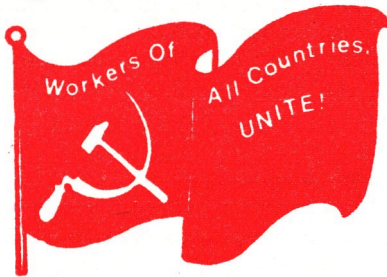


BOLSHEVIK



REVOLUTION

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Dec. 1980

No. 7

Inter-Imperialist Rivalry in the Caribbean

REAGAN CONTINUES WAR PLANS

We have been told by the mass media that Reagan's election was a "landslide" victory, even a so-called "Reagan revolution!" Yet a closer look at the facts shows otherwise.

Reagan won barely 51 percent of the popular vote against two supposedly more liberal candidates. This is hardly a landslide. While he piled up a huge electoral vote victory, this came in an election in which just slightly over half the eligible voters actually voted. Thus, only about one-fourth of the eligible voters voted for Reagan. Despite predictions of the closest election in years, a lower percentage of voters turned out for this election than in any presidential election in 32 years. This was the fourth straight presidential election that voter turnout declined. Particularly absent were working class, Black, and other exploited and oppressed peoples. While the Black vote in 1976 was 11 percent of all votes, this year it was only 7 percent. Nor were the so-called "radical" middle class third parties able to capitalize on this discontent among the working class and oppressed peoples. The largest of these reformist parties, the Citizens Party, got only about one-quarter of one percent of the vote. If there was any landslide, it was a landslide of disgust and rejection of the choices given us. Though certainly not yet revolutionary, it is the continued growth of this kind of sentiment that is extremely important, and, not coincidentally, downplayed in the media.

Reagan and Rockefeller

Reagan did, of course, win a decisive victory among those who voted. This should not be surprising, since Reagan was financed by decisive sections of the financial oligarchy that rules the U.S. Although his initial backers were mainly conservative capitalists chiefly from California and the Sunbelt, the Rockefeller wing of the bourgeoisie moved into his camp as Reagan began to cinch the nomination. Their first choice, Bush, had to settle for the number two spot behind the aging Reagan. Representatives from Rockefeller-dominated institutions like the Trilateral Commission and the Council on Foreign Relations soon began to assume key roles, such as Henry Kissinger, George Shultz, and Caspar Weinberger. This has already led to wide disaffection among the so-called "New Right," which is really an old collection of extremely reactionary forces. Typical of this feeling of being "sold out" to Rockefeller and Co. is the comment of John Lofton, the editor of *Conservative Digest*: "Sometimes I wonder how much of a Reaganite Reagan really is."

Carter, though himself a former Trilateral Commission member, lost much of the Rockefeller's groups' backing to Reagan. Carter did, however, maintain support from big capitalists and many Wall

Reagan (cont. pg. 3)

J.P. Stevens' Union Settlement - Victory for Whom?

The conditions facing textile workers in the South make them among the most exploited and oppressed section of the American working class. A focus of attention of these brutal conditions has been the textile monopoly J.P. Stevens, the second largest U.S. textile manufacturer (number 184 on the "Fortune 500" list). Stevens has over 44,000 workers and over 80 plants, most in the South. A 17-year unionization battle recently resulted in Stevens and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) signing an agreement covering about 3,000 workers at ten plants in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Alabama.

Textile workers are the lowest paid industrial workers in the U.S. The abominable conditions at Stevens are typical for most Southern textile workers. Stevens had closed many of its Northeast plants and moved South to exploit the mainly non-union, low-wage Southern labor market, including many Black and women workers. Besides low pay, many Stevens'

workers develop "brown lung" disease (byssinosis) from inhaling the high levels of cotton dust in Stevens' plants. Black workers, who make up 20 percent of Stevens' workers, are often paid less than white workers for the same job. Women, 30 percent of Stevens' workers, are usually given among the lowest paying jobs. Workers who are known to support a union or show any opposition to the company have often been fired. Stevens even closed down its plant in Statesboro, Georgia, to avoid unionization.

With such flagrant and well-known attacks on workers' rights and livelihood, many Stevens workers saw salvation through bringing in a union. The recognition of ACTWU has been hailed as a "breakthrough" by much of the media, from the "New York Times" to the middle-class "radical" "Guardian" newspaper. Yet an examination of the settle-

J.P. Stevens (cont. pg. 11)

Correspondence

Dear B.L.,

Your article in B.R. no. 4 on the New York City Transit strike was right on time. This exposure coupled with the one in P.R. no. 22 by the B.U., page 30 calling "For Workers' Democracy In The Unions" were excellent in illustrating the three lines in the workers movement, i.e., the established union bureaucrats, the opportunists and the genuine Bolsheviks. Especially good was its assessment of the role various opportunists play in feigning opposition to the union bureaucrats. Indeed both the opportunists (so called communists) and the union bureaucrats are aiding the bourgeoisies' preparation for imperialist war by destroying these defensive organizations (such as unions) of the workers. Leaving the working class in an even worse position organizationally to be able to turn the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie.

In my own struggles, I've found that in fighting for workers democracy in the unions one has to not only battle against the union bureaucrats but also those various opportunist elements. Your propaganda has been very helpful in breaking the strangle-hold that these forces try to have over the workers. In talking to people, they always ask . . . "why these people (so called "communists") who claimed to be for them never give them any information or never explain to them what's going on not only inside the union but outside it as well." And every time the question is asked I try to explain to them that these "so called communists" are indeed not communist and they most certainly are not out to help the workers but to in fact enslave them even more if possible.

This painstaking and patient explanation coupled with your exposures and analysis has helped me tremendously in breaking people away from these opportunists and union bureaucrats and phoney "communists." More and more workers in my particular struggle are coming to the realization that there are more than just two lines in the working class, i.e., that of the bought off union bureaucrats and that of the economist opportunists who call themselves communist. They are beginning to see the revolutionary substance of Bolshevism as the genuine and true line to take in the workers defensive union struggle and are dissociating themselves from those "bourgeoisified and opportunist stratum" in the workers movement.

For example in my particular struggle, this one contact of mine was somewhat influenced by the economists and opportunists, who gave him advice "on how to do revolutionary work in the trade union struggle." "Read Mao . . . On Practice," they said, "This will help you do revolutionary work in your union contract negotiations." Well this contact did precisely this and even went so far as to join the contract negotiation team (apparently for even more practice . . . practice . . . practice). All during this time I had been fighting and struggling with this person for a Bolshevik understanding of trade union work in this period and for this person to study Lenin's What Is To Be Done.

Halfway during the course of these negotiations this person threw up his hands in exasperation. "What type of revolutionary work is this," he said. "Everything . . . all our demands are confined within the boundaries of bourgeois norms and legality." "People are limiting their demands and putting constraints on themselves even before the bourgeoisie does." "That my friend," I said, "is why it is necessary to introduce

class political consciousness into the workers struggles from outside their purely economic struggles, in order to divert the working class" struggles from the spontaneous bourgeois path onto the revolutionary path of Bolshevism, Communism, Marxism-Leninism." To break the hold of bourgeois ideology on the working class you must introduce communist ideology to them." From this point, we began a rather earnest discussion, using your propaganda as a guide, about what truly is the revolutionary way to work in unions.

To make a long story short, this person soon came to see the error of his ways. The propaganda from your articles in B.R. coupled with the experience of this person was quite convincing. He not only refused to take the further advice of his earlier economist advisors (at this point they said "run for an elected union office"), but he proceeded directly to take up the study of What Is To Be Done for a better understanding of the difference between "trade unionist politics and social democratic (communist) politics," and I am gladly helping him along this path.

This is only one example that I wanted to share with other comrades in various struggles. As preparations for imperialist war increase, it becomes even more imperative to defeat the

Correspondence (cont. pg. 14)

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I pledge _____ \$ 5.00
_____ \$10.00
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I want to subscribe to Bolshevik Revolution
_____ \$8.00 for 12 issues
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REAGAN CONTINUES WAR PLANS

(from pg. 1)

Street investment bankers, including George Ball and Felix Rohatyn, both of whom defected from Anderson. As always, all the major candidates represented only the giant banks and corporations. The only choice we had was between which one would rob us for the next four years.

Actually, the winner of this election had already been chosen for us by the capitalists long before election day. As the media, which they control through stocks, commercials, and other direct and indirect means, more and more dumped on Carter, the voters were led by the hand to vote for Reagan, or at least against Carter. A meeting of the super-elite Business Council, a group of 200 of the capitalist executives, just a few weeks before the election showed that only about two of their members publicly supported Carter, while almost everyone else was for Reagan. This is much higher than the average preference of such executives for Republicans. So it was only here, at the Business Council, that Reagan got his landslide. Also, as the capitalists decided to abandon Anderson, himself also from the Trilateral Commission, his campaign utterly collapsed. This is American democracy for you, a total fraud and deception.

Battle Within Ruling Class Continues

Although a coalition of capitalists united behind Reagan, this does not mean they are a monolithic group. On the contrary, there are great tensions and conflicts between various capitalist groups, especially between the Rockefeller forces on the one side and others who either come from the Sunbelt or are more inclined to favor protectionism and restriction on foreign trade. Many of the latter forces have funded anti-detente groups such as the Committee on the Present Danger and the American Security Council. An example of the conflict in Reagan's camp can be seen in what happened to Richard Allen, who had been Reagan's chief foreign policy adviser. Allen, himself on the Committee on the Present Danger, temporarily withdrew from Reagan's campaign because of revelations that when he was in the Nixon administration he used his position to make private business deals. Allen's absence can only strengthen the position of the likes of Kissinger and CFR director George Shultz. It is interesting that the timing of this first Reagan administration scandal occurs just when the final selections for his advisers are to be made. We should also note that those who would know best of the deals made under Nixon by foreign policy officials would be other Nixon foreign policy officials, like, say, Henry Kissinger. In any case, this is but the first of many scandals and rivalries to come under Reagan as the capitalists behave like capitalists and as the jockeying for position among rival monopoly groups goes on.

