

On the
October 27
Day of Solidarity
at the
Madison Square
Garden

PROLETARIAN EDITIONS

We have collected here the three articles published previously in RESISTENCIA (Vol. 5, numbers 16, 17 and 18) which deal with the October 27th activity at the Madison Square Garden. For more information, or in order to receive RESISTENCIA regularly, please write:

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Taken from RESISTENCIA Vol.5, #16

With a good deal of pomp and fanfare, P.S.P. and their revisionist followers, have announced a massive activity supposedly to express "solidarity with Puerto Rico". The activity is to take place on October 27th, in Madison Square Garden and the organizers expect about 20,000 persons.

With their usual blackmail politics, the leadership of P.S.P. is equating attendance at their activity with the commitment to the struggle for liberation. According to them, all honest revolutionaries will be at the 'Garden', while those not present are neither honest nor revolutionary.

The revisionists and the trotskyites will, of course, play along with the game. They also have been joined by all manner of poverty pimps and liberal ~~back~~ politicians. No one doubts, we do not, that there will be 20,000 people there: but who is going? Why are they going? What is their purpose for being there? In answering these ques-

tions, we will be able to have a better picture of P.S.P.'s "success". For if we say that the most revolutionary are those who can attract the largest groups, regardless of who they are, how they are committed and why they have come, then Lenin was a mere nursing child, next to P.S.P. Let's us examine all this at length.

All of P.S.P.'s propoganda for the activity is centered around the spectacular entertainment and not around the political aspects of the activity, nor around the revolutionary acts (Nationalist Revolt of 1950) which they are supposed to be commemorating. All the advertisements in their newspaper Claridad, speak of Jane Fonda here, or Lucecita there, or Danny Rivera and Taone over there, etc. There should be no doubt that with artists of such reknown, the activity will attract thousands, who would be willing to pay \$3.00 to see Lucecita or Danny Rivera, even if the activity were being sponsored by the fascist, right-wing, Young Americans for Freedom.

Thus, there should be no doubt that many of the 20,000 will go to see the artists and the entertainment rather than because of the political (?) aspects of the activity. The P.S.P. leadership is well aware of this, as a matter of fact they've planned it that way. The epitome of rank opportunism can be seen in the Puerto Rican edition of Claridad where they advertised a trip to New York which speaks for itself (see page 7). How many Puerto Rican workers (remember now - P.S.P. purports to be the party of the working class) can afford \$200 to spend a weekend in New York? To be sure, only the petty-bourgeoisie, which controls the movement both here and in Puerto Rico, will make the trip. It will be a good occasion for all those bourgeois lawyers in PSP to come have a "second" honeymoon in New York.

The price of the tickets, raises many of the same questions as the artistic spectacle'. In keeping with the 'tradition of Madison Square Garden', P.S.P. has issued special seat tickets, at the incredibly low price of \$100.00 EACH! What worker, Puerto Rican or otherwise, could spend \$100. for a privileged seat in P.S.P.'s circus? None! We all know that. Those seats are for those pimps in Puerto Rican studies programs, poverty pimps, for the liberal ~~hack~~ politicians and other Puerto Rican lackeys who use their Puerto Ricanness as a means of becoming rich, and finally, those seats will be for those Anglo-american liberals who 'play around' with the Puerto Rican struggle in order to seem like revolutionaries. Thus, in the activities conducted by the 'socialists' in P.S.P. there exists the same class separation as in those activities sponsored by the bourgeoisie.

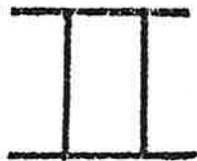
The rich will have the special privileged seats. The poor will be seated thousands

of feet away, touching the ceiling: what a great working class party!

Furthermore, on the matter of finances, an area in which P.S.P. knows all the tricks, according to "Carta Roja", an internal party newsletter in New York, they will invest \$125,000.00 on the activity of October 27th. \$125,000. for a one day artistic activity, which could be held free in the streets of El Barrio, with more than 20,000 in attendance and all workers!

How does the P.S.P. leadership explain to their base, among which there are many honest individuals, these things? How do they explain that they have to sell their newspaper for 25¢ because to sell it cheaper means that they won't have any money, but then they turn around and spend \$25,000 in one day? How do they explain to those honest men and women who go out into the streets of New York and Puerto Rico to raise funds for the struggle, that they've spent \$25,000 for a one day activity whose political content is not worth the paper the tickets are printed on? The leadership of P.S.P. has been asked these questions by many members of the base. And they have had to improvise answers. They go around trying to justify, what has no justification at all. This situation has no equal. That the so-called party of Puerto Ricans, (of a minority which is the most oppressed in New York, the one with the lowest salaries) organize an activity in the Garden at a cost of \$125,000.00. What a group of socialists who must spend over \$6.00 for every "revolutionary" they mobilize to their activities!

