THE COMMUNIST

U.S. IMPERIALISM, CRISIS DEEPENS!

U.S. society, and the economy upon which it is based, is entering a rapid period of acute crisis. In the past decade, or so, political, economic, financial, monetary, and social crises have broken out again and again in the world of finance capitalism. The world position of U.S. imperialism has steadily declined. The days of the dollar as world currency, New York as the world capital and Wall Street as the world police station, are gone forever.

A glance at the indexes of industrial production and capital spending, key indicators of a relative "upswing" or "downturn" in the capitalist business cycle, will show that the economic situation is getting worse. Compared to last year, industrial production is down 5% in metal, 5% in auto, 5% in crude-petroleum production, and 5% in electric-power production. (U.S. News and World Report, 6/17/74).

Clearly the drop in auto production (the backbone of the "boom" from 1971 to 1973), the "energy industries," and exports, are a function of a deepening of the already developing depression.

Taxes and taxes are literally stymied down the working class's standard of living, devouring family savings, small property and food. Both are continually on the rise. The revenue taken from the working class, in the form of taxes, by Federal, state and local governments, has increased three times since 1971. Inflation is running at a rate of at least 12%. The price of consumer goods rose sharply in fiscal 1974, while the purchasing power of the U.S. dollar has fallen to the equivalent of 70% in 1959 money and 34% in 1935 money.

Much of inflation today is an aftermath of the monetary crisis of 1971-73. This is simply the periodic crises of capitalism. The monetary crisis was manifested in the abolition of the gold standard and the devaluation of currencies; in the decay of the productive industries; and in a lowering of the living standards of the bulk of the world's proletariat. Inflation is not unique to the U.S. In the other major capitalist countries prices have been rising at a rate of at least 10-15% a year, while in the colonies, and the lesser "en- couraged" capitalist countries (Spain, Portugal, Italy) the rate is around 30-75% a year. In particular, in Japan consumer prices are running at a rate between 30-60%. In France they rose last year to 46%, 41% in England and 28% in West Germany. This tremendous rise in prices has sharply curtailed the purchasing power of the working class.

MILITARIZATION CAN ONLY BE A TEMPORARY AID

The monopoly capitalists have problems. Curtailed production, under-capacity operation of factories, and the bankruptcy of a growing number of enterprises aren't helping the economy. Neither is the growing resistance of the working class to mass layoffs, raceways, growing unemployment, and attacks on real wages and living standards.

In response to the worsening economic situation, the monopoly capitalists, and their henchman Nixon (and now Ford), have been forced to increase military expenditures in order to "stimulate" the economy.

Using the military budget to "stimulate growth" is a part of a consistent policy of monopoly capitalism, in effect since the great depression of the 1930's. They use the military budget to artificially stimulate economic growth, to put money into circulation in times of recession, to encourage the development of specific industries (like aircraft production), and to assist certain geographic areas (like the South).

In 1969 20% of the labor force of the whole country was employed directly or indirectly for armaments-build-up, war preparations and military production; half of the personnel in scientific research served the military, 5,000 U.S. cities and towns, each had at least one war factory or a company having trade contracts with the military. And the "prosperity" of some areas in the country is based on military spending. One third of the industrial enterprises in the country are a share in war production. ("Economic Reporter"—China, Jan-March, 1971).

Militarization of the economy may temporarily hold down the unemployment problem, but only the end of capitalism itself and the introduction of socialism can permanently solve this problem. More inflation and more unemployment of depression-like proportions is on the agenda for the U.S. economy.

POLITICAL RESPONSE OF BOURGEOISIE: FASCINATION OF THE STATE

The political response of the bourgeoisie to the increasing economic and financial difficulties, has been to move more speedily towards fascination of the state. The various "administrations," particularly the Nixon administration, have helped to strengthen the dictatorship of the most chauvinist and reactionary elements of finance capital, industry (the auto, oil companies, auto industries, and the various defense connected firms), by eliminating competition, rolling back anti-monopoly laws, and generally welding together banking, industrial, and other economic interests with the government apparatus especially with the White House and military.

The increasing concentration and centralization of capital, an inevitable process of monopoly capitalism, leads to the concentration of political power into fewer and fewer hands. Today the President of the U.S. has dictatorial powers practically undreamed of by Hitler or Mussolini. Executive agreements and "super diplomats" like Henry Kissinger have replaced congressional treaties, simply because these agreements no longer require congressional approval.

