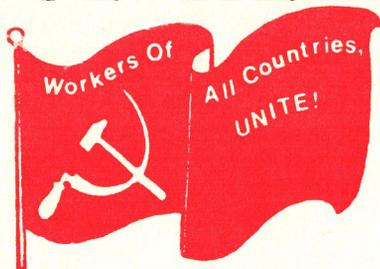


# BOLSHEVIK



## REVOLUTION

Published by the Bolshevik League of the United States

AUGUST, 1980

NO. 5

## Faction Purged From B.L. On The Road To a Bolshevik Party

### Editorial: Oppose Registration for an Imperialist War

As of July 21st, 1980 four million male youths are expected to begin registering for the draft. And starting January, 1981 all 18 year old males are expected to register from then on. Finally Carter's call for registration, made last January, is underway. Carter's philosophical claims that he opposes a peace-time draft is pure demagoguery. Workers, oppressed nationalities and youth cannot be fooled by such lies.

The fact is that in the face of the present deep general crisis of capitalism, the capitalist class is and has been preparing for an imperialist war to seize territories and markets which presently are either endangered or controlled by other imperialists. In particular, the bloc of imperialist countries led by the U.S. and the other, led by the Russians, have been building up their war machinery in preparation for an imperialist war of redivision of the world.

The Russian invasion and consolidation of its position in Afghanistan in order to secure its influence in the oil regions of the Persian Gulf is an example. It's use of its

vassals, the Vietnamese in South East Asia and the Cuban troops and personnel in Africa and Latin America is but an example of how the Russians are dispatching its allies in preparation for a world war. And this comes of no desire to spread communism. On the contrary, the intense crisis of capitalism within Russia is forcing the Russian imperialists to extend their tentacles throughout the world.

The U.S. imperialists have not been sitting idly by, as many chauvinists claim, allowing the Russians to overtake its spheres of influence. The U.S. has been consolidating its influence in the Middle East as reflected in the Camp David negotiations with Israel and Egypt. It has gotten a new ally in China to oppose the Russian in South East Asia, thereby creating the possibility of re-entering that region. It has suspended the idle talks of "disarmament" with the Russians and has deployed more Nato missiles in Europe directed at the Russian bloc. It

**The Draft (cont. p. 3)**

## On The Black United Front Conference

The Founding Conference of the National Black United Front (NBUF) was held in Brooklyn, N.Y. from June 26 to June 29. Many different views on the direction of the Black liberation movement were put forth, as the conference was attended by numerous varieties of Pan-Africanists, nationalists, Maoists, clergy, politicians, other political activists, along with some genuine Communists and a few workers. Over 1,000 people from many parts of the U.S. attended, although the great bulk were from the Northeast and the New York area.

The establishment of this new national organization, which may play an extremely influential role in the struggle of Black people against national oppression, demands the attention of all genuine Communists and class-conscious workers.

Some sections and representatives of the ruling class are clearly looking to the NBUF to play the role of a sort of "left wing" of the national reformist current in the Black national movement. For example, an editorial in the New York *Amsterdam News*, long a voice of Black national

reformism, noted the demise and discrediting of many of the old reformist civil rights groups, and said, "It is into that void that NBUF thrusts its banner and joins the ongoing battle—joining with our welcome and best wishes." (July 5, 1980, p. 14) Forces like this want the NBUF to be merely the latest nation-wide group to divert the Black national movement away from the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and onto a reformist path. They also want the NBUF to take a nationalist path that has workers of various nationalities tailing after the bourgeoisie of their nationality and fighting other workers, instead of uniting as a class in the fight for socialism. The likes of the *Amsterdam News* give their "best wishes" to the NBUF because they have already assigned it the role of providing a "radical" mask for the Black capitalist line of building Black businesses, "alternative" institutions, etc. They obviously feel they have allies in the NBUF to accomplish these ends.

In addition to the open reformists, many petty bourgeois opportunist groups who masquerade as "commu-

**B.U.F (cont. p. 11)**

## International Correspondence: Vehicle for Proletarian Internationalism

Workers and all progressive people, *International Correspondence* is a long-awaited and necessary journal that takes on the task of promoting the world-wide, working class cause of the socialist revolution.

As is becoming more and more obvious to workers, the government of the imperialist countries, from the U.S., Canada, France to those of the Russian bloc, have been gearing up their state apparatus in preparation for another round of an imperialist war to redivide the world. Everywhere there is growing war hysteria and militarism. The U.S. and Russian imperialists have dropped all pretense to "detente" and "disarmament" and have been accumulating a mass of weapons of destruction. They can find no "peaceful" way out of the present general crisis of world capitalism. Thus, the scramble and search for new markets and territories throughout the world to exploit, plunder and reap profits from. Imperialist war is inevitable so long as the imperialist system remains.

The bourgeoisie of each country, like in the U.S., is trying hard to get its workers to support its imperialist cause. The bourgeoisie, under the guise of protecting the "national interests" and "national sovereignty" of its country is trying to get the workers to support their warmongering aims. The only way an imperialist country can go to war is if it gets the support of its working class.

But the workers of all countries have no interest, no does it benefit from, a war amongst the imperialist robbers. The workers, oppressed nationalities, youth, etc., are being asked to shed their blood in order that one or another imperialist power can gain some new territory to exploit and plunder. The only real interests of the workers and oppressed nations of the world is the abolition of the world system of capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

In the various countries, there exist parties which claim to be either communist or workers' parties supposedly fighting for the interests of the working class and the oppressed. Parties who support the Russian imperialist interests, to parties that oppose the Russians but support the Chinese imperialists (who have formed an alliance with the U.S. imperialist bloc), have been organizing to corrupt the workers and have them side with one or another of the imperialist blocs in the face of the upcoming imperialist war. These parties are not working class parties, despite their socialist phrasemonger, but social-chauvinist, social-imperialist parties. These are agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class.

There also exist so-called communist parties which fear the outbreak of an imperialist war between the U.S. and the Russians and thereby call on the workers of the world

to build a "peace" movement to stop the war. As if the imperialists will accept the "plea" of the workers to disarm, not to seek new markets and territories to plunder and be content with its crisis. It's like telling a vulture to please stop being a vulture. At the head of this social-pacifist current is the Party of Labour of Albania.

There does not exist a genuine international communist movement to lead the genuine interests of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world against the imperialist system. All that exist are various international grouping of conflicting social-chauvinist and centrist parties and organizations.

Amongst the advanced and politically active workers and progressive people there exist a tremendous ideological crisis. Honest and genuine revolutionaries are scattered and unorganized. The international communist movement has been dominated by opportunism since the death of J.V. Stalin and the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R.

It is the role of *International Correspondence*, initiated by the Bolshevik Union of Canada, to open up the debate amongst communist and the working class as to the correct internationalist path to follow. *International Correspondence* is a vehicle for debate by those groups, organizations, and parties which seek to demarcate from the social-chauvinist and centrist trends and fight to re-establish true Leninist norms internationally. No supporters of Russian, Chinese revisionism or of Trotskyism will participate in this journal for they have proven to be total servants of the bourgeoisie.

I.C. (cont. p. 16)



### International Correspondence

SPRING-SUMMER 1980 No. 1

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## EDITORIAL (from p. 1)

instigated and created a "crisis situation" in Iran as an excuse for militarization, dispatching troops in that region, and whipping up patriotism at home by painting the America CIA agents as "victims" and "hostages" of the Iranian counter-revolution. All with the intent of resecur-ing that region. That in 1980 there was a 13.3% rise in military spending in the U.S. is no accident. That Reagan and Anderson do not seek to make an issue out of the institution of draft registration, despite their "claims of opposition" to it is but an example that the bourgeoisie is in fact preparing for the inevitable, an imperialist war to redivide the world. So let us not be fooled by the sob stories that Carter is philosophically opposed to peace time draft or that Reagan and Anderson really oppose draft registration. In fact, Reagan has expressed the necessity of raising the military budget and accused Carter of being too soft on the Russians.

In *Foreign Affairs*, a journal of the bourgeoisie expressing the particular interests of the Rockefeller financial oligarchy, it expressed the following in regards to the oil crisis amongst the world imperialists.

" . . . we will probably be confronted by a series of major oil crises which might take any or all of several forms: fighting for control over oil resources among importing countries or between the superpowers; an economic-financial crisis in importing countries, regional conflicts affecting the oil producing area or internal revolutions or other upheavals in the Middle East. At best, it would appear that a series of future emergencies centering around oil will set back world progress for many, many years. And the world, as we know it now, will probably not be able to maintain its cohesion, not be able to provide for the continued economic progress of its people against the onslaught of future oil shocks—with all that this might imply for the political stability of the West, its free institutions, and its internal and external security."

As for Carter's excuse of the registration being a show of "military posture" in the face of the Russian invasion of Afghanistan to protect the "national" integrity of nations in that region, what about the U.S. enslavement of its oppressed nations? Since when has the U.S. capitalist really cared for oppressed nations, colonies and semi-colonies? In the 1960's it bombarded the oppressed nations of Indo-China. It maintains its colonies like Puerto Rico in bondage. The Black nation and oppressed nationalities in the U.S. continue to be subjugated.

