctrine reiterated in the Roosevelt Corollary and tens of others projects formulated to carry out their imperialistic designs.

In the case of the Dominican Republic, the first direct and naked intervention by this imperialistic power occurred in 1916. It lasted 14 years, during which time they consolidated their political and economic power, supporting a series of dictatorial governments that protected their interests. Other interventions in the Dominican Republic by the Yankee imperialists occurred in January, 1959, February, 1960, June, 1961, November, 1961 and September, 1963. Such is also the nature of the invasion by Yankee troops of Dominican territory in 1965, which was condemned by a great majority of the Dominican masses who heroically confronted the invader, arms in hand.

From this heroic struggle against the invader, the democratic and revolutionary forces learned great lessons. The absence of a true Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of the new type was keenly felt and constitutes a real need in the present revolutionary and patriotic movement. This need has been made evident by the history of the worldwide proletarian struggle.

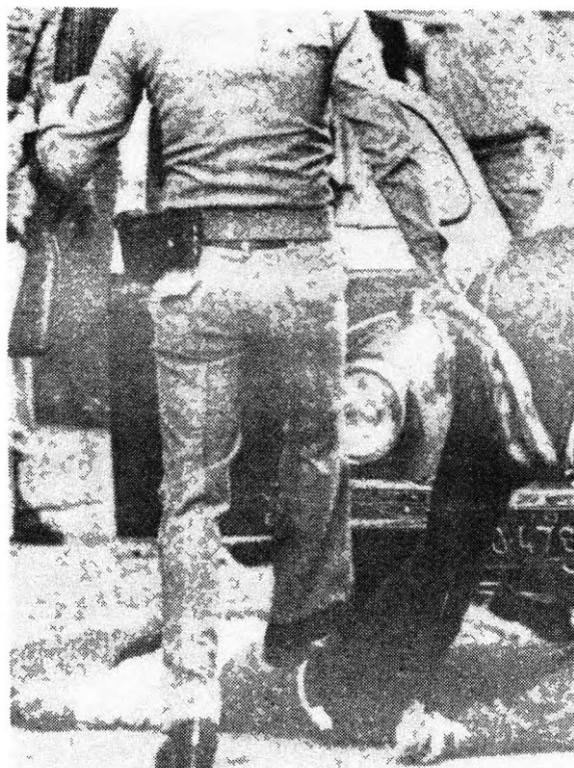
POLITICAL REPRESSION AGAINST THE REVOLUTIONARY AND WORKING CLASS MOVEMENTS

After the revolutionary activities of April, 1965, which were stifled by the Yankee intervention, repression against the progressive and revolutionary movements intensifies. At this time, the "lackey of the moment", for the Yankee imperialists, is Joaquin Balaguer whose role is to continue the interventionist activities in order to destroy the revolutionary movement. Thus a bloody campaign of terror is unleashed against the progressive and revolutionary movement. In this struggle, the most dedicated sons and daughters of the nation fall, among them, Manolo Tavarez, el Moreno, etc. Thousands are jailed and tortured. Such is the case of Plinio Matos, Jorge Puello (El Men), Pena Blanco and others. The case of Matos, as well as those of others patriots and revolutionaries vividly portray the bloody character of these terrorist activities carried out by the Balaguerist dictatorship in conjunction with Yankee imperialism. Other fighters disappear while many others are forced into exile. Forced to emigrate due to political reasons to other parts of the world. In Brussels the agents of the dictatorship in complicity with the C I A assassinated one of the most illustrious sons of this struggle, El Moreno. In the U S, Canada and other countries the bourgeoisie, in complicity with Balaguer's reign of terror extradite and oppresses these political exiles. The Balaguer dictatorship is a reflection of the amply evident political as well as economic penetration of the Dominican Republic by Yankee imperialism. Clear examples of this fact is the aforementioned repression of the revolutionary and workers movement as well as the wholesale transfer of Dominican national resources to Yankee international corporations. Thus we have the military occupation of POASI the dock workers union in the Dominican Republic (a situation which has persisted since 1973) a clear violation of one of the most basic rights of the working class that of freedom

to unionize. In light of this harsh reality, one of flagrant violation of the most basic democratic rights, the progressive and revolutionary movements together with the advanced sectors of the oppressed masses, have raised the banner of struggle. These sectors confronted the invasion in 1965, arms in hand, and let the world see that they were ready to defend their rights, today they continue their struggle in defense of the interest of the Dominican people.

There are in the Dominican Republic democratic or patriotic organizations as well as revolutionary organizations which uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism - Mao Tse-Tung Thought, that is to say the banner of the proletariat. These organizations are addressing themselves to the burning questions of the revolutionary movement particularly the need of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party of the proletariat, a party of the new type. On the other hand, there also exist in the Dominican Republic, opportunist and revisionist organizations such as the Dominican "Communist" Party on the other extreme of servility, prostrates itself serving as the parrots of the Soviet Social-imperialists in their penetration of the revolutionary movement. Since Soviet Social-imperialism is the main danger in the worldwide Communist Movement it is obvious that it is quite necessary for Marxist-Leninists and other progressive and democratic sectors in the Dominican Republic to remain alert and struggle against the danger that the hegemonistic ambitions of the Soviet Superpower represents. For in actual fact, these ambitions, in contention with Yankee hegemonism, constitute the main source of a third world war.

Since the principal contradiction in the Dominican Republic is between Yankee imperialism and the Dominican people, we believe that the call for a United Front of all patriotic and revolutionary forces to struggle against this enemy constitutes a correct strategy for the Dominican revolution. In these struggles and actions against the principal enemy, we must not be tricked into letting soviet social-imperialism sneak into the back door while we are closing the front door to Yankee imperialism. We must remain alert to this danger and be conscious of the fact that Soviet Social-imperialism has its agents in the left movement, and that we must struggle against them. We must learn from the experience of other peoples, such as the recent example of Angola. The struggle is thus one against both Superpowers.



A police sergeant kicks the dead body of a patriot after shooting him dead in the street. This action characterizes the terror tactics that reign today in the Dominican Republic under the Yankee Balaguer dictatorship.

A phenomenon which characterizes imperialism is the forced emigration of national groups to the imperialist country such as the Puerto Ricans, Dominicans and others in the United States.

