

**PROLETARIAN
INTERNATIONALISM OR
REVISIONISM :**

**Analysis Of October 27 Rally In Support
Of Puerto Rican Liberation Struggle**

**PUERTO RICAN REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS ORGANIZATION
(January 1975)**

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On October 27, 20,000 people rallied in Madison Square Garden in NYC. The rally was organized by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee (PRSDC), a group formed as a result of a call made by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). The Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee organized the activity around two slogans: "Day of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico" and "Bi-Centennial Without Colonies".

The size of this rally has led some to conclude that this activity was one of the most significant mass activities against imperialism in recent years-- a "magnificent demonstration of proletarian internationalism." (Guardian, Nov. 20, p. 9) As Marxist-Leninists, we understand that numbers alone do not determine the correctness or incorrectness of a policy, a slogan, an event. It is political content, political line that determines this.

In keeping with this understanding, we present our analysis of the political lines put forward on Oct. 27th and the response of the communist movement to this activity.

We begin by restating the responsibilities of the U.S. proletariat to the national liberation struggle of Puerto Rico and all other colonies.

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

As we stated in the last issue of Palante (p. 11):

"The responsibility of communists (the advanced detachment of the working class) and the proletariat in the oppressor nation is to first and foremost understand that no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations.

"We must fight for the right to political secession for the colonies and for nations that the bourgeoisie of the U.S. oppresses, i.e., the right to determine their own destiny. For as comrade Lenin said: failure to carry out this responsibility means that proletarian internationalism will remain a meaningless phrase, and class solidarity between the workers of the oppressed nation and the oppressing nation will remain impossible.

"This means that the proletariat cannot and must not:

evade this most fundamental question. The recognition of internationalism must not be limited to words-- and then in deeds implement petty-bourgeois nationalism and pacificism.

"Our responsibility is to carry out direct revolutionary propaganda and revolutionary mass action for the liberation of the colonies. We must struggle against all forms of national oppression and spread propaganda among the proletariat of the U.S.

"This is how we concretely give aid, how concretely we turn the colonies from reserves of imperialism into reserves of the proletariat. For Lenin states that failing to do this is acting like lackeys of the "blood and mud-stained imperialist bourgeoisie."

We draw our understanding of this important question from the experiences of the international proletariat, as summed up by the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought.

"...the victory of the working class in the developed countries and the liberation of the oppressed peoples from the yoke of imperialism are impossible without the formation and the consolidation of a common revolutionary front; the formation of a common revolutionary front is impossible unless the proletariat of the oppressor nation renders direct and determined support to the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples against the imperialism of its 'own country'...this support implies the upholding, defense and implementation of the slogan of the right of nations to secession, to independent existence as states..."

(Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, Peking, p. 77)

We also hold that proletarian internationalism for U.S. communists means following the lead of the Chinese and Albanian comrades in making a complete break with revisionism-- ideologically, politically and organizationally.

REVISIONISM MUST BE OPPOSED

Revisionism is the abandonment of the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, and their replacement with opportunism and national chauvinism or bundism. In the international sphere, we have a clear example of this in the Soviet Union today.

The Soviet Union is no longer a socialist country. When the Khrushchev gang took control of the state power in 1956, the socialist revolution that had been led by Lenin and Stalin suffered a temporary, serious reversal. Capitalism was restored in an all-around way. The Brezhnev crew's succession in 1964 merely signaled the further consolidation of the bourgeoisie and an expansion of its imperialist aims. The Soviet Union is social-imperialist, socialist in words, but imperialist in deeds.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is no longer the great Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin. It is today a revisionist party.

"The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie. With the usurped state apparatus in its hands, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has turned the socialist state ownership into state monopoly capitalist ownership. In the name of enforcing what it calls a 'new economic system', it has allowed the capitalist principle of profits to govern the economic activities of all enterprises. A bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class of a new type has rapidly grown up, bleeding the people white with taxes and levies, and this has become the base of the rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. Lenin pointed out: 'This system of bourgeoisified workers, or the labor aristocracy who are quite philistine in their mode of life, in the size of their earnings and in their entire outlook, is the principal prop of the Second International, and, in our days, the principal social prop of the bourgeoisie.' The bureaucrat-monopoly-capitalist class represented by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is a reactionary class whose mode of life, size of earnings and entire

outlook have been completely bourgeoisified. Leading a life of luxury and indulgence, they live no differently from the parasitic life of the bourgeoisie in the West. On the other hand, the Soviet people are made to endure savage exploitation and worsening impoverishment. Imposing an all-round bourgeois dictatorship in the sphere of ideology, they crack down on proletarian ideas and culture and let the decadent bourgeois ideology spread unchecked to corrupt the people and facilitate their overthrow. To suppress and persecute the revolutionary people they constantly intensify their fascist dictatorship and turn the Soviet Union into a prison for the people of all nationalities. To seize still greater wealth and divert the attention of the Soviet people, they fanatically pursue their policies of aggression and expansion and follow the beaten track of the old tsars. Thus the Soviet state apparatus becomes an apparatus of imperialism with socialism as its signboard."

(Imperialism is the Eve of the Social Revolution of the Proletariat, Peking Review, No. 39, 1973)

In opposition to the revisionist betrayal of the Party of the Soviet Union, stand the great Chinese and Albanian Parties. These comrades have taken the lead in exposing the revisionists, staunchly upheld the banner of proletarian internationalism, and helped Marxist-Leninists the world over understand that,

"It is impossible for the working class in the European and American capitalist countries to liberate itself unless it unites with the oppressed nations and unless these nations are liberated."

(Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement, Peking, 1963, p. 14)

The Comrades have also taught us that neither the imperialists nor the social-imperialists will liberate the oppressed nations. Only the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples themselves can win liberation. The masses are the makers of history!

