

PALANTE

MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE AND WIN
THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM TO
BUILD A GENUINE COMMUNIST PARTY

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EXPOSE THE MENSHEVIK LINE, PURGE OUR RANKS, ON TO PARTY BUILDING

"Our Party succeeded in achieving internal unity and unexampled cohesion of its ranks, primarily because it was able in good time to purge itself of the opportunist pollution, because it was able to rid its ranks of the Liquidators and Mensheviks. Proletarian parties (our emphasis - ed.) develop and become strong by purging themselves of opportunists and reformists, social-imperialists and social-chauvinists, social-patriots and social-pacifists.

The Party becomes strong by purging itself of opportunist elements."

Foundations of Leninism,
J. Stalin

Learning from the great teachers of our class, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Chairman Mao, Enver Hoxha on this May Day, the day of proletarian internationalism, the U.S. multi-national proletariat, led by Bolsheviks and advanced workers, salutes our international class brothers and sisters by intensifying the struggle against opportunism, as we forge forward to build on solid ground the Party of Lenin, the Party of a New Type.

Internationally, the masses are rising up in struggle to defeat imperialism and all reactionaries, workers and oppressed people of the world uniting, powerfully locking arms tight, scoring victories upon victories.

We learn from your examples, class brothers and sisters of the People's Republic of China and People's Republic of Albania most especially; your guidance and untiring defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat, led by the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania, illuminate our path, the world's people rejoicing - "a better world's in birth."

We apply our internationalist stance today by fighting with all our might to build the Party, which will lead us to make history, overthrow the bourgeois rule, smash the state and on the remains of the bourgeoisie, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and on to greater battles and greater victories, till we reach our final aim, the complete abolition of classes.

On this May Day and for the past 20 years, the proletariat finds itself without its general staff. The treason of the "CP"USA and all revisionists and opportunists who have preceded them, are being tried and will be convicted in the great Hall of Justice of proletarian revolution.

This would be empty talk, however, without a most persistent and perseverant struggle against opportunism, yesterday, today, tomorrow, and always; never letting a shade of difference go by, a "minor" disagreement, never compromising on principle. We hold high the greatest honor, that of being Bolsheviks, this great title behest upon us by international proletarianism, and score victories once again by purging ourselves of opportunist pollution, rotten to the core.



On this May Day and every day, we vow to you, working men and women, never to stop fighting in the interest of the proletariat - the future is bright. The proletariat is coming into being to rule the world and lay exploitation and oppression to rest forever.

Our fight has just begun, but the final victory undeniably rests in the hands of the working class. It is in this spirit of struggle, for unity with what's genuine, that we present the most recent two-line struggle in our organization on party building.

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD,
UNITE! ON TO GREATER VICTORIES!

After intense struggle, we have purged the unrepentant renegades, Richie Perez, Diana Perez, Tony Copeland, Carmen Copeland, Lydia Flores and Carlos Rovira; they no longer speak in the name of the P.R.R.W.O., and as traitors to the proletariat, who attempted to wreck the party building motion from within, getting rid of these philistines was our duty and a good thing. They, on the other hand, will continue to slander and attack the proletariat, who they hold in contempt and Bolsheviks, who fight unswervingly, head on, towards our Party. But their threats are as empty and dying out as the bourgeoisie that they serve - conniving cheats, they will remain having to lie more and more. Rip off their treacherous masks, brothers and sisters; don't be fooled by empty phrases - their deeds spell treason!

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It has been in this struggle that our iron unity continues to be forged, as we build the party in the heat of the class struggle, the only way to build the party of Lenin, the Party of a New Type, free of Menshevism.

Everytime that we expose the hidden scabs and traitors, double dealing snakes, who proclaim their so-called fight for the "masses," our struggle goes forward, our movement for the party grows stronger.

The Mensheviks, concealing every inch of the way their true convictions of treason to the working class, their die-hard belief that capitalism is permanent, that the proletariat is stupid, that class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and two roads is distasteful and annoying to them, that bolshevism is useless and "impossible," that criticism and self-criticism is "uncomradely" and rather we should engage in covering up of errors and "overcome opportunism within our ranks." They in turn try to cover-up their treachery by using criticism and self-criticism as a weapon of personal attack, trampling on a Bolshevik principle, a mighty weapon in the ML-MTTT arsenal of class warfare. Menshevism is hostile towards the principle of Democratic Centralism in that it stands against intriguers, conspirators, wreckers and factionalists. In promoting liberalism, the Mensheviks think they will be able to corrode away at our iron unity, voluntarily achieved through struggle based on unity on line resulting in unity of will and action. Their hatred of iron discipline and democratic centralism reveals their total lack of antagonisms with the bourgeois state, their social-democracy, social-pacifism, social-fascism; their total cowardness makes the mensheviks objectively bourgeois agents in our midsts. They are the first to run their mouths in the case where the state would want to frame us on some fabrication, figments of the bourgeoisie's imagination or their own doing, in external provocation. Yet there are comrades who call for mercy on the mensheviks. What mercy have the mensheviks shown for the proletariat who they despise, for the ideology of the proletariat which they are busily trying to revise, for bolsheviks who they slander, attack, try to weaken, and drag back; attempting to divert, deceive the proletariat, serving the bourgeoisie, as they try to convince the class that it should be happy being slave wage earners. All as they champion themselves the true leaders of the masses.

Mercy, for those who try to hold back the development of the mightiest of the proletariat's weapons for seizure of state power, the vanguard party? Mercy for the most dangerous enemy, the one that hides from within? No Mercy! There can be no mercy for the class enemies, the lackeys of the bourgeoisie.

We have walked through the history of the two line struggles in every major struggle, and we have summed it up in Palante, internal communiques, in our Pamphlets, the Congress Resolutions of 1972, In the U.S. Pregnant With Revisionism -- The Struggle For Proletarian Revolution Moves Ahead, etc., in the Party Building In The Heat of The Class Struggle pamphlet and now. We will, like always in our history, trace the general features historically and the main proponents of the line. In this way, we will isolate those empiricist tendencies which rise, in the belief that struggle just popped-up, and even more importantly, we will further expose the menshevik line on party building, by tracing it, walking thru it leaving no stone unturned to thoroughly repudiate it and purge it from our ranks, in an unexhausting defense of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought.

In the first period of party building when the key link was the reaffirmation and defense of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, when the fundamental question in party building, the ideological question was the key link in the chain moving the political and organizational questions forward, Menshevism was expressed in the line that the proletariat was not the vanguard of the revolution, that in fact the petty-bourgeoisie, the lumpen, the youth, women, anyone but the proletariat could lead the revolution, was the outrageous posture of menshevism, then. We fought this line and defeated that form that it took then and moved forward. Once established, what Marx and Engels so long ago proved scientifically to be a fact that the proletariat is the vanguard of the revolution, the fight for its ideology Dialectical and Historical Materialism - Marxism-Leninism, as opposed to the form that bourgeois ideology took then - eclecticism, escalated on an uphill battle that resulted in the birth of the new anti-revisionist communist movement. Within it, the two line struggle, class struggle, the struggle between the two roads, sharpened, the struggle against the menshevik line, crystallized once again at a time where the economist, pragmatist, reformist, right opportunist ideological trends and forms of bourgeois ideology crystallized themselves in the second stage of the first period. The struggles against the ideological root of all opportunism, the worship of spontaneity, brought out to the light of day the menshevik line opposed

to the strictest adherence and study of Marxist-Leninist theory, trying to replace it with new theories, reflected in the first period in the lines of the leading mensheviks within the developing communist movement, the Revolutionary Union degenerating from economists to revisionists. The steel to steel battle against the mensheviks the RU, their opposition to Marxism-Leninism, to the proletariat, to proletarian revolution and to its vanguard party that will lead it, aided in the exposure of many different essential aspects of the menshevik line which were being uncovered and defeated within the entire communist movement. Entering the second period of party building as we did in 1972 when no doubt about it, political line was and is the key link moving forward the ideological and organizational tasks, meant entering into still more battle against menshevism. The question, the central question where menshevism was insisting to show its treason to the class, was narrowing in; that being its outright attacks on the developing bolshevik party, where menshevism expressed itself in full as the main danger in the communist movement.

Right opportunism took its naked form in the line -- build the mass movement. Two wings in our movement, the sham wing - the mensheviks - calling for the building of the mass movement, accompanied by a cry for no polemics. no two line struggle, no preparation of advanced workers, of winning them to the side of communism, no criticism and self-criticism, pessimism and petty-bourgeois vacillations and outright compromises over principle; philistines showing themselves as the incapable forces going out of being but causing great harm to the proletariat in its fight for proletarian revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism, for its historic mission, the abolition of classes.