"There is no doubt that in the early stages of capitalism nations become welded together. But there is also no doubt that in the higher stages of capitalism a process of dispersion of nations sets in, a process whereby whole groups separate off from nations and go off in search of a livelihood, subsequently settling finally in other regions of the state, in the course of which these settlers lose their old contacts, acquire new contacts in their new domicile, from generation to generation acquire new habits and new tastes, and possibly a new language." (Stalin, Marxism and the National Question).

Here Stalin describes this process. It is in this manner, that these groups become integrated in the working class of these countries. This working class includes workers which come from different cultural backgrounds, different languages, etc. However, they are part of the same multinational working class, whose fundamental contradiction and therefore whose enemy is the same - the North American bourgeoisie. This state is multinational, because within it there exist different nations and national minorities. It is this North American bourgeoisie, that this multinational working class must struggle against and defeat, through the socialist revolution.

There should be no doubt about the amount of oppression which these national groups experience here in the United States. The campaign against the so-called "illegal aliens", carried out by the bourgeoisie which was nothing more than an attempt to find a scapegoat in which to blame the economic crisis affecting this country, is proof of this oppression. National minority workers, are the last hired and the first fired. Cuts in bilingual educational programs, discrimination against national minorities in jobs, services, housing, etc. are further examples of this national oppression. And the Dominican worker is not immune to this situation, one of the most affected national groups in this respect. Hundreds and thousands of Dominican workers as well as Mexicans and other national groups, are being deported daily. This has become a witch hunt, and wave of terror and persecution which is used, also, to intensify the political repression against progressive and revolutionary sectors.

THE TASKS OF MARXIST-LENINISTS

"The national question, as put forth by the proletariat, that is by Marxism-Leninism, puts forward the unity of the working class. In Marxism and the National Question, Comrade Stalin synthesizes the position of Marxism-Leninism making a brilliant exposition on the question. This book is a study based on the objective reality of the historical development of nations during capitalism and its highest stage, imperialism, the actual period in which we live. The book puts forward that workers in each country must organize themselves regardless of their nationality, in a true communist party, which practises proletarian internationalism." (Resistencia Puertorriqueña's "Introduction" to their publication of Marxism and the National Question in Spanish.)

There should be no doubt, that because of the recent migration of Dominicans to the United States, the working class movement is only now beginning to grasp this situation. This is seen in the limited participation of organizations and Marxist-Leninist groups in the revolutionary process in this country. The Dominican revolutionary and patriotic organizations in the United States, constitute branches or committees of radical parties in the Dominican Republic, and as such to a great degree respond to the directives which arise out of their central committees. Thus their goals and tasks respond to the objective conditions in the Dominican Republic and not those of the United States - which is the territory where they live, where they have entered into social and economic relations with the rest of the working class and the North American bourgeoisie, and where they are engaged in political activity.

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DOMINICAN PEOPLE

This limits the Dominican revolutionaries participation in the revolutionary movement in the United States to primarily deal with those problems that affect the Dominican people. This opens the door to narrow nationalism, something alien to Marxism-Leninism, which divides Marxist-Leninists and the working class. Thus we can see the urgent need for the Dominican progressive and revolutionary movement to study and analyse the national question at the same time that Dominican workers become involved in the struggles of the multinational working class in the United States. Already we notice in the Dominican revolutionary movement, the disposition to study the national question as a preliminary step towards the integration and participation of the honest Marxist-Leninists in the revolutionary process in the United States.

We, the Marxist-Leninists of other national minorities, have a role to play in this regard, helping other comrades to grasp the duty of Marxist-Leninists in this country regardless of differences be they of a national or any other nature. In this manner, we will be furthering the process of building a Communist Party of the new type in the United States, which will represent all national sectors which compose the working class in this country. We will also be building unity among Marxist-Leninists around those tasks which this particular historic period dictates. Simultaneously as Dominican workers take part in the struggles of the working class movement in the United States, we will be furthering our task of winning the advanced elements of this section of the national movement to Communism, in this manner, furthering the level of fusion between the working class and communist movements.

In the same manner, it is crucial that Marxist-Leninists here in the United States support and concretely aid the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples of the colonies and dependent countries against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. It is the task of Marxist-Leninists in the United States to raise the just cause of the Dominican people among the masses here and obtain the support of the working class in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. We have to demand that the Balguer dictatorship and their accomplices the Yankee imperialists stop the military occupation of the "Sincato de Arrimo Portuario" (POASI) (a port's union) and the attacks against the working class movement as well as demand the immediate and unconditional release of Plinio Matos, Jorge Puella (El Men), Blanco Pena and all Dominican political prisoners and a stop to political repression in the Dominican Republic and the wave of terror that against the revolutionary and the progressive people is being carried on. Stop Yankee imperialist plunder of the Dominican Republic! As comrade Engels teaches us that "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations." At the same time, we must struggle for the democratic rights of the Dominicans in the United States - their right of work, equality of languages, etc.

To the degree that we are successful in fulfilling these and other tasks, we will be carrying out our struggle in the true spirit of proletarian internationalism. Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-Tung Thought teaches us that the development of the revolutionary process in the imperialist countries is intimately tied to the development of the revolutionary process in the dependent countries and the colonies. Conversely the development of the revolutionary process in the colonies and dependent countries, is intimately tied to the development of the revolutionary process in the imperialist countries. The greatest contribution of all Marxist-Leninists in the United States to the advancement of the struggle in the Dominican Republic is at this moment the building of a multinational Communist Party in this country.

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE
DOMINICAN PEOPLE!

STOP THE REPRESSION OF
REVOLUTIONARIES AND PATRIOTS IN
THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN
INTERNATIONALISM!