And who is it that will do the fighting for the imperialists? It is the working class, youth, and oppressed nationalities that will be the cannon fodder for the imperialists. The youth from the working class and all nationalities are the first ones to enroll into the military; the first to shed their blood for these vultures. The penalty for refusing to register is five years imprisonment and, or a \$10,000 fine.

As for Black youth and youth from other oppressed nationalities and from the colonies, like Puerto Rico, it is sure that they will be forced to be on the front line in the fighting. Whereas Black youth in particular constitute 15% of the youth in America, they presently constitute 30% of the youth in the armed forces. And as is self-admitted by the bourgeois press, it will be amongst the Blacks and oppressed nationalities where a high percentage of fatalities will be found. The *Time* magazine of June 9, 1980, states that "The high number of blacks in uniform would inevitably result, as was the case during the Viet-

nam fighting, in a disproportionate number of Black fatalities."

Carter's call for registration however was not restricted only to male youth. Carter, a champion of the "Equal Rights Amendment" for women seeks to register women for the draft. To the aid of Carter come the American Civil Liberties Union who opposes the registration because it is unconstitutional. It does not register women! It wishes to see women become cannon fodder for imperialist war, equally with the male enrollment. Indeed such "equality" is not what the working class, oppressed nationalities, youth and women are fighting for.

Workers, oppressed nationalities, women and youth—we must all oppose the registration as part of the imperialist war preparations. However, we must also not be fooled by the pacifist illusions and nonsense of the present leaders of the peace and anti-nuclear movements of the likes of Jane Fonda, Tom Hayden, CARD, and a host of so-called "communists". Those who claim that peace can be achieved by building a strong peace movement, through "disarmament", boycotting war, and building a "nuclear-free" world. Such illusions will never occur. Only by abolishing imperialism can imperialist wars be eliminated. So long as imperialism continues to exist, imperialist wars of aggression and annexation will continue to exist. It is the last mohicans of "bourgeois democracy" which seeks to reform imperialism and bring back the hey-days of competitive capitalism—an impossible dream under monopoly capitalism. No, the workers cannot be fooled by such pacifist demogogy. The workers and toilers must support the just wars being waged by the oppressed nations against imperialism and must take on the just war of overthrowing the capitalist class in our own country. Only through a civil war, a socialist revolution and the establishment of socialism, the dictatorship of the working class over the bourgeoisie can we be assured of ending unjust imperialist wars of aggression. But the social-pacifists seek to imbue the workers with the illusion that a peace movement can prevent imperialist war. The social-pacifists under slogans of boycott registration, disarmament, etc., seek to disarm the workers and toilers in the wake of imperialist war.

We Bolsheviks on the contrary call on all workers and toilers not to be fooled by the pacifist lackies of the bourgeoisie, and prepare to *fight* against the imperialist war by fighting for proletarian revolution. Ours is not the slogan of "build the peace movement" but of fighting against imperialist war by turning it into a civil war. We cite the following Thesis on War from the Sixth Congress of the Communist International regarding this task.

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

The Draft (cont. p. 16)

## Oppose The Attacks On The Absolute Guarantee To Bail

*Editors Note:*

The following is a leaflet distributed in Puerto Rico by *Línea Bolchevique*. It addresses a law measure which the colonial government of Puerto Rico is trying to imple-

The Referendum called for June 29, 1980 proposed by Governor Barcelo and the New Progressive Party (N.P.P.), seeks to eliminate the absolute guarantee to the right of securing bail in "serious criminal" cases. In actuality, this is a move to strengthen the stranglehold that U.S. imperialism has over Puerto Rico. Despite what type of crime is committed, the right to have bail is a basic democratic right. This proposal was already proposed in the past by Hernandez Colon of the Popular Democratic Party (P.D.P.), but it was never passed because it did not have sufficient support in the legislature. It stands as a direct attack against the working class and the rural workers. The N.P.P. presents this proposal under the disguise of fighting crime. But if we examine clearly the cause of crime amongst the working class, we see that the basis of crime is due to the social conditions in which the workers and the semi-proletariat find themselves. The high percentage of unemployment, poverty, (70 percent receives food coupons), illness, chauvinism, the emigration to the U.S. in search of work, etc. All of this is found as a result of the status of Puerto Rico being a capitalist colony of U.S. imperialism. These illnesses and "crimes" can only be eliminated by defeating the U.S. imperialist domination, and building socialism in Puerto Rico. The problems of crime, etc., cannot be eliminated by attacking the democratic rights of the workers and semi-proletarians. The real objective behind this law is to prepare the conditions to arrest any revolutionary and class conscious workers and isolate them from the working class as they begin to organize against the capitalist colonial situation in Puerto Rico. This anti-democratic law is attempting to be passed at a time when U.S. imperialism and its bloc are preparing for an imperialist war against the imperialist bloc led by Russia, meanwhile it continues military exercises and training in Vieques. The U.S. is insecure of the increasing Russian influence in the Caribbean (e.g., Cuba, Grenada, Jamaica), and in Central America (e.g., Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chile, etc.). Under these conditions, the U.S. must ensure that its puppet parties maintain and secure the domination of U.S. imperialism. It is obvious why the N.P.P. is proposing this law and why the P.D.P. tried to propose it in their last administration.

It is also obvious that differences exist within the capitalist class, the middle class, and the labor aristocracy in relation to this anti-democratic law.

On the one hand the P.D.P. and the Independence Party of Puerto Rico (P.I.P.) want to create an autonomous or "independent" Puerto Rico, as long as it remains under the economic control of U.S. imperialism. They will support the proposed amendment of the N.P.P. if certain "conditions" are met. Conditions that will only satisfy the bourgeois national interest of the P.D.P. and P.I.P. These supporters of the amendment as it is, are seeking to become the exploiting, ruling class themselves instead of

ment. This measure which seeks to abolish the absolute guarantee to bail, reflects the further moves on the part of U.S. imperialism to tighten its stranglehold in Puerto Rico.

the direct rule of the U.S. imperialists and its colonial lackeys of the N.P.P. If Barcelo does not agree to the "conditions" of the P.D.P. and P.I.P., they will then oppose this law.

Puerto Rican Socialist Party (P.S.P.) presently seeks no interests with the U.S. They seek to transform Puerto Rico into a Russian semi-colony (like Cuba). That is why the P.S.P. will oppose this anti-democratic law. They know that if an imperialist war breaks out between the Russian-led bloc and the U.S.-led block, the P.S.P. will be repressed as the pro-Russian and Cuban "fifth column" inside Puerto Rico.

Other groups like the Revolutionary Socialist Party, and the Puerto Rican Socialist Movement will tail behind the P.S.P. They have similar lines about Russia, which they consider "socialist" but with "certain" revisionist positions. But the realities of the invasion of Afghanistan, the role of Cuba in Africa, the invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnam, all prove that these so-called "socialist" countries are not socialist, but capitalist, part of the imperialist system.

Workers, rural workers and peasants, all progressive people must oppose this anti-democratic law, but not for the same reason or conditions that the P.D.P., P.I.P., P.S.P. call for.

We must oppose this law because it is a direct attack against the Puerto Rican people. The working class has no interest in being exploited under the U.S. mask of "democracy" nor under the Russian "socialist" mask.

Some groups like the "Circle for Communist Work (M-L)," (C.T.C.M-L) call for the workers to boycott the vote. This will not do anything except to allow the workers to stay under the leadership of the pro-Russian group or the pro-U.S. group. This call is a clear example of the treachery of centrism. In words they oppose U.S. or Russian imperialism, but in practice, because of their opportunism will be forced into joining with one or the other imperialist bloc. The C.T.C.(M-L) calls on the workers to boycott the vote because there is only one and a half months left for the referendum and not enough time for them to do work against it and because there is no political alternative to the vote. Simply put, this is to tell the workers not to struggle presently, but to continue their lives as slaves. This will allow the masses of workers to follow the treacherous leadership of P.D.P., P.I.P., and P.S.P. instead of the working class taking the leader-understanding that it has to break with the opportunists and the bourgeois parties, and in this way take up the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys.

Whether they postpone the referendum or not, the working class has to fight to maintain the absolute guarantee to bail, understanding that this is but one fight in a long struggle. The defeat of the amendment in the referendum does not mean in any way that similar attacks will

**Bail** (cont. p.10)

## Workers Stand Up! Reject the NO Victory! Support the Struggle Against National Oppression!

*Editors Note: The following article is reprinted from the May-June 1980 edition of Proletarian Revolution, published by the Bolshevik Union of Canada. It sums up the attitude of the class-conscious proletariat to the recent referendum in Quebec concerning its political status. The Bolshevik League supports the right of the oppressed Quebecois nation to political secession, and unites with the analysis of the Quebecois national question put forward by the Bolshevik Union of Canada.*

*In contrast to this correct proletarian internationalist analysis, we have also seen the position of most so-called "communist" groups that advocated "spoiling the ballot" in the referendum. One of the most naked examples of how this position actually liquidates the struggle against national oppression in Quebec was the position of the Canadian group In Struggle, printed in the April 23, 1980 Guardian, a month before the referendum. Writing in an American newspaper to a primarily American audience, In Struggle appeals to Guardian readers to support the "spoil the ballot" line. Nothing is said of the interest of U.S. imperialism, which mainly supported defeat of the referendum. There is no call for proletarian solidarity between the workers and oppressed nations and peoples of both Canada and the U.S. if U.S. imperialism intervened or even invaded Canada or Quebec if the referendum had passed. This is not surprising, but a logical outgrowth of In Struggle's covert support for their own Canadian bourgeoisie in the whole referendum campaign.*

*For more by the B.L. on Canada, see Bolshevik Revolution, No. 3, page 6.*

There has been a large no vote and the federalists are dancing in the streets celebrating the continued oppression of the Quebecois nation in the Canadian state. Before the referendum the federalists maintained that the referendum was a vote for separation. Afterwards they are saying that it was not really a vote for separation, that it was a "soft" question for a mandate to negotiate and only 42% voted for this "soft" question. This means, according to the federalists, that the Quebecois nation has rejected its right to political separation. A right the federalists refused to recognize before the referendum and now recognize only in a negative way now that the no vote won by such a large margin.