Every president (and Congressman) articulates and protects the interests of the blood-sucking monopoly capitalists who put him in office. (Each needs "big business" to finance campaigns, 10 million). Generally, once the big boys have their men in office, they can carry out their special interests in relative privacy.

"Watergate" was an "error", they got caught doing in the open what others have been doing for decades under the covers. The whole "Water- gate" phenomenon shows how rapidly the veiled rule of the bourgeoisie, i.e., bourgeois democracy, parliamentarism, etc., will give way to the open form of terrorist bourgeois dictatorship—fascism. (see article on page 5 for a full analysis of "Watergate")

contd. on next page
most all of the key industries (i.e., steel, electrical, mining, oil, and textile) in nearly every region of the country. Though these strikes are mainly economic struggles and are being led by reformists and opportunists, they nevertheless reveal deeper and more basic anger in the ranks of the working class. They are the clearest reflections of the crisis of American capitalism, and the vitality of the bourgeoisie in finding a way out of the crisis at the expense of the masses.

We are witnessing the beginning of mass struggles on the part of the multi-national proletarian anti-racist mass unemployment, wage-cuts, speed-ups, price hikes, etc. On the basis of the above analysis, we can see that one of the most significant changes taking place is the overall class character of these struggles. By this we mean that formally many of the struggles of the class were primarily carried out in the national-majority sectors of the class, particularly by Black workers (the steelworkers in auto during the 195-1972 period, the textile workers in 1972, the woodcutters in '70-72, the hospital worker's strikes, etc.).

Though hard-pressed black and other minority national workers continue to play a leading role in the most significant struggles, and we need to see their role as major force in the worker's struggles in the future, clearly the advanced sectors of the multi-national proletariat line up in force and beginning to play its historic role in leading the whole class, and the majority of the working class as a whole, in their attack against monopoly capitalism and imperialism.

There also is a process of clarification beginning in the struggles of the working class, a transition from a lower to a higher stage in the class struggle, a transition from purely economic struggles to struggles of an increased political character (like the Longshoremen's strike against Panama, and the Brazilian worker's struggle against runaway shops).

OUR TASK: BUILD A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY

Lenin said: "The duty of Communists is not to gloss over any of the weaknesses of their movement, but to criticize them openly, in order to overcome them, and to be more propagandistically and radically. ("Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the C.I."

On June 1, the Realigned Clothing workers called a national strike which involved over 100,000 workers. It was the first nationwide strike of this union in 50 years. And, in April alone, about 50,000 workers were involved in strikes with a total loss of over 652,000 man-days of work.

A rash of construction worker's strikes marked the last day in April, the expiration of the "wage-price freeze," across the country. In the first four weeks of May, workers filed some 468,000 citations of safety and health violations against employers, a significant factor in many of the strikes. And on July 15th, 388 strikes, totaling nearly a quarter of a million worker-days—far more than any other period since World War II (US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 7/25/74).

BEGINNINGS OF STRUGGLE BY THE MULTINATIONAL PROLETARIAT

Our evaluation of these events is that we are witnessing a continually rising wave of mass strike struggles, which is involving all the black national question, the United Front, the international situation, and Party building. In regards to Party building we must develop a clear line to examine the minimum basis of unity necessary to achieve unity.

To understand our task, let's examine the composition of the communist movement today, and the history of the IWO in particular. The earlier circles and collectives of communists which sprang from the spontaneous mass movements of the late 60s had developed primarily into five or six major groupings: the Black Workers Congress, the Puerto Rican Workers Organization, the August Twenty-Ninth Movement, the Revolutionary Union, the October League, and the Communist Party. Additionally there are a number of groups and circles scattered throughout the various localities and branches of the country, groups like the GUARDIAN, the League for Proletarian Revolution, the Asian study group, I War Russian, and a number of other lesser known groups which, taken together, constitute about 1/4 of the communist movement.

Some of the various groups have fallen into "right" and "left" opportunism, both in regards to Party building and political line. Is this the case today?

In regards to Party building, right opportunism is manifested first of all in a mischaracterization of the leading role of the Party and the advanced sector of the class; in a belligerence of the role of the Party in the movement; and an underestimation of the strategic task of Party building throughout all phases of the revolutionary struggle.

