

EDITORIAL: ON THE OCT. 27th RALLY

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 the result of a call made by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). The PRSDC 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. 29, 1974, 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.

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 sufficiently our proletarian internationalist responsibility-- 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 unity with the revisionist "CP"USA was thoroughly criticized. Speakers at the forum stressed the key role played by the national liberation struggles and the need for forming a common revolutionary front which is impossible, if the U.S. proletariat does not render direct aid to the national liberation

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struggles. Participants in the forum were urged to attend Oct. 27th in the spirit of unity-struggle-unity.

After analyzing carefully the speeches presented on Oct. 27th, especially that of 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 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 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 political 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 of 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." (Juan Mari Bras, Secretary General, 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 organization does not mention our unity as members of the powerful U.S. proletariat, our unity based on CLASS SOLIDARITY and the struggle against our class enemy, does not once mention the ideology of the proletariat,

our science of class war, Marxism-Leninism.

Instead PSP talks about "brotherhood" and says that what unites us 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 "universal beings"-- all this glosses over, covers up, the very real class distinctions and the very sharp class struggle that exists in the real world.

In a class society, there can only be class brotherhood. In speaking about a "brotherhood" which transcends class, PSP is spreading bourgeois 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."

The PSP upholds the erroneous line that there still exists a socialist camp, 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.

"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." (Documents of the 10th National Congress of the Communist Party of China)

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: A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement, Leninism or Social-Imperialism, Speech of the CPC at the UN, April 10, 1974).

By putting forward that the socialist camp still exists today, PSP: ignores the intense ideological struggle being waged against Soviet revisionism; cloaks and defends the social-imperialist renegades of the Soviet Union and thereby aids them in their dirty work; abandons their Marxist-Leninist responsibility to struggle against all forms of opportunism; leads honest comrades into confusion, because the masses know

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that the Soviet Union's deeds (imperialist) are in contradiction with what real socialism is supposed to be.

PSP denies 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 US. 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.

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, is the degree to which the principle of peaceful coexistence has been made to prevail, the principal which is one of the main bases in 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 warmongering 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." (Juan Mari Bras, Oct. 27th)

PSP is here presenting their analysis of the international situation. They say: the U.S. has been forced to soften its line, has made "peaceful gestures" to the Soviet Union and China; peaceful coexistence has been made to prevail to a certain degree; peaceful coexistence is one of the main aspects of the strategy that will lead to the world-wide victory of socialism over capitalism; however, the relaxing of tensions is limited; one place where relaxed tensions have been felt is in Europe; 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. To them, peace means their domination over the world's people. They would therefore do everything possible to oppose and destroy the socialist state, even if it attempted to pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence; and in their drive to enrich themselves, to extend their spheres of domination and plunder, they are bound to suppress the resistance of the peoples and enter into conflicts with and wage wars with others who have the same aims.

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. And even while attempting to pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence, Lenin warned that there must be no illusions about the imperialist, stressing time and again the need to maintain constant vigilance against these bloodsuckers.

He never made peaceful coexistence 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.



GENERAL LINE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" OF THE REVISIONISTS

At the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the party abandoned the tradition of Lenin and Stalin and said that: peaceful coexistence is the overriding and supreme principle for solving contemporary problems; imperialism has become willing to accept peaceful coexistence; peaceful coexistence is the "general line of foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp"; peaceful coexistence is the prerequisite for victory in the people's revolutionary struggles-- that the victories won by the people of different countries have been achieved under "conditions of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems"; under peaceful coexistence the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism in capitalist countries has grown. (See: 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. They deny the true nature of imperialism by saying that imperialism has already admitted the necessity of peaceful coexistence. They claim that the U.S. is retreating and is prepared to relax tensions-- to practice "detente".

THE FARCE OF "DETENTE"

Today, the revisionists are pushing for 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 USSR." However, genuine Marxist-Leninists understand that the only road to real peace in the world is the total destruction of imperialism and social-imperialism and that this can only be accomplished through armed revolution.

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Like the "CP"USA, PSP holds that tensions have been lessened in Europe. A little investigation would prove the bankruptcy of this line, how it is just "detente" covered up.

"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, In the U.S. Pregnant with Revisionism, The Struggle for Proletarian Revolution Moves Ahead, Nov. 1974)

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)

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

OCT. 27th AND RIGHT OPPORTUNISM WITHIN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Regarding October 27th, the Guardian 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 his opportunism, Silber 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 proletarian internationalist responsibility by educating the masses in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought.

Silber criticizes Jerry Tung 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 "CP"USA and 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 (criticism being directed at revisionism) was the main point of his speech, a majority of the audience saw his actions as divisive". He fails to point out that the booing and chants of "Unidad" were led by PSP and the "CP" and that he, Silber, was also booed when he tried 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 communists to educate the masses as to how we can build true 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 political line. To pretend that you are fighting U.S. imperialism, while on the other hand, failing to fight its friend and ally whom you have right at home, while failing to fight the revisionists, at the same time, means that the fight against imperialism remains only a slogan.

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 the "CP" and PSP who led the chants of "Unidad." 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 "CP"USA 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, Oct. 29, 1974, p. 11)

Thus, by not struggling sharply against revisionism, Silber has united with them. Silber, we ask: If revisionism is the main danger in the movement, why do you direct your main fire at those who struggle against it?

RU AND OL

The OL and the RU in their articles on Oct. 27th give 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 that 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). 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. 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 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." (PRRW 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". 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 "CP"USA and the trotskyites. Everyone is in the "left" according to PSP. Through this 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 for the discredited "CP"USA to make some inroads into the movements of the oppressed masses. PSP cloaks these snakes in a mantle of legitimacy-- even going so far as to call the treacherous CP a "fraternal organization". (statement made by Jose Navarro, member of Political Commission, PSP, in a presentation at Hunter College, NY, Nov. 22, 1974). One example of this-- with PSP running interference for them, the revisionists have tried to penetrate into the political prisoners movement, setting up a sham national 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 inevitably exposed. In regards to the PSP this process is accelerating rapidly. In the communist movement and within its own ranks many questions have been put forward to the leadership of the PSP. We have tried to raise some of these questions in this article and will

expand upon our analysis of Oct. 27th in a pamphlet to be published in the near future.

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

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

"On the other hand there are the left organizations which were so principled in their criticism that some even went to the trouble of printing whole books criticising 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 the 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 unite the genuine communist forces and expose the charlatans. 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.

"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).

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!
DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM, SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM AND ALL THEIR LACKIES!

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