This was the great danger of a defeat of the yes vote and now it is coming true. The federalists said a no vote would mean change but they never agreed on what change and it is now even more likely that agreement will be even less probable. The federalists used a most disgusting demagogical campaign of fear and intimidation against the Quebecois people to get a no vote. The federalists threatened that old people would lose their pensions if the yes vote won so it was not surprising to see the highest no vote in the over forty age bracket. In the 25-40 year old bracket the vote was only slightly larger for the no and in the 18-25 group the yes vote scored a substantial victory. The federalists

carried out a systematic campaign that included everything from threatening massive unemployment to equating yes voters with alcoholics that you should say "Non, merci" to.

The opinion polls a month before the referendum showed the yes vote in the lead but this was reversed by Trudeau leading an attack on the Quebecois nation. Even though the no vote was 58% of the vote it was only 51% of Quebecois. The large no victory represents an over 90% no vote by English Canadians and other non French speaking minorities in Quebec. Sometime ago polls indicated 20% support among these people for the yes but the federalists ran a large campaign to terrorize nearly all anglophones into voting no with a concerted effort by all the English media to distort the news as much as possible in favor of the no vote. A policy memo of the Gazette, Montreal's English daily, told its reporters to favor the no in news reporting.

It was the working class that provided the bulk of the support for the yes vote. Only three electoral districts in Montreal voted in a majority for the yes. These were Maisonneuve, Ste-Marie and St-Jacques. Other areas in Quebec that voted a majority yes have a high proportion of workers like Abitibi-est, Chicoutimi and Saguenay. The PQ has since 1976 abandoned its working class support to court the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and labour aristocracy but the referendum results show that most of them voted to maintain the privilege they get from the federalist exploitation of the Quebecois nation.

Lévesque in accepting defeat said: "We have to swallow it this time — it's not easy. It is clear that the people of Quebec wants to give the federal system another chance. The ball is in the federal. Now it is up to the federal government, and Mr. Trudeau himself, to put some content in the promises they have made for the last 35 days." This exposes Lévesque's bourgeois capitulationist nature. The workers have not accepted the federal system and never will. Lévesque is accepting the results of the opinions of the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, labour aristocracy and backward workers influenced by the federalists' terrorist campaign. The workers should never accept to have the "ball in the federalist court" but it is Lévesque who has kicked it there by his whole disastrous campaign. The bourgeoisie whether separatist or federalist wants to pass the ball to each other and make sure it doesn't fall into the hands of the working class.

This was a real opportunity for the working class to begin to take the leadership of the struggle against national oppression. This happened partially with the CNTU and QFL supporting the yes with both being critical of the anti-worker policies of the PQ. The CNTU was more critical but both federations left the referendum campaign in the hands of the PQ. The CNTU and QFL bureaucrats betrayed the interests of the working class by refusing the opportunity of having the working class emerge as an independent force in the struggle against national oppres-

sion. This was done under the pretext that an action by the working class would alienate support from other classes but this support never materialized. In fact if the working class had taken the lead in the referendum campaign it could have meant mobilizing wider support particularly among immigrant and anglophone workers. The PQ insured the defeat by its anti-worker and narrow nationalist policies. A nation cannot be free by oppressing others, but this was exactly the PQ's policy on language and culture. The workers can never expect the PQ to organize a movement against national oppression and class exploitation.

This defeat is a great setback in the struggle against national oppression but the PQ leadership does not necessarily see it that way. One PQ minister, who did not want to be named, said to a reporter at one of the last rallies of the campaign: "Now, the burden is on us to justify sovereignty-association, if there is a No vote, the burden of proof will be on the rest of Canada to deliver the change they have been promising. If they don't it will be much easier for us." This was probably Parizeau who was distancing himself from Lévesque throughout the campaign. Parizeau's faction in the party obviously realized that a yes vote would have been the best thing to discredit the PQ. The PQ prostituting itself in negotiations and taking more anti-worker actions to get support from international imperialism would have exposed the PQ to the masses of workers, and they would learn through their own experience, where nationalism lead. This is exactly what the Bolshevik Union was saying in advocating a yes vote, that this would be the best way to expose the PQ and present possibilities for the working class to take the lead in the struggle against national oppression. A no vote, however, will lead to increased illusions about the PQ's plans among the masses. A yes vote could have eventually destroyed the PQ's political hegemony over the working class in Quebec. A no vote will make that task much more difficult as the PQ cabinet minister well understands. Illusions about the PQ will be even further reinforced as it becomes obvious that renewed federalism is a fraud.

### The Renewed Federalism Fraud

In order to score their victory the federalists had to promise changes in Canada's constitution. They assured everyone that a no vote is a vote for change but they never agreed on what changes. The political crisis may appear to be somewhat eased after the referendum results and indeed a yes vote would have intensified it but the same economic, social and political contradictions that created this crisis still exist and they are just as unresolvable.

Trudeau has dedicated his political life to fighting greatly increased powers for the provinces and against special status for Quebec. Canada is already the most decentralized of the industrialized countries. Indications are that Trudeau only wants to give some cosmetic changes like a President instead of a Lieutenant-Governor for Quebec and Quebec's own stamps! The issue of making some concessions to Quebec is complicated by the fact that the western and maritime provinces want more provincial power over natural resources and Ontario and Trudeau do not want them to have it. Even a Quebec government under Ryan would be in a difficult position because increased powers over resources would never be given to Quebec without giving it to other provinces. This would result in world oil prices

for Quebec which would depress Quebec's market even more. It will also depress Ontario's economy. Quebec industry's largest market. One of the big advantages of federalism Trudeau presented in the campaign was cheap oil prices. If the Quebec government wants more control over resources it will have to support other provinces who want the same.

There have been many federal-provincial conferences that have resulted in nothing but a growing political crisis. There will be a great deal of demagoguery about change but little will change. There may be some cosmetic changes but there will be no alleviating national oppression only some concessions to the Quebecois bourgeoisie.

### The Sabotage of the Opportunists

The other wing of the federalists, the various opportunist sects that fraudulently call themselves "communists" are also celebrating. They had little effect on the vote total overall but they played a very grave role in sabotaging the struggle against national oppression because their "spoil your ballot" and "abstention" campaign insured that there was a small victory for the no vote among Quebecois. These opportunists have no influence among English and immigrant workers. They aimed their campaign at Quebecois petty-bourgeois students and workers disgusted with the PQ. They convinced enough of these people who would have otherwise voted a critical yes to "spoil their ballot" or stay home to give the no a slight edge among Quebecois voters. This was their rotten objective and they did their dirty work well. These opportunists showed their true colours by standing against the proletariat and with the bourgeoisie. They should be routed out of the working class — *enough of their sabotage!*

### There Is Only One Way to End National Oppression

The working class must learn from this experience that they cannot leave their fate in the hands of their separatist or federalist exploiters; nothing will come of it but further misery and oppression. The working class must take the leadership of the struggle against national oppression and turn it into a struggle for socialism. The working class can do this only by building an independent working class party to lead this struggle.

This is what the Bolshevik workers are working for and this is why they expose the opportunist bureaucrats and bourgeois nationalists who are trying by one means or another to prevent the proletariat from rising up to throw off the chains of oppression. There is only one way to end the oppression of the Quebecois nation and that is through socialist revolution. To accomplish this goal the working class must be able to use all the contradictions among the bourgeoisie and their agents and chart a path towards the proletarian revolution. There must be a proletarian party to chart this path and lead the struggle until the total victory!

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# Black National Oppression and Capitalism

*Editors Note: This is a leaflet distributed by the B.L. at the Black United Front Conference held from June 26 to 29. For a summation of the conference, see page 1 of this issue of Bolshevik Revolution.*

The founding conference of the National Black United Front is being held under the conditions of an increasingly grave general crisis of the imperialist system. Black working people are bearing a major brunt of the economic crisis that has already thrown millions of workers out of work, and continues to slash the living standards of the vast majority of the population. The rival imperialist blocs, one led by the U.S. and the other led by Russia, are arming to the teeth in preparation for new world war. In the U.S., there are signs that the growing crisis is leading to an upsurge in spontaneous activity of the working and oppressed people. The rebellion in the Black community of Miami against police tyranny is one indication of the potential of a more leftward, radical swing of the masses.