In regards to political line, right opportunism is manifested in " isolationism" and " leftism" on the question of the leading role of communists in the united front, and mass work generally; in attempts to conceal their role and the role of communists in the mass movement; in deviations on the national question; and in the adoption of a conciliatory attitude towards the liberal bourgeoisie and the revisionist CPUSA.

At the head of this right tendency is the IWO. Their recent recognition of Party building in words only, doesn't essentially change their overall position. In fact, this recent period has been marked by the further consolidation of their opportunistic line (see "REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT" in The MCOMEINIST, page 6). In addition, some of the individual groups and circles have fallen into right opportunism in the struggle and root of right opportunism is the underestimation of the strength of the proletariat, and its ability to play its leading role, and an over-estimation and capitulation to the bourgeoisie. RIGHT OPPORTUNISM IS NOT MORE THAN THE MAKER OF THEI REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE.

"Left" opportunism finds expression, in regards to Party building, in isolating this activity from, and counterposing it to the mass movement. This tendency considers connections and work with the masses as dangerous because it would interfere with their "pure" anarchistic Marxism-Leninism (see "THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PARTY," Charles Loren).

CONTINUED on page 3
In regards to political line, the "left" and "right" deviations manifested in an isolation from the spontaneous movement: in deviations on the national question (the bourgeois nationalist deviation of the CP on one hand, and the chauvinist deviation of the New Voice on the other); in the denial of the unification front as a strategy for revolution; in their sectarianism towards the workers' movement and other communists; in their abstract, academic "study" of what they consider to be "Marxism-Leninism". CL, the New Voice, MML and IPR all fall into line, cajoling along with other "independent" collectives. Though the line of these groups is very dangerous, right opportunism is first and foremost the main danger.

**COMBAT RIGHT AND "LEFT" DEVIATIONS IN OUR OWN RANKS**

Where does BNC, PRPRD, ARM and our other allies fit in? What errors have we made?

Our organizations-learned and are still learning-Marxism-Leninism only through protracted struggle against a motley of shades and forms of opportunist "theories". At one time or another, our organizations have held right and "left" lines on any number of questions - e.g. "nation before class", "build first the mass movement", "national form of organization", etc.

Nevertheless, as soon as our consciousness of these errors arose, a struggle against them developed and the views of Marxism-Leninism spread to higher levels. What seems to many as "unusualness" and "vaccillations" "chaos and mess", etc., in many ways has been our ever increasing ideological, political, theoretical and organizational development. Unlike the "positively pure" communist groups who have always had a "correct line", we are not afraid to admit that we have made mistakes and will inevitably make more mistakes. But we base our line in its main criteria by which we judge the worth of various groups we would have the CL, since they have had a "stable" revisionist line for over twenty years now! Yet we have made mistakes in theory and practice. Our main strength of our development has been progressive, forward, and non-conclusory towards opportunism and sectarianism.

What have been some of the right and "left" deviations in the BNC during this period? How have they been manifested?

Principally, in regards to party building, the Right line finds opportunism in its tendency to underestimate the ability of our organization to play a leading role in the forging of the new party, in accusations of "party spontaneity", and putting the narrow interests of our own organization above the general interests of the Communist movement, and to regard the whole (Comrades from the CP should really ponder this), the "left" tendency, in regards to party building, sees this task as isolated from all others, as the only task to be done, and underestimates the key aspect of this task - that of winning over the advanced of the proletariat to the cause of communism. This tendency is also manifested in an inept attitude towards building the party, thinking that the Party can be built separately and simply without obstacles and contradictions.

**TEORETICAL LEVEL RAISED AS A RESULT OF IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE**

As a result of our study and efforts towards carrying out the task of building a new Communist Party, we have gained an understanding of the great difficulty and many trials and turns in this process. Our more recent attempts at unity with various other organizations (CL, MML, IPR, etc.) have failed. The struggle involved in these efforts have contributed to even greater clarity on Marxism-Leninism and the political line of the American revolution, we are still faced with the task of rallying the advanced and unifying with all genuine communist-forces on the basis of ideological and political line.

As we go forward with renewed vigor and truly want to speed up our victory, we are aided by two important factors. The first is that as a result of the struggles around the Continuations Committee, the theoretical level in the whole Communist movement has been raised, and specially that of the BNC and PRPRD.