Build the mass movement is nothing but the call to build the party from below, every striker, every militant trade unionists, the labor lieutenants, cops, and petty-bourgeois radicals -- frenzied and in hysteria, frightened by the crisis of imperialism, terrified by the fact that as a class the petty-bourgeoisie going out of being, is its regime is disintegrating -- and as its grave digger, its staunchest enemy, the proletariat, the class that's growing strong day by day is moving in forcefully to break its chains, crush by force the bourgeoisie, seize state power and transform all of society in its own interest. In doing so, the proletariat neutralizes the vacillating petty-bourgeoisie, who fights its inevitable fate every inch of the way. In our country, along with the labor aristocracy, the petty-bourgeoisie is a source of right opportunism, reformism, legalism, social-pacifism. Unlike the semi-feudal, semi-colonial and less developed capitalist countries where the peasantry, the rural petty-bourgeoisie, lives in wretched conditions, in the highly developed capitalist countries, the urban petty-bourgeoisie enjoys its class privileges to the hilt. Even though they get squeezed out in times of deep economic crisis, they climb to be the bourgeoisie, looking and hoping for the day of economic boom, to own more to accumulate capital; owing to this, their conservative and reactionary views. Many mainly do mental work in the professional fields, education, law, engineering, architecture, medicine and other bourgeois scientific fields. Their small proprietor views of life, their small plot mentality, crystallizes itself in the "me first" interest, siding with the bourgeoisie, in its drive for profits at any cost. Only the lower levels of the petty-bourgeoisie, teachers, nurses, technicians (lab, hospital, etc.) are allies of the proletariat owing to their unstable professions which forces many when unemployed, to seek work in plants, hospitals, as cab drivers, etc. Many are confronted to side with the proletariat in its struggles even while employed in their professions, such as in the case where teachers have gone on strike over the issue of quality education for working class and oppressed nationality children. This progressive strata of the petty-bourgeoisie, however, also bring its interests to the class, its narrowness and hopes that capitalism will survive; only in and through, protracted struggle does their class interest change, and they begin to side with the proletariat, placing their interest with that of the working class.

We find it necessary to walk through this once again because we must disclose the social basis of menshevism to expose it thoroughly in our present day two-line struggle against it.

The build the mass movement menshevik line, stems from the views of the petty-bourgeoisie and labor aristocrats who want to save capitalism. In a frenzy over the reform struggles, the belief of whipping up many numbers so that the bourgeoisie will listen to what they have to say, and give more reform concessions -- the movement, therefore, is everything. The concessions to them are everything, proving out their belief, their fantasy that capitalism is permanent, that there's no need to smash the state, they have no antagonisms with the bourgeoisie and it starts to boil down to a fight in tactics. Take the October League with their menshevik to the core support of every bourgeois reform

EDITORIAL: MORE ON O.L.'S (MENSHEVIK- LIBERAL) CALL FOR THE PARTY

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In the April issue of the Call, Vol. 4 #7, the treacherous Menshevik line of the O.L.- "menchevik liberals", is further revealed.

Forced to recognize that the Marxist-Leninist line on party building is gaining strength as we test it in the heat of struggle, as genuine Marxists-Leninists unite and as advanced workers are being won to the side of communism, as we grasp hold of the key link to party building hammering out the political line and program of action of our party coming into being, through bitter, determined, and uncompromising struggle against opportunism, the O.L. tries a nickel-slick attempt to slander the genuine wing of our movement; all in an effort to take it off the two line struggle and by doing so, come forward more blatantly than ever in their treason to the working class.

As Lenin punished Martov and Axelrod in One Step Forward, Two Steps Back by quoting them, we, learning from Lenin, the brilliant leader of the international proletariat, must punish the October League by quoting from the latest example of opportunism on ideological, political and organizational questions of principle. We'll take it from the horse's mouth in what they say in the April issue of The Call.

After stating that "Several Communist Organizations" will be represented at a May unity meeting, the O. L. never once specifically says who are these "Communist Organizations", but, we know its got to be more marsh forces - W.C.?, R.W.C.? I.W.K.? M.L.O.C.? (comrades can refer to Party Building in the Heat of Class Struggle for P.R.R.W.O.'s position on these forces). In a cowardly attempt to hide from the proletariat who they aligned with, they just make a sweeping statement that they have summed up the level of unity that exist among the majority of Marxist-Leninist forces in the country.

We must keep in mind O.L.'s consistent failure to engage in open, above-board polemics so that naturally this "unity" has been, we can bet, built behind closed doors, bourgeois maneuvering, thriving on opportunism, careerism, slandering of genuine Marxist-Leninist, squashing struggle that may arise under the guise of "we can now move to organizational "unity".

In our pamphlet, "Party Building in the Heat of Class Struggle", we make our stands on the O. L. "Call" to "Party" Building.

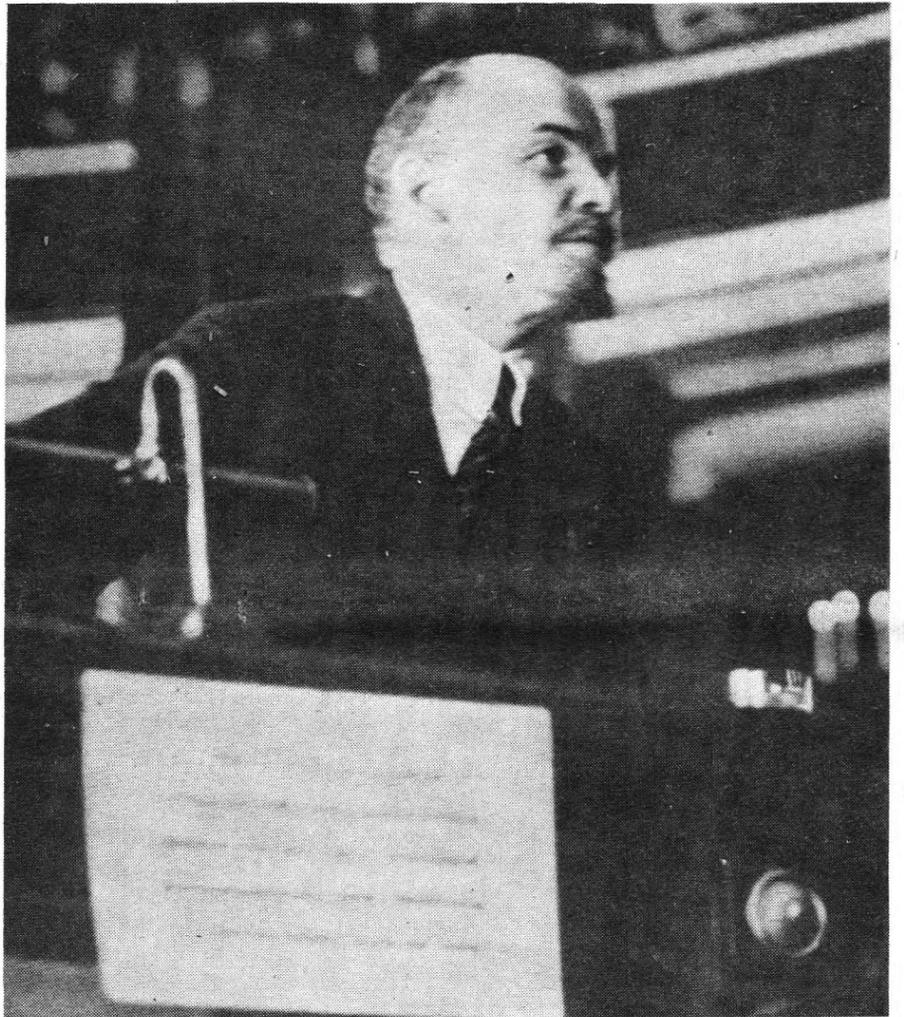
"Take the O.L.'s disgraceful attempt at building the Party from the bottom upwards. They have stated that they will build their party now, struggle over the line for a year, and then call the "Party Congress" Any striker, any "militant trade unionist", any unstable elements, the police, whom they say is part of the working class, can join their party. The O.L. wants to render Martov and Axelrod more profound. A quote from Lenin will illustrate the O.L.'s opportunist line."

And we quote Lenin once again -

'As a matter of fact, comrade Axelrod and comrade Martov are now only deepening, developing and extending their initial error with regard to Paragraph 1 (of the rules - editor). As a matter of fact, the entire position of the opportunists on organizational questions already began to be revealed in the controversy over paragraph 1. Their advocacy of a diffuse, not strongly welded party organization, their hostility to the idea (the "bureaucratic" idea) of building the party from the top downward, starting from (PRRWQ's emp.) the Party Congress and the bodies set up by it, their tendency to proceed from the bottom upwards, allowing

every professor, every high school student and every striker to declare himself a member of the Party, their hostility to the 'formalism' which demands that a party member should belong to one of the organizations recognized by the Party, their leaning towards the mentality of the bourgeois intellectual, who is only prepared to 'accept organizational relations platonically;' their penchant for opportunist profundity and for anarchistic phrases; their tendency towards autonomism, as against centralism..."

