

# WORKERS' TRIBUNE

No. 2

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

April-May, 1981

## Atlanta: Terror in the Black Nation

As we go to press, still more Black youths have been found killed in Atlanta, while no killer has been caught for the deaths of at least two dozen Black youths. The police were not even looking for one youth recently found dead, who they said was a "run-away". Many more Black children and *adult* Black working class women have been missing or found dead, according to Atlanta activists. As usual, the police refuse to investigate or line up these cases, charging they are "drug-related", etc.

As the terror continues, a significant development has been the formation of patrols by the tenants association of the Techwood Homes project, the largest in Atlanta. These patrols, made up of both Black and white residents, reflect a legitimate attempt at self-defense. Thus far the patrols have been conducted with a high degree of responsibility and political maturity, carefully avoiding provocations or losing confrontations

with the police. When dozens of people surrounded a police car, demanding release of an arrested patrol member, the police had to back down, resulting in a partial victory. Various reformist politicians have denounced the patrols, even absurdly claiming that the patrols are provoking more killings. They want to disarm the masses and have them remain pawns of the same bourgeois government that is getting more and more discredited as the killings continue. The open reformists, who also discredited themselves, have been rejected by the patrols. The patrols have also stayed clear of the type of suicidal confrontations carried out by the likes of the opportunist Maoist Communist Workers Party in Greensboro, N.C., in 1979. That action resulted only in the death of their own members, while the Klansmen and Nazis were strengthened and went scot free.

(cont. p. 27)

## Chauvinism and the Coming Imperialist War!

In the U.S. today a disgusting, vicious campaign of chauvinism is being whipped up by the ruling class. The bourgeoisie is using every weapon in its arsenal to fan the flames of chauvinist hatred, among the working class and oppressed nationalities. From its earlier attacks on Iranian students to its campaign of terror being waged against Black people across the nation, the capitalist class has used every event it can to promote some form of chauvinism. It has used the immigration of Cuban and Haitian refugees, the killings of Americans in El Salvador, the bombings of airplanes in Puerto Rico, the cut-backs in bi-lingual education in U.S. schools and especially the recent spectacle of the "patriotic" spies (hostages), all to draw out some particle of chauvinism (no matter how small) in order to add fuel to the fire. (cont. p. 20)



### MAY DAY—INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' DAY

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AUTUMN 1980

No. 2

No. 2

Autumn 1980

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## WORKERS' TRIBUNE

No. 2

April-May, 1981

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## EDITORIAL

### 95th Anniversary of:

## MAY DAY— INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' DAY

# The Collapse of the American Workers' Movement

A massive offensive of capital against the rights and livelihood of the American working class is taking place. This capitalist offensive takes place on many fronts, — economic, political, and ideological.

The capitalist economic crisis continues to worsen, with inflation and unemployment still going unchecked. Open wage-cutting has hit workers in auto, rubber, government, and other sectors. But the hardest hit are the workers in lower-paying, mostly non-union jobs, especially Black, Puerto Rican, and other oppressed nationality workers.

In some sectors there has been a return to pre-Depression conditions. In "liberal" New York, 50,000 workers toil in 3000 garment sweatshops, a 15-fold increase in the last ten years. Most of these workers are women immigrants from Latin America and Asia. Many are paid \$1.50 an hour for a 50 hour week. Other regressive actions include the proposed "youth" minimum wage, which will bring back legalized discrimination of oppressed nationality youth, who live and work in areas this will apply. Can a return to child labor be far off? The slashing of government inspection of health and safety violations, which itself was very limited at best, is another grave reversal for the working class.

In the face of this economic assault, the AFL-CIO hacks can only offer an impotent, lifeless legislative program that no one even takes seriously. They are too tied to the capitalist system to mobilize workers for even defense of paltry reforms. Although many large unions like the United Auto Workers and United Mine Workers called a rally in Harrisburg, Pa., on the second anniversary of the Three Mile Island disaster, very few rank-and-file workers were actually at the rally.

Politically the capitalist offensive includes the fanning of a vile wave of chauvinism (see *Chauvinism and the Coming Imperialist War* in this issue.) The response of the AFL-CIO is to perpetuate this sickening chauvinism. They demand expulsion of immigrant workers and call for greater tariffs, blaming foreign workers for capitalism's economic crisis. Even on the Atlanta killings, they do absolutely nothing to stop them.

As the imperialists prepare for a new imperialist war to re-divide the world, the AFL-CIO prepares workers to support this coming bloody war of plunder. In a recent issue of *American Federationist*, the AFL-CIO's journal, they quote a speech by William Green, AFL head from 1924 to 1952, defending the no-strike pledges during World War II. It is not an accident that they popularize this quote today, as they want the workers to do the same thing in the coming war. Thus they

radically support all war preparations from the mammoth military budget to U.S. intervention to suppress the workers and peasants of El Salvador. Of course, they are not against all struggle against the bourgeoisie—but just so long as it is led by Lech Welesa against the Polish and Russian capitalists! But against the red-white-and-blue American capitalists? Heavens, no!

Such a response is to be expected from these labor aristocrats. Yet what is most distressing is that the American workers have no defense units to defend their own interests. The union bureaucracy has successfully paralyzed the working class from resisting these attitudes. The attacks on health care, food stamps, welfare, job programs, etc., go unanswered. There is no nation-wide economic struggle to speak of, and no organizational vehicle willing or able to carry it out. The union hacks have succeeded in disorganizing and demoralizing large numbers of workers. Thus we can see that today in the U.S. there is no real workers' movement.

The class collaborationist union bureaucrats have thus paved the way for the carrying out of this capitalist offensive. But as the crisis worsens, the unions, as the British *Economist* says, "are being cut down to size." (Nov. 17, 1979) The unions have done their job of holding back the class struggle, and thus their success makes them more expendable to the capitalists. While 34 percent of the labor force was unionized in 1955, the year of the merger of the AFL and the CIO, now the figure is barely 20 percent. Ten years ago 70 percent of U.S. miners were unionized. Now only 44 percent are unionized. Efforts at unionizing new areas are also faltering. Unions now lose two out of three organizing drives. In the South, where greater industrialization and more proletarianization of the masses in the Black nation in the Black Belt is occurring, over half the union elections lose. The feeble organizing drives there are generally in retreat, as seen in ACTWU's agreement with J.P. Stevens not to organize at most of its plants (see article on this in *Bolshevik Revolution* no. 7).

As many capitalists feel secure enough to discard their social props in the union bureaucracies, a new wave of professional union-busters, dubbed "special managerial consultants," has appeared. Three of every four decertification votes win, and they are up 400 percent from 1968 to 1979. The unions are becoming so weak that some capitalists fear they may collapse too much, since they still are of use as social props, especially to quell future militancy. Thus, the *Economist* advises the American unions: "All this means unions have to justify their

existence to American workers. And that they have failed to do. . . American labour desperately needs a more intelligent debate about its place in the 1980's."

The decline of the unions is accompanied by an even more gruesome collapse of any serious rank-and-file opposition, all either co-opted or smashed. The Miners for Democracy leadership, which only had a narrow trade unionist perspective, was easily absorbed into the UMW bureaucracy. Rank-and-file groups were disbanded and the traditional wildcat strikes crushed. Now rank-and-file miners have voted down Sam Church's first contract deal by 2-to-1 margin. But they have no organization of their own to carry through the struggle, and their carnage, as heartening as it is, is not enough to win.

This paralysis of the American working class movement is especially striking when compared to other labor movements around the world. The U.S. is the only advanced capitalist country to have no free, comprehensive health care system, and there is no real struggle for one. It is the only advanced country where May Day is not celebrated in masse despite the fact that May Day originated in the U.S. There is no labor party, even a reformist one, as the vast majority of workers do not even see their interests as separate and opposed to the capitalist parties.

There are many factors for this very low level of class consciousness. But to understand the reasons why, we must first point out that this appalling state of affairs in the American workers' movement was not always the case.

#### The Rise of the American Workers' Movement

The mid-1800s saw a rapid industrialization in the U.S. that created conditions for a mass labor movement. Marx commented on the relation of this to slavery: "In the United States of North America, every independent movement of the workers was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black skin it is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose. The first fruit of the Civil War was the eight hours' agitation, that ran with the seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California." (*Capital*, book one, chapter ten) Resolutions and activities demanding an eight-hour day, as opposed to the 12, 14, 16, and even 18-hour day then prevailing, were passed all over the U.S. By 1877, the first great nation-wide mass action of American workers took place with tens of thousands of railroad and steel workers in 17 states battling government troops. Although defeated, this battle led to great strides for the workers' movement. The Knights of Labor, founded in 1869, grew. One hundred years ago, in 1881, a new organization, called the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, was founded. Later it changed its name to the American Federation of Labor.

The depression that began in 1884 put the young Federation to the test rather quickly. In that year it launched a campaign for the eight-hour day, set to culminate in a massive strike on May 1, 1886. The eight-hour movement spread like wildfire. The general strike was successful and drew out masses of workers in Chicago, New York, Baltimore, Washington D.C., Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Louisville, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and elsewhere. Nearly 200,000 workers won shorter hours.

Internationally, this growing movement linked up. In 1889, the newly formed Second International called for international

rallies for May Day, 1890. Thousands upon thousands demonstrated all over Europe, and thousands poured into the streets of Chicago, New York, and elsewhere. May Day, born in America, had become International Workers' Day.

Despite its rapid growth and many strengths, the American labor movement of the late 19th century also had serious weaknesses, discussed at length by Marx and Engels. No stable mass socialist or labor party emerged in the U.S. then. Engels gave several reasons for this, but he emphasized: "Then, and more especially, immigration, which divides the workers into two groups: the native-born and the foreigners, and the latter in turn into (1) the Irish, (2) the Germans, (3) the many small groups—Czechs, Poles, Italians, Scandinavians, etc.—who understand only their own language. And in addition the Negroes. Very powerful incentives are needed to form a single part out of these elements. There is sometimes a sudden strong *elan*, but the bourgeoisie need only wait passively and the dissimilar elements of the working class will fall apart again." (Engels to Sorge, Dec. 2, 1893, in *Marx and Engels on the U.S.*, Progress, p. 333-4) Besides this chauvinism (elsewhere called by Marx the bourgeoisie's "secret" weapon—see *Chauvinism* article), he also cited the greater prosperity for American workers (especially native-born workers), and the electoral structure, which hurts any third parties.

Engels also chided those German socialists in America who refused to learn English and organize American workers. Yet he also saw American conditions as especially perpetuating theoretical confusion among the workers: "For, from good historical reasons, the Americans are worlds behind in all theoretical things, and while they did not bring over any medieval institutions from Europe they did bring over masses of medieval traditions, religion, English common (feudal) law, superstition, spiritualism, in short every kind of imbecility which was not directly harmful to business and which is now very serviceable for making the masses stupid." (Engels to Sorge, Nov. 29, 1886, in *Selected Correspondence*, Int'l. Pub., 1942, p. 451)

We cite these passages not for academic reasons, but because the weaknesses of the workers' movement then, so graphically explained by Marx and Engels, ring even more true today. Even though gains at that time were made, these weaknesses were not combatted. The leadership of the Socialist Party and the AFL themselves supported oppression of and defended chauvinism towards Black and other oppressed peoples. By the time of the first imperialist world war, they became open social-chauvinists and supported the imperialist plunder. They represented the bribed upper stratum of the proletariat, the labor aristocracy, which grew as U.S. imperialism rose to become the world's strongest economic power. The AFL, the bulwark of narrow craft unions, even went back on its own traditions, first reducing May Day to a reformist holiday held on a Sunday, instead of, when possible, calling work stoppages. By 1928 they abandoned it altogether, instead supporting Pres. Hoover's declaring May 1st as "child health day." No doubt today's AFL-CIO likes to hide this history.

#### Lessons from the First Imperialist World War

The collapse of the socialist and labor movements again set the workers the task of forming new organizations. The betrayal by the Socialist Party and AFL leaders did not ease the fact that the war years meant an increase in living costs for the U.S. proletariat, setting the stage for several thousand strikes during the first year of the war.

There was great anti-war sentiment among the proletariat. Many organizations came out against the war and actively organized demonstrations, speeches, etc., against the draft. The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), a loosely-organized union that called for "one big industrial union," opposed the war from its outset. The IWW, which organized mostly the unskilled and semi-skilled workers not represented by the AFL, condemned the war. From their convention in 1916 the IWW adopted a resolution which called for supporting international class unity and struggling against all "nationalistic sectionalism, or patriotism, and militarism preached and supported by our one enemy, the capitalist class."

The Socialist Party finally split over this question of war with the anti-war campaign being vigorously pushed by Eugene V. Debs. Debs travelled all across the U.S. giving speeches exposing the nature of the imperialist war in Europe and urging the American people not to be fooled by all the pro-war propaganda flooding their lives.

Lenin praised him thusly: "Eugene Debs, the 'American Bebel' (the great German working-class leader—WT), declares in the socialist press that he recognises only one type of war, civil war for the victory of socialism, and that he would sooner be shot than vote a single cent for American war expenditures." ("An Open Letter to Boris Souvarine," *LCW* vol. 23)

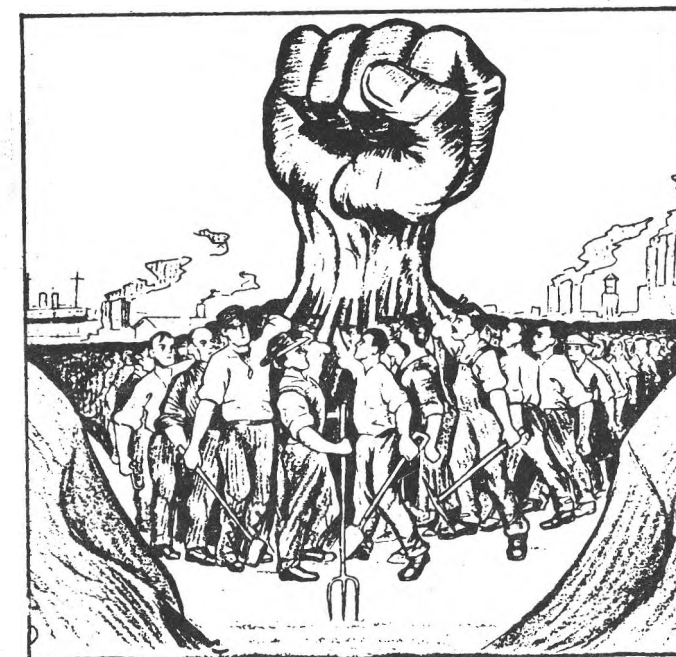
Samuel Gompers, AFL president, tried to organize support for the bourgeoisie in a pro-war conference for March, 1917. But he faced opposition from the ranks of organized labor. Several unions, the United Mine Workers, Typographical Union, and Ladies Garment Workers among them, refused to attend this pro-war conference. Not only did Gompers try to commit the labor movement to supporting the war by active pro-war AFL campaigns, but he tried to suppress the efforts of the workers to organize and strike—so as to keep the war industries running smoothly. Despite this there were over 4,000 strikes in 1917.

Wilson was also concerned about getting Blacks to enlist and support the war. And although Wilson did nothing about the Jim Crow in the armed forces, he was able to seduce Black sentiment with his promise of nothing less than the enjoyment of full citizenship rights—after the war was over. The official newspaper of the NAACP, *The Crisis*, first condemned the war as imperialist, but later softened its stance and supported the Wilson administration. Likewise the Black socialist newspaper, *The Messenger*, first opposed the war but then when the U.S. entered the conflict, the paper under A. Phillip Randolph, stated that since the president had announced the purpose of the war ("making the world safe for democracy"), that Blacks should be willing and anxious to do their part.

With the U.S. entering WWI in 1917, the bourgeoisie had to repress all the mass anti-war sentiment. The Wilson administration quickly passed repressive legislation to outlaw demonstrations, speeches, gatherings, job actions that interfered with the war machinery. Many IWW members, workers, and revolutionary socialist speakers—like Eugene Debs—were jailed under the Espionage Act of 1917, the Trading with the Enemy Act, and the Conscription Act.

The greatest international event during the war was the successful Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917. Although many workers in the U.S. did not understand it, it had a tremendous impact. Many called it a workers' state and wanted to know everything about the new regime. A popular cartoon of the time had the caption: "Bolshevism—that means us!" Many U.S. workers supported the Bolshevik Revolution, displaying true internationalism. In 1919, Seattle longshoremen re-

fused to load arms and munitions destined for Admiral Kolchak, who was leading a counter-revolution against the young Soviet republic. The workers beat up strikebreakers who tried to load the arms. In the 1919 Seattle general strike, mass workers' organizations appeared much like the Soviets (councils) of Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers that had seized power in Russia.



Yet despite these advances, many of the same weaknesses pointed out by Marx and Engels plagued the workers' movement. A low theoretical level and the influence of various reformist, anarcho-syndicalist, and chauvinist concepts had to be split with. Some of the anti-war socialist workers did not split sufficiently with opportunism. But many, however, did begin to travel the path of Bolshevism and, in the throes of the successful Bolshevik Revolution, opened a new chapter in the history of the American workers' movement by founding the American Communist Party, the American section of the Third, Communist International.

#### Briefly on the Rise and Fall of the Communist Party, USA

It is beyond the scope of this article to fully examine the Communist Party, USA. We offer here some key lessons about its rise and fall, and its effect on the American workers' movement.

The CPUSA, despite all its shortcomings, was the one party in America to promote the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, and uphold the model of the Bolshevik Revolution in the Soviet Union for proletarian revolution in all countries, including the U.S. There were many battles to keep it from deviating totally off a revolutionary course, including the one led by Stalin himself against American exceptionalism and factionalism (see *Stalin's Speeches to the American Communist Party*, 1929, Proletarian Publishers reprint). Despite certain revisionist leaders, for a time this was the party that supported socialism where it existed and the genuine international communist movement. Precisely because it was the American section of the Communist International, although it never was a Bolshevized party, for a time it represented the fusion be-

tween scientific socialism and the workers' movement in the U.S. Thus, for example, in the 1932 election, William Z. Foster ran as the CPUSA presidential candidate under slogans like "Towards a Soviet America," and got over 100,000 votes. He later openly repudiated proletarian revolution, promoted "peaceful transition to socialism," defended Khrushchev's attacks on Stalin, supported Mao Zedong, all showing he was, at least by the end of his career, and out-and-out revisionist counter-revolutionary renegade. Yet what the party did earlier, as part of the international communist movement, determined the character of the CPUSA for a time, and not what errors it made or what eventually became of its leaders.

The CPUSA did tremendous work in organizing the immediate union struggles of the working class. It was at the heart of the industrial union movement that organized auto, steel, the mines, and so on. It played a leading role in building the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in the 1930s. A common remark of that time, both from complimentary and derogatory sources, was "the Communists run the CIO." Although the U.S. was gripped by the depression, with a sizable American section of the Communist International leading millions of workers, tremendous gains were made by the workers' movement. Social security, unemployment insurance, greater rights to unionize, strike, and organize, and the victory of industrial unions in many basic industries were won. It can be said that the American workers' movement was at its peak in this century when the CPUSA was at its peak. When communism advanced, the whole workers' movement advanced. When communism declined, the whole workers' movement declined. Thus, in 1927, Stalin declared, "It can be taken as fully proved that the Communists are the most devoted and courageous fighters of the labor movement all over the world, including America." ("Interview with the First American Labour Delegation," *Works*, 10:133)

Yet the CPUSA, like the SP and its predecessors, fell prey to the same weaknesses that led to its total rejection of the revolutionary path. Browder resurrected American exceptionalism with the slogan "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism." He converted the tactics of the anti-fascist coalition during World War II into a strategy, and declared U.S. imperialism as benevolent. Instead of following the directives of the Seventh Comintern Congress to form a mass Workers' and Farmers' Party, the CPUSA tailed Roosevelt and led workers back to support the Democratic Party. Some steps were made towards a mass Labor Party, notably the American Labor Party in New York that elected Vito Marcantonio to several terms in Congress, and the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party. But by the early 1950s, the CP had abandoned the former for the Democrats, while the Democrats themselves took over the latter.

Browder's liquidationist line tremendously weakened the labor movement. First the CP dissolved all its communist fractions in the unions. By 1944 they dissolved the CP itself, guaranteeing the labor aristocrats leadership of the workers' movement and all the CIO unions. Again the anti-theory tendencies so common to the U.S. led straight to liquidationism.

The CP also allowed the bourgeoisie and its agents to spread chauvinism without consistent opposition. In 1928 and 1930 the Comintern issued its "Resolutions on the Negro Question in the U.S." These put forward the right of self-determination, that is, the right of secession, for the oppressed Black nation in the Black Belt South. The CP upheld this in words. Yet in deeds they limited themselves to struggles on partial demands, such as the campaign to free the Scottsboro Boys (nine

Black youths framed for raping a white woman), organizing Black share-croppers in unions, and so on. While these were pioneering efforts at the time, and while the national reformists like DuBois opposed them, the CP, as in the unions, did not link up the struggle on these partial demands to the basic revolutionary demands. In an article written seven years after the first Comintern resolution on the Black national question, a CP leader cited numerous examples of partial struggles against white chauvinism, discrimination, etc., yet could cite not one specific example of how they raised the demand for self-determination. He said, "But this beginning is very small. Self-determination has not been explained in detail, as to the benefits that the Russian workers and peasants obtained after the October Revolution." (*Communist International*, May 5, 1935, p. 512)

After this, the CPUSA only got worse. Self-determination ceased for them to be a revolutionary question, and became one of mere "democracy." By consistently not fighting for self-determination they were not able to combat chauvinism. Thus, at the peak of Browder's social-chauvinism, in 1943 there was a race riot by white auto workers in Detroit against Black workers working in the industry. Whatever its intention, the CP was in no position to counter this, even in unions they helped set up.

The reconstitution of the CP after Browder's dissolution did not completely break with revisionism. After World War II, U.S. imperialism was able to dominate the whole capitalist world economy, and thus expand the stratum of bourgeoisified workers, even those only temporarily bribed. As leader of the imperialist camp it launched a savage campaign against the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and Comrade Stalin. This led, in the U.S., to a mammoth offensive against the CPUSA.

What happened was that the CPUSA totally capitulated to imperialism. It repudiated revolution and later liquidated all its work in the Black nation, just at the time of a wave of industrialization and the birth of the mass civil rights movement. It had already given up leadership in the unions, and, especially since it did not consistently fight for its own existence, and combat chauvinism, it was kicked out of CIO unions and isolated in the workers' movement. Its trade unionism led to open revisionism.

The key event of that time, however, was the assassination of Stalin in 1953 and the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. Stalin had long ago predicted what the effects of this would be: "What would happen if capital succeeded in smashing the Republic of Soviets? There would set in an era of the Blackest reaction in all the capitalist and colonial countries, the working class and oppressed peoples would be seized by the throat, and the positions of international communism would be lost." ("The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I.," *Works*, 9:28-29) This is exactly what happened. The CPUSA collapsed only to become an impotent shell of itself. The international communist movement became dominated by revisionism and collapsed. The result, as we see in the U.S., is the paralyzed state of the workers' movement.

#### Post-CPUSA Disasters

After the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and the collapse of the CPUSA the American workers' movement has never been the same. These are the direct causes of its collapse and paralysis. History has shown that following the path of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin has led to victories,

while all other paths lead to defeat.

Yet all the contradictions inherent in capitalism and the spontaneous movements could not be held back. In the U.S., a sharp political crisis in the 1960's emerge during the Vietnam War and the rise of Black and other oppressed nationality movements. The period after World War II had seen a large influx of Blacks from the rural areas of the Black Belt Nation to the industrial centers in the North and West. This placed large members of Black workers at crucial points of production in large factories. These conditions led to the foundation of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, the most influential leftist workers' group that had wide support since the demise of the CPUSA.

The League led a number of wildcat strikes in several auto plants in Detroit. Yet its success was short-lived, as it soon split into various factions plagued with varieties of the same maladies that have historically wrecked the American workers' movement. There had been no struggle against chauvinism among white workers, especially since the CPUSA openly repudiated the Comintern position in the Black national

question and proletarian internationalism in general. American dominance of the world economy and the partial capitalist stabilization after the Korean War had led to a temporary situation where political and economic privileges, such as wages and working conditions, could expand for many workers in the U.S. The League did not scientifically analyze these phenomena that heightened the split in the U.S. proletariat, but instead adopted bourgeois nationalist theories. This was payment for the sins of allowing chauvinism to go unchallenged for decades. Nevertheless, it contributed to its collapse. In some cases League organizers even refused to give agitational leaflets exposing factory conditions to white workers. (*Detroit: I Do Mind Dying*, p. 117.) Yet today some forces uphold the League as a model and want to resurrect it.