Secondly, the BNC has taken a great step forward, by breaking out of its shell of national form organization, by recruiting into its ranks workers and advanced elements from the multi-national proletariat. Our development as an all-black organization, because of the objective and subjective factors present in the late sixties (see our pamphlet: "The Black Liberation Struggle, The Black Workers Congress, and Proletarian Revolution" for a more detailed explanation), can be understood but it can be no longer defended.

UPGRADED A NATIONAL FORM OF ORGANIZATION, ESPECIALLY FOR COMMUNISTS, WAS A NATIONALIST DEVIATION ON OUR PAMPHLET.

We stand with Stalin in saying that the national type of organization is a school of national narrow-mindedness and prejudice, that it isolates workers in a spirit of national aloofness. The international type of organization serves as a school of fraternal sentiments, and is a tremendous agitational factor on behalf of internationalism (see "Marxism and the National Question")

Clearly, whenever possible, the proletariat must be organized along multi-national lines.

This is a direct repudiation of the line stated in our pamphlet "The Black Liberation Struggle, The Black Workers Congress, and Proletarian Revolution", which upheld a national form of organization. BUT WE WOULD LIKE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THOUGH WE OPPOSED THIS INCORRECT FORM, IN EVERY OTHER RESPECT, ESPECIALLY IN REGARDS TO POLITICAL LINE, THE BNC WAS NO MORE ENGLISH OR ANARCHIST THAN ANY OTHER COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION! Political line is the key factor in the development of any organization. Because our political line has developed to a higher level, we have now rejected the line of national forms of Communist organization, and we have moved forward as a result. Because of our political line, we, along with PRPRD and others are taking the lead in criticizing the line of CL and in a Marxist-Leninist fashion.

Tendaces we have come a long way! By uprooting opportunism in all its forms and manifestations in a ruthless fight on two fronts, and first and foremost on open right opportunism - the principal danger at this time - and secondarily on opportunism in its "left" form, the BNC, PRPRD, ARM and all other genuine groups and cadres (including those holding opportunistic lines at present), will overcome their weaknesses in the organizational field and play a major role in the development of a Communist Party of a New Type.

At this time, when the workers' movement is rising and crying out for direction and leadership, we must not only have Communist groups or tendencies, but a Communist Party! The BNC, PRPRD, ARM and other comrades-in-arms have steadfastly embarked, hand-in-hand, on the road to building such a party. We will never cease struggling for it until the job is done - no matter what obstacles get in the way - no matter how many mistakes we make in the process. FOR WE REALIZE THAT TO BECOME BOLSHEVIKS, THE TRUE STANDARD-BEARERS OF THE TEACHINGS AND IDEALS OF THE GREAT LEADERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT - LENIN, HOOVER, MARX, STALIN, AND THE TUG AND EVERT HOOKU!

DEEPER OUR GRASP OF MARXISM-LENINISM!!

STRENGTHEN OUR TIES WITH THE WORKING CLASS!!
The Black Workers Congress is beginning the publication of its political organ, THE COMMUNIST. What is its part and what will it deal with? In what way will it differ from the papers of other groups?

1) Its purpose is to explain and spread the principles of the organization and the revolutionary wing of the communist movement to the broad sectors of the class. It will help us to articulate the proletarian line on the most burning ideological, political and organizational questions of the movement and fight for this line. It will strive to set a clear line of demarcation between the revolutionary and opportunist wings of the movement in order to pave the way for the unity of Marxist-Leninists into one Communist Party. It will especially wage a relentless struggle against the revisionist CUPSA, the main danger in the communist and workers' movement. It will help forge the ideological and organizational unity of the communist movement in the U.S. The paper will serve as a collective propaganda organ.

2) The paper will fight for the implementation of the proletarian line in practice, by explaining the conduct of the U.S. Marxist-Leninists inside the communist movement and workers' movements. It will provide guidance on the forms and methods of work of communists in the trade unions, mass organizations, etc. For example, by means of concrete examples, it will give the factors nuclei and practices in combating the campaign. It will encourage the building of workers' study circles, organizing workers, etc., explaining to the workers what they should do and how they should do it. In other words, the paper should be the means by which we give political leadership to the class and the movement. The paper will serve as a collective agitation organ.