Continued from front page

PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION

The socialist activities of Russian Social Democrats consist in spreading by propaganda the teachings of scientific socialism in spreading among the workers a proper understanding of the present social and economic system its basis and its development an understanding of the various classes in Russian society of their interrelations of the struggle between these classes of the role of the working class in this struggle of its attitude towards the declining and the developing classes, towards the past and the future of capitalism an understanding of the historical task of international Social Democracy and of the Russian working class. Inseparably connected with propaganda is agitation among the workers, which naturally comes to the forefront in the present political conditions of Russia and at the present level of development of the masses of workers. Agitation among the workers means that the Social Democrats take part in all the spontaneous manifestations of the working class struggle, in all the conflicts between the workers and the capitalists over the working day wages working conditions, etc., etc. Our task is to merge our activities with the practical everyday questions of working-class life to help the workers understand these questions to draw the workers attention to the most important abuses to help them formulate their demands to the employers more precisely and practically, to develop among the workers consciousness of their solidarity, consciousness of the common interests and common cause of all the Russian workers as a united working class that is part of the international army of the proletariat. To organise study circles among workers, to establish proper and secret connections between them and the central group of Social Democrats to publish and distribute working class literature, to organise the receipt of correspondence from all centres of the working class movement to publish agitational leaflets and manifestos and to distribute them and to train a body of experienced agitators—such in broad outline are the manifestations of the socialist activities of Russian Social Democracy.

And so we must qualify the many ideas in propaganda as "spreading the teachings of scientific socialism", of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse Tung thought and qualifying agitation as 1) "taking part in the spontaneous struggles of the masses" and 2) helping the workers to understand the problems they face, giving them political direction in their struggle and promoting class consciousness and proletarian internationalism among them. By so doing, we'll have a clearer and more complete understanding of both concepts. And it is important that we emphasize Lenin's categorical statement that "agitation is inseparably linked to propaganda." Yes, INSEPARABLY. This is why we have consistently criticized the incorrect "ultra-leftist" position of PRRWO that propaganda is not only the chief, but the only form of activity in this period.

Propaganda is understood by a numerically smaller sector of people than is agitation. In order to understand Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse Tung thought workers need a certain degree of ideological and political development that only through training can be achieved. We can't forget one of the basic teachings that "the socialist consciousness comes to the working class from outside." Thus, due to the complexity of the problems dealt with in propaganda, relations and struggle between classes, the State, imperialism and social-imperialism, the need for the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism, etc., only the most advanced workers are in a position to understand the larger part of that propaganda, the average workers a lesser part and the less advanced workers very little.

Let it be clear that this is in terms of the contents of the propaganda. We have to make this point very clear because many comrades believe that the complexity of propaganda is not only based on its contents but that we also have to add to its complexity by using "refined" language, lots of phrase mongering and twisted syntax. That, comrades, has nothing to do with propaganda. That is pure petty bourgeois windbag attitude. The most revolutionary is not the one that best disguises the contents of his message and makes it more difficult to understand. But on the contrary, those who make the formulation in a clearer and simpler (not simplistic) way. On this question G. Dimitrov points out that

"Furthermore it must be borne in mind that the masses cannot assimilate our decisions unless we learn to speak a language which they understand. We do not always know how to speak simply, concretely, in images which are familiar and intelligible to the masses. We are still unable to refrain from abstract formulas which we have learnt by rote. As a matter of fact, if you look through our leaflets, newspapers, resolutions and theses, you will find that they are often written in a language and style so heavy that they are difficult for even our party functionaries to understand, let alone the rank-and-file workers."

In the same speech, he adds

"When writing or speaking, always have in mind the rank-and-file worker who must understand you, must believe in your appeal and be ready to follow you. You must have in mind those for whom you write, to whom you speak."

Georgi Dimitrov Report to the 7th Congress of the Communist International

Hence we have to avoid confusing our inability to transmit an idea with the workers' capacity to understand and accept scientific socialism. Let's not blame the workers for our incapacity and the sectarian way in which we write many times. We have to end the "Doctoral thesis" style of writing that is so common in the communist movement in the United States.

Our propaganda in this period, the period of the building of the party, has to be mainly directed to the advanced so that we can win and consolidate them to communism. We want to emphasize that "mainly" does not mean "exclusively" nor "exclusively." Thus, we have to combat the right deviation in this question which belittles the role of the advanced and the role of propaganda in relation to the advanced (WVO - OL) and the "left" deviation which views propaganda as only aimed at the advanced (PRRWO - RWL). The right deviation which is the main danger at this time, is substituting agitation for propaganda and the liquidating the role of the advanced, limiting the work to pure economist agitation among the masses. The "left" deviation completely liquidates agitation and the work among the average and less advanced workers and in practice it also liquidates propaganda which cannot exist separated from agitation. Both deviations adversely affect the process of fusion between the communist movement and the working class movement.

"The separation of the working class movement and socialism give rise to weakness and underdevelopment in each the theories of the socialists, unfused with the workers' struggle, remained nothing more than utopias, good wishes and that had no effect on real life, the working class movement remained petty, fragmented, and did not acquire political significance, was not enlightened by the advanced science of its time."

Lenin A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social Democracy Page 264 Complete Works

FUSION, MAIN DANGER

There have been a lot of arguing back and forth, but very little analyses in relation to what is the level of fusion between the communist movement and the working class movement in the U.S. today. WVO

Continues on Page 5

"It is our duty always to intensify and broaden our work and influence among the masses. A Communist who does not do this is not a Communist. No branch, group, or circle can be considered a Communist organization if it does not do work to this end steadily and regularly. Without this work, political activity would inevitably degenerate into a game, because this activity acquires real importance for the proletariat only when, and insofar as it arouses the mass of a definite class, wins its interest, and mobilises it to take an active, foremost part in events."

ON CONFOUNDING POLITICS WITH PEDAGOGICS
Lenin, Collected Works, Volume 3, pp 452-455



Continued from Page 4

PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION

says that it's just beginning while PRRWO maintains that it's highly advanced. However, neither organization puts forth the basis for their position. OL, as always, is ready to build the party now. In our understanding, the absence of a communist party in the U.S. is an undeniable proof of the low level of fusion between both movements. Within the working class movement the influence of the communist movement is virtually non-existent. Even revisionists and right opportunists with all their tailing behind the masses have no real influence in the working class movement. That is why within the working class reformism and not right opportunism or revisionism is the main danger. In our work within the working class movement we must direct our main blow against the labor aristocracy. Within this movement those that have real influence are Meany, Fitzsimmons, Gotbaum, Leon Davis, etc. and not the OL and WVO, not to mention "ultra-leftists" such as PRRWO and RWL, which really don't exist for the working class. This does not deny the fact that in some areas of the country or in a particular industrial sector or service area a revisionist or Menshevik organization may have some limited influence including being in the leadership of certain struggles. In those particular cases, these organizations, together with the labor aristocracy are the target of our main blow.