(One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, Vol. 7, p. 206)



Here is where O.L. must be punished; we quote from their Nov. 1975 issue of the Call :

"we propose that the new party be established around a temporary leading body which can survey the organizational forces represented in the Party, establish democratic centralism, and prepare us for our first Party Congress, to be held within a year of our founding."

Lenin makes no bone about it. He states clearly that the Mensheviks are hostile towards the idea of building the party from the top downward; starting from the Party Congress and the bodies set up by it!

O.L. however, who is maneuvering with other sham forces, admits openly that it will set up a leading body to survey the "organizational forces" represented (our emp.) in the Party, establish democratic centralism - without calling the Party Congress until a year later.

O.L., you must come out with your attack on Lenin openly and stop hiding behind your sophistry.

In an attempt to cover up their opportunist tail, tuck it between their legs - they say "good criticism" has already led to some corrections (our emp.) in the O.L.'s approach to the organizational formation of the Party. For example, in a recent meeting of O.L.'s
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Central Committee (see March issue of the Call), section 5 of "Marxists-Leninists Unite..." was modified (our emphasis) to call for the Congress and leadership elections in the immediate future. "The previous view, calling for a temporary leading body and a year-long pre-Congress period was rejected." (The Call, April issue, Vol. 4, No. 7)

In the first sentence of the above-quoted paragraph, the blatant opportunism of the O.L. is revealed, saying "good criticism" has led to corrections. First of all, struggle against errors leads to repudiation, disclosure of their ideological and social base, analysis, ruthlessly scientific, mercilessly expose all defects, and laying down the method for rectification. The Leninist method in training the party cadres and working class in the Revolutionary Spirit of learning from our mistakes.

However, these petty-bourgeois radicals once again prove their utter bankruptcy and incapability of applying the Leninist method, in the formation of the Leninist Party, the Party of a new type. It is no surprise, therefore, that they treat the matter as a question of approach which they can "modify", cover up, and move on to do exactly the same thing they said they were not doing. To cover their Menshevik tracks, exposed in the ever-intensified two-line struggle in the communist movement, a struggle led by the genuine wing struggling for Bolshevism in the face of treachery of the sham wing, hiding and trying to sneak around their Menshevism. Calling it Marxism-Leninism, they then have the bold-faced nerve to say that they will call for the Congress and leadership elections in the near future. O.L., don't try to act dumb! You know damn well that the essence of the struggle didn't boil down to whether you were calling your temporary leading body and then the Congress in a year or a month.

Your Party Congress will be sham, whether you call it before or after your final open proclamation of being the "Party". O.L. never went to the essence of the struggle: to build the Party from above is the question - not a matter of organizational approach, but a matter of principle! Or does the O.L. want to finally come forward and state openly that they oppose Lenin - in his brilliant summation of the Second Party Congress - "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back!" We know O.L. doesn't apply the Leninist principles of Party Building. Their deeds have proven the falsity, the utter hypocrisy of the O.L.'s words.

So bankrupt have been the deeds that more and more the harmony between their words and deeds is coming forward, clearly manifested.

"The May meeting will operate on the basis of democratic centralism" - then they slide - "at least to the highest degree attainable." O.L., we must ask you to put your real views forward. On the one hand, you claim to be calling this "unity" conference to "plan and coordinate the discussions and work leading to the founding of the new Marxist-Leninist Party." On the other hand, they claim to be setting up democratic centralism. So here we have it - the setting up of the "temporary leading body" that they so-called rejected in their Central Committee meeting.

Building the Party from below, maneuvering and bourgeois politicking, again making it possible for anyone who claims to support the "General Call" in their November issue can become a "Party" member. The view will come up again and again, no matter how many times they modify it - because its basis is on their line - their whole system of views: the Menshevik line on party building.

More bankruptcy follows:

"In other words, once political unity is solidified and decisions are taken, the minority is subordinate to the majority - to those who would accuse O.L. of practicing "organization hegemonism" in this matter, we can only say "take part in the work (our emphasis) and judge for yourselves".

First of all, anyone but the unenlightened, or a fool can see that the O.L., in fact, believes to be the "Party" but are too opportunist to come out and say it, until they are absolutely sure that they have a "majority" under their "democratic centralism," to then come out and proclaim themselves - "in the near future" - as the "Party" - no different than R.U. or the CLP, - same line - same treacherous essence.

So classical of Menshevism is their line that they once again put forward their views of a loose-knit, type, petty-bourgeois, anarchistic sect; anyone, they say, "can take part in the work and judge for yourselves".

Autonomism,--and against centralism-- this is why O.L. attacks Lenin, when he states clearly "building the Party from the top downward, starting from the Party Congress and the bodies set up by it." This is why October League, rather than deal straight up with the fact that they have no intention of building a Bolshevik Party, in fact, never did, foolishly tries to pull this slimy maneuver. We say to you, October League, like Chou En Lai put it, "Schemers can never win!"

Part of this scheme is to accuse the genuine wing of our movement of "frantically attacking the efforts of the 'Marxists-Leninists' to unite." These conniving liars try to blunt the two-line struggle by lumping together the Guardian and the Revolutionary Wing. It is the O. L. and the Guardian who have stood shoulder to shoulder, in the swamp, competing for their petty-bourgeois social basis. It's no secret O.L. had cadres from all levels - Carl Davidson included, on the Guardian staff; their unity; line.

Now, after the genuine wing has waged polemics with the Guardian for years around its consistent right opportunist line, the O.L., to cover up its own right opportunism, says that the Guardian is centrist.

The October League's slanders, demagogy and absolute anti-Marxist-Leninist views is further revealed, after phrasemongering about the fact that Marxism-Leninism has always stood for a decisive break with opportunism, they ask us to capitulate to their opportunist call in the November issue of The Call which we took our stance on - in the April issue of Palante, speech by RWL in Boston - but rather than deal with what we raised, rather than openly coming forward with their attacks of Marxism-Leninism, they say "This anti-Party opposition demonstrates how one opportunist tendency can cover for another. Neither the 'left' sectarians nor the centrists can accept even the basic principles of unity in the November Call," etc. Why is it that the O.L. doesn't take it to line? Not once has the October League, on the basis of our line, been able to prove "left sectarianism" of the revolutionary wing. On the one hand, they say we're opportunist, and on the other hand, try to overcome us by their so greatly exaggerated "hundreds of communists throughout the country." They mean other sham forces like themselves.

So then, who is it that has been playing the role of splitters and disrupters. It has been the O.L. that has stubbornly persisted in the policy of no open polemics, of slander and gossip so characteristic of the frenzied petty-bourgeoisie.

Another maneuver on the O.L.'s part is to try and split the revolutionary wing, as seen by the fact that they quote Palante, but omit the fact that the article which appeared and which they quote was a speech delivered by comrades of R.W.L. in Boston. Such is the O.L.'s treachery that their cadres have raised to R.W.L. cadres, "Why do your articles appear in Palante? Can't you afford a newspaper?"

Then they have the gall to call for "unity"! Nothing that the O.L. says or does can change the growing unity based on principled struggle of the revolutionary wing - Bolshevik. It is as Chairman Mao says, "New forces are invincible by nature."

Our struggle against the bankruptcy of the O.L. is on line, and it has clearly manifested itself in our analysis on every question - on party building.

-- ERA, force busing, dump the bum; they whip up the fight back "organization," publicize it in their CALL, and believe the bourgeoisie will listen, will recognize them as a "leading" force of the "masses" and will negotiate with them over some crumbs -- more and more crumbs as all the mensheviks who have sold out the interest of the class for crumbs and will sell their mothers out for more. All mensheviks, all the garbage of the marsh, is terrified to death of offending the bourgeoisie, the thought of overthrowing it, therefore, never entering their minds. Thus the work to build the vanguard party of the proletariat is a most frightening thought. Therefore, as they place their hopes with the bourgeoisie for whom they serve as loyal lackeys, their hatred for the proletariat, their contemptuous views towards the working class is most revealed today in the intense two-line struggle on party building.

Build the mass movement is accompanied by an overestimation of the crisis; the menshevik line views the spontaneous movement only, negating totally the subjective factor. In so doing, they aid the bourgeoisie's war preparations -- in a frenzy to turn the world on its head, claiming that war is the main trend in the world today, that fascism, therefore, is inevitable, and therefore, the fight for democratic rights, for reforms is the main and only struggle. They prepare along the lines of defensive tactics calling for uniting with the labor hacks and all revisionists who have been reaping of the crumbs from the imperialists banquet table and who they believe will bring them into the dinner

party at bourgeoisie road. Accordingly they call for winning over the masses in general with no distinction in periods, therefore, agitation, economist, trade union, bourgeois agitation, is their chief form of activity. Worshipping the spontaneous movement as they do, the mensheviks never train their organizational cadres in Marxism-Leninism, to do so would be "dogmatism", according to the mensheviks. Advanced workers don't exist, according to the mensheviks, therefore, to build factory nuclei today is isolationist they believe. To the mensheviks, numbers, quantity, immediate results, big organizations, weekly rag sheets like the O.L.'s CALL, recording how many strikes, demonstrations, picket lines happened this week, this month, this year, has become their useless existence. Their treason is such that they try to cover themselves up with the pretence of being Marxist-Leninists, fighting for the party, claims of being leaders of the masses; of being internationalists and in support of the line of the international communist movement, their masks being totally ripped off their ugly faces as the fight for a bolshevik party surges forward.