Chauvinism and War Preparations

Reagan's victory, along with the victory of other conservatives, has been interpreted by some as a supposed "shift to the right." This is only partially true. As is well known, many people were just fed up with Carter. Only one in ten Reagan voters cited his conservatism as a key reason for their vote. Many voters blamed Carter for the economic crisis, and felt Reagan was the lesser of the two evils, or at least could do no worse. Polls showed that two-thirds of the voters saw economic problems as a key reason for their vote.

But these factors alone do not explain the significance of Reagan's victory. What stands out as the most significant trend of this election is that Reagan appealed to an open and strident chauvinism, and was victorious. Reagan's platform was the most openly warmongering, promising to "make America Great Again" and achieve military superiority in the world. He hailed the Vietnam war as a "noble cause" to build support for similar wars in the future. Reagan gave unequivocal support to the bloody expansionism of the Israeli Zionists, and announced he would bolster support to right-wing military and fascist regimes from Latin America to South Africa to South Korea and Taiwan. Already Reagan's new-found buddy, Kissinger, has had a "friendly"

meeting with the racist South African scum Botha. Reagan's whole campaign was geared to preparing public support for imperialist war.

While Carter and Anderson, too, ran on war platforms of more military spending and stepped up U.S. military moves to grab Middle East oil, Reagan's jingoism was the loudest and least disguised. It was chiefly because the majority of the U.S. bourgeoisie thought Reagan the best to lead preparations for war that they backed him. And it was Reagan who most successfully mobilized this pre-war, pro-war sentiment. According to a recent poll, two-thirds of the voters wanted the U.S. to be tougher with Russia, even, in the wording of the poll, if it increased the risk of war.

Besides his well-known support for almost unlimited military spending, Reagan's whole platform calls for greater militarization of the whole society. His economic plans call for reduced government spending in every area but the military. Reagan wants an even greater acceleration of the arms race. The MX missile system, supported by both Carter and Reagan, would require the largest construction project in the world. It could cost well over \$100 billion, and needs 900 miles of roadways, the equivalent of one-quarter of all U.S. highways. This is what the capitalists mean when they talk of "re-industrialization." Reagan's proposed massive tax cuts and reduction of government spending will only mean reduced jobs and services for the working class and oppressed peoples. We will be the real ones to pay the cost for Reagan's plans for war and to have the government guarantee even greater profits for the capitalists.

Just like Carter, Reagan will cater to virtually every wish of the oil companies. At the same time, he would re-introduce legalized discrimination by making a lower minimum wage for Black, Puerto Rican, and other oppressed nationality youth. As for the trade unions, Reagan sees them as reliable tools of the capitalists in whipping the working class into line. Reagan's aide George Shultz, along with many other ruling class leaders, wants to set up so-called tripartite committees of representatives of the corporations, the unions, and government. These committees would try to enforce class peace by squashing strikes, getting workers to accept speed-up and other attacks, directly subordinating the trade unions even more to the capitalist class and its state apparatus. This approach was outlined some years back in a report for the Trilateral Commission. It foreshadows the kind of measures that will be increasingly taken by the government and the unions to strangle the workers' movement in the face of growing preparations for war.

Reagan's platform of war preparations is not the result of some blind, ideological belligerence. True, he has become the maestro for a vile chorus of chauvinism. His election is being taken as a signal to intensify attacks against the working class, the oppressed peoples, and working women. But all the flag-waving and arrogant pronouncements of so-called "Christian values" are not the motivation for this. On the contrary, the chauvinist hysteria is to build support for the war preparations by the American, Christian, pro-apple pie and motherhood capitalist class. Reagan is now their chief political representative, and thus the one chosen to lead the charge.

Imperialist War Is Inevitable

To win the election, Reagan, of course, had to insist that he was against war. It is typical of all capitalist politicians to plead they are for peace while planning for war. Woodrow Wilson was re-elected in 1916 during the first world war around the hypocritical slogan, "He kept us out of war." Five months later the U.S. entered the bloody contest to re-divide the world. In 1964, Lyndon Johnson said he would never wage a major war in Vietnam. "Never" lasted only a few months, also. It was no accident that the issue of war was so pronounced in this campaign.

Reagan (cont. pg. 15)

Iran - Iraq War Expands

The war between Iraq and Iran, now in its third month, continues to confirm the explosive nature of the contradictions in the Middle East region, and the danger of such a local war acting as the spark to ignite the all-out imperialist world war now in its preparatory stages. Other countries in the region are becoming involved even more directly, as the war threatens to spread more widely. In the week of November 17, there were reports of Iranian air attacks against border areas of Kuwait.

The situation is also highly complex in relation to the involvement of the major imperialist powers on both sides. Iraq is fighting with both Russian and French weapons, Iran with U.S. British, and Canadian weapons. The French too are supplying Iran with weapons. Both the U.S. and Russia have shown some support for Iran, in terms of military supplies, replacement parts, and advice on military strategy. The New York Times military correspondent on Nov. 16, 1980, for example, advises the Iranians to mount counter-attacks against the Iraqi forces in Khuzestan. He advises them to originate the attack at Dizful, to use the main highway south to advance, that they could "force a break" in the Iraqi line, and that they should establish a clear chain of command.

How is one to explain the seeming contradiction of the U.S. loudly proclaiming its opposition to Khomeini on the one hand, and giving military advice and assistance on the other? The fact is that the U.S. fears the consequences of an Iraqi victory for a number of reasons. If Iraq were to succeed in annexing Khuzestan, this could lead to the fragmenting of Iran, and the overthrow of the Khomeini regime. This situation might offer the Russians a ripe opportunity to move into Iran and set up a government that would be pro-Russian. As much as the U.S. hates Khomeini, at least he is anti-Russian, and preferable to a pro-Russian regime. An annexation of Khuzestan would also give Iraq a much stronger position economically and politically. It would make Iraq about equal to Saudi Arabia in potential oil production and would permit it to play a controlling role in the Middle East. This would in no way benefit the U.S.

What has become more clear in the present situation, is that the U.S. wanted a quick end to the war, with only limited gains for Iraq and limited pressure on the Khomeini regime. One of the weaknesses of the initial analysis in the previous issue of BR was that it erroneously saw the U.S. as using Iraq as a proxy to overthrow Khomeini. It is much more

likely that Iraq launched the war in pursuit of its own annexationist and other aims, and the U.S., as has Russia, sought to gain certain advantages from it.

Russia also fears fragmentation of Iran, because of the possibility that the U.S. could install a pro-U.S. regime there. The situation is so uncertain, that both imperialist rivals fear greater instability in Iran at this point, since neither one is sure of its ability to actually take over. Thus the seemingly odd fact of the Russians also supplying both sides, but apparently more willing to aid Iran at this point to limit the success of Iraq.

One of the factors that could contribute to a potential fragmentation of Iran is the national oppression, carried out under Khomeini as it was under the Shah, of the Kurdish, Azerbaijani, Baluchi, and Arab nationalities within the borders of Iran. Iraq seeks to exploit the just resistance against this national oppression, and to present itself as the saviour of these peoples. This so-called defense is a pretext to assist Iraq in its aims to become the key power in the region.

While disliking Hussein of Iraq, as they do Khomeini, the U.S. imperialist (and their allies in Great Britain) are fearful of his potential overthrow if he should suffer a defeat in this war. They fear that his replacement might take the form of a return to a more pro-Russian regime once again. They sum up their position in the Economist of Nov. 1, 1980, by saying, "let both survive, neither win."

Other key contradictions that are being sharpened by this war are those within the NATO alliance and between Japan and the U.S. The U.S. fears the increasingly independent role being taken in the Middle East by its rivals, France, West Germany, and Japan. Its spokesman push for more coordination and cooperation between the U.S., Western Europe, and Japan, in dealing with policy in the Middle East. They remind the European imperialists that only the U.S. has the military strength to successfully intervene in the Middle East. In a recent series of articles in *Dialogue*, the journal of the Trilateral Commission, some of these differences clearly emerged. (Summer/Fall 1980).

The U.S. spokesman reminds the Western European powers that as the U.S. routes substantial portions of its military forces to the Middle East, the Europeans must replace them in Europe with more NATO troops and equipment. However, the NATO countries are not rushing to do as the U.S. tells them.

France, for example, has pursued an independent policy with Iraq, selling its arms, jointly developing a nuclear program, and increasing trade. Another weakness in the article in the last BR was stating that moving closer to France means moving closer to the U.S. This is not correct. In fact the rivalry between the U.S. and France is intense. Just one illustration of this fact is that it was recently announced that the Export-Import Bank of the U.S. will grant loans for 15 to 20 years to finance U.S. export purchases, in order to provide terms favorable enough to compete with the French. The former term of 10 years to pay back these loans was not competitive with the "generous" subsidies offered by France to finance its exports. In addition, one particular deal in which France won out over the U.S. was a contract to construct a \$350 million steel plant in Russia. This was to be a joint venture of U.S. and Japanese capital, cancelled after the Afghanistan invasion. France has now taken up this contract.



Now that Iraq has announced the availability of oil once again, France was the first customer.

These are some of the fruits of the "Euro-Arab Dialogue", the increasingly independent relationship of the Middle East oil producers and the European imperialist countries almost totally dependent on their oil. The Middle East states obviously do not want to be the semi-colony of any imperialist power. Having relations with the European imperialists, Japan, as well as with Russia and with the U.S. gives them more favorable negotiating positions. They can play one power (or one group) off against another, sell to the highest bidder, buy arms from the country that offers the most advantage, and pacify domestic opposition to the U.S., as in the case of Saudi Arabia. One of their spokesmen, Prince Saud, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia, commenting on the Euro-Arab Dialogue, expressed it this way: "We hope these tremendous promises will mature into productive cooperation" (*Dialogue*, Summer/Fall 1980).

Japan also reminds the U.S. that it has a growing economic power and seeks to play a more independent role. In the same issue of *Dialogue* cited above, Japan's spokesman states that Japan's GNP in 1978 was about equal to that of France, Great Britain, and Italy combined. Both Japan and some Western European powers want the U.S. to pressure Israel on the Palestinian question. This is one of the thorniest questions dividing the NATO alliance, and one of the reasons for the growing anti-U.S. stance on the part of many of the Middle Eastern countries.