3) In the spirit of Lenin's ISNRA, our paper will also become an organ of political leadership. It has set itself the aim of creating a "humanistic and consistent program." Like ISNRA, our paper should serve the same purpose in the building of the Party as the scaffolding plays in the construction of a house. The paper will serve as an instructive and directive organ. It will help in the development of the Party program, as well as in the development of the political line and lay down the principles (long since established by the international communist movement), of its organizational structure.

4) Internally, the paper will address itself first and foremost, to the training of cadres and the problem of the general lack of trained propagandists, in our organization and the movement as a whole.

This is the kind of paper we want, but how do we go about building it? Before we can answer this, we must speak to the present state of the communist movement and the central task of communists in the present period.

The central task facing the BWC and all genuine communists at the present time is the building of a new Party of the working class, a new revolutionary cadre which has close links with the masses, and especially the industrial proletariat. At the same time, there is an absolutely necessary task of carrying out the strategic task of building the mass-revolutionary wing of the proletariat and the Leninist-Socialist-Imperialist unified front under its leadership.

These tasks require that the BWC and all genuine communists and revolutionaries deepen our understanding of the historical tendency of the bourgeois line and that we deepen our ties to the advanced sector of the class in order to win them to the cause of communism.

Since the liquidation of the PARTY OF PRODUCTION during the James Force period, the workers have been "planned" to publish a national political newspaper representing the views of the organization on the burning questions of the day. From even our limited understanding of the science of Marxism-Leninism and the history of the communist movement, we know that political newspapers and journals are absolutely necessary for the following ideological, political and organizational unity among Marxist-Leninists and for building strong, disciplined, trained revolutionary cadres. It is NO ACCIDENT that the CRP ORGAN is "DIRECTED TOWARD THE ABSENCE OF SOVIET CRP ORGAN"

It must be remembered that the liquidation of our former papers, (an essential line in line as they were) began when we were trying to embark on the cloudy road of "building the mass movement" and "believing the invisible, the flying elephant", etc. So now, once again, the question of building a national political newspaper which can fight for the line, viewpoint and program of our organization and the revolutionary wing of the communist movement, has become a burning necessity.

This necessity is all the more obvious in the present situation with the special features on the one hand the bankruptcy of the CI "Road to the Party" as well as the UPU and on the other, the continuing corruption of the PCFI of the line in the communist movement—the gradual demarcation of the revolutionary, from the opportunist. And furthermore, the failure for evermore polemics and ideological struggle on the burning questions of the day, the results of which will form the basis of our party program. Also, our organization, if it is to continue to make contributions to the mass movement, as it comes out of its present phases and local scattered mentality, and becomes a more influential national organiza-

The ISNRA's task was to ensure the defeat of the Fascist line within the Russian workers movement—the main obstacle to the building of the party! It established the basic Party program, strategy and tactics of the party and the conditions for conducting its practical activities.

It forged ideological unity of the Party and the State, the basis for the union of the two. It set up a network of organizations and correspondents who supplied the Party with a constant flow of information. Finally, it laid the foundation for the calling of the Second Party Congress in 1921.

THE COMMUNIST, the political newspaper of the BWC, is being published with just these tasks in view. Initially it will be divided into the following sections:

1) The theory and practice of the communist movement

In this section of the paper we will present our views on the burning theoretical, political and organizational problems facing the communist movement. We will unfold our political line on these questions as we engage in polemics against other lines and trends. All problems will be treated in the development of a Party program, building an organizational form for the calling of a Congress and the plans for the Congress itself, will be taken up here.

2) Communist work in the Trade Unions

This section will be devoted to strengthening our mass agitation and propaganda work within the working class, especially its advanced sector, with the aim of winning them over to a new, revolutionary, state of mind. It will deal particularly with the development of factory nuclei and in the factories and Trade Unions, pointing out in which this is demanded by the objective and subjective situation. It will deal with elucidating the new program, the new position. The Trade Union work in light of the experiences and political realities of the U.S. and with the problems of organizational structure and function of the nuclear and meth-
THE BLACK WORKERS CONGRESS

The Black Workers Congress is a multi-national Communist organization which bases itself on the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse Tung Thought. The BWC upholds proletarian internationalism, and we absolutely uphold the right of all nations to self-determination, i.e., the right to secession, and we oppose all national chauvinism and reactionary bourgeoisie nationalism.

OUR APOLOGIES FOR NOT HAVING A SPANISH TRANSLATION

We would like to apologize for not having a Spanish translation for this issue. It is not accidental nor intentional but due primarily to a lack of funds at this time. Nevertheless, we intend to do this issue as a special Spanish supplement, or in Spanish parts beginning with the next issue. If our financial situation does not improve, we will publish Spanish translations of articles in the month following the issue they appear in English.

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE FROM THE BLACK WORKERS CONGRESS

BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE BLACK WORKERS CONGRESS AND PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION—Contains a summary of the modern black liberation movement, a history of the BRC, "We need a new Communist Party," and the relationship between Marxism-Leninism, Revolutionary Nationalism and the Black Liberation movement.

$1.00

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM AND OPPORTUNISM—AGAINST THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION—this, our latest pamphlet, is a detailed analysis and sum-up of the line of the Communist League, as well as of the BWC. It deals with questions which are particularly decisive for the Communist movement—the International Situation and the Black National Question. It also contains an analysis of the present state of the whole Communist movement and a critique of the so-called "National Continuations Committee"

$1.25

STRUGGLE IN THE RU; IN OPPOSITION TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE REVISIONIST LINE ON THE BLACK NATIONAL QUESTION—a polemic written by ex-MU members. This position is now the line of the BWC on the black national question and contains a full historical and critical presentation of the question by genuine Marxist-Leninists. It is particularly important as a refutation to the "Nation of a new type"

$1.00

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

$5.00

COMING SOON: AN ANALYSIS OF AFRICAN AND THE ROLE OF PAN AFRICANISM WITHIN THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT; AND HOW CAPITALISM WAS RESTORED IN THE SOVIET UNION

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In Response to RU "Criticism"

In their article "criticism" of the BWC pamphlet: "The Black Workers Congress, the Black Liberation Movement, and Proletarian Revolution," the RU maintains that the line represented in this document is a retreat from the theoretical and political gains of the past and a "step backward," etc.

Our pamphlet contains a series of essays, some presented to the communist movement for the first time, others developed before as separate documents of an internal or semi-internal nature. They deal with questions of general concern for the communist movement today—Party building and the black national question—as well as the Trade Union, Women's Rights, and Student questions. For the leaders of the RU and their ilk, it has become necessary to smuggle every word of comment on the BWC and its line under the general phrase "Bandism" and "bourgeois nationalism." This "dictatorship" of the pamphlet is no exception.

We will prove that the stand and "criticism" of the RU leadership is a typically erroneous and opportunistic one.

THE RU AND THE OPPORTUNITIST METHOD OF "CRITICISM"

The RU begins by trying to build a case for their "Bandism." They say:

"Lenin had the same argument with the Bandists—Jewish separatists—" (p. 5.) They attached the Bolsheviks for putting out what the Bandists called a "dangerous" leaflet anti-Semitism and the massacre of Jews were, as Lenin put it, 'connected with the bourgeois strata and their interests, and not with those of the working class.'

"...But the BWC essentially adopts the stand of the Bandists, this is quite clear, this is not accidental exactly because they are addressing themselves 'especially to advanced Blacks.'" (p. 5)

Incredible but true! To prove that we are anti-Jewish, of the Jewish "Bund," and bourgeois nationalists, the representatives of the most chauvinist trend in the communist movement, the leaders of the RU, simply link together the Black Workers Congress and the Jewish separatists, the representatives of the most chauvinist trend in the communist movement, the leaders of the RU, simply lump together the Black Workers Congress and the Jewish separatists.

Facts are stubborn things. Anyone who takes the time to read the pamphlet will find our principled stand for the unity of the proletariat against all nationalism, more than one part of it. For example, in the introduction:

"In publishing this document, which sets forth our views on the burning issues facing the communist movement today, we urge people to do so as developing Marxist-Leninists knowing full well that it cannot be the last word on any of the questions addressed. In preparing this document our goal was to address it to revolutionary-minded people of ALL NATIONALITIES, but it is especially addressed to advanced Blacks."

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But the RU's opportunism is not limited by their "Bandism." In other sections of their criticism we find OUTRIGHT LIES and distortions of the actual content and facts of the document.

LIES AND MORE LIES CAN'T COVER THE REAL TRUTH

After speaking of our "defeatist analysis of the workers movement," because we refused to succumb to the lack of class solidarity between Black and white workers, which was, and is, a factor that has hindered the development of the struggle and growth, both of which will converge into a sweeping revolutionary high tide and will help tear down all the evil system of imperialism." (pg.3) And in the section, "Why We Need a New Communist Party and the Role of the Negro Communist Organizers," we state:

"Though we are predominately an Afro-American organization, we see the central task today as uniting all genuine communists and advanced workers into one revolutionary party regardless of nationalities." (pg.3)

And though RU's whole article is devoted to the RU claim that we are "Bandists" they fail to make the one criticism they should—and one which we make ourselves. That is that a national form of communist organization is an incorrect form of organization, and one that has limited the BWC's ability to organize the multi-racial proletariat.

Further, it is these great "national" leaders of the RU that claim that "party building has only now become the central task." (REVOLUTION, June '74, pg.3) This line does not stand on the side of the BWC, the national proletariat but against it.

Lenin lays bare RU's whole method of criticism, especially their aberrations to precise, indisputable facts. The RU leaders are masters of "analysis" that takes ISOLATED, INDIVIDUAL, sections of a document and turns them into GENERAL, WIDESPREAD, ALL-SIZED AND ESSENTIAL parts. Of this method Lenin said:

"The most widely used, and most fallacious method in the realm of social phenomena is to bear out INDIVIDUAL, isolated, minor facts and juggle with examples. Selecting chance examples presents no difficulty at all, but is of no value, or of purely negative value, for in each case everything hinges on the historically correct situation. For this, if we take them in their entirety, in their interconnexion, are not only stubborn things but unapproachable-bearer-things." (Socialism and Sociology), Lenin, CV, Vol. 23, pp. 272-273)

The Hegelian idealists of the RU just like their counterparts in the Communist League (p. 5, our pamphlet: "The Struggle Against Revisionism and Opportunityism—Against the RU and CL," thought they can "predict," or "make," the real truth. But they are profoundly mistaken. They can slander those of us who are Bandists and bourgeois nationalists, but the real truth is there for all to see. (We ask comrades to check out paragraphs 18, 19, or more examples of our stand for multi-national unity.)

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"Though we are predominately an Afro-American organization, we see the central task today as uniting all genuine communists and advanced workers into one revolutionary party regardless of nationalities." (pg.3)

And though RU's whole article is devoted to the RU claim that we are "Bandists" they fail to make the one criticism they should—and one which we make ourselves. That is that a national form of communist organization is an incorrect form of organization, and one that has limited the BWC's ability to organize the multi-racial proletariat.

Further, it is these great "national" leaders of the RU that claim that "party building has only now become the central task." (REVOLUTION, June '74, pg.3) This line does not stand on the side of the BWC, the national proletariat but against it.

Lenin lays bare RU's whole method of criticism, especially their aberrations to precise, indisputable facts. The RU leaders are masters of "analysis" that takes ISOLATED, INDIVIDUAL, sections of a document and turns them into GENERAL, WIDESPREAD, ALL-SIZED AND ESSENTIAL parts. Of this method Lenin said:

"The most widely used, and most fallacious method in the realm of social phenomena is to bear out INDIVIDUAL, isolated, minor facts and juggle with examples. Selecting chance examples presents no difficulty at all, but is of no value, or of purely negative value, for in each case everything hinges on the historically correct situation. For this, if we take them in their entirety, in their interconnexion, are not only stubborn things but unapproachable-bearer-things." (Socialism and Sociology), Lenin, CV, Vol. 23, pp. 272-273)

The Hegelian idealists of the RU just like their counterparts in the Communist League (p. 5, our pamphlet: "The Struggle Against Revisionism and Opportunityism—Against the RU and CL," thought they can "predict," or "make," the real truth. But they are profoundly mistaken. They can slander those of us who are Bandists and bourgeois nationalists, but the real truth is there for all to see. (We ask comrades to check out paragraphs 18, 19, or more examples of our stand for multi-national unity.)

"Then why are we attacked at the length by the RU leadership going to make a case for our "Bandism"? Any objectively minded person can see that practically any attack on our work is directed against the bourgeois nationalist