This is not to say that we do not recognize the work being done in the working class movement by Marxist-Leninist organizations, Marxist-Leninist collectives and Marxist-Leninist individuals, which is geared to fuse these two great movements. The first and the biggest step in this fusion is concretized with the building of the party. That is why we defend as correct the formulation that all our work must be seen in the context of party building. All our activities must be seen within the context of how they will aid in accelerating this process. Whoever deviates even a little, even for a moment is objectively affecting and sacrificing what is in the best interests of the working class. Lenin points out:

Our principal and fundamental task is to facilitate the political development and the political organization of the working class. Those who push this task into the background who refuse to subordinate to it all the special tasks and particular methods of struggle are following a false path and causing serious harm to the movement. And it is being pushed into the background, firstly by those who call upon revolutionaries to employ only the forces of isolated conspiratorial circles cut off from the working-class movement in the struggle against the government. It is being pushed into the background secondly by those who restrict the content and scope of political propaganda agitation and organization who think it fit and proper to treat the workers to politics only at exceptional moments in their lives only on festive occasions, who too solicitously substitute demands for partial concessions from the autocracy for the political struggle against the autocracy and who do not go to sufficient lengths to ensure that these demands for partial concessions are raised to the status of a systematic implacable struggle of a revolutionary working class party against the autocracy.

Lenin Collected Works Vol 4 Pg 369

It would do well to point out that while we hold that all our work must be seen in the context of our central task, which is party building, this quite different thing that to say "our principal and only task is to build the party (PRRWO). The first position recognizes that because our principal and fundamental task is to build the party, all our work must be seen as a function of and in the service of this task. The second position is purely "left infantism, petty bourgeois idealism, which results in the liquidation of all the practical activities of communists.

The right opportunists make economist agitation, crawling behind the masses, their main task. They see the party as an outgrowth of the mass movement. This is why OL after 2 or 3 years of purely economist practice can say that "the objective and subjective conditions for the building of the party already exist." That is why WVO speaks of a mass party with a Leninist core. The center, we assume will be WVO which has proclaimed itself to be an "irreversible trend" and the masses will be convinced by means of their "Coalitions against the Budget Cuts." These right opportunists, in an attempt to limit the activity of the masses to mere economic struggles are in practice sacrificing the independence of the working class and converting it into a mere appendage of the labor aristocracy and liberal politicians, and consequently of the bourgeoisie. It is within this context that we must analyze the slogan "Unite to Expose" of WVO and the "Fight Back Coalition" of the OL. Lenin's teaching:

It is the task of the Social-Democrats, by organizing the workers, by conducting propaganda and agitation among them, to turn

their spontaneous struggle against their oppressors into the struggle of the whole class, into the struggle of a definite political party for definite political and socialist ideals. This is something that cannot be achieved by local activity alone."

Lenin Collected Works, Vol 4, Pg 216

is distorted by the OL and WVO in order to justify their purely economist agitation among the masses and their leaving "propaganda" for certain occasions and certain places.

The "left" opportunists are not an alternative but a direct complement to the right opportunists. Under the pretext of winning the advanced which for them is a rare animal nowhere to be found, these opportunists do not carry any type of propaganda or agitation among the masses.

Sticking purely to the letter of Marxism-Leninism without taking into account the conditions under which one or another position was put forward and without bothering about Stalin's teachings to do "concrete analysis of concrete conditions", "Everything depends on place, time and conditions", PRRWO-RWL allege that in this period no agitation can be directed at the masses. There is no need for "organic contact" between the communist movement and the working class movement. For them propaganda is to be aimed only at the advanced, no work need be done with the intermediate or the less advanced until after the party is formed. They base their position in that Stalin says that in the first period:

"... the period of the formation of the vanguard (i.e. the party) of the proletariat, the period of mustering the Party's cadres. In this period the Party was weak it had a programme and general principles of tactics, but as a party of mass action it was weak. He adds "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 to put it firmly on its feet." Lenin adds "to win the vanguard of the proletariat" "propaganda is the chief form of activity in this period." Stalin, "The Party Before and After the Taking of Power", Collected Works, Vol 5.

So based on what are the principal aspects of the first period - concentrate on ourselves, win the advanced, propaganda the chief form of activity, PRRWO-RWL liquidate the other aspects - pay attention to the masses, influence and upgrade the intermediate and less advanced and carry out agitation. The way in which these "left" opportunists see the whole process is mechanical and one-sided. They don't see stages dialectically, in the process of development, but as static and lifeless "first this, and when we're finished, then the other" is their logic. They hold that there can be no agitation at all until there is a party, that no organic contact with the masses can be had until the second period, that the advanced are won exclusively through propaganda, etc. Let's see what Marxism-Leninism says about this.

IT IS FALSE THAT AGITATION MUST WAIT UNTIL AFTER THE PARTY IS BUILT.

Stalin points out in the History of CPSU(B) that:

"Lenin put before the League of Struggle the task of forming closer connections with the mass working-class movement and of giving it political leadership. Lenin proposed to pass from the propaganda of Marxism among the few politically advanced workers who gathered in the propaganda circles to political agitation among the broad masses of the working class on issues of the day. This turn towards mass agitation was of profound importance for the subsequent development of the working-class movement in Russia." History of the CPSU(B), Pages 16-17.

That was in 1895, well before the Party was built. So although the chief form of activity was propaganda, the Russian Marxists also consistently carried out agitation. Further, referring to the need for communist participation in the spontaneous mass struggles, that they give direction and communist leadership. Lenin points out:

"Calls for action, not in the general, but in the concrete sense of the term can be made only at the place of action only those who themselves go into action, and do so immediately can sound such calls." Lenin What is to be done? Page 88, Foreign Languages Press (Peking).

Despite this, PRRWO calls any participation in the spontaneous mass struggle "economism" and "bowing to spontaneity" and claims that there is no need for organic contact between the communist movement and the working class movement at this time. Discussing the role of a communist newspaper, Lenin points out:

"The average worker will not understand some of the articles in a newspaper that aims to be the organ of the Party, he will not be able to get a full grasp of an intricate theoretical or practical problem. This does not at all mean that the newspaper must lower itself to the level of the mass of its readers. The newspaper, on the contrary, must raise their level and help promote advanced workers from the middle stratum of workers. Such workers, absorbed by local practical work and interested mainly in the events of the working-class movement and the immediate problems of agitation, should connect their very act with thoughts of the entire Russian working-class movement, its historical task, and the ultimate goal of socialism, so that the newspaper, the mass of whose readers are average workers, must connect socialism and the political struggle with every local and narrow question." Lenin Retrograde Trend in Russian Social-Democracy Vol 4. LCW.