The League also fell into the historically American anti-theory trap. It was never clearly a cadre or mass group (an organization of revolutionaries or an organization of workers,) it was hindered by factions and numerous careerist leaders, it never trained its members to be cadre schooled well in the science of Bolshevism (some of its leaders were even Trotskyites), it catered to various anarcho-syndicalist theories that relied on spontaneous strikes, and its open and legal character led to quick firings of key organizers. After the wildcat movement went into a lull, the League split. None of the factions were able to re-establish anything near the influence the League had among autoworkers. Thus, today, as Detroit and the auto industry are in utter decay, the workers' have no fighting defense unit of their own.

Some League leaders and members did claim to embrace "theory" in the wake of its demise. However, they joined one or another international opportunist current, including the pro-Russian imperialist Communist League (later the Communist Labor Party) and assorted Maoist factionettes. The Maoist "anti-revisionist" movement was a movement which principally came from the petty-bourgeois student movement and also the nationalist movement of the 1960's, (e.g. the Students for a Democratic Society, Young Lords Party, Black Panther Party.) The petty bourgeois Maoist movement proceeded to implant themselves in the factories and tail the spontaneous working class movement.

The "anti-revisionist" groups have consistently failed in organizing the proletariat. The seven false "parties" — the Progressive Labor Party, Communist Labor Party, Revolutionary Communist Party, Communist Party (M-L) [if it still exists], Communist Workers Party, Communist Party USA (M-L), and Marxist-Leninist Party (USA) are really the seven dwarfs. They are largely petty bourgeois sects whose main claim to fame is that they have each vied to crush more rank-and-file workers' groups than the other. Most of them joined hands with the AFL-CIO hierarchy and the U.S. Department of Labor to assist the open reformist labor aristocrats in the union movement, including Arnold Miller, Cesar Chavez, and Ed Sadlowski. Only in isolated cases have members of these groups even climbed the ladder of the union bureaucracy. When they do get limited influence it is used to provoke strikes at the most inopportune times so the militant workers get identified by the company, the unions, and the state, and get fired. They have thus served the bourgeoisie well in squashing sporadic spontaneous struggle, preventing a re-emergence of a nation-wide workers' movement, and demoralizing militant workers, and fueling chauvinism, bourgeois nationalism, and an anti-communism.

#### The Road Back

Engel's advice to the American workers, given at a time of a rise of the spontaneous movement, is even more essential today:

"And if there are people at hand there whose minds are theoretically clear, who can tell them the consequences of their own mistakes beforehand and make it clear to them that every movement which does not keep the destruction of the wage system in view the whole time as its final aim is bound to go astray and fail — then many a piece of nonsense may be avoided and the process considerably shortened." (Engels, *To Sorge*, Nov. 29, 1888) Thus, the construction of a Bolshevik Party remains our central task.

Essential to developing this core is the building of the Bolshevik press. Lenin's *Iskra* plan, outlined in his writings such as *What Is To Be Done?* and *Where To Begin?*, point to the key role of the press as a collective organizer for a Bolshevik Party (see editorial in *Workers' Tribune*, No. 1). One of the most important lessons from the experience of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers is that, despite its ideological and organizational deficiencies, it successfully used the press as a collective organizer in building its ranks. However, our present-day League admirers conveniently ignore this fact.

The workers' movement can be fundamentally strengthened only if the conscious element is strengthened. Even if the sharpening of the capitalist crisis leads to a spontaneous upswing, as is likely, the bourgeoisie can buy out any reformist leader. What they cannot buy off they will attempt to crush, using not only the state, but especially their agents in the unions and the opportunist groups. Thus, a condition for the revitalization of the workers' movement is success in throwing the bureaucrats and opportunists out of the workers' movements. All varieties of reformism leave the exploitative system of private property and production for profit intact, thus guaranteeing more crisis, wars, terror, etc. Any reform won can always be taken back so long as the capitalists retain power.

The escalating steps to imperialist world war will be ushered in by an even more vicious wave of chauvinism. The American workers' movement can only be revitalized if a successful

struggle is waged against this "secret" weapon of the bourgeoisie which has time and again wrecked each wave of new forces. The link must be re-established between the various nationalities in the U.S. proletariat, between the proletariat and the movement of the oppressed nations and peoples in the U.S., and between the U.S. proletariat and the proletariat and oppressed nations and peoples of the world. The internationalist workers in America who courageously fought against the imperialist World War I provide the workers of today with rich revolutionary traditions to be followed. Let the Kirklands and Frasers and Sam Churches wave their blood-stained flags — we will follow Debs, Ruthenberg, Big Bill Haywood, and the others who started on the workers' path of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. We must not let chauvinism go unchallenged any more! The Communists of the oppressor nationality must especially take up this task, while the communists of the oppressed nationalities must especially combat all bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalism.

Carrying out these tasks must include a struggle for workers' democracy. The union bureaucrats and opportunists try to crush such debate and struggle and shield their members from it. This is because they are afraid of serious criticism of their treachery, because they know these criticism will reach responsible ears, because they know their own support is shallow.

Stalin's advice to the American unionists is thus most timely: "I think that if the American labor movement wants to live and develop it cannot do without a conflict of opinion and of trends within the trade unions, criticism of reactionary leaders, and so forth, will develop more and more in spite of the resistance to it on the part of the reformist labor leaders. Such a conflict of opinion and such criticism are absolutely essential for the American working class so that it can choose between the various trends and finally take its stand as an independent organized force within American society." (*Works*, 10:133-4) This must culminate in the establishment of real centers of workers' organization controlled by the workers themselves, and not union bureaucrats, would-be bureaucrats and opportunists.

The continuing political and economic crisis will likely bring forth moves to such workers' centers spontaneously. This will set new tasks for the revolutionary Communists and put major demands on us that we must live up to if we are to be of any value whatsoever. Already the rise in rallies and spontaneous stirrings in the working class and oppressed nationalities has outstripped our ability to keep up with them.

Those who consider themselves true internationalists can only be worthy of that designation if they assist the spreading of an internationalist press in the proletariat, if they match their internationalist words with internationalist deeds.

We must also analyze very closely developments in the working class to break with the two main capitalist parties. The crisis may force even some labor aristocrats like social-democrat Winpisinger, head of the 900,000 member International Association of Machinists, to lead the formation of a mass third or labor party. However, this remains just empty talk now designed to revitalize the Kennedy wing of the Democratic Party. Stalin pointed out to the American unionists: "The bourgeoisie in America have two parties, the Republican Party and the Democratic Party, but the American workers have no mass political party of their own. Do not the comrades think that the absence of such a mass workers' party, even one like that in Britain (The Labor Party), weakens the working class in its political fight against the capitalists?" (*Ibid.*, p. 146)

Whatever course happens, and whatever the labor aristocrats do, the construction of a Bolshevik Party must focus on the core of the proletariat, on those workers "lower and deeper" who are least infested with bourgeois ideology and enjoy little or no political and economic privileges. The growing gap between higher-paid and lower-paid workers plus, the influx of large numbers of oppressed nationality, Latin American immigrants, and women workers to key industries in large factories, makes fulfilling this task even more imperative.

Working men and women of all nationalities! The proletariat in the U.S. has a rich revolutionary history, part of the revolutionary traditions of the international proletariat. Let us avoid the pitfalls and traps that have been laid bare for us by that history and by revolutionary theory. Let us allow ourselves no more to be deceived by the charlatans who seek to divert us from the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism and build socialism and communism and keep us on the road to defeat and demobilization.

If this revolutionary path is in your interest, fellow workers, then you should contact us, debate with us, and take up these tasks as your own. The time to act is now, *before* the coming war. Let us waste no more precious time in preparing for the momentous class battles to come.

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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# FREE THE IVORY COAST SEVEN

STATEMENT BY THE BOLSHEVIK LEAGUE

The arbitrary arrest of workers by the reactionary pro-imperialist regime in the Ivory Coast is another example of the most distressing conditions faced by the working people of Africa. Living in destitution and without any rights, the workers of the Ivory Coast are organizing against the brutal conditions they face. Yet any opposition or even any suspected opposition is automatically crushed and repressed. This same government overseas an economy that is dependent on exporting the country's vast agricultural wealth, especially coffee and cocoa, to the imperialist countries such as France and the U.S. As preparations for a new imperialist world war grow, workers and oppressed peoples all over the world are facing greater repression as the imperialists and their agents further militarize their societies.

The Bolshevik League of the U.S. supports the "Statement on the Arbitrary Arrest of Workers in the Ivory Coast" by the Central Committee of LA VOIE OUVRIERE, a Bolshevik group from the Ivory Coast (reprinted below). We call on all workers, oppressed peoples, and revolutionary and progressive people to condemn the arrest of the workers in the Ivory Coast and to demand their immediate and unconditional release. It is our proletarian internationalist duty to spread the news of this vicious attack on the Ivory Coast working class and organize to gain the freedom of the imprisoned workers. For more information on this case or the situation in the Ivory Coast, write to the B.L.

FREE THE IVORY COAST SEVEN!  
WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES, UNITE!

## STATEMENT ON THE ARBITRARY ARREST OF WORKERS IN THE IVORY COAST

In this pre-war period, the bourgeoisies of all countries, even the most backward, are getting busy to rally the mass of workers in order to use them as cannon fodder in defense of their capitalist interests. All the bourgeois governments are decimating any opposition which arises in the working class, which is the least bit serious. In the bourgeois parliaments the most abject laws are being voted against the vanguard organizations of the proletariat. All the bourgeoisies are working to decimate these organizations so as to be able, without firing a shot, to wage this war for the distribution and redistribution of colonies, semi-colonies, and dependent countries, for the plunder and enslavement of small and weak nations.

The reactionary bourgeoisie has the help of social-chauvinist and centrist organizations in the preparation of this imperialist war. These corrupt, sold-out elements act as lackies of the imperialist monarchies, which are covered with blood and filth. They work together with the bourgeoisies to make the working class a class of pariahs, of humiliated people, to subordinate it to the dynastic interests of the bourgeoisies of all countries. It goes without saying that without a decisive struggle against these social-chauvinists and centrists there can be neither a struggle against imperialism, nor Marxism, nor a Bolshevik revolution.

In the Ivory Coast there exist in the

workers' movement social-chauvinists and centrists who have sold out the cause of the proletariat to the Ivory bourgeoisie and the imperialist powers for dollars, rubles and francs. It is absurd to expect from them even the slightest adherence to the cause of the Bolshevik revolution of the Ivory proletariat against the national bourgeoisie and imperialism. Quite to the contrary. These "opportunists are bourgeois enemies of the proletarian revolution, who in peaceful times carry on their work in secret, concealing themselves within the workers' parties, while in times of crisis they immediately prove to be open allies of the entire united bourgeoisie, from the conservative to the most radical and

democratic part of the latter, from the free-thinkers, to the religious and clerical sections." (Lenin, "What Next?", LCW

21:110) In the Ivory Coast, on the basis of their own experience, the workers call them "stool pigeons" because of their role as informers of the Ivory political police.

The economic and political crisis that is shaking the world capitalist system has exposed implacably, in the light of day, the alliance of the bourgeoisies with the opportunists in all the countries. It is they who constitute the channel by which the bourgeoisies transmit their influence in the workers' movement. It is they who guide the investigations of the political police of all the bourgeois governments against the revolutionary vanguard organizations of the proletariat.

In the Ivory Coast, where the regime is characterized by unparalleled barbarism and savagery which is reminiscent of the black periods of tsarism in Russia, the bourgeoisie arrests innocent workers at their workplace and during strikes to turn the attention of the proletariat and the peasant masses away from the deep political crisis that it is passing through, in the manner of the French bourgeoisie. The crisis of the capitalist system of world economy whose direct extension is the imminent imperialist war, divides the various strata of the bourgeoisie of all the imperialist countries on the tactics most likely to ensure them the maximum profits, to extend further the "zones of influence" of finance capital. The various strata of the French bourgeoisie argue daily about these tactical considerations. The stratum of the French bourgeoisie led by the "Rassemblement pour la République" (Gaullist) judges as "hesitant," "confused," "uncertain" the tactics of that stratum which is linked to the "Union pour la Démocratie" led by V. Giscard d'Estaing. It demands of the other a larger increase of military arsenals and tactics, in the imperialist war, which are clearly in favour of the NATO imperialist bloc against that led by Russia. These divisions have repercussions among the bourgeoisies of the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries of French imperialism. The Ivory bourgeoisie particularly is divided between these two strata of the French bourgeoisie which are relying completely on the presidential elections of April 1981 to settle their quarrels on tactical questions relating to the imperialist war. The last congress of the Parti "Démocratique" of the Ivory Coast was one of the scenes of confrontation of all these bourgeois strata, Ivory as well as French.

The stratum of the Ivory bourgeoisie led by Houphouët-Boigny, President of the Republic, supporting the Gaullists, has temporarily defeated the stratum led by Yacé Philippe, who is allied to the stratum

of the French bourgeoisie supported by the French "Union pour la Démocratie" of V.G. d'Estaing. This explains the absence of a delegation of the latter at the congress of the Parti "Démocratique" of the Ivory Coast, while the victorious Gaullists were represented. To achieve this "victory" over the rival tendency, the Gaullists and Houphouët-Boigny brandished the word "democracy," presenting the other fraction as being "anti-democratic." It is clear that P. Yacé and Giscard with their bourgeois fraction cannot accept this "defeat" for very long, especially since Houphouët is contributing to the defeat of Giscard, during the election in France, to the benefit of the Gaullists: he has, in this regard, allowed Bokassa to publicly air his griefs to Giscard about the "diamond affair" and about Giscard's links with his wife. Giscard, to hit back, has greatly reduced the "aid" of French imperialism to the Ivory bourgeoisie. Furthermore, Houphouët is supporting Gaullists against Giscardists in their struggle to gain the votes of the "French from overseas" for the presidential elections.

These struggles between different strata of the Ivory bourgeoisie have brought about an intensification of the spontaneous struggles of the proletariat and the peasantry who are suffering the horrible effects of the crisis of the capitalist system of world economy. All this is creating ever greater commotion, greater confusion in the ranks of the bourgeoisie. Thus, the bourgeoisie is strengthening its repressive measures to decimate the most combative workers, but also to create in the ranks of the workers a climate of submission, of fear favourable to dragging them into the imperialist war as cannon fodder at the side of the imperialist bloc of NATO, especially France. Two waves of arrests have

already taken place. On one hand, the workers in the Information sector who have been on strike for the improvement of their working conditions, have been arrested, jailed, repressed, and put in the army. On the other hand, there were seven other workers, at the beginning of December who were incorrectly suspected of having contacts with or sympathies for LA VOIE OUVRIERE. These innocent workers who have been arbitrarily arrested, are presently jailed in the prisons of the Ivory regime where they suffer the most barbarous, atrocious and cruel abuse.

LA VOIE OUVRIERE DEMANDS THE IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF ALL THE WORKERS ARBITRARILY ARRESTED.

LA VOIE OUVRIERE will, without fail, wage a struggle at the head of the proletariat of the Ivory Coast for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. It will struggle to achieve the revolutionary dem-

ocratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, as a prelude to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Bolshevik revolution for the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry means above all: "We shall have a Soviet government, our own organ of power, in which the bourgeoisie will have no share whatsoever." (Lenin, "Meeting of the Petrograd Soviets of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies, October 25 [November 7], 1917," LCW 26:239) The barbarism and savagery of the national bourgeoisie and imperialism cannot prevent the inevitable coming of the government of Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers in the Ivory Coast, as a prelude to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Better still, the imminence of the imperialist war is rapidly bringing us to the advent of a Bolshevik revolution for the establishment of the government of soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers. The bourgeoisie and the opportunists cannot turn the wheel of history backward, and we are indisputably moving toward those "days in which twenty years are concentrated" (Marx). "Shoot first, messieurs the bourgeois," we will shoot second.

For now, let the workers work to methodically construct, in as short a period as possible, their Bolshevik party of the type of Lenin and Stalin to hasten the victory of the Bolshevik revolution in the Ivory Coast.

LA VOIE OUVRIERE is following the path of the Bolshevik struggle and the Bolshevik revolution, convinced that "world Bolshevism will triumph over the world bourgeoisie." (Lenin)

The workers of the Ivory Coast, by following the path of Bolshevism, in spite of difficulties, the barbarism of the bourgeoisie and of imperialism, the dirty work of the social-chauvinists and centrists, the temporary defeats, will realize their real liberation from the imperialist yoke and the wars that it inevitably causes. They will one day certainly repeat these words:

"And the millions who are thinking about the causes of the recent war and of the approaching future war are more and more clearly realising the grim and inexorable truth that it is impossible to escape that inferno except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution." (Lenin, LCW 33:56)

Long live Bolshevism!

Central Committee of  
LA VOIE OUVRIERE  
December 1980

In coming publications LA VOIE OUVRIERE will return to these arbitrary arrests.

## INTERNATIONAL

# War and Revolution in El Salvador

A new imperialist world war is on the horizon. The various imperialist countries—the U.S., Russia, France, West Germany, etc.—are all preparing for a war to redivide the world, especially the colonial, semi-colonial, and dependent countries. This war is an inevitable product of the imperialist system itself.

A series of local and regional wars, in which the imperialist powers are involved, are leading up to the actual fighting of the world war. Especially focusing on the colonial and semi-colonial countries, wars have broken out between Vietnam, Cambodia, and China, in Afghanistan, and between Iran and Iraq. The imperialists have been involved in all of these. There have also been the U.S. threats and failed invasion of Iran, and the Russian threat of invasion of Poland to suppress the workers' movement. Now the bloody war that is raging in El Salvador has become a major focus of the struggle of the imperialist powers.

U.S. imperialism is clearly using El Salvador as part of its overall war preparations. Amid open praises of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, Reagan has announced an increase in military supplies to the military junta propped up by the U.S. government. The U.S. now openly admits it sends military "advisors" to El Salvador, as it had done in preparation for its invasion of Vietnam. The U.S. for years has trained the top officials in the Salvadorean military, which include the paramilitary death squads. The U.S. uses its bases in Panama in the largest U.S. training program ever for any Latin American country.

To justify their intervention, a well-orchestrated media and diplomatic offensive was organized to put all the blame on Russia. Yet to this day the only foreign imperialist troops in El Salvador are the U.S. "advisors". A Pentagon report charging the Salvadorean army had "no hope" of crushing the guerrillas was issued to further justify open U.S. intervention. U.S. officials have openly talked of a naval blockade of Cuba and Nicaragua to cut off supply lines to the guerrillas. If all this fails, the U.S. may invade either directly or through use of a vassal force, like the Honduran or Guatemalan army. The naval blockade also could be used for the U.S. to stage an incident as a pretext for invasion, like the sinking of the Maine in 1898 to justify the war to grab Spain's colonies, or the Gulf of Tonkin incident to justify the Vietnam war.

The propaganda campaign against Russia clearly shows that the U.S. is using this situation to generally strengthen its military forces as part of the overall war preparations. Russia is denying it is sending arms to El Salvador, saying it "never will" give arms to the rebels, especially since they are led by social-democrats (N.Y. Times, Feb. 26, 1981). However much

support they are giving the guerrillas, Russia clearly has its eyes on the Caribbean and Central American region with its vast oil and agricultural resources. The growth of Russian influence in Grenada and Nicaragua, and its continued domination and exploitation of Cuba, belie its cries of innocence. (see this issue of *Workers Tribune* for article on Cuba.)

## El Salvador—A Semi-colony

The U.S., although its grip has been weakened in this region, is still dominant. El Salvador is a semi-colony whose economy, political system, and military are dependent on the U.S. The economy is primarily agricultural, and, like most other countries dominated by imperialism, geared for export to the imperialist countries. 75 percent of its export earnings come from coffee, sugar cane, and cotton. Historically it had been dominated by 14 families. These most distressing conditions led to numerous attempts to overthrow the reactionary regime, always put down by one bloody military coup after another.

To head off another uprising, the U.S. orchestrated a supposedly "reformist" coup in October, 1979, that promised land to the peasants. These "reforms" are a cover for the well-play of what he did in Vietnam. Economically, this is a capitalist agrarian program that can only benefit the kulaks (rich



Comrade Farabundo Martí,  
Salvadorian Proletarian Revolutionary

peasants) at the expense of the mass of poor peasants. It also is an attempt to stabilize the economy to guarantee the vast superprofits that the U.S. monopolies get by raping El Salvador's agriculture.

The U.S. sees this "reform" as necessary not only to guarantee its superprofits in El Salvador, but also to try to retain hold over the entire region. This region has vast oil reserves in Venezuela and Mexico. The growth of guerrilla groups in Honduras and Guatemala could disrupt U.S. access to the Caribbean oil routes. In the context of the deepening capitalist economic crisis and the preparations for an imminent world war, the U.S. imperialists have chosen El Salvador as a place to make a stand.

#### U.S. vs. West Germany in El Salvador

While much attention has been given to U.S.-Russian rivalries, the U.S. is also challenged by the West Europeans in El Salvador, most notably West Germany. West Germany is more dependent on foreign trade than the U.S., and has looked to El Salvador as a source of cheap agricultural products. As of 1972, more of El Salvador's exports, which are chiefly agricultural, went to West Germany than the U.S. (23 percent to 16 percent). But after the 1972 U.S.-backed military coup that ended a brief period of some minor electoral reforms, this situation changed. Foreign investment poured in, rising from \$66.6 million in 1970 to \$104.5 million in 1975, with U.S. investment alone jumping by \$10 million. Since the 1972 coup the U.S. share of El Salvador's exports has risen to about one-third. In 1973, West Germany's share sank to 13 percent. However, by 1977 the Germans were again gaining, with their share growing to 19 percent. German imperialism has recently been on a big campaign to increase its export of capital to colonial and semi-colonial countries, including El Salvador, through increasing the loans its banks make through bodies like the International Monetary Fund. The spokesman of the German banks, former Chancellor Willy Brandt (also head of the second "Socialist" International), headed a commission that has widely spread such recommendations to the major imperialist financiers. (see article "Union Bureaucrats in Service of Imperialism" in last issue for more on this).

Yet West Germany cannot capture this source of cheap raw materials and sphere of capital investment or oust the U.S. peacefully. Hence, to recapture its share of El Salvador's economy, it is backing guerrilla groups through the Socialist International, which is dominated by the ruling West German Social-Democratic Party.

This has intensified tensions in the Western alliance and NATO, which includes West Germany. France does not support increased U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Britain, however, does, as Thatcher recently publicly stated on her trip to the U.S.

The U.S. is also worried by the role played by Mexico, whose ruling party is also close to the Socialist International. Mexico rebuffed a U.S. representative sent by Reagan to enlist its support for greater U.S. intervention. The next day it denounced Reagan's actions and pledged closer ties to Cuba, from whom it will purchase 100,000 tons of sugar and help develop its energy industry. Although still having diplomatic relations with the junta, Mexico supports the guerrillas and calls for a negotiated deal. The U.S. press tirades did not mention Mexico as a source of arms for the guerrillas. However, this is contradicted in a recent UPI report, and also in "Dissent Paper on El Salvador and Central America", issued by

present and former U.S. State Department, Defense Department, CIA, and National Security Council officials who oppose the stepped up military intervention by Carter and now Reagan. That Mexico is a source of arms for the guerrillas, that the U.S. government surely knows this, and that they only publicly blame Cuba and Nicaragua, all shows that the U.S. is still trying to secretly effect a compromise deal.

U.S. pressure to save its domination of Latin America has already had some small successes there. Nicaragua, fearing a naval blockade, has reduced or cut off its supply of arms to the guerrillas. Venezuela and Panama have pulled back on support to the guerrillas, while most Latin American social-democrats have moderated their support by merely calling for negotiations with the junta, rather than all-out military victory.

Still, there is little international support for a U.S. invasion of El Salvador. Representatives sent by Reagan to Europe and Latin America to get support for more open U.S. intervention in El Salvador generally failed. Not only most Western European imperialists of Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela said they opposed more U.S. intervention.