Still another apparent paradox is the stance of Israel in relation to the Iraq-Iran war. It has called openly for support of Iran, calling on the "Western world and the U.S. to show some guts", by which they mean military weapons for Iran. (New York Times, Nov. 1, 1980) Pursuing their own particular imperialist politics, they see this war as a golden opportunity to deepen contradiction among the Arab states, to

to engage Iraq in a prolonged war so it is not in a position to

fight Israel, and to show that there are other contradictions in the Middle East besides over Israel and the Palestinian question. Although Khomeini is anti-Israel, they prefer him to a pro-Russian regime (following closely the positions of the U.S.).

Thus the politics of this war are those of inter-imperialist rivalry on all sides, of annexationist aims, of the strivings of the national bourgeoisies of former colonies and semi-colonies to grow richer and more powerful off the continued exploitation of the impoverished workers and peasants of the whole Middle East region. These are the politics that inevitably lead to imperialist wars, and that in this period of sharpening of all these rivalries and crisis situations, are leading to an inevitable all-out imperialist war. All the bourgeoisies in the region are allied with the imperialists, the economies of each country completely bound up with the international imperialist system. This is an unjust war on both sides.

In spite of these obvious truths, opportunist forces around the world are taking sides, and seeking to obscure the nature of the coming war or to say that it can be prevented. The centrist Party of Labor of Albania, for example, has been promoting and defending the Khomeini regime since it took power. In its position on the present war it continues to praise this regime as having provided the Iranian masses with freedom and independence, making them "master of their country and their destiny..." But the PLA cannot afford to jeopardize its relations with other Middle East countries by coming out openly against Iraq. They therefore take a typically centrist, slippery position of saying that the war was "instigated and organized by the two superpowers, and first of all by American imperialism." They refer to the annexationist and imperialist aims and oppression of nations on the part of both Iraq and Iran as "lofty interests". They call it a quarrel between two "fraternal peoples", obscuring the class interests behind it. They lament, the "division of the anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist front", which is actually a bourgeois nationalist "front" of alliances with the imperialists. They seek to obscure the existence of the bourgeoisie in power in these countries by calling them by the slippery centrist phraseology of "various groups which are in the lead of several Middle Eastern states..." Further proof of how far they are from Marxism-Leninism that they cannot even call the bourgeoisie the bourgeoisie! (*ATA*, October 2, 1980) The centrists of the PLA thus seek to let both the Iraqi and the Iranian bourgeoisie off the hook as innocent, nothing but puppets in the hands of the imperialists. They take the position of calling for both sides to negotiate, of saying that both sides are "just" in this war, in the manner that was predicted by the Bolshevik Union of Canada and characterized as a confession of the PLA's opportunism. (*Proletarian Revolution*, November, 1980, p. 9) The PLA has opted for trying to assure its oil supplies and preserve its alliances with the reactionary Middle East regimes.

What the opportunists never call for, in their scramble to support one side or another in unjust imperialist wars of plunder, is to prepare to turn the war into a civil war against imperialism and the bourgeoisie of the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries. The proletariat and oppressed peoples never desire the outbreak of imperialist war. But once it is developing, the eyes of the working class must be opened to the truth, and not covered with blinders of pacifist illusions. The worker and peasants of Iraq and Iran must follow the path of revolutionary defeatism, i.e. the transformation of this war into a civil war, for the defeat of their own bourgeoisies: Such wars as the Iraq-Iran war can also be opportunities for the working class and peasantry of these countries to revolt against the reactionary rule of the Khomeini's and Hussein's. All genuine internationalists must utilize this time to prepare to turn the coming imperialist war into a civil war. ★



International Correspondence

AUTUMN 1980

No. 2

No. 1 Spring-Summer 1980

The first issue of *International Correspondence* includes texts from ten organizations from North America, Latin America, Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. For the first time in three decades a struggle for the victory of revolutionary communism is being waged openly.

No. 2 Autumn 1980

A special issue containing documents from the Conference against imperialist war held this summer. Includes speeches by the six signatories of the *Appeal* on the struggle against imperialist war, social-chauvinism and social-pacifism (centrism). Also, speeches on the revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies and in imperialist countries.

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Lines of Demarcation

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Montreal Quebec Canada

In the Caribbean the Imperialist Bourgeoisie Prepares for New War of Robbery and Pillage

Articles about the activities of the Navy in Vieques are appearing in the daily newspapers as well as other bourgeois media of information throughout the country. Romero Barcelo, Hernandez Colon, and other "leaders" of the colonial parties (PNP, PDP), in their typical lackey fashion, are defending the interests of the exploitative U.S. imperialist policy of colonial and financial robbery. They are covering up the preparations for imperialist war taking place in Vieques. They hide the fact that Vieques is only a part of the whole huge military base in the Caribbean, a region of great strategic importance.

U.S. imperialism has three bases in the Caribbean zone. Trinidad-Tobago, Guantanamo, Cuba, and Roosevelt Roads in Puerto Rico. The latter is the largest in the world in terms of physical size. This base is of great importance, since it is the only one whose strategic location allows for the practice of amphibious invasion maneuvers, with naval bombardment support, using Vieques as a target. These invasions are practiced to further their war aims. The "Command Center of the Training Facilities of the Naval Fleets of the Atlantic (AFW 11)" is based at Roosevelt Roads. This is a training center for the naval forces of the European imperialist powers, as well as of Latin American countries such as Santo Domingo, Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina, and others. These are all part of the U.S.-dominated imperialist bloc. In 1978, the base at Roosevelt Roads provided training services for 282 ships, and 1200 air and naval transports, divided among four large training areas.

The first training area is off the coast of Santa Cruz (Virgin Islands). They have an undersea area of 21 square miles, heavily instrumented, used by submarines for all types of anti-submarine training.

The second area is off the East Coast of Puerto Rico, and takes in the nearby islands. There they have installed a variety of radar and electronic systems. This area is used to provide training to ships and air transports in case of electronic warfare.

To the northeast and southeast of Puerto Rico, a broad area of open sea is used for missile practice, other types of weapons practice, and various kinds of operations conducted in the open sea.

The fourth area is Vieques and adjacent waters, used to conduct amphibious operations of troop disembarkation, air assault (helicopters), and sea-to-land target practice. "There is no place in the world where this amphibious assault operation can be coordinated on such a grand scale." (Sea Power, information taken from it). It is obvious that U.S. imperialism has no intentions of withdrawing the Navy from Vieques. On the contrary, target and assault practice has increased. Last July 31, the "Vocero" published an article titled "Navy Launches Vieques Offensive" (our translation). This article reports on a series of maneuvers carried out by the recently created "Caribbean Contingency Task Force." This Contingency Force was created after the U.S. carried

out military exercises at Guantanamo Naval Base in Cuba, alarmed by the increase of Russian troops in Cuba. Russia seeks to dispute these territories with the U.S. These increases in military training activities are part of the "Carter Doctrine," of war preparations against its rival, the imperialist bloc headed by Russia.

These U.S. military bases in the Caribbean, the Contingency Force, the U.S. Air National Guard in Puerto Rico (they call themselves the "watchdogs of the Caribbean"), are all to reinforce, to assure, and to maintain close vigilance over all U.S. imperialist interests in the Caribbean and Latin America. The U.S. is very worried by the growing Russian influence in the Caribbean (Cuba, Jamaica, Grenada) and Central America (Nicaragua, El Salvador). Russia, as part of the world imperialist system, is also in constant preparation for a new imperialist war. The Russian invasion of Afghanistan, the mercenary and vassal role of Cuba in Africa, the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, all prove this fact. The economic crisis that is sweeping the countries of the Russian imperialist bloc (as the strikes in Poland, the massive emigration of 100,000 Cubans, etc.) are another example of the false socialism of Russia and its allies. The training and practice that are being carried out in Vieques and throughout the Caribbean by the military force of U.S. imperialism and Russia (Cuba), are all part of imperialist plans of a colonial policy of unleashing a new war for a new redivision of the world. Both blocs are desperately competing for new export markets, for sources of raw materials, and for spheres of influence.

The Puerto Rican working class, the Vieques fishermen, and people, together with the international proletariat, must carry out a struggle to expel the Navy not only from Vieques but from the whole world. This struggle is not carried out through reformism, legal demands, etc., as in Culebra. It is necessary to break with the false "socialists," social chauvinists, social pacifists, all the hidden opportunists (centrists), who support in one war or another, one imperialist power or another. All conceal the character of imperialist war, and of the naval maneuvers in Vieques and the other bases. The PNP, PDP, PSP, PIP, and others, do not speak out against this war preparation. The false "socialists" unite with the national and imperialist bourgeoisie, to become accomplices in the slaughter of millions of workers. "War is the continuation of politics by other means..." The coming war between the U.S. and Russia and their allies, will be the continuation of their politics of competition in the economic field for raw materials for export, spheres of influence for investments of capital, and conquests of redivision of semi-colonial and colonial territories already divided up.

We the revolutionary communists, are not unconditional enemies of all wars. Our objective is socialism, the extinction of class divisions, the extinction of the exploitation of Puerto Rico (cont. pg. 14)

INTER-IMPERIALIST RIVALRY IN THE CARIBBEAN

In the frantic competition of all the imperialist powers for control of export markets, sources of raw materials, and spheres of capital investment, the Central American-Caribbean area, like the Middle East, has become a focal point. Intensive preparations for an imperialist war to re-divide the world by force are being manifested in this area more and more every day. U.S. imperialism has regarded the Caribbean basin (along with all of Latin America) as its "backyard," but today it is faced with various threats to its control.