Rather than criticism and self-criticism, cover up of tracks is their method; the OL for example, after we exposed their menshevik call for a "party," say this in their latest rag sheet,

"Good criticisms have already led to some corrections in the OL's approach to the organizational formation of the Party. For example, in a recent meeting of the OL Central Committee (see March issue) section 5 of ML unite, was modified (our emphasis) to call for the Congress and leadership elections in the immediate future. The previous view, calling for a 'temporary leading body' and a year long pre-congress period, was rejected."

Slimy philistines, never once going to, even mouthing, the ideological and social basis of their menshevik call, the essence to be found in their overall line of party building, a straight up cover-up -- this was no simple error; its a matter of opportunism in ideological, political and organizational matters, substantiated as such in Lenin's One Step Forward, Two Steps Back.

WVO also is famous for covering up tracks, blaming its cadres for errors, divorced from line and leadership as metaphysicians, place the root of their errors outside and not inside. For example they claim our so-called "leftism" is the basis for their right "errors."

Like in the first period of party building, in the second period where the menshevik line is even further revealed, these general characteristics must be drawn:

- Denial of the vanguard role of the proletariat in the revolution.
- Denial of the Universal truths of Marxism-Leninism, e.g., that the ideological root of all opportunism is the worship of spontaneity, this then resulting in:
 - A disdain for Marxist-Leninist theory and
 - A belittlement of the role of the conscious element, trying to divert at every turn the central task, party building.
 - Attack of the fundamental bolshevik principles of organization, democratic centralism and criticism

self-criticism, resulting in factionalism, conspiring, intriguing, wrecking, scheming.

-- Disdain for the masses -- crystallized in an attack on the advanced resulting in liquidation of the factory nuclei.

-- Raising the "left" to cover the right -- resulting in agitation as the chief form of activity, creating paper organizations, tailing the union bureaucrats and revisionists, bowing to the backward stratas, pretending that we're in the transition period of winning over the broad masses; attacking the bolsheviks as ultra-leftists and dogmatists, really attacking the quintessence of Marxism-Leninism.

This in the main is the thread that runs throughout the sham wing of our movement, and that binds the hidden traitors within the genuine wing to them. This then brings us back to the internal Mensheviks which we're in the process of exposing, repudiating the line and purging our ranks, thus ridding ourselves of marsh forces, aiding them to go to their proper place, the garbage can of the sham wing, where they will enjoy the company of their colleagues.

It is the menshevik line which calls for the simultaneity of the tasks. In the first place because it views the party as a legal appendage of the bourgeoisie and, therefore, counterposes party building and military work. As if an intergral part of party building won't have to deal, of necessity, with the military strategy and tactics, with the question of the illegal apparatus, with factory nuclei as the basic illegal unit, etc. Secondly, liquidating the need to hammer out the party's basic line and program of action, the menshevik line raising the united front as the strategy, totally belittling the fact that in order to work out the party's program we must make an analysis of classes; therefore, scientifically dealing with the united front tactic. All tasks, the three magic weapons, therefore, carried out as intergral components of the central and only task of communist and advanced workers in this period, party building.

The danger of the "simultaneity of the three strategic tasks," was that it left room open to relegate party building to secondary importance, one had to be the central task, upon which its correct handling would resolve the others. But build the mass movement line, was the essence of the line, build the party through the united front was the essential thrust of the "simultaneity of the tasks line" and being plagued with it, we analyzed that to hold to party building as the central and only task in this period was ultra-leftism, isolationist, etc. Obviously showing that we had not firmly grasped political line as the key link. This, in fact, was in the period where the menshevik line factory nuclei is the key link was strong in the genuine wing. Why is "factory nuclei the key link" a menshevik line? Here's how we put it:

"The factory nuclei by grouping the communists in a given plant, dividing and coordinating the work among the masses must fulfill the task of giving conscious leadership to the spontaneous struggle of the workers. It cannot be built in isolation of the class struggle, just as the party cannot be built in isolation from the UF and the armed struggle."

There we have it, build the party from below, rather than grasping that it is the party who gives conscious leadership to the struggle, and that FN as the basic unit of the party implements the line of the party, not that the factory nuclei gives conscious leadership to the spontaneous struggles and therefore, develops the line of the party, from below.

In struggling against factory nuclei as a "left" line, we covered up its menshevik essence. It didn't boil down to a matter of outstripping stages; the danger was more serious because, in fact, the line factory nuclei key link was build the party from below. In analyzing just one aspect of factory nuclei, an organization question, we totally belittled the line which it represented. In fact, in the Revolutionary Bloc, the Menshevik Mike Hamlin, resigned on the basis that his menshevik line factory nuclei key link was receiving death blows, and as such, was revealing the build the party from below line. Thus, the remaining mensheviks in the Bloc put it forward crudely that the line was developed by the nuclei. In fact, internally as well as externally, the tasks of uniting Marxist-Leninists was seen as something, a by-product of development of factory nuclei, and not as a matter of unity on line, which included the position on factory nuclei as the basic unit.

The further consolidation of political line key link and the struggle over the Marxist-Leninist line on party building, and for the line of the party itself on all the burning class questions, therefore, unmasked menshevism that much more. The defeat of the merger line and that ideology was the key link was leaving very little room open

for the mensheviks to hide. Application of ML, application of our line, continued to draw the line, and the mensheviks

finally had to come out of their hidden corners attacking the line of the organization and genuine wing as ultra-leftist--fixating themselves on the fantasy that an ultra-left bloc existed in the organization.

The menshevik faction moved to try to demoralize advanced elements in the factory nuclei, study groups, claiming at different times that it was hard to become a communist, raising their so-called "resignation" thoughts to comrades in a hope to spread pessimism and doubt in the line of the organization. When the advanced criticized the mensheviks for not implementing the line of the organization, the mensheviks attacked them for being backward. In fact, they analyzed the line of the organization on the advanced as incorrect, attacking the Leninist line and promoting their own line that the advanced were only open to socialism and would be won over in the struggle for reforms. The Bolshevik tactic and principle of party building, ML unite was attacked as they trampled on the Leninist method of criticism and self criticism to learn from our mistakes, to hammer out the line and draw the demarcation with the opportunists of every shade. Their line of overcoming opportunism from within was consistent in their attempts to blunt the two line struggle calling for peaceful debates; the mensheviks of today have carried on the traditions of the mensheviks of yesterday. With contemptuous gall they had the nerve to openly admit their views that the working class is stupid. One Menshevik thought of herself as a boss, finding the advanced workers she was entrusted with developing as stupid for "working all the time and not seeing themselves as bosses."

Allow us to illustrate this further by quoting from the memoirs of a Menshevik, Lydia Flores:

"I have for the past year and a half intrigued, sabotaged and lied in order to hold back the party building motion. I have held the working class in contempt and have not been in unity with the dictatorship of the proletariat.... I have consciously stifled the development of the advanced, and while I was busy being a philistine, putting out practical policies and dealing with the narrow issues of the day exclusively, true Bolsheviks were working to arm the advanced with scientific socialism while I undermined the Bolshevization of the organization." -- Lydia Flores

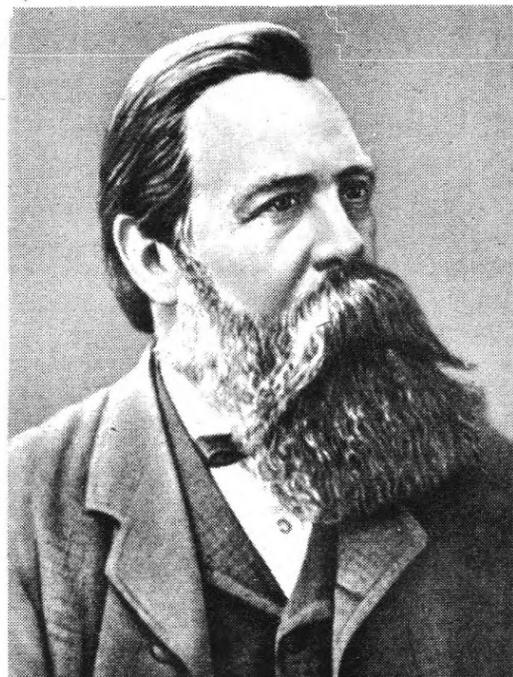
This was the lunacy of the mensheviks who hid in our ranks, in essence and form no different than the mensheviks in the first period where the leading role of the proletariat was totally negated. Today all the mensheviks have now finally admitted that they saw the petty-bourgeoisie as the leading force of the revolution. The form more crude, more hidden, the essence the same - right opportunism, the betrayal of the proletariat, an attack on its vanguard party, objectively agents of the bourgeoisie who have been the partners of the paid agents of the bourgeoisie within our midsts.