Yet what stands out most sharply as the main factor holding back the working class and oppressed peoples is the absence of leadership and organization. The trade union leaders are paid servants of their capitalist bosses. The old-line civil rights leaders like Andrew Young, Jesse Jackson, Vernon Jordan, etc., are discredited as having no other program than to say "cool it". The phoney "leftist" parties of Maoists, trotskyites, and the like have proved to be nothing but middle-class reform clubs that enthusiastically support the war preparations of the U.S., Russia, China, France, Canada and all their allies and vassals. All the above have been rejected by the most politically advanced workers, oppressed peoples, and political activists.

It is in this context that the Black United Front comes forth and promises to be a "new vehicle" for the masses, to replace the discredited leaders with a new organization. The Black United Front (B.U.F) says it will fight in the interests of "Black people from all economic, political, social and educational backgrounds with the goal of formulating a Human Rights Agenda." Many Black working people, along with workers and oppressed people of various other national groups, are looking to the National Black United Front to lead the struggle to end oppression and to accomplish the goal of its slogan of "Organizing for Victory in the 80's".

The question arises: Can the Black United Front do what it promises? Does it offer a solution to the oppression it says it opposes? Examining the dominant politics in the Black United Front reveals that rather than posing a solution to the crisis of the decaying system of capitalism, rather than offering a plan for what it calls "a radical rearrangement of the social order", the B.U.F. offers little more than band-aid solutions that leave the source of oppression and exploitation intact.

### Black National Oppression Can not Be Ended Under Capitalism

Let us start with the concept of a "human rights agenda". The idea of "human rights" has been put forward for centuries by capitalists to give the illusion that under capitalist "democracy", there is equality for all, for oppressor and oppressed alike, for exploiter and exploited alike. Yet the answer to this deceptive and hypocritical slogan of "human rights" is not to demand equality and democracy for all classes, all humans. This is impossible. All declarations of formal equality are absolutely meaningless under capitalism, where a tiny handful of rich financiers control the wealth, property, and power of the society, and live off the labor of the majority of the people. Calling for "human rights" continues the illusion that there is a common interest between capitalist and worker, between oppressor nations and oppressed nations, between slave-owner and slave. The slogan of "human rights" blurs the irreconcilable nature of the contradiction between exploiters and exploited. This is why it was put forth by the imperialist representative Carter, since it fostered such illusions. It is not in the interest of Black working people or any other working people to join in a chorus of deception with the likes of Carter.

A similar illusion is put forward regarding the interests of the various classes among the Black people. It is not true that their fundamental interests are the same. On the contrary, the fundamental interests of Black workers are in direct opposition to the fundamental interests of the Black bourgeoisie in the U.S. and even some sections of the Black petty bourgeoisie. This is because the basic reason for the tremendous oppression of Black working people has been and is the capitalist system itself. The Black bourgeoisie and some of the Black petty bourgeoisie merely want to get *into* this system, and therefore demand some reforms that will guarantee them a privileged position. The basic interests of Black workers, poor farmers, and other exploited Black people require not a few reforms, but the complete overthrow and abolition of the capitalist system in order for them to be emancipated.

The exploitation of Black people has always been a cornerstone of the capitalist system. In explaining the development of capitalism, Karl Marx said:

**The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the con-**

**quest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief moment of primitive accumulation.**" (*Capital*, Vol. 1, International Publishers, 1975 edition, p. 751)

Black slave labor enforced by murder and terror was a major source of the profits of the early capitalists. Only when slavery came into contradiction with the requirements of profit-seeking by industrial capitalism was it abolished, and not out of any humanitarian or moral impulses or sympathy with the numerous slave revolts. In fact, soon after the ending of slavery in the U.S. the Northern capitalists restored the power and wealth of the former slave owners in the South. They reversed the bourgeois-democratic gains of the Reconstruction period, and jointly instituted a semi-slave system of plantations and sharecropping. This was not out of malice or pure prejudice, but solely to maintain Black labor as cheap labor. The institutions of the segregationist Jim Crow system in the South was mandated by the transition of capitalism from its competitive stage, to the stage of imperialism and the dominance of monopolies.

With the rise of imperialism came an intensification of national oppression as the imperialists strove to grab super-profits by exporting capital to the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The 1898 war between the U.S. and Spain resulted in the U.S. annexing the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico and Guam. Around the same time the U.S. conquered Hawaii. This brutal national oppression was not limited to overseas adventures. In the U.S. Black people were mainly concentrated in the Black Belt South, in the former slave areas. Forcibly kept from assimilating into American capitalist society, the Black people in the Black Belt were forged into an oppressed nation by the crushing yoke of imperialism. Following the analysis put forward by Lenin and Stalin, the Communist International in 1928 and 1930 put forward resolutions explaining oppression of the Black nation and calling for its liberation from imperialism and upholding its right to self-determination.

While there have been important changes in some forms of class oppression facing Black working people, the oppressed Black nation continues to exist today. Migrations to industrial jobs in the north and west, especially for war production during both world wars, merely meant that Black working people were to be exploited as cheap labor more in factories rather than on farms. The development of agribusinesses and more mechanized, monopolized farm production further ruined the poor Black farmers and drove millions into the cities all over the U.S. looking for work, so often in vain. Because of greater export of capital to the South and industrialization that took place, especially after World War II, the old Jim Crow system of official segregation, which was part of the agrarian plantation system, was replaced with an unofficial system of national oppression more in keeping with the requirements of industrial life. The Northern imperialists encouraged the Civil right movement, especially after the Supreme Court decision in 1954 outlawing segregation, in order to break the hold of the Southern landowners and capitalists who benefited from the old system. The Northern financiers bankrolled bourgeois and petty bourgeois reformists like the NAACP and Martin Luther

King, to keep the lid on the Black masses by advocating non-violence, reliance on courts and elections, etc. The result of the civil rights movement was that a few bourgeois and petty bourgeois Blacks got into privileged positions within the imperialist system, but nothing fundamentally changed for the Black masses. For example, segregated Miami became desegregated Miami. We have seen how much real change that has meant.

Again, the industrialization that has taken place in the Black Belt and the economically forced dispersment of many Black people out of the Black Belt has neither eased national oppression nor erased the existence of the Black nation. There is still a core area of about 80 adjoining or nearly adjoining counties of Black majority, with many more of near Black majority. This area includes parts of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, North Carolina, Virginia, and Washington D.C. As an oppressed nation, it is a haven for capitalists to export capital and reap super-profits. For example, a 1979 report issued by the Conference of State Manufacturers Associations listed the three states with the best "business climates" in the U.S., that is, the best potentials for maximum profits, as Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Eight out of the top 12 states were Southern states with large Black populations. North Carolina, South Carolina, and Mississippi were three of the top four states with the lowest percentage of unionized labor for non-agricultural workers. South Carolina had the least work stoppages while North Carolina had the lowest weekly wage. Is this coincidence? Of course not. All it means is that the Black nation continues to be held in chains as a source of cheap labor and super-profits for the bourgeoisie.

The condition of the Black masses outside the Black Belt is not much better. Crowded into urban ghettos, the Black people outside of the Black Belt constitute an oppressed national minority long denied equality by the capitalist system. The ghettos are centers of unemployment, slums, drugs—and rebellions. Modern day lynch law became known as police brutality and murder.

So long as capitalism exists it needs cheap labor, and for this reason so long as capitalism exists there will be the national oppression of Black people. The whole system of national oppression rests on the economic subjugation of the Black nation and the Black working people outside the nation. Thus, only by overthrowing the capitalist system, only by abolishing private property, only by replacing production for profit with production for use, and only by instituting a socialist system can the national oppression of Black people be eliminated. Only then will there be equality of nations and an end to all class and national oppression. Likewise, only by overthrowing the rule of imperialism in the Black nation can that oppressed nation achieve true liberation. Otherwise, without the overthrow of imperialism, the slogan of self-determination remains a meaningless, empty phrase.

### **The Bankruptcy of National Reformism**

It is significant that the theme of overthrowing imperialism is entirely absent from the B.U.F. In stead, the emphasis is upon trying to reform imperialism, trying to secure equality within its framework. Along with this, the special conditions of the Black nation in the Black Belt are not raised, nor is the question of self-determination even raised. The platform of the Black United Front is so vague that it only can be interpreted as being

reformist. Trying to reform the nature of imperialism is futile enough at any time. Any partial concessions won in the course of struggle can easily be taken away so long as the bourgeoisie rules. Yet advancing such a reformist strategy and promising "victory in the 80's" is particularly diversionary at this time.

The entire world capitalist system is in the throes of a grave economic crisis. The economies of imperialist countries including the U.S., Russia, Canada, and others have begun to collapse. In the U.S., the bourgeoisie is not preparing for another round of reforms like the "New Deal" or the "Great Society", neither of which solved the economic crises of their times. The capitalist system is so beset with so many crisis piled up upon each other, including recession, inflation, energy problems, intensified struggle for markets and the possibility of a trade war, weakness of banks, etc., that they have no "normal" or peaceful way out of this general crisis. The U.S. is hit hard by this crisis as it is particularly in decline as an imperialist power. Confrontation with the Russian-led bloc is coupled with a growing split within its own bloc. The situations in Iran and Afghanistan, along with the resumption of the draft and the boost in military spending, all show that the only "solution" the imperialists have to offer to this crisis is that of war to repartition the world. In talking about the 80's, the question of war and the attitude towards it must be emphasized. But the Black United Front proceeds as if capitalism can still somehow stabilize itself and overcome its crisis so we all can fulfilled the "American dream."