The U.S. military presence in the Caribbean is one sign of the importance it places on this region. Nearly 15% of the territory of Puerto Rico, direct colony of the U.S., is occupied by U.S. military installations. The island of Vieques (8 miles off the shore of Puerto Rico) has been turned into a target for weapons practice of the U.S. Navy as well as for the fleets of the NATO countries. It is also a staging area for "war games." The Caribbean Contingency Joint Task Force, based at Key West, Florida, is headquarters for a Rapid Deployment Force for the Caribbean area. In the last week of July of this year, this task force held a military exercise on Vieques, utilizing 2500 soldiers, sailors and marines in a "secret" simulation of an invasion to "regain control of seized U.S. facilities." This exercise clearly represents both preparation for and a threat of all-out intervention: a warning, principally to any regimes in the area that ally themselves with its chief imperialist rival, Russia, that the U.S. is ready to invade to protect its interests.

Not the least of the strategic interests of the U.S. in the Caribbean is, of course, the protection of its southern coast in the event of imperialist war. Another strategic interest, which would assume even more importance in an imperialist war, centers on the question of oil supply routes. Fifty-two percent of all oil imported into the U.S. is carried in tankers on sea lanes that pass through the Caribbean Sea. One of these lanes passes the coast of Central America en route to refineries in Houston and New Orleans. The other lane lies off the coast of Puerto Rico and is the route for carrying refined oil to the ports of the Eastern U.S. Control over these sea lanes is essential to U.S. military planning. Should an imperialist rival power be in a position to cut off these oil lanes, it would seriously affect the flow of oil to run the machinery of war production as well as the planes, ships, etc., in addition to the domestic economy.

Another crucial interest in the Caribbean region is control of the Panama Canal. The U.S. seeks to maintain complete control and continuous access to the Canal for its warships as well as its commercial vessels. In an imperialist war, that country that controls the Panama Canal has a tremendous advantage over its rivals.

Clearly, even if for these reasons alone, the Caribbean basin would be a focal point in an imperialist war, particularly in the light of the preparations taking place

today. Using Cuba as its main military outpost in the area, and with the political aid of the Cuban government, the Russian imperialists have been able to make some inroads into this key region. They have constructed a naval base at Cienfuegos, Cuba, and both Russian warships and planes have been increasingly deployed in the area. There are also several thousand Russian troops in Cuba. Acting as a surrogate for Russian interests, Cuba has also opened up possibilities for Russian entry in Jamaica, Guyana, and Grenada in the Eastern Caribbean. (As a sign of its leaning toward Russia, Grenada voted against condemning the invasion of Afghanistan in the UN.)

In addition to the U.S. and Russia, other imperialist powers have economic interests in the region. Among them are Canada, France, West Germany, Great Britain, and Holland. There are British military advisors in Barbados, and last March the French sent 225 elite police to Martinique to suppress a strike and to serve as a threat to any moves to independence for this French colony in the Caribbean. As an indication of how explosive the situation in the region is, it has been reported that the U.S. National Security Council considered the possibility of a blockade of Grenada in the spring of 1980 after a reported shipment of a cargo of automatic rifles from Cuba.

Savage imperialist exploitation has resulted in massive suffering

Although specific conditions may vary somewhat from one country to another, what is most common throughout the Caribbean-Central America region is mass unemployment, illiteracy, malnutrition, an impoverished peasantry, high inflation, high rates of emigration, in short, all the fruits of years of exploitation by the imperialists in partnership with the local bourgeoisie. Contrary to the propaganda of the imperialists that they are bringing "civilization" and "economic progress" to the people, the actual truth is that they bring only the most savage exploitation and repression. In El Salvador, for example, while foreign investment increased by \$40 millions between 1970 and 1975, eighty percent of the population was still earning less than the \$704 needed per year by each family to cover only the basic necessities of food, clothing, and shelter. The average daily wage for workers was \$4 per day. Meanwhile U.S. companies such as Texas Instruments and Maidenform continue to extract superprofits from the labor of Salvadorian workers. The lowest 20% of the population receives only 5.7% of the national income, while at the top the wealth is concentrated in the hands of the ruling oligarchy of "14 families." Only 2% of the population owns 70% of the land, and the "14 families" receive 50% of the national income.



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In Guatemala, where over half the population consists of Native people (mostly peasants and agricultural workers), approximately 80% of the children are malnourished. There is 80% illiteracy in the countryside. About 350,000 people live in hovels by the side of a highway in Guatemala City. According to U.N. reports, the peasants of Guatemala live a life as poor as that of the countryside of Bangladesh, Somalia, or Haiti. Large numbers of peasants are being poisoned by DDT, many dying, others remaining contaminated and ill, because of the extensive spraying of the cotton plantations on which they are forced to work.

In many islands of the Caribbean the unemployment rate is over 25%. The per capita income is below \$600 per year in nearly all. Twice the number of the present population of Grenada (110,000) have left it as immigrants to the U.S. and other countries.

These conditions document, in the present-day world, the analysis made by the Communist International at its Sixth Congress in 1928. **"In its function as colonial exploiter, the ruling imperialism in relation to the colonial countries acts primarily as a parasite sucking the blood from the economic organism of the latter. The fact that this parasite in relation to its victim represents a society with a highly-developed culture makes it a so much the more powerful and dangerous exploiter, but, from the point of view of the colonial country, this in no way alters the parasitic character of its function. Capitalist exploitation in every imperialist country has proceeded by way of the development of productive forces. The specific colonial forms of capitalist exploitation, put into operation by the same British, French or any other bourgeoisie, in the final analysis hinder the development of the productive forces of the colonies concerned. . . . Thus the fundamental tendency of colonial exploitation acts in the direction of hindering the development of the productive forces in the colonies, of despoiling them of their riches, and, above all, of exhausting the reserves of human productive forces in the colonial countries."** (Thesis on the Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies and Semi-Colonies, section 11)

Mass struggles against this plunder, and the devastating conditions which are its result, are taking place today on the largest scale in El Salvador and in Guatemala, which are the most economically developed countries in Central America. These struggles are causing further instability in the governments of the region, raising serious doubts that the various military, dictatorial regimes in the area can go on ruling in the same old way, and thereby are adding to the worries of the U.S. government.

Past struggles were defeated by massive repression, and U.S. funds and equipment backing up brutal dictators such as Somoza in Nicaragua and Hernandez Martinez in El Salvador. In the late 1920's, after the Sandino leadership agreed to a disarming of the guerrilla forces, tens of thousands of peasants were murdered by Somoza. In El Salvador, which was on the brink of an insurrection in 1932, the leadership was betrayed and arrested, and 30,000 peasants were murdered, many merely because they had the features of Native people. The Communist Party and workers federation were wiped out. Ubico in Guatemala shot hundreds of worker, peasant, and student leaders and maintained iron rule over the Native people.

Today, massive repression and terror, backed with U.S. funds and equipment, are still being utilized, but are not halting the struggles. In spite of the thousands of killings in Guatemala in the 1960's, and although the Cuba-influenced guerrilla movement of that time was crushed, mass struggles and armed resistance have risen again, this time with much greater participation of the peasants. Since the 1960's, the Guatemalan proletariat, whose development has been advanced by the very process of increased imperialist expansion of industrialization, has fought against repression as well as for economic demands. The unionized workers have begun to resist more and more the traditional, bourgeois and imperialist-controlled trade union leadership, whose aim has been to limit and contain their struggles. In El Salvador, 5,000 people have been killed in this last year, many more tortured, but the country is still moving rapidly toward a revolutionary situation. It is just a little over one year since the Somoza regime was overthrown in Nicaragua and the Sandinista National Liberation Front took power.

Instability in the Central America region is confronting the U.S. government with two spectres. One is the possibility that in the course of these mass uprisings, genuine communist parties may arise and lead struggles against the national reformist bourgeois elements within these countries (which today are in control of these struggles) as part of a revolution against the bourgeoisie and for socialism. The other spectre is that resulting from years of hatred of the U.S. because of its superexploitation and backing of terroristic regimes. These countries are ripe for Russian penetration, as happened in Cuba. The most likely means of accomplishing such penetration (possibly through military aid) would be through the openings made by Cuba, such as those that already have been mentioned in Grenada, and in Central America specifically, with the sending of at least 2,000 Cubans to Nicaragua. These include technicians of various types, doctors, as well as military and intelligence experts. Cuba is also providing \$50 million in financial assistance (since Cuba is totally financially dependent on Russia this is an indirect form of aid from Russia).

To try to prevent their chief imperialist rivals from gaining more of an entry into this vital region, the U.S. has had to shift to other tactics. With the failure of the tactics of mass slaughter and repression, and with the tide turning against such long-time friends of the U.S. as Somoza, there has been a shift to support some reforms and the reformist national bourgeoisie. *

How to "manage" revolution

Spokesmen for the section of the U.S. bourgeoisie that support this latter policy, state that " . . . the interests of the United States would be better served by policies aimed at managing the inevitable social and economic change." ("Oligarchs and Officers: The Crisis in El Salvador," *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1980, p. 1092, our

*With president-elect Reagan, a return to the open support of the most right wing bourgeoisie is the most likely foreign policy that will get implemented. However, a battle on this change of tactic is sure to sharpen amongst the bourgeoisie. More on this in upcoming articles.

emphasis) This analysis, appearing in the journal of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Rockefeller-dominated "expert" group of U.S. foreign policy, goes on to point out that El Salvador is the "first test case for the new regional policy formulated by the United States in the wake of the Nicaraguan revolution." (p. 1097) While this policy would prefer to leave what the U.S. calls the "radical Left" (referring to the various pro-Russian groupings such as the Popular Revolutionary Bloc and the FAPU) isolated, it recognizes that their strength in El Salvador precludes this. The policy being advocated then, and proposed for extension to all of Latin America, is to bring the "Left" . . . "in from the cold," to bring the "Left" into the government in order to avoid civil war. (p. 1099)

For the U.S. the application of this policy could bring several benefits. One would be to avert the possibility of intervention by other countries, such as Guatemala or Honduras, which might be followed by intervention by the U.S. (which could prove to be a disaster in terms of overall U.S. foreign policy) and eventual intervention by Russia. As long as the instability continues, this is a real danger. Another benefit would be the promotion of reformist regimes with a "revolutionary mask" which leave U.S. economic interests intact.