Marxist-Leninists the world over have joined in the struggle against Soviet revisionism. Just as Lenin broke with the revisionist parties of the Second International, today genuine communists are breaking with the revisionist parties in their countries. Just as Lenin called for the formation of new parties, genuine Bolshevik parties, Marxist-Leninists today also raise the cry-- BUILD PARTIES OF A NEW TYPE, REVOLUTIONARY BOLSHEVIK PARTIES, PARTIES THAT HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

And we are fully confident that the genuine Marxist-Leninists of the USSR will build a new party, a Leninist party. The Soviet people will overthrow the new Soviet bourgeoisie and once again establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

REVISIONIST PARTIES HAVE BETRAYED THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES

The PRRWO unites with the analysis made by our comrades of the Black Workers Congress regarding the struggle against revisionism and revisionist parties.

"In this battle against revisionism, the question of the stand towards the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples has once again been a decisive factor. The revisionists of the Soviet Union and all the parties which followed them (including the Communist Party USA--CPUSA) have thoroughly betrayed the struggles of the oppressed peoples.

In a period where the storm of national liberation is on the rise, the revisionists cry out for "peaceful coexistence". This basically means that the oppressed people should not rise in opposition to the imperialists and defend their territory and their rights. And if they do, the revisionists scream they will bring nuclear war down on their heads. Instead, the oppressed peoples should rely on the Soviet Union to resolve their problems and the might of the Soviet Union cannot help but force the US to automatically collapse. These are lies, concocted to deceive the peoples of the world. And the revisionists do not stop here. They continue their deception by telling the people that revolutionary armed

struggle is no longer necessary, that there will be a 'peaceful transition' from capitalism to socialism.

The line of peaceful transition is especially dangerous to the proletariat and oppressed peoples. It leaves the proletariat totally unprepared against the reactionary attacks and assaults of the bourgeoisie. Nowhere in the world has there been an example of the bourgeoisie peacefully giving up its rule and stepping down. If the proletariat and its party, in any country, fail to make thorough preparations for armed struggle with the bourgeoisie, then it will paralyze the revolutionary will of the proletariat. The proletariat will be disarmed ideologically, sink into a passive state of unpreparedness both politically and organizationally." (BWC, the Communist, October 15, 1974, p. 14)

With these key points in mind, let us return to the analysis of October 27th.

PSP'S DIFFERENCES WITH MARXISM-LENINISM

In the last issue of Palante, we reprinted our letter to the PRSDC in which we extended our solidarity and support to the Oct. 27th activity. We also criticized the entire communist movement, ourselves included, for not having carried out our proletarian internationalist responsibility sufficiently that is, actively uniting the struggle of the American working class with the struggles of the hundreds of millions of colonial peoples who are oppressed by imperialism.

While we criticized ourselves for not extending support to the activity sooner, we also stated clearly the serious differences we had and continue to have with the political line of the activity. (See Palante, Vol. 1, No. 1, p.2.)

We did participate in the activity, mobilizing workers and revolutionary people for it, putting out literature and slogans stating our position. Our work included a forum at which the opportunist slogan "Bi-Centennial Without Colonies" was exposed, and the unity with the revisionist "CP"USA was thoroughly criticized. Participants in the forum were urged to attend the activity in the spirit of unity-struggle-unity.

After analyzing carefully the speeches presented on Oct. 27th, especially that of the PSP, we hold that this activity represents for PSP a further step down the road to revisionism. At the same time we recognize that the intentions of the PSP cadres and those honest people that worked with the PRSDC may have been good. However, Marxist-Leninists cannot sum up an activity by saying "well, their intentions were good." It is our responsibility to analyze the effect of the political line being put out at that activity. Following this political line, we must ask ourselves, down what road is the Puerto Rican liberation struggle going to be taken?

Thousands of honest, revolutionary-minded people came to Madison Square Garden to support the national liberation of Puerto Rico and to be educated. As a Marxist-Leninist organization, PSP had the responsibility to do just that--- provide an education based on the revolutionary teachings of the great Marxist-Leninists. We believe they failed in this, and instead they presented a revision of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, cloaked in "militant" rhetoric.

In the next part of this article, we present our main differences with the line of the PSP as presented in the speech by Juan Mari Bras on Oct. 27th.

1. "This gathering is a beautiful expression of militant solidarity. We gather here-- in frank comradeship and cohesive brotherhood-- Puerto Ricans and North Americans; Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Asians, Indians, representatives of different communities in the United States, who above and beyond national frontiers, ethnic and language differences, reach the highest identity to which human beings aspire, that of becoming universal beings."
(From speech delivered by Juan Mari Bras, Secretary General of PSP, Oct. 27th)

Like the "CP"USA, PSP does not speak of the multinational U.S. proletariat. Instead they separate the working class along national lines, reducing the mighty American proletariat to "representatives of different communities in the U.S." 20,000 people come together and a Marxist-Leninist

... does not mention our unity as members of the U.S. proletariat, our unity based on CLASS SOLIDARITY and the struggle against our class enemy, does not mention the ideology of the proletariat, our science of war, Marxism-Leninism.

Instead PSP talks about "brotherhood" and says that what we all is our goal of "becoming universal beings". This is bourgeois, metaphysical nonsense-- an analysis devoid of class content. This talk of humanity, of "brotherhood" of "human beings", of "universal beings"-- all this goes over, covers up the very real class distinctions which exist in the real world. In a class society, there can be only class brotherhood.