JAYUYA WAS STRUGGLE,
NOT A CARNIVAL !



This activity clearly points to the opportunist nature of the PSP leadership. They try to channel the support that is given by some sectores of the United States to the independence of Puerto Rico and the struggle for socialism, to direct support to the reformist policies of their organization. Let's name a few of the contradictions to which they've fallen prey.

20,000 people to the Garden, 5 to Jayuya

It is clear that PSP's activity pretends to commemorate the glorious Nationalist Revolt of 1950. Put flatly and simply, the leadership of PSP pretends to capitalize on the prestige that this heroic action has among the masses for the benefit of their organization. The fact that they organize an act of such magnitude in the Garden, while in Puerto Rico nothing is being done to commemorate it by them, is very significant. Why? Isn't it in Puerto Rico where the liberation of Puerto Rico is going to take place? Isn't it equally contradictory that while the leadership of PSP works on mobilizing thousands to celebrate the Lares Revolt in Puerto Rico, it only sends a symbolic delegation (one to speak, a bodyguard, and three to sell the paper) to the Jayuya commemorative acts. It's clear that Lares is easy. After all, that revolutionary action was done against the Spaniards who left the island a long time ago. And to make it easier, colonial governor Ferrer declared the date of El Grito de Lares an official holiday and way everyone can go to Lares.

But Jayuya is different. The system knows it, we know it and PSP knows it. Jayuya is the living symbol, the fresh prints of the determination of the Puerto Rican people to gain true independence. Jayuya was against the Yankees, but they are still there. The Yankees mobilize all their repressive forces against what might occur around Jayuya, but not against Lares. Everybody knows that including PSP leaders. That is why PSP dare not mobilize around Jayuya. That's why they leave that responsibility to the Nationalist Party. While in Puerto Rico, they do not want to be burned; in New York, they want to monopolize the celebration and they do not count on the Nationalist Party branch established here. How is the leadership of PSP going to explain to their base members the fact that they don't celebrate the date of greatest historical importance to the nation in Puerto Rico, while in New York they organize a carnival precisely to celebrate that date? How are they going to explain to the working class their position that the most important struggle of the Puerto Rican nation for independence and socialism are the United Nations resolutions, the conferences of "super aligned" countries, and the massive carnivals in New York?

International solidarity for the just cause of the Puerto Rican people is of great importance and nobody denies it. In fact, proletarian internationalism is one of the basic points on which Marxism-Leninism is based. First there has to be a struggle, and then, and only then, can there be true solidarity. But PSP, as always, has broken all revolutionary logic and pretends that the center of the Puerto Rican revolution moves around where it's easiest for them at the time, to celebrate their mass public relations activities with the petty bourgeoisie and international revisionism. 20,000 to the Garden and 5 to Jayuya. Bared opportunism. It couldn't be any clearer.

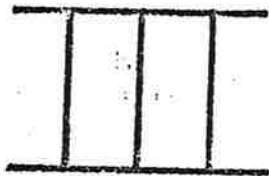
PSP appeals to the Petty Bourgeoisie

By this time it should be clear to everyone just who it is that PSP really wants to mobilize to the Garden. Two recent Claridad headlines speak for themselves: "Lawyers support Independence for Puerto Rico"; "Afro-American congressman supports the October 27th activity". With such announcements they pretend to brainwash the working class. That is the politics of PSP. They tell the workers: "Look at how many important people support us"; "Look at whose going to be in the ringside seats". They did the same thing in the ads they placed in the commercial papers. In these ads the predominant figures are the poverty pimps and the Puerto Rican Studies pimps. If Millin, the worker, or Dona Ana the welfare recipient, or Milagros the restaurant waitress, or Luis who cleans toilets in a hospital support the activity at the Garden--that's not important enough for front-page publication in Claridad. The headlines of commercial papers [and that's what Claridad is (you can check it out by looking at the laminated bond paper)] are for lawyers, doctors, university professors and poverty pimps. That petty bourgeoisie gives PSP the power base within the movement. That class gets do-nothing jobs for their leadership. That class gives them access to capitalist papers such as El Diario; gets them such good connections that facilitate the renting of the Garden. That same class has given them control of the Puerto Rican Studies programs, child care centers, bilingual programs in the public schools, etc. The petty bourgeoisie supports PSP not because its good or selfless, but because PSP is their Party. The party of the petty bourgeoisie that wants to convert the working class into their appendage, into a herd that follows their reformist plans and gives them a reason for their existence. **BUT THEY WILL FAIL.** At the time of the revolution the proletariat does not need a petty bourgeoisie, reformist party, it needs its own revolutionary party. **AND IT WILL HAVE IT.**