Clearly seeing that a newspaper directed only at the advanced would leave the lower strata devoid of propaganda and agitation, Lenin adds:

Lastly, behind the stratum of average workers comes the mass that constitutes the lower strata of the proletariat. It is quite possible that a socialist newspaper will be completely or well-nigh incomprehensible to them (even in Western Europe the number of Social-Democratic voters is much larger than the number of readers of Social Democratic newspapers) but it would be absurd to conclude from this that the newspaper of the Social-Democrats should adapt itself to the lowest possible level of the workers. The only thing that follows from this is that different forms of agitation and propaganda must be brought to bear on these strata - pamphlets written in more popular language, oral agitation, and chiefly - leaflets on local events. The Social Democrats should not confine themselves even to this, it is quite possible that the first steps towards arousing the consciousness of the lower strata of the workers will have to take the form of legal educational activities.

Lenin Ibid

Continues on Page 6

EDITORIAL POLICY OF RESISTANCE



WE WANT TO ESTABLISH THROUGH THIS MEDIUM WHAT IS THE EDITORIAL POLICY OF OUR POLITICAL PAPER, RESISTENCIA, IN REGARDS TO COMRADES AND FRIENDS WHO SUBMIT ARTICLES FOR PUBLICATION

- 1) WE PUBLISH ARTICLES WHICH ARE FUNDAMENTALLY IN AGREEMENT WITH OUR POLITICAL LINE.
- 2) WE PUBLISH ARTICLES WE DO NOT AGREE WITH, BUT WHICH CONTAIN FORMULATIONS OR CRITICISMS IN A SERIOUS MANNER, WHICH WE FEEL IMPORTANT TO HOLD POLEMICS WITH, FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WHOLE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.
- 3) WE RESERVE THE RIGHT TO EDIT, SHORTEN OR ADD TO ARTICLES SUBMITTED.
- 4) WE DO NOT REVEAL THE CONTRIBUTORS' NAME.

Continued from Page 5

PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION

PROPAGANDA IS THE CHIEF FORM OF ACTIVITY

We reaffirm the correctness of the formulation that propaganda is the chief form of activity in this period. It is through propaganda that we can advance the process of uniting Marxist-Leninists (which is primary) and win and consolidate the advanced to communism (the secondary task in relation to the first, but which is carried out simultaneously with it). This is so as long as we combine our propaganda with agitation, as long as we don't limit all propaganda only to the advanced and participate actively, providing direction and communist leadership in the spontaneous mass struggles. We concentrate on the advanced workers, not because we have disdain or underrate the less advanced, but because we know that only by winning the leaders of the class to our side, those who in every instance determine the character of the working class movement, can we eventually unite the class and lead in an organized manner to the seizure of power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the construction of socialism. The teachings of Lenin are essential in this respect in order to better understand - Why the Advanced? and Why propaganda?

Hence, those who accuse the Russian Social Democrats of being narrow minded, of trying to ignore the mass of the labouring population for the sake of the factory workers, are profoundly mistaken. On the contrary, agitation among the advanced sections of the proletariat is the surest and the only way to rouse (as the movement expands) the entire Russian proletariat. The dissemination of socialism and of the idea of the class struggle among the urban workers will inevitably cause these ideas to flow in the smaller and more scattered channels. This requires that these ideas take deeper root among the better prepared elements and spread throughout the vanguard of the Russian working-class movement and of the Russian revolution.

Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 2, Pg. 331

Propaganda, like agitation, takes many different forms. The newspaper, leaflets, forums, conferences, study circles (chief form used to consolidate advanced elements), discussion of its paper, etc. are the forms we use most. We also consider important the propaganda value of conversations with advanced workers, contacts, neighbors, etc. Finally, so far as propaganda is concerned, we want to point out the publication and distribution of Marxist-Leninist works.

Marxist-Leninists, Unite and Win the advanced to communism!

programme. On the other hand, if the polemic is not to be fruitless, if it is not to degenerate into personal rivalry, if it is not to lead to a confusion of views, to a confounding of enemies and friends, it is absolutely essential that the question of the programme be introduced into the polemic. The polemic will be of benefit only if it makes clear in what the difference actually consists, how profound they are, whether they are differences of substance or differences on partial questions, whether or not these differences interfere with common work in the ranks of one and the same party. Only the introduction of the programme question into the polemic, only a definite statement by the two polemicizing parties on their programmatic views, can provide an answer to all these questions, questions that insistently demand an answer. The elaboration of a common programme for the Party should not, of course, put an end to all polemics; it will firmly establish those basic views on the character, the aims, and the task of our movement which must serve as the banner of a fighting party, a party that remains consolidated and united despite partial differences of opinion among its members on partial questions.

Lenin, A Draft Programme of Our Party,
Collected Works, Volume 2

In regards to publications we have provided communists and advanced workers in the US with Marxism and the National Question by Joseph Stalin (not published in Spanish since 1939) in English A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social-Democracy by Lenin and articles on Strategy and Tactics by Joseph Stalin. We have also reproduced a series of articles from Peking Review and Albania Today. Our organization has consistently distributed these published works as well as our own propaganda, magazines from China and Albania and classics of Marxism-Leninism in factories, schools and working class communities. This is an important and integral part of our propaganda work.

In finishing this first article on agitation and propaganda, we see the need to further study and deepen our understanding of this question, and thus improve our agitation and propaganda in practice. Lastly, we should point out another incorrect tendency that exists within the communist movement regarding the relationship between propaganda and agitation. That is the tendency to see agitation and propaganda in two stages: first agitation and then propaganda - agitation in order to prepare the workers to understand propaganda. This is an incorrect right position which as a matter of fact was promoted by the economists which Lenin majestically combatted in What is to be done? The use of propaganda or agitation, or both simultaneously, or the use of one first and then the other next or whatever order they are used in a particular place, is determined by concrete conditions of the place, the specific activity, etc., and not by a mechanical formula.