Comrade Mao Tse-Tung addressing himself to errors like this said:

"At present, however, some comrades are lacking in the basic concepts of Marxism. For instance, it is a basic Marxist concept that being determines consciousness, that the objective realities of class struggle and national struggle determine our thoughts and feelings. But some of our comrades turn this upside down and maintain that everything ought to start from "love".

Now as for love, in a class society there can be only class love; but these comrades are seeking a love transcending classes, love in the abstract and also freedom in the abstract, truth in the abstract, human nature in the abstract, etc. This shows that they have been very deeply influenced by the bourgeoisie. They should thoroughly rid themselves of this influence and modestly study Marxism-Leninism."

(Mao Tse-Tung, Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art, p. 13)

And just as Mao Tse-Tung criticized those comrades who spoke of "love" in the abstract, today we must criticize PSP for talking about "brotherhood", "human beings" and "universal beings" in the abstract. In a class society, we can only be class brotherhood. To speak, as PSP does, of a "brotherhood" which transcends class, is to spread

ideology, not class consciousness and class solidarity.

2. "Washington has seen itself forced to retreat to a certain degree of softening in its line toward the two great powers of the socialist camp, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China." (Ibid.)

The PSP upholds the erroneous line that there still exists a socialist camp. This is because they hold that the Soviet Union is still a socialist country and not social imperialist. However, genuine Marxist-Leninists recognize that by 1963, because of the seizing of state power by the Soviet revisionists and their attacks on Marxism-Leninism and all genuine communist parties, the split in the socialist camp was complete.

We unite with the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labor of Albania, and genuine Marxist-Leninists everywhere, and hold that "as a result of the emergence of social imperialism, the socialist camp which existed for a time after World War II is no longer in existence." Today there are two superpowers in the world: the U.S. and the USSR. Both are seeking world hegemony.

(For further elaboration on this question, see: Documents of the 10th Party Congress of the CPC, A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement, Leninism or Social-Imperialism, CPC speech at the U.N.)

By putting forward that the socialist camp still exists today, PSP:

- a) Ignores the intense ideological struggle being waged against Soviet revisionism.
- b) Cloaks and defends the social-imperialist renegade of the Soviet Union and thereby aids them in their dirty work.

c) Abandons their Marxist-Leninist responsibility to struggle against all forms of opportunism. It is our proletarian internationalist duty to defend Marxism-Leninism and struggle resolutely against the Soviet Revisionists and all their lackeys, as well as against the other superpower, the U.S. We cannot fight U.S. imperialism while we unite with Soviet social-imperialism.

d) Leads honest comrades into confusion because the masses know that the Soviet Union's deeds (imperialist) are in contradiction with what real socialism is supposed to be.

e) Negates the possibility of the restoration of capitalism in a socialist country. In debate, PSP has claimed that if capitalism were to exist in the Soviet Union, it would have to be identical to that of the U.S. This is not so.

Like U.S. imperialism, the economic base of Soviet social-imperialism is also monopoly capitalism. In 1917, the working class in the Soviet Union, led by the Bolshevik Party, seized state power, took possession of the means of production in the form of state ownership, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. With the usurping of state power and the restoration of capitalism, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union has been changed once again into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The socialist state ownership has been changed into ownership by the bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class.

"The phenomenon of social-imperialism or state monopoly capitalism, differs from 'capital-imperialism' (Peking Review #25, 1972) only in the form of ownership of the means of production and appropriation of wealth. In a capitalist country, the form of ownership and appropriation is 'private'. In a revisionist country the form used is the state. In both cases, the essence behind the forms is a system of monopoly capitalism ruled by the bourgeoisie."

(PRRW pamphlet, In the U.S. Pregnant with Revisionism, the Struggle for Proletarian Revolution Moves Ahead)

3. "Washington has seen itself forced to retreat to a certain degree of softening its line toward the two

great powers of the socialist camp, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. That fact is a considerable victory of the socialist camp, in the degree to which the principle of peaceful coexistence has been made to prevail, the principal which is one of the main bases of the strategy which will lead to the definite victory of socialism over capitalism on a world scale.

But we cannot fall into the illusion that such peaceful gestures have replaced the war-mongering policy of imperialism. The relaxing of tension is limited, in its immediate effects at least, to the sphere of relations between the great powers and, in any case, the European panorama. But there is no such dilution of imperialism with the super-exploited peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America."
(PSP speech, Oct. 27th)

PSP is here presenting an analysis of the international situation. They say:

a) The U.S. has been forced to soften its line, has "peaceful gestures" to the Soviet Union and China.

b) Peaceful coexistence has been made to prevail to certain degree.

c) Peaceful coexistence is one of the main aspects of the strategy that will lead to the world-wide victory of socialism over capitalism.

d) However, while tensions have been relaxed, this is limited.

e) One place where relaxed tensions have been felt is in Europe.

f) Therefore, imperialism has been weakened, diluted in Europe, but not yet in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

To analyze this most important question, we must first draw some historical lessons.

LENIN'S THEORY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

It was Lenin who formulated and proposed the idea that the socialist states should follow the policy of peaceful coexistence towards countries with different social systems. He understood that during certain periods socialist countries would exist side by side with pre-capitalist, capitalist, and imperialist countries.

However, Lenin was clear that imperialism by its very nature was aggressive and committed to a policy of domination and expansionism in order for it to survive. Therefore, he taught that imperialists would do everything possible to oppose and destroy the socialist state, even if it attempted to pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence. (Discussing the basis for peace with the imperialist countries, he said:)

"Let the U.S. capitalists refrain from touching us... The obstacle to such a peace? From our side, there is none. From the side of the American (and all other) capitalists, it is imperialism."
(Lenin, "Reply to Questions by the Correspondent of the American Newspaper, New York Evening Journal")

While attempting to pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence, Lenin had no illusions about the imperialists and stressed time and time again that the socialist states must maintain constant vigilance against these bloodsuckers.