The PSP wants the support of the petty bourgeoisie, and it will have it. The best proof of this will be the guest list for the banquet that PSP will celebrate the following day. In that banquet where all PSP leadership will be present, the workers will be noted for their absence. The banquet is for "VIP'S", for the poverty pimps, Puerto Rican Studies pimps, the lawyers, doctors, and politicians and the reformist clique that has made PSP a center of reformism and counterrevolution.

Unity of Reformists

In the last analysis, to participate in the activity at the Garden is to support the reformist, revisionist policy of PSP and its Godfather, the discredited Communist Party of the U.S.. To support the activity of the 27th is to support the corrupt theories of the divided nation, of the peaceful road to socialism, many parties and the revolution in two stages (independence now, socialism someday). This is quite clear to both groups who are constantly repeating that the activity of October 27th is the first step towards the unification of the North American "left". If we carefully review the different groups that are supporting this activity and if we examine in detail the slogan they've been pushing together "Bicentennial without colonies", we shall clearly see why the 27th at the Garden is purely a carnival which has nothing to do with serious, scientific and revolutionary work which is what will lead us to the proletarian revolution.



Taken from RESISTENCIA Vol.5, #18

"BICCENNIENNIAL WITHOUT COLONIES" This is the slogan under which PSP and all manner of revisionists and Trotskites who support them, are going to hold their activity October 27 in Madison Square Garden. Bicentennial . . . What bicentennial? Is it the one celebrating the capitalist republic of the United States? Is it not the Yankee capitalist class, the one who celebrates 200 years of power? Since when do Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries praise and celebrate the coming to power of the same class that today oppresses not only the working class of the United States but also whole nations and workers throughout the world. What PSP is doing, as well as those who with them are pushing this slogan, is becoming one of the hundreds of committees which have been formed throughout the U.S. in order to celebrate the 200 anniversary of the independence of the U.S. In the final analysis, this is the true content of their "slogan" no matter how they attempt to disguise it. No red camouflage or "socialist" phraseology and external trappings will help!

There is no doubt that many workers will be confused with this type of propaganda and guided by it will unite with the exploiting class to jointly celebrate the independence which the bourgeoisie of the 13 colonies obtained on July 4, 1776. Independence to control their markets and exploit their workers and laborers.

However, the meaning of the slogan does not stop there. Besides the question of the Bicentennial, there is the phrase "without colonies". These two words fully demonstrate the political bankruptcy of revisionism and opportunism. What does "Bicentennial Without Colonies" really mean? Let us see! PSP is an organization with petty-bourgeois leadership, consequently, it has a petty-bourgeois ideology. Therefore, in order to defend the interest of the liberal petty-bourgeoisie, the leadership of PSP attempts to deceitfully evade the questions of armed struggle, the need of building a true communist party of the working class which will direct a people's army in the violent seizure of power in Puerto Rico. Within PSP leadership, the hope is nurtured, that the independence of Puerto Rico will be achieved peacefully, that "international pressure" -the United Nations- will "force" the United States to "concede" or grant Puerto Rico its independence.

Pure petty-bourgeois illusionism! Illusionism, which they use in their literature to fool the people but have nothing to do with their organizational practice, organizational priorities or the emphasis and direction which they give the struggle, does a great deal of damage to the struggle for power of the working class. This open contradiction between their "theory" (after all you

can write anything on paper) and their practice, clearly shows their opportunist and dangerous character.

To propose a "BICENTENNIAL WITHOUT COLONIES" is nothing more than to state that the Independence of Puerto Rico will be achieved by a concession of Yankee imperialists... In this instance, on the 200th anniversary of their bourgeois republic. In other words, independence will be achieved as a reform. These actions on PSP's part substantiate the reformist nature of their politics and political pronouncements of which "BICENTENNIAL WITHOUT COLONIES" is merely one example. The meaning of this slogan, can be nothing more or less than what we've stated. It is clear that PSP and its clique of revisionist followers, in begging for independence from the imperialists are saying with a trembling voice something which goes more or less like this:

"Listen imperialist masters, in 1976, you will be celebrating your 200th anniversary of your great republic. We have yet to enjoy the benefits of bourgeois independence and we believe that the time has come and we should be given an opportunity. This is beneficial for the two of us, for as you know resolution 1514 of the UN and the Conference of (Super) aligned nations, has "outlawed" colonialism and has demanded the independence of Puerto Rico. Therefore, what we are asking of you is that during your celebration of your bicentennial, you grant freedom to some of your slaves. Independence is convenient for us both. We will have our "little republic" and live in peace, and love with you, and you, besides, being able to continue to exploit us and your own working class. You will no longer have the stigma of colonialism which every so often is "thrown in your face" at the United Nations."

