

THE COMMUNIST

"A Communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against



all incorrect ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist."

Mao Tse Tung- "Combat Liberalism" SW, Vol. II p.33

Volume No. I, Issue No. 3

The Black Workers Congress P.O. Box 38096 Detroit, Mich. 48238

October 15, 1974

10¢

INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO!

"The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere." (Marx and Engels--"The Communist Manifesto" p.35, Peking Edition

On October 27, 1974, in New York City, a massive demonstration is planned by the "Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee" and supporters to demand the independence of Puerto Rico and freedom for all Puerto Rican political prisoners. In addition to giving our wholehearted support to this demonstration, the Black Workers Congress would like to take this opportunity to speak to the U.S. proletariat about the overall importance of the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. And, more particularly, about the heroic history of struggle of the Puerto Rican people for national liberation and freedom from U.S. imperialism.

PUERTO RICO--A COLONY OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

In 1897, under pressure of the popular struggle against Spanish colonialism, autonomous government was "granted" to Puerto Rico. Scarcely eight months later, American imperialism invaded the island and "liberated" it from Spanish rule.

The U.S. soldier, General Miles, arriving at San Juan, spoke on behalf of the U.S. government:

"We have not come to make war upon the people of a country that for centuries has been oppressed, but, on the contrary, to bring protection, not only to yourselves but to your property, to promote your prosperity, and to bestow upon you the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government." (Congressional Record--Feb. 1898)

In typical fashion, the invasion was covered by this crude imperi-

alist propaganda intended to disguise the real nature of U.S. objectives and to weaken the people's resistance. General Miles, commander of U.S. occupation forces, had the nerve to tell the Puerto Rican people that his invading army came "to bring protection" and their desire was only to "bestow upon you the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government." Sixty years later we witnessed the spectacle of another General, William Westmoreland, "bestowing similar blessings" to the Vietnamese people.

At the same time General Miles was "blessing the Puerto Rican people, the U.S. was also busy "annexing" the Philippines, Guam, and Hawaii, establishing its political and economic domination over Cuba. This period, beginning with the Spanish-American War, marked the entry of the U.S. as a rival imperialist power, competing with English, French and Japanese imperialists for a re-division of the world. Much of the essence of this period was expressed in the infamous "Manifest Destiny" doctrine proclaimed by President McKinley, and embodied in the "Monroe Doctrine", which stated:

"No nation of the Americas was open for colonization by any European power. Any action for this purpose would be considered the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

In 1904, Teddy Roosevelt proclaimed that "the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly..to the exercise of international police power." (Cong. Recd. 1904)

Before 1898, the older colonial powers--Britain, France, Germany and Spain had divided the world amongst themselves. Over 90% of Latin America, Africa, Asia, Australia and the Pacific islands had been seized. Thus, war was the only means of acquiring new territories. Colonies had to be taken away from their former

"owners". At that time Spain "owned" the territories most needed by the U.S. imperialists--the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam. The U.S. therefore declared war against Spain and simply took them away from her. For an imperialist country, military success is the pathfinder for "direct foreign investments". As a result of the Spanish-American War the U.S. acquired the following territories and people:

U. S. COLONIAL POSSESSIONS

Name	Date annexed	Square miles	Population, 1930
Philippines	1898	115,000	13,000,000
Hawaii	1898	6,450	350,000
Porto Rico	1898	3,435	1,500,000
Guam	1898	206	17,000
Wake and Midway Islands	1898	29	Varying naval and military detachments
American Samoa	1899	75	9,000
Virgin Islands ...	1917	133	21,000

Beginning with the theft of the land of Puerto-Rico, the U.S. imperialists have increased their domination step-by-step, over the last seventy years.

The "Foraker ACT" passed by Congress in 1900 was designed to provide for a puppet Puerto Rican legislature and Governor. This piece of legislation, which was much more reactionary than the Spanish legislative rule of 1897, was simply a cover for direct U.S. control over the island and its people. The Foraker ACT was the first of the "organic laws" to be imposed on Puerto Rico (an "organic law" is a Congressional charter which sets the legal and organizational structure for a colonial government). It served as a justification for further penetration of the country's wealth, in much the same way the infamous "Black Codes" were used to further enslave the Afro-American people and rob them of their rights and land. Only a few years before, the author of the bill, Senator Foraker (R. Ohio) said this of the Puerto Ricans:

"(the natives)... have not

been prepared for any kind of experience for participation in government" (Cong. Recd. 1900)

The Foraker Act was the first to define what sort of status the "newly acquired territories" would have in relation to the rest of the U.S. On the one hand they could not become states because the people were "not ready for statehood" and on the other they could not be simple "territories" — a usual first step toward statehood (Alaska and Hawaii). In the language of the bill itself these new territories were to be known simply as "possessions" of the U.S. having no rights to statehood or to independence. For example, in Section 32 of the bill it states:

"..all laws approved by the Legislative Assembly (of PR) should be remitted to the United States Congress, which by the present law reserves the right and the authority to annul them, if it considers that action suitable.."

Under pressure of a rising tide of struggle of the Puerto Rican people against U.S. domination, another "organic law" was enacted — the "Jones Act", in 1917. The "Jones Act" imposed U.S. citizenship on Puerto Ricans and turned the Legislative Assembly into an elective body. The law also established that the country would be "represented" in Congress by a resident commissioner who had no vote. But the Governor, the chief members of the executive branch and the judiciary, would be appointed by the President of the U.S. This third-class "citizenship" granted the Puerto Ricans, was also accompanied by the transformation of Puerto Rican currency into U.S. currency, with great profit to the U.S. banking interests. Additionally, with the "blessings" of citizenship came the recruitment of Puerto Rican youths into the U.S. military — cannonfodder for the future imperialist wars of WWII, Korea, and Vietnam.

The next stranglehold the U.S. used against sovereignty of Puerto Rico came in 1948, under the so-called: "Operation Bootstrap". Under the guise of "economic development" "operation Bootstrap" was actually a plan for the complete plundering of Puerto Rico's material and human resources. Profit on investments in Puerto Rico averaged 25% in 1967. The Administration of Economic Development, in a pamphlet published in 1967 stated:

"The availability of labor, the lower production costs, the tremendous savings in an atmosphere of excellent conditions and services — all within the control of the Federal Government of the United States — make Puerto Rico a unique opportunity for industrial development".

Between 1950 and 1970 almost 1500 new plants were established in Puerto Rico. As a result of this "progressive industrialization" the poor farmers have been driven off their land. In 1910, there were some 100,000 individually owned farms, by 1932 less than 25,000 remained, and today only a few thousand farmers are left. As a result of "Operation Bootstrap, (part of the Fomento Plan), the

entire country belongs to a handful of American trusts and rich Puerto Rican landowners. The bulk of the peasantry, deprived of the land they once owned, have been transformed into agricultural workers and reserves of cheap labor for U.S. factories. Today American firms make up 70% of the manufacturing output of the island and employ over 50% of the work force.

But in spite of this, Puerto Rico has to import from the United States approximately 90% of all essential goods — textiles, rice, appliances, cars, steel, wheat, flour, fertilizer, paper, food products, oil, and gasoline, making it the fifth largest importer of U.S. goods in the world! Imagine, "little" Puerto Rico, with a population of less than four million, surpasses even Brazil in volume of purchases of U.S. goods. Puerto Rico doesn't even have the right to negotiate business with other countries without U.S. permission. The U.S. is thus able to extract enormous superprofits from the country with no fear of competition whatsoever.



The lot of Puerto Rican workers is a disgrace. The average 1974 wage is less than \$1.25 an hour and working conditions are deplorable. Only 18% of the work force is unionized. Many of the unions are controlled directly by the AFL-CIO, who works hand-in-hand with the companies to keep the wages and standard of living of the workers down, and not to upset the "status quo".

In addition to serving as a lucrative market for U.S. goods and a source of cheap labor, Puerto Rico also provides the U.S. with abundant raw materials and hundreds of miles of coast line, which support ten U.S. military bases. Puerto Rico's resources include coffee, tobacco, sugar, oil, tin, nickel, platinum, copper, marble, and mercury. While keeping the country dependent on a one-crop sugar economy, the U.S. imperialists are busy searching for oil and other strategic raw materials like gold and platinum. Huge petrochemical complexes are being built by companies such as Phillips Petroleum, Sunoco, Texaco, Shell and others. As a result, copper mining and oil drilling have become the most important industries on the island.

Additionally, the country has a strategic military importance to the U.S. The little islands of Vieques and Culebra, which are part of Puerto Rico's territory are used as target practice for the U.S. Navy's gunboats — even though the islands are inhabited by hundreds of people! Scores have been injured and killed by flying missiles.

Fishermen have lost their livelihood because of the explosions which kill the fish. The U.S. Army also has a 999 year lease on a large tract of land at San Geronimo, which it uses as a base for launching operations into the rest of Latin America.

Puerto Rico is a colony in the classical sense of the term. This reality exposes the bare-faced lie that the U.S., unlike other countries in Europe, was never a colonial power. First of all, the U.S. has established an armed military occupation of the country and its people. Ten Army and Naval bases ring the island; at least 13% of the land is used by the U.S. military.

Secondly, the entire economy is in the hands of U.S. corporations and their Puerto Rican henchmen. Hundreds of millions of dollars are exported annually to the U.S. by these thieves, while the Puerto Rican people are forced to buy just about every single thing they need to survive on from the U.S. Chain stores — like Sears, Woolworth's, Franklin's, J.C. Penny's and others to consume what it does not produce and produce what it does not consume. Third, Puerto Rico serves as a reserve of cheap labor for U.S. industries both in Puerto Rico as well as the United States. And finally, the political life of the country is controlled in Washington not in San Juan.

PUERTO RICAN MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

The theft and plunder of the land of Puerto Rico and the subsequent "industrialization" of the country, has also resulted in the tremendous mass migrations of Puerto Ricans to U.S. cities, particularly New York and Chicago. In 1910 there were only 15,000 Puerto Ricans living in the United States. After the beginning of "Operation Bootstrap" in 1948, the number of Puerto Ricans living here skyrocketed; in 1950 about 230,000, in 1960, about 800,000, and in 1970 close to two million Puerto Ricans were said to be living in the "Barrios" (slums) and migratory camps of the U.S.

The condition of the Puerto Rican population in the United States is not much better than that of the people on the island. Puerto Ricans are forced into the worst jobs with the lowest possible wages, averaging less than \$1.75 an hour in most cases. The worst possible housing, schools, health services, and hospitals are reserved for the Puerto Rican population in the U.S. Over 43% of the entire Puerto Rican people in New York City are on "mantengo" (welfare), while over 15% are chronically unemployed.