It is important to be clear on the context within which Lenin spoke about peaceful coexistence. He advanced this policy as one to be followed by the proletariat in power towards countries with different social systems. HE NEVER MADE IT THE SUM TOTAL OF A SOCIALIST COUNTRY'S FOREIGN POLICY. Time and again, Lenin made it clear that the FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE of the foreign policy was PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM.

"Soviet Russia considers it her greatest pride to help the workers of the whole world in their difficult struggle for the overthrow of capitalism."
(Lenin, quoted in Peaceful Coexistence, Two diametrically opposed policies, Peking, 1963)

Finally, Lenin made it absolutely clear that it was impossible for the oppressed classes and nations to coexist peacefully with the oppressor classes and nations.

"...the bourgeoisie, even the most educated and democratic, now no longer hesitates to resort to any fraud or crime, to massacre millions of workers and peasants in order to save the private ownership of the means of production...the very thought of peacefully subordinating the capitalists to the will of the majority of the exploited, of the peaceful reformist transition to Socialism is not only extreme philistine stupidity, but also downright deception of the workers, the embellishment of capitalist wage slavery, concealment of the truth."
(Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. 10, p.164)

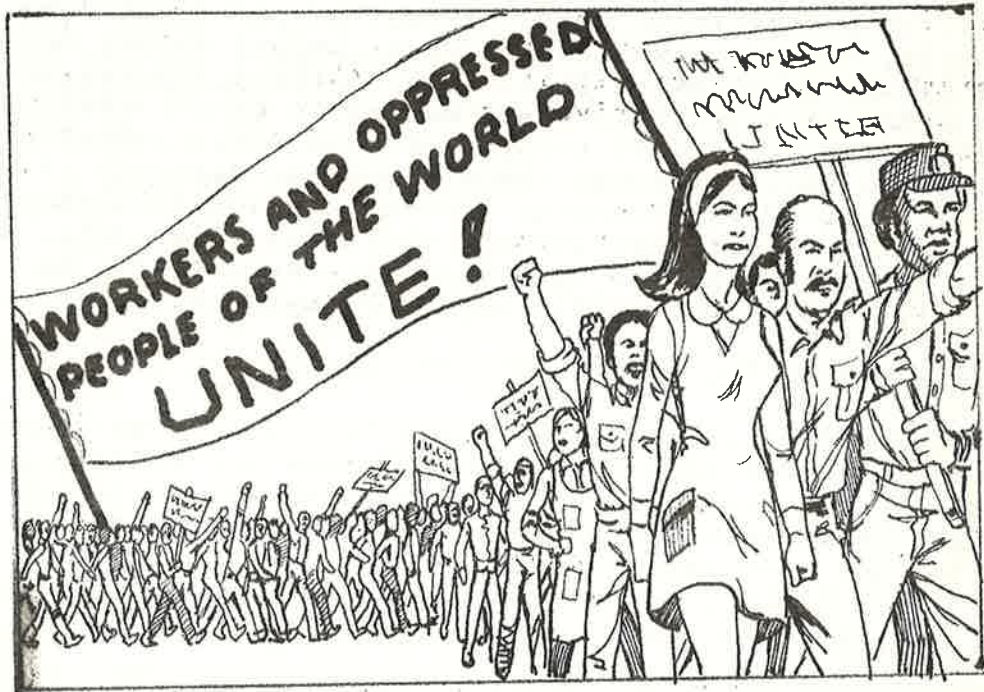
In the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, the principles put forward by Lenin became the guiding principles of Chinese foreign policy. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are: mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.

Upholding firmly the Leninist line, the People's Republic of China also stated clearly the proletarian internationalist responsibility of socialist countries:

"While persevering in peaceful coexistence with countries having different social systems, we unswervingly perform our proletarian internationalist duty. We actively support the national liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the working-class movements of Western Europe, North America, and Australia, the people's revolutionary struggles and the people's struggles against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and for world peace.

In all this we have but one objective in view, that is, with the socialist camp and the international proletariat as the nucleus, to unite all the forces that can

be united in order to form a broad united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys."
(Peaceful Coexistence--Two Diametrically Opposed Policies, Peking, 1963)



GENERAL LINE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" OF THE CPSU AND CPUSA

At the 20th Congress of the CPSU, this party abandoned the tradition of Lenin and Stalin and said that:

1. Peaceful coexistence is the overriding and supreme principle for solving contemporary problems. They said:

"Peaceful coexistence alone is the best and the sole acceptable way to solve the vitally important problems confronting society."

(A. Rumyantsev, "Our Common Ideological Weapon", Problems of Peace and Socialism, No. 1, 1962)

2. Imperialism has become willing to accept peaceful coexistence. (See Khrushchev's speech in Indonesia, Feb. 21, 1960).

3. Peaceful coexistence is "the general line of foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp." (Khrushchev's speech, July 5, 1961)

4. Peaceful coexistence is the prerequisite for victory in the people's revolutionary struggles. They said that the victories won by the people of different countries have been achieved under "conditions of peaceful coexistence" between states with different social systems." (See Pravda, Feb. 8, 1961)

5. Peaceful coexistence is "the best way of helping the international revolutionary labour movement achieve its basic class aims." They declared that under peaceful coexistence the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism in capitalist countries has grown. (See Open Letter of the CPSU to Party Organizations and All Communists in the Soviet Union, July 14, 1963).