There are even splits in the U.S. bourgeoisie. An article in *Foreign Affairs*, the journal of the Rockefeller-dominated Council on Foreign Relations, called for a deal with the guerrillas that would "allow the left to come in from the cold". (Summer, 1980, "Oligarchs and Officers—The Crisis in El Salvador", p. 1103). A similar theme appears in the "Dissent Paper", which sees the present government as too unstable to guarantee imperialist interests. It proposes a "Zimbabwe option" of recognizing and bringing to power the Democratic Revolutionary Front. It makes it clear that this will best serve the imperialists aim "to promote the emergence of stable governments capable of effective management of sorely needed reform programs while encouraging responsible private sector activity and normal economic relations with the foreign business communities". (p. 22). In other words, these imperialists recognize that the FDR in power is the best way they can have "responsible" and "normal" super-exploitation of El Salvador by imperialism.

#### Caught Between Rival Imperialists

In this context Reagan also is trying to pull together the collapsing Western alliance by lining up Western Europe behind the U.S. against Russia. Since this has so far been unsuccessful, Brezhnev's proposals at the recent revisionist party congress for arms talks and a summit with Reagan were designed to pry Western Europe even farther away from the U.S. Regarding El Salvador, West Germany is also trying to spread its influence by acting as a mediator between social-democratic and pro-western elements in the FDR and sections of the junta who will agree to end the terror. FDR has said it will talk, but both the U.S. and the junta have thus far refused. This does not mean a deal is lost. On the contrary, the U.S. and the junta, which was able to withstand the supposed "final offensive" of the guerrillas, wants to apply more pressure on them to get negotiations on more favorable terms. U.S. imperialism has not limited its options to invasion alone. It has told the Europeans that it favors a "political solution", meaning a deal between FDR and the junta. The U.S. has not even excluded bringing sections of the guerrilla movement to power. As they indicated in talks with West European leaders, "there is no sign that American policy has been fully defined". (*N.Y. Times*, Feb. 21, 1981)

In fact, the West European imperialists view a deal on El

Salvador as necessary to their own interests so they can devote main attention to the imperialist rivalry for the Middle East. A joint report by the Council on Foreign Relations, the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, the French Institute for International Relations, and the Research Institute of the West German Foreign Policy Association, urges greater coordination and increased military involvement in the Middle East. Imperialist control of oil is seen as far more important to many imperialists than going to war over El Salvador.

Another factor that may lead to a deal is that the Russians themselves are backing off support of the guerrillas. Brezhnev's party congress report did not even mention El Salvador. The repetition of all the "detente" themes, coupled with the Russian disavowal of arming the guerrillas, was a message to the U.S. that Russia would trade off El Salvador in a deal for something else they consider more valuable, such as a new SALT treaty. The Russians may be willing to let the U.S. continue to plunder El Salvador if the U.S. lets Russia crush the Polish workers' movement. Any such deal, however, can only be temporary, as the contradictions between the imperialists can only be resolved through war. Whether Russia decides to risk war now over El Salvador, or that it is too tied down in Afghanistan and Poland, war is coming regardless of where or when it will start.

Even in the short run, there is no guarantee such a deal can be achieved. If the junta is too threatened or falls, and if a deal between the imperialist blood-suckers does not occur, then the U.S. may still invade.

#### National Reformism in Service of Imperialism

The brutal conditions and the intensified imperialist intervention in El Salvador have led to a grave crisis and a revolutionary situation there. The workers and peasants have heroically taken up arms to overthrow the junta and end the barbaric terror.

Yet genuine victory over imperialism and its agents requires being able to consistently oppose and defeat all the threats and maneuvers of the enemy. This means not only opposing the white terror and imperialist intervention, but all reformist tricks and traps set by the imperialists. An examination of the politics of the leading Salvadorean rebel groups shows that they are leading the masses down the path of *compromise* with one or another imperialist, and not to genuine liberation.

The Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) has become the umbrella group for the rebels and the skeleton of a would-be government. Its first head, Enrique Alvarez Córdova, was a wealthy landowner and former Minister of Agriculture in the junta. He had resigned, and was later assassinated. The current head is Guillermo Manuel Ungo, a lawyer and former professor at the Jesuit-run Catholic University. He also heads the National Revolutionary Movement, the social-democratic party that is a member of the Socialist International. He ran for vice-president in 1972 on a ticket headed by Duarte, the present head of the junta.

The domination of FDR by such bourgeois and petty bourgeois national-reformist forces is reflected in the FDR's platform. The platform only calls for ending dependence on U.S. imperialism (*NACLA Report on the Americas*, July-Aug. 1980, p. 32). Judging from the ties of the FDR's leaders, dependence on West German, French, or Russian imperialism would be a suitable replacement for U.S. domination. Getting the German banks its loans or the German importers their share of the market is thus considered "revolutionary". Further, the platform guarantees "democratic rights and freedoms for the entire people", while the FDR government will include "small and

medium-sized industrialists, merchants", and other petty bourgeois and bourgeois sectors. This is the Kautskyite dream of all-class unity and "pure" democracy for all classes. Instead of suppressing the national bourgeoisie and the landlords, the FDR government would guarantee their state power and rights in the name of preserving the "revolutionary and democratic alliance".

The dominant line of FDR is thus *not* anti-imperialist, as it guarantees the continued plunder of El Salvador by imperialism and their allies in the national bourgeoisie. This treacherous, national-reformist activity of the social-democrats masquerading as "revolutionaries" was long ago exposed by Lenin, who talked of the need for the genuine Communists to "combat the reformist bourgeoisie, to whom the heroes of the Second International also belong. Reformist parties already exist in the colonial countries, and in some cases their spokesmen call themselves Social-Democrats and socialists". (*Report of the Commission on the National and the Colonial Questions*, LCW 31:242)

This same stance must be taken towards the revisionist Communist Party of El Salvador (PCS). This party has long ago renounced the principles of Leninism. After failing in its electoral "peaceful transition" strategy, PCS leader Handal now tours the revisionist countries of the Russian bloc shopping for support. These are his "models" for El Salvador. PCS wants El Salvador to become a semi-colony of Russia and adopt a system that has led to the decay and crisis in revisionist countries such as Poland and Cuba.

With such social-democratic and revisionist forces at the helm of FDR, the popular mass movement of the Salvadorean people has become a mere pawn in the imperialist's rivalry to redivide the world. Despite the heroism and anti-imperialist intentions of the rank-and-file fighters, what is being decided is not whether or not the Salvadorean workers and peasants will achieve liberation, but which imperialist will plunder the riches and labor of El Salvador. Is this what the people are spilling their blood every day for, to decide which imperialist to sell their country to?

#### The Leninist Line on Revolution in Colonies and Semi-colonies

In 1930, the Communist Party was formed on a revolutionary basis. Its founder and leader was Comrade Farabundo Martí. Today many Salvadoreans look to Comrade F. Martí as a hero and inspiration for their struggle. Yet while his name is widely invoked, what is usually not examined is just what he stood for.

The PCS was formed soon after the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928. The PCS and Comrade Martí at that time upheld the "Theses on the Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies and Semicolonies". To those who truly want to carry out the tradition of Comrade Martí, the Leninist teachings of these Theses should be applied to the current struggle.

The Theses emphasized a number of key lessons for genuine revolutionary Communists. The question of the *hegemony of the proletariat* was placed in the forefront. The Theses said, "Without the hegemony of the proletariat, an organic part of which is the leading role of the communist party, the bourgeois-democratic revolution cannot be carried to an end, not to speak of the socialist revolution". (Section 19) Yet in FDR there is neither the leading role of the proletariat or its vanguard communist party. In fact, a genuine communist party does not exist.

The essential task is the building of a Bolshevik-type party. Instead, what dominates is a liquidationist line of subordinating oneself to the petty-bourgeois — led front. Much of this goes on in the name of Comrade Marti, such as the guerrilla coalition that expropriates his name and calls itself the "Farabundo Marti Liberation Front". Yet Comrade Marti led a Communist Party that sought, as all genuine C.P.'s must, to model itself after the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin!

The Comintern Theses also instructed: "It is absolutely essential that the communist parties in these countries should from the very beginning demarcate themselves in the most clear-cut fashion, both politically and organizationally, from all the petty-bourgeois groups and parties . . . The communist movement in all circumstances must unconditionally preserve the independence of the proletarian movement and its own independence in agitation, in organization and in demonstrations. To criticise the half-heartedness and vacillation of the petty-bourgeois groups, to anticipate their vacillations, to be prepared for them and at the same time to utilise to the full all the revolutionary possibilities of these strata, to carry on a consistent struggle against petty-bourgeois influence over the proletariat, employ all means to liberate the wide masses of the peasantry from the influence of the petty-bourgeois parties, and to win from them the hegemony over the peasantry—these are the tasks of the communist parties." (Section 24)

The result of not heeding the Comintern's teachings will be to guarantee the hegemony of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie in the revolution and thus guarantee the continued plunder of El Salvador by imperialism, which relies on its national reformist agents.

The Comintern also stressed that for true liberation in all countries, the workers and peasants must establish their own organs of power, Soviets (councils). In the section dealing specifically with Latin America, the Theses call for: "The establishment of the soviet power of the workers, peasants and soldiers, in place of the class rule of the big landlords and the church. The central place in communist agitation must be occupied by the slogan of a workers' and peasants' government, in contradistinction to the so-called 'revolutionary' governments of the military dictatorship of the petty bourgeoisie." (Section 40-vi)

Yet the supposed "communist" groups in El Salvador all support the FDR's call for what amounts to a "military dictatorship of the petty bourgeoisie". We hear neither the slogans of Soviet power nor the concept of a workers' and peasants' government, which can only mean the Leninist concept of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. What the Salvadorean people need is a revolution modeled after the October Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917, led by the Bolshevik Party. But what the fake "communist" groups actually prepare for is a purely bourgeois revolution, like the 1917 February Revolution in Russia. It was the line of the Mensheviks to support and "consolidate" the bourgeois-democratic revolution, rather than passing over to the proletarian revolution through the seizure of power by the Soviets. Today the Salvadorean Mensheviks continue on this same treacherous path of selling out the revolution.

#### To Follow Farabundo Marti Means Following Lenin and Stalin

If the Salvadorean workers, peasants, and revolutionaries

want to follow Comrade Farabundo Marti, this is good. But to do that they must understand that Comrade Marti himself followed Lenin, Stalin and the Communist International, that is, the path of Bolshevism. Comrade Marti was a proletarian revolutionary first and foremost.

The 1932 uprising led by PCS and Comrade Marti was viciously crushed. Its failure was not the result of basic errors of principle, but rather from having improperly prepared the conditions for launching a successful uprising and not protecting the party from provocateurs and infiltrators by Bolshevizing PCS. These infiltrators helped sabotage the uprising by having its leaders arrested right before it began. This defeat led to the execution of Comrade Marti by the government and a bloodbath that cost 30,000 Salvadorean workers and peasants their lives. The lessons of this uprising should once again teach all revolutionary Communists the absolute necessity of Bolshevized organizations to lead the masses successfully.

Following any other path but that of the Bolshevik Revolution will only lead to continued misery for the workers and peasants. Already the suppression of workers and peasants by the so-called "revolutionary" regimes in Nicaragua, Zimbabwe, and Iran show the bankruptcy of bourgeois and petty bourgeois leadership. The proletariat, led by its vanguard party, and in alliance with the peasantry, can carry the agrarian and democratic revolution to the end. All revisionist schemes, such as the Maoist "new democracy" or the Khrushchevite "national democratic revolution", only will result in defeat for the workers and peasants. Further, the slogan of fighting the two "superpowers", put forward by the false communists of the Party of Labor of Albania and Maoists like the Revolutionary Communist Party of the U.S. and the RCP of Chile, have vividly been seen as a screen for support for the Second International, for the West European imperialists, such as West Germany and France, and for those sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie who favor a deal.

#### El Salvador and World War

Whether or not the U.S. finds it necessary to invade, it is intensifying its intervention in El Salvador. The events there are clearly a prelude to the coming imperialist world war.

The various social-chauvinists and centrists all over the world are lining up with one imperialist or another. The war can only be fought against by transforming it into a civil war. Whether in the U.S., El Salvador, or any country, this can only be prepared for by a merciless exposure of and break with all the social-chauvinists and centrists.

The victory of whichever side or faction in El Salvador will not at all slow the march towards world war. Whoever wins, one or another imperialist warmonger will be strengthened, while the others will try to get back what they lost or never had. All revolutionary Communists and consistent anti-imperialists must keep these facts clearly in mind if the struggle today to prepare to transform the coming war into a civil war is not to be diverted down the many avenues of social-chauvinism and social-pacifism promoted by the imperialists and their agents.

The U.S. proletariat must be won to support the struggle of the Salvadorean workers and peasants, and to oppose any and all acts of U.S. intervention. Just as the war in El Salvador is a prelude to world war, the struggle against the chauvinist hysteria whipped up by the U.S. to justify intervention is a prelude to preparing the proletariat for its revolutionary internationalist tasks in the coming war.

## Peru vs. Ecuador: Unjust War for Oil

In the last days of January and early February another border war took place between Peru and Ecuador, the youngest so-called "democracies" in Latin America. According to the *New York Times* and other bourgeois media, this war was "precipitated" by Ecuador in an attempt to re-draw new boundaries.

Ecuador's military, which is weaker than that of Peru, apparently took over three Peruvian border posts in the disputed area. On January 28th, Peru launched an attack on Ecuador to regain them. The war lasted about five days with the death of one Peruvian soldier and eight Ecuadorean soldiers. Ecuador, because of its inability to regain the posts, had hoped to draw international attention to its "cause". It had hoped and demanded that the Organization of American States (OAS) would negotiate the border issue and thereby regain its lost territory. But the OAS refused, denoting that the matters of the border war were in the hands of the Guarantor Nations—Chile, Argentina, Brazil, and the U.S.—who were responsible for drawing the border lines, in a 1942 treaty. Thus, the Guarantor Nations ordered the Ecuadorean and Peruvian troops to ceasefire and withdraw their troops, keeping the borders intact as they were determined in the 1942 treaty. This is what has been reported in the bourgeois press. But what is the real story behind the war?

#### Brief History of the Border Dispute

Prior to the outbreak of World War II, the various imperialist powers were fighting over various territories throughout the world in their preparation for global confrontation. Many of the territories that were fought for were of military value for the imperialists in that they possessed rich raw materials and oil, vital for war preparations. At the time, the late 1920's and 1930's, the main economic rivalry was between the U.S. and Britain, (despite the fact that with the outbreak of WWII they were part of the allied forces against the fascist powers). The rivalry between the British and U.S. imperialists was reflected all over the world. Stalin, referring to this rivalry, stated the following: ". . . the question of redividing the world and spheres of influence, which constitute the basis of foreign markets, is today the principal question in the policy of world capitalism . . ."

"Hence the aggravation of the oil problem (antagonism between Britain and America), for without oil it is impossible to wage war, and whoever has the advantage as regards oil has a chance of victory in the coming war." ("The Fifteenth Congress of CPSU(B)", SW 10:282-283, FLPH)

One of the most widely known examples of this rivalry between the U.S. and Britain over oil was the Chaco War of 1932-1935. Rockefeller's Standard Oil of New Jersey (today known as EXXON) financed and directed the Bolivian army to take over the oil-rich region of Chaco. British Shell also had their appetite towards the Chaco region and thus directed the Paraguayan army to the Chaco. The war between Bolivia and Paraguay was really a war between Standard Oil and Shell. Yet it was Latin Americans who shed their blood and were used as cannonfodder, while the two imperialist groupings directed the fire. Standard Oil came out acquiring

thousands of square miles in this region.

A similar situation, though less known, occurred between Ecuador and Peru during the late 1930's and early 1940's. The northeastern region of Peru, which is the region being fought over today, is rich in petroleum. However, this area near the Amazon was formerly part of Ecuador. British Shell was exploiting these resources. Standard Oil of New Jersey, however, operated across the border in Peru and sought to acquire the oil-rich area in the southeast of Ecuador—what is now the northeast of Peru. Thus, reflecting the rivalry between Shell and Standard Oil, Ecuador and Peru were often involved in periodic wars over the territory. Again the Ecuadorians and Peruvians were shedding their blood for the imperialists. By 1941, Peru invaded and occupied Ecuador. Six months later the U.S., rallying Chile, Argentina, and Brazil to its side, mediated a "solution" imposing the 1942 treaty, that established the borders which still exist today. Again the results were that Peru (i.e., Standard Oil of N.J.) annexed the region which is now northeast Peru.

This imperialist rivalry was but the prelude to World War II. The Communist International analyzed it as follows: "Foreign imperialism in the countries of South and Caribbean America bases itself on the 'national' bourgeois landlord ruling parties and groups, subjects the toiling masses of these countries to barbarous exploitation, combining 'advanced' capitalist forms of exploitation with the relics of pre-capitalist (semi-feudal and semi-slave) forms.

"Imperialist rivalry in South and Caribbean America sharpens the war danger. (our emphasis—BL) In their struggle against each other, the various groups of imperialists utilize and deepen the historical contradictions existing between the various countries dependent upon them, to bring about military conflicts between these countries. For example, the war that broke out in the middle of 1932 between Bolivia and Paraguay was primarily the results of the Anglo-American struggle; the war between Peru and Colombia, which began in 1932 and ended in 1933, was the consequence not only of Anglo-American but also of Japanese-American contradictions (the influence of the USA is stronger in Colombia, while that of Great Britain and of Japan is greater in Peru)." (*Struggles of the Communist Parties of South and Caribbean America*, The Results of the Third Conference of the Communist Parties of South and Caribbean America, May, 1935, *Communist International* p. 564-565) But with the Treaty of 1942, the U.S. imperialists conquered the oil fields of Ecuador and Peru.

#### Real Cause of Recent War Between Peru and Ecuador

Both Ecuador and Peru, in the words of the U.S. imperialists, are "newly developed democracies".

In 1979, Jaime Roldós became president of Ecuador after nine years of military rule. The imperialists call Roldós' government a "center" government between the left wing and the right wing.

Roldós' government has been seeking more independence from the U.S. In its "National Development Plan" issued in



1980, the Roldós government seeks to promote more foreign "exchange" in order to industrialize Ecuador with the dream that this would give Ecuador more independence. In other words, they seek to weaken their dependency on U.S. imperialism by strengthening their dependency on European and other imperialist powers. This "center" government of Roldós is essentially a pro-social-democratic European imperialist government. Hence, it seeks more "national independence" from Yanqui imperialism.

Where is the conflict with the U.S. imperialists reflected? Over the question of oil and foreign policy.

The Ecuadorean State Petroleum Corp. (CEPE)—which is "associated" with Texaco—and Texaco have had contradictions with the Ecuadorean government of Roldós. Oil obviously brings in the most important revenues from which Roldós seeks to industrialize and gain more "national independence". But Ecuador—a member of OPEC—was forced by Texaco and CEPE to lower the price of oil from \$36 per barrel to \$33. Texaco and CEPE seek to lower the prices below \$32 per barrel, seeking super-profits from this arrangement.

In foreign policy, Roldós' government has developed good relations with the Sandinista government of Nicaragua. It would condemn the Salvadorian reactionary junta and support the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) if it were not for the strong pro-U.S. Christian Democrats that still hold reigns of power in Ecuador.

As for Peru, after twelve years of military rule, a "democratic" government came to power in 1980 with Fernando Belaúnde Terry as the president. Belaúnde was president of Peru in 1962 and was overthrown in a coup in 1968. The coup was a result of an exposure of scandalous deals which were made between Belaúnde and International Petroleum Corp. (IPC)—a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey (EXXON). Supposedly, Belaúnde was to nationalize IPC. However, a deal was worked out where IPC would pay a minimum price for crude petroleum to be produced. Also, in the deal, Standard Oil had swindled Belaúnde's government out of more than one billion dollars in unpaid taxes and other kinds of fraud. However, this was exposed by opposition forces in the government, leading to the coup and the establishment of a military regime.

Now after twelve years of military rule—the government of Velasco, a so-called "progressive" military regime, and the more pro-U.S. military regime of Morales—Belaúnde returns to power. He had spent the greater part of his twelve years as a professor in the U.S. criticizing the military regimes in Peru. Now, back in power, Belaúnde hides behind a reformist mask, attempting to further channel the great mass spontaneous, workers and peasants movement into the dead-end path of reformism.

Belaúnde's government, along with the rest of the capitalist world, faces a grave economic crisis. One of the results of the "progress" under the military regimes was Peru's foreign debt of \$8 million to U.S. and West European imperialism. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has squeezed Peru out of every centavo it can get. Productivity has been declining while inflation has reached the 100% mark. Over 45% of the labor force is unemployed. Poverty and disease is on a sharp increase. To be sure, the mass workers and peasants movement of Peru will not sit idly by as the imperialists and the national bourgeoisie grow fat off their exploitation and sufferings. Belaúnde's reformism seeks to divert the pending revolutionary onslaught of the workers and peasants.

Thus, oil becomes very important for the Peruvian bourgeoisie's attempt to stabilize the government. While Peru is four times the size of Ecuador, it has only 98 million tons of

oil reserves as compared to Ecuador's 175 million tons. Peru is therefore not about to give up its north-eastern oil-rich region to Ecuador. Exxon, which has reaped enormous super-profits from that region, is not about to allow the Western European imperialists to easily spread their sphere of influence in this region through the medium of Roldós' pro-social-democratic government in Ecuador.



When Ecuador took over the three posts in the disputed area, you can be sure that Exxon was happy to see Peru attack and regain the territory. When Ecuador demanded that the border dispute be mediated by the OAS, Exxon was very happy to hear that OAS placed the issue in the hands of the Guarantor Nations—headed by the U.S.—to settle the issue. Thus, the ceasefire, the withdrawing of troops, and the continued existence of the borders, shattering dreams of the Ecuadorean bourgeoisie for "independence" from the U.S. for the time being.

It is obvious that the war between Peru and Ecuador is but a reflection of the rivalry between the various imperialist powers in their scramble for oil. It is the prelude to the outbreak of a world imperialist war to re-divide the world.

#### Workers and Peasants of Ecuador and Peru — Rally to Bolshevism!

The workers and peasants of Peru and Ecuador must no longer be used as cannonfodder for the imperialists. The revolutionary workers and peasants of Ecuador and Peru must prepare and fight for the revolutionary defeat of their own respective bourgeois governments. They must turn the imperialist, bourgeois nationalist wars into a civil war against their "own" bourgeoisie. It is a crime for the workers and peasants of Peru and Ecuador to shoot at each other or at any other toiling people of other countries. The workers and peasants must draw the lessons of the betrayals of the Trotskyites, the pro-Russian revisionist communist parties, and other opportunists, who sided with their bourgeois governments in this and past unjust wars of the bourgeoisie.

It must also combat the social-pacifists who spread various types of illusions that a peace movement can prevent wars between the imperialists and local bourgeoisies. The imperialists are preparing actively *right now* for an imperialist war to re-divide the world. The revolutionary workers and peasants of Peru and Ecuador must begin to fight the imperialist and local bourgeois wars *now* by preparing to turn these unjust wars into a civil war against the imperialists and national bourgeoisie.

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## Cuba: The Second Revisionist Congress of the "Communist" Party

In the years of the Great Depression, during the decade of the 1930s, there was only one country that did not suffer the devastating consequences of economic decay. On the contrary, in that country, the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Comrade J.V. Stalin, the economy was flourishing. As industrial production in the capitalist countries deteriorated, as the working class and peasantry of those countries became victims of unemployment and hunger, the situation in the Soviet Union was one of growth and expansion. As Comrade Stalin pointed out in his "Report to the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik)" in 1934:

**"While industry in the principal capitalist countries at the end of 1933 shows on the average a reduction of 25 percent and more in volume of production as compared with 1929, industrial output in the USSR has more than doubled during this period, i.e., it has increased more than 100 percent."**

It was the socialist system itself which gave rise to this economic superiority. As Stalin explained, it was not due to any miracle. Within three or four years, through the construction of a socialist economy in a formerly backward country, they were able to avoid the consequences of the worldwide economic crisis, which was lashing the capitalist countries, without exception. They were able to achieve an island of progress amidst a world in crisis. They were able to achieve this because they had eliminated the capitalist elements. In industry 99% of the sector, and in agriculture (in the area of grains) 84.5% of the sector were socialist property. (*Ibid.*)

But instead of upholding the Soviet Union under Stalin as the model for socialist construction, as well as the Soviet model for the state of the proletarian dictatorship, today a variety of countries, groups, and individuals throughout the world, proclaim to have various other models. They seek to deceive the proletariat and peasants internationally, calling these false models "socialist." They try to hide the fact that today there is no socialist country in the world. Nevertheless, this sad fact is the truth, and has been the truth since the restoration of capitalism in the USSR after the assassination of Stalin in 1953.