Puerto Ricans, both in the United States as well as within Puerto Rico itself are forced to speak English. The Spanish language, which has been spoken by the Puerto Rican people for over 400 years is being rooted out, along with other manifestations of the masses' culture, in order to "Americanize" the Puerto Rican. Like the Black, Chicano, Indian, and Asian peoples, Puerto Ricans here suffer a double exploitation — because of their overwhelming proletarian composition, they suffer super exploitation as an oppressed sector of the working class, and because of their national origin and skin color, they are victims of national and racial discrimination and are deprived of the ordinary

civil rights allotted to white Americans.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE AND THE TASKS OF THE U.S. PROLETARIAT

The Puerto Ricans are a proud people with a long history of struggle. They have opposed every scheme put forward by the U.S. gangsters to further enslave them -- from the phony legislature imposed by the Foraker Act, to the third-class, non-existent "citizenship" of the Jones Act, to the so-called "Puerto Rican Constitution" written by the US Congress in 1951, and all the other treacherous acts put forward by U.S. imperialism in order to check the rising national liberation movement in Puerto Rico.

Long before U.S. imperialism even arrived on the scene, the Puerto Rican people waged a tit-for-tat struggle against Spanish colonialism and slavery. Led by the famous Dr. Ramon Betances, the Puerto Rican people first raised the banner of national independence during the heroic "Grito de Lares" (Cry of Lares) struggle in 1868. According to Manuel Maldonado-Denis in his book, Puerto Rico: a Socio-Historic Interpretation:

"On September 23, 1868, the revolutionaries marched from Rojas in the Pezuela de Lares quarter to the town of Lares and under the motto VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE they declared the republic of Puerto Rico....The Republic of Puerto Rico, founded that twenty-third of September, 1868, lived only for a short time, but there remains for posterity the example of Borinquen, who had men no longer willing to accept the regime of inequity and exploitation imposed by Spain."

(pp. 42-43)

After the Spanish had been kicked out, the Puerto Rican people were forced to begin their struggle against a new, more powerful enemy, US imperialism. Under U.S. domination the struggle for national liberation intensified. National heroes such as Jose de Diego and Pedro Albizu Campos led and organized the growing independentistas' movement. The ruthless repression of the U.S. imperialists and their local henchmen could not intimidate the developing revolutionary nationalist movement, but in fact helped to rally even more of the people to the struggle for independence. The independence movement spread into the remote towns and villages as workers, peasants, and students joined by the thousands. But U.S. imperialism would not loosen its iron grip on the country.

In 1948 the island was swept by a strike wave. There were strikes on the sugar plantations and in a number of industrial plants. Nearly 10,000 dock workers went on strike in the summer of the same year, paralyzing the whole shipping industry.

During the Korean War the independence movement took on an even more profound anti-imperialist character. During this struggle the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party opposed the draft and the compulsory participation of Puerto Ricans in the invasion of Korea. The independentistas served notice on the U.S. government that Puerto Ricans would rather die fighting for the independence of their country

than serve U.S. imperialism against other oppressed peoples. U.S. imperialism responded with bloodshed and terror against the masses. Outbreaks of violence against the people took place in areas such as Arecibo, Jayuya, Mayaguez, Ponce, Naranjito, and Utuado. Thousands were arrested and imprisoned under the pretext of "attempting to overthrow the US government by force," and breaking the infamous "Muzzle Law"--the equivalent to the McCarran Act here.

Through the sixties and the early part of the seventies the struggle continued. The struggle against the bombing of the island of Culebra, the rebellion and subsequent murder of students at the University of Puerto Rico who were protesting compulsory ROTC in 1969-1970; the struggle against increased police terror and repression; the struggle against the U.S. planned "SuperPort", and the rising strike wave of the Puerto Rican proletariat which is still in process, are just a few examples of the continuing momentum which the national liberation movement in Puerto Rico is gathering.

In Puerto Rico, as in Latin America, Asia, and Africa as a whole, armed liberation movements against the domination of imperialists and local reactionaries is becoming the order of the day. Armed struggle for freedom, independence and national liberation has assumed a broad, mass character in countries like Columbia, Brazil, Venezuela, Guatemala, Argentina, and Uruguay. All over Latin America today, Puerto Rico included, there exist various forms of national liberation movements which are in the process of growth and development. New Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties are being built to replace the old, sell-out Social Democratic, revisionist and Trotskyite ones. Careful preparation is being made to train the masses for the protracted struggle against the fascist military juntas and the various imperialist forces--particularly the two superpowers--the U.S. and Soviet Union, who back them up.

As we discuss in this month's editorial, the proletariat in the US as well as all progressive peoples, has a grave responsibility to the oppressed peoples of the world, especially to the peoples "its own" bourgeoisie oppresses--colonies of US imperialism. The US proletariat cannot even think of freeing itself from oppression and exploitation without actively supporting the struggle for freedom and liberation of the peoples and nations super-exploited and oppressed by Yankee imperialism. In particular, the support of the independence of Puerto Rico has to be coupled with the day-to-day support of the Puerto Rican national minority inside the U.S. for complete equality and respect for their national heritage, language, and culture. Only by resolutely carrying out this task can the struggles for national liberation and proletarian revolution be indestructibly bound up. And at the present time, the Black Workers Congress and the many other genuine Marxist-Leninist forces are working day-in and day-out to build a new Communist Party. The Party will prepare the U.S. proletariat to become a consistent fighter for proletarian internationalism and lead it in the task to overthrow monopoly capitalism in the United States and

build a socialist society under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The demonstration on October 2/th is a special event deserving our utmost support. But the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico will continue long beyond that day. That is why even though we wholeheartedly support the demonstration, we are critical of the slogan: "...A Bicentennial Without Colonies.", put forward by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). Of course it would be a good thing if Puerto Rico were free by 1976 and one cannot help but rejoice at the prospect. But the slogan, "Independence for Puerto Rico, A Bicentennial Without Colonies creates idealist and pacifist illusions amongst the masses. It is similar to the slogan put forward by many civil rights groups in the early 60's, "Free by '63!" Both lead the masses to believe that they can achieve their liberation peacefully. Though we stand for the immediate liberation of the Puerto Rican nation, the experience of all previous revolutions -- whether of the socialist or new democratic type -- teaches that revolutions are protracted processes which can only be accomplished through armed struggle led by the working class in alliance with the peasantry.

But one thing is certain. Such a great nation as Puerto Rico will never relent until its sovereign rights are guaranteed by national independence. This struggle will require sacrifices and privations. But a hundred and fifty years of struggle has already shown that the Puerto Rican people are quite prepared to make them, especially when they have been necessary for their freedom and independence. They will certainly be successful in uniting all who can be united in the fight against U.S. imperialism and the revisionists who serve them and will emerge victorious over their enemies.

VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE!

Sources:

Lenin, "Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism"
Stalin, "Marxism and the National Question", "The National Question Presented"
Juan Angel Silen: "We the Puerto Rican People"
Manuel M. Denis: "Puerto Rico--A Socio Historical Interpretation"
PRRWO, "Resolutions of the First Congress"



Towards reform Postal workers

DELIVERING THE DREAM

This month letter carriers are casting ballots in the first contested election for the presidency of their union. Vincent Sombratto, president of Branch 36, National Alliance of Letter Carriers (NALC), New York City, is challenging the reactionary misleadership of James Rademacher. The events leading to this election have clearly shown the truth of the position put forward by the BWC in its comprehensive statement, "The Black Liberation Struggle, the Black Workers Congress and Proletarian Revolution" (p. 44):

"The more and more the rank-in-file has found itself up against the wall by the capitalist, the more it has found its "labor leaders" acting and talking more like "management". This situation has given rise to the militant struggle going on in almost every union in the country, between the rank-in-file and the bankrupt union leadership. This struggle is a key aspect of the overall struggle between capital and labor, between revolution and reaction. It is literally impossible for workers to struggle against a given contract and management without at the same time waging a militant struggle against the companies' agents within their ranks -- the class collaborationist union leadership."

In an attempt to win support for Sombratto his vice president, Thomas J. Germano, has written Delivering the Dream, the Struggle of America's Letter Carriers 1969-1974. Germano is a militant trade unionist and as a review of the fight rank in file letter carriers have waged over the last five years against management and class collaborationist union leadership, the book is a good piece of labor history. It details the events leading up to the national wildcat of 1970, what

has come down since then, and brings out a good deal that is true about the actual state of the movement. However while identifying the changes that have occurred, Germano does not recognize the cause -- the continuing crisis of monopoly capitalism; as a result the call for unqualified support for Sombratto is a call to give unqualified support to militant trade unionism. It is not a call for fundamental change which can come only from proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. As communists we know that "the spontaneous working-class movement by itself is able to create (and inevitably creates) only trade unionism, and working class trade-unionist politics are precisely working-class bourgeois politics." Lenin, What Is To Be Done, (Ch. 3F, p. 117 Peking Edition). From this point of view we can understand where Sombratto and Germano stand in relation to the struggles of the rank in file postal workers, and also, with the guidance Lenin gives us, understand our own tasks as communists to raise these struggles above spontaneous trade unionism, making them an integral part of the conscious planned revolutionary

struggle of the entire class.

To see clearly the positions of Sombratto and the incumbent Rademacher we need to trace a little of the history Germano lays out -- and some he doesn't.

FROM P.O.D. TO U.S.P.S.

Until August 1970 the movement of the mail in the United States was managed directly by Congress. Well over 80% of the budget was for salaries and raises were frequent, nearly keeping pace with private industry. But with massive military expenditures for Vietnam, pay in the Post Office began to fall increasingly behind. In 1969 the new Nixon administration froze postal salaries. But that was only the first step. Pressure to cut non-military government expenditures led to the proposal to make the Post Office a paying proposition and the

Administration put forward a plan to change the postal service into a semi-private, semi-public corporation run by a Board of Governors appointed by the President.