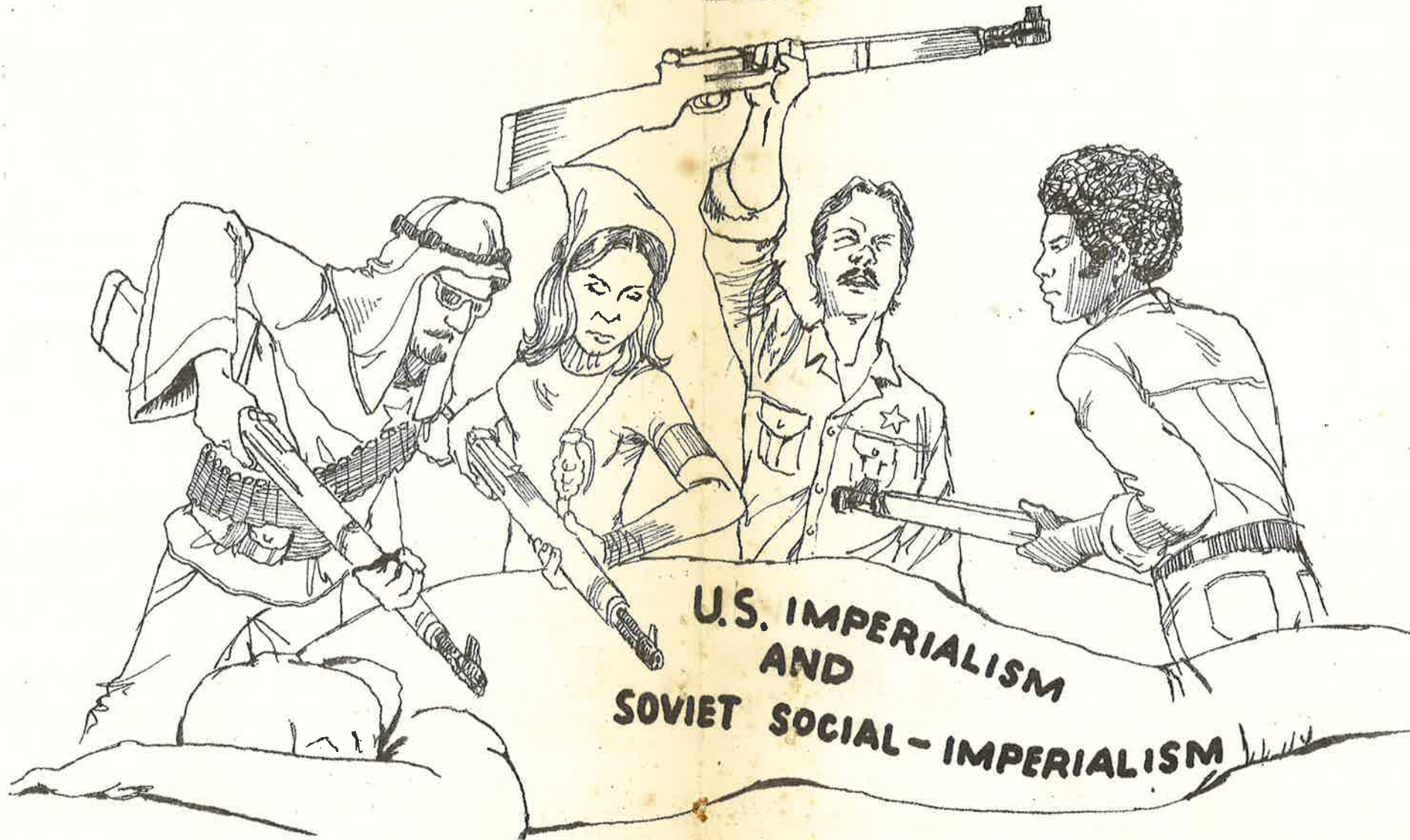
(All the above statements are quoted in Peaceful Coexistence-- Two Diametrically Opposed Policies, Peking, 1963).

These views have nothing in common with Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence. The Soviet revisionists have one-sidedly reduced the general line of the foreign policy of socialist countries to peaceful coexistence-- excluding from this policy the proletarian internationalist task of helping the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations.

They deny the nature of imperialism by saying that imperialism has already admitted the necessity of peaceful coexistence.

The CPSU describes peaceful coexistence as the supreme principle governing the life of modern society. Genuine Marxist-Leninists hold that only after victory in the revolution is it possible and necessary for the proletariat to pursue the policy of peaceful coexistence. As for oppressed peoples and nations, their task is to strive for their own

Nations want LIBERATION , Countries want INDEPENDENCE , People want REVOLUTION!



eration through the armed overthrow of the imperialists and their lackeys. They should not practice peaceful coexistence with the imperialists and their lackeys, nor is it possible for them to do so.

THE FARCE OF "DETENTE"

Today, the revisionists are pushing their bankrupt policy under the disguise of "detente". They call on all "peace-loving people" to fight for a "lessening of tensions between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R."

They try to cover up the real nature of imperialism and social-imperialism and negate Lenin's revolutionary teaching that:

"An essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between great powers in striving for hegemony."
(Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, p. 109)

Like the CPUSA, PSP holds that tensions have been lessened in Europe. A little investigation would prove the bankruptcy of this line. "While talking detente" and supposedly taking measures to reduce tensions in Europe,

"the Soviet imperialists make more war preparations and are expanding militarily in that area. As of late 1973, the Soviets had increased their troops by 50%. The military budget for European war zones was 10,000 million dollars (statistics from Peking Review #51, 1973). Over 3/4 of their air force, 3/5 of their ground forces are in Eastern Europe. Three-fourths of Soviet medium-range missiles are directed at Western Europe. 75% of their major sea-borne vessels and 1/2 of its attack submarines and nuclear subs are deployed in waters around Europe...