The "Left" which the U.S. is seeking to bring "in from the cold" is characterized by petty-bourgeois leadership which puts forward national-revolutionary demands so long as it is opposing feudalism and imperialism. As analyzed so clearly by the Comintern Sixth Congress, this situation changes when the revolution poses a threat to the class interests of the bourgeoisie. They appear as revolutionary " . . . so long as the development of the revolutionary process in the country does not put on the order of the day in a definite and sharp form the fundamental international questions of the bourgeois revolution, particularly the question of the realization of the agrarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. When this happens, it usually denotes the end of the revolutionary character of the petty-bourgeois parties. As soon as the revolution has placed the class interests of the proletariat in critical contradiction not only to the rule of the feudal-imperialist bloc, but also to the class rule of the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeois groups usually go back to the position of the national-reformist parties." (op. cit., section 24)

It is on the alliance of these radicalized petty bourgeois with the national reformist bourgeoisie that the U.S. seeks to base its new strategy for Latin America. This is the type of alliance represented by the Sandinistas of Nicaragua and by the Democratic Revolutionary Front of El Salvador.

Activities of social democracy in Latin America

Social democracy, in the form of the second Socialist International and various parties and organizations tied to it, is becoming increasingly more active as a counter-revolutionary reformist force in the Caribbean-Central American region. Since the 1976 meeting in Venezuela, sponsored by Accion Democratica, a consultative party to the S.I., and then in power in Venezuela, the parties and trade union organizations of the Social-

ist International, particularly of Western Europe, have been gaining in influence. Social democratic parties are in power in the Dominican Republic, and in Jamaica.* The New Jewel Movement of Grenada, presently being hailed as "revolutionary" by those same forces that hail the Sandinistas, is also linked to the S.I. The Sandinistas themselves have ties to the S.I. The governing party of Mexico, the PRI, as well as the thoroughly reformist Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), are also linked to the S.I.

Historically, European social democracy has supported the interests of European capital, and is today helping its expansion in Latin America. For example, West Germany, which supplies 60% of the funds of the S.I., has recently granted the Sandinistas a loan of \$23 million, for 30 years at 2% interest, including a grace period of 10 years. These are indeed favorable terms, and undoubtedly create a highly favorable climate for the expansion of German capital investments in Nicaragua. Already there has been an increase of trade between Germany and Nicaragua. West Germany, along with Canada, Holland, and Sweden, all have investments in El Salvador, and all have parties or organizations related to the S.I. looking out for their interests.

In today's world situation of preparations for a new imperialist war to re-divide the colonies and semi-colonies among the imperialist powers, the Western European, Canadian, and Japanese imperialists are all seeking for ways to use the anti-American hatred in the region as an opening to move in and seize a bigger "piece of the action," trying to weaken the U.S. and at the same time, minimize Russian penetration into the area. The interests of these imperialists are actively promoted by such "socialist" leaders as Manley of Jamaica. In the September 1980 meeting of the Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, held in Caracas, Venezuela, he called on the S.I. to play an even more active role in the financing of the economic "process" of Latin America, in other words, for even more export of capital to even more enslave the colonies and semi-colonies of the region.

Mexico and Venezuela, both with close ties to the S.I., and both with an interest in trying to minimize the extent to which the Caribbean region becomes a focus of inter-imperialist rivalry, are also active as promoters of national reformism. Further instability in the region could threaten their regimes, as could an extension of the conflicts in the area to the level of outside intervention. The spread of mass struggles in Central America, and the possible overthrow of the Guatemalan regime, could pose a threat to Mexico's "stability." A reformist solution is far preferable to Mexico, which has put itself forward as the great friend of the Sandinistas, and together with Venezuela is guaranteeing the oil supply for countries of the Caribbean basin.

While the imperialists of Western Europe and Canada find their interests represented by the various social democratic, supposedly "revolutionary," forces, the Russian imperialists find their interests supported by the old revisionist Communist Parties of the region, as well as significant elements within the new forces,

*This article was written prior to the ouster of Manley and his replacement by the more pro-U.S. Seaga.

such as within the Sandinistas and within the Democratic Revolutionary Front of El Salvador, as well as in the Salvadorian Coordinating group. These elements uphold Cuba as the model for revolution, thus raising the prospect of turning their countries into more semi-colonies of Russian imperialism. One of these elements, the Frente de Accion Popular Unificada (FAPU), hails Angola, Mozambique, South Yemen, Vietnam and Cambodia (as well as Nicaragua, Cuba, Grenada, and Jamaica), as "bulwarks of the contemporary anti-imperialist struggle." Following in the footsteps of their counterparts in Vietnam and Cuba, in effect they are calling for the people of El Salvador to exchange the U.S. yoke of oppression for the Russian yoke, and allow themselves to be used as an army to invade other colonial or semi-colonial countries for the economic, political, and military interests of their new masters.

Conclusion

The imperialists of many countries have their plans and their strategies for the Caribbean region, which is a focus of their rivalry, as they proceed toward an inevitable re-division of the world by force. They each have their spokesmen, the voice of their particular interests. None of these, from the social democrats to the Sandinistas, or the Popular Revolutionary Bloc, speak for the masses of workers and peasants. It is certainly true that some of these forces have fought against, or are presently fighting against, reactionary regimes in their respective countries. But the aim of the proletariat and oppressed peasantry is the overthrow of imperialism and of the national bourgeoisie as well. The only path to genuine national emancipation is through opposition to all national reformist tendencies. National emancipation can never be achieved through exchanging

*What type of analysis of these forces is being offered to the U.S. proletariat by the numerous self-proclaimed "parties" claiming to represent it? One of these, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) of the U.S., which has recently been trying to cloak itself in the mantle of Leninism, prattles about "... directing the workers' sights to the broad political questions of the day ...", saying that its "... main activity today (is) revolutionary agitation, political exposures of events that cut to the heart of this system ...", etc., etc. But the mantle that best fits is the mantle of Maoism, not Leninism, for at last they proclaim, "Our central task today is most vividly expressed in the slogan of Mao Tsetung that states, 'Create public opinion ... seize power.'" (*Revolutionary Worker*, June 6, 1980, p. 20)

This pat formula, devoid of class content (what classes make up the "public"?), and actually nonsensical, is what guides RCP in its articles on El Salvador. Rather than bring to the U.S. working class a Leninist analysis that brings a deeper understanding of the international situation and of basic Leninist principles, they confine themselves to tailing behind the actions of the various Salvadorian organizations. Using an old opportunist trick, they hide behind interviews, playing it safe by not putting forward any position or critical analysis. (*Revolutionary Worker*, Jan. 4, 1980) They interview a petty bourgeois Salvadorian high school student, who describes herself as "a real spoiled kid" from a financially well-off family, and who, oddly enough, sounds just like many RCP cadres! She states that in her school the biggest struggle is to get people to "stop thinking about just having a good time." To this petty bourgeois "spoiled kid," the big "problems"

one imperialist master for another, or through eliminating the most reactionary sections of the local bourgeoisie, while placing into power its reformist section. This is precisely the process now taking place in Nicaragua, and developing in El Salvador.*

The aim of the proletariat and oppressed peasants is to defeat both imperialism and the local bourgeoisie, to establish the hegemony of the proletariat, setting the conditions to accomplish the socialist revolution. Where the democratic tasks, including the agrarian revolution, remain to be accomplished, these can only be carried through to the end under proletarian leadership, embodied in the party of the working class. This strengthens the alliance of workers and peasants for the stage of socialist revolution, and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Where these tasks have already been accomplished, as in Puerto Rico where the process of capitalist development itself has virtually eliminated the peasantry as a class, the immediate aim of the working class is the socialist revolution and establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

The struggle against all bourgeois and national reformist tendencies, and the creation of genuine parties of the proletariat, are vital aspects of any genuine struggle for national emancipation. As the Comintern concluded:

"Without this struggle, without the liberation of the toiling masses from the influence of the bourgeoisie and of national reformism, the basic strategical aim of the communist movement in the bourgeois-democratic revolution — the hegemony of the proletariat — cannot be achieved. 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 through to an end, not to speak of the socialist revolution." (op. cit., sec. 19)

in factories are strikes and work stoppages! What to the proletariat is a weapon of struggle against the imperialists and the bourgeoisie, to the petty bourgeoisie is a "problem" that disrupts the usually "peaceful" routine of "having a good time." To this "revolutionist," promoted by the RCP, who no doubt strongly identify with her point of view, the "face of U.S. imperialism in Central America" is not its economic and political domination, but the fact that "the youth dress like gringos and dance disco." To the superexploited Central American worker, working for Beckman Instruments, or Esso, making a few cents an hour, imprisoned or shot because he has participated in a strike or tried to organize a union, this would come as quite a shock. To him the face of U.S. imperialism has nothing to do with "dancing disco." The RCP thus fails miserably even to provide an exposure of the economic interests of U.S. imperialism in Central America. Instead, what is done is a cover-up of the extent and nature of the economic plunder of colonies and semi-colonies, which RCP reduces to only its vulgar and superficial cultural manifestations.

The RCP, however, has a concrete material interest in this cover-up, for it is from this economic plunder that the superprofits come which generate the crumbs used by imperialism to bribe its agents in the working class movement — the petty bourgeois "revolutionists" who defend the interests of imperialism, and whose social basis is the petty bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy. These strata, as pointed out by Lenin, enjoy many privileges and comforts in bourgeois society, which they want to continue to enjoy. Some, like the RCP, hide their true interests under a revolutionary mask, by which they hope to deceive the proletariat.

J.P. Stevens

(from pg. 1)
ment, and the general role of ACTWU, shows that this is not a solution, and no real, great victory was won by the workers. While a few small gains have been won, Stevens' workers still remain among the most exploited and oppressed workers.