What we thus see is an approach that does not address the realities posed by this system. This makes us wonder just what the attitude of some sections of the Black United Front will be to imperialist war. The attitude of the class-conscious proletariat is to try to prevent imperialist war by overthrowing imperialism. If this cannot be done before a war, the proletariat and all other exploited and oppressed people must turn the imperialist war into a civil war. A pacifist response will only serve to disarm the proletariat precisely at the time it can seize power. Our policy must be to arm the proletariat and disarm the bourgeoisie. All those who truly oppose the national oppression of Black people will support such a revolutionary position. Also, no support will be given to any other imperialists, including the Russian imperialists who falsely pose as "communist", who just want to take over and exploit what the U.S. today controls.

Instead of this, we see the bankrupt line of national reformism. In the movement of all oppressed nations and national minorities, there is both a national revolutionary and a national reformist line. The latter wants to gain some reforms and secure a place within the imperialist system. The attention given by the Black United Front to electing bourgeois Black officials is another indication of this national reformism. The experiences of Newark, Atlanta, Los Angeles, Detroit, Washington, Gary and Birmingham, which all have Black mayors, show, just like the much-heralded "gains" of the civil rights movement, nothing has changed for the Black workers. The only ones who benefit are a few middle class Blacks.

Herein lies another problem with the Black United Front—its distinctly middle class orientation. Just reviewing the list of workshops at its founding conference verifies this. Out of almost 20 workshops, there is one on Black workers, and that one will focus on the issue of Black trade unionists. What about the majority of Black

workers, who, like all workers, are not in unions? Also, incredibly, there is no workshop on the unemployed. How can this problem not be placed as a special topic facing Black people? Yet other workshops focus on such issues as a co-op bank, the media, college students, performing arts and graphics, and electoral politics. It appears once again that the Black United Front is in practice mainly appealing to a middle class base. While it is true that the Black petty bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie are also driven down by the crisis of imperialism, it is also true that they respond to the crisis from the standpoint of their own class interests. Their interest is not to overthrow imperialism, but to try to become part of it. For example, in the 1950's and 1960's, when the NAACP had already established all its connections to the bourgeoisie, a new generation of Black petty bourgeois leaders arose to try to get their own share. King was the most prominent of these. The political leaders of King's movements, such as his close associates Andrew Young and Jesse Jackson, have long since parlayed their leading of street marches into sharing in the fruits of imperialist plunder. Young, a member of David Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission, regularly visits Africa as a U.S. trade representative.

Today a new generation of petty bourgeois and bourgeois Blacks are trying to take this same path. Yet because of the severity of the present capitalist crisis, the door to the parasitic riches of imperialism is often closed to them. So, like Young and Jackson twenty years earlier, they take to the streets in demonstrations, trying to build a mass following as a bargaining chip to be traded to the bourgeoisie for some guaranteed privileges for a few middle class Blacks. Such a policy is not necessarily the result of a conscious betrayal of the interests of the Black masses, but rather the natural outcome of the pursuit of a petty bourgeois and bourgeois class world outlook. In any case, all those who really stand for the basic interests of the Black working masses must break with such politics. At this point, it appears that the Black United Front is designed especially to appeal to such politics and class interests, rather than to break with them.

Rather than combating national reformism, the so-called "communist" groups are adapting themselves to it. Both the League of Revolutionary Struggle, which includes Amiri Baraka, and the Communist Party (M-L), which includes Harry Haywood, raise absolutely no exposure of national reformism and in fact unite with it. This should not be surprising, as both these groups also support the "theory of the three worlds" and the preparations of the U.S., Nato, and China for a new imperialist war. Despite what they claim, these groups are really petty bourgeois social-chauvinists that support their "own" bourgeoisie.

Another phoney "communist" group that supports national reformism is the Maoist Communist Workers Party (CWP). The problem with the Black church, they say, is that "there is no Khomeini in sight." ("Black Scholar," March-April 1980, p. 55, article by CWP leaders Nelson Johnson and Phil Thompson). In other words, they want the Black movement to be under the hegemony of petty bourgeois and even possibly semi-feudal elements, just as the Iranian Islamic "revolution" is, which has viciously attacked the rights of workers, oppressed nationalities, women, and revolutionaries. Some model! CWP's politics differ from the other opportunists only in that they are more part of the frenzied section of the petty bourgeoisie driven mad by the crisis of imperialism. Their suicidal

confrontation with the Klan last year in Greensboro only demonstrated the futility of their politics.

### Bourgeois Nationalism or Proletarian Internationalism

Alongside the national reformism that dominates the Black United Front is bourgeois nationalism, especially in the form of Pan-Africanism. Since capitalism is at the root of the oppression of Black people, there is a common interest between the workers and oppressed peoples of all nationalities. Yet there is no common interest, as we have shown, between the Black proletariat and the Black bourgeoisie. Rather than promoting the solidarity between the workers of all countries, bourgeois nationalism and Pan-Africanism promotes unity of all classes of Black people, the unity of the exploiters and exploited. Rather than emphasizing the need for the hegemony of the Black proletariat, bourgeois nationalism and Pan-Africanism in reality promote the hegemony of the bourgeoisie. Pan-Africanism in particular downplays the extremely influential role the Black proletariat in the U.S. can have on the national movements in Africa, where the proletariat is less developed.

In contrast to bourgeois nationalism, genuine communists promote proletarian internationalism. The solidarity of the workers of all countries can only be built on a voluntary basis. This requires absolute recognition of the equality of all nations, irreconcilable opposition to all national oppression, and recognition of the right to self-determination of nations, that is, the right to political separation. Through these principles, under Lenin and Stalin the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a Socialist Federation of nations was built. An international communist movement located in every continent and in every corner of the globe was built. That capitalism has been restored in the USSR only means that socialism must be rebuilt and the entire imperialist system be smashed.

The bourgeois and petty bourgeois politics of Black nationalism and Pan-Africanism usually point to the widespread white chauvinism among white workers and their relatively better living standards than Black workers. These are facts. But Marxist-Leninists only conclude from this that, in the absence of a Proletarian Party

modeled after the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, class consciousness is extremely low among all workers including white workers. The relatively better economic conditions and less oppressive political situation that many white workers have does not mean that they are not also exploited or have a stake in maintaining national oppression and imperialism. On the contrary, except for a minority bribed upper stratum, the entire proletariat, including most white workers, has no interest in imperialist war, national oppression, or maintaining this system. It is the task of the class-conscious leaders of the proletariat to educate all workers of their class interest and to combat all bourgeois and petty bourgeois illusions and prejudices so common in bourgeois society.

### The Road Ahead

National reformism and bourgeois nationalism will not free Black people. Instead, they will only further their oppression and suffering. The only path to ending national oppression is the path of proletarian revolution, of socialism. The advent of imperialist war will make even clearer just what the solution to class and national oppression is.

To travel successfully along this path, it is true that new leadership and a new organization is needed. But that organization must be a revolutionary general staff of the entire working class, a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party with clear ideology, a revolutionary program, and solid organization. The central task for all those who truly desire to end not only the oppression of Black people, but the exploitation of all working and downtrodden peoples, is to construct such a party to lead the working people to victory.

In the wake of the deepening economic crisis and the steps to imperialist war, we will see more rebellions like the spontaneous rebellion in Miami's Black community. In the struggles against particular manifestations of class and national oppression, the enemy must be clearly identified: the imperialist system. National reformism and bourgeois nationalism only divert the struggle of Black people away from the actual source of national oppression. We call on all workers and oppressed peoples to take up the banner:

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

not continue or that colonialism has changed its colors.

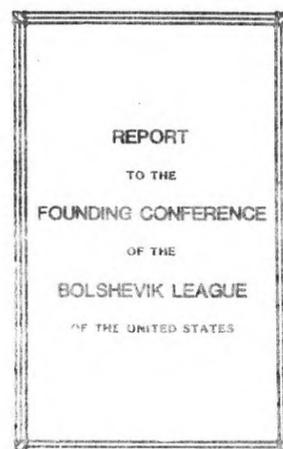
The working class must fight against any anti-democratic attack, but this struggle must be combined with the struggle against U.S. imperialist domination, against the preparation for imperialist war that is coming, against the world wide capitalist system, including Russian imperialism and its representatives in Puerto Rico.

Only the working class of Puerto Rico is capable of leading this struggle. Only the working class has no interest whatsoever in the imperialist domination of one's country.

Defend the democratic rights against the attacks of imperialism and its lackeys!

June, 1980

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### B.U.F. (from p. 1)

nist" also are looking for the NBUF to aid them. Supporters of China's war-mongering line such as the League of Revolutionary Struggle (LRS) and the Communist Party (M-L) (CPML) sent many people to the Conference and gleefully praised it in their newspapers.

A speech by LRS leader Amiri Baraka at the Conference mentions the danger of a new world war, but nowhere characterizes the coming war as an imperialist war on all sides, that the proletariat must convert into a civil war. He also conveniently neglected to mention the expanding alliance between LRS's mentors in China and U.S. imperialism. Aside from trying to turn the NBUF into an appendage of China's war plans, such forces want to take over the NBUF and drive out everyone else, as many opportunist groups have done, such as in CP M-L's takeover and virtual destruction of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF).