As we purge our ranks, as we lock arms tight enriching the developing line of our future party, we draw the many valuable lessons in the struggle against menshevism historically. Maintaining the truths, holding to them and applying the universal principle of Marxism-Leninism, we say to all that's genuine and honest, the genuine wing must purge its ranks, we must defeat the menshevik line, constituting the main obstacle in moving forward to the actual formation of the party. Hesitancy in removing this obstacle from our path may set us back and history will never forgive us.

Opportunism, opportunist lines will rise again and again, and our struggle against it is ongoing; we have no illusions. The glorious examples of the Peoples Republic of China under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao is certainly testimony of this, as the capitalist-roaders are purged and dealt with in the mighty court of justice of the proletariat.

Today, the menshevik line, build the party from below, and its proponents -- the OL, the WVO, and all the marsh forces, the menshevik faction recently purged from our ranks, have and continue to cause great harm to the cause of our class. Let's deal with the line, by moving forward to hammer out the basic line and program of the party, uniting Marxist-Leninists and the advanced workers under one roof, in a solid fist of iron that will continue to grip tight hold of the hammer and sickle of Proletarian Internationalism.

As an example of how the mensheviks try to sabotage the development of bolshevik propaganda and agitation as part of their overall plan to sabotage the overall develop-



"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. they openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let

the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win!"
(MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY)

ment of our party building motion, we would like to draw on some lessons learned in our fierce, uncompromising struggle to purge menshevism from our ranks.

One of the essential features of menshevik sabotage is the promotion of technique over politics and failure to promote lively two-line struggle as a means to insure that the political line is clearly in command in our propaganda work. Mensheviks will talk for days on end about the spontaneous movement, hide behind the analysis of the international communist movement in regards to the international situation, and generally be willing to talk about anything except discussion and struggle around party building. No, this they find boring, so they will try to promote a philistine attitude towards two-line struggle. They will promote cadre based on technical skills and a love for the worship of spontaneity rather than based on their grasp of the class struggle and the struggle between two lines so that they can safeguard the line of the organization. In fact, they try to isolate and slander those comrades who are persevering and persistent in struggle, part of the overall menshevik strategy of isolation of the bolsheviks. This is the mensheviks contempt for the cadre, an example of their contempt for the masses. They play on comrades weaknesses to sap their strengths so they can utilize them as pawns.

Even in terms of writing propaganda, the mensheviks' treachery shows itself, as they will love to write about anything but party building. They will try their hardest to separate everything from party building when bolsheviks struggle to do the opposite - to interrelate all our propaganda to the central question involved in making revolution. The menshevik style of propaganda can be characterized by formalism and a general failure to get to the essence of things. By flooding us with phenomena and analyzing everything in a lifeless, mechanical way, they hope to deviate us from our responsibility to get to the to the essence of every question.

In our struggle for the party, we have gone from lower to higher levels in our grasp of why propaganda is the chief form of activity. In the old period and its two stages the dominance of the right opportunist line manifesting itself in eclecticism and economism. There was a fierce battle against all forms of opportunism, mainly right opportunism, which in belittling the role of theory and the conscious element, belittled the role of communist propaganda in verbal and written forms as a means to fuse scientific socialism with the working class movement. The marsh forces, external as well as internal, constantly tried to get the developing bolsheviks to water down or liquidate our propaganda work (i.e., turn Palante over to the masses, "people should study Felix Greene on imperialism instead of Lenin"). Because they opposed party building as the central task, they wished us to limit our work to agitation and economist agitation at that, "Throw the Bum Out", "Jobs or Income Now", spearheads of struggle instead of Marxism-Leninism applied to concrete conditions to develop a scientific program.

In the struggle against these traitors to the proletariat, we developed our understanding even further as to the importance of propaganda. We have fought for and continue to fight for cadre training especially in grasping the struggle between the two lines as it concretely applies to the period we're in.

We have fought for open principled polemics within the communist movement in all forms, in the course of day to day work, through Palante, in forums, another important aspect of propaganda work. Through our organ and other written propaganda as well as the equally important task of verbal propaganda in study groups and other forms, we have struggled to bring scientific socialism to the working class, struggling to apply the key link political line, and this is manifested by our (all genuine communists) development in hammering out the line on the development of the party building motion, a theoretical presentation of our central task. We have also developed and brought to the working class a Marxist-Leninist analysis of other related questions, the Trade Union question, the International situation, the State, etc, always making our main emphasis the revolutionary struggle.

"To a revolutionary, on the contrary, the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms; to him reforms are a by-product of revolution." The Foundations of Leninism- pg.98

Therefore, we can see that in the main, we have retained many truths in the struggle against falsehood when it comes to the propaganda tasks facing the bolsheviks in this period of party building, particularly in relationship to the two tactical principles - Marxist-Leninists Unite and Win the Advanced to Communism on the basis of a correct political line.

It is our firm belief that propaganda, as the chief form of activity in the party building period, has particular significance in the present period when political line is the key link to party building. This means that all of our propaganda must flow from the tasks of hammering out the line and program of the party, That it is even more important than ever to place politics firmly in command, and that we must strictly adhere to M-L-MTTT so that we insure that our political line does represent a concentrated expression of the correct relationship between the objective and subjective factors of the revolution. It means firmly grasping the need to intensify the two line struggle in the interests of accomplishing our central task.

The menshevik line, being in harmony with the bourgeoisie, is opposed to this. The mensheviks, flowing from the fact that they don't want to see a strong bolshevik party built, liquidate communist propaganda generally, and as a whole in particular liquidate the importance of the key link.

HOW THE MENSHEVIKS VIEW THE TACTICAL PRINCIPLES OF PARTY BUILDING

The menshevik's central task of course is not party building, but "build the mass movement" by worshipping it and, therefore, actively stand against the party building motion by going against the period we are in, our chief form of activity - propaganda, political line as the key link and the role of the advanced and ML unite

In relationship to the advanced, the mensheviks of our movement, those of the OL, WVO, etc., go against the Leninist line on the advanced. They hold that:

1. The advanced are relative to the movement and that in our specific conditions of the USA, have not arisen out of past movements and that therefore,
2. They do not exist as described by Lenin in Retrospective Trend in Russian Social Democracy, as those that dedicate themselves to the education and organization of the proletariat and who study, study, study hard to turn themselves into social-democrats (communists), those capable of winning the confidence of the laboring masses and who can even elaborate independent socialist theories. The mensheviks say that it is mechanical and ultra-leftist to apply this definition. They hold that the advanced are "open to socialism" and that perhaps five years from now the advanced will fit Lenin's definition.
3. As a result, they hold that fusion has just begun and that this fusion is gauged by how many reforms we win, by how well we whip up the mass movement and by how well we worship it.
4. They hold that it is our "ultra-leftism" that imposes our level of consciousness onto the masses-- that the level of the masses, specifically advanced elements is at a lower level than what we've analyzed. That "the masses learn through their own experience", meaning confining the masses to just the direct experience of fighting for economic issues, the fight for their immediate demands,

while distorting what M-L-MTTT teaches us about the masses learning through their own experience which is decades of the historical experience of the proletariat to overthrow the exploiting classes, the world over, summed-up in the theory of M-L-MTTT.

5. They hold that propaganda is not the chief form of activity but that, in fact, what we must do is broad agitation, distorting the period we are in, that of winning over the vanguard to communism and the organizing of the advanced detachment of the proletariat.
6. They hold that what we must build is intermediate forms of organization: ad-hoc committees, budget-cut committees, fight-back organizations and on and on and on, give these an "anti-imperialist" character, making it appear as though they are operating from the second period, that of moving to transitional forms of organization, that period when the party must be connected to the broad masses and win, them over to the side of the party, the side of the revolution. However, anyway they put it, it is opportunist to even give the impression that we are in the second period, when we cannot go to that period without winning the vanguard and organizing the advanced detachment, the party. Secondly, when Lenin said these periods overlap, he did not mean you go to the first period briefly or that there is equilibrium between both but that in fact, as you are winning the advanced, building the party, you are creating the basis to enter the second period, for you are winning the link between the party and the broad masses, the advanced those capable of winning the confidence of the labouring masses.

The mensheviks attack every single principle of bolshevization of communist organization today and the future party. So, therefore, they attack the directive laid out by the Comintern that especially in advanced capitalist countries, communists parties must organize themselves along factory nuclei. As a result, they do not even pay lip service to factory nuclei as the basic unit.

Instead of fractional style of work inside the trade unions, their trade union policy is to unite from above with trade union leaders, submerging the communists to the trade union leaders, thereby, making no distinction, no line of demarcation between communists and traitors, friends from enemies - instead attack us for being anarchists as the mensheviks of the WVO did for us not applying the united front from above indiscriminately at all times, places, and conditions as they do.