Comrades! The party has to be built in fierce battle against all types of opportunism. On the question of agitation and propaganda OL and WVO have a right opportunist line while RWL and PRRWO have a "left opportunist line. Both lines complement and nourish each other. We must defeat both!

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

Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 2

It is the task of Social Democracy to develop the political consciousness of the masses and not to drag along at the tail end of the masses that have no political rights, secondly, and this is most important, it is untrue that the masses will not understand the idea of political struggle. Even the most backward worker will understand the idea provided of course the agitator or propagandist is able to approach him in such a way as to communicate the idea to him, to explain it in understandable language on the basis of facts the worker knows from everyday experience. But this condition is just as indispensable for clarifying the economic struggle in this field too: the backward worker from the lower or middle strata of the masses will not be able to assimilate the general idea of economic struggle; it is an idea that can be absorbed by a few educated workers whom the masses will follow guided by their instincts and their direct, immediate interests.

Lenin, Apropos of the Profession de Foi,
Collected Works, Vol. 4, Page 291

NEXT ISSUE:

***OL'S 'NEW' PROPOSAL

***PUERTO RICO'S REVOLUTION IS A TWO STAGE REVOLUTION

***SUM-UP OF THE HOSPITAL WORKERS STRIKE

***PART III OF POLEMICS WITH THE LEFT OPPORTUNISTS PRRWO-RWL



study guide for



Party Building

We have received many requests from our comrades asking what readings they should make in order to get a better grasp on the question of party building. The following list is being used in our study circles. More readings are in the process of being incorporated as we realize that this one is far from complete. We welcome criticisms of the list and also suggestions of other readings that should be added.

In case that it be impossible for comrades to get a hold of any of these readings, please get in contact with us so that we can make them accessible to you. Please be as self-reliant as possible. Reproducing materials, mailing, etc. cost a lot!

- 1 History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) emphasis on chapters 1 to 4 and conclusion
- 2 History of the Party of Labor of Albania emphasis on chapter 1
- 3 Lenin What is to be Done? emphasis on Chapter 3 section c and chapter 4 section c
- 4 Lenin One Step Forward, Two Steps Back
- 5 Stalin Foundations of Leninism emphasis on chapter VIII The Party
- 6 Stalin Proletarian Class, Proletarian Party see Stalin Collected Works (SCW) Vol. 2
- 7 Mao Rectify the Party Style of Work
- 8 Mao Reform Our Study
- 9 Stalin The Party Crisis and Our Task see SCW Vol. 2
- 10 Lenin A Draft Program of Our Party see Lenin Collected Works (LCW) Vol. 4
- 11 Lenin The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement see L C W Vol. 4
- 12 Mao Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing
- 13 Stalin The Party Before and After Taking Power see S C W Vol. 5
- 14 Lenin A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social-Democracy see L C W Vol. 4
- 15 Lenin Declaration of the Editorial Board of Iskra see L C W Vol. 4
- 16 Lenin The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats see L C W Vol. 2
- 17 Dimitrov The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle of the Working Class against Fascism see Dimitrov On United Front
- 18 Foto Cami The Objective and Subjective Factors in the Revolution see Albania Today # 8, 1973
- 19 On Party Organization our reprint from the Australian Communist No. 52 (June 1972)
- 20 Some Views of the Communist International on Party Building our reprint of some materials of the Communist International



COMMUNIST FORUM



IN THIS ISSUE WE ARE STARTING A NEW COLUMN, "COMMUNIST FORUM", WHICH WILL APPEAR REGULARLY IN RESISTENCIA

WE WILL PUBLISH HERE LETTERS FROM OUR READERS, AND IF NEED BE, OUR ANSWERS TO THEM WE URGE ALL COMRADES AND

READERS TO SEND US THEIR CRITICISMS, OPINIONS AND SUGGESTIONS TO

RESISTENCIA
BOX 513, TRIBORO STATION
NEW YORK, N. Y., 10035

A READER'S VIEW

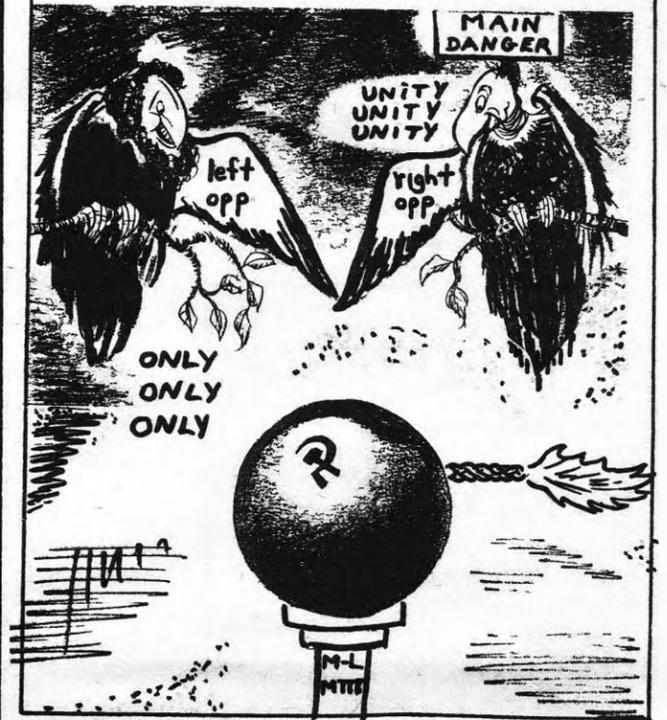
* EXTRACT FROM A LETTER *



"Got the latest Resistencia #5 re PRRWO / RWL I was impressed with the way that you laid out the unity and resulting disunity with PRRWO/RWL in that issue I am still investigating this political line/ideological line split but so far have unity with the position that you put forward in the paper I hope that there will be more substantive, in-depth articles in the future I do have one criticism so far I think that it is not constructive to label PRRWO as "left' Menshevik" My understanding historically is that Mensheviks were a rightist, opportunist, collaborationist, conciliationist movement in the Soviet Union One of the key characteristics of the Mensheviks was their rightist form, as well as their rightist essence This is attributed to the fact that many Mensheviks were of petit-bourgeois, liberal, and cultural nationalistic backgrounds The essence of the Mensheviks was their rightist positions on issues that effected the Russian Communist Movement during that period The Narodnik and terrorist tendencies characterized the national form of "left" and ultra-"leftism" in that country To say that a group is a Menshevik-type today is to say that their form, not just their essence, is rightist This would also mean that strategically,