The NBUF Conference also was attended by other opportunist forces who prefer making the NBUF an appendage of the Russian war machine, promoting their own version of the "third world", including Cuba, Angola, Grenada, etc. All these forces seem confident that they have an audience in the NBUF for their activity in favor of imperialist war.

But it is not just the bourgeoisie and their petty bourgeois opportunist representatives that want to determine the future of the NBUF. The proletariat, too, has a direction it wants and needs the NBUF to take. The most class-conscious representatives of the fundamental revolutionary interests of the proletariat want the NBUF to work to overthrow the system of imperialism; to oppose all imperialist war preparations and all members of imperialist blocs; to uphold the right to self-determination including the right to secession for the Black nation in the Black Belt South; and to stand for the unity of the workers of all nationalities in the battle against all class and national oppression. The interests of the proletariat will also not be served by the formation of another national reformist petty bourgeois group. There is no need for another obstacle to socialist revolution.

### Petty-bourgeoisie Debates Polygamy

What happened at the NBUF Conference can only be called disappointing in regards to the direction some of the leaders of the NBUF seem set on taking. While the NBUF leadership is by no means monolithic, some of its leaders appear to be fulfilling the role assigned to it by the *Amsterdam News*, the various opportunists, and others. Their hopes of making the NBUF another impotent, petty bourgeois reformist groups have some basis in reality.

For example, with war being planned, with unemployment skyrocketing, especially for Blacks, in the wake of Miami, what turned out to be the hottest and most spirited debate at the Conference? Incredibly, it was the issue of polygamy, the taking of more than one wife by a husband. This was a question settled long ago in tribal society. But some petty bourgeois extreme nationalists, who glorify and idolize African tribal society and support its patriarchal subjugation of women, raised support of polygamy as a resolution of the women's workshop, even though it had been defeated there. What ensued was a long and noisy spectacle of furious "debate" between the polygamists and their opponents, many of whom were from LRS. To LRS, this was a most burning question facing Black people. That there was even an audience for

such a debate, and that the whole issue had to come up at all, shows just how far removed so many of the forces in NBUF are from the real burning issues facing the masses of Black people and the whole proletariat.

### Democracy Restricted at Conference

Besides serving as a diversion, the polygamy debate also raised the issue of the restriction of democracy at the conference by some forces in the leadership. The women's workshop leader felt absolutely no obligation to report to the Conference the real resolution passed, simply because she opposed it. Another area that showed that some NBUF leaders wanted to minimize the participation of the membership at the Founding Conference was the dispute over the structure of the Conference and the proposed constitution and by-laws.

Much of the essential business of the Conference was scheduled to take place in the day-time during the Thursday and Friday sessions. The evenings were reserved for speeches. This format made it most difficult for many working people to participate fully. The Saturday session was the only convenient time for workers, but this was after two key days of discussion and decisions. It was raised that many people had put in much time and energy to attend and prepare for this Conference, and not just to listen to speeches, and that therefore more time be given to debate. As it was, the schedule was constantly changed throughout the course of the Conference, with time for workshops cut. Upon hearing these suggestions, Baraka rushed to the microphone and denounced those making the suggestions as opposed to speeches on Black liberation! Such demagoguery was aimed at stifling discussion even further. It found a receptive audience, and the move to open up the Conference a bit was squashed.

The proposed "constitution, by-laws and structure of the NBUF", a long, detailed document, was only distributed to the participants at the Conference itself even though the Conference was planned months ago. Given the time limitations and the political problems with this document, there was no way the participants could adequately consider or amend it. While some who originally designed this document wanted to ram it through, they had to retreat on this particular issue. The Conference voted to adopt a temporary structure until next year's Conference. Still, the Founding Conference of the NBUF passed without passing principles of unity. As we said in our leaflet at the Conference (reprinted in this issue), the NBUF had a vague platform before the Conference. Now, after the Conference, its platform is still as vague. Amendments were made that supposedly will all be considered, but there is no excuse for having a Founding Conference with no platform.

The original draft was a mish-mosh of ideas and wholly unacceptable. For starters, Article 2 states, "The geographical boundaries of NBUF shall be limited to all of the states, territories and properties of the Government of the United States of America." Despite whatever else is said in this document, this shows the authors endorse the annexation by U.S. imperialism of the colonies and oppressed nations the bourgeoisie calls "states, territories and properties." This section received wide opposition, and presumably will be changed.

Before continuing with an analysis of the proposed draft, let us return to the question of democracy at the

Conference.

### Attempt to Suppress the Bolshevik League

The Bolshevik League desired to participate in the NBUF Conference in order to fight for proletarian internationalist politics. We also desired to abide by the rules of the Conference. Before the Conference, as was stated on a brochure distributed before the Conference, we inquired about making a presentation at the Conference and having a literature table. We were told by an NBUF leader in charge of such matters that multinational groups could not participate in the Conference, that they most likely would not have "room" for literature tables from these groups, that only Black people were allowed to participate, not even other oppressed nationalities, (and if one's spouse was not Black the NBUF representative began to question why a Black had married someone of another nationality!), and that Blacks who were members of multi-national groups could only come as individuals or as a Black caucus of that group. We proceeded thinking such information was correct, since it came from the source the official NBUF brochure gave. As much as we disagreed with this narrow nationalist approach, we were not going to upset the rules of the Conference.

What happened was entirely different. Several multinational groups participated in the Conference and had representatives make presentations (but just Black representatives, of course). Such groups as LRS, CP (M-L), and the Communist Workers Party (CWP) all spoke. Apparently there was one set of rules for some groups that some leaders liked, and another set of rules for other groups. And it is no coincidence that all these fake "communist" groups that fit some people's liking are all supporters of the counter-revolutionary "theory of the three worlds." Again, these three worldists, who have praised and supported butchers like Mobutu, Sadat, and Pol Pot, apparently have some friends among some NBUF leaders. Further, among the multi-national, if only in name, groups that had literature tables were LRS, CP (M-L), CWP, RCP, and League for Proletarian Revolution (another three worldist sect). Finally, there were Latins, Asians, and even a white person at the Conference. This shows there was quite a bit of back-room maneuvering before the Conference.

Even so, the B.L. prepared a leaflet before the Conference had begun to explain the Bolshevik position on the Black national question and the Conference. Soon after we began distributing it, a frenzied group led by a NBUF leader surrounded our distributors and ordered them to leave. They claimed our leaflet slandered them because we accused them of not raising points, such as "overthrowing imperialism" and self-determination, that they claimed to do in the proposed draft. As we said, our leaflet was prepared before the Conference, when neither we nor anyone else, save some leaders, had the privilege of seeing the draft. But even if we examine the draft itself, we will see that everything we said in our leaflet was true.

### Imperialism and Self-determination

We said, "It is significant that the theme of overthrowing imperialism is entirely absent from the Black United Front. Instead, the emphasis is upon trying to reform

imperialism, trying to secure equality within its framework. In the proposed draft number 4 of the principles of unity of the NBUF says "to struggle to eliminate racism (including Zionism and apartheid), monopoly capitalism, colonialism, imperialism, and the oppression, exploitation and inequality of women." The key word here is "eliminate." This is not the same as to "overthrow", to rise up in revolution and smash. Something can be eliminated either peacefully or non-peacefully, in a revolutionary or an evolutionary way.

The principles of unity do talk of "revolution." But listen to point 7 "to continue the political cultural revolution to create a new vision and value system and a new Black man and woman based on common struggle around the needs of the Black majority." The purpose of this "revolution", which is an amorphous "political cultural" one, is not to overthrow imperialism, or even to "eliminate" it, but to create a new vision and value system presumably through creating a "new Black man and woman." This petty bourgeois self-cultivation based on the psychology of Freud and Marcuse. It really means personal, individual "change" will change the system. Thus, the proposed "revolution" can in no way be interpreted as a revolution to overthrow imperialism.

Returning to point 4, it is significant that all these "isms" are lumped together. This is a hidden version of the bourgeois nationalist line that racism is a system by itself, separate and apart from capitalism and imperialism. Such is the idealist view of the petty bourgeoisie, which separates ideas from material reality. The petty bourgeois view is also seen in singling out *monopoly* capitalism, and not all forms and stages of capitalism. This leaves the door open for support for *non-monopoly* competitive capitalism, such as Black businesses, "alternative" institutions and so on.

In short, the proposed draft confirms that the theme of *overthrowing* imperialism is entirely absent, and that NBUF's platform is essentially reformist.

Next, on the question of self-determination. Our leaflet said, "Along with this, the special conditions of the Black nation in the Black Belt are not raised, nor is the question of self-determination even raised." Earlier our leaflet specified we were talking about self-determination for the Black Belt nation, and we said, as do all genuine Marxist-Leninists, "without the overthrow of imperialism, the slogan of self-determination remains a meaningless, empty phrase."

The proposed draft, released after our leaflet was written, does talk of "self-determination," but in just such a meaningless way. Point 1 says: "To struggle for self-determination, liberation and power for Black people in the United States." Such a point could mean just about anything to anybody. It also says, nothing about the Black nation in the Black Belt, and more of the other points raise any special demands for that oppressed nation. The South is only dealt with as a geographical region, along with the West, Midwest, and Northeast. Washington, D.C., where Black people have more ties to Virginia and the Black Belt, is separated and placed in the Northeast.

There is even no attempt to define self-determination, rendering it meaningless, especially for the Black national minority outside of the Black nation.