At present the U.S. has only about 289,000 troops and about 800 aircraft stationed in Europe. But the U.S. has more capital invested in Europe and Canada than in the whole of the Third World."
(PRRWO pamphlet)

These facts uphold Lenin's thesis that:

"the characteristic feature of imperialism is precisely that it strives to annex not only agrarian territories, but even most highly industrialized regions."
(Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism)

Further, the struggle for hegemony in the Middle East, for control of that area's oil supply is directly based in the superpower's competition for hegemony in Europe. Europe and Japan import 80% of their oil from the Middle East.

So while talking "detente" the two superpowers compete to redivide the world and cooperate to crush the people's revolutionary struggles for liberation. Their cooperation (collusion) is relative and temporary, while their competition (contention) is absolute because of the basic contradictions inherent in imperialism. Imperialists must have colonies in order to survive. The Soviet Union tries to cover its sliminess under the cloak of "socialist aid"-- but in reality this aid is just another form of gaining control over the economy and political development of the underdeveloped countries.

THE REVISIONISM OF PSP

Returning to PSP's analysis of the international situation, we can see clearly how their line is almost an exact duplication of the revisionist, counter-revolutionary line of the CPSU and the CPUSA.

1. They negate the nature of U.S. imperialism and claim that it has "softened" its line-- when in reality, U.S. imperialism, a doomed monster, caught in a world-wide crisis, has intensified its counter-revolutionary struggle for survival.

They are trying to convince the people that eventually the monopoly capitalists will peacefully give up their "evil ways".

2. They raise "peaceful coexistence" as one of the main roads leading to the international victory of socialism, but they fail to clarify that peaceful coexistence is one aspect of the foreign policy of only socialist countries towards countries with different social systems. They fail to mention the FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE of proletarian internationalism-- concretely aiding the oppressed peoples and nations to overthrow their oppressors.

Here the PSP position reads like that of the CPSU, who said:

"In conditions of peaceful coexistence, new important victories have been scored in recent years in the class struggle of the proletariat and in the struggle of the peoples for national freedom."
(Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU, July 4, 1963)

In summing up this position, the CPC said:

"They also say that the national liberation movement is developing under conditions of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and of economic competition between the two opposing social systems and that peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition "assist the unfolding of a process of liberation on the part of peoples fighting to free themselves from the economic domination of foreign monopolies", and can deliver "a crushing blow" to "the entire system of capitalist relationship".
(Apologists of Neo-Colonialism, Peking, 1963).

This position denies the indisputable fact that the victories of the national liberation struggles are due primarily to the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

"All socialist countries should practice the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. But peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition cannot replace the revolutionary struggles of the people. The victory of the national liberation of all colonies and dependent countries must

be won primarily through the revolutionary struggles of their own masses, which can never be replaced by that of any other countries."
(Ibid.)

3. They say imperialism has been weakened in Europe and tensions have been lessened there; although this has not yet happened in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Following their argument, the oppressed peoples of these areas should wait, practice "peaceful coexistence", until the USSR and the US relax tensions there too-- so that they can embark on their "peaceful road to socialism."

Although they sometimes deny this, where in their major policy statement of Oct. 27th do they say differently. Moreover, in their documents, PSP has reduced armed struggle to a possible necessity, a defensive measure, not the only means of defeating imperialism. Compare PSP and Marxism-Leninism:

"...we reaffirm the rights of the Puerto Rican people as stated in the General Declaration of PSP. These are.....4) the right of the workers and all the patriotic people of Puerto Rico to utilize all available means of struggle, including revolutionary violence, against the repressive violence of the system, in order to exercise the basic rights enumerated above."
(Desde Las Entrañas, PSP, USA, Second Part, p. 2)

"The proletarian revolution is impossible without the forcible destruction of the bourgeois state machine and the substitution for it of a new one..."
(Lenin, the Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky)

"According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army... Experience in the class struggle teaches us that it is the only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords..."
(Mao Tse-Tung, Problems of War and Strategy).

OCT. 27TH AND RIGHT OPPORTUNISTS WITHIN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Regarding Oct. 27th, the Guardian "wisely" proclaims:

"Make no mistake. Revisionism remains the chief danger within the working class movement. But we should not overestimate its strength. When confronted in the course of genuine struggle, it can be isolated and exposed."

(Irwin Silber, "Fan the Flames", Guardian, Nov. 20, 1974, p. 9)

From this, you might expect Silber to address himself to the chief danger and expose revisionism; and there were many manifestations of revisionism at the Oct. 27th rally. But no, instead he levels his criticism only at organizations who united with the activity but fulfilled their Marxist-Leninist responsibility by continuing to struggle vigorously against revisionism.

Silber criticizes El Comite for their correct analysis of the "revisionist-liberal perspective" that dominated the speakers on the 27th. While adding that the slogan "a Bicentennial Without Colonies" is "concededly reformist", Silber criticizes El Comite for making such a fuss about it. In this he only exposes his own opportunism-- all unity, and no struggle.

"Bicentennial Without Colonies" is a revisionist slogan. It depicts imperialism as a policy chosen by the bourgeoisie. It covers up the essential fact that imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism; imperialism cannot survive without colonies. The slogan creates illusions of a peaceful resolving of the colonial question.

Raising the masses to cover their opportunism, the Guardian points to the thousands of revolutionary-minded people who attended the rally. And it is undeniably true that thousands of honest people, committed to the national liberation of Puerto Rico, were there. This makes it all the more important to expose the revisionist and liberal lines that were presented there; and to commend the genuine revolutionary speakers, such as Jerry Tung of the Asian Coalition and Owusu Sadauki, former chairman of the African Liberation Support Committee, for fulfilling their prole-

tarian internationalist responsibility by educating the masses in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought.