the direction of the main blow would be directed at the Menshevik-type organizations because their right errors represent the main danger I would see that this would be the case with the OL and CPUSA In this period, it would be inaccurate to view the RCP, or WVO, etc in this light The cover they (OL, CPUSA, etc) hide behind does determine their ability to conceal themselves and mislead the mass working class movement Because of the difficulty in detecting right errors, this is why they are the main danger in this period So, I would say that it is inaccurate and unscientific to label the PRRWO/RWL as "left" Menshevik "Ultra-leftism" would be more scientific Secondly, I don't think that PRRWO/RWL are the main danger in this period, as I think that they will isolate themselves from the mass working class movement Therefore, I think that the criticism, "left' Menshevik" is incorrect It is like saying "CPUSA-type" which would not be scientific either I would be interested in your response to this This is not a criticism that draws lines of demarcation, but one which I think is important enough to raise at this time "

BIRDS OF A FEATHER FLOCK TOGETHER



OUR ANSWER

The comrade is correct in pointing out that Menshevism was a right opportunist trend in Russian Social-Democracy In the second Congress of the RSDLP, there were clearly established - though still in the same party - the two wings of the Russian Social-Democracy (Communist) - the revolutionary or Bolshevik and the opportunist or Menshevik However, it is our understanding that later on the term menshevik was used to refer indistinctly to both right and "left" opportunists It is important to make clear that when we speak of "left" deviations, we are making reference to the form, for as we know in essence all deviations are rightist So that in terms of the form, we can point to Martov and Bukarin (in the Russian Social-Democracy) as being right opportunist and to Trotsky as a "left" opportunist We can also point to the "liquidators" as right opportunist and the "Otzovists" as "left" opportunist And as we all know, all the above-mentioned united under Trotsky's leadership in the infamous "August Bloc" to fight against the Bolshevik, Comrades Lenin and Stalin

It is precisely Stalin who points out in 1926 that

"In the present period of acute class struggle, there can be only one of two possible policies in the working class movement either the policy of Menshevism, or the policy of Leninism The attempts of the opposition bloc to occupy a middle position between these two lines under the cover of "Left" revolutionary phraseology and while intensifying criticism of the C P S. U (B) were bound to lead and have actually led to the opposition bloc slithering into the camp of the opponents of Leninism into the camp of Menshevism

(Stalin The Opposition Bloc in the C. P. S. U (B) included in On Opposition Foreign Languages Press Peking 1974 page 379)

Therefore we think it is correct to characterize PRRWO-RWL as left mensheviks as opposed to the OL and other right Mensheviks

We agree with the comrade that right opportunism is the main danger in the Communist Movement today But we disagree with the explanation given by the comrade Right opportunism is not the main danger because of "the difficulty in detecting right errors, this is why they are the main danger in this period" In fact, it is much easier to identify right errors than "left errors This is why many opportunists disguise themselves as "super-revolutionaries" and their "revolutionary phrase mongering" peddle their opportunist line within the Communist Movement In referring to this Stalin says

"It should not be forgotten that rights and "ultra-lefts" are actually twins, that consequently both take an opportunist stand, the difference between them being that whereas the rights do not always conceal their opportunism, the "Lefts" invariably camouflage their opportunism with "revolutionary" phrases "

(Stalin - The Fight Against Right and "Ultra-Left" Deviations - a speech delivered to the Communist International in 1926)

When the right opportunists and revisionists speak of "peaceful transition" and "electoral process" (CPUSA), of calling the National Guards to protect the rights of Black children in Boston (OL), or "nations of a new type" (RCP), etc, etc, etc , it is easier to recognize the opportunism than it is when PRRWO-RWL speak of Bolshevism on the rise "genuine wing" and all the phrase mongering paraphernalia which characterizes these "left opportunist Mensheviks The reason why right opportunism is the main danger is not because of the 'difficulty in detecting right errors' but the actual connection they have with the working class as opposed to the alienation of the left Mensheviks from the masses PRRWO-RWL as all other left opportunists have no type of connections with the working class They are completely isolated, and as they have no influence among the working class the national movements, the Woman s movement

nor the student movement, these groups don't represent the main danger

It is different with the right opportunists The "C" PUSA still has some influence in the trade unions, OL has a base in the South and their recently held "Fight Back Conference" they were able to mobilize, under a reformist program, more than a thousand people (the majority of them workers and oppressed nationalities) Because of the economism that characterizes the right opportunists, because they hide politics from the workers and give unconditional support to the spontaneous struggles, etc., they are able to win some influence among the masses That should not surprise us Referring to the economists of his time, Comrade Lenin pointed out in "What is to be done?" that the economists are very successful in rallying the masses as they appeal to their most backward instincts, presenting the line of "least resistance"

So we see also that it is the right opportunist, revisionist PSP who have under its influence some sector of the Puerto Rican National Minority, and not PRRWO, which a long time ago liquidated its work in it That is why we have to direct our main blow to the right opportunists like "C" PUSA, R" C" P, OL PSP WVO and not to the alienated, self-destructive " Menshevik core of the fake wing"

On the R" C" P and WVO, we differ with the comrade's view that "In this period, it would be inaccurate to view RCP or WVO, etc , in this light " For us, R" C" P is clearly a revisionist organization which long ago ceased to be part of the Communist Movement Their social-chauvinism, their "nations of a new type", their practice, practice, practice", their self-proclamation as the Revolutionary "Communist" Party of the U S have clearly demarcated them from the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces in this country (we refer comrade to the article in Revolutionary Cause , Vol 1, No. 2) On WVO, our position is that they are right opportunist and it has been clearly established in our articles around the IWWD coalition of this year as well as the sum up of their forum in Los Angeles which appears in this issue on page 1

continued from front page

WVO FORUM



A COMMUNIST NEWSPAPER HAS TO BE

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A COLLECTIVE AGITATOR
A COLLECTIVE ORGANIZER

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TO BUILD THE COMMUNIST PRESS

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2) WVO, in the period from November 1975 to February 1976, proclaimed themselves as part of the genuine wing of the communist movement and now they say that they are part of an "irreversible trend". We want to know about the self-criticism of WVO and the repudiation they made of the line that they considered themselves part of the so-called "genuine wing", we want to know when the so-called "genuine wing" ceased to exist for WVO (We're very clear it never existed) and we want to know also who makes up that "irreversible trend". Clearly WVO is pushing the same line under a new guise. It is extremely important that they proclaim themselves the circle with the most correct line in the communist movement. Regardless what new title they assume, we are still waiting for a reply from WVO.