Examining these points can only have us conclude that the B.L. leaflet was entirely accurate, and even anticipated the content of the proposed draft: "The platform of

the BUF is so vague that it can only be interpreted as being reformist." Further, we can also conclude that our literature was not suppressed because it was slanderous. Rather it was suppressed precisely because it presented a strong Leninist-Stalinist exposure of national reformism and bourgeois nationalism that threatened to expose the false rhetoric of some forces. This is why some people were so afraid of our leaflet that they suppressed it. There were differences among the leaders of the NBUF over whether we could distribute our leaflet, but, unfortunately, the anti-democratic forces won this particular battle. One leader, after agreeing to drop the issue if we ceased distribution, wanted to double-cross other NBUF leaders by launching an anti-communist attack on B.L. at a plenary session anyway. The other leaders then found out just how much his giving his word really meant. Still, this person resorted to outrageous intimidation tactics by having his henchmen follow our members around, even to the bathroom! Apparently the bathroom is where their politics belong. Such tactics will not intimidate Bolsheviks, but only drive Black workers away from the NBUF.

We raise this issue not only to defend ourselves, but also to underscore the anti-democratic maneuvers that threaten to wreck the NBUF. We say wreck, because, if the NBUF is to become, as its chairman Rev. Herbert Daughtry advocates, a mass-based and progressive organization fighting in the interests of the Black masses, then it must be democratic. If a mass organization is mass in name only, if the real power is held by wire-pullers protected by closed doors, then the masses will not regard it as their own. They will meet it with the same justifiable disgust they have for other bureaucratic groups like trade unions, bourgeois political parties, and so on. Some may not find it unacceptable that the NBUF become a closed club, but this will only hinder unity of action between all those in the Black Liberation movement who truly do want to overthrow imperialism.

### Role of National Conference of Black Workers

What may ultimately prove to be the most important aspect of the NBUF Conference was the labor workshop. A resolution was passed calling for a national conference of Black rank-and-file workers. The original resolution only put the necessity of this in the context of the economic crisis. This economist tendency was partially corrected by an amendment adding the context of the coming imperialist war.

Much remains to be done in order to determine the direction of this Conference. By itself, it presents the most potential in a Conference that saw little participation of workers, grossly undemocratic methods, and a general petty bourgeois reformist and nationalist orientation. A national conference of Black workers, if properly conducted, could be a small step in the development of the hegemony of the Black proletariat in the Black liberation movement. No other class has, "nothing to lose but its chains." As the 1928 Resolution of the Communist International on the Black national question said: "**The Negro working class has reached a stage of development which enables it, if properly organized and well led, to fulfill successfully its double historical mission: (a) to play a considerable role in the class struggle against American imperialism as an important part of the American working class; and (b) to lead the movement**

**of the oppressed masses of the Negro population.**" This is even more true today, with the greater proletarianization of much of the Black population.

A Conference of Black Workers should not be held as an end in itself, but for specific goals. The Bolshevik League proposes four basic purposes of such a conference and for any organization it may form.

They are:

(1) Opposition to imperialist war and all war preparations and militarization. If there is imperialist war, it must be converted into a civil war.

(2) Struggle for trade union democracy, for rights for the unemployed, for organizing the unorganized, against all shifting of the burden of the economic crisis onto the workers' backs.

(3) Struggle against all national oppression of Black people. Right of self-determination, including right of secession, for the Black nation in the Black Belt.

(4) For the revolutionary unity of the workers of all nationalities in the U.S. and the unity of the workers of all countries.

There will be those, such as CP (M-L) and company, that will try to use such a Conference for their own ends. And there will be those who do not wish to see a Conference of this type at all, since they are threatened by workers organizing without the control of the petty bourgeoisie. All these forces oppose the leading role of the Black proletariat in the Black national movement, and in this way try to get the NBUF to be under petty bourgeois leadership and therefore be subservient to imperialism. To counter all moves to sabotage or derail this National Conference of Black workers, the organization around it must guarantee a strictly democratic conference controlled by the workers themselves. Then there will be a true forum to see just whose ideas are bankrupt and whose are revolutionary. And precisely for this reason, the opportunists fear a democratic conference of workers like a vampire fears the sun.

Such a conference could greatly assist and expand revolutionary work among Black workers on a national wide basis. It could also strengthen NBUF, giving it more of a proletarian base and relieving it of some of the nonsense created by its predominantly petty bourgeois orientation.

Any organization that comes out of the conference, however, should not be confused with a vanguard proletarian party. The conference should aim to establish a mass group, open to all who unite with its politics. A vanguard party, modeled after the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, is a monolithic cadre group that is the general staff of the proletariat. A mass group, on the other hand, can play the role of a detachment of the workers' forces, but not that of the *advanced* detachment, of a vanguard. This distinction is important, as both types of organization are needed, and opportunists have a long history of spreading confusion about the two, in order to liquidate the role each must play.

### The Future of N.B.U.F.

Although there are disquieting signs in the NBUF and the Founding Conference left much to be desired, it is still too early to tell just what direction NBUF will finally settle upon. There will be sharp struggle as to its future, and the outcome of that struggle will determine what happens with it.

## Faction Purged From B.L. On The Road To a Bolshevik Party

One of the ways the imperialist system prevents the working class and oppressed peoples from rising up in revolution is by a constant ideological bombardment against the possibility of the success of a socialist revolution. This takes various forms, such as tired old fables that the workers in the U.S. are all conservative, that imperialism is too strong to be overthrown, etc.

Many of these type of ideas are largely discredited among the most politically conscious and advanced workers. But this does not mean that the ruling class stops its ideological struggle. On the contrary, all it means is that it merely changes its forms to promote the exact same demoralization and defeatism, but with more "revolutionary," "working class," and even "Marxist" sounding phraseology. Historically they have relied upon privileged demoralized and careerist forces from the labor aristocracy, the bribed upper stratum of the working class, and from the petty bourgeoisie, to spread pessimism within the ranks of the communist and workers movements. To this end, they continue their ideological campaign against communism, always seeking to influence elements within revolutionary groups to get them to abandon the struggle for socialist revolution, if not in word then in deed. As long as capitalism exists (and even for some time after it has been overthrown, it is inevitable that such forces, whose thinking and practice totally reflect both the ideological and material influence of the system of imperialism, and their own economic and political privileges, crop up in the communist movement.

History shows that particularly in critical periods the bourgeoisie calls upon its agents in the ranks of the workers' movement to come to their aid. In this period of intense preparation for imperialist war, at a time when clear lines of demarcation are being drawn with social-chauvinism and centrism for the first time in decades, it should not be surprising that such demoralized and careerist elements most stubbornly try to peddle their venom. With the growing threat of war and the collapsing of the capitalist economy, we are entering a period of a new round of wars and revolutions. Especially in times like this the bourgeoisie needs its agents to spread demoralization, to deny the growing potential of a revolutionary situation as the crisis of capitalism sharpens up even further.

One of the purposes of the Leninist-type organization is to weed out, defeat, and purge such elements. By constantly checking up on work and using the Leninist method of self-criticism to learn from our mistakes, deviations can be corrected in time, while traitors in our ranks can be exposed and expelled.

Just such a process recently took place in the Bolshevik League, when a faction of two such traitors on our Central Committee was unmasked and purged. The essence of the faction's platform was to deny the possibility of proletarian revolution in the U.S.; to destroy the ties of the Bolshevik League with other genuine Marxist-Leninists internationally; to sabotage both organizationally and politically the practical work of the Bolshevik League; to

attempt to substitute an anti-Leninist line for the Leninist line adopted at our Founding Conference; to liquidate the national question in general and the Black national question in the U.S. in particular; and to promote the line of American exceptionalism that aims at further isolating U.S. communists and workers from the international proletariat.

### Factionalists' Platform of Classical Revisionism

The faction put forward the anti-Marxist thesis that "capitalism developed differently in the United States than in Europe" and based their analysis upon the peculiarities of U.S. capitalism. They denied the revolutionary potential of the U.S. working class who they scornfully attacked as having no revolutionary traditions. They liquidated the international sources for the low class consciousness in the U.S. proletariat, such as the victory of revisionism in the international communist movement after the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union in 1953, and totally ascribed this to American conditions. They insisted that there was no workers movement in the U.S., since spontaneous struggles were all led by trade union bureaucrats, opportunists, and the like! They thus denied the split in the working class and the extreme oppression faced by the oppressed nations and national minorities. Their line amounts to a denial of the possibility of revolution in the U.S. and sees the entire proletariat and everyone else as bribed by imperialism, except, of course, themselves. This is a return to the line of American exceptionalism advanced by Lovestone in the CPUSA in 1928-1929. This was exposed and smashed by Stalin and the Communist International. What the Comintern said of the Lovestone line applies word for word to the line of the faction. Executive Committee of the Communist International said that the Lovestone group "has shown a tendency to underestimate the process of radicalization as well as the process of differentiation in the ranks of the working class, which finds its expression in the attempts to point out the conservatism of the American working class in a static form without giving a class analysis of the causes which underly its backwardness and without a sufficient consideration of the further prospects of development of its political consciousness." (*Open Letter of the E.C.C.I. to the Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, 1929*)

Such a line is especially criminal today, when the forthcoming imperialist war and the deepening economic crisis are only serving to sharpen the class contradictions and hasten the development of a revolutionary situation. At such a critical period in history these pitiful factionalists try to steer the genuine communists away from preparing for revolution. Their line amounts to nothing more than centrism, a thinly veiled social-chauvinism that seeks to rescue the bourgeoisie from a revolutionary situation brought on by the coming imperialist war, by promoting pessimism and demoralization.