Today a "socialist" mask is used to conceal present-day versions of imperialist exploitation. One country, which has been upheld as a model for revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies, and which has been more influential than any other, is Cuba. Its heroic struggle and defeat of U.S. imperialism inspired many revolutionaries and anti-imperialist forces worldwide. But Cuba has gone from being a semi-colony of U.S. imperialism to a semi-colony of Russian imperialism. In the words of Fidel Castro himself, the Cuban economy 20 years after the revolution is totally subject to the economic crisis of the world capitalist system, and completely dependent on its exports of sugar, that is, a dependency characteristic of a

colonial-type economy.

#### Cuba—Model of Semi-Colonial Dependency

Castro's report to the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, published in *Granma*, December 28, 1980, is a very revealing document as to the true situation in that supposedly socialist country. In contrast to Comrade Stalin's Report previously mentioned, which outlined the superiority of the socialist system and the progress achieved by the Soviet masses, Castro's report drew a picture of an economy in disaster. Explaining the failure of the "5 year plan" of 1975-1980, Castro proves the fact that for the supposedly "socialist" countries the plan is not a plan, but a "guess" as to what they hope to achieve. Speaking of the Russia of today and the Eastern European countries, the Bolshevik Union of Canada analyzes that their "economies are not planned at all except for projected growth rates like any capitalist country. It is not a plan, it is a guess on the progress of the anarchy of production." (*The Political Meaning of the Assassination of Stalin*, p. 135)

According to Castro, the Cuban plan failed because of the world economic crisis, "... the plummeting price of sugar, worldwide inflation... and the aggravation of the international economic crisis." (*Granma*, p. 6) He states, "Sugar production will continue to be the cornerstone of the economy." (*Ibid.*, p. 7)

This almost total dependence on sugar is a characteristic of a colonial-type economy. Imperialist countries seek to reap superprofits out of the colonies and semi-colonies by extracting their natural resources. They seek to convert the agricultural system into one that is oriented to only one, or a few products, which bring the most profits to the imperialist country. This form of monoculture (one-crop) also destroys the country's capacity to produce the necessary foods to sustain its population, thereby forcing them to import food from the imperialist country. It is but another form of national enslavement, which impedes the country's economic development, keeping it in a growing and permanent dependency.

As long as Cuba remains in this dependency, it will be subject to the fluctuations of the world price of sugar. This was the situation under U.S. domination. This is the situation in any colony or semi-colony oriented toward the production of agricultural crops for export to the imperialist countries. Twenty years ago, the Cuban economy was dependent on the U.S. market. Today, it is dependent on the Russian market and Comecon countries.

As does any imperialist country or group of imperialist countries, the Russians and the Comecon countries have monopolized the foreign trade of Cuba. "Seventy eight percent of our total trade in 1979 was with the other members of the CMEA, as

compared to 56% in 1975. Sixty seven percent of this was with the Soviet Union, as compared to 48 percent in 1975 . . . Foreign trade operations were streamlined, with emphasis placed on exports, increasing our traditional export products..." (*Ibid.*, p. 7)

One of these "traditional" products is nickel. But instead of being used in a way that would help the development of a truly socialist and independent economy, nickel is but another natural resource (the most important metal that Cuba has) which goes to make up the exports to Russia and the Comecon countries. Nickel is very important in preparations for the coming imperialist war, because it is used in the manufacture of steel.

Citrus fruits are another export product. They export half of the total production of 400,000 tons. A large part of Cuba's "planned" industrial development is in the building of plants for the processing of sugar, fruits, and nickel, all geared for export. It is a typical form of colonial exploitation. Often it is the only form of industrial development that is permitted. The Sixth Congress of the Communist International made an analysis of this process:

"Only where manufacture constitutes a very simple process (tobacco industry, sugar refineries, etc.) or where the expense of transporting raw material can be considerably decreased by the first stage of manufacture being performed on the spot, does the development of production in the colonies attain comparatively large dimensions. In any case, the capitalist enterprises created by the imperialists in the colonies (with the exception of a few enterprises established in case of military needs) are predominantly or exclusively of an agrarian-capitalist character, and are distinguished by a low organic composition of capital. Real industrialisation of the colonial country, in particular the building up of a flourishing engineering industry, which might make possible the independent development of the productive forces of the country, is not accelerated, but, on the contrary, is hindered by the metropolis. This is the essence of its function of colonial enslavement: the colonial country is compelled to sacrifice the interests of its independent development and to play the part of an economic (agrarian-raw material) appendage to foreign capitalism, which at the expense of the labouring classes of the colonial country, strengthens the economic and political power of the imperialist bourgeoisie in order to perpetuate the monopoly of the latter in the colonies and to increase its expansion as compared with the rest of the world." (*Sixth Congress*, p. 72, (sec. 12))

It is precisely this form of development of the production of raw materials and agricultural products, geared toward the enrichment of the imperialists, that is being implemented in Cuba. As Castro says: "Within the framework of the CMEA, special emphasis has been placed on developing the production of sugar, citrus fruits, nickel, machinery for the sugar industry. . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 7)

There is another type of imperialist exploitation in which the capitalists extend a loan to finance the building of a plant, and are repaid by a percent of the products of the plant. In other words, the imperialist country hides its investments behind an enterprise supposedly owned by the "nation." It is really the local bourgeois that are the owners of these enterprises — this is the fraud of "national property."

These plants are constructed to utilize technology that will be obsolete before the country could pay for them. Profits are guaranteed to the investor by paying them with products of the plant. Thus, even when there is a shortage of funds, the loan payment is guaranteed. If the productivity level goes down,

the local bourgeoisie can lower the salaries, and also crush whatever form of protest which may arise, in order to guarantee production. There are no risks for the imperialists, but there are risks for the local bourgeoisie, and suffering and continued oppression for the workers, and continued dependency on the imperialist system.

Precisely this form of exploitation, tying Cuba even more to Russian imperialism, characterized the past 5 year plan.

As Castro said: "During the five-year period, we have purchased important industrial plants by means of compensatory operations, using a part of production to pay off their purchase price." (*Ibid.*, p. 7)

Many self-proclaimed revolutionaries and communists throughout the world can clearly analyze this form of imperialist exploitation in the colonies and semi-colonies of the U.S., France, Germany, etc. But they are blind to exactly the same type of exploitation on the part of Russia and the Comecon countries, behind a mask of "internationalist aid."

#### Cuba Disagrees with Socialist Economic Laws

The Castro regime has obviously not followed the path of socialist development of the Soviet Union of the time of Stalin. The model followed by Cuba, under which she has paraded as the vanguard of socialist revolution and a model of socialist progress, is the revisionist model of Russia and the Comecon countries of Eastern Europe. It is the model of China, which guaranteed that China never developed socialism.

In his last work, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, Stalin launched a strong polemic against the revisionists who were trying to reverse the progress achieved under socialism, to institute capitalism again in the country. He explains the reason why the socialist system must emphasize basic industry, the production of the means of production.

The revisionists, who implemented their ideas after the assassination of Stalin, wanted to emphasize light industry, the production of consumer goods, which is more "profitable" in the short range. They wanted to follow the same law of value that governs capitalist production and capitalist accumulation. Stalin pointed out that if it were this law that guided socialist economy, ". . . it would be incomprehensible why our light industries, which are the most profitable, are not being developed to the utmost, and why preference is given to our heavy industries, which are often less profitable, and sometimes altogether unprofitable." (*Ibid.*, FLP, p. 22)

Stalin pointed out the consequences of such a policy. "The effect would be to destroy the possibility of the continuous expansion of our national economy, because the national economy cannot be continuously expanded without giving primacy to the production of means of production." (*Ibid.*, p. 23)

The Cuban economy, instead of following this law, follows the revisionist policy of placing emphasis on light industry. In his report, Castro gives statistics explaining that heavy industry only grew by 5%, while light industry grew 23%. The level of investment in machine industry is almost equal to that in light industry (440 millions of pesos, and 400 millions, respectively) in the five year period. Castro himself reveals the future he offers to the Cuban people for "the year 2000": ". . . so Cuba gradually attains the level of development of the European countries that belong to the CMEA." (*Grammar*, p. 9) In other words, the model of Poland, for example, which has

(cont. p. 40)

## UNITED STATES

# Who Shot R.R.?

We have learned not to take for granted the accounts of the bourgeois press, most especially when it comes to assassinations and crises, such as the events of Reagan's shooting.

The Watergate scandal, for example, was used to cover up the purge of Nixon by the Rockefeller forces (see *Bolshevik Revolution*, nos. 2 and 3). The lies and contradictions regarding the Kennedy assassinations have been widely exposed. These events can best be understood by seeing them as a continuation of the political in-fighting in the bourgeoisie culminating in violent and dramatic conspiracies and crises. Reagan's shooting, as we shall see, is no exception.

#### Prelude to Shooting—Political Crisis Deepens

The attempted assassination comes at a time when intense rivalry among different sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie is again heightening. Reagan's administration, as we have analyzed, represents an uneasy alliance of the Rockefeller-dominated forces, from his Trilateral Commission and Council on Foreign Relations, based on the large financiers primarily from the East, and those capitalists primarily from the Sunbelt. The differences have focused on such issues as tariffs, "free" trade, and protectionism. This battle has again been flaring up regarding policy towards Japanese auto exports to the U.S. and related issues. The Rockefeller-led forces generally favor few trade restrictions, while other sections, including some major auto and steel companies as well as various Sunbelt capitalists, want more protectionism. The British *Economist* lectured Reagan, just before the shooting, that implementing protectionism, as he appears to favor now, would be damaging to the West European imperialists, the Western alliance, and even the U.S. bourgeoisie itself. A similar battle took place over protectionism under Nixon, and contributed to the decision by much of the bourgeoisie to discredit and remove him.

Reagan's appointees have also openly fought over numerous foreign policy issues. After U.S. diplomatic pressure on Western European and Latin American capitalist governments to fully back U.S. intervention and support for the reactionary military junta in El Salvador failed, Secretary of State Haig of the CFR tried to play down the issue. Yet others, most notably Reagan, vowed to press ahead on the present course. This gave a green light to Richard Allen, Reagan's National Security Advisor, who is not of the CFR, unique for this position. He is a member of the Committee on the Present Danger, another capitalist grouping opposed to detente (although there are overlaps with CFR). Allen, on the eve of a European Common Market summit meeting, denounced the Europeans as "pacifists" because they pursue their own imperialist interests and do not follow every U.S. command on how to carry out war preparations. This came soon before the trip of U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger, of the Trilateral Commission and CFR, to Europe in an attempt to tighten the Western alliance and coordinate the military build-up, especially in light of a threatened Russian invasion of Poland.

Another widening rift was over foreign "aid." Some, like Budget Director Stockman, want to drastically cut or even do away with it. To them, the military is enough pressure for

the U.S. to get its way. But foreign "aid" has been a most profitable venture for the largest banks, whose loans, repaid with enormous interest, finance purchases of U.S. goods while guaranteeing dependency of its recipients on imperialism. David Rockefeller himself publicly intervened forcefully in this debate. He used the occasion of a banquet for out-going World Bank head Robert McNamara to condemn cutting such parts of the federal budget that assisted so handsomely finance capital.

All these struggles led to a confrontation just a week before Reagan's shooting. Haig threatened to resign several times. Reagan tried to rein in Haig without strengthening Allen's hand by picking a compromise choice to head a foreign policy crisis management team. The choice, vice-president George Bush (who was doing nothing anyway), had been Rockefeller's personal choice for president, and a Trilateral Commission and CFR veteran. Thus, the compromise weakened Haig but maintained the upper hand for the Rockefeller forces.

A day before the shooting the Trilateral Commission held its quarterly international plenum. The site this time was Washington, D.C. Bush was a keynote speaker. Little of the substance of this meeting has thus far been reported in the bourgeois press. The next day a delegation of the Trilateral Commission was scheduled to meet Reagan, according to television news reports the day before the shooting. There has been no report

of whether this meeting occurred or if it was cancelled because of the shooting.

#### Shooting Heightens Political Crisis

The next day, March 30, 1981, Reagan emerged from speaking to the bourgeoisie's labor lieutenants of the AFL-CIO, and was shot. Bush was in Texas at the time, pushing Reagan's economic austerity plan. Haig, in what was just short of a coup, rushes to the White House and barks on television that he is now in command, at least pending Bush's return. Press reports indicated this was done without consultation with key Reagan advisors Meese, Baker, and Deaver. Haig reportedly had frenzied shouting matches with some of Reagan's men, and even with Weinberger, over who was in charge of foreign affairs while Reagan was incapacitated. This occurred as events in Poland grew more ominous.

What we can definitely say is that the shooting showed how fragile the alliance is between the different bourgeois groups. The sharpening political crisis could lead in the future to an inability of the ruling class to rule. This, as Lenin showed, is one of the key elements of a revolutionary situation, along with an increase in the wants and sufferings of the masses and the inability of the masses to live in the old way culminating in a mass upsurge. Imperialist war will cause all these factors to ripen, giving the proletariat and its vanguard party the possibility of using this crisis to transform the imperialist war into a civil war for socialism. This crisis is not fully matured today, but is nonetheless brewing. It must be closely analyzed so revolutionary Communists can respond to it in the way to best move forward the class struggle.

### The Politics of Assassination

The seemingly endless list of assassination of major political figures in the U.S. of all political groupings is a most graphic exposure of the fraud and deception of bourgeois "democracy." When election results do not suit well enough some section of the bourgeoisie, someone is removed by "other" means.

Bourgeois commentators shed tears for the wounded Reagan. Yet everyday all the imperialists arm to the teeth for a bloody war to re-divide the world. Every day they carry out assassinations of ordinary workers and peasants in El Salvador, Lebanon, Southern Africa, Indochina, Afghanistan, and on and on. Their system is run by force of arms, which guarantees their political power. To cry over Reagan's shooting is the height of hypocrisy.

Examining the circumstances surrounding Reagan's shooting, thus, is done chiefly to use this as another exposure of the reactionary, repressive nature of this system and its government. Many of the circumstances regarding these events lead us to question the official version of what happened and why.

What was most apparent was that security around Reagan was very loose. TV cameramen for ABC and NBC described the lack of police restriction of entry into what was supposedly just an area for the official press. They described this as "unusual," especially since the police have been especially hassling to the press since Reagan took office.

This brings us to the story of the assassin, John Hinckley, Jr. The press portrays him as a loner, a drifter who frequented pornography shops, and a deranged former Nazi Party member (the latter charge is denied by his family). His motive, we are told, was to fulfill a psychotic fantasy to capture the heart of movie star Jodie Foster.

Maybe. Yet there are other facts that must be examined. Hinckley, Jr. was reportedly tossed out of the Nazi Party because his open talk of assassination made them suspicious he was a federal undercover agent.

Hinckley's family background also raises more questions. His father, John Hinckley, Sr., is a wealthy oil man who got his

start and raised his children in Dallas, Texas, a city not unknown to assassination politics. Hinckley, Sr. now runs his multi-million dollar business in the Denver area, is described as a conservative, and is personal friends with the beer monopolist Coors.

While Hinckley, Jr. drifted from city to city, alternating between odd jobs, school, and doing nothing, the career of his father, who apparently was financing his ne'er-do-well son, is far more intriguing. A few years back the elder Hinckley became extremely religious. This capitalist began doing volunteer work at missions. Later he associated with a group called World Vision International. Hinckley, Sr. went to Africa and Latin America, also to do missionary work.

World Vision International is typical of the suspicious religious organizations funded by the bourgeoisie as a cover to do dirty work for the imperialists. It is known that WVI openly received funding from the Agency for International Development (AID) (*New York Times*, Jan. 29, 1976). AID has been exposed as a front for the CIA. AID was used as a cover to fund the U.S. "secret" war in Laos and to funnel CIA money into Chile (*The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, Marks and Marchetti, A. Knopf, 1974, p. 16, p. 62). It also ran a delightful institution called the International Police Academy, which was another cover for recruiting, training, and dispatching CIA operatives all over the world (*Ibid.*, p. 53).

A few years ago it was publicly revealed that the CIA used missionaries to assist their murderous activities, giving "information last fall by the White House and the Central Intelligence Agency that oversees missionaries have been regularly used in information gathering. . ." (NYT, *Ibid.*). Various religious groups asked the CIA to publicly stop this "to protect the interests of missionaries exposed to possible dangers because of the disclosure of CIA links," in other words, to protect their cover. This was a tacit admission of their complicity. World Vision International, Mr. Hinckley, Sr.'s later employer, was one of the main groups asking for this

(cont. p. 40)

## Chauvinism and the Coming Imperialist War

(from p. 1)

Why is this wave of chauvinism being promoted? Because the crisis in the imperialist system necessitates its going to war and this chauvinism is designed to deceive the workers as to the real reasons for this imperialist war.

In order to get the backing of its proletariat the U.S. imperialist must of course lie about the present crisis of the imperialist system. The only solution out of this crisis which the imperialist can offer is an imperialist war to redivide an already divided world, its resources and markets. There is no other solution the imperialists can offer. War is an inevitable product of imperialism. A redivision of the world in order to artificially preserve the imperialist system can only take place through force, through war, and this is gradually becoming clearer with each day's war preparations.

The war preparations are becoming more intense as the imperialist countries such as the U.S., Russia, France, Japan, Britain, etc., more and more militarize their economies, increase armaments production and sales, and prepare all the material and ideological prerequisites for fighting this war.

The imperialists have been well schooled in this murderous business, having launched two world wars and countless local or regional wars of annexation. In the U.S. the history of the development of capitalism is the history of one war of annexation after another. From the 1848 war that stole a large part of Mexico's territory (rich in gold, other raw materials, and land for agriculture), to the 1898 war with Spain that annexed as colonies Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Philippines, and Guam, to the recent war in Indochina that tried, but failed to maintain conquest of that region, the U.S. bourgeoisie has time and again gone to war to plunder oppressed peoples and annex territories to guarantee tremendous superprofits. To justify the real aims of these predatory wars, annexation to guarantee imperialist plunder, chauvinism is spread. This present wave of chauvinism is being promoted to conceal this from the proletariat. Chauvinist hysteria is being used "to justify the war, rather than have the imperialist system blamed for overproduction, inflation, financial crisis, etc. . . Imperialism is trying to blame the crisis upon the oppressed peoples. . . Imperialism is trying to say to workers: The reason you don't have gasoline in your tank, the reason

it costs you so much, is because of all those other greedy people in the world. And after all, those people are so backward that they don't need the raw materials And all we have to do is go seize them, and all our problems will be solved. And it is in this way that they (imperialists) seek support from the proletariat and other strata of the population to engage in aggressive imperialist war to redivide the world."

(Speech on the Revolution in Imperialists Countries by the Bolshevik Union of Canada *International Correspondence*, No. 2, pp. 131-132, Fall 1980.)

### The Material Basis of Chauvinism

The bourgeoisie is telling the American working class to defend the petty privileges it gets by being a working class in an oppressor imperialist country. Lenin analyzed how the international proletariat is composed of workers divided into oppressor and oppressed nation:

"Is the actual condition of the workers in the oppressor and in the oppressed nations the same, from the standpoint of the national question?

No, it is not the same.

(1) *Economically*, the difference is that sections of the working class in the oppressor nations receive crumbs from the *superprofits* the bourgeoisie of these nations obtains by extra exploitation of the workers of the oppressed nations. Besides, economic statistics show that here a *larger* percentage of the workers become "straw bosses" than is the case in the oppressed nations, a *larger* percentage rise to the labour *aristocracy*. That is a fact. To a certain degree the workers of the oppressor nations are partners of *their own* bourgeoisie in plundering the workers (and the mass of the population) of the oppressed nations.

(2) *Politically*, the difference is that, compared with the workers of the oppressed nations, they occupy a *privileged* position in many spheres of political life.

(3) *Ideologically*, or spiritually, the difference is that they are taught, at school and in life, disdain and contempt for the workers of the oppressed nations. This has been *experienced*, for example, by every Great Russian who has been brought up or who has lived among Great Russians. (*A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism*, LCW, 23: 55-56)

Yet only a minority of the working class, the bribed upper stratum of the labor aristocracy, actually benefits from these privileges and has a material stake in the maintenance of imperialism and its plunder of superprofits. Today as the crisis of capitalism worsens, even these petty privileges enjoyed by so many U.S. workers are disappearing. This further proves that when the majority of workers defend the imperialist system in hopes of defending their living standard, they are only tying the noose around their own necks even tighter. Yet the purpose of chauvinism is precisely to obliterate these facts.

Defending this chauvinism means defending the continued existence of the imperialist system. The U.S. working class must not fall prey to this. It must not be deceived into believing that its interest lie with that of the imperialists. Already workers at Chrysler are seeing that the imperialist slogan of "Making America Great Again" means making the workers give up more sacrifices for the benefit of the ruling class. The same holds true for those who benefits from chauvinism and the inevitable imperialist war . . . the capitalist class.

The U.S. imperialists would be hard pressed to go to war without first getting their own house in order and making sure the loyalty of its proletariat is no problem. Can you imagine the problems it would cause for U.S. imperialist war preparations, if it tells Chicanos (those drafted in its army) to take over the oil fields of Mexico or attempts to use Puerto Ricans as cannon fodder to suppress a revolution that might break out in Puerto Rico. How but through outright blind chauvinism and patriotism can it get, say, Black workers in the military to invade Africa to defend the interests of the American banks and oil companies and slaughter the African masses? The bourgeoisie tries without let up to tell the working class as a whole that to stop its living standards from declining, it must stop the increasing decline of the economic, political, and military power of U.S. imperialism in the world. What but chauvinism can convince the workers that their interests are bound up with the existence of this barbarous, oppressive system? This is necessary both to militarize the society as a prelude to imperialist war and to ease the way to the war itself. Such conflicts are potentially life threatening to the U.S. capitalist system. Therefore it must make sure that its proletariat is firmly behind its imperialist politics and has no divided loyalties. This "covering of the rear" in order to minimize any resistance against its war preparations, was foretold by the 6th Congress of the Comintern when it stated that, "Side by side with the armaments and war preparations of the imperialists . . . there proceeds an intensification of reaction at home. Without a "quiet" hinterland it is impossible for the imperialists to wage war. The bourgeoisie is taking measures to prevent the workers from putting up any kind of organized resistance to their war policy."

(The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of Communists (Extracts from Resolutions from the 6th Congress of the Communist International) reprinted in *International Correspondence*, No. 2, p. 142, Fall 1980.) The present wave of chauvinism is being used to accomplish this "covering of the rear."

The bourgeoisie has long relied on chauvinism to "divide and conquer" the working class and prevent its revolutionary unity, especially in times of crisis. The situation in the U.S. today is similar to that in England in the last century, when English and Irish workers were locked in fierce antagonism: ". . . England now possesses a working class divided into two hostile camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish workers as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he regards himself as a member of the ruling nation and consequently he becomes a tool of the English aristocrats and capitalists against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself. He cherishes religious, social, and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude towards him is much the same as that of the "poor whites" to the Negroes in the former slave states of the U.S.A. The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own money. He sees in the English worker both the accomplice and the stupid tool of the English rulers in Ireland.

"This antagonism is artificially kept alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short, by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes. This antagonism is the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite its organization. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power. And the latter is quite aware of this." (Marx to Meyer and Vogt, April 9, 1870)

Thus, while spreading chauvinism is key for the bourgeoisie

to rule, fighting and defeating chauvinism is key for the proletariat to establish revolutionary unity and overthrow the bourgeoisie.

While the proletariat of the oppressor nations struggle against great-nation chauvinism, the proletariat of the oppressed nations must struggle against narrow nationalism. Principally this must be a struggle against the chauvinism of the oppressor nation.

#### Fight Chauvinism and Imperialist War

Workers have no stake in this war, just as they have none in the present wave of chauvinism. Only the imperialists benefit. The workers must fight against this chauvinism and the imperialist war by preparing themselves to transform such a war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. For U.S. workers this means proclaiming that U.S. workers consider it a crime to fire or fight other workers for the benefit and profit of U.S. imperialism (or any other imperialism for that matter). It means consistently combatting all forms of chauvinism, national oppression and up-holding the right of nations to self-determination i.e., the right to political secession. Such a fight would not only be combatting chauvinism but would also facilitate the revolutionary unity (a class conscious and voluntary unity) of the U.S. workers and the oppressed nationalities. This is important step that would put them in a better position to be able to transform the coming imperialist war into a civil war against the U.S. bourgeoisie.

Thus the proletariat in imperialist countries like the U.S. must uphold the program of revolutionary defeatism and work for the defeat of our "own" bourgeoisie in the imperialist war.