3) As an example of their "revolutionary practice" WVO uses their participation in the Day of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico, held in Madison Square Garden on October 27 1974. WVO never ceases to point out that their representative was the only voice which condemned Soviet social-imperialism. Bravo WVO! However, we are interested in discussing it in greater depth, the events before and after the Garden activity. It is well known that the preparations for this activity took well over 5 months. Under the leadership of an Asian community organization - a non-communist organization - a coalition of Asian organizations to support the activity was organized. Within the coalition WVO conspired left and right, using its now famous front organizations, in order to assure itself that its member was chosen as the speaker for the coalition (not as a WVO representative) for the activity at the Garden. Meanwhile during all this time, 5 months, WVO did not produce one single independent piece of propaganda criticizing the line of the activity which was based on the reformist slogan "Bicentennial Without Colonies". We are clear that this line, put into practice by WVO, of "Unite to Expose" led them to make a series of concessions on principles to the revisionists in exchange for three minutes to denounce the social-imperialists in front of the "masses". Contrast this position with our own which we published in August of that year in a series of articles which appeared in Resistencia, condemning the line of this activity, which we later published in booklet form and was distributed to those that attended the activity. Furthermore, we held a series of activities prior to October 27, where we denounced not only the Soviet social-imperialists but also the Yankee imperialists as well as the revisionists from PSP and "C" PUSA which controlled the activity. We also pointed out that WVO never took an official position in regards to the Havana Conference, a super-revisionist conference, in solidarity with PSP which consistently in its preparatory work attacked and slandered the People's Republic of China, its correct Communist Party and its great leader Chairman Mao Tse tung. In a forum in which WVO, OL, the Comite-MINP, and CAP participated, the representative of WVO declared that they were not participating in the Conference because they had not yet received an invitation. Several weeks later, in a conference on the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union sponsored by OL, Martin Nicolaus, the speaker, asked WVO for its position on the Havana Conference and they replied that they were still studying the question. On August 5, 1975, starting date of the Conference, Resistencia Puertorriquena held a forum on this issue. Representatives of WVO as well as RWL and PRRWO attended. Our position is published as Analysis of the Havana Conference. The only organization which consistently struggled against our position was WVO, who pointed out "We do not know the forces which are represented in Havana. If there are honest forces there, we would be there, if there are only revisionists the we should denounce it". We pointed out that in both cases they would be opportunists for they were not at the Conference and they had not denounced it, and the Conference was already in progress. The purpose of this part of our presentation was to denounce the conciliatory policy towards revisionism which WVO held in its based on the line of "Unite to Expose". As usual

the only ones exposed were themselves. We challenged WVO to show us any piece of agitation and propaganda produced by them denouncing the revisionist line of the activities in Havana and the Garden. We are still waiting! It seems that WVO's break with revisionism is just talk. Their objective is to build, not a party of a new type, but, consistent with their right opportunist line, they seek to "build the mass movement". They drag themselves behind the revisionists under the guise of being where the masses are. Thus, they make concessions and end up denouncing, not the revisionists but themselves and their opportunism.

4) Finally, we questioned the Boston Chapter of FFM on one of the positions they presented in the Forum in New York on May Day. The position which appeared in a pamphlet entitled "Let's denounce the 'Left' Opportunism of RWL/PRRWO" was given out in the Los Angeles forum. We read from page 7 of their booklet the following:

"RWL says that FFM needs positions on party building, trade unions, the national question, and needs democratic centralism. These 'left' covers that RWL puts forth will inevitably lead them to establish a Communist Youth Organization (CYO) without any concrete analysis of the conditions and time of the student movement and how it relates to the party building motion."

We pointed out to the Boston FFM representative that in their presentation that evening (in L.A.) a clear position had been established in regards to the national question, the party, the international situation, bussing, ERA, trade unions, etc. We then asked how they justified their criticism that RWL was "leftist" when they demanded that a student organization have positions on these questions and by the same token they had come to establish the position of a student organization on these same questions. It was clear that the Boston FFM did not accept the "left" opportunist line of RWL because it prefers the right opportunist line of WVO.

After we had made our presentation, the representative of WVO "lost his cool". WVO did not deal with any of the questions. In between screams and shouts of WVO's representative and another of their cadre who hysterically attacked us, we were able to deepen the analysis on some of the issues we had raised as well as mentioned a series of examples of WVO's practice such as their unity with the "C" PUSA, PSP and the Girl Scouts in celebrating International Women's Day in New York in 1975, their position that in "Chinatown there exist special conditions which do not allow for open communist work", also their now famous "Coalitions against the Budget Cuts". The last point which we debated with WVO was regarding the characterization they made of PRRWO (YLP) in their pamphlet in which they called them "shock troops" - for the role they played in the uprising of the Puerto Rican national minority in the later part of the 1960's and early 1970's. This type of insult and slander was directed not only to PRRWO but to all organizations and individuals who at that time actively and in a revolutionary fashion participated in fighting to defend the democratic rights of the Puerto Ricans in the U.S.

Finally, it should be noted that no organization or collective (and there were several present) nor independent Marxist-leninists among those present arose to defend the line of WVO. As a matter of fact most of those present applauded our participation and after the forum we had an opportunity to deepen some of the issues we had raised.

Comrades, WVO is trying to take advantage of the confusion that the "ultra-leftist" politics and suicidal sectarianism of PRRWO-RWL has created. But their tactic backfired in Los Angeles. And it will continue to do so, to the degree that genuine Marxist-leninists better grasp the opportunism of their line and combat them point by point not only in forums and newspapers but in the hospitals, schools, workplaces and other service areas where they daily spread their reformist, right opportunist poison. To the degree that this is done, we will be advancing the task of party building in the heat of the struggle against opportunist of all hues.

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