The faction liquidated the Black national question in the U.S. and idealistically speculated on the existence of the Black nation in the Black Belt South. Articles by them conveniently "forgot" to mention the Black nation and conveniently ran out of space before raising the slogan of the right to political separation. They reduced the Black national question to a racial question, a question of color, thus covering up for the super-profits reaped by U.S. imperialism from the super-exploitation of the Black nation. The faction also attacked the correct relationship of

Black workers in the U.S. to the national revolutionary movements in Africa, as outlined by the Communist International, as "Pan-Africanist". By denying the possibility of a strong revolutionary movement of the Black proletariat in the U.S. to influence and direct the revolutionary movements in Africa, where the development of the proletariat is weaker, the faction denies the leading role of the proletariat in the struggle for the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, and attacks the international duty of the Black workers in the U.S.

The faction attacked the Leninist line on the existence of an oppressed Native colony in the North of Canada, thereby proving its chauvinism stretched as far as the hand of U.S. imperialism. They said there could not be colonies within the borders of an imperialist country, thus sanctioning imperialist annexation and showing where their true interests lie in the forthcoming imperialist war.

The faction denied the painfully obvious fact that a strong imperialist power could share state power with a weaker imperialist bourgeoisie through bribery and domination of the banks and stock exchange, as the U.S. does in Canada. Again they come to the aid of U.S. imperialism by denying U.S. control of the Canadian state.

After attempting to sabotage our practical work with the Maoist dictum "politics in command," the faction tried to spread demoralization within the ranks when great success was not immediate. They said that there are no advanced workers in the U.S. When contacts were made and correspondents established anyway, the faction slandered them by saying that anyone who would respond to the Bolshevik League's propaganda and agitation was either crazy or a police agent. They thus pursued a liquidationist line that sought to prevent the building of a Bolshevik Party by stopping the Iskra plan and wrecking the building of a nation-wide network of agents. When their activities were criticized, they most arrogantly refused to learn or correct their past ways and shouted that there would be "no debate" over their line and activity. This cowardly philistine fear of struggle is typical of all such mensheviks and opportunists.

The faction attacked the Leninist-Stalinist line on the family as the fighting unit for socialism. With the purpose of promoting demoralization, they claimed it was impossible for Bolsheviks to have families. They spread the petty bourgeois line that it is wrong to bring children into the world because they would inevitably fall victims to imperialist decadence. These conceited careerists believed that as they themselves had fallen victim to imperialist rot, and as they themselves were self-styled, staunch and mighty "bolsheviks," it was only inevitable that mere mortals and children would become corrupt.

During the struggle against these two corrupted elements, they had, too often, been given a chance to abandon their anti-Leninist line to make a complete rupture with centrism, and to rally to Bolshevism. But as the Bolshevik trend grew stronger, so did their resistance to Bolshevism. As the important work to combat imperialist war became a practical necessity rather than idle talk, so did their work to sabotage Bolshevism become a practical necessity and not only idle talk. Applying Leninist norms, the two factionalists were exposed and isolated (and had isolated themselves through their conceit and contempt towards cadre), and were purged.

These two liquidators have split from Bolshevism.

Their sole interest is to split the growing bolshevik forces. They are enemies of bolshevism and must be treated as such.

### Completing the Break with the "Movement"

As Comrade Stalin said, "The Party becomes strong by purging itself of opportunist elements." (*Foundations of Leninism, Works, 6:191*) While still struggling to construct a Bolshevik Party, the Bolshevik League has also strengthened itself and learned a lot from this struggle.

In particular, the smashing of the faction is another step in the final stage of eliminating the last remnants of influence from the so-called "anti-revisionist communist movement" from our ranks. Completely breaking with the past and with the social-chauvinist and centrist character of those forces has been an essential pre-requisite in re-establishing an organization based on orthodox Leninism, rather than any variety of Maoism.

This struggle was also a further repudiation of the Maoist "revolutionary wing." One of the factionalists Gloria Fontanez Wright, was a leader of the "revolutionary wing" and was associated with many social-fascist acts of physical attacks, intimidation, etc., done in the "wing".

The predecessor of the Bolshevik League, the Committee of U.S. Bolsheviks (C.U.S.B), attempted to analyze the period of the "wing" and repudiate its activities. But the CUSB, which was formed in May, 1979, out of a merger of the groups the U.S. Leninist Core and Demarcation (which had come out of the so-called "anti-revisionist" movement), itself was only in the midst of the process of a complete rupture with centrism. For example, despite what it said in theory, in practice it still had not implemented the Iskra plan for constructing a vanguard party or had begun a regular publication aimed at the working class. CUSB also had not completely broken with the Albanian variety of centrism. This failure to completely break with centrism was reflected in its inadequate analysis of the "revolutionary wing." Some of this analysis was based on the personal interest of Gloria Fontanez Wright by not completely accounting for and repudiating her activities. She was able to lie and conceal much of what she did, and CUSB was still not functioning enough under Leninist norms to be as vigilant as it should have. The result was that CUSB was allowed to become associated with the "wing", giving ammunition to the enemies of Bolshevism, and separating it from potential friends.

Now, with the formation of the Bolshevik League, and the purge of the faction, there is no more room to spread the myth that the Bolshevik League is in any way associated with the activities of or is a continuation of the "wing". All confusion on this question can now be put completely to rest. The line of the Bolshevik League can be found in its Founding Documents, in the pages of *Bolshevik Revolution*, and in the other literature we issue. It is on this that we stand, and not the literature of any of our predecessors which, as we said, suffer from various defects.

As to the likes of Gloria Fontanez Wright, she made a phoney and superficial attempt to repudiate the past and travel the path of Bolshevism. All she did was merely abandon the most flagrant and outrageous of her methods

**BUF** (from p. 13)

The future of NBUF largely depends on how democratic it will become, how much of a proletarian base it gets, and how the genuine revolutionaries are able to fulfill their tasks. If anti-democratic and anti-working class forces continue to have their way, the NBUF will dwindle down into another petty bourgeois nationalist cadre group. That would truly be disappointing to many today associated with NBUF. This therefore requires *all* those who really want a mass, progressive, democratic NBUF to struggle through to the end to make it so.

**Editorial** (from p. 3)

And it is this task which we call on all workers, oppressed nationalities, women and youth to take on. The task of eliminating imperialist wars through abolishing the system of imperialism.

On the road (from previous page)

in order to give the appearance of correcting her errors. For those who still want to pin the madness of the "wing" upon us, it should be pointed out that while Gloria Fontanez Wright lasted several years as a leader in the "wing," she lasted only a few months in the Bolshevik League before her tiny faction was exposed, routed, and expelled. The bottom line is that the application of Leninist norms and the Leninist methods of self-criticism was successful in the Bolshevik League, and nowhere else. And for those who remain in the opportunist movement and want to snicker on the sidelines "I told you so," we reply that you told *nothing* to the genuine Bolsheviks in CUSB and later the Bolshevik League. Not one recounting of the "wing" or the activities of its members by other groups even vaguely resembled a scientific analysis or brought to light any useful information.

**Bolshevik League Strengthened**

In sum, the Bolshevik League is now in a stronger position to successfully carry out its task of winning the vanguard of the proletariat to communism and building a vanguard party modeled after the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin. True, we made a stumble on the road to a Bolshevik Party, but we were not able to be diverted off that road. The lesson we must draw is that we must continue on the road even more resolutely.

The result of this struggle is that we are now even more united as an organization and even more in a position to fulfill our tasks in the face of preparations for imperialist war, the intensifying economic crisis, and heightening national oppression. We shall continue on the road to a Bolshevik Party and to world-wide proletarian revolution, and once again call upon all genuine communists and class conscious workers to join us in fulfilling these tasks.

*International Correspondence* (from p. 2)

There is emerging throughout various countries Bolsheviks who are taking on the real, *proletarian internationalist* tasks. *International Correspondence* must be spread and deseminated throughout the ranks of the working class so that all workers can decide, on the basis of the debate, who really represents its class interests. The Bolshevik League will support openly those groups and organizations which fight for the defense of orthodox marxism-leninism and in practice implement the tasks of communism.

In this issue of *Bolshevik Revolution* we reprint articles from Bolshevik Union of Canada and from Línea Bolchevique de Puerto Rico. In the future, we will be publishing articles of other Bolshevik groups in order to acquaint the American workers and toilers with the tasks and struggles in other countries.

We also call on all readers to write *International Correspondence*, sending your opinions and questions regarding the topics being discussed and debated.

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*Bolshevik Revolution* is the monthly periodical of the Marxist-Leninist organization, Bolshevik League of the U.S.

*Bolshevik Revolution* is published monthly in two editions, English and Spanish. This is a necessity in a country where these two languages are the principal ones. The content may differ slightly between the two editions due to the necessity of bringing different propaganda to the American proletariat and the oppressed nationalities.

Original emphasis in the writings of the great proletarian leaders Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin which appear in bold, will be italicized.