They apply the united front from above with labor leaders and revisionists saying that "it facilitates the work from below;" that they - the labor leaders, bring to the "communists" their base, all this while they negate the work from below. Although we purged ourselves of some of the main proponents of these lines such as Juan Gonzalez, Pablo Yoruba Guzman, David Perez and disclosed the essence of some of their lines, the ones that stayed, hid for a while longer within our ranks paying lip service to party building, key link political line and used the credibility of our organization to go into the mass movement and build themselves as the "heros of the masses", subvert the line, while all along thinking the masses stupid and incapable of grasping the theory of Marxism-Leninism, came out even cruder more disgusting as the mask was being torn from their ugly faces -- being uncovered by their lack of being unable to apply not one single principle that our organization has ever stood for and has fought for throughout our history. Being revealed more and more as we entered the period of political line as the key link to party building. Being uncovered more and more as we fiercely practiced the fundamental principle of "practice Marxism and criticize revisionism."

These internal corroding mensheviks, loving the attacks on us by WVO, OL, etc., waited a while, for what they felt would be the right time to then begin to raise once again their historical cry of the "boogy-man of ultra-leftism," "isolation from the masses and the mass movement" which to them is just students and the most backward strata of the petty-bourgeoisie (for here was where they would get their base), hated even the mention of the proletariat, crystallized and concretized by their hatred for advanced workers.

In fact, they said that the "proletariat is stupid because they do not want to be bosses," that the advanced workers "cannot grasp the theory of M-L-MTTT, that only the petty-bourgeoisie could grasp such an advanced theory." That, in fact, revolution is in the interest of the petty-bourgeoisie, showing once again the rotten bourgeois ideology, idealism and metaphysics, placing the revolution in the hands of a class who is going out of being, who is incapable of leading the revolution, who is progressive and

Criticism of "Taking the Three Directives as the Key Link"

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CHINA is now deepening the criticism of that programme for restoring capitalism put forward by the capitalist-roader in the Party who has refused to mend his ways.

Background to Its Emergence

The programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" was dished up last summer with ulterior motives by that unrepentant capitalist-roader. It is a distortion of Chairman Mao's instructions by putting his directives on promoting stability and unity and on pushing the national economy forward on a par with the directive on studying the theory of the proletarian dictatorship and combating and preventing revisionism, describing all three as "the key link for all work."

Chairman Mao recently pointed out: "What 'taking the three directives as the key link'! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." This important directive of Chairman Mao's has penetratingly exposed the programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" as an out-and-out revisionist programme negating the taking of class struggle as the key link. The essence of this programme is to restore capitalism.

The programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's important directive on the question of studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the end of 1974, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to get this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." "Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Biao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." This directive of Chairman Mao's has further raised the consciousness of the people of the whole country to take class struggle as the key link, uphold the Party's basic line, strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and combat and prevent revisionism. Thus it has further aroused fear from that unrepentant capitalist-

roader in the Party. He has been filled with resentment when the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, criticize capitalism and revisionism, carry out in a deep-going way the socialist revolution in the superstructure and the economic base and restrict bourgeois right. Hence he hurriedly dished out his revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link."

Negating the Party's Basic Line

This is a revisionist programme because it completely betrays our Party's basic theory and practice of taking class struggle as the key link.

Throughout the historical period of socialism, there is only one key link guiding all our work, and this is the taking of class struggle as the key link; that is to say, we must persevere in the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and in the all-round dictatorship exercised by the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. This is determined by class relations and the principal contradiction in socialist society. On the eve of the founding of New China, at the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee, Chairman Mao made it clear that in the coming period of socialist revolution the principal internal contradiction would be "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." In 1962, Chairman Mao advanced the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. He stressed: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line." In the 26 years since the founding of New China, Chairman Mao has always urged the whole Party and the people of the whole country to firmly "grasp class struggle as the key link." He

has repeatedly initiated and led the people of the whole country to wage struggles by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that started ten years ago is such a struggle.

Lenin said: "Opportunism does not extend the recognition of class struggle to what is the cardinal point, to the period of transition from capitalism to Communism, to the period of the overthrow and the complete abolition of the bourgeoisie." (*The State and Revolution*.) The unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party used an eclectic sleight of hand to confuse the principal contradiction with secondary contradictions. He deliberately elevated promoting stability and unity and pushing the national economy forward to the principal position and called them "key links" in an attempt to cover up the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which is the principal contradiction under socialism. In preaching "taking the three directives as the key link," his intention was to deny the existence of classes and class struggle under socialism so as to negate taking class struggle as the key link and tamper with the Party's basic line.

Consistently Opposing Taking Class Struggle As the Key Link

The Party capitalist-roader who engineered this revisionist programme has always opposed taking class struggle as the key link. In 1957, shortly after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production, he proclaimed that "classes have in the main been eliminated and we should not stress class struggle." He took part in formulating and pushing Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line before the Great Cultural Revolution. During the Great Cultural Revolution, the Party and the revolutionary masses exposed and criticized him and gave him a chance to mend his ways. Though he said that he would "never reverse the verdict," he relapsed into error after he took up work again. The new revisionist programme he hatched is a continuation of his consistent revisionist stand against taking class struggle as the key link.

It is obvious that he himself represented the bourgeoisie, yet he said he saw no class contradictions. In China today, there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie and there are large numbers of petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals who have not sufficiently remoulded their ideology, while small production still engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. All these are obvious facts. The inner-Party two-line struggles

Article continued in centerfold.

L.O. viene de la pag. 9 del español

guna sorpresa que Uds. atacan al principio Leninista de construir el partido desde arriba hacia abajo, EMPEZANDO CON EL CONGRESO DEL PARTIDO, estableciendo firmemente los principios del centralismo democrático, basado en unidad de línea, solidificando a sus miembros juntos como si fueran un hombre, con disciplina de hierro, libres de elementos corruptos, "hippies," como Klonsky y Co., quienes no son ni sordos, bobos, o ciegos. En actualidad, ninguno de estos; solamente muy oportunistas para admitir el hecho que la ala revolucionaria, ha comprobado la línea y se ha mostrado ser correcta acumulando fuerza y moviendo adelante.

Durante todo, sin embargo, los líderes oportunistas de la L.O. tratan de usar en su interés, las ideas empiristas de camaradas sinceras.

"¿Por qué tienen (la O.O.R.P. - ed.) miedo de probar su línea al frente de estos cuadros?" Probando la línea para la L.O. quiere decir contacto orgánico, viendo de como ven la cuestión de organizar a las masas, pegándose através del contacto orgánico.

Un sinnúmero de veces ha sido la L.O. que ha huido polémicas, pero, no pueden negar que, de hecho, lo que ha pasado es precisamente la prueba de la línea de una ala observando el Marxismo-Leninismo estrictamente, aplicándolo y construyendo un partido Bolchevique; la otra ala revisando, atacando al Marxismo-Leninismo, desarrollando partidos Mencheviques en el nombre del Marxismo-Leninismo; la L.O. elevándose al liderato de la ala falsa, una posición que merecen muy bien. L.O., nosotros te

vamos a ayudar propulsarte en la arena movezida de tu partido Menchevique donde juntarás con los antigüedades el "P.C." EE.UU., "P.R.C.", "P.L.C."

L.O., ya ves que tus números no nos importa; solamente que pudre algunos elementos sinceros y luchemos para ganarlos a nuestro lado. Luchamos en contra la hegemonía de tu línea burguesa ahora y hasta lo ultimo.

Luchando por la hegemonía de la línea Marxista-Leninista através de luchar para construir el partido de vanguardia comunista, guiado por las enseñanzas de los líderes del proletariado internacional, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse Tung, Enver Hoxha. Tu llamada para el estudio de El Estado y la Revolución no quiere decir nada.

Miren a los hechos -

El partido de la L.O. es un partido abierto--social-democratico hasta el fondo--publican su reunion de unidad en mayo, abierto a todos los agentes burgueses, poniendo en peligro a la minoría de camaradas de la clase trabajadora que han caído captivos políticos de los trampesos de la O.L.

Despues, nos invitan a participar. Tienen que estar locos--no tenemos ningunas unidades con la L.O.--solamente demandamos, que suelten nuestras manos--les ayudaremos en todo para que se vayan al fango, su sitio propio, como Lenin nos enseno.

¡EL BOLCHEVISMO ESTÁ CRECIENDO EN LOS EE.UU. Y EN EL MUNDO!

Genuine Marxists-Leninists have consistently maintained and struggled against right opportunism as the main danger. O.L. and the sham wing, the Mensheviks we just purged, argue that the main danger is left opportunism to cover up the main danger. They, therefore, see the direction of the main blow against the genuine Marxists-Leninists, who they have characterized as ultra-leftists, as they go around building united front with the bourgeoisie; e.g., uniting with Ford to dump Nixon, and with Hosea Williams, a thoroughly bankrupt element of the Black bourgeoisie; with Imamu Baraka, another staunch opportunist, who apparently O.L. has had a falling out with - a falling out among thieves.