We are sure that the leadership of PSP will not accept our analysis (although many of their cadre will see the light). We ask ourselves, however, what is the logical explanation of this slogan? Why don't Ramón Arbona, Juan Mari Brás or his alter-ego, (his phoney pen-name) Raul Vincenty Labiosa, explain it to the membership of the organization they direct and to the working class in general? What the hell does "bicentennial without colonies" mean? They of course will not do it. Not because they won't, but because they can't! And if they were not going to do it before, they certainly cannot do it now, after all, people might think that they were reacting to pressure from a "mini-group". The sky cannot be hidden with one's hands, even if these are the tentacles of international revisionism. Their slogan exposes them, places them out in the light of day, strips them to reveal what they really are: revisionists, opportunists, blackmailers.

As a matter of fact, the ideological godfather of PSP, the so-called CPUSA, from whom PSP also receives orientation, resources and financial support, confirms all our contentions clearly and flatly in the message of solidarity which they send RSP. They say:

The Northamerican Communist leader declared that "this demands a struggle of the masses for the recognition of Puerto Rico as free and independent which could be the greatest event in the celebration of our bicentennial."

"The new factor in this struggle" added Johnson, "is the United Nations resolution, which reflects world-wide support for the independence of Puerto Rico."

The Communist leader finished by saying "the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico raises the need for a massive and united movement in the United States. All the working classes and democra--

tic organizations should struggle for the implementation of the United Nations Resolution for the independence of Puerto Rico at the same time that we celebrate the bicentennial of Declaration of Independence."

(Taken from Claridad September 15, 1974. Translation our own.)

PSP, as well as CPUSA, maintain the same class interests and place equal emphasis on the illusions of international pressure in place of a true and violent class struggle. This is because the CP in the United States, as well as PSP in Puerto Rico, and the United States, are faithful representatives of international revisionism headed by the Soviet revisionists! They are the same!

Thus briefly, PSP will hold an activity on October 27th in Madison Square Garden. 20,000 persons are expected to attend and through a "special permit" from the Federal Communications Commission the activity will be transmitted to Puerto Rico and Los Angeles, in order to allow more people to participate and partake of it. A good number of those present will be workers, laborers, and students. The great majority of those attending will be honest and serious people who honestly believe in the right of the Puerto Rican Nation to self-determination. However, these people will be misled and deceived. The activity will be held under a completely reformist slogan. Those speaking at the activity will be the most distinguished revisionists in the struggle. Furthermore, many of those in attendance will be there, not because they believe in the independence of Puerto Rico, but they will be there because of the quality of the entertainment provided.

Why is PSP holding this type of activity? Without a doubt they are attempting to consolidate PSP, i.e. by consolidating PSP's principal base of material and social support, which in the United States is the liberal, petty-bourgeoisie. PSP will emerge from this activity with more and better connections among the petty-bourgeoisie in the United States. These connections, added to those they already have among the revisionists of the Soviet Union and the CPUSA, will be transformed into money (propaganda, publicity, resources, etc): a great deal of money which will allow PSP to increase its propaganda-"We will have a daily Claridad"- hold more public-relations type of activities similar to the one at the Garden, in order to continue to poison the minds of the working class, to divide it, and drive it down the path of revisionism, thereby, deviating it from the proletarian revolution.

However, they will fail in their attempts. The struggle against revisionism will continue on all fronts, and slowly but surely will weaken PSP's base. The publication and distribution of classic works of Marxism-Leninism such as Marxism and the National Question by J. Stalin and The United Front by Dimitrov and the circulation and influence of Resistencia, the distribution in New York of Ira Popular (a theoretical journal of PSR-ML of Puerto Rico) are among the many important steps which have been taken in this firm and determined struggle which we have launched against revisionism in general, and with its representatives among the Puerto Rican national minority, PSP in particular. We repeat the words of Mao Tse-Tung:

" It is possible that there are those that transitorily don't understand things well, are fooled, and inclusively make mistakes. However, if they do want to wage a revolution, in their course of their revolutionary practice they will ultimately brake with revisionism and place themselves on the side of Marxism-Leninism, once they discover the true facts and the real physiognomy of revisionism."