Silber criticizes Jerry Tung of the Asian Coalition for "left-sectarianism". What was this comrade's "error", according to Silber? Tung criticized Soviet social-imperialism in an activity coordinated by supporters of Soviet revisionism-- the CPUSA and the PSP. Don't take us wrong, Silber says, you can criticize Soviet social-imperialism-- but do it "right". Silber comments that when "it became clear that this (the main blow being directed towards revisionism-- ed.) was the main point of his speech, a majority of the audience saw his actions as divisive." What he fails to point out is that the booing and chants of "Unidad" were led by PSP and the CP and that he Silber was also booed when he attempted to raise the issue of Soviet social-imperialism.

If people saw Jerry Tung's presentation as divisive, they were incorrect. It is the responsibility of Marxist-Leninists to educate the masses as to how we can build unity in the struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism. We must raise that it is a sham and a humbug to talk about fighting imperialism without a struggle against opportunism of all forms. We must raise that we cannot defeat U.S. imperialism by uniting with Soviet social-imperialism. We must raise that unity can only be based on the political line. If a political line takes the proletariat down the wrong path, it must be exposed and defeated. As Lenin said, it is only through sharp class struggle against opportunism, that we can draw the lines of demarcation and determine with whom we can unite and with whom we can't.

In not fulfilling this responsibility, Silber is objectively tailing, not leading the masses-- and objectively supporting those who led by the CP and PSP chanted "Unidad" everytime criticism of the Soviet revisionists was laid out. This is an error of right opportunism, all unity and no struggle. For an honest person, not yet clear on the treachery of the Soviet revisionists or new to the movement, we can understand this error. But for Irwin Silber, a "Marxist-Leninist", it has to be called for what it is, straight-up opportunism.

Silber's opportunism takes him right into the arms of the revisionist CPUSA whose line he echoes on this point. They say:

"A sharply dissident note was imposed on the meeting by the speech of Jerry Tung, speaking for the Asian Coalition. Tung's remarks attacking the Soviet Union as a 'social-imperialist power' were drowned out by a swelling chant of "unidad" (unity) which swept through the Garden."

(Daily World, Tuesday, Oct. 29, 1974, p. 11)

Thus by not struggling sharply against opportunism, Silber has united with them. To Silber and the Guardian, we ask: If revisionism is the main danger in the movement, why do you direct your main fire at those who struggle against it. Why did you not criticize the revisionist positions of the PSP that were presented at the rally?

THE "STRAIGHT REPORTING" OF OL AND RU

The OL and RU in their article on Oct. 27th gave us some "straight bourgeois reporting"-- except for a few minor points. They both made believe Jerry Tung didn't speak at all-- not even listing his name as a participant. Obviously, they hoped by not mentioning that he spoke, they wouldn't have to take a side either for or against the content of his presentation.

The RU article (Revolution, November) included no critical political analysis, except a few words about the booing of revisionist Angela Davis. It was similar to the coverage provided by the bourgeois press.

The OL summed up the activity as a "great success" and raised no criticism of any political line, although at the end of their article, they threw in the slogan "Down with the two superpowers!" (Call, Nov. 1974, p. 4). To not struggle against the lines raised by PSP and others at the rally and then to raise this slogan is pure phrase-mongering.

Both the RU and OL here provide further examples of right opportunism, characterized in this instance by all unity and no struggle-- regarding Oct. 27th. By not struggling, all these organizations objectively aid the revisionists and do a disservice to the national liberation of Puerto Rico, proletarian revolution in the U.S. and a disservice to the thousands of brothers and sisters who attended Oct. 27th.

CONCLUSION

"The revolutionary movement in the U.S. has grown and continues to move to higher levels of understanding and struggle.

"Today, the communist movement is engaged in sharp struggle over many burning questions facing the proletariat and oppressed masses who are surging forward like a mighty storm against imperialism. Among these questions are: the international situation, the objective situation within the U.S., the central task of communists--party building, strategy and tactics for the American revolution, the national and colonial question.

"The correct Marxist-Leninist resolution of these questions are at the very heart of an armed seizure of state power to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat." (PRRWO pamphlet)

Unity must be reached among communists. And this unity must be based on political line and its application. Thus unbreakable unity is being and will continue to be forged in the heat of class struggle against all shades of opportunism.

PSP also calls for unity--unity of the "North American left". What are our differences with this? First, their analysis of the "left" itself. They use this term to lump together and place on an equal footing genuine Marxist-Leninists, honest comrades struggling to master the science of Marxism-Leninism, opportunists within the communist movement, pacifists, liberals who call themselves "Marxists" and outright agents of the bourgeoisie like the CPUSA and the Trot-

views. Everyone is in the "left" according to PSP. Through a bankrupt position, they attempt to avoid their responsibility to wage the relentless struggle against opportunism necessary for the defeat of imperialism and liberation of Puerto Rico and all colonies.

In reality, PSP's call for "left" unity is a smokescreen to help the discredited CPUSA to make some inroads into the hearts of the oppressed masses. PSP cloaks these snakes in the mantle of legitimacy-- even going so far as to call treacherous "CP" is a "fraternal organization". (statement by Jose Navarro, member of Political Commission, PSP, in presentation at Hunter College, Nov. 22). With PSP running interference for them, the revisionists have tried to penetrate into the political prisoners movement, setting up a sham nationwide coalition and attempting to use this coalition to hook up local prisoner's defense committees.

However, the masses are not to be fooled. Revolution is the main trend in the world today, and it is inevitable that those opportunists who try to disguise themselves as Marxist-Leninists are soon exposed.