As to the analysis of the development of the Communist Movement, flowing from how they, the O.L., view the question of the main danger, then its all been a history of ultra-leftism, no Marxist-Leninist trend, except for themselves, who have, in fact, represented a consistent right opportunist line; no analysis of periods, line struggles, no analysis of the tasks which flow from the central task. A clear position on the chief form of activity as they have bowed, raising economist agitation, recording events in their rag sheet, belittling the role of the advanced workers, therefore, not concentrating on propaganda as the chief form of activity to train the cadres and the class in Marxist-Leninist education and the Bolshevik Party spirit.

The O.L. line on the key link to party building is that they, another so-called leading circle, are the key link; their rag sheet going weekly; Renegade Mike Klonsky basing their "successes" in the numbers that they publish The Call and not around what line they are peddling to the masses, the essence of their drive to increase and propagate their bourgeois line to honest forces whom they divert and corrupt.

They believe that by swamping the masses with their rag sheet they will stop the inevitable doom of their line and the O.L., as a force representing intrigue, conspirators, bourgeois careerists.

On the tactics of party building - here as in all questions, the opportunism of O.L. is once again revealed. Never analyzing the question of fusion of the communist and workers' movements, their call is for Marxists-Leninists to unite on the basis of some general principles. The O.L. holds to no Marxist-Leninist principles in fact, but, they claim, in words, that these are their principles. As to the question of winning the vanguard to communism, and assuring that the social base of the Party is the proletariat by winning the advanced in this pre-Party period, training the like blood of our Party, to take on the leadership, responsibility at all levels of the Party - No, the October League has never fought for the Leninist line on the advanced. They have been busy building the mass movement, worshipping, leeching on to the struggles of the masses; in S.F. they had the audacity to drop a struggle they had leeching on to because the brothers and sisters involved in the particular struggle wouldn't join the Fight Back Organization.

So, all this call for the "Marxists-Leninists" to "unite" on the general principles is the O.L.'s way to accommodate their petty-bourgeois social base into their Menshevik Party - while pretending to the class that they are fighting in their interest.

In fact, the O.L., and all who call for the "primary tactic 'Marxists-Leninists, Unite'" are continuing the traditions of the Second International in an attempt to change the social basis of the Party, relegating a question of principles - that is, the social base of the Party, to a secondary position. In fact, we will be polemizing with Resistencia who represents such Menshevik views as crystallized in the April issue of Resistencia.

The Menshevik line therefore, of the the O.L., and all sham forces, can be clearly drawn out on the crucial question of party building; periods,

key link, fusion, two tactics, and main danger.

Answer to these questions O.L.; continue to show your bankruptcy as you do clearly when you take it to line. You quoted from Palante and in fact, attacked a Marxist-Leninist principle - "The Party becomes strong by purging itself." Lenin - October League - Listen - Lenin, fought for "In order that we may unite we must draw definite lines of demarcation." Does this make Lenin a splittist and wrecker-from O.L.'s stance - yes - O.L. is attacking Marxism-Leninism openly and all honest comrades must make a break with these marsh leaders, a thorough break with the line they represent and sum up conciliation to it, root it out and repudiate it by developing genuine unity with the Bolsheviks and advanced workers, develop Bolsheviks based on unity on line, fight for the line on party building; we in fact are not pessimistic at all about party building, but are being steeled in the struggle against opportunism, steeling the ranks of our Party, which, in fact, we're building - its features outlined, the struggle bringing forward the best that the class has to offer, as opposed to the sham that the O.L. and the sham wing represent.

As to the O.L. attacks on our organization, we view it as pin pricks; to be attacked by the enemy is a good thing. Their attempts to single out and attack P.R.R.W.O. is a maneuver on their part to try and present a view of splits and divisions in the revolutionary wing.

But in fact, the revolutionary wing, who purges itself, has become stronger, more welded as one man; purging our ranks of W.V.O., has been a good thing-revealing, in fact, the hidden Mensheviks within the revolutionary wing; proving in our deeds, that we don't believe that the wing is pure and that in fact, one of the fundamental distinguishing characteristics that clearly demarcates us from the sham wing is the question of active ideological struggle, the struggle between the two lines, criticism and self-criticism, learning through our own errors, a principle we will fight for even more determinedly as we forge on forward - a Leninist principle.

We stand with the interest of our class, as an organization, we are subordinate to what is coming into being; the mighty Party of the proletariat.

As to the O.L.'s claim that we, the PRRWO are "these intellectuals are afraid of proletarian methods of organization and democratic centralism" (April issue of the Call) just look over on the left hand side of the same page and what do we find, a stipulation to compromise over the principles of democratic centralism. "The May meeting will operate on basis of democratic centralism at least to the degree attainable."

To the petty bourgeoisie, democratic centralism is something to play with to accommodate to the vacillating, factionalist, ultra-democratic nature of the leaders of O.L. It is they who are hostile to principles of democratic centralism and in deed, never practice it. You can't practice democratic centralism without the Marxist-Leninist line, without the class conscious discipline embodied in unity of will and action. It is O.L.'s cadres who contradict each other openly at the drop of a hat, and the O.L. leadership, who blames the cadres for any exposed errors to cover up their own treachery.

So then, O.L. viewing democratic centralism as an approach and not a Marxist-Leninist principle - it's no wonder you attack the Leninist principle of building the Party from the top downward, starting at the Party Congress, establishing firmly the principles of democratic centralism based on unity on line, binding its members together as one man, with iron discipline, free of the corrupting hippie elements like Klonsky & Co., who are neither deaf, dumb or blind, actually none of these just too opportunist to admit that, in fact, the revolutionary wing has been testing the line, and it is being proven correct gaining strength and moving forward.

Throughout though the opportunist leaders of O.L. try to play on honest comrades' empiricist views.

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"Why are they (P.R.R.W.O. - ed.) afraid to test their line before these cadres?" Testing line to the O.L. means organic contact, flowing from how they see organizing the masses, leeching on those organic contacts.

Again and again, it has been the O.L. who has run away from polemics, but they cannot deny that, in fact, what has happened is precisely the testing of the line. One wing adhering to Marxism-Leninism strictly, applying it and building a Bolshevik Party; the other revising, attacking Marxism-Leninism building Menshevik Parties in the name of Marxism-Leninism, O.L., rising to the leadership of the sham wing, a position they very well deserve; we will assist you, O.L. to further propel yourself into the quicksand of your Menshevik Party, where you will join the antiquities - the "CP"USA, "RCP", "CLP".

So you see O.L., your numbers mean little to us other than you corrupt some honest elements, and we struggle to win them over.

The hegemony we fight is of your bourgeois line which we will fight against to the end. Fighting for the hegemony of the Marxist-Leninist line, by fighting to build the vanguard communist party - guided by the teachings of the leaders of the international proletariat - Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse Tung, Enver Hoxha. Calling for the study of State and Revolution don't get you over, O.L. - check out the deeds.

O.L.'s party is an open party - social democratic to the bone, publicizing their May Unity Conference open to all bourgeois agents, exposing the minority of honest working comrades who have fallen political captives to the swindlers of October League.

Then they invite us to attend. They must be crazy - We have no unities with the October League - all we insist upon is that you let go of our hands - we will give you all the assistance to help you into the marsh, your proper place, as Lenin taught us.

BOLSHEVISM ON THE RISE IN THE U.S.
AND IN THE WORLD.

EXPOSE

revolutionary in as much as they take the stands with the proletariat, with what's coming into being and abandon their desire and aspiration of the bourgeoisie.

Our mensheviks hated and feared being sent into plants for many reasons: they feared hard labor, fearful that their fragile bodies would as much as get a scratch and fear that in the eyes of the basic industrial proletariat, advanced workers, those who they called stupid because they like working, they would be exposed.

In fact, among advanced elements in particular and the masses in general, themselves would even display themselves cruder. Instead of training the advanced, many would not even raise that they were communists, in a communist organization, even though they were open spokesmen. They would not consolidate the advanced around the line of the organization and, in fact, would not even as much as bring them Palante, the pamphlets or explain the two line struggle over party building. To them you win the advanced through "the struggle for "revolutionary" reforms." By winning reforms then slowly through the theory of stages introduce the third ideology of "anti-imperialism, then raise later on in the future and in some vague way Marxism-Leninism. For they hold that to "raise ML from jump will turn the working class off" for they are incapable of grasping the struggle for ML, for the party. That ML is just for communist organizations and not for the working class, sounding just like the same mensheviks and economists that Lenin struggled against who said politics is for the liberal bourgeoisie and intellectuals; for the working class is just the struggle for better sale of their labor power, keeping the class as slave wage earners. In fact, they hold that political line is key for the communist movement but not for the working class, negating and violating two very important lessons drawn from the history of the Bolshevik Party where Lenin lays out that it is a fundamental



"The Party cannot be a real party if it limits itself to registering what the masses of the working class feel and think, if it drags at the tail of the spontaneous movement, if it is unable to overcome the inertia and political indifference of the spontaneous movement,....The Party must stand at the head of the working; it must lead the proletariat, and not drag at the tail of the spontaneous movement." (The foundations of Leninism)

thesis of Marxism that "a Marxist party is a union of the working class movement with socialism and that the working class of its own it could only raise to trade union consciousness." That union, comrades, is forged by injecting scientific socialism into the spontaneous movement through the application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions and our fight for the Marxist-Leninist line.