Such a struggle against chauvinism and imperialist war would also concretely show workers in colonies, semicolonies and dependent countries that not all workers in imperialist countries have been corrupted or bribed by the superprofits of "their" bourgeoisie. It would show them that "there exist workers who understand and support their struggles against imperialism." As our African comrades have said, "In this period of the imminence of imperialist war this is of great importance, because blinding *chauvinism* has already done too much harm to the workers movement of all countries. An even wider struggle against *chauvinism* . . . must be considered the first step in the direction of the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie." (Message to the Workers of the United States on the Occasion of the Commemoration of the 63rd Anniversary of the Great Socialist Revolution of October 1917 from La Voie Ouvriere (Ivory Coast) and En Avant! (Togo), printed in *Workers Tribune* organ of the Bolshevik League of the U.S., Feb.-March, 1981)

To fight imperialism successfully means illusions about it must be discarded. For example, illusions are rife about the possibility of preventing war and preserving peace while maintaining the imperialist system intact. Many who call themselves revolutionaries or even "communists" claim that this is not only possible, but even likely. Yet this is a social-pacifist illusion that blurs the fact that war is inevitable under imperialism. Such views were eloquently refuted by Stalin who stated, "It is said that Lenin's thesis that imperialism inevitably generates war must now be regarded as obsolete, since powerful popular forces have come forward today in defense of peace and against another world war. That is not true . . . to eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism." (Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., ch. 6)

Other illusions that obscure the nature of imperialism see the coming war and the chauvinist hysteria only as a policy of certain sections of the bourgeoisie, rather than inevitable products of imperialism. Lenin showed that: "The political features of imperialism are reaction all along the line, and increased national oppression, resulting from the oppression of the financial oligarchy and the elimination of free competition. . ." (*Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, ch., 9, Int'l pub., 1939, p. 110) The "democracy" under this system is nothing but a fraud that conceals the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the brutal subjugation and lack of real freedom for the working class and oppressed peoples. Our task is not to demand "pure" democracy, or that the bourgeoisie "live up" to its false promises, but to overthrow it and replace capitalism with socialism where democracy for the majority, the proletariat is guaranteed.

Still another illusion is that the present war preparations and chauvinist hysteria is the result of "fascism" or the "right wing". The entire U.S. bourgeoisie is behind these moves, not merely those who finance the Klan and the Nazis. Reagan himself has emerged as a political representative of the largest sections of the financial oligarchy, such as the Rockefellers and other barons of Wall Street. Fascism is by no means a necessity to usher in imperialist war, as the experience of World War One proves, where the U.S., Britain, and other predatory imperialist powers found their "democratic" mask more useful in promoting chauvinism to "make the world safe for democracy". Today the U.S. bourgeoisie is promoting chauvinism and sentiment for war under the banner of defending "freedom" and even "human rights". They find most useful the assistance of the union bureaucrats and various national reformist politicians from oppressed nationalities in preparing sentiment for war. Fascism would smash the trade unions and all opposition groups by instituting an open terrorist dictatorship. Focusing on fascism as the main danger today also obscures the nature of the coming war, which, unlike World War Two, will not be an anti-fascist War, but, more like World War One, will be an inter-imperialist war. It also leaves the door open to establishing alliances with one or another imperialist in the upcoming war. Focusing on fascism also hides the key reason for the chauvinist wave, misdirects the struggle against it into one to preserve bourgeois democracy, and diverts the struggle from its revolutionary path into one against only one section of the bourgeoisie, rather than the whole imperialist system itself. The tactics we must pursue must thus be similar to the tactics pursued by Lenin and the Bolsheviks before, during and after World War One, and summarized in the Thesis of the Sixth Comintern Congress on imperialist war, and not to those of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International or by Stalin during World War Two, which correctly had a united front against fascism in circumstances fundamentally different than those today.

The tasks of the U.S. working class in fighting chauvinism and imperialist war must fight not only against the wave of chauvinism propagated by the bourgeoisie, but also all the chauvinism and other confusion spread by the corrupted and bribed labor aristocracy and petty bourgeois opportunists. Without such a struggle there can be no proletarian revolution in the U.S. With such a struggle against chauvinism, the U.S. workers will be taking a most important step in the "direction" of transforming the coming imperialist war into a civil war against the U.S. bourgeoisie. Again, to quote Marx, "A people which enslaves another people forges its own chains." (*Resolutions of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association*, 1869)

## The Militarization of Youth

January 5th marked the second round of draft registration for approximately two million male youths. All males born in 1962 were ordered to register for the draft. From now on, every male youth is ordered to register within 30 days of his 18th birthday. Last July, about four million youths were ordered to register for the military draft.

As for women, although they have not yet been ordered to register, there exist "anti-draft" forces like the ACLU, who under the banner of "Equal Rights", oppose the registration on the grounds that it "excludes" women and is therefore unconstitutional. In other words, they are against it because women are not being registered to fight and die for the profits of the capitalists.

Why the draft registration?

The government, military, radios, schools, churches and Wolfman Jack all declare it to be a "patriotic" duty and an honor to serve in the U.S. military, to defend the "democratic principles" and "freedoms" of the "American fatherland". Jimmy Carter, the so-called "Human Rights" champion, issued what was called the Carter Doctrine in the winter of 1980, calling for the introduction of draft registration and greater military spending. Last November, the Senate Appropriations Committee approved a \$161 billion military appropriations bill, the largest in the history of the United States. It was \$6.5 billion more than what Carter had asked for. Ronald Reagan, who wants "to make America Great Again" calls for a further increase in military spending. His economic plans call for reduced government spending in every area but the military. Reagan wants an even greater acceleration of the arms race. Increased military "aid" to reactionary regimes such as El Salvador and South Korea has expanded. A proposal exists to spend \$5.2 billion in constructing military bases in places such as the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean and other areas in the Persian Gulf and throughout the world.

The draft registration and this increased militarization is being carried out to make America strong in order to protect the "national integrity" of nations in regions that are of "vital interests" to the U.S. It is carried out under the pretensions of defending "democratic liberties" and "principles" which the U.S. claims to uphold. It is carried out under the banner of preventing "another Afghanistan" invasion by Russian "communism", another "hostage" — kidnapping of a bunch of American spies, another "communist" takeover in Latin America, as they fear in El Salvador today. Militarization of the youth and society is taking place under the chauvinist and "patriotic" banner of making "America Great". This is what they — the capitalists, their politicians, their state apparatus, and institutions — tell you. And for this "patriotic" reason you must register for the draft or get thrown in jail and/or pay a \$10,000 fine. A "fine" choice indeed!

It is becoming obvious to all that the U.S., the European

powers, and the Russians are preparing for a war, a world war. But we call on all working class and oppressed nationality youth to examine the real reasons why these "great" powers are militarizing. Is it to defend "democracy" and the "national integrities" of the oppressed nations, as the U.S. and Western governments claim? Is it to defend and spread "socialism" and "communism" and support "liberation struggles," as the Russians and the Eastern European governments claim?

#### Imperialism and Imperialist Wars

The war that is being prepared for is an unjust, imperialist war. It is an inevitable product of the world system of capitalism.

Since its defeat in the war in Indochina, U.S. imperialism has suffered a major decline in its strength. The world economic crisis of capitalism has hit it particularly hard. Other imperialist robbers in its bloc, like West Germany and Japan, have been capturing important markets from the U.S. The dominant position which the U.S. had in the Middle East and especially the control of oil has been threatened. The U.S. lost its grip over Iran, losing its biggest source of oil — the most important raw material needed by the capitalist powers. Meanwhile, the Russian imperialists' strength has increased, especially in regard to its military might. The Russians are seeking new territories to plunder and exploit. Despite its "socialist" mask, Russian imperialism and its bloc, like the U.S. and its unstable bloc, is locked in the general crisis of capitalism.

Every government, whether it wears the "democratic" mask as in the U.S., or the "socialist" mask, as in Russia and China, is gripped in this crisis. Like vampires in search of new blood, they are in need of new territories for markets in order to export surplus products, to obtain raw materials like oil, and to further exploit the working people. All this is for the purpose of obtaining the maximum capitalist profits. However, a big problem exists for these imperialist powers. The world is already divided up between the imperialists. The only way for one imperialist power to acquire new territories is by taking over the markets and territories (the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries) of another imperialist power. And this means war—an imperialist war to redivide the world. As long as capitalism exists, imperialist wars to redivide the world will be inevitable.

Why? Because capitalism is an economic system which is periodically and consistently going into crises. The capitalist economic system is an anarchistic system of production in which the various monopolists and capitalists are in a constant cut-throat battle to achieve maximum profits. One capitalist survives and grows by crushing and getting rid of the other competing capitalists. Monopolization of markets, of raw materials, etc., to achieve maximum profit is what drives capitalism. Workers and peasants of all countries are exploited and op-

pressed just so that the riches can go into the pockets of these vampires.

Under capitalism the working class always has and always will face the horrors and sufferings of unemployment, inflation, national discrimination, starvation, crime, disease, etc. All this is because society is organized along lines which serve the private interests of the capitalists like Rockefeller, Exxon, Chase Manhattan Bank, General Motors, U.S. Steel, etc.

J.V. Stalin, the leader of the world's first socialist society—the USSR—summarizes the basic features of capitalist economic law as follows:

**"The main features and requirements of the basic economic law of modern capitalism might be formulated roughly in this way: the securing of the maximum capitalist profit through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of the given country, through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries, and, lastly, through wars and militarization of the national economy, which are utilized for the obtaining of the highest profits."** ("Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR," J.V. Stalin, Selected Works, Cardinal Publishers, pg. 338)

#### The Life of Youth Under Capitalism

The life of the sons and daughters of the working class and oppressed nationalities is deplorable. Many go through an educational system where, upon graduating, they have no real skills whatsoever. Vocational schools use a tracking system which prepares youth to take on various types of jobs in the factories and offices. However, even this "training" is conducted on useless and old equipment which really does not prepare the youth for work. Those who go through academic schools and on to college, in the majority of cases, find that after completing their education they cannot find jobs and end up either unemployed or working in some unskilled job. The educational system as a whole really prepares the youth to be exploited and oppressed at the job. Only a small minority, the cream of the crop, moves ahead and gets corrupted in the various managerial, technocratic, or other professional jobs.

Unemployment amongst youth is at 19%. For Blacks and other oppressed nationality youth unemployment is close to, if not over 50%.

Reagan, supposedly in order to get rid of this unemployment, declared that he plans to reintroduce a lower minimum wage for all youth. This would serve to further increase the exploitation of those youth who are forced to go to work in order to survive.

Various industries which deal with clothing, records, radios, etc., profit off the youth by propagating and instilling amongst the youth a "consumer" mentality for clothing, discos, cars, etc. The youth, who do not make enough money to survive, or have no money, are pressured to be "hip" and keep up with the constantly changing times. And so, while the youth are in a constant search for ways to make money, either by working or by getting money from working parents, hustling or stealing, the various capitalists are profiting from this market of the youth.

Coupled with the above is the constant police harassment of the youth, especially the oppressed nationality youth, who are being consistently shot at and killed. And those youth who are thrown into jail, many times either come out of jail to live a more terrible life of crime, or commit suicide within the jails.

Everywhere the bourgeois news media propagates and pro-

motes a degenerate culture of sexist relationships between males and females, and even homosexuality. Drugs are allowed to flourish in the schools and working class communities.

If sex, drugs, sports, and disco cannot keep the youth pre-occupied while the capitalists profit off their misery, then there exist the religious cults, gangs, and vigilante groups for those who are seeking a "way out."

Religious cults are on the rise everywhere, attracting those youth who are miserable with the life that capitalism has for them. These religious cults not only ensure that those seeking a way out do not adopt a revolutionary path. On the contrary, their aim is to support and promote capitalism and even right-wing reactionary regimes. Such is the case with the Moonies, which receives and gives financial support to the reactionary South Korean regime.

Then there exists a section of the youth who, despite whatever good intentions some of them may have in fighting crime, are forming themselves into self-appointed vigilante groups to help the capitalist system work. These groups, like the Guardian Angels, cooperate with the reactionary police and state apparatus. What is needed is not vigilante groups of youth to aid the police fight "crime," but revolutionary youth to aid the working class fight the real criminals who bring the crime, drugs and poverty into our communities—the capitalist class and their police and state apparatus.

All of the above, plus more, is promoted by the bourgeoisie amongst the youth. This is due to the fact that what the bourgeoisie fears is the revolutionary, class conscious awakening of the working class and oppressed nationality youth. An awakening of youth will further mark the beginning of the end of the rule of monopoly capitalism. And to avoid this they will do anything to keep the youth pre-occupied while making profits.

The life of the sons and daughters of the working class is indeed deplorable. And what the bourgeoisie has in store for the vast reserve army of unemployed youth is war—the imperialist war to redivide the world.

#### Youth: The Cannon Fodder for Imperialist War

It is the working class and oppressed peoples, their sons and daughters, who are being forced not only to work and slave for these blood-suckers, but to fight and die for their imperialist profits. The history of imperialist wars is one of the working class and its sons and daughters fighting and dying for the sake of the profits of the capitalists. The bourgeoisie calls on the workers and the oppressed to unite with them in a "patriotic" show of unity, supposedly to fight for "freedom" and "liberty." But the only freedom that is being fought for is the "freedom" of the imperialists to plunder, annex, and exploit the workers and oppressed peoples of the world. The "freedom" for Exxon to go into the Middle East and plunder the territories, force the raising of oil and fuel prices, and make superprofits. The "freedom" for the U.S. to send a bunch of spies to Iran under the cloak of diplomacy, for the purpose of planning a coup and bringing back another bloody puppet like the Shah of Iran. Or the "freedom" to continue the colonial exploitation of Puerto Rico and the "freedom" to finance the reactionary junta in El Salvador. Or the "freedom" to attack the living standards of the working class in the U.S.; the "freedom" to lay-off thousands of auto workers; the "freedom" to crush the rank-and-file workers movement for democracy in the sold-out trade unions, etc. This is the "freedom" which the U.S. bourgeoisie has ordered the youth to go fight and die for.

And from amongst all the youth who will be expected to fight for these savages, the "freedom"-fighters will be the Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and other oppressed nationality youth, who will be expected to make extra sacrifices for this imperialist "freedom."

*Forbes* magazine, the "capitalist tool," states in its March 3, 1980 issue:

**"... there is a potentially explosive issue most government officials would prefer not to discuss: the increasing reliance on blacks and other minorities to fill the ranks as white recruits grow harder to find."**

Martin Binkin, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, says, "The Army does have a disproportionate number of minorities, especially in the combat units, which are often 50% black." Which could mean that, in the event of war, a group that makes up perhaps 14% of the population would bear as many as 50% of the casualties. Binkin goes on to warn that a draft would not necessarily guarantee all segments of the population would share equally in the danger and sacrifice. Says he: "Even if we go to a lottery system, inequities creep in. Those with low numbers flock to enlist in part-time reserve units and the Air Force and Navy, so those services get the cream. The Army may well wind up with a heavy concentration of minorities."

And so the youth will be the cannon fodder for the imperialists in their unjust war of aggression and annexation.

#### Attitude Towards Imperialist War

So long as capitalism continues to exist, bloody wars of aggression and annexation will be inevitable. History has confirmed this basic objective truth. In order to eliminate imperialist war, we must eliminate the system of imperialism.

The task of all revolutionary communists must be to prepare the workers and oppressed masses in each country to turn the imperialist war into a civil war. We must struggle for the defeat of our own bourgeois government. It is a crime for the workers and the working class youth to shoot and kill their comrade workers and toilers of other countries, just so that our ruling bourgeois government can go plunder and take over these other countries. Under no circumstances should the workers and youth of this country unite with the imperialists and invade Iran, Iraq, El Salvador, Russia, etc., and shoot and kill the workers and peasants of these countries. On the contrary, we must prepare to turn the guns around at our own bourgeois government and overthrow this class of exploiters. We must support and unite with the struggles of the oppressed worker and peasant masses in Asia, Africa, Latin America, etc., who are fighting the imperialists and their reactionary governments. Our slogan is not one of "patriotism," but one of proletarian internationalism, for the workers and oppressed peoples of the world to unite in a common front against the international bourgeoisie.

Our attitude to the draft registration must be one where **"the struggle against conscription is only of secondary importance compared with the fight against the imperialist war itself."** (6th Comintern Congress, Resolution on Imperialist War). While we oppose the draft, making it the major focus of the struggle only serves to misdirect the movement away from imperialist war itself and its source, imperialism.

Many petty bourgeois, middle class reformists and so-called "revolutionaries" call for the draft resistance. This is just a petty-bourgeois escape. The various slogans of the liberals, reformists, and opportunists (so-called "communists," Maoists, Trotskyites, etc.). "Boycott war," "boycott the draft," "stop nuclear power" and "build the peace movement," are all

illusionary slogans and tasks. These calls are made by middle class and liberal bourgeois pacifists and "revolutionaries" who believe that war is not inevitable if a strong peace and anti-nuke movement is built that can "tame" and reform imperialism. This is an impossible dream. The strong peace movements that preceded WWI, WWII, the Korean War, the Vietnam war, etc., were not able to prevent the imperialists from going into war. Imperialism must be overthrown in order for the working class to escape forever from the horrors of imperialist war.

**"Happy birthday to youuuu . . . Happy birthday to . . ."**



Thus, while we expose and oppose the draft and the militarization of society by the bourgeoisie in their preparations for war, if you are drafted it is in the interest of the working class in the fight against imperialism to reject the pacifist refusal of the military service slogans. Take the opportunity to learn the use of military arms, carry on revolutionary work in the army and, at the proper moment—i.e., when the working class, led by its vanguard Bolshevik party, is generally prepared to overthrow the imperialists—use your training and turn your weapons against the bourgeoisie. Our task is the revolutionary defeat of our government, turning the imperialist war into a civil war, fighting for real socialism. Only this path can eventually eliminate imperialism and its imperialist wars. The sixth Congress of the Communist International, held in 1928, puts it as follows:

**"'Transform the imperialist war into civil war' means primarily, revolutionary mass action . . . Communists combat the propaganda in favor of the 'against the war' prescriptions that are recommended by the petty bourgeois elements in the labor movement. Prescriptions like 'refusal to bear arms,' 'refusal to shoot,' etc., are still circulated widely among the masses today, and many workers seriously believe in their efficacy. As a matter of fact, these prescriptions are meaningless and harmful. The Communists must tell the workers that the struggle against war is not a single and simultaneous act, and that revolutionary mass action on the part of the workers and poor peasants, in the rear and at the front, for the armed overthrow of the bourgeoisie, is the only proper means of combating war, to which all other means must be directed."**

This was the path that V.I. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party led the workers and peasants of Russia in overthrowing the capitalist regime during WW I, an imperialist war. The October Bolshevik Revolution transformed the imperialist war

into a civil war against the capitalist class of Russia. The result was the birth of the world's first victorious workers and peasant state, the USSR.

The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and J.V. Stalin, showed the way to get rid of Imperialism and its wars. And they began the construction of a socialist society.

### Fight Against Imperialist War and For Socialism

The future of the youth under capitalism is one of hardship and misery, becoming cannon fodder for imperialist wars. However, this is not the only future. The youth can and must rally to the side and cause of the workers of the world—the fight for socialism.

Under socialism, the means of production (the factories, land, raw materials, etc.) are owned not by individuals and monopoly capitalists, but by the working class. The working class, through its vanguard Bolshevik party, controls the government and state apparatus, expropriates the private property of the bourgeoisie, and socializes the means of production, instituting a centralized planned economy, based on five-year plans. Production, therefore, is aimed not at achieving maximum profits to be pocketed by a class of thieves, but at achieving the maximum satisfaction of the needs of the workers and toilers in a planned and centralized manner. J.V. Stalin summarizes the basic features of socialist economics as follows:

"The essential features and requirements of the basic law of socialism might be formulated roughly in this way: the securing of the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society through the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher techniques.

"Consequently: instead of maximum profits—maximum satisfaction of the material and cultural requirements of society; instead of development of production with breaks in continuity from boom to crisis and from crisis to boom—unbroken expansion of production; instead of periodic breaks in technical development, accompanied by destruction of the productive forces of society—an unbroken process of perfecting production on the basis of higher techniques." ("Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR," op. cit., p. 339)

In 1938, under J.V. Stalin's leadership, unemployment no longer existed in the Soviet Union. Free medical care existed for all workers and rural workers. The USSR was the only country in the world that was progressing and unaffected by the world capitalist depression of the 1930's. The USSR had eliminated the capitalists as a class. After the fascists invaded the USSR and destroyed many of the industrial cities, the USSR with its planned socialist economy, was able to rebuild its economy and give Soviet aid to the newly liberated People's Democracies in Eastern Europe. All this was the result of the correct politics of the Bolshevik Party led by J.V. Stalin.

The crisis that Russia, Poland, China, Cuba, etc., face today is not a crisis of socialism, as is taught in the schools and newspapers, etc. In fact, the present crisis in these so-called "socialist" countries is proof that capitalism has been restored in these countries ever since the death of Stalin and the overthrow of the Bolsheviks by the opportunists, spies, and hangmen that served the interests of the imperialist bloc.

But this does not do away with the fact that real socialism can be built. Socialism is still a new and young movement. And the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Stalin's time have shown the way as to how to go about achieving it.

### Rally to Bolshevism!

Sons and daughters of the working class: we call on you to organize and fight against the imperialist war preparations. We know that what the Bolshevik League has presented to you is many complex questions and points, *contrary* to what you are taught in the schools and media, etc. But we call on you to examine, study, and discuss the points which we raised above. Our interest lies with that of the workers and oppressed people. We seek to end the misery of capitalism and its wars.

Over thirty years have gone by where the bourgeoisie and "red" bourgeoisie of all countries have slandered and distorted the history, true meaning, tasks and objectives of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and world Bolshevism. But now, throughout the world, workers, peasants, and revolutionaries are beginning to rally to Bolshevism, walking on the path that was charted by the great teachers of the international working class. In the summer of 1980, an international conference of Bolsheviks against the imperialist war preparations was held. Bolshevik groups from Africa, Puerto Rico, Canada, and the United States participated in this historic event. An appeal against imperialist war preparations was issued. We call on all the youth to study the appeal and discuss it in your clubs, groups, and with your family and friends. The fight against imperialist war must begin now. We cannot wait till the outbreak of war, for when that occurs, many of the still-existing democratic liberties will be taken away, and repression by the state apparatus will make it much more difficult to organize against the war.

If you would like to discuss with us more on the various points, we will be glad to do so. Organize activities at your schools, organizations or clubs, or even form study circles to discuss the above. We have literature that can help you in your studies and discussions. And if you want speakers, contact any of our distributors or write to us at our address. In any case, we call on all you sons and daughters of the working class to study Bolshevism, organize, and fight against imperialist war preparations.

We would like to end with these few words written by V.I. Lenin:

"The millions who are pondering over the causes of the recent war and of the approaching future war are more and more realizing the grim and inexorable truth that it is impossible to escape imperialist war and the imperialist peace . . . which inevitably engenders imperialist war, that it is impossible to escape that inferno, except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution." ("The 4th Anniversary of the October Revolution"—*LCW* 33:56)

### PERU AND ECUADOR (from p. 16)

The workers and peasants must begin to raise the real revolutionary banner of Bolshevism, the banner of Lenin and Stalin, which shows the proper path to take towards real emancipation.

Only a Soviet revolution of workers and peasants, with the hegemony of the working class led by a Bolshevik Party, can lead to real emancipation. Only with the establishment of a government of workers and peasants, a democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants, under the hegemony of the working class, will genuine emancipation take place. And this dictatorship of the workers and peasants must lead to the establishment of socialism and communism. No other path will liberate the workers and peasants of Peru and Ecuador from the stranglehold of imperialism and the national bourgeoisie. Re-ignite the spark of Bolshevism, for only this spark of Lenin and Stalin will lead to genuine emancipation!

### NATIONAL QUESTION

## Atlanta: Terror in the Black Nation

(from pg. 1)

All working and oppressed peoples must be won to support these courageous acts of self-defense in Atlanta. The state apparatus only serves the interests of the capitalist class, while suppressing working and oppressed peoples. The police continue to harass and arrest patrol members, reflecting the lack of political power and self-determination for the oppressed Black nation in the Black Belt South. While the present aim of the patrols is just to protect the children, the Atlanta killings and the response of the state will assist people to learn that there is no reformist solution to ending once and for all this terror, that all forms of reformism and opportunism must be broken with, and that the only solution is the overthrow of imperialism in the Black nation and in the entire U.S.