In regards to the PSP this process is accelerating daily. In the communist movement and within its own ranks many questions have been put forward to the leadership of the PSP. To clarify our unities and differences, we ask these comrades in putting forward these questions:

1. What does PSP believe is the main danger within the communist movement today?
2. Why does the PSP reduce the split in the socialist camp to a "power dispute"?
3. Why doesn't the PSP prepare its members to struggle against and expose all forms of opportunism, revisionism and trotskyism?
4. Why aren't PSP members encouraged to study extensively and learn from the teachings of comrades Stalin and Mao Tse-Tung?

5. How can PSP say they recognize the need for a communist party in the U.S. if they believe the "CP"USA is still a genuine communist party?
6. Isn't it opportunism to say that imperialism has been destroyed in Vietnam (member of PSP Political Commission, Claridad, USA, June 23, 1974)-- when that struggle continues to rage today, providing inspiration for the workers and oppressed peoples of the world and defeats for the imperialists? And then to use this lie as a basis for saying as Juan Mari Bras did on the 27th: "The struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico is today the first and immediate battle entrenched against U.S. imperialism." Doesn't PSP mean "Vietnam is over" when they say: "But once imperialism had been destroyed in Vietnam it was realistic to place the issue of solidarity with the independence of Puerto Rico as a priority on the agenda of the progressive movement."?
7. Why doesn't PSP ever use the term, multinational U.S. proletariat? Isn't this just an attempt to separate the U.S. proletariat according to nationality in order to justify PSP's bundist position that all Puerto Ricans should be in a separate party-- the PSP?
8. Why doesn't PSP adhere to the Marxist-Leninist understanding of what a nation is? Why do they continue to revise the ideology they claim to uphold and push the "Divided Nation" theory?
9. Does the PSP agree that the warming of Soviet-American relations "has become one of the most important political phenomenon of our times." (Pravda, quoted in the Daily News, Nov. 25, 1974, p. 21)
10. Does PSP believe peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems is a prerequisite for victory in the national liberation struggles?
11. Does PSP hold that armed struggle is the only means for liberation? And if so, why don't they put this forward?

All genuine Marxist-Leninists would welcome PSP's reply to these questions and others raised by forces within the communist movement, and PSP's members and supporters. However, based on their past practice, we believe PSP will be evasive and unprincipled, trying to push aside these questions and accuse their members of attacking "Party line" instead of putting forward their positions and examining them in the light of Marxism-Leninism. All communists are secure in the knowledge that truth will triumph over falsehood, and none of us wants to continue to hold incorrect lines that do not advance the proletarian revolution.

However, on many occasions, PSP has proved that it does not welcome criticism and does not practice self-criticism. For instance, in reply to criticisms of the Oct. 27th activity, they said:

"On the other side, there are the left organizations which were so principled in their criticism that some even went to the trouble of printing whole books criticizing the rally. What tremendous solidarity! Time would be better spent fighting capitalism and imperialism! It is unfortunate that criticisms, some valid and some not so valid, are advanced when unity is most important...the very day of the rally. Luckily the confusion which this could have caused just did not take place; people coming out of the rally would simply laugh at the attacks or ignore them."
(Alfredo Lopez, Political Commission, PSP, Claridad, USA, Nov. 3, 1974, p. 5)

Here we see clearly how PSP views the ideological struggle within the communist movement. They fail to understand that the struggle for ideological clarity, against revisionism is a key part of the struggle against capitalism and imperialism. They fear that ideological struggle will "confuse" the masses. They should speak for themselves, and not belittle the people, because it is only through intense ideological struggle that we can draw the lines of demarcation necessary to expose the charlatans and unite the

genuine communist forces. And this is exactly what they fear. Along with the Guardian, the RU and the OL, they call for all unity-no struggle, because they know that their lines cannot stand up to the test of scientific socialism.

However, the communists and thousands of revolutionary minded people who attended Oct. 27th and revolutionary peoples everywhere want none of this sham unity, unity with revisionism and revisionist parties who have betrayed the oppressed peoples and would take Puerto Rico down the same road as Chile. We uphold the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tse-Tung and fight for a unity that can be forged only in the fires of the class struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and all forms of opportunism.

"The opportunists are bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution and real agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement..."

Unless a determined, ruthless struggle all along the line is conducted against opportunism, it is useless to talk about the struggle against imperialism."
(Lenin, Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism)

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!
LONG LIVE THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!

The Secretariat of the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization for the Central Committee

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES OF THE PRRWO

We are a communist organization. We adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought and uphold the revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse Tung. We function on the basis of democratic centralism.

We fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the construction of socialism, towards the abolition of classes - the final aim of communists.

We know we cannot achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat without the armed, violent overthrow of the bourgeois state.

We know we cannot overthrow the bourgeois state without a relentless, uncompromising struggle against all forms of opportunism - revisionism and Trotskyism. We believe the main danger in the world and in the U.S. today is right opportunism - revisionism - represented most fully in the international sphere by the U.S.S.R. and in the national sphere by the "CP"USA.

We believe the building of the revolutionary proletarian party of a new type is the central task of all communists and has been since the betrayal of the "CP"USA. We call for and work towards uniting with all genuine Marxist-Leninists to build our party - the party of the U.S. multi-national proletariat.

We uphold the right of nations to self-determination. We accept our responsibility to render direct and determined support to the liberation movements of the oppressed peoples against the U.S. imperialists, understanding that the path to the abolition of the poverty, oppression and rape of the colonies is the unity between the proletariat of the oppressor nation and the peoples of the oppressed nations. No nation can be free while it oppresses another nation - the reserves of the imperialists must be turned into the reserves of the international proletariat.

We uphold the international slogan of Marxist-Leninists: "Workers of the world, unite." And we, as part of the international proletariat, take great pride in and learn from the leading revolutionary examples of the Peoples Republics of China and Albania.

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