Contract Leaves Oppressive Conditions Unchanged

The contract raises the pay of the workers it covers only to the level of those workers in Stevens' non-union plants. While there is back pay to catch-up to wage increases given only at non-union plants, the wage increase of 8.5 percent is well below the inflation rate. Some minimum job security has been won against unchallenged arbitrary firings. Yet many other workers have learned that arbitration procedures are no guarantee against such practices. The contract also has no real provisions against discrimination and special oppression of Black or women workers. In return for union recognition, ACTWU, among other measures, agreed to call off its boycott of Stevens, to stop its exposures of Stevens' terrible working conditions, and to not use rights granted it by the courts to organize inside the plants and on the property of Stevens' other non-union plants.

At a news conference after the settlement, Stevens' chief executive Whitney Stevens put on a public show of defiance by declaring, "We will continue to oppose the unions." But the real attitude of these capitalists to the agreement was expressed by one unnamed Stevens official who was quoted as calling it a "sweetheart deal". ("Washington Post," Oct. 26, 1980) After accusing the union of spreading "poison", another unnamed Stevens spokesman, referring to the \$30 million spent by ACTWU and its supporters to unionize Stevens, said, "we don't think they got much for their money."

In one sense, this is true. This contract was largely on Stevens' terms. To understand, then, why the union invested such a large sum of money for such seemingly small results, we must look at the course pursued by ACTWU in this campaign, and the nature of unions today.

THE "BUSINESS UNIONISM" OF ACTWU

In 1974, ACTWU won close votes in several Stevens' plants as the union representing the workers. After Stevens refused to negotiate with ACTWU, the union pursued a number of tactics that did not involve the rank-and-file. A boycott of Stevens was organized. Though given much publicity and support by the AFL-CIO hierarchy, the boycott had little impact, as Stevens' sales and profits were not especially affected. The reliance on the boycott already showed that the workers themselves were not leading this campaign, but the union bureaucrats in New York.

The main tactic chosen next by ACTWU more fully revealed their true nature. The union undertook a "corporate campaign" to pressure other monopoly corporations and banks to get Stevens to recognize the union. They did this by lobbying to remove Stevens board members from the boards of other corporations. They even threatened to run an opposition slate of directors for the board of Metropolitan Life Insurance, Stevens' largest lender. Of course, the union was only able to do this by actually owning stocks in various corporations.

The conduct of this "corporate campaign", which is a classical case of "business unionism", reveals that ACTWU itself has become a capitalist corporation. They rallied Stevens'

workers against a vile reactionary company. When they had their support, they used it to promote their own corporate careers and ties to the capitalist system. What ACTWU itself mainly won from the settlement was dues checkoff. Now a portion of the workers' paychecks automatically goes to the union. The bureaucrats in New York, with this new-found fund now guaranteed, can go around investing it in more stocks and bonds, and enriching themselves even more. So now Stevens' workers have two bosses—Stevens and ACTWU. This is what ACTWU got for its \$30 million. This is what ACTWU secretary-treasurer J. Sheinkman really meant when he said ACTWU wanted "to make corporations behave in a decent and responsible manner". (N.Y. Times, Oct. 21, 1980) So what the union got out of this settlement was far different than what the workers got.

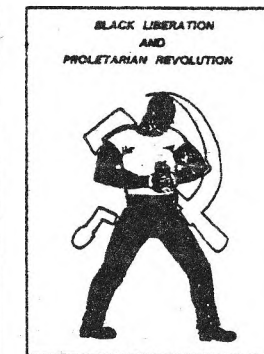
Union Bureaucracies vs. the Working Class

What ACTWU has done is not at all an isolated case. The takeover of the unions by bureaucrats has been complete for some time. Many unions were born as fighting organizations to defend the interests of the working class. Many brave workers were gunned down by company thugs and the police to build these unions. But within the working class there is a split. The majority of workers are exploited, only have their labor power to sell, and own only a few personal possessions, much of which they are up to their neck in debt for. Alongside them there is a minority of workers who are actually a bribed upper stratum, an aristocracy of labor. These are among the highest paid and most skilled workers who receive the most privileges on the job. They often are the ringleaders of the most reactionary and most chauvinist and racist sentiment. They share in the wealth of the imperialist system, and receive a share of the enormous profits the largest banks and corporations get from plundering the oppressed nations and peoples of the world, especially the cheap labor and raw materials in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The majority of workers have "nothing to lose but their chains", as Karl Marx said. But this bribed minority, this labor aristocracy, benefits from the capitalist plunder and has a stake in maintaining it. It is these labor aristocrats that today lead the unions. In addition, there is a whole section of the union bureaucracy recruited directly from the college campuses. These privileged middle-class bureaucrats join the labor aristocrats in making up the powerful trade union bureaucracy:

The unions amassed enormous fortunes from dues and

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pension funds. Drawing profits on their investments, the trade unions became converted into capitalist corporations. Today union pension funds total \$500 billion, which is called "the largest capital pool in America" for investment by A.H. Raskin, former N.Y. Times labor columnist. Previously the union bureaucracy pursued a course of class collaboration, of getting the working class to support the capitalist class' economic attacks on the workers, imperialist wars such as World War One, Korea, Vietnam, and so on. While still doing this, the union bureaucracies have now themselves become part of this capitalist class. They have become full partners in the exploitation of labor and have the same material interest as their corporate boardroom colleagues. Their interests are thus diametrically opposed to those of the majority of workers, unionized or non-unionized.

For these reasons much of the capitalist class has realized that unions pose no real threat to them. Union leaders are even joining top capitalist bodies. United Auto Workers' (UAW) Fraser now sits on the board of directors of Chrysler. AFL-CIO head, Kirkland, who hailed the Stevens settlement at the news conference announcing it as "a major victory for all the working people of America", sits on David Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission. Instead of busting unions, as in the past, now the federal government, run by the likes of the Rockefellers, assists unions. The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) actually supported ACTWU by ruling against Stevens a record number of times. The capitalists realize that the unions can police the workers and squash their struggles much better than the capitalists and their police alone. No wonder ACTWU vice-president Sol Stetin said: "The days of organizing battles fought in the streets are over. We live in an era of civilized labor relations now". Civilized for the capitalists in the corporations and the unions, that is, but still hell for the workers.

Another aspect of the deals between the unions and the capitalists is that union organization only goes on minimally in the South and among the most oppressed workers, including Black and Chicano workers. ACTWU unionized a Farah apparel plant in El Paso, Texas in 1975, employing mostly Chicano women. After declaring another "breakthrough", no significant new plants have been unionized. ACTWU has already said it will not focus on Stevens any longer. The South, and especially the textile industry, will remain a haven for exploitation of cheap, non-union labor, so long as the capitalists and the union hacks have their way.

ACTWU's plans for the future instead may involve a merger with the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU). This union, centered in New York's dwindling Garment Center, has done nothing to defend its members in years. ILGWU workers, many of whom are women and immigrants from Latin America, face sweatshop conditions, near minimum wage, and constant lay-offs from runaway shops. ILGWU's response has been to lead a chauvinist "Buy America" campaign that gets U.S. workers, including immigrant workers, to support their bosses in competition against other capitalists, and pits these workers against foreign workers. This is the kind of traitorous union bureaucracy ACTWU wants to become one with.

The Struggle for Workers' Democracy in the Unions

There are many key lessons in this struggle for all workers. Even though there is now some dissatisfaction with this settlement, many workers are happy about it and consider it a victory. Most of these workers will soon be very disappointed when they learn what a rotten deal they got. Although ACTWU literature used many names and pictures of workers,

they were actually shut out of their own organizing drive. They will eventually learn that they are shut out of running the union altogether.

For the working class to defend its own interests, it must struggle for real workers' democracy in the unions. It must combat the line of class collaboration between capital and labor and defeat the "business unionism" of the likes of ACTWU. Instead of giving in to the cynicism and demoralization that disappointments with union bureaucracies often breed, the workers need to set up their own organizations, their own centers. These centers must struggle to kick the bureaucrats out of the workers' movement and out of the unions. Such centers must not only struggle around economic issues, but must take up political questions like the struggles against imperialist war and against the national oppression of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and other oppressed peoples.

The U.S. working class has a rich tradition of militant worker struggles, often involving revolutionary leadership, that should be followed. The road for the workers' movement should not be the business unionism of the likes of ACTWU. Instead, they must follow the road of the Flint auto workers whose sit-down strike occupied their G.M. factory in 1937, or that of the Seattle workers who during their 1919 general strike refused to load supplies the U.S. military needed in its intervention against the young Soviet Republic.

Ultimately, however, strikes can only bring partial results at best. There are many false "communists" and "leftists" who try to keep the workers' movement on a narrow, trade-unionist path. They hide from the workers that all the exploitation, oppression, misery and indignity that burden the working class can only cease when capitalism is overthrown and socialism established. When workers try to organize for themselves, these opportunists either try to take over workers' groups and drive everyone else out, or, if that fails, to smash them. These opportunists are not revolutionaries but reformists, economists who assist the union bureaucrats in keeping the workers' movement impotent.

Reform or Revolution

Trade unionism has no solution to any of the ills of capitalism. Despite trade unions all over the world, every major capitalist country is in the throes of a deepening economic crisis. Lay-offs, chronic unemployment and inflation, militarization and preparations for an imperialist world war, the rise of the Klan and Nazis to all this the trade unions offer no answer. All the opportunists who glorify trade unionism ignore or reject what Marx himself said: "Trade unions work well as centers of resistance against the encroachment of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to guerilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system." ("Wages Prices and Profit")

To really defeat the likes of J.P. Stevens, the whole system of private property and production for profit, the capitalist system, must be ended. The task is to prepare for this today. This cannot go on without defeating the agents of the capitalists within the workers' movement, the traitors like the union bureaucrats and the various opportunists. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 most vividly and most dramatically showed the workers of the world the only path to emancipation from the yoke of capital. Today many workers are re-learning this truth, and more and more will do so in the years to come.

FASCISTS ACQUITTED IN GREENSBORO

The trial of six Nazi and Klan members in Greensboro, North Carolina is over. They have all been acquitted of murdering five members of the Maoist Communist Workers Party (CWP) at a CWP "Death to the Klan" rally. Three basic lessons stand out in this case.

The first lesson is that the American system of "justice" has once again shown its hypocritical nature. Despite numerous witnesses and even a videotape of the murders, the fascist scum were set free. This acquittal can only encourage these racist criminals to even further increase their growing ranks. During the trial the state was exposed for instigating at least one side of this confrontation by having their agents in the Klan and Nazis organize the caravan that attacked CWP. It is not an accident that this happens now. A general wave of terror against Black people and an upsurge of chauvinism and racism is spreading across the U.S. This is necessary to prepare for the coming imperialist war and to divide and weaken the working class and oppressed peoples so they can be made to accept the brunt of the capitalist economic crisis. It is in this context that the ruling class is revitalizing and giving wide publicity to the Klan.

The second lesson is that the isolated confrontations by the likes of CWP with the Klan cannot at all defeat them, but in fact paves the way for greater attacks on the working class, oppressed peoples, and anyone even claiming to be revolutionary or communist. CWP's method of fighting the Klan is to challenge them to decisive conflicts and to threaten them without either themselves or anyone else being in a position to successfully win these encounters. Their adventurist course is summarized in their slogan "Payback," which they say means seeking revenge. Totally absent are the scientific Marxist-Leninist teachings on strategy and tactics. These demand an accurate estimation of forces before entering any battle, calculations involving which methods and arenas of struggle are most effective at each specific time, and an understanding of how immediate struggles prepare for victory in the ultimate battle for the revolutionary seizure of power. Instead CWP gives us frenzied emotionalism. CWP baited the Klan as

"cowards" and "punks," and challenged them to come to their rally last year for a confrontation. The result was not only the death of the five Maoists. In Greensboro a more reactionary political atmosphere now exists. The masses are still without any organization to defend themselves. And to further show the impotence of CWP and how they have helped disorganize the masses, the acquittal of the Klansmen and Nazis was met with no rebellion or even significant protest anywhere. Quite the opposite happened in Miami, where a massive spontaneous rebellion in the Black community followed the acquittal of the white cops who had murdered a Black man, Arthur McDuffie.

The third lesson, drawn from the other two, is that the working class and oppressed peoples cannot successfully fight the imperialist system and their fascist agents in the Klan without fighting the opportunists like CWP whose actions actually pave the way for fascism. The Communist International in the 1930s showed how the victory of Hitler and fascism in Germany would not have been possible without the assistance of the opportunists, who were actually social-fascists. One of the methods of both the police and the social-fascists is "provoking strikes and various other movements of the proletariat at the most inopportune moments in order to disrupt them and demoralize the masses." They do this "to disrupt the growing labor movement, when they are not able to prevent the movement from achieving its aim in any other way." ("The Struggle Against the Provocateur," The Communist International, no. 2, 1932) This clearly describes the antics of both CWP and their Maoist cousins, the Revolutionary Communist Party. The bourgeoisie would love for such social-fascists to appear in spontaneous struggles like the Miami rebellion so they could more easily repress them. For this reason CWP, though a small sect, is given enormous publicity in the bourgeois media.

To fight the bourgeoisie and win we must drive such filth as CWP out of the movements of the working class and oppressed peoples. We certainly do not need any more disasters like Greensboro.

Literature available from the Bolshevik League:

- Report to the Founding Conference of the Bolshevik League of the U.S. \$2.00
- Regarding the Question of the Party of Labor of Albania \$.50
- Regarding the Question of Bolshevism - two reprints from the works of J.V. Stalin, "Mastering Bolshevism" and "Some Questions Regarding the History of Bolshevism" \$1.00
- 1928-1930 Comintern Resolutions on the Negro National Question in the U.S. (reprint) \$1.00
- Black Liberation and Proletarian Revolution \$.75
- Africa: From Colony to Semi-Colony (by the Bolshevik Union of Canada) \$.75

APPEAL TO ALL REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISTS!

An appeal to begin the preparations needed in order to be able to transform the approaching imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. See the second issue of **International Correspondence**.

Circle Rallies to the Bolshevik League

We are a circle that has rallied to the Bolshevik League (BL). We will explain briefly our reasons for this and why we believe that it is imperative that all genuine Marxist-Leninists and class conscious workers also rally to the BL.

We have been very favorably impressed not only with the BL, but with the developing international Bolshevik trend. Before our contact with the trend and its literature, we were floundering around in the Maoist, centrist marsh. We studied some Marxism-Leninism—and a good dose of Maoism—and were involved in local reformist, economist activities (trade union, “anti-imperialist,” affirmative action, etc.). With the death of Mao Zedong and the rise to power of the Deng Xiaoping faction in the Communist Party of China (CPC), we started to question the infamous “theory of 3 worlds”. However, because we had not yet broken with centrism, we started following the leadership of Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labor of Albania (PLA). After studying Lines of Demarcation No. 13 (“The PLA Came to Canada Under a Stolen Flag”), put out by the Bolshevik Union (BU) of Canada, we realized that we must break not only with open social chauvinism (as typified by the CPC and groups like CPML), but also with centrism (as typified by the PLA and groups like MLOC). We have read other documents by the BU, especially concerning party building, and have understood, among other things, how right opportunism and economism have sabotaged the struggle for proletarian revolution worldwide. We consider that the BU is acting in a truly proletarian internationalist fashion, and that we should learn from their example.

Through reading the literature of the Committee of U.S. Bolsheviks (the predecessor to the BL) and comparing it to the Marxist-Leninist classics, as well as through face-to-face discussions with their representatives, we comprehended the nature of the so-called “anti-revisionist communist movement” in this country. We now understand that the unbounded opportunism that characterizes this movement is not due to the bad intentions or mistakes of some individuals. Rather, the movement as a whole comes from, and represents the interests of, the petty bourgeoisie and the labor aristocracy, sectors that are bribed by the superprofits of U.S. imperialism. This movement

and its counterparts in other countries pose no real threat to world imperialism and basically play the role of aiding different imperialist powers to redivide the world. It became obvious to us that the correct path was that advocated by the Bolsheviks—to make a complete rupture with this entire movement and start anew, to build a genuine communist party in the style of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Not only the literature of the BL has impressed us, but also their practice. Their cadres are interested in explaining very thoroughly their line, and on the basis of drawing clear and firm lines of demarcation between opportunism and Marxism-Leninism, winning people to it. They do not try to suppress questions, as we have seen various opportunist groups do. Instead, they tirelessly explain, using many examples, the reasoning behind their line. In our opinion, this is how true communists behave.

We unite with the party building plan of the BL, the Iskra plan, which is based on the experience of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. We have seen through our own experience how through this plan, we can build the party from all sides—ideological, political, and organizational. In fact, it was by participating in this plan that we were able to judge the BL and rally to them. We believe that it is by taking part in the Iskra plan that other comrades will be able to judge the BL for themselves.

In conclusion, we believe that too much valuable time has been wasted. The proletariat urgently needs its revolutionary political party, its general staff to lead it in its class struggle against the bourgeoisie. This need is all the more urgent not only in light of the volatile international situation with the very serious war preparations of the various imperialist powers, but also in view of the betrayal of all the false “socialists” and “communists” who have allied themselves with one imperialist bloc or another against the international proletariat. We call on all honest comrades—Marxist-Leninists, advanced workers, and revolutionaries from other strata—to rally to the proletarian cause, to rally to the Bolshevik League of the U.S. Long live Bolshevism!

Correspondence (from pg. 2)

stranglehold of the union bureaucrats and the opportunists upon the unions. These agents of imperialism are trying to either control or destroy such defensive organizations of the workers in order to convert them into reserves of imperialist reaction during the coming imperialist war. It is a fundamental task of all Bolsheviks and class conscious workers to expose and denounce these bankrupt agents in order to win over the workers to turn the coming imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. Many workers “are indeed” asking what their role in the unions should be and they need the Bolshevik answer. Thanks again for the articles and keep up the good work.

Long Live Bolshevism.
For Workers' Democracy In The Unions.
A Hospital Worker

Puerto Rico (from pg. 6)

man by man, and of one nation by another nation. We support the program of revolutionary defeatism, of transforming the imperialist war into civil war against the bourgeoisie, and to support and lead national revolutionary wars against imperialism in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries. To stop the imperialist war it must be transformed into civil war, into one against our “own” bourgeoisie and the imperialist bourgeoisie. Only the working class through its independent party, will be able to carry out the revolutionary struggle for socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and final victory for the abolition of class society and the world imperialist system.

Línea Bolchevique
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Forum Held on War and the Appeal

On November 8, the Bolshevik League held a public forum in New York City commemorating the October Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917. The forum was held under the names of all six signatories of the “Appeal to All Revolutionary Communists”. It was called to discuss the moves by the imperialists to redivide the world through war and the attitude and tasks of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world against the imperialist war preparations.

Messages were sent by the “Appeal” signers Línea Bolchevique of Puerto Rico, La Voie Ouvrière of Ivory Coast, L'Union de Lutte Communiste of Upper Volta, and En Avant! of Togo. Speeches were made by the Bolshevik Union of Canada and the Bolshevik League of the U.S. Also, a joint statement by the Kansas City Revolutionary Workers Collective and the Kansas City Marxist-Leninist Cell supporting the call for an international conference against imperialist war was read at the forum. A representative of the Workers Revolutionary Organizing Committee of Chicago read a statement of support for the international conference against imperialist war. All the speeches and statements made at the activity will be published in the third issue of “International Correspondence.”

After the presentations there was debate and discussion from the floor. The loudest of the various opportunists there were a few scum from a trotskyite sect called the “League for a Revolutionary Party.” LRP hoped to use the forum as a platform to spread their venom. Instead, they ended up as being exposed as promoters of social pacifism, identical to Maoism. The Maoist line that “either revolution will prevent world war or war will give rise to revolution” was unmasked by the Bolshevik Union as a centrist social-pacifist ruse that denies the inevitability of imperialist war in the epoch of imperialism. The Trotskyites rushed out to oppose this Leninist analysis (as Trotskyites have always done on every question from the Leninist Party to the national question to socialist construction), and said that the U.S. could not go to war because the “memory of Vietnam” meant that its soldiers would not fight. In other words, war can be prevented by a boycott. This old pacifist scheme was long ago exposed (see Resolution of 6th Comintern Congress on Imperialist War, “International Correspondence”, No. 2, in particular sections 11-17). Here the Trotskyites, like all other counter-revolutionaries, pretend that imperialist war can be prevented while the system of imperialism remains intact. The only way “revolution” (what type of revolution Mao conveniently neglects to tell us) can prevent an imperialist world war is if proletarian revolution occurs simultaneously in all or the majority of the imperialist countries. This is nothing but the Trotskyite myth of “permanent revolution” that denies the uneven development of capitalism and that socialist revolutions can be won in separate or individual imperialist countries. Once again, Trotskyism and Maoism converge.

Reagan (from pg. 3)

Reagan's war preparations are not the mere quirk of some extreme right-winger. Carter, with his draft registration, the establishment of rapid deployment forces for the Middle East and the Caribbean, and plans for a limited nuclear war, also ran on a war platform. The reason they both emphasized active war preparations is that the system they represent has no other solution to the crisis it is in than war.

Marxism-Leninism, the science of the international proletariat, has long taught that such predatory wars are an inevitable feature of the imperialist system. Reagan may try to dazzle the public by talking of peace, or introducing a flood of programs in the first days he is in office. None of this will wipe out the reality of their moves to war.

Assisting Reagan's “peace” mask are none other than the Chinese revisionists. They tell us, “In national defence and diplo-

The Trotskyites proved useful in exposing even further how Trotskyism and Maoism are twins.

In addition, the Trotskyites were exposed for their long history of opposition to Leninism. Trotsky himself opposed Lenin at the Zimmerwald Conference against the imperialist war in 1915. He opposed Lenin's organizing of the true internationalists, the Zimmerwald Left, and wanted to maintain unity of the Left with the Kautskyite social-pacifists. Trotsky opposed the slogan of “defeat of one's own government in imperialist war.” Today Trotskyism takes an openly defensivist position. Most Trotskyites support Russian imperialism including the LRP, which calls for defense of the MPLA of Angola.

Another topic was the Trotskyite opposition to the United Front Against Fascism called for in 1935 by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, and the anti-fascist coalition during World War II. The Trotskyites denied WWII was an antifascist war, instead saying it was only inter-imperialist, just like WWI. The Trotskyites did this to wreck the antifascist front, defeat the then socialist Soviet Union overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, and install a fascist dictatorship led by Trotskyites brought to power by the Nazi Army. Stalin and the Bolsheviks exposed and defeated this great conspiracy against the Soviet Union. Yet today the Maoists and others put forward the same line as the Trotskyite wreckers and spies and accuse Stalin and the Comintern of “right errors”. This view is still popular among many who say they oppose centrism. Such concessions to this Trotskyite nonsense must be smashed, lest those who make them end up in the same swamp as the Trotskyites.

A number of other topics were discussed, although because of time limitations not every question could be gotten too. Some discussion took place on the national-colonial question in Africa. The BU and BL emphasized the analysis of the Bolshevik groups in Africa that the only road to real liberation in Africa lay in a revolution that replaced the rule of imperialism and the national bourgeoisie with the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

The activity showed the growth of the influence of the international Bolshevik trend. It also showed how many opportunists, who either know of the forum or even attended, are desperately trying to avoid taking a stand on the “Appeal to All Revolutionary Communists.” Despite this conspiracy of silence, the internationalists trend is consolidating and growing.

The BL would like to hold more such forums or participate in other activities. We ask all our readers if you can assist us in organizing an activity in your area to popularize the “Appeal”. Any suggestions and ideas will aid us in our internationalist task of transformation of the upcoming imperialist war into a civil war.

macy, Reagan stresses seeking peace from a position of strength.” (*Beijing Review*, Nov. 17, 1980, p. 10) Apparently they are ready to patch up their differences with Reagan, who himself has more and more become a CFR-Trilateral man. This shift includes maintaining the U.S.-China alliance worked out by Nixon and Kissinger. But it is nothing but an alliance for war, despite what the liars in Beijing claim.

Transform Imperialist War To Civil War

If the only way out for the imperialists is war, then the only way out for the working class and the oppressed peoples is to overthrow imperialism. The war is coming, regardless of whether Reagan, Carter, or Bush is in the White House. We must get prepared now to face this situation, and expose all pacifist illusions about preventing war. And when it does come, we must struggle to transform the imperialist war into a civil war to once and for all abolish the system of imperialism.

NATIVE AMERICAN STRUGGLE

Since June 13, 1980, a group of Mohawks, encamped at Raquette Point in upstate New York, have been besieged. These Mohawks are continuing the Native American struggle against U.S. and Canadian annexation of their land and exploitation of their people. The "Longest War," as it is sometimes called, is the fight of Native Americans for their land, their resources, and their lives.

Native lands, which once stretched across the continent, have been reduced to a few small parcels. Until recently, much of the land was considered unproductive and useless. Of course, this was the reason that Native Americans were permitted to live there. Today, much of the land still held by Native Americans has been found to contain valuable natural resources or to occupy sites coveted by land developers and other commercial interests. For example, Native lands taken together are estimated to be 5th in the world in deposits of uranium. These lands may contain up to 80% of the country's untouched energy resources. Mohawk land in upper New York State is being considered for a St. Lawrence seaport. Imperialism is seeking to benefit from these riches at the expense, of course, of the Native people. This is no surprise since it is the nature of imperialism to expropriate and annex land wherever and whenever they can. Annexation is a violation of national rights. Lenin says, "However you may twist and turn, annexation is a violation of the selfdetermination of a nation, it is the establishment of state frontiers contrary to the will of the population. To be against annexations means to be in favour of the right to selfdetermination." (LCW 22:238)

The imperialists are interested not only in the plunder of the Native's lands' raw materials, but also in the exploitation of cheap labor. To this end, they have systematically undermined the Native people's economy. Hunting and trading, an important part of the traditional native economy, have been virtually eliminated by the near extinction of game and fur bearing animals. Agriculture is nearly impossible on the barren land assigned to Native reservations. If you don't work for the administration, there is little regular work outside of the reservations. Thus, the Native people are part of a reserve army of labor and like other oppressed nationalities, are superexploited in undesirable, low paying jobs.

In areas where uranium is being mined many Native workers are employed as miners. The occupational hazard of this job are enormous. The health and safety of the miners has never been a priority of the bourgeois profiteers who won the mines. Many who have worked in the mines have died and are dying of cancer and other degenerative diseases. To make things even worse, more Native people are being poisoned by uranium mining wastes that are left exposed on or near native territory. In one county in South Dakota, in the uranium mining area, 10 out of 12 Native Americans elders died of cancer! Anyone who thinks genocide is a thing of the past had better think again.

In order to enforce the annexation and plunder of Native American lands, the U.S. and individual state governments set up systems of tribal governments on the Native territories. These governments were imposed beginning in the 1800's and have been fought by Native people ever since.

The 6 Nation Confederacy of Haudenosaunees (to which the Mohawks belong) are a case in point. By 1794, New York State had appointed "trustees", including the Governor of New York State, to handle agreements for the Native people within the State. Through these agents of imperialism New York State was able to confiscate the major part of Native lands within the state.

In 1892, the State legislature imposed a mandatory elective government at Akwesasne (the Mohawk name for the terri-

tory that New York State prefers to call the St. Regis reservation). The Mohawk people are forced by the power of the bourgeois state to accept a government imposed of them. Even legal rights, which on the books, at least, belong to U.S. citizens, are denied them. For example, their supposed representatives, the tribal trustees, have been given "sovereign immunity". This means that any grievance lodged against them by a Mohawk cannot be brought to a U.S. civil court. Under these conditions, it is easy to see why the majority of Mohawk people have refused to support the tribal system. Their continued lack of compliance prompted the development of a special tribal police force, funded by the LEAA and CETA. The infringement of political rights is but another clear indication of the enslaved status of Native peoples.

It is against this background, that the recent siege of the Mohawks took place. On June 13, 1980, a small group of vigilantes composed of Mohawks who support the lackey, tribal government laid siege to a camp of traditional Mohawk people on the Akwesasne territory. The vigilantes have received the support of New York State police as well as the Akwesasne police. This armed siege is an attempt to disrupt a nearly yearlong encampment of traditional Mohawks.

The events surrounding the encampment go back to May, 1979, when a traditional Mohawk Chief found a federally funded Youth Conservation Corps project cutting down trees on his land. They were preparing to fence in the reservation. The Chief, Loran Thompson, confiscated their chainsaws and was promptly arrested by the Akwesasne police. The traditional Longhouse Government (in opposition to the "tribal" government) demanded the resignation of the Akwesasne police. When this was not forthcoming, they occupied a community building for a few hours. To prevent the serving of indictments which were handed down as a result of this incident, the encampment at Raquette Point was begun. Since then, the encampment has become a rallying point for the traditional Mohawks who oppose the trustee system of government. They also oppose the location of large corporations on their land and the negotiations between the trustees and New York State to give clear title to New York of over 9 million acres of Mohawk land. They oppose the oppressive system they have been subjected to for more than 200 years.

The Mohawk struggle in upper New York State has much in common with the struggle of other Native people around this country and in Canada. Native people from different parts of North America have fought side by side in the Akwesasne struggle, Wounded Knee, and the occupation of Alcatraz, to name a few.

In the face of imperialist exploitation and oppression, Native American unity is being forged. In the north of Canada the Native people have been forged into a Native nation battling Canadian imperialism. In the U.S. there exist the tasks of Bolsheviks analyzing the national status of the Native people. The Bolshevik Union of Canada has made an analysis of the Native nation in Canada in their work, "Nationhood or Genocide". This work must be read in order to aid in the understanding of the national and colonial status of the Native people in North America.

All too often, the struggle of Native Americans has been ignored or distorted by the opportunist movement in this country. The struggle at Akwesasne must be firmly supported by the proletariat of the United States. Without this support proletarian internationalism can never be built. And without proletarian internationalism, the proletariat can not advance towards its historic mission to overthrow imperialism and build socialism.