The following article was a brief presentation made by the Bolshevik League at a mass activity held in March, in New Jersey.

The continuing brutal murder of Black children in Atlanta has aroused mass concern and outrage. But it has also led to a disgusting wave of hypocrisy from the so-called "leaders" in this country.

President Reagan claims to deplore the killings at the same time that he sends millions of dollars to kill the children of workers and peasants of El Salvador. He sheds crocodile tears for Black children while slashing funds for foodstamps, jobs, welfare, and schools. Meanwhile, the reformist politicians tell us to demand more money for the police. Yet the police themselves are infamous murderers of Black children!

From the pacifist quarter, the preachers call on us to light candles and hold vigils. But prayer and mourning for the children are powerless weapons against racist killings. On the other hand, some Black nationalists are calling for *more* child murders — the killings of white youngsters in retaliation for the deaths of Blacks. This monstrous suggestion is an act of provocation designed to further divide Black people from the working and oppressed people of other nationalities, and it has been condemned and rejected by the Black community.

All these paths will only direct the mass anger into frustration, fear, madness, or despair. We must not let this happen! The suffering we feel for the murdered children will not be in vain only if we understand that what is happening in Atlanta is not unique or new. It is but another chapter of terror, murder, and exploitation that has been going on since the first capitalist traders kidnapped the first slaves to these shores. Whether on plantations, factories, in kitchens or mills, the capitalists have reaped enormous profits from the cheap labor of Black people, and enforced that system through terror, the government, and racist demagogues. So Atlanta is nothing but the inevitable result of a system — capitalism — that thrives on exploiting the labor of masses of workers and subjugating whole nations and peoples. U.S. history has been a history of stealing the lands of the Native peoples and committing genocide against them, of annexing half of Mexico and all of Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and Alaska, of subjugating the Black nation in the Black Belt South, of shooting down striking workers when they get too militant, and of waging bloody wars of plunder from San Juan Hill to Saigon to San

Salvador.

Today the entire world capitalist system is in a grave economic crisis, and this means that the chauvinism and terror will only get worse. The only so-called solution the imperialists have to this crisis is a war to re-divide the world. The coming imperialist world war is an inevitable product of the imperialist system itself. To prepare public sentiment for this war, chauvinist hysteria is directed against Blacks, Iranians, Mexican and other Latin American immigrants, and all oppressed peoples. Imperialism whips up national hatreds to get the working class to support a war of plunder to seize export markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of capital investment. The war aims especially at re-dividing control over the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, from which U.S. imperialism grabs the greatest superprofits. This is why the imperialist countries like the U.S., Russia, France, etc., are all arming themselves to the teeth and engaging in frenzied flag-waving and patriotic hysteria.

It is in this climate that the Atlanta killings occur. We do not know if these killings are part of a planned conspiracy. Yet the chauvinism behind them is consciously promoted every day by the government, the media, and the schools — all of which are controlled by the capitalist class.

The Atlanta killer or killers may be caught. But acts of racist terror will continue, as they always have under this system. Fascist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan are on the rise — promoted and funded by millionaires like J.B. Stoner of Georgia and government agencies. If we want to end the nightmare that we see in Atlanta once and for all, then we must end the system that created this nightmare in the first place. Reforms are no solution to the ills of capitalism.

Today there is mainly despair and confusion. But when the war comes, when the whole world becomes an Atlanta for young and old alike, for workers and oppressed peoples of all nationalities and all countries, mass opposition will begin to grow. While most will support the war when it commences, the war will lead to a heightened crisis and a revolutionary situation as the carnage drags on. During World War I, there was tremendous mass opposition to the imperialist war. The working masses of Russia, led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, rose up in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was established and socialism was built, ending exploitation, national oppression, and the inequality of nations in the former Czarist Russia. This gleaming revolutionary example for all working people and oppressed nations the world over must not be confused with the Russia of today, which stands as one of the predatory imperialist powers seeking to re-divide the world through an unjust war. Despite its "communist" mask, Russia has been capitalist since a foul conspiracy, funded by imperialism internationally, overthrew socialism in a bloody coup.

Despite this setback for humanity, imperialism is a reactionary and doomed system. **"Capitalism, formerly a liberator of nations, has now, in its imperialist stage, become the greatest oppressor of nations. Formerly progressive, it has become a reactionary force. It has developed the productive forces to such an extent**

(cont. p. 40)

# WAR AND THE TASKS OF LABOR

Fellow workers! These most perilous times are demanding solutions to the growing injustice facing workers of this and all other countries. The solution presented by the U.S. government can be summed up in one phrase: war and austerity. While many hard-won rights, benefits, and services are being stripped away, the capitalists and their representatives in government tell us that we must prepare to die for the supposed "national interest" in Iran, or El Salvador, or wherever next they threaten.

The American working class should get it clear that the "national interest" so hypocritically spoken of by the politicians is nothing but the interest of the giant corporations like Exxon and General Motors and the largest banks like Bank of America and Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan, to plunder the world. The workers and the capitalists have no common interest, as every day we must sweat and toil for the capitalists to maximize their profits.

To obscure the class interest of the working class, and to whip up support for an imperialist war of conquest, a vicious wave of chauvinism and jingoism is being whipped up. Oppressed peoples face intensified attacks, such as the murder of more than 20 Black children in Atlanta, raids against Mexican and other Latin American immigrant workers, and harassment and beatings of Iranians. The capitalists especially want a new war to redivide the colonial and semi-colonial countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, where the greatest superprofits can be gotten. Thus, in all the imperialist countries such as the U.S., Russia, France, etc., the accelerating arms race and preparations for war is accompanied by more flag-waving, jingoism, and racism.

The continuing capitalist economic crisis, the attempts to shift it entirely onto the backs of the workers and oppressed peoples of this and other countries, and the threat of a new world war have resulted in a growing resentment by U.S. workers to the worsening conditions they are facing. Yet despite rising opposition, there has been no massive struggle of the working class against these attacks. This is because there are various responses and solutions offered by various political forces.

The main response has been that of the trade union leadership. All that has been put forward is a laundry list of legislative reforms that are proving to be powerless against the offensive of the capitalists against our living standards and rights. The union leaders have consistently pursued the politics of class collaboration with the capitalists, rather than class struggle against the capitalists. They have made the American labor movement a tail of the capitalist state, the floundering Democratic Party, and such central imperialist institutions like the Rockefeller-dominated Trilateral Commission and Council on Foreign Relations (see article "Trade Union Bureaucrats in Service of Imperialism?").

The union leaders do not represent the mass of exploited and oppressed workers. Rather, they represent a minority of the workers, the bribed upper stratum known as the labor aristocracy. These workers actually benefit from imperialist plunder and receive crumbs from the superprofits grabbed from the colonies and semi-colonies. The union leaders have used their positions as heads of the vast union bureaucracies to enrich themselves even farther. Workers' dues and union funds are used as investments in capitalist enterprises. While running a crisis-ridden bank, the United Mine Workers under Sam Church's leadership raised dues 120 percent. Doug Fraser of the United Auto Workers tells workers to accept pay cuts, and support U.S. auto companies and blame Japanese auto workers for the collapse of the U.S. auto industry. At the same time he partakes of all the riches and privileges of being on Chrysler's board of directors.

In short, the union bureaucracies have by and large themselves become capitalist institutions. Wildcat strikes, any attempt by the workers to organize themselves, and union democracy in general are thus crushed by the bureaucrats. In order to serve their fellow capitalists, the class collaborationist union leaders have led the American labor movement to a state of decline and weakness unseen in over 50 years in this country.

That these bureaucrats have a material stake in this system of exploitation and stand diametrically opposed to the fundamental interests of the American workers can be most clearly seen in their stance regarding war. They organized support of the imperialist wars in Korea and Vietnam to guarantee U.S. robbery of these countries. The U.S. fought to control South Korea, whose brutal military dictatorship guarantees enforced robbery of the cheap labor of Korean workers, who are paid pennies an hour. They tried this in Indonesia, but failed, with the Russian imperialists today getting the spoils. It is for these imperialist ends that again today the capitalists and the government revive the tired cold war rhetoric, to be echoed by the even more tired labor bureaucrats. Even when some union leaders finally opposed the Vietnam war, it was only *after* the U.S. was losing the war irreversibly, and *after* a section of the ruling class also saw continuation of the war as hopeless. Even then, they were afraid of mobilizing workers to demonstrate against the war, and limited their slogans to impotent calls for "peace." But today they all tell the working class to defend the "national interest" in the Persian Gulf—that is, the "right" of Exxon, Mobil, Texaco, and Shell to grab even more billions from monopolizing the world's oil.

To pursue its own class interests the working class must reject the class collaborationist response of the union leaders.

The working class must also reject the militant-sounding reformism of the various false "socialists" and "communists." These middle class fakers only aspire to replace the present bureaucrats with themselves, so they can share in crumbs from the imperialist banquet table.

All these false leaders must be exposed as traitors to the working class and agents of imperialism. Workers must fight for real democracy in the unions so there can be a debate and conflict of opinion between the different trends in the labor movement. Then the workers can freely choose between the two opposite roads of reformist class collaboration with capitalism, and revolutionary class struggle for socialism. Unionized workers must never forget that the majority of the working class in the U.S. remains unorganized by the union bureaucrats. The workers require their own centers of organization free from the domination of the bureaucrats.

The genuine, revolutionary Communists are distinguished from the fakers by the fact that they organize the working class for socialist revolution, and do not use the workers merely to climb the ladder of the union bureaucracy. The revolutionary

Communists advocate proletarian internationalism and opposition to imperialist war, and not whatever the U.S., the Russians, or some other imperialist advocates.

The coming world war, which is an inevitable product of the imperialist system, will pose even greater challenges to the working class. The increased militarization of society means even less rights to organize for workers. Yet the union bureaucrats support this militarization and will support the next imperialist war.

The interests of the working class require no support for any imperialist or reactionary in the coming war. We must work for the defeat of our "own" government that will get us into this war, and work to transform the coming imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. To prepare for this today, we must begin to struggle against all the chauvinism and opportunism promoted by the union bureaucrats and false "communists." Then we can end this system of crisis, wars, national oppression, racism, and subjugation of women and the exploitation of the working class once and for all.

## The Polish Workers' Movement and "Red" Imperialism

In March, the Independent Self-Ruling Trade Union for Private Farmers — Solidarity, widely known as "Rural Solidarity" was officially founded, despite its non-recognition by the Polish government. It is estimated that Rural Solidarity represents 1.8 million of the 3.5 million private farmers. The majority of the 3.5 million farmers are small and middle farmers whom are being severely oppressed, neglected, and crushed by the "Red" bourgeois government of Poland, revealing their total abandonment of the Leninist and Stalinist policy of winning the poor and middle peasants to the side of socialism.

On March 19, 200 police forcibly evicted and attacked Solidarity members who attended a meeting in support of the legal existence of Rural Solidarity. Twenty-six members of Solidarity were beaten by the police, and three were hospitalized.

This incident sparked another strike wave of the Polish workers against the real anti-socialist "red" bourgeois government. Under the pressure of the rank-and-file workers, the reformist and collaborator Lech Walesa was forced to present a set of democratic demands to the government. Demands included the punishment of officials who attacked the unionists, the right for farmers to organize unions, the guarantee of union leaders to talk openly in an uncensored press, abolish limits on strike pay, and to drop legal proceedings against past dissidents. Mass sentiment for an immediate general strike was contained by Walesa with his alternate proposal of a four hour warning strike, followed by negotiations and threat of a general strike if the demands were not met.

On March 27th, 13 million workers went on strike — perhaps the largest ever in the Russian imperialist bloc, since the restoration of capitalism. (For more on this, see *Workers Tribune*, No. 1, "The Polish Workers Fight Against the "Red" Bourgeoisie).

This warning strike of 13 million workers has sent a shiver down the spine of not only the Polish government, but the Russian imperialists. Poland, faced with a disastrous economic crisis which exposes the fallacies that it is a socialist government, is facing a severe political crisis that has divided its

bourgeoisie and is presently dividing the reformist leadership of Solidarity.

Lech Walesa has proclaimed that 70 percent of Solidarity's demands were met in the negotiations which followed the 4-hour warning strike, thus calling off the general strike. Kania, the leader of the Polish United Workers Party, was able to rally the majority of central committee against the more staunch anti-Solidarity, pro-Russian members of the central committee led by Stefan Olszowski. This section of the "red" bourgeoisie sought to implement the Russian line of openly crushing the workers movement now rather than follow the "carrot" policy of concessions and buying-off the reformist leadership of Solidarity as the way to crush the workers movement. It was rumored that the more pro-Russian section of the PUWP leadership attempted to resign, but were refused by the majority, knowing that such an action would enhance further the imminence of direct Russian intervention.

In Solidarity, too, Walesa carried the majority of the leadership in squashing the militant sections of Solidarity which has accused Walesa of selling out the workers demands and becoming ever more suspicious of some behind the scene deals between Walesa and Kania. Anna Walentynowicz and other key leaders of Solidarity and supporters of KOR (the Self-Defense Committee) — a dissident group of intellectuals, legal marxists, pro-Western imperialists and social-democrats — who sought an immediate general strike, were ousted from their posts in Solidarity.

Pro-Western imperialist groups like KOR seek to call for immediate general strike, but not necessarily to secure the genuine interests of the Polish workers and poor farmers, but moreso to provoke the "Red" bourgeoisie's crushing the movement thereby giving the U.S. and Western imperialists a legitimate excuse to move against the Russian imperialists. One must distinguish between the KOR dissidents and the genuine class conscious workers who are awakening to Walesa's reformism and class collaboration. These events in Poland have been taking place with the existence of Russian and Warsaw Pact troops occupying parts of Poland "practicing" military maneuvers. These war "games" were supposed to end in late March,

but instead were continued longer and expanded with no real justification.

As soon as Kania's line of concession won out over the line of Olszowski, that of immediately crushing the workers movement, the Russian press openly criticized the line that PUWP adopted. *Tass*, the Russian official press agency, was quoted as saying: "The situation in Poland, despite the calm that has begun, has not improved but even worsened. A struggle for power is going on in the country." (*New York Times*, April 5, 1981, pg. 5) Hence, the Russians extended their stay in Poland. Twenty Russian military divisions have been concentrated in western Russia, the Baltic Republics, East Germany and Czechoslovakia. The Russians have also organized a communications network inside of Poland that is not available to other Warsaw pact troops that are not involved. And atop of all this, Brezhnev used the occasion of the congress of the Czechoslovakia "Communist" Party to call an emergency Warsaw Pact meeting to discuss the Polish crisis.

Too many, the steps of events on the part of the Russians brings back memories of the Russian imperialist invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Then too, the Warsaw Pact was conducting military "maneuvers." And when it was obvious to the Russians that the revisionist Dubcek's reformist regime conflicted with the Russian views, the Russians invaded Czechoslovakia supposedly to "save socialism."

#### Some Consequences of Russian Invasion Of Poland for World Imperialism

Poland is a capitalist dependency, a source of raw materials and markets, a sphere of influence for the Russian imperialists. Poland is one of the world's largest coal producing nation — a raw material of extreme importance not only for the Russians, but for world capitalism. Its geographic position — between Russia and Germany — is of extreme importance for the maintenance of the Russian imperialist bloc. If Poland were to break from the strangle-hold of the Russians, it would jeopardize the whole Warsaw Pact and its ability to confront the Western imperialist bloc as a unified whole. This is extremely dangerous for the Russian bloc, at a time when they are in preparation for a war to re-divide the world. And also just as dangerous, if not more so, the heroic gains of the Polish workers movement is a threat to all the "red" bourgeois governments that go under the masquerade of socialism. Russia, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Albania, Cuba, etc., all face the capitalist world economic crisis that has been so acute in Poland. Any continued successes of the Polish workers movement is bound to set an example to the workers in the rest of the so-called "socialist" countries. This is a horrible prospect that the "red" bourgeoisie cannot afford. So it comes as no surprise that governments like Albania, Cuba, East Germany, etc., condemn the Polish workers movement as counter-revolutionary.


Thus the securing of Poland is a must for the Russian imperialist bloc, either by an invasion, or by the Polish government eventually crushing the workers movement. Recent events in Poland have pushed the Russian imperialists to seek the path of intervention.

The U.S., despite its sham support of the Polish workers movement and its condemnation of the threat of Russian invasion in Poland, will most probably really welcome a Russian invasion. Aside from the probability that a Russian invasion would "stabilize" the Polish economy, thereby ensuring the repayment of the \$27 billion debt owed to the Western imperialists by Poland, an invasion will shatter Russia's "detente" with Western Europe. Russia has sought this "detente" line with Western Europe as a way of destabilizing

the NATO bloc. France and West Germany, for example, have many investments in the Russian bloc, and thus, have opposed many of the U.S. policies of rearming NATO and preparing for an imperialist war against the Russian bloc. So, whereas the Russian invasion of Afghanistan was not able to fully rally France, West Germany, and other Western imperialists to break with the Russians, a Russian invasion of Poland — much closer to home — will bring the NATO bloc closer in opposition to the Russian bloc. During the recent crisis in Poland, both West Germany and France communicated with each other, and then with the U.S. and, in case of a Russian invasion of Poland, reached agreements of imposing total economic sanctions against Russia, halting industrial projects, stopping loans and banning Russian ships from Western ports; calling off talks with Moscow on arms control and pulling out of the Madrid conference on European security; withdrawing ambassadors from Moscow and ending cultural exchanges. The U.S. planned to use the invasion as an excuse of rejecting Brezhnev's recent proposed sham "disarmament" discussion and a justification to begin reprisals against Cuba, who has been meddling in Latin America — the U.S. "backyard."

For the U.S., it could also more freely use the period of Russian intervention in Poland to intervene more openly in El Salvador and build-up its military network in the Persian Gulf without any real Russian obstruction. It will also be a proper excuse to go ahead with the arming of China thereby strengthening a U.S. — China military alliance. It is no wonder why Brezhnev, at the recent 26th Congress of their revisionist party, did not openly support El Salvador and why the *U.S. News and World Report*, March 2, 1981 recently reported that Moscow was willing to offer the U.S. any "guarantee" it wants for uninterrupted flow of oil from the Middle East. Russia wished to deal with Poland knowing that the U.S. would not militarily interfere, and the U.S. seems to greet this temporary situation with the view of consolidating its allies and its backyard. The Polish crisis once again reveals the preparations that the imperialists of all colors are making in their quest to re-divide the world.

For the U.S. workers, the Polish workers, the workers and peasant masses of El Salvador, etc., this means more exploitation and savage repression from the various bourgeois governments. We must begin to follow the heroic examples of the Polish workers and the toilers of El Salvador. But we must break from the reformist and sell-out leadership that presently exist. Revolutionary workers, farmers, peasants, must draw lessons from the Bolsheviks of Lenin's days and how they prepared the Russian workers and peasants in breaking from the influence of the Russian reformists, mensheviks, etc., and proceeded to turn the imperialist war into a civil war against their own bourgeois government, installing a genuine revolutionary government of the workers and peasants. This will be the only true path of genuine emancipation.



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## INTERVIEW

# "Chiang Ching is a Racist!"

*Workers' Tribune*, recently conducted an interview with a long-time American activist who visited China in late 1971 and met with the late Premier Chou En-lai (Zhou Enlai), Mao's wife and the cultural revolution leader Chiang Ching (Jiang Qing), and the cultural revolution chief propagandist Yao Wen-yuan (Yao Wenyuan). Below, for the first time in print, is an account of that meeting.

WT: How did you get to go to China?

Answer: They wanted activists from the U.S. student movement to show that they were not only inviting Nixon, but were also inviting the "Left". I was part of a delegation of these student activists.

WT: What were your overall impressions of these leaders?

Answer: Even though, I was a supporter of Maoism at the time, I was not impressed. One incident that stood out was at the beginning of our meeting. One of the leaders of our delegation was a Black woman from the student movement. The Communist Party of China (CPC) leaders began by asking her to explain why she was relatively light-skinned and her hair was straight! We all got embarrassed, especially the woman. Here we expected to find guidance from world-known figures whom we considered the revolutionary leaders of the international communist movement. Instead they came off as backward and chauvinist. It really startled me to find out that such a key leader of the cultural revolution, and who was Mao's wife, Chiang Ching, was a racist. When I read today that Black African students get beaten and tarred in China, I know that this is not something new, but that the top leaders have always been promoting such racism.

WT: What happened next?

Answer: The main part of the discussion was on the international situation. Chou did most of the talking here. We were in China just before Nixon's first trip. Chou tried to say that the main reason for the trip was to discuss Taiwan. Yet besides the taking place during the time of the Vietnam war of the brutal B-52 bombings, the issue of the India-Pakistan war was important then. As it turned out, Kissinger's secret trip to China was arranged through Pakistan. Then both the U.S. and China sided with Pakistan, and the Russians with India and Bangladesh. All this has got to be more than a coincidence. I think Nixon's trip actually sealed what had already secretly been worked out by Kissinger, Mao, and Chou — a U.S.-China alliance. Chou was just trying to get us to fall for his rhetoric, which, unfortunately, we did.

He went on to speak a lot about the India-Pakistan War. He said that they could not support Bangladesh because then their might be a Tibet "Desh" or a Taiwan "Desh" Looking back on it now, I think they were aware of massive discontent among their own minority nationalities and were afraid of secessionist movements gaining popular approval. Indirectly Chou admitted that China was in the same position to its different nationalities as was Pakistan to Bangladesh, and that there was

inequality of national groups within China.

WT: What did they say about Russia?

Answer: What was most striking was that they tried to link the activities of the present imperialist rulers of Russia to to what Comrade J.V. Stalin did. For instance, they criticized Stalin for sending the Red Army to liberate Europe from Nazism! They saw this as related to the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. They said that since the Red Army liberated Eastern Europe, these countries were never really independent and "self-reliant". Such a position was amazing and could only be called treachery and sabotage that would have only aided Hitler.

WT: What about their attitude towards the Russians at the time of your visit?

Answer: I think that they were promoting all the essentials of the counter-revolutionary theory of "three worlds" even then. They said the U.S. was already defeated in Vietnam. This was in late 1971, when U.S. imperialism was still bombing and murdering the Vietnamese. The implications for us American activists was that since the U.S. was defeated and pulling out anyway, we should not fight their new-found allies but instead should focus on Russia. They said that since the main U.S. and Russian investments were in Europe, that this was the focus of their rivalry. But this goes against my understanding of Lenin's teachings on imperialism that the imperialists' rivalry to re-divide the world focuses on re-dividing the colonial, semi-colonial, and dependent countries.

As with Pakistan, they also favored a division of the world favorable to the U.S. There had been a coup attempt in the Sudan before our trip. It had been led by pro-Russian forces, who were put down and their leaders executed. They said they would not protest these executions since these people were doing something they should not have done in the first place. In other words, they were not just saying that they would not support a pro-Russian coup. They were saying it was wrong for anyone to overthrow this reactionary government since it was part of the "third world." This shows what a lie it is for the Maoists to claim that Mao and his closest comrades like Chiang Ching never opposed revolution.

When you look at the present line of Deng Xiaping, I think, it is fair to say that it is basically the same social-chauvinism as Chou, Chiang, and Yao pushed to us almost ten years ago. In later years, most of those who went on our trip remained faithful to the theory of "three worlds," so the CPC leaders had an audience, in the main, ready, willing, and able to be out-and-out social-chauvinists.

WT: Did they mention the Party of Labor of Albania?

Answer: Oh, yes! They had nothing but praise for the Albanians. Chou said Albania was a genuine socialist country and praised them for supposedly liberating themselves without Soviet aid. He said this was why they were inde-



pendent of Russian imperialism. He compared them to Romania and Yugoslavia in this regard, although he said that Yugoslavia was not socialist. This was at a time when the leaders of China and Albania were still friendly, and the CPC revisionists saw common ground between their chauvinism and Hoxha's nationalism. The foreign language bookstore in Peking (Beijing) was filled with works by Hoxha and the PLA in many languages, and our guides encouraged us to study them. So all of Hoxha's bluster that the CPC opposed them is another lie, since Hoxha and the PLA got the official stamp of approval from the highest levels of the Chinese party and state apparatus.

WT: What was their view of the U.S. Communist movement?