Two key factors were behind this proposal. First the P.O.D. was too expensive. By definition it was run at a loss with the Treasury Department paying all the bills. Second P.O.D. operations were labor intensive and cutting costs meant above all reducing jobs. But as long as the movement of the mails was openly run by the state apparatus the job cutbacks required would be too unpopular. Creating a quasi-governmental corporation offered a way out. The state would still pay the bills, would award lucrative contracts for new high cost technology and would be firmly in control through a presidentially appointed Board of Governors. But it would be insulated by an independent management from the public backlash that higher mailing fees, worsened job conditions and loss of employment would cause. Thus on August 17, 1970 the United States Postal Service (U.S. P.S.) was formed. To provide the private revenue necessary to get the scheme started the government issued high yield, guaranteed interest postal bonds. The Rockefeller and Morgan families bought these in great quantities and it was through their banks that they were sold. With state aid monopoly capital found a new source of profits and postal workers lost jobs.

FIRST NATIONAL WILDCAT STRIKE

To contend with the wage freeze, deteriorating job conditions and the threat posed by the new policies, postal workers had no real unions to speak of. The work force was divided into many separate organizations called alliances, which were mostly local and craft oriented. The leaders of the alliances had risen to their positions through playing the game of bourgeois politics the best -- they had the ears of key congressmen and were class collaborationist to the

bone. But overnight the situation of appealing to Congress for raises and improvement in working conditions was to change. With the creation of the U.S.P.S. its management would unite with the worst of the class collaborationist alliance leaders, Rademacher of the National Alliance of Letter Carriers and Filbey of the American Postal Workers Union and give them exclusive bargaining rights. All other alliances, including the National Alliance of Federal and Postal Employees which was overwhelmingly Black in composition and industrially organized would lose the right to bargain for and represent their members without an election.

But already by the summer of 1969 the government offensive had awakened the rank in file and the dual struggle against management and class collaborationist union leadership was on. The center of most of the activity was New York City. The letter carriers became more and more militant in their demands for pay increases and guarantees of job security. At the end of June 1969 there were two work stoppages at stations in the Bronx. In response Rademacher, the national president of the NALC, began a nationwide tour of meetings with local officers to contain the rank in file. He passed the word that the national officers would deliver all that was needed before the summer end. However by October 1969 hundreds of active letter carriers were applying for and receiving welfare benefits in NYC. Also union meetings were being taken over by membership with "strike" the only acceptable item for discussion. On December 18, 1969 Rademacher met with Nixon to work out a deal.

The two of them agreed to the establishment of the postal corporation linked with a 5.4% wage increase (inflation was 7.6% that year and starting pay \$6000). The other postal alliances rejected the agreement and postal workers began planning for a strike. In January 1970, 1100 Long Island letter carriers took control of the their union meeting and gave their officers until March 16 to come up with a better wage settlement,

20 year retirement, and completely paid health insurance or resign in the face of a walkout. On March 12 in NYC although 73 of 75 members of the Executive Board had rejected a strike vote, the local meeting called for it anyway. The vote was held on March 17 and authorized a strike for the next day. On March 18 the strike began.

As soon as the strike started Rademacher met with P.O.D. officials and announced he would cooperate fully in their attempt to break the strike. Although collaborationist officers were in control of every local, letter carrier picket lines sprang up everywhere and other crafts honored them. In a day the walkout spread to the West Coast and was solid in nine states.

or revolution? in struggle

On March 27 the Chicago letter carriers rejected direct pleas by Rademacher to stay on the job and the P.O.D.'s central distributor point was shut down. More than 200 cities and towns joined the strike and almost a quarter of a million postal workers were directly involved.

On March 23 Nixon ordered the National Guard into New York in an attempt to break the strike at its strongest point. But being made up of working class men the Guard did little materially to break the strike. Some strikers were among those activated. As the soldiers openly fraternized with the strikers and consciously mishandled mail, when the strike ended three days later there were two major problems: the backlog and locating the mail the soldiers had "misplaced".

As the strike entered its second week George Meany spoke up to denounce the walkout more vehemently than he criticized the use of the military. Around the country local officers were coming out of hiding to don their old letter carrier uniforms and lead the strikers away from their picket lines. As Germano says, "the forces allied against the unorganized and leaderless mass of strikers were beginning to have an effect."

By March 25 New York City was isolated and Rademacher played his final card. He announced a settlement that included a 12% pay increase, 20 year retirement, fully paid health benefits, collective bargaining and total amnesty. This announcement ended the walkout but in truth there was no settlement. Today, four and one half years later, we still do not have some of the items in that announced package, most especially fully paid health benefits and 20 year retirement.

THE LESSONS OF THE STRIKE

As Germano points out the strike was unique in American labor history: it was the first postal strike, the first major strike against the federal government, the first national wildcat strike and its effects were enormous. What was less unique is that the strike was broken by union leadership itself and not by the courts or the army. Letter carriers did not win what they fought for and the class collaborationist leadership, while exposed, was still in control. Furthermore what financial gains were achieved have constantly been eaten away by inflation and made up for many times over by the increasing deterioration of job conditions. Germano accurately points to some of them -- loss of job security, heavier work loads, stepped up daily harrassment, etc.

In the face of this the main lesson letter carriers have learned has been that they could never rely on their so-called union "leaders" to win anything for them. Letter carriers saw that their gains were the direct result of the 1970 wild-

cat and other militant rank in file activities or pressures since that time. Thus over the last four years there has been a growing movement from the rank in file against both management and union misleadership. The struggle has centered particularly on who is to control the union and on democratizing the union structure. As a result there has been a wave of unseatings of



local presidents with the rank in file gaining control of locals in New York City, Boston and Philadelphia. From these bases there has been a push to turn the NALC into a real trade union, with Sombratto of NYC being the leader of this movement.

Sombratto's candidacy must be seen in this light. His concern, and the concern of Germano's book, is with making the union an instrument that furthers rather than retards the militancy of the rank in file. Where Rademacher blames letter carriers for the bad situation, Sombratto rests the blame on the union for not standing up to management. A good example was the issue of a strike and a strike fund at the national convention in Seattle in August of 1974. Rademacher opposed calling a strike over the latest postal management plan for letter carriers: the Kokomo plan. This is an attempt to implement time and motion study results into the letter carrier craft and abolish at least 20% of the jobs. It has been tried in Canada where the results were devastating. But Rademacher opposed the strike firstly because it would be illegal and secondly because of lack of faith in letter carriers to follow through. Sombratto on the other hand urged the creation of a strike fund and a strike vote if the plan were implemented. Furthermore he blamed the union leadership for not doing anything about work rules. He believes that letter carriers will be able to stop management from putting its programs in operation by making the NALC more democratic.

Thus he has demanded contract ratification (already won) and rank in file election of national and local officers (partially won).

As communists we must take the lead in bringing forward the lessons of the past five years of rank in file struggle in the Post Office, and we must boldly lead the fight for union democracy. In programs giving full initiative to the rank in file for running their unions and deciding policy we can join forces with Sombratto. We can support him also in his drive to unseat the reactionary leadership we are now burdened with. But union democracy does not mean merely a struggle against this or that corrupt bureaucrat. It is a struggle for working class control over its own unions in its own interests. The good intentions of Sombratto will never accomplish this and in our work we rely only on the militancy and vigilance of the rank in file. Furthermore we could never fully unite with Sombratto without subordinating the real class interests of the proletariat to mere trade unionism -- that is to the politics and ideology of the bourgeoisie.

This is where the distinction between a militant trade unionist and communists becomes clear. Sombratto does not attack the basis of capitalist society -- who owns the means of production -- and as long as either he or open collaborationists control the leadership of the movement it will never be dangerous to the bourgeoisie. His goal is reformist, not revolutionary. We recognize the need for the reforms Sombratto advocates, and we will gain practical leadership of the struggle for them, but communists never see the trade union struggle as the totality of their struggle. In the Post Office as in all our work we identify the real enemy and teach the need to take up the revolutionary struggle of the entire class against the capitalist state. In fact this is especially true in the Post Office because in their struggle for economic demands all public employees immediately come up against the state. Postal workers need class conscious leadership for these struggles, leadership that is in our real interests and in the interests of all peoples bound by capitalism. We need the leadership of a genuine political party of the proletariat, a new Communist Party.

THE ROLE OF COMMUNISTS

What then is the role of communists at the Post Office? We must educate advanced workers we have contact with to the real nature of the conditions in the Post Office and win them to communism. We must organize these advanced workers into communist nuclei. From here we must organize shop and local committees that will lead postal workers in their day to day struggles against management and class collaborationist trade union leaders. To accomplish these tasks we take up the ideological and political weapon of Marxism-Leninism, educating workers to the root cause of their ex-

(continued on next page)

ploitation -- capitalism itself.

This is something an economist style of work can never do. For example "Outlaw", RU's organization of cadres doing postal work has failed to attract advanced workers because its line and style of work are limited to spreading information and support for economic struggles already going on. In its work at the Secaucus Bulk Mail Facility or with New York substitute mail carriers, "Outlaw" worked to spread these struggles through mass leafletting and articles in its paper, but it failed altogether to teach the political lessons to be learned as the class engages in struggle or to give leadership based on the science of Marxism-Leninism.

Furthermore RU's line on national oppression shows clearly why it is impossible for "Outlaw" to attract Black, Puerto Rican or other workers of oppressed nationalities.

In an article on "Outlaw" in Red Papers 6 (p. 125) they run:

"The main way Black workers in this particular plant experience national oppression is not on the job, but in the strict segregation, police repression and general discrimination of the Black communities in northern New Jersey." This chauvinist lie completely ignores the fact that cutbacks in postal employment hit workers of oppressed nationalities most directly. Only one example of this is the decision to locate major new postal facilities away from inner cities in suburban locations not easily accessible by public transportation. As Postmaster Klassen promised on March 23, 1973 there has been a move to "cut-back minority and veteran employment in the Postal Service." The goal here and the tactic are nothing new to monopoly capital in crisis. In the Black Belt South as well as other areas prior to the Depression many Black workers held post office jobs. But with the Depression they were replaced one way or another and postal employment became white. If we are to forge an unbreakable revolutionary alliance between the struggle of oppressed people for liberation and proletarian revolution we must combat fiercely all such tactics of oppressor nation chauvinism and defeat any political line which pretends they don't exist.

Previously several of our comrades doing postal work followed the RU's line. In practice this meant diverting us from any real political work in the Post Office and in particular from the need to focus on building the kind of organizational core necessary to give planned and conscious communist leadership to the struggles of the rank in file.

For example one cadre participated in CPW (Concerned Postal Workers of America), a rank in file caucus which in 1973 was located in Milwaukee, Chicago and Detroit and which had a militant core capable of getting out thousands of leaflets a week. In his work in this caucus the comrade had to spend his time getting the caucus to support RU support work. This meant that he could deal neither with the day to day economic struggles of postal workers nor with concrete expressions of national oppression on the job -- let alone give leadership to these struggles or try to connect them with the long term political interests of the entire class. In addition he had no time

THE COMMUNIST/page 6

to deal with other problems common to postal workers such as national oppression off the job. What the comrade realized was that his work in the caucus was no different than another caucus member who belonged to PUSH (People United to Save Humanity -- Jesse Jackson's organization). The comrade tried to get caucus members out to a Farah support rally and the PUSH member tried to get them to support the PUSH Expo. Neither of them dealt with the immediate job needs of postal workers

nor with national oppression nor with the long term interests of postal workers as part of the entire working class. Instead of political work the comrade did leg work.

USING THE COMMUNIST

In breaking with this economism of the past cadres have focused on mastering the three forms of class struggle: economic, political, and ideological. Our greatest successes to date have been in the field of propaganda, and ideological work has definitely begun to show achievements in winning advanced workers to Marxism-Leninism. One method which this has taken has been for cadres to



study THE COMMUNIST with other workers, analyzing the articles in it and drawing out the lessons that apply to their own situation. In the course of this work cadres have come to understand clearly Lenin's scorn for those who would feed work-

ers "on the thin gruel of economic politics alone." They have found that their co-workers want the political lessons of economic struggles and a political understanding of the forces that cause them so they can do something about them.

For example in one group at the Post Office some workers had had a certain exposure to Marxism but they really weren't convinced that the class could be won to this ideology. One worker had said that everybody could see that inflation was hurting us and everybody understood that things weren't in our interest, but nobody was able to show any kind of solution. A cadre who had already discussed the BWC pamph-

let with some of these forces brought in the second issue of THE COMMUNIST to study with them. These workers found the article on Dodge Truck particularly useful, pointing out that the article did not just talk about what was happening. One said that he had seen a lot of literature brought around the Post Office but he hadn't seen before any organization that was serious in taking the lessons of an experience and trying to learn from it.

Several key points were drawn from the analysis of the article. First of all, workers that the cadre discussed the article with stressed the sellout role of Harvey and Stoval in the strike. One co-worker had been in previous struggles where he thought it would be enough to get black leadership but he emphasized that the lesson drawn in the article was surely correct: a reactionary, black or white, is a reactionary.

The second point the cadre's co-workers focused on in analyzing the article was the role of the judge. As postal workers they had seen not only judges but an army used against

them. They understood that it was not only union misleaders that you had to contend with and the organization they could manipulate, but also the state. These discussions made it possible to explain the need for a strong organization of the class able to act independently and in our interests at all times if we are serious about resistance or giving real class leadership.

One co-worker brought out that as soon as you attack something vital -- like auto or the post office -- you come up against the whole unleashing of forces against you. On this basis the need for a new Communist Party could be applied concretely to the experience of this strike and to the struggles in the Post Office. The comrade's co-workers wanted to know more about proletarian organization and he was able to go into the way democratic centralism is the basis for solid organizational discipline.

The third point postal workers stressed was the quote from THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO that "communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things . . . in all these movements they bring to the forefront, as the leading question in each, the PROPERTY QUESTION . . ." The cadre's co-workers brought out that if you want to get beyond particular struggles to do something about the causes of the attacks on workers then you have got to talk about ownership and who is going to control production.

The importance of this point was brought home to the cadre in talking to one co-worker later and showing him a draft of this article for criticism. The major question raised was what Dictatorship of the Proletariat meant. He asked if that meant dictating to the proletariat. The cadre involved explained that what was happening now was dictating to the proletariat and that we had to replace a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat with control by working people and a dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. It seemed clear that what was behind the question in the first place was the matter of common ownership of the means of production which had been raised in

Shah's Regime Kills Iranian Workers

SUBMITTED BY THE IRANIAN STUDENTS ASSOCIATION, CHICAGO

Less than two months ago the regime of the Shah slaughtered 13 workers in cold blood. This fascist act was the reaction to a workers strike in a factory in Tehran (Iran and Kavar Ent.)

While facing food prices as high as those in New York city, the workers were forced to work a 12 hour day and receive \$3.00 as wages. They marched out on strike complaining about the prices and demanding raises which did not exceed a few cents. In accordance with the fascist nature of the Shah's regime, armed troops were sent out to break up the strike at any cost. This resulted in the massacre of 13 unarmed workers, whose families are now left to starve. This is a typical example of the miserable life that the Iranian workers lead. Starting early in their childhood Iranian toiling men and women are forced to work under back-breaking conditions, taking home a few cents each day.

Their unbearable living conditions and low wages force the workers to go on massive strikes and demonstrations objecting to the situation. The Shah's regime's response to this has been passing laws to prohibit striking, punishing offenders by cutting their wages, imprisoning and torturing strike leaders and even condemning them to death. A good example of such fascist acts is the mass killing of 19 of the demonstrating workers of Djahan Cheet in Karaj in 1971. Another example of these acts is the killing of Mohammad Saleh Jahani, a workers representative, who had gone to negotiate with the government's representative over higher wages for the workers. He was arrested and held under severe torture and finally killed two months ago.

Not only workers suffer from this situation, but all the people of Iran are facing such treatments.

In the past few years hundreds of Iranian intellectuals have been charged with different "crimes" such as exposing the fascist acts of the Shah's regime and explaining

the living conditions of the Iranian people. Among these intellectuals were Golesorkhy and Daneshian who were executed a few months ago and famous writers and poets such as, F. Monokaboni, M. Azam, G. Saedi and Dr. Ali Shariati who were recently arrested and are under severe torture in the Shah's prisons now. Ever since the beginning of the 7th Asian games in Tehran, thousands of people among whom are hundreds of students, engineers, intellectuals have been arrested and are being tortured. Shirin Moazed and Meisami have also been arrested and are being severely tortured.

The regime of Iran as the base of U.S. Imperialism in the Persian Gulf has never failed to impose the most reactionary and fascist policies and actions on the Iranian people. While bragging about his so called 'White Revolution' and 'Nationalization' of oil for the purpose of imprisoning Iran's economy and the living conditions of the people, it has done nothing but spend billions of dollars on arms from the U.S. to crush different liberation movements in the Persian Gulf region such as that of the people of Oman and Dhofar.

It is clear to everyone today that the regime of the Shah, as the number one Gendarme of the U.S. in the Persian Gulf, will not and is incapable of solving the problems of the Iranian people, or taking a single step in improving their living conditions. As the facts indicate in the Persian Gulf region, Iran as the base of reaction will be the next Vietnam. Billions of dollars worth of arms, military bases, thousands of political prisoners, and struggle of millions of people are all indications of this very truth. It is the duty of all democratic minded and peace loving people to support the just struggle of Iranian people for freedom, democracy and national independence. (Note: As the Iranian Students Association was printing this leaflet they got the news that there was a strike in Iran National Company in Tehran and it was attacked by police. One of the workers was killed and many injured and arrested.)

discussing the Dodge Truck article. The cadre's co-worker had seen the connection between the property question and dictatorship of the proletariat and the comrade was able to explain that dictatorship of the proletariat is the form by which workers take control of the means of production and solve the property question once and for all.

Our experience here is not dramatic but already we can see important changes from our former work. The example shows that comrades armed with the correct line on the burning questions of our movement can use THE COMMUNIST as an ideological weapon to build a solid understanding uniting communists with advanced workers. It also shows that the newspaper can be used to defeat confusions and distortions of communism that some advanced workers have. These steps are a way of overcoming the obstacles to closer unity and open the way to

POST OFFICE, CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE welding a class conscious group which, even though small at first, can plan to lead common political struggles in the Post Office.

But these small steps are only a beginning and we cannot limit ourselves to internal propaganda work. We must now step up and widen our efforts to consolidate systematically groups such as these and begin to initiate activity around all grievances raised by postal workers, demonstrating to every worker that the struggle against Rademacher and against class collaboration within the NALC is only one aspect of our task. We must intensify and widen our work not only through oral agitation but also through

leaflets, shop meetings and so forth, in the course of struggle drawing new elements close to the small groups of communists and advanced workers we have at present. We must conduct our study and pro-

PUBLICATIONS FROM THE BWC

THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE BLACK WORKERS CONGRESS, AND PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION: a summary of the modern Black liberation movement, a history of BWC, "Why we need a new Communist Party", and the relationship between Marxism-Leninism, Revolutionary Nationalism and the Black liberation movement. \$1.00

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM AND OPPORTUNISM: AGAINST THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION: a detailed analysis and sum-up of the line of the Communist League, as well as of the RU. It deals with question which are particularly decisive for the communist movement--the International Situation and the Black National Question. It also contains an analysis of the present state of the whole communist movement and a critique of the so-called "National Continuations Committee" \$1.25

STRUGGLE IN THE RU: IN OPPOSITION TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE REVISIONIST LINE ON THE BLACK NATIONAL QUESTION: a polemic written by ex-RU members. This position is now the position of the BWC on the Black National Question. It contains a full historical presentation of the question, and is particularly important as a refutation of the "Nation of a new type" line. 60¢

PARTY BUILDING OUTLINE STUDY GUIDE BY BWC AND PRWO: a guide to the study of the classical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tse Tung on the question of building the revolutionary party of the proletariat. These readings and lessons are directly related to the problems of today in our movement. \$1.00

SEND ALL ORDERS TO:
BLACK WORKERS CONGRESS
P.O. BOX 38096
DETROIT, MICHIGAN
48238

(please make all checks payable to: Black Workers Freedom Convention)

paganda not mechanically or in isolation but as an integral part of this activity, simultaneously, for it is only in the preparation of militant action that a communist kernel can be really consolidated, strengthened and grow.

BUILD FACTORY NUCLEI!



MAKE EVERY FACTORY A BOLSHEVIK FORTRESS!

ATTICA: The Massacre Continues In Court

CONTRIBUTED BY BWC CADRE IN BUFFALO

Buffalo, New York— This September marked the month of the third anniversary of the Attica rebellion, when over 1500 Blacks, Latinos, Native Americans, and whites, rose up and demonstrated a high level of revolutionary consciousness through their firm unity and militant demands. It also marked the month when three years ago, the infamous attack on Attica by 1000 heavily armed state troopers was ordered by then Governor Rockefeller, causing the cold blooded murder of 43 prisoners and hostages.

On September 14th of this year, over 2000 people from around the country gathered together in Buffalo and militantly expressed their support for the indicted Attica brothers in their struggle for freedom, and to show honor for the fallen fighters of Attica State Prison.

The Attica rebellion was an important moment in the spontaneous struggles of the exploited and oppressed in this country. Attica was a revolutionary explosion whose shock waves were felt throughout the nation. Its force was particularly powerful in setting a profound revolutionary example for all to follow. It was precisely this that sent the ruling class into such a fright.

In the last issue of THE COMMUNIST, we quoted Rockefeller on his view of the Attica Rebellion: "There was more at stake than even saving lives. There was the whole rule of law to consider. The whole fabric of society, in fact." We know whose rule of law and whose society that Rockefeller was worried about—the rule of the super-rich, of the capitalist over the workers and oppressed. And we must not forget that 85% of the population of Attica was Black and Puerto Rican, reflecting the same majority of Black and Puerto Ricans among the underpaid and unemployed in New York city and Buffalo.

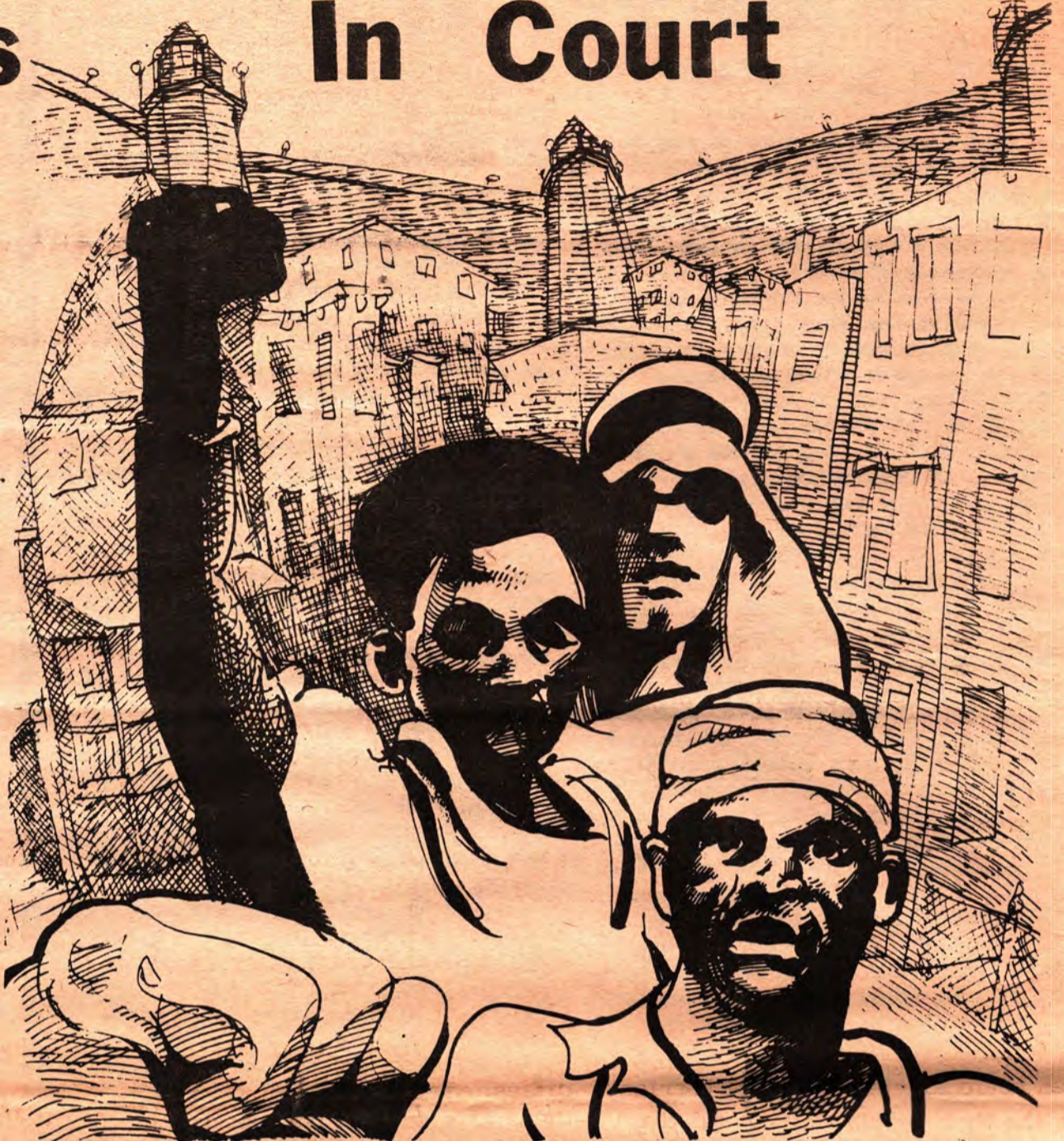
It is precisely the attempt to negate the revolutionary example of the Attica rebellion by the use of open and vicious reactionary violence, that is behind the Attica massacre and subsequent beatings, and the courtroom lynchings that have been set up.

The Attica trials have now begun. The State has set its kangaroo court into full motion. They have consistently ignored the defenses motions against:

- 1) the holding of the trials
- 2) the beginning of the trials before the defense has had adequate time to prepare
- 3) the holding of the trials in Erie County

The defense has supported their position with the following facts:

- 1) the indictments came down from a biased all white Grand Jury, selected from the prison town of Attica itself, where everyone has some relation to the prison, either through themselves, family or friends. The Grand Jury gathered information for two years and prosecuted only prisoners who were unarmed—and not a single state trooper or official, even in the face of proven brutality by the State.



- 2) the State has spent over 8 million dollars to prosecute the brothers, without giving the defense a single cent, in spite of the many promises and allocations that were discussed in the State Legislature.

- 3) the State has impeded the defense's investigation at every turn

- 4) according to a recently done survey of attitudes among potential jurors in Erie County, a one-sided bias exists against the Attica brothers, Blacks, people who seek change, and people accused of crimes.

So as it now stands, 61 Attica brothers stand charged with 1400 felony counts, which is said to be the most complex set of trials in US history.

The Attica struggle must be viewed in the context of the deepening crisis of US imperialism. Shaken by its internal and external contradictions, US imperialism increasingly finds it necessary to use its weapons of repression on the workers and oppressed of this country. Attacks such as the police murders in Atlanta, Newark and Brownsville, the State control over wages through the Wage-Freeze, skyrocketing inflation, and massive unemployment all speak to the decay of the system of monopoly capitalism.

They also speak to the growing tasks and increased responsibility of communists and revolutionary forces. In the quickly developing situation, new and more complex tasks face us. The Attica struggle must be viewed in this context. The objective situation demands much more than a "legal defense" for the Attica brothers. Cries for "Fair Trials", "Fair Jury", or "Fair Judge" are not what is needed either. They

will not free the brothers nor change the things that caused the Attica rebellion and massacre. A militant movement for freedom for the Attica brothers, and the gradual development of a strong link between the Attica struggle and the struggle to overthrow the criminal dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat is what is needed.

In the twists and turns of struggle, the revolutionary forces in the Attica movement must increase their understanding of Marxism-Leninism, and develop their ability to expose the bourgeois reformists, who objectively sabotage the struggle from within and work to tie us forever to the system of exploitation and oppression. Revolutionary forces must not further false illusions of a "fair trial" or a "fair judge" under capitalism. Instead we must use the lessons of the Attica rebellion, massacre and courtroom lynchings, as proof of the necessity to fight for proletarian revolution.

The Attica struggle must be taken to the plants and communities throughout the country, and we must painstakingly explain why all workers and oppressed people need to give their firm support to the Attica brothers, and defeat this outrageous attack. From our own practice so far, we know that not only is this quite possible, its absolutely necessary!

REMEMBER THE FIGHTERS OF ATTICA!
CONTINUE THE REVOLUTIONARY EXAMPLE OF ATTICA!
LINK THE ATTICA STRUGGLE TO THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM!!

POLICE MURDER AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION

Brownsville, N. Y.

Brooklyn, N.Y., New York --On September 16, 1974, in one of New York city's predominately Black and Puerto Rican communities--Brownsville--police shot and murdered a 14 year old unarmed Black youth, Claude Reese. Young Claude was in the basement of his apartment building preparing for a surprise birthday party when the killer cops broke in and opened fire. The explanation offered from the so-called "authorities"? "The shooting took place in the area of Claude's home. Officers entered the basement and mistook a small handsaw in Claude's hand for a gun." As we can see, this is the standard line of "It appeared he had a knife", or "The subject made a move as if to get a gun", and so on and so forth.

In response to this cold blooded murder, the Black people and other progressive people of New York city held several demonstrations. The largest one was at city hall, where over 150 people demanded an end to police murder and brutality in Brownsville.

The police then went so far as to attack the masses at Reese's funeral. They indiscriminately beat and kicked those who turned out in protest against the murder of the youth, and the policy of "official police violence".

This latest attack in Brownsville is part of a whole campaign of violent oppression, aimed at the oppressed nationalities--from the barrios of the West and Southwest, and the reservations of New Mexico and South Dakota, to the Black peoples homeland in the South and the inner city slums of Newark, Chicago and Detroit. The oppressed nationalities across the country "are feeling the bullwhip of oppression on their backs. Increasingly driven into unemployment and welfare, they are the last hired and the first fired when they work. When they get tired of being forced to live in the garbage cans they call ghettos and rebel, the entire state apparatus of violence--the courts, police, prisons, military, FBI and CIA--goes to work to make sure the lid stays on." (see BWC pamphlet: "The Black Liberation Struggle, the Black Workers Congress, and Proletarian Revolution", p.3)

At present the US imperialists are unleashing their most violent attacks against the oppressed nationalities, while step by step preparing for a full onslaught against the whole working class. In each and every case, this wave of repression cannot be seen in isolation from the general crisis of imperialism--the rising prices, inflation, growing unemployment, aggressive wars, and increasing fascistization of the state.

Nor can it be seen isolated from national oppression. The rotten conditions of the Black people living in New York is directly tied to the subjugation of the Black nation on the territory of Afro-Americans--the Black Belt South. Similarly, the conditions of the Puerto Rican national minority is tied directly to the fact that the US imperialists hold in subjugation and domination, the island of Puerto Rico.



Oceanhill-Brownsville
New York City, November 1968

FIGHT FOR LEADERSHIP OF COALITION!

In response to the murder of Claude Reese, and the indignation of the masses, various organizations have formed a coalition to end the police attacks. Among the organizations are the Revolutionary Union, October League, Congress of African People, and the Black Workers Congress. Coalitions like these are being formed in many other places where police repression is occurring--particularly Newark and Atlanta.

In addition, like in these other cities, various local Black politicians have entered the struggle. They've brought with them the "message" which says that "Black people need to be hard on Black crime" on the one hand, and "We need all Black policemen and Community Civilian Review Boards on the other."

In the case of the reformist Black politicians, their general aim and strategy around the country--including Jackson in Atlanta and Young in Detroit--is to trumpet the necessity of beefing up the police department. This, they say, is necessary to right "growing crime", especially within the "inner cities"

where the "majority of victims" are Black. On the other hand they have made a big dramatic display of appointing and marching out two or three high Black officials, as a solution to the problem. They have worked overtime asking the masses to rely on a "lawful, peaceful" approach to the problem. In essence they try to cover themselves by sounding militant, while all the while they try to direct the militance and fighting spirit of the masses away from struggle and into the proper channels" of the system.

Communists must take the lead in exposing the reformism of these Black politicians. This can only be done in the course of building the coalition, and fighting for the

immediate, as well as the long range demands of the masses. In the struggle for immediate demands, we should unite with the Black politicians and other reformists, to the extent that they side with the proletariat and join in the fight

for democratic rights. But while the reformists stop here, we must

go further. In our propaganda and agitation, in leaflets and meetings, in the course of demonstrations, etc., we must consistently link the struggle against police repression to the struggle for national liberation. This necessarily means raising the revolutionary slogan of the right of all nations to self-determination. And too, the inseparable link between national liberation and proletarian revolution must be demonstrated, as comrades bring forward the need for the revolutionary alliance of the oppressed peoples with the working class.

By carrying out the day to day right, and doing consistent communist propaganda communists can and must move to consolidate a core of leadership in the coalition. This core will have to move to truly lead the struggles of the masses, uniting all the various forces around a consistently revolutionary line and program.

INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REPRESSION !

AN END TO POLICE BRUTALITY !

STOP THE FASCIST ATTACKS ON THE WORKING CLASS AND OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES !

FUND DRIVE

THE BWC LEADERSHIP WOULD LIKE TO ANNOUNCE TO ALL ITS CADRE AND SUPPORTERS THAT THE MONTH OF NOVEMBER HAS BEEN CHOSEN AS THE MONTH THE ORGANIZATION WILL LAUNCH A MASSIVE FUND RAISING CAMPAIGN. DURING THIS MONTH, MONEY-RAISING EVENTS OF ALL TYPES WILL BE HELD WITH THE AIM OF IMPROVING THE OVERALL FINANCIAL SITUATION OF THE ORGANIZATION. CADRES ARE BEING ASKED TO BE CREATIVE AND USE INITIATIVE IN CARRYING OUT THIS TASK. BY ALL MEANS FULL PLAY MUST BE GIVEN TO INVOLVING THE MASSES IN THESE ACTIVITIES AND FUNDAMENTALLY RELYING ON THEM TO CARRY IT OUT!

International Solidarity and the Farmworkers' Struggle

On September 14th International Boycott Day, called by the UFW (United Farmworkers) was celebrated throughout the nation and the world. This day marked international solidarity with all farmworkers, in their struggle against the oppressive conditions they face in the fields. In Detroit, close to 600 people joined the march downtown, in unity with the farmworkers.

Farmworkers represent a militant section of the rural proletariat, and have vehemently and persistently demonstrated their determination to struggle against the exploitation of workers and oppressed nationalities of this country. The BWC would like to express its militant solidarity with their struggle.

In uniting with the farmworkers, it is also necessary to speak to the question of deportations, and the conditions of migrant workers.

Why do Mexicans come to the US? Because national oppression keeps their country poor and backward. Mexico, although an "independent" country, suffers from the economic and political domination of the US. As a result of national oppression, Mexicans face horrible conditions in their own country. They are literally driven into the US, to work practically as slaves.

Not only in Mexico, but in the weaker and less developed countries of the world, conditions compel hundreds and thousands of people to leave their country in search of better living conditions. In Western Europe the masses of immigrants reaches about 12 million. In France there are more than 3,700,000 and in Britain more than 1,500,000. These immigrants face conditions very similar to the immigrants of this country.

Once in the foreign country the immigrants find themselves at the pleasure of the foreign bourgeoisie--often under worse conditions, continuous threat of unemployment, doing the most difficult jobs, and enjoying almost no rights. Under crisis situations, when the bourgeoisie shifts the burden of higher prices and taxes onto the shoulders of the workers, the immigrants find themselves defenseless.

The capitalists usually play the workers of one country against the other in order to keep them from uniting, and to break down proletarian internationalism (solidarity among the workers and oppressed peoples of all nationalities). But as Lenin points out, "...Only reactionaries can shut their eyes at the progressive significance of this modern migration of nations..." because migration draws together "the masses of working people of the whole world breaking down the musty, fusty habits of local life, breaking down the national barriers and prejudices, uniting workers from all countries in huge factories and mines in America, Germany, and so forth." ("Capitalism and Workers Immigration", Vol. 19, p.454)
THE COMMUNIST/page 10



Thus we can see that the immigration of workers has two sides: the one that brings workers closer together; the other, because of national oppression, that divides the workers along national lines. The capitalists work overtime to intensify these divisions. They attempt to disguise the oppression of all workers by trying to blame the immigrants (legal or illegal) for conditions of the French, or English, or American, or other workers. But this is just a way to distract the workers from their real enemy--monopoly capitalism.

We cannot be fooled by the bourgeoisie's tricks. In the US the bourgeoisie has always used Mexicans as a source of cheap labor. Whenever they needed cheap labor the borders were wide open. The only time the bourgeoisie enforces a closed door policy is when they no longer need cheap labor. And when they do need a scapegoat, an answer to the problems of American workers. Then they turn on the Mexican workers and throw them out. Either way, closed or open, this flaunting of Mexico's sovereignty is a form of national oppression and must be combated.

OPPRESSION OF THE SOUTHWEST

The territory today known as the Southwest, is a product of the need of the US to expand territorily and economically. This expansion was accomplished through the Mexican American War of 1848. Through the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, Mexican people who chose to remain in this annexed area, were guaranteed certain rights--such as landownership. The majority did stay, but the US violated almost all the rights guaranteed under the treaty.

Up until 1924, there was no restriction on Mexican people crossing the border. Many Mexicans joined their brothers in the US, particularly after 1910 (Mexican Revolution). They were forced to work the worst jobs on the railroads, in the mines, and particular-

ly on the farms. Today these Mexican-Americans still face terrible conditions, as the struggle of the farmworkers shows: low wages, no water or sanitary facilities in the fields, shacks instead of homes, etc.

In 1924 restrictions on Mexican immigrants were created, through the Johnson Bill (later adopted as the Immigration Act of 1924), which primarily applied quota provisions to the whole Western hemisphere.

During the Great Depression, when thousands of workers desperately looked for jobs, and thousands had

only the "welfare system" as a way out of the deplorable conditions the state and the labor aristocracy went all out against the "foreigners". These chauvinists again came with the argument that the immigrant was the source of the problem.

WORSE THAN THIS WAS THE ACTUAL REFERENCE TO THE CHICANO PEOPLE AS FOREIGNERS, EVEN THOUGH MANY HAVE BEEN IN THE US FOR GENERATIONS, AND MANY ARE US CITIZENS.

During the Depression, the bourgeoisie deported over 300,000 Chicanos and Mexicans. In the history of oppression of the Chicano people several million have been deported. Thus we can see that even though the Southwest is part of the US, the people of this territory are treated as foreigners, as aliens in their own land!

OUR TASK: FIGHT FOR OPEN BORDERS!

Because of the national oppression of Mexicans and Chicanos, the question of the correct proletarian stand towards deportations is crucial. The only correct stand is one of internationalism, of unity with the Mexicans and Chicanos. We cannot support any form of oppression, and must struggle against all privileges and for full equality. It is the task of the proletariat to struggle for open borders--STOP THE DEPORTATIONS!

This is true even though many of the Mexicans are used as strikebreakers. These workers must be won to the correct class stand of refusing to break the strike. But this will not be done through deporting these workers!

We therefore stand opposed to the position of the UFW, which is now pushing for a closed border policy, through enforcement of the Immigration Act. The Immigration Act will not prevent the imperialists from bringing in workers and throwing them out. Only the staunch solidarity and struggle of Mexicans and Chicanos, together with the rest of the US proletariat, can end the horrendous conditions and oppression--and forced immigration and deportations--that Mexicans and Chicanos face.

OPEN BORDERS! STOP DEPORTATIONS!
SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE OF FARMWORKERS
AND ALL OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES!

LETTERS

Greetings in the spirit of Our Just Struggle!

We are well considering the fact that we are still at the mercy of the merciless. Very little is "news" in prisons save for a few new arrivals -- and even fewer departures each week. However the movement here is beginning to pick up momentum and this is our primary concern, and indeed the reason for this letter.

I am the same Brother who wrote a few months ago requesting your organization to send our prison cadre free copies of your informative pamphlet "Black Liberation Struggle, Black Workers Congress and Proletarian Revolution." We enjoyed and learned from the pamphlet and we thank Black people, and the dialectic for your creation and for responding to our requests for the pamphlet.

I do the bulk of the writing of letters of solicitation for our cadre but due to an excess of work in recent months and a few episodes of the prison administration's hysterical attempts to "discipline" and "rehabilitate" me I was unable to write and acknowledge the reception of the pamphlets you sent personally. However we did assign this task to one of our cadre who is presently being held in the Cook County Jail in Chicago Illinois. From his reports we understood that he did complete his task successfully and that your organization responded by sending him a copy of your most recent pamphlet "The Struggle Against Revisionism and Opportunism: Against the Communist League and the Revolutionary Union" and also a subscription to your infant organ **THE COMMUNIST**.

As the Brother is a good 90 miles from us and it is virtually impossible for us to exchange literature, we are again asking your organization to send to our prison a subscription to your new political organ **THE COMMUNIST** and as many copies of the new polemical pamphlet as your finances can tolerate.

We will need at least 2 subscriptions to **THE COMMUNIST**. As the prison population is overwhelmingly Black and Latino we share our reading material with Latin Brothers which is the reason we need at least two subscriptions.

We do hope that you respond as to us soon as our study classes are anxious for new material to devour.

The Proletarian Hero is the Maximum Man/Woman

Bro. ---

Dear Comrades,

I received with gratitude the complementary issue of **THE COMMUNIST** I have been impressed with your grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, your analysis of the burning issues facing the new communist movement, your overall political line, and your militant party spirit since reading "Black Liberation Struggle, the BWC, and Proletarian Revolution".

After reading **THE COMMUNIST**, I see that you have been growing and maturing at a good rate, that you give and accept principled criticism and self-criticism, and that your dedication to revolution is based on knowledge and experience rather than some ego-trip. I am reading History of CPSU(B) and agree with the need for a paper similar to the old Iskra to unite the Marxist circles through struggle-criticism-transformation and unity-struggle-unity and to give principled leadership to the struggle for a new party. The idea of worker-correspondents is also as good now as it was then....I would like to offer my services to you as a worker-correspondent since I think this would be a worthwhile political task, would strengthen my ties with the working class, and would work towards uniting Marxist-Leninists.

Solidarity,
CR

**SUBSCRIBE TO
THE
COMMUNIST!**



*BUILD A MULTI-NATIONAL
COMMUNIST PARTY!!*

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$3.00 per year

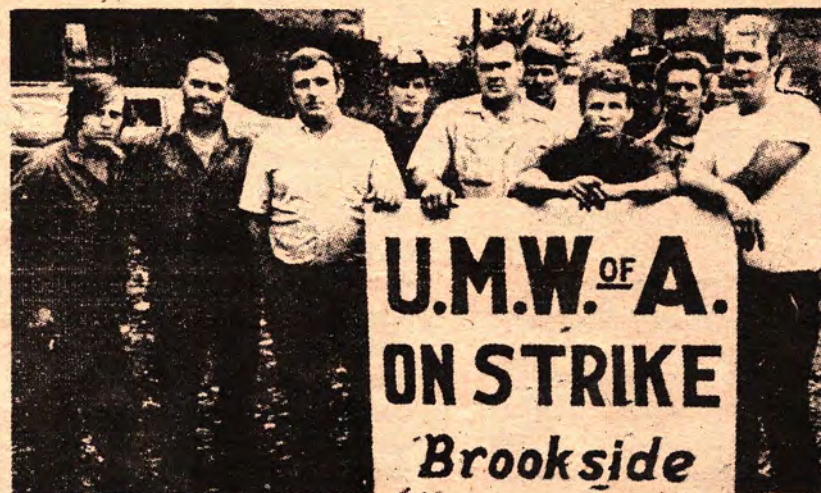
Send to:

Black Workers Freedom Convention
P.O. Box 38096
Detroit, Michigan 48238

The Guardian announces a special 28-page issue:

WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?

Rank and file insurgencies in the U.S. labor movement



This special Guardian supplement focuses on today's growing movement of rank-and-file workers for union rights, union democracy and an end to race and sex discrimination.

Among the areas explored are the right-to-strike movement in the steel industry, the reform movement in the UMW as well as important theoretical questions, e.g., the theory of the labor aristocracy and economism and trade union politics.

Ideal for rank-and-file activists, study or discussion groups and labor-studies programs.

Order your copy today! Special bulk rates.

Mail to: Guardian, 33 W. 17 St., New York, N.Y. 10011

List price is 35c per copy. Bulk rates: 1-9, 35c each; 10-24, 30c each; 25-99, 25c each; 100 or more, 17.5c each.
Bookstore inquiries invited.

Enclosed is.....for.....copies of "Which Side Are You On?"

Name

Street

City State Zip

PROLETARIAN NATIONAL

This issue of THE COMMUNIST is dedicated to the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico, and the liberation struggles of oppressed peoples the world over. The question of the correct Marxist-Leninist stand towards the struggles for national liberation is of vital importance to the proletariat. In this era of the downfall of imperialism and the rise of proletarian revolution, the national question has become a component part of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. As Stalin said:

"...the national question can be solved only in connection with and on the basis of proletarian revolution, and that the road to victory of the revolution in the West lies through the revolutionary alliance with the liberation movement of the colonies and dependent countries against imperialism." (Foundations of Leninism, Peking ed., pg.73)

We at this time would like to speak to the question of proletarian revolution and national liberation. In doing so, we resolutely reaffirm our support for the just struggles of the oppressed peoples and raise the cry of the right of all nations to secession!

REACTIONARY WAR AND REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Imperialism means the oppression of nations. This is because the imperialists, in their constant drive for maximum profits, need raw materials, bigger markets, cheaper labor, and areas to export their capital. To get these "spoils", the imperialists forcibly subjugate the less developed countries of the world. The result has been the division of the world into two opposing camps: the handful of wealthy, powerful, imperialist countries, which plunder and exploit the vast majority of the world's population; and the oppressed and exploited peoples in the colonies and dependent countries.

Imperialism means aggression and war. Wherever the imperialists go, with them comes their army, navy, and marine corps--because in the final analysis, armed force is the only way they can maintain their dominance and oppression. The imperialists, with the two superpowers, the US and the Soviet Union at their head, are the murderers of millions, and the main source of misery and destruction in the world today.

But imperialism also brings forward its opposite. In opposition to the reaction of the bourgeoisie, there is the revolution of the proletariat. And in opposition to reactionary imperialist war, there are the revolutionary wars of national liberation. More and more nations are lighting the fire of revolution and taking up arms against the imperialist aggressors. Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Dhofar, Palestine, Angola, and Mozambique are prime examples of the fact that revolution is the main trend in the world today.

What should be the stand of the proletariat towards wars of aggression and wars of liberation. This question, from the days of Lenin, in battle with the 2nd International, to the struggle today against the Soviet revisionists, is one that has distinguished the Marxist-Leninists from the chauvinists and opportunists. As our Chinese comrades have said: "The attitude taken towards the revolutionary struggles of the people in the Asian, African, and Latin American countries is an important criterion for differentiating those who do not and those who are truly defending world peace, from those who are abetting the forces of aggression and war." (Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement, Peking, 1963, p. 15)

LENIN'S FIGHT AGAINST THE SOCIAL CHAUVINISTS

Lenin and the Bolsheviks firmly established, particularly in the struggle against the Second International, that the proletariat stands against unjust wars of imperialist aggression and for the right of all nations to self-determination.

The struggle against the 2nd International occurred against the backdrop of the first World War. The development of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, intensified the competition among the imperialist countries. Each wanted to get bigger and better areas of the world to exploit. And, because of the uneven development of capitalism, there were those countries (like Germany) that were becoming stronger and more powerful, and those that were becoming weaker, economically and militarily (like Great Britain).

Before this period, there had always been new areas of the world to conquer. But by the end of the 19th century, the entire globe had been divided up. World War I was a struggle among the imperialists to redivide the world; it was a war created by imperialism and fought for the imperialists.

The war brought increased misery and exploitation for the masses. The objective conditions were ripe for revolution. But the majority of the Communist Parties of Europe (then termed Social-Democratic Parties) wavered and hesitated, capitulating to the bourgeoisie.

Only the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, stood firm. While the social chauvinists called for class peace at home and war on the workers of other nations, the Bolsheviks demanded that the imperialist war be turned into a civil war. The Bolsheviks were aided in this task by Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, and others of the German left and the genuine Marxist-Leninists of Europe. Together these internationalists held high the banner of the proletariat, organizing against the imperialist war and for the liberation of the colonies and oppressed nations.

It was in this period that the Leninist principles on the national question--that is the stance of the proletariat towards the oppression of nations by the warring imperialists were forged into an invincible weapon. Lenin showed the inseparable link between proletarian revolution and national liberation:

"...the Communist International's entire policy on the national and the colonial questions should rest primarily on a closer union of the proletarians and the working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landowners and the bourgeoisie. This union alone will guarantee victory over capitalism, without which the abolition of national oppression and inequality is impossible." (Lenin, from pamphlet, Selections from Lenin and Stalin on the National Question, Calcutta Books, p56)

Lenin and the Bolsheviks concretely proved that a correct posi-



tion on the national question is essential if proletarian revolution is to be victorious. The opportunists of the 2nd International showed that an incorrect stand will lead to the defeat of the proletariat. While these chauvinists surrendered to the bourgeoisie, the workers and peasants and oppressed nationalities of Russia, led by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, turned the imperialist war into a civil war. They turned their guns on the Tsar and the Russian bourgeoisie and successfully overthrew them both. The first proletarian dictatorship in the world was established!

With this great victory, the Bolsheviks immediately set about solving the national question in Russia itself. Russia was a prison house of nations, and this task was a difficult and complicated one. But standing firm on the principle of the right of all nations to self-determination, striving to eliminate all privileges, however slight, constantly educating the masses in a spirit of internationalism, in a spirit of the closest unity of all workers, the Bolsheviks succeeded.

EVOLUTION AND LIBERATION

They demonstrated in practice that the only correct stand for the proletariat was to break the chains of national and colonial oppression and liberate the oppressed nations of the Russian state. Based on the principles of internationalism and voluntary unity, the Bolsheviks forged the fraternal union of workers and peasants of the most diverse nations. The right of self-determination became a concrete reality, with the oppressed peoples enjoying a wide range of autonomy and self-government. Without this, as Stalin said, the revolution would not have been victorious. (see Foundations of Leninism) Thus once again, we see the two sides, the interconnection between proletarian revolution and national liberation.

The Russian revolution did not belong to Russia alone, it was a revolution of international significance. It ushered in the era of proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries, and made the dictatorship of the proletariat a living reality. It set a contagious example for oppressed



nations of the world--and brought in the era of colonial revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. It confirmed on a world scale, once again:

"1) That the national and colonial questions are inseparable from the question of emancipation from the power of capital; 2) That imperialism (the highest stage of capitalism) cannot exist without the political and economic enslavement of non-sovereign nations and colonies; 3) That the non-sovereign nations and colonies cannot be emancipated without the overthrow of the power of capital; and 4) That the victory of the proletariat cannot be a lasting one unless the non-sovereign nations and colonies are emancipated from the yoke of imperialism"

(National Question Presented, from pamphlet, "Selections from Lenin and Stalin on the National Question," Calcutta Books, p. 135)

The era of the collapse of capitalism had begun!

The victory of the proletariat and oppressed peoples of Russia is a treasured victory of the worldwide proletariat, a shining example of the correctness of Marxism-Leninism. November 7th marks the 57th anniversary of the victory of proletarian revolution in Russia. It is a time to celebrate this great victory and reaffirm our great love for the Soviet people. The Soviet people will forever be our class brothers and sisters, our close comrades-in-arms.

But in celebrating this victory of the proletariat, we must necessarily reaffirm our allegiance to Marxism-Leninism. This means taking a firm and principled stand against revisionism, chauvinism, and opportunism, and in defense of proletarian internationalism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is no longer the great Bolshevik party of Lenin and Stalin, but a revisionist party. The Soviet Union is no longer a socialist country, but a social-imperialist one. It is socialist in words and imperialist in deeds. Capitalism has been restored and once again Russia is a prison house of nations. The Soviet Union has taken up a policy of aggression and is actively trying to extend its "sphere of influence", bullying the peoples of the world. The leaders of the Soviet party have followed in the footsteps of the 2nd International and betrayed the world's proletariat. But they will not remain forever. We are fully confident that the Marxist-Leninists of the USSR will build anew the Bolshevik Party. The Soviet people will overthrow the new Soviet bourgeoisie, and once again establish the dictatorship of the proletariat!

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLES
REPUBLIC OF CHINA!

In opposition to the revisionist betrayal of the Party of the Soviet Union, stand the great Chinese and Albanian Parties. The Chinese and Albanians have taken the lead in exposing the line of the revisionists as thoroughly bankrupt. They have staunchly upheld the banner of proletarian internationalism and helped Marxist-Leninists the world over grasp the fact that "it is impossible for the working class in the European and American capitalist countries to liberate itself unless it unites with the oppressed nations and unless those nations are liberated" ("Proposal for General Line," p. 14). And that neither the imperialists nor the social-imperialists will liberate the oppressed nations. Only the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples themselves can win liberation. The masses are the makers of history!

China and Albania were both once oppressed nations. They were poor and underdeveloped countries. But with the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania both successfully overthrew their imperialist oppressors and won their national liberation. And because of the leadership of the proletariat and its Party, both coun-

tries have consolidated this victory, defeated their "own" bourgeoisie, and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. These countries are now a shining beacon to all oppressed peoples, and a great inspiration to press on to victory! They once again have concretely proven the correctness of Marxism-Leninism and the importance of linking national liberation to proletarian revolution.

WE PROUDLY TAKE THIS TIME TO EXPRESS OUR WARMEST REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS TO THE PEOPLE OF CHINA IN CELEBRATION OF THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (October 1, 1949) AND WE ALSO SEND OUR FRATERNAL GREETINGS TO THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THEIR GREAT PARTY (November, 1941)

Marxists-Leninists the world over have joined with the Chinese and Albanians, meeting Soviet revisionism steel to steel. As Lenin broke with the parties of the 2nd International, genuine communists today are breaking with the revisionist parties in their country. And, just as Lenin called for the formation of new parties, Marxist-Leninists today also raise the cry--BUILD PARTIES OF A NEW TYPE THAT HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

REVISIONIST PARTIES HAVE BETRAYED
THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES

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

In a period where the storm of national liberation is on the rise, the revisionists cry out for "peaceful coexistence." This basically means that the oppressed people should not rise in opposition to the imperialists and defend their territory and their rights. And if they do, the revisionists scream they will bring nuclear war down on their heads. Instead, the oppressed peoples should rely on the Soviet Union to resolve their problems. "Peaceful competition" and the might of the Soviet Union cannot help but force the US to automatically collapse. These are lies, concocted to deceive the peoples of the world. And the revisionists do not stop here. They continue their deception by telling the people that revolutionary armed struggle is no longer necessary, that there will be a "peaceful transition" from capitalism to socialism.

The line of peaceful transition is especially dangerous to the proletariat and oppressed peoples. It leaves the proletariat totally unprepared against the reactionary attacks and assaults of the bourgeoisie. Nowhere in the world has

there been an example of the bourgeoisie peacefully giving up its rule and stepping down. If the proletariat and its party, in any country, fail to make thorough preparations for armed struggle with the bourgeoisie, then it will paralyze the revolutionary will of the proletariat. The proletariat will be disarmed ideologically, and sink into a passive state of unpreparedness both politically and organizationally. The proletarian cause will be buried. (see Proposal for General Line, page 22) The tragic effect of the line of peaceful transition can hardly be denied in Chile, where the fascists triumphed.

The essence of the revisionist position is to deny the great revolutionary potential of the struggles of the oppressed peoples. It is a line that says that these so-called "backward" and "underdeveloped" peoples of a darker race cannot successfully make revolution. It is a line that attempts to cow the peoples of the world with the spectre of nuclear war. It is a position that is racist and chauvinist and one that only serves the needs of the imperialist superpowers: the US and the Soviet Union.

In this country, the Soviet revisionists are represented by the CPUSA. CPUSA betrayed the US working class, and has left it totally unarmed and without conscious leadership. They have sabotaged the struggle of the oppressed peoples by denying that these struggles are revolutionary, and by refusing to fight for the right of all nations to secession. They too deceive the people with illusions of "peaceful transition", calling on workers to rely on Congress and the "nice" wing of the bourgeoisie. All communists in this country must make a thorough break with these revisionists, and join in the struggle for a new Party.

WHAT IS THE STANCE OF THE US PROLETARIAT?

In making this break we must take up the correct Marxist-Leninist stand. To summarize the correct position, we turn to FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM, where Stalin says: "...the victory of the working class in the developed countries and the liberation of the oppressed peoples from the yoke of imperialism are impossible without the formation and the consolidation of a common revolutionary front; the formation of a common revolutionary front is impossible unless the proletariat of the oppressor nations renders direct and determined support to the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples against the imperialism of its "own country"...; this support implies the upholding, defense and implementation of the slogan of the right of nations to secession, to independent existence as states...." (Peking edition, pg 77, our emphasis)

Historically in this country, communists have stumbled and faltered when it came to support for the liberation of the Black nation and Chicano peoples of the Southwest. From Lovestone in the 1930's, to Browder in the '40's, to the CPUSA today--all took a revisionist stand, denying the Black nation the right to self-determination.

As the CPUSA itself said, when it was a revolutionary Party, "There is no surer touchstone of the revolutionary understanding, the

Bolshevik clarity of any member or section of our Communist Party, than the degree to which he understands the struggle for the national liberation of the Negroes as part and parcel of the struggle for the emancipation of the working class." (from a CP pamphlet on the Negro question, 1931)

This statement is just as true today. And in the struggle to make a clear demarcation between ourselves and the revisionists, to stand firm on Bolshevik principles, we must pay special attention to this burning question. For those forces trying to build a new Party in this country, this necessarily means defeating the right opportunist line of the Revolutionary Union (RU). Like the CPUSA, RU places the revolutionary struggle of the Black nation in contradiction to the class struggle of the proletariat. The RU upholds the right of self-determination in words only, and never in actual deed. They have thrown down the sword of Stalin and picked up the revisionist twig of American exceptionalism. (see BWC pamphlet: "Struggle in the RU: In Opposition to the Consolidation of the Revisionist Line on the Black National Question", for a full analysis of RU's line)

But comrades we must do more than simply refute an incorrect line. It is also necessary to bring forward a correct stance. Proletarian Internationalism for US communists today means following the lead of the Chinese and Albanians in making a complete break with revisionism--ideologically, politically and organizationally--and forging ahead to build a new Marxist-Leninist Party. These two tasks are inseparably linked. The proletariat cannot hope for a successful revolution, and the oppressed people will not win complete liberation, without a communist party to guide the proletariat through all the twists and turns on the road to emancipation.

MORE PARTICULARLY, PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM MEANS STAUNCH AND CONCRETE AID TO THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, AND ESPECIALLY THOSE OPPRESSED BY US IMPERIALISM.

Puerto Rico is a colony of the US, whose people face great exploitation and oppression. Puerto Ricans in the US also face tremendous oppression and discrimination as a national minority. The only correct stand for Marxist-Leninists is the revolutionary alliance of the US proletariat with the struggle for the liberation of Puerto Rico. All communists should support the demonstration in New York on October 27th, and show our unwavering stand for the INDEPENDENCE OF PUERTO RICO (see article, pg. 1)

Our task does not end here however. There is also a question of support for the struggles of oppressed peoples within the borders of the US. Indians and Asians in this country suffer discrimination and oppression at the hands of the imperialists. The struggle to end discrimination, and win full social equality and freedom must receive our daily support.

The oppressed Chicano nationality has played a vital role in the struggle against US imperialism, and is today playing a vanguard role in the struggles occurring in the Southwest. A correct line on this question is also of prime importance to proletarian revolution in the USA.

The struggle of Black people is the struggle of an oppressed nation,

and fundamentally a fight for the right of self-determination. It is a part of the world-wide struggle that is profoundly popular and profoundly revolutionary and demands our full and complete support.

DISTINGUISH OURSELVES, IN ACTION, FROM THE REVISIONISTS

On the basis of a correct understanding of the national question, we must move to show in action, that our line makes a difference in the real world. For BWC cadres this means several things. First, our understanding on the national question must be integrated into all our work, particularly our analysis of events. It is especially necessary to concentrate on linking the partial demands--like an end to police repression, harassment from foremen, etc--to the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples. In particular, the struggle of Black must be linked to the fight for the right of self-determination. Unless this is done, errors will be made, as we can see in the article on Atlanta in the last issue of THE

COMMUNIST. (no. 2, pg. 6 - 7) WE FAILED TO LINK THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REPRESSION TO THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION. THIS IS THE TYPE OF UNPARDONABLE ERROR THAT CADRES MUST AVOID! (In future issues of THE COMMUNIST, we will again take up the struggle in Atlanta.)

Secondly, the task of bringing a scientific understanding of the national question to the masses can not wait for a particular event, or the outbreak of struggle in the Black, Puerto Rican, or Chicano ghettos. Propaganda and agitation on this question has got to be daily, it must be part and parcel of our everyday work in the factories and among the working class. In this way when a particular struggle does arise, we are in a better position to rally the masses in support of it--because we have done some preparation and laid the ground work.

Thirdly, in carrying out our propaganda, we cannot shy away from the education of the masses in a spirit of internationalism. This is especially true in regards to white workers, where long and patient work is necessary to defeat their chauvinism. We can't leave these workers, as both RU and October League do, in the grip of bourgeois ideology! We must also struggle to overcome the aloofness, and distrust of Blacks towards whites. Our constant call to the Black masses is "revolutionary struggle against the ruling bourgeoisie through a fighting alliance with revolutionary white proletariat." (Comintern Resolution, 1930)

Comrades these are the first steps necessary to distinguish ourselves from the right opportunists. This work is essential if the revolutionary alliance between the white proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the US is to be forged into the iron unity necessary for national liberation, and the victory of proletarian revolution.

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

UPHOLD THE RIGHT OF ALL NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION!

BUILD A MULTI-NATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY!