The essence of menshevism is the worshipping of spontaneity, the ideological root of all opportunism; thus the party is built from the mass movement, "from below", the theory of stages, i.e., worship the spontaneous movement, "pre-condition the advanced through revolutionary reform," and then they will arise to "political trade union consciousness." These are the deeds of our mensheviks who constituted themselves as a faction within our organization. Busy conniving, sabotaging, building the mass movement around "open admission at Brooklyn college, etc., while neglecting the work with the advanced, and recruiting backward elements into our organization who would "vocalize the need to overthrow the leftist bloc in leadership and bring them to power". Build the mass movement to prove our line correct was their famous catchphrase -- tagging "revolutionary" in front of reform to cover their line of peaceful transition to socialism; comrades, reformism is reformism and no amount of tagging it with pretty words is going to make it revolution.

Comrades, the treachery and treason of these mensheviks has been documented throughout this article which is a summation of their deeds and so, WE REST OUR CASE, fully confident that the proletariat and its vanguard will bring these traitors before the mighty court of revolution. However, in order to do so, ours is the task to continue to fight for the political line with all our energies and not lower our vigilance against any deviation or any shades of difference no matter how small or insignificant it may look, for menshevism takes many forms and unless we beat it back time and time again, wherever it appears, it will raise its ugly head again, maybe wearing a different mask or dress.

Comrades! Let's close our ranks, strengthen democratic centralism even more, making it impossible for these slimes to maneuver in, grasping tightly and fighting for the key link in this period of party building, the political line.

Let's move resolutely to unite with all genuine ML, win the advanced to communism as, in the process, we "fight and vanquish the enemies internal and foreign," as Lenin taught us.

MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE

WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM

ON AND FORWARD TO THE PARTY OF LENIN ...

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 Marxists-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 People's Republic of China and Albania.

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DECLARACION DE PRINCIPIOS DE LA OORP

Somos una organización comunista. Nos unimos a los principios del Marxismo-Leninismo-Pensamiento de Mao Tse Tung, y defendemos las enseñanzas revolucionarias de Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin y Mao Tse Tung. Funcionamos en la base del centralismo democrático.

Luchamos por la dictadura del proletariado, por la construcción del socialismo, hacia la abolición de las clases - el propósito final de todo comunista.

Sabemos que no podemos lograr la dictadura del proletariado sin la derrota armada y violenta del estado burgués.

Sabemos que no podemos derrotar el estado burgués sin luchar implacablemente e inflexiblemente contra toda clase de oportunismo - el revisionismo y el troskismo. Creemos que el mayor peligro del mundo y de los Estados Unidos hoy día es el oportunismo derechista - el revisionismo - representado mayormente en la esfera internacional por la Unión Soviética, y la esfera nacional por el "Partido Comunista" de los Estados Unidos.

Creemos que la construcción de un partido revolucionario proletario de "tipo nuevo" es la tarea

central de todo comunista y ha sido así desde la traición del Partido Comunista de los Estados Unidos. Luchamos y trabajamos para unirnos con todos los Marxista-Leninistas honestos para construir nuestro partido - el partido del proletariado multinacional de los Estados Unidos.

Defendemos el derecho de auto-determinación de los pueblos. Aceptamos nuestra responsabilidad de dar apoyo directo y determinado a los movimientos para liberación de los pueblos oprimidos contra los imperialistas norteamericanos, entendiendo que el camino hacia la abolición de la pobreza, la opresión, el despojo y la destrucción sistemática de las colonias es la unidad entre el proletariado de la nación opresora y los pueblos de las naciones oprimidas. Ninguna nación puede ser libre mientras oprime a otra - las reservas de los imperialistas tienen que ser convertidas en las reservas del proletariado internacional.

Defendemos la consigna internacional de Marxistas-Leninistas: "¡Trabajadores del mundo, únense!" Y nosotros, como parte del proletariado internacional, tenemos orgullo y aprendemos de los gran ejemplares revolucionarios de la República del Pueblo de China, y Albania.

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Three Directives

since the founding of New China are really amazing. Lenin gave a profound explanation of class contradictions in the period of socialism. He pointed out that classes remain and will remain everywhere for years after the conquest of power by the proletariat. The so-called theory of the dying out of class struggle has always been meant to deceive people. Liu Shao-chi suppressed the revolutionaries to protect his handful of renegades and sworn followers. Lin Biao launched a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat and plotted to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat. How can this be called a dying out of class struggle? Now the unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party has again spread the fallacy of the dying out of class struggle; his aim was to use it as a smokescreen to cover the offensive by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, to launch vengeful counter-attacks and to restore capitalism.

Waving "Red Flags" to Oppose the Red Flag

As soon as his revisionist programme came out, the Right deviationist wind was stirred up, and there was a spate of restorationist activities in educational, scientific and technical and other circles in an attempt to reverse the correct appraisal of the Great Cultural Revolution. Revisionist absurdities were spread and the spearhead was directed against the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. People now understand that this Right deviationist wind was stirred up from above by that unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party. He used a trick that was very deceptive and that put people off their guard. The three directives he mentioned are all statements made by Chairman Mao, but they have been woven into a revisionist programme which is in opposition to taking class struggle as the key link and are therefore deprived of their revolutionary essence.

Lenin said that opportunism can use expressions from all kinds of theories, including Marxist theories, and that "Marxist words have in our days become a cover for a total renunciation of Marxism." (*British Pacificism and the British Dislike of Theory*.) Quoting Marxist phraseology to oppose Marxism is a common characteristic of all revisionists.

That unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party put the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and combating and preventing revisionism ahead of the other two directives, but this was merely a camouflage. He himself did not read books and did not understand Marxism-Leninism. He did his utmost to oppose the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the revolutionary people. He picked faults with socialist new things and was very afraid of restricting bourgeois right, narrowing the three major differences between workers and peasants, between town and country and between mental and manual labour and reducing the soil that engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie. He has never said that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction in present-day China and that revisionism is the main danger today.

He paid lip service to promoting stability and unity while actually sabotaging it. The stability we want is the stability attained by consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and our unity is the unity based on

Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. On the one hand he stressed reliance on those capitalist-roaders who had grudges against the Great Cultural Revolution and wanted to settle scores. On the other hand he used various pretexts to attack and discriminate against these old and new cadres who persevered in Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. He insisted that young cadres were only "to be promoted step by step" and wanted to remove large numbers of young cadres and new emerging force in the Great Cultural Revolution from leading posts, thus sabotaging the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young in the leading bodies as advocated by Chairman Mao. He also sowed discord between old and new cadres in an effort to split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

To push the national economy forward is an important instruction of Chairman Mao's. Building China into a powerful modern socialist country before the end of the century is a grand blueprint personally drawn up by Chairman Mao. However, sharp struggle between the two lines has always existed on the question of the type of modernization and how to realize it. The unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party never mentioned taking class struggle as the key link but trumpeted the theory of productive forces. He said that he cared only about a rise in the national economy but not how it was to be done. He disapproved of putting proletarian politics in command and peddled "putting profit in command" and "material incentives." He opposed relying on the masses and advocated the return to "relying on specialists in running factories." He opposed the policy of building our country independently with the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, and trumpeted servility to things foreign. If things were done according to his revisionist line, then the nature of socialist ownership would be changed, the relation between men would become one between employers and employees, the capitalist system of distribution would reappear, and socialist relations in production would be undermined. In this way, the result would be that the national economy would fail to develop, or if it developed, it would either be temporary or it would turn out to be modernization of an imperialist or social-imperialist type. Whichever way it might take, production would

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be hampered and the development of the social productive forces retarded.

Class Struggle Continues and Deepens

The current struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts is a struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and is a continuation and deepening of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which has won great victories. This struggle shows that the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road and that the Chinese people's struggle against them will be protracted and repeated. This is a most important feature of class struggle in the period of socialism. In this period some people do not know where the bourgeoisie is. We should of course see that it still exists in society; but more important, it is found right in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road. They represent the interests of the old and new bourgeoisie. They are the main target of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao calls on the people of the whole country to "guard against revisionism, and especially its emergence in the Central Committee of our Party." The capitalist-roaders in the Party have great power and it is extremely dangerous when they practise revisionism.

Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the people of the whole country are determined to persevere in taking class struggle as the key link, thoroughly repudiate the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" put forth by that unrepentant capitalist-roader, and carry the great struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts through to the end.