Answer: They tried to play games with us about this. On the one hand, they told us that this was our affair, that they would not tell us what to do, and so on. On the other hand, they more subtly put forward their views and pushed us in certain directions. They said, for instance, that Progressive Labor Party, who they once recognized as their fraternal party in the U.S., was revisionist because it opposed the talks with Nixon. But they did not say if PLP was always revisionist or not, whether anything else in its line was correct or incorrect, or anything. This kind of attitude directed us away from open polemics and doing a thorough analysis of all forms of revisionism. We discussed the national questions in the U.S. a lot with them. But they seemed concerned with struggling against the narrow nationalism of some of the oppressed nationality members of the delegation, which certainly existed. To this they countered with a liberal, integrationist line. They did not once mention the teachings of Lenin, Stalin, or the Communist International on the Black question in the U.S. as a national question. Not once did they mention the right to self-determination. I think all of these CPC leaders helped promote the social-chauvinist liquidation of the national questions in the U.S. by all the opportunists.

In a more informal part of the meeting, they actually put out the view that ultra-“Leftism” was the chief danger in the U.S. movement. This was at a time when the movement was so openly tailing the spontaneous movements that there was even very little lip service paid to party-building. We all were engaged in our little, reformist coalitions and the most economist work. They must have wanted to get us to be openly supporters of Nixon, and to prevent any motion towards a real revolutionary party.

We had asked our guides, with whom we talked a lot of politics, about the question of forming a new Communist International. At first we thought they would downplay it since so many forces were so small and weak. But they told us they would have to discuss it first before they answered us, meaning that they had to discuss it with their leadership first. They came back a few days later with the answer that they were against a new International. They said the First International did not help the Paris Commune and then dissolved, that the Second International became corrupted and their was the Russian Revolution anyway, and that the Third International was dissolved and there was the

Chinese Revolution anyway. So why, they asked, should there be a new one? By this they totally negated the vast contributions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin through these Internationals. It also became obvious later that they opposed a new Communist International since this would disrupt their bourgeois nationalist dealings with imperialism. Later, in a published interview, Chou came out openly with these anti-International views.

WT: Why were no accounts given of this meeting before?

Answer: That is a good question. The Chinese press reported the meeting. But for obvious reasons, the CPC leaders did not want an account of it made public. They even told us to destroy our notes before we left China, which we did. Thus, I have no exact quotes but only brief notes written shortly after the meeting. Beyond this, because of our own Maoism, we applied the conciliatory “unity-criticism-unity” position to these Maoist leaders themselves. This means unity at any price with revisionism. Some of their remarks were so blatantly reactionary that we could not defend them. I gave accounts of these to friends and comrades, but never publicized them. Although this shook my confidence in what we later learned were the various factions of the CPC leadership, because of my own political inexperience and the pernicious influence of Maoism, I did not break with Maoism until some years later.

WT: What lessons does all this have for today?

Answer: That is the main lesson for today. If you want to stop defending all these underhanded deals and all the treachery by the CPC leaders, then you have to break with Maoism and all other forms of revisionism, and follow the revolutionary path of Bolshevism. Otherwise, we would all still be in the same swamp as the chauvinists Chou, Chiang, and Yao.

I personally heard these treacherous social-chauvinist words roll off their lips. When I see groups like RCP (Revolutionary Communist Party of the U.S.) defending Chiang Ching and even wearing buttons with her picture on it, it turns my stomach that they are promoting such revisionists. All they want to do is promote the same social-chauvinist defense of U.S. imperialism and liquidation of the national question covered over by some left-sounding phrases. Instead of looking to revisionists like Chiang Ching for leadership, I think all genuine Communists should support the “Appeal to all Revolutionary Communists” and follow a truly internationalist path. Only in this way can we defeat all the imperialists and reactionaries, and not support one against another.



## COMMEMORATION

**Karl Marx**  
May 5, 1818—March 14, 1883

and

**V. I. Lenin**  
April 22, 1870—Jan. 21, 1924

## The Great Teachers and Leaders of the International Working Class

Karl Marx and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin—it is these two great geniuses of the revolutionary international proletariat who gave their names to the scientific theory and ideology of the working class—Marxism-Leninism. Karl Marx was the first to give socialism and thereby the whole working class movement of our day a scientific foundation. He is the founder of scientific socialism. V.I. Lenin was the great successor of Marx and Engels. Lenin developed Marxism in all its component parts: in philosophy, political economy, and the theory and tactics of socialism. Whereas Marx founded and elaborated scientific socialism in the early stages of capitalist development, Lenin further developed Marxism at a time when capitalism had reached its highest stage, monopoly capitalism. “Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. To be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular.” (*Foundations of Leninism*, J.V. Stalin, Works, 6:73, FLP, 1953)

On April 22nd, 1981 we commemorate the 111th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birthday and on May 5th we commemorate the 163rd anniversary of Karl Marx's birthday. Hence, we take these next few pages to pay tribute to these great leaders of the proletariat.

### KARL MARX

Karl Marx was born in the city of Trier (Rhenish Prussia) on May 5, 1818. His family background was well-to-do, cultured, but not revolutionary. In his early youth days Marx went to the university at Bonn and later Berlin where he studied law and then chiefly, history and philosophy. In 1841, after submitting his doctoral degree on philosophy he abandoned the idea of pursuing an academic career due to the political events taking place. In that time, Marx belonged to the circle of “Left Hegelians” (along with Bruno Bauer and others) who sought to draw atheistic and revolutionary conclusions from Hegel's philosophy. With the reactionary policies of the government depriving philosophers like Ludwig Feuerbach in 1832 and the young professor Bruno Bauer in 1841 of pursuing the freedom to practice their professions, coupled with the political movement which had arisen since the death of Frederick William III, Karl Marx took the path of revolutionary activity. As a result of Feuerbach's turn to materialist philosophy, Marx, Engels and other “Left Hegelians” began to turn to Feuerbach's materialism. In 1842 Marx became the chief editor of the Rhenish radical bourgeois opposition paper, the *Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne. Under Marx, this paper developed a revolutionary democratic trend which was subject to

double and triple censorship, finally to be suppressed altogether on January 1st, 1843. It was during this journalistic activity that Marx became convinced that he was not sufficiently armed with political economy, thus he set himself zealously to study it.

In 1843, Marx married Jenny von Westphalen, a childhood friend whose family background was of the reactionary Prussian nobility. It was during this year that Marx begins to transform from idealism to materialism and from democracy to communism.

In the autumn of 1843, Marx went to Paris in order to publish a radical magazine abroad, along with Arnold Ruge (a “Left Hegelian”). Only one issue of *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher (German-French Annals)* appeared owing to the difficulty of secret distribution in Germany and disagreements with Ruge. In his articles in this magazine Marx is already advocating the “merciless criticism of everything existing”, the “criticism of arms”, and making appeals to the “masses and to the proletariat”, (as quoted by Lenin in his essay *Karl Marx* taken from *The Teachings of Karl Marx*, p. 10, Int'l Publishers 1972 ed.) Among Marx's articles published in this magazine is “Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Right, Introduction”, and “On the Jewish Question”.

In September, 1844 Frederick Engels went to Paris and met Karl Marx. They thenceforth became the best of friends and revolutionary collaborators. Marx and Engels participated in the revolutionary groups and activities in Paris later to be banished in 1845 by the Paris government on the demand of the Prussian government. During this period Marx, along with Engels, developed dialectical materialism, the scientific revolutionary philosophy of the working class in such writings as *The Holy Family*, *Against Bruno Bauer*, Marx's “Theses on Feuerbach” as an appendix to Engels' pamphlet *Ludwig Feuerbach*. By 1847, Marx writes his great work, the *Poverty of Philosophy* in response to Proudhon's *Philosophy of Poverty*. In all, Karl Marx elaborates the scientific correctness of dialectical materialism exposing all the utopian socialist philosophers as idealist.

In 1845 Marx moved to Brussels and later established the German Workers' Society. In the spring of 1847 Marx and Engels joined the secret propaganda society called the Communist League. As a result of Marx's and Engels' revolutionary activity, at the Second Congress of the Communist League (London, November, 1847) it was requested of Marx and Engels to draw up the famous programme of the international working class, the *Communist Manifesto* which appeared in February 1848. Lenin, on behalf of the *Communist Manifesto* states: “With the clarity and brilliance of genius, this work out-

lines the new world conception, consistent materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life, dialectics, the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development, the theory of the class struggle and of the historic revolutionary role of the proletariat—the creator of the new, communist society.” (*The Teachings of Karl Marx*, Lenin, p. 11, Int'l Publishers, 1972 ed.)

Hence, from this work derives the great slogan of the international proletariat: “Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. **WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!**” (*Manifesto of the Communist Party*, p. 76, FLP, 1972 ed.)

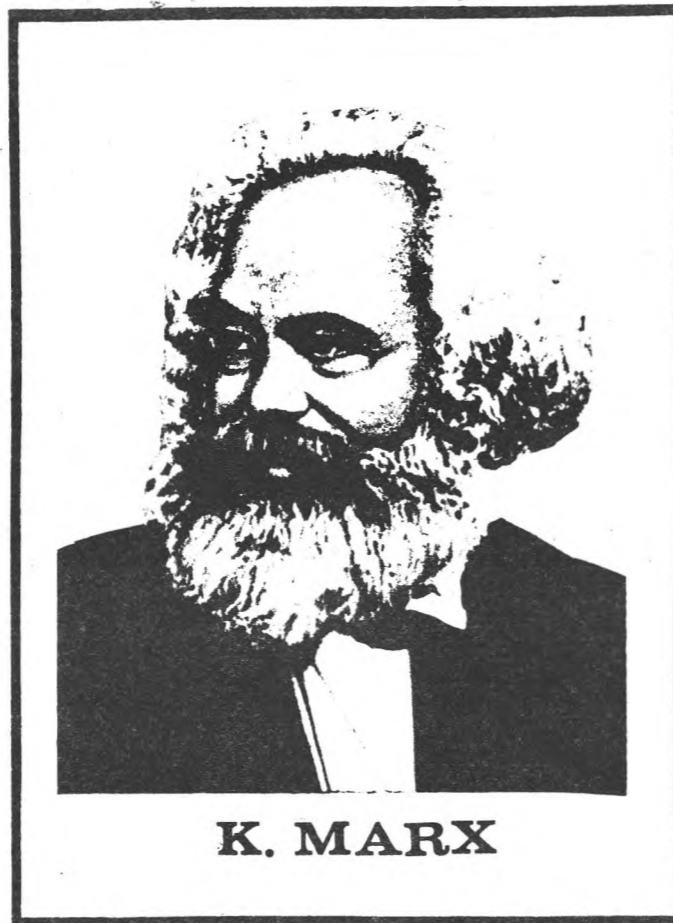
With this being the program, the activity of the Communist League under Marx and Engels became the first organization of communism, the first German Social-democratic Party and later in its development the first embryo of a communist international. The League existed wherever German workers' unions were to be found. In time, the League spread beyond Germany and into England, Belgium, France and Switzerland. The Communist League brought forth the “*first International workers movements*”. (*On the History of the Communist League*, Engels, M.E.SW:III p. 173, Prog. Pub. 1973 ed.)

The *Communist Manifesto* appeared in February, the same time that the Revolution of February, 1848 broke out.\* Marx was then banished from Belgium. He went to Paris, and after the March Revolution went back to Cologne in Germany where he founded the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. This paper, which existed only from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849 was the only paper which represented the standpoint of the proletariat within the bourgeois-democratic movement of the time. In this paper appeared Marx's essay *Wage Labour and Capital*. Marx through this paper gave leadership to the working class in the course of the revolution. It elaborated the tactics to be utilized as put forth in the *Communist Manifesto*. It also castigated the bourgeois liberals and petty bourgeois leaders who were putting forth cowardly resolutions and pursuing only the parliamentary path in the bourgeois democratic revolution. Because of the proletarian revolutionary stance of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, by May, 1849 all the unstable shareholders of the paper left. Also, the counter-revolution had suppressed the revolutionary movement and proceeded to close down the paper. There was a state of seige in Cologne which resulted in the arrest of half of the editorial staff and the deportation of the non-Prussian, editorial staff. However, a last issue of the paper appeared in red ink on May 19, 1849 warning the Cologne workers against hopeless puches and called to them the following: “In taking leave, the editors of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* thank you for the sympathy you have shown them. Their last word will always and everywhere be: *The Emancipation of the Working Class!*” (as quoted by Engels in his, *Marx and the Neue Rheinische Zeitung 1848-1849*, Ibid., p. 171)

\*The Revolution of February, 1848 was the name commonly used by Marx and Engels referring to the revolutions breaking throughout Europe in this period. Engels in his “Socialism, Utopian and Scientific” characterizes this period as follows:

Then came the Continental revolutions of February and March, 1848 in which the working people played such a prominent part, and, at least in Paris, put forward demands which were certainly inadmissible from the point of view of capitalist society. And then came the general reaction. First the defeat of the Chartists on the 10th April, 1848 then the crushing of the Paris working men's insurrection in June of the same year, then the disasters of 1849 in Italy, Hungary, South Germany, and at last the victory of Louis Bonaparte over Paris, 2nd December, 1851. For a time, at least, the bugbear of the working class pretensions was put down, but at what cost! (SW of M. & E., p. 110, Prog. Publ. 1973 edition).

During this great period of the 1848 Revolution, the Communist League of Marx and Engels played a tremendous leading role. The League members were found everywhere, at the head of the revolutionary democratic movement. With the counter-revolution suppressing the revolution, culminating with the trials of the Cologne central committee members of the Communist League, the first period of the German communist workers' movement came to an end. Marx speaks of this trial in his *Revelations About the Cologne Communist*



K. MARX

*Trial* where he also exposes the role of the opportunists and traitors who divulged the names of the central committee to the government. Immediately after the sentence, in 1852 the Communist League was dissolved.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels proved to be great leaders of the working class. They proved to be not just great revolutionary geniuses, but great practical revolutionary leaders. Theirs was not just to interpret the world, but to change it!

After the revolution in Paris of June, 1849, Marx was again banished and moved to London where he lived till the day of his death. Marx withdrew from political agitation for ten years and devoted himself to the study of political economy and writing for the progressive bourgeois newspaper, the *New York Tribune*. In the *New York Tribune* he wrote numerous articles on the American Civil War condemning the slavocracy. In fact, as a result of his writing which also appeared in Britain, he was able to rally British working class support against the slavocracy in America and against the British capitalists who were supporting the slavocracy of the South. Marx regularly corresponded with Joseph Weydemeyer, a member of the Communist League who, because of the counter-revolution, went to America where he fought on the side of the North against the slavocracy in the South.

In 1859 appeared Marx's *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, the first fruit of his many years of study of economics. In this work appears the first coherent exposition of the Marxian theory of value and the doctrine of money. By 1867 appears *Capital*, the first volume of his famous work. In it he expounds on the foundations of economic-socialist conceptions and the main features of his criticism of the capitalist mode of production. During this period Marx also conducted an exposure of Bonapartism (which at that time posed as a liberator of the oppressed nationalities) and defended himself against the slanders and false calumnies heaped upon him by Herr Vogt, a German “democrat” who had connections with Napoleon III.

With the revival of the democratic movement at the end of the fifties and the sixties Marx resumed revolutionary practical activity. The working class movement had regained strength throughout Europe and America. Thus, Karl Marx proceeded to implement the banner call of the proletariat, Working Men of all Countries, Unite! On September 28, 1864 the International Working Men's Association—the famous First International—was founded in London. “Marx was the heart and soul of this organization; he was the author of its first Address and of a host of resolutions, declarations and manifestoes. By uniting the labor movement of various countries, by striving to direct into the channel of joint activity the various forms of non-proletarian, pre-Marxian socialism (Mazzini, Proudhon, Bakunin, Liberal trade unionism in England, Lassallean vacillations to the Right in Germany, etc.) and by combating the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx hammered out a uniform tactic for the proletarian struggle of the working class in the various countries.” (*The Teachings of Karl Marx*, Lenin, p. 12, Int'l. Pub., 1972 ed.)

With the fall of the Paris Commune in 1871, coupled with the opportunist activities of the Bakuninists in the International, at the Hague Congress of the International in 1872, Marx has the General Council of the International moved to New York where it was dissolved.

Nevertheless, the First International had accomplished its historic role—it laid the foundations of the international organization of the workers in order to prepare for their revolutionary onslaught on capital. As a result of this, the movement grew in breadth and mass Socialist Labor parties were created in individual national states.

After the Hague Congress Karl Marx again peacefully resumed his theoretical work and proceeded to complete his studies on political economy. He wrote *The Civil War in France* and worked on finishing *Capital*. On December 2, 1881, his wife died. On March 14, 1883 Karl Marx “the greatest living thinker” died peacefully in his armchair. Frederick Engels, Marx's comrade-in-arms who always helped Marx even during the times when Marx and his family suffered dire poverty, made a *Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx* where he stated: “. . . Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state of institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. . . .”

“And, consequently, Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his time. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their territories. Bourgeois, whether conservative or ultra-democratic, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as

though it were cobweb, ignoring it, answering only when extreme necessity compelled him. And he died beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow workers—from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America—and I make bold to say that though he may have had many opponents he had hardly one personal enemy.

“His name will endure through the ages, and so will his work!” (Speech delivered in English by Engels at Highgate Cemetery, London, on March 17, 1883, M.E.SW:III, Prog. Pub., 1973 ed.)

After Marx's death, Engels put together and completed Marx's *Capital* (volumes II and III) and also began to put together Marx's *Theory of Surplus Value* (also in three volumes). The three sources and component parts of Marxism, philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism have provided the working class and all of oppressed society with a tool, which when grasped and implemented correctly will lead to the emancipation of the working class, and therefore, of humanity.

Marxist philosophy, *materialism*, traces its origins to German philosophy, particularly the Hegelian system of dialectics and the materialism of Feuerbach. However, Marx got rid of the metaphysics and idealism of both these philosophers' theories and deduced the scientific philosophy, *dialectical materialism*. Marx applied dialectical materialism to human society and thus discerned social development. Marx's historical materialism proves beyond a shadow of a doubt the inevitability of communist society. That is to say, that society has passed from primitive communism, to slavery, to feudalism, to the present epoch of capitalism and is now in the eve of proletarian revolution, just entering the epoch of communism. It is thus why the proletariat has nothing to lose but their chains, why it has a world to win.

Lenin spoke of “the principle content of Marxism, namely, Marx's economic doctrine” (*Karl Marx*, in *On Marx and Engels*, FLP, 1975, p. 7). Marxist theory of political economy has its roots in English political economy. English bourgeois economists such as Adam Smith and David Ricardo conducted investigations of the economic system and laid the foundations of the *labor theory of value*. Marx continued this work, applying dialectical materialism to economics and developed the doctrine of surplus value, the cornerstone of Marx's economic doctrine. He showed how in the relations of men in the capitalist mode of production, the working class could not but live a life of wage slavery. The capitalist whose sole ambition was profit, owned the means of production, whereas the proletariat which produced everything in society had to sell its own labor power for a measly wage which was just enough to survive on. Marx disclosed how the private ownership of the means of production does not correspond to the social character of the productive forces and thus undermines the capitalist foundation. Marx proved that the anarchy existing in capitalist relations can never be resolved. Only the social ownership of the means of production, socialism and communism, can resolve this fundamental contradiction. Thus, through Marxist Political Economy, further proof was established for the inevitability of communism.

Marxian socialism has its roots in French socialism, where the great battles of the working class during the 1800's were most especially concentrated. It proved once and for all that the idle dreams of the utopian socialists like St. Simon, Fourier, etc., of a free society where everyone lived harmoniously are not possible under present existing society. Marx revealed that capitalism consisted of classes with the principal classes being the capitalist, bourgeois class as the exploiting minority

in state power, and the large exploited wage slaving proletariat, the working class. Thus, the path to socialism encountered the struggle of classes. The proletariat needed to weld itself as a class fighting for its interest, led by its vanguard communist party. Thus, Marxist socialism deduced the *doctrine of the class struggle*, showing that only through the violent overthrow of the capitalist state, and through establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat will the working class abolish private property, eliminate classes and class struggle once and for all, and construct communist society.

Such in brief, are the component parts of scientific socialism, founded and developed by the great genius Karl Marx.

#### VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin) was born on April 22, 1870 in Simbirsk, a provincial town on the Volga. His family background was of a lower middle class family. V. I. Ulyanov's father was a prominent figure in the field of education whereas his mother, Marya Alexandrovna Blank, devoted herself entirely to the family. Lenin, the name which V.I. Ulyanov took as a result of his revolutionary activities, had three brothers and three sisters all of whom were devoted revolutionaries, with the exception of Olga who died young (in 1891). His older brother Alexander, was a member of the Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) during the 1880's and was executed in 1887 by the reactionary regime due to his participation in an attempt to assassinate the reactionary Alexander III. Lenin's younger brother Dimitri and his sisters, Anna and Marya were all *Iskraists* and Bolsheviks. In 1898 Lenin marries Nadezhda Krupskaya, an *Iskraist* and Bolshevik, whom he had met in 1894.

While studying in the university in Kazan in 1889, Lenin is introduced to Marxism, studying *Capital*. Here he joined one of the illegal Marxist circles. By 1892, he along with others forms a Marxist circle which begins to attract the best of the revolutionaries who were repudiating Narodism and taking up Marxism.

By 1893, V.I. Lenin is a full-fledged Marxist with an excellent command of Marxism and displaying an extraordinary ability of revolutionary organizing. Lenin goes to St. Petersburg, the capital and the largest industrial centre of tsarist Russia, to carry on his revolutionary work. He joins up with a Marxist circle of "old men", as they were called, where he begins to be increasingly known due to his grasp and application of Marxism. By 1895 Lenin united all the Marxist workers' circles in St. Petersburg into the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. He thus prepared the way for the founding of a revolutionary Marxist workers' party.

Lenin directs the League of Struggle to begin the process of passing from the propaganda of Marxism among the few politically advanced workers to political agitation among the broad masses of the working class on issues of the day. Lenin directed the task of social-democrats the name which Marxists at that time went by to unite socialism with the working class movement.

Lenin also took on the task of defeating the reigning opportunist current, Narodism. In his work, *What the Friends of the People Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats* (1894) Lenin defeats the political bankruptcy of the individual terrorism of the Narodniks and their false conceptions of socialism. In this work Lenin outlines the main tasks of Marxists and calls upon all Marxists of Russia to take on the central duty of building a genuine Marxist workers party.

In 1898, the First Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party is held. Lenin, who began to conduct a struggle against the opportunist "legal Marxists", was unable to attend this first congress due to being exiled in Siberia. The First Congress did not really succeed in welding a unified Marxist Party with a program, party rules, or a leading center. In fact, the state of affairs was a disunited party with various opportunist currents, predominantly economism existing within it. Ideological confusion began to prevail and revisionism, begun by Bernstein in the Second International, and represented by the "legal Marxists" and economists in Russia was sabotaging the unity of Marxists in the revolutionary workers party. Thus, Lenin proceeded zealously to take on these opportunists in order to construct a real revolutionary party of the proletariat. This period came to be known as the *Iskra period*.

In the struggle for the party, Lenin saw that it would be impossible to lead a revolutionary working class movement unless the economists were defeated and their influence routed out of the workers' movement. Lenin saw that it was impossible to even call a Second Congress of the RSDLP without a polemic, a debate in front of the workers, showing to them the betraying essence of economism and the need to rally around an orthodox Marxist program with its corresponding strategy and tactics and ensuring a real disciplined organization of professional revolutionaries to be the core of the Marxist Workers' Party. Thus, with this aim in mind, Lenin proposed the establishment of an all-Russian newspaper representing the definite orthodox Marxist trend. This newspaper was to be "... the first practical step to take towards creating the organization we desire ..." it was to be "not merely a collective propagandist and collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer." (Lenin, *Where to Begin*, "The *Iskra* Period I," CWL, Int'l Pub., 1929, ed.)

This paper, the *Iskra* took on the task to build a network of agents around it, building the skeleton of the party. Within its pages it took on the propaganda tasks which were to culminate in the views expressed in the program of the party. The *Iskra* took on the task of exposing and demarcating from all the opportunist currents which were sabotaging the revolutionary movement of workers. Lenin, in his well-known article *Where To Begin* and his famous work *What Is To Be Done?* outlined the concrete plan for the building of the party. The theoretical thesis expounded in *What Is To Be Done?* has become the ideological foundation of the Bolshevik Party.

As a result of this activity led and directed by Lenin, it was then possible to proceed to the Second Congress of the RSDLP in 1903. However, the struggle for a thoroughly revolutionary workers' Party did not end here, but rather, only began. At the Second Congress and afterward, a struggle ensued on tactical and organizational questions, and on the national question. The RSDLP split up into two factions, the Bolsheviks (from *bolshinstvo*, majority) led by Lenin and the Mensheviks (from *menhsinstvo*, minority) led by the opportunists, economists, the Bund nationalists, etc. From then on, the old *Iskraists* of Lenin became known as the Bolsheviks. From then on, Bolshevism has been the only true representative of the revolutionary working class movement.

In 1903, Lenin and J.V. Stalin, his comrade-in-arms were acquainted through correspondence. In 1905, these two great leaders met at a conference of Bolsheviks in Tammerfors. (Finland) Since that time, Stalin became Lenin's greatest disciple.

In his work, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* published in May 1904, Lenin expounds on the main organizational principles of a Marxist Party. It is in this work that Lenin elaborates on the doctrine of the Party as the leading organization of the

proletariat, as the principal weapon of the proletariat, without which the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be won. In Stalin's *History of R.S.D.L.P. (B)*, it states: "The importance of this book lies primarily in the fact that it successfully upheld the party principle against the circle principle, and the Party against the disorganizers; that it smashed the opportunism of the Mensheviks on questions of organization and laid the organizational foundations of the Bolshevik Party." (*Calcutta edition of RCDLP (B)*, p. 45)

During the Russo-Japanese War and the First Russian Revolution of 1905, Lenin and the Bolsheviks' influence spread widely through the working class. The tasks of the Party, of Bolshevism change from the first period of concentrating on its own forces, of propaganda being the chief form of activity to the second period of activity. The tasks, due to the conditions existing in 1905 and the establishment of a definite, organized Marxist trend, was now to win the broad masses of the working class to the side of communism, of Bolshevism. In this period, Lenin continued the struggle against the Mensheviks most especially on the question of tactics in the revolution, particular-

ly on the bourgeois-democratic revolution and how to ensure that it passes into the proletarian socialist revolution. Lenin conducted much of his polemics and leadership through the Bolshevik newspaper *Vperyod*. During this time the Leninist principle of the hegemony of the proletariat in the democratic revolution is elaborated. Lenin elaborates on the Bolshevik line on tactics in his work *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic-Revolution*, which appeared in July, 1905. This work, along with *Left Wing Communism an Infantile Disorder* (1921), are excellent works by Lenin expounding on Bolshevik strategy and tactics. Lenin criticizes not only the Mensheviks but also the tactics of international opportunism. It was this work that laid down the fundamental tactical principles of the Bolshevik Party.

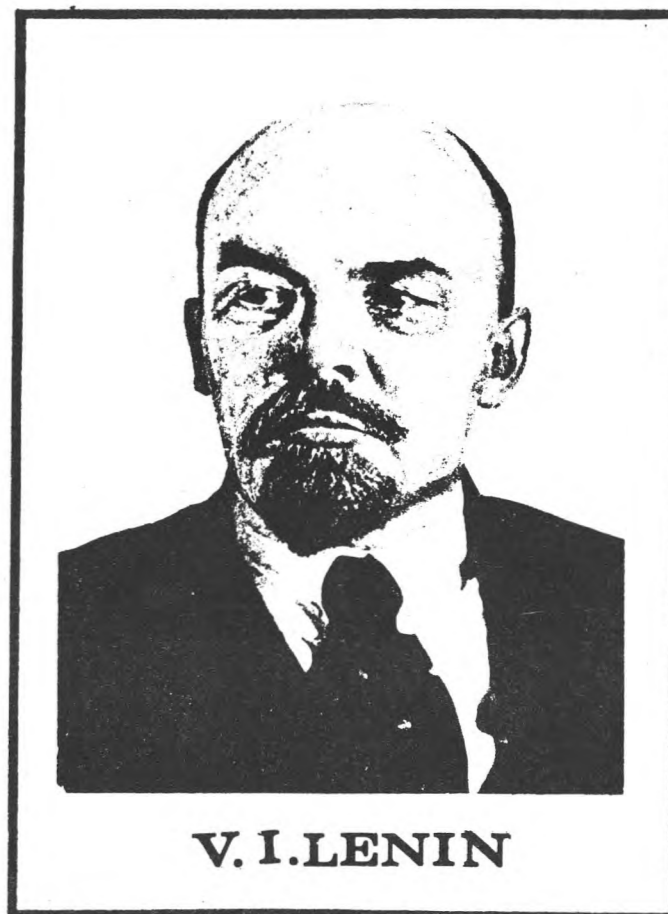
During the period of the 1905 revolution and afterwards, there were numerous articles of Lenin depicting the Marxist utilization of tactics in light of the flow and ebb of the revolutionary movement. Lenin showed the correct utilization of the parliamentary forms of struggle as shown in the Bolshevik utilization of the Duma as opposed to the Mensheviks' parliamentarism.

As a result of the defeat of the 1905 revolution, an ebb period resulted, with the counter-revolution repressing many of the heroic revolutionary fighters. Corresponding to this period there develops another opportunist current expressed philosophically as Empirio-Criticism. It spread decadence, skepticism, pragmatism and metaphysics. It attempted to defame Marxism and revise its tenets. Thus, Lenin set himself to defeat this opportunist philosophical current and defended and further developed Marxist philosophy in his work *Materialism and Empirio Criticism* published in 1909. This work by Lenin represented a further strengthening of the philosophical and theoretical foundation of the Bolshevik Party.

During this period, right before the onset of the first imperialist world war, Lenin and the Bolsheviks had to take on a struggle against the Otzovists (ultra-leftists who, among other things, denied work in the Duma) and the Liquidators, (the Mensheviks, who sought to liquidate the Party and work only legally through mass workers' trade unions and collaborate with the Russian bourgeoisie). In this difficult period Lenin and the Bolsheviks had to conduct a struggle on two fronts. It was during this period of the struggle against two fronts, particularly in 1912, when the scoundrel Leon Trotsky forms the August Bloc, a bloc of anti-Bolshevik groups and trends, masked under

the guise of centrism directed against Lenin and the Bolshevik.

The fight against the Liquidators, the Otzovists and against the Centrist Trotskyites confronted Lenin and the Bolsheviks with the urgent necessity of uniting all the Bolsheviks and forming them into an independent party. But before this task was completed, it again had to be rid of opportunists, of Mensheviks. It was thus clear to all that there could not be a Party with factions, a party with Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. In this struggle the Mensheviks, Trotskyists, etc., sought the aid of the Second International, already dominated by the opportunism of Kautskyism.



V. I. LENIN

At the Sixth All-Russian Party Conference held in Prague in January, 1912, the Bolsheviks constituted themselves a Bolshevik Party, expelling the Mensheviks and opportunists. Having routed the opportunists, the Bolsheviks still preserved the name R.S.D.L.P. (B) until 1918 when the Party changed its name to the Russian Communist Party. J.V. Stalin, Lenin's comrade-in-arms, speaking on this historic conference states: "This conference was of the utmost importance in the history of our Party, for it drew a boundary line between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks and amalgamated the Bolshevik organizations all over the country into a united Bolshevik Party." (*Verbatim Report of the Fifteenth Congress of the CPSU (B)*, taken from *History of the R.S.D.L.P. (B)*, Stalin, p. 130, Calcutta edition)

In the years 1912-1914, a rise in the revolutionary workers' movement begins alongside its independent workers' party, the Bolshevik Party. During this period the working class movement is provided leadership by the Bolsheviks through the central daily newspaper *Pravda*, founded according to Lenin's instructions, on the initiative of J.V. Stalin. With *Pravda* the Bolshevik Party trained a whole generation of revolutionary workers who were to remain loyal to the banner of internationalism

and proletarian revolution. It was these revolutionaries who were to form the core of the Bolshevik Party during the October Revolution of 1917.

With the outbreak of the first imperialist world war in 1914, Lenin and the Bolshevik Party prove to be the only real *proletarian internationalism*. The Second International, led by Karl Kautsky, betrayed the interests of the international working class and succumbed to the imperialists.

Whereas Lenin had analyzed and pointed out that the imperialist war is an inevitable concomitant of capitalism, Kautsky viewed it only as a policy of a few "bad" capitalists. Lenin in his great work written in the spring of 1916, *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism* showed how "Imperialism is (1) monopolistic capitalism, (2) parasitic, or decaying capitalism, (3) moribund capitalism." (LCW, "Imperialism and the Split in the Socialist Movement," 1942 edition)

Thus Lenin shows how under imperialism, the world is already divided up and thus, the only way that the imperialists could gain new territories for exporting capital, reaping its raw materials etc. was only ultimately and inevitably through imperialist wars to re-divide the world. Such being the case, Lenin showed how the only response of the proletariat must be not to defend ones' own imperialist bourgeoisie in such a war, but to turn it into a civil war, displaying unity with the working class of all countries. Lenin's call to the international proletariat was to turn the imperialist war into a civil war and support all the just wars of national liberation struggles on the part of the backward countries against imperialism. This and only this reflects real and genuine proletarian internationalism.

However, the Second International adopted a different stand. They called on the workers to defend their own bourgeoisie in the imperialist war. Their slogan was "defense of the fatherland." The social-chauvinists, social-patriots represented only the upper stratum of workers who were bribed by the bourgeoisie for it gives them a few crumbs from the imperialist banquet table. These opportunist social-chauvinists, agents of the the bourgeoisie defend the interest of the reactionary labor aristocracy and petty bourgeoisie.

Lenin not only exposed the social-chauvinists who openly called for alliance with the bourgeoisie of one's country, he also exposed and called for a break with the centrists, the covert social-chauvinist the Kautskyites. The centrists appeared in "left sounding" phrases, calling for peace, but worked against turning the imperialist war into civil war. The centrists were even more dangerous than the social-chauvinists in that their "Marxist sounding phrases" were able to fool many honest workers into their social-pacifist and class collaborationist schemes. But due to the activity of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, the social-chauvinists and centrists were being exposed not only in Russia, but throughout the world. Lenin indeed represented the banner of Marx — "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!"

Before and during the imperialist war Lenin elaborated on and drew firm and clear lines of demarcation between the international opportunist trends and the revolutionary trend in work such as the *Collapse of the Second International*, *Socialism and War*, and the *Tasks of the Proletariat in our Revolution*.

Lenin in demarcating the three trends, states the following:

"The three trends are:

1) The social-chauvinists, i.e., socialists in word and chauvinists in deed, people who recognize 'defense of the fatherland' in an imperialist war (and above all in the present imperialist war).

These people are our *class* enemies. They have gone over to the bourgeoisie . . .

2) The second trend, known as the 'Centre', consists of people who vacillate between the social-chauvinists and the

true internationalists.

The Centre all vow and declare that they are Marxists and internationalists, that they are for peace, for bringing every kind of 'pressure' to bear upon the governments, for 'demanding' in every way that their own government should 'ascertain' the will of the people for peace', that they are for all sorts of peace campaigns, for peace without annexations, etc., etc., and for peace with the social chauvinists. The 'centre' is for 'unity', the 'Centre' is opposed to a split . . .

3) The third trend, that of the true internationalists, is best represented by the 'Zimmerwald Left' . . .

"Its distinctive feature is its complete break with both social-chauvinism and 'Centrism', and its gallant revolutionary struggle against *its own* imperialist government and *its own* imperialist bourgeoisie. Its principle is: 'Our chief enemy is at home.' It wages a ruthless struggle against honeyed social-pacifist phrases (a social-pacifist is a socialist in word and a bourgeois pacifist in deed; bourgeois pacifists dream of an everlasting peace *without* the overthrow of the yoke and domination of capital) and against all *subterfuges* employed to deny the possibility, or appropriateness, or the timeliness of a pro-

letarian revolutionary struggle and of a proletarian socialist revolution in connection with the present war." (*Task of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*, LCW 24: 75-78, Progress Publishers 1977)

And in his article, *Socialism and War* written earlier Lenin makes the following call:

"For our part, we hold that today it is the main task of the Social-Democratic opposition to raise the banner of revolutionary Marxism, to tell the workers firmly and definitely how we regard imperialist wars, and to advance a call for mass revolutionary action, i.e., convert the period of imperialist wars into the beginning of a period of civil wars.

" . . . To rally these Marxist elements, however small their numbers may be at the outset; to reanimate, in their name, the now forgotten ideals of genuine socialism, and to call upon the workers of all lands to break with the chauvinists and rally about the old banner of Marxism — such is the task of the day." (*Ibid.*, p. 328)

In the whole period of the imperialist war, it is Lenin and the Bolshevik Party which constitute the core of the Proletarian Internationalists. Lenin's analysis in *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism* furthered developed Marxism in the field of political economy. Whereas Marx discovered and analyzed the laws of capitalism in its earlier stages, Lenin was able to further develop Marxist political economy in the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution.

During this period, Lenin was able to further work out the Marxist line on the question of war, peace and revolution.

It was due to the activity of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party that the February, 1917, bourgeois-democratic revolution was successful and was able to pass into the great October Socialist Revolution of 1917.

It was Lenin's *April Thesis* presented at the Seventh Conference of the Bolshevik Party (held on April 24th, 1917) which called for the passing of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the workers, socialist revolution. The task was now to prepare for the socialist, Soviet Revolution.

In the October 10th, 1917, historic meeting of the Central Committee, Lenin drew up the historic resolution placing an armed uprising on the order of the day. On October 16th, J.V. Stalin is elected to head the Party Centre which was to direct the uprising. On the night of October 24th, Lenin arrived at the Smolny Institute and along with Stalin, directed the

world's first victorious socialist revolution. The October 25th revolution ushered in a new era, the era of the Great Socialist Revolution. The Bolshevik Revolution successfully implemented the task of turning the imperialist war into a civil war.

Upon achieving state power, the working class, led by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party proceeded to spread the revolution and consolidate it. It proceeded to abolish private landlord ownership of land and to nationalize the big industries, banks, etc. The Bolshevik Party issued a *Decree on Peace* calling for an end to the imperialist war raging throughout the world. From October 1917, to February 1918, the Soviet Revolution proceeded in what Lenin called its "triumphal march" to Soviet power. The Great October Socialist Revolution had won.

Lenin then began to address the problems of the consolidation and construction of socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin, in 1918 issued *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* where he began to outline socialist construction.

In consolidating the Soviet Power, Lenin and the Bolshevik party were forced to sign the Peace of Brest Litovsk with Germany in order to end the war with the latter power. However, in the signing of this treaty the Bolshevik Party had to give up more concessions than needed — due to the sabotaging activities of Trotsky and his counter-revolutionary following.

By the latter part of 1918, however, the imperialists of Great Britain, France, Japan and America started an undeclared military invasion of the Soviet republic with the aim of fomenting a civil war in the favor of the overthrown monarchs and bourgeoisie of Russia. Thus Lenin led the Soviet Republic in introducing War Communism.

Despite the difficulties prevailing in the Soviet Republic, Lenin continued not only to consolidate the Soviet Power and defend it against the onslaught of the imperialists, but also came to the assistance of the international working class. It annulled the Brest Litovsk Treaty and supported the revolution taking place in Germany. It was in the course of this revolution that Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were assassinated.

In March 1919, on the initiative and leadership and the direction of Lenin, the First Congress of the Communist International, the Third International was held in Moscow. The congress guided by Lenin, set up an Executive Committee of the Communist International and addressed various questions of the world-wide revolutionary struggle. At the Comintern Lenin further elaborates on the theory and tactics of Marxism, on the Marxist position on the National and Colonial question, on the question of the state and bourgeois democracy, etc. Lenin and the Comintern began to actively aid in the formation and consolidation of Communist Parties throughout the world. Once again Lenin showed in deeds what it meant to be a proletarian internationalist. Lenin's great contributions do not end here!

By 1921 the Soviet Republic won its war of defense against the imperialists and defeated the counter-revolutionaries supported by the opportunists and Mensheviks inside the Republic. Having ended the war, the Soviet Republic had to work for a peaceful economic development. Because of the ruin and devastation caused by the imperialist war and the civil war, industry and agriculture were in a state of complete dislocation.

Having a complete understanding of the conditions and with the brilliant grasp of Marxism, Lenin proceeded to draw the plans on how to construct socialism. Lenin, at the Tenth Congress of the RCP (B) put forth the plans of the *New Economic Policy* which were carried to completion by Stalin. During these

years, Lenin, along with Stalin, had to conduct a fierce struggle against the Opposition Bloc led by Trotsky and others like Kamenev, Zinoviev and Bukharin.

Lenin had to oppose the Trotskyites on their "ultra-left" lines on trade unions and on their opposition to passing from War Communism to the NEP program. The battle against the Opposition Bloc was victorious, despite the fact that the Trotskyite-Vukharinite counter-revolutionary clique did not get fully exposed and purged until the late 1920's. In this battle Lenin further developed the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On January 21, 1924, V.I. Lenin passed away in the village of Gorki. Lenin's death was received by the working class of the whole world as a most cruel loss. On the day of Lenin's funeral, workers throughout the world proclaimed a five-minute stoppage of work. The loss of Lenin in the Soviet Union caused the working class to rally even more solidly around the Bolshevik Party. J.V. Stalin, who had already begun to lead the peoples of the Soviet Union along the Leninist path, initiated a Lenin enrollment in the Party in which thousands and thousands of workers joined the Party.

Mourning the death of V.I. Lenin, the great J.V. Stalin — at the Second Congress of the Soviets of the U.S.S.R. — made the following solemn vow in the name of the Party:

"We Communists are people of a special mould. We are made of a special stuff. We are those who form the army of the great proletarian strategist, the army of Comrade Lenin. There is nothing higher than the honour of belonging to this army. There is nothing higher than the title of member of the Party whose founder and leader is Comrade Lenin . . .

"DEPARTING FROM US, COMRADE LENIN ENJOINED US TO HOLD HIGH AND GUARD THE PURITY OF THE GREAT TITLE OF MEMBER OF THE PARTY. WE VOW TO YOU, COMRADE LENIN, THAT WE WILL FULFIL YOUR BEHEST WITH HONOUR!

"DEPARTING FROM US, COMRADE LENIN ENJOINED US TO GUARD THE UNITY OF OUR PARTY AS THE APPLE OF OUR EYE. WE VOW TO YOU, COMRADE LENIN, THAT THIS BEHEST, TOO, WE WILL FULFIL WITH HONOUR!

"DEPARTING FROM US, COMRADE LENIN, ENJOINED US TO GUARD AND STRENGTHEN THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. WE VOW TO YOU COMRADE LENIN, THAT WE WILL SPARE NO EFFORTS TO FULFIL THIS BEHEST, TOO, WITH HONOUR!

"DEPARTING FROM US, COMRADE LENIN, ENJOINED US TO STRENGTHEN WITH ALL OUR MIGHT THE ALLIANCE OF THE WORKERS AND THE PEASANTS. WE VOW TO YOU, COMRADE LENIN, THAT THIS BEHEST, TOO, WE WILL FULFIL WITH HONOUR!

"DEPARTING FROM US, COMRADE LENIN, ENJOINED US TO REMAIN FAITHFUL TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. WE VOW TO YOU, COMRADE LENIN, THAT WE SHALL NOT SPARE OUR LIVES TO STRENGTHEN AND EXTEND THE UNION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD — THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL!"

After Lenin's death, it was J.V. Stalin who carried out Lenin's behest. Right after his death, Stalin proceeded to defend Leninism against the heap of Trotskyite slander in his great work, *The Foundations of Leninism*.

Lenin developed Marxism in all its component parts — in philosophy, Political economy, and socialism. Lenin further developed Marxism in the present epoch, the epoch of imperialism, the eve of proletarian revolution.

"Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. To be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in particular." (*Foundations of Leninism*, Stalin Works: 6, p. 73, FLPH, 1953 edition)

A revitalizing spectre is beginning to haunt the order of world capitalism — the spectre of Marxism-Leninism, of Stalinism, the spectre of Bolshevism. No longer will the workers movement proceed without Bolshevism. We vow to our great teachers and leaders that we will do our utmost to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of Bolshevism. Ours is the duty of breaking the stranglehold that opportunism has had on the workers of the world. We will no longer diddle-dwaddle in the swamp that was laid before us in the past three decades.

## CUBA . . .

(from p. 18)

debts of more than \$21 billion to the western imperialist banks, shortages of energy, food shortages, rising prices, declining agricultural production, declining national income, industrial production, etc., in other words, all the evils of a capitalist economy in crisis. He offers exploitation of the workers and peasants, the imposition on the workers of productivity norms, together with political repression.

It is essential for the international proletariat, as well as for the peasants, that is, for the world revolution for socialism and communism, and for genuine national emancipation, that the fraud of Cuba as a socialist country be unmasked. It does not matter how often Castro says that they are "communists," or that they want to go on being "communists." The truth lies more in the facts than in the words. Castro's Report is quite revealing as to the deeds of the Castro regime, and shows that the Cuban economy today is a dependent, semi-colonial economy. It demonstrates that Cuba exchanged U.S. semi-colonialism for Russian, and it is on the way to a decadent economy.

In coming articles, we will deal more with the agrarian question in Cuba, 20 years after the seizure of power by Castro and his followers. We will also demonstrate how the Cuban government exploits the Cuban workers, and why the Cuban workers face the same problems as workers in any dependent capitalist country. We will demonstrate that the working class is not in power in Cuba, and that the Cuban revolution represented a victory for the petty bourgeoisie and the national reformist bourgeoisie.

## ATLANTA: TERROR IN THE BLACK NATION

(from p. 27)

**that humanity must either pass over to socialism, or for years, nay, decades, witness armed conflicts of 'great' nations for an artificial maintenance of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges, and all sorts of national oppression."** (Lenin, "Socialism and War", *Collected Works*, 1930, Vol. 18, p. 224) It is only the socialist revolution that can end the murders, terror, and misery of capitalism.

When the war comes, it must be clearly branded as an imperialist war that serves only the interests of a few imperialists who use the workers of different lands as cannon fodder in their pursuit of maximum profits. The working class and oppressed peoples must unite to work to transform this coming imperial-

We will defend and uphold the orthodoxy of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We will educate the proletariat and toiling masses to once again be able to say as Lenin said:

**"The millions who are pondering over the causes of the recent war and of the approaching future war are more and more realizing the grim and inexorable truth that it is impossible to escape imperialist war and the imperialist peace . . . which inevitably engenders imperialist war that it is impossible to escape that inferno, except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution."** (The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution" LCW 33:56)

We will proceed forward, holding high the great banner of the international proletariat — Working Men of All Countries Unite!

ist war into a civil war against our "own" bourgeoisie, and for socialism. But to do this tomorrow, we must get off our knees today. We must combat all the chauvinist hysteria and all nationalist schemes that divide the working class and preach subservience to "our" capitalist class. We must combat all pacifist illusions of preventing war while imperialism remains intact, or adopting pacifist methods of struggle that are no threat to the military machinery of imperialism. The alternative is to guarantee that there will be more mass murders — more Atlantas, more Atticas, more My Lais.

Atlanta is a sign of the shape of things to come. Therefore, now is the time to get prepared for the battles that lie ahead.

## WHO SHOT R.R.? (from pg. 20)

"change" to protect the spies' covers. Since then, the CIA, of course, has denied any use of clergy, a denial no one but a demented fool would believe. (For more on this topic, see "Mercenaries and Missionaries Have Falling Out," *Bolshevik Revolution*, no. 3, March-April 1980, p. 5.)

If there was a conspiracy to shoot Reagan, and if Reagan had died, that would have put the presidency in the hands of George Bush, not only of Rockefeller's various organizations, but also former director of the CIA. If there was a motive for the shooting other than madness, making Bush president just more than two months into Reagan's first term is likely one of them.

The Hinckley family also had close connections to the Bush family. Hinckley, Sr.'s eldest son Scott was invited to dine at the house of his good friend Neil Bush, son of George, the day of Reagan's shooting, only to have his brother's act cancel social affairs as the Hinckley family went into seclusion. Scott Hinckley is himself a capitalist, a vice-president and member of the board of directors of his father's company.

Was this a conspiracy? At this point we do not know. At minimum it shows the degeneracy of a ruling class kid whose father funded a life of irresponsibility and perverse fantasy. Yet there are still many unanswered questions. Did someone plan to "elect" Bush, who was a featured speaker at the Trilateral Commission plenary, who is former CIA director and overseer of U.S. imperialism's dirty work which utilizes missionaries, and whose son gives personal invitations to the Hinckley family? Was a cover for a hit arranged by using a deranged, crazed drifter like Hinckley, Jr.?

To these questions we have no answers. In any case, it is certainly not beyond the scruples of the imperialists to perpetrate such a conspiracy, as they have done so many times before and will continue to do so long as their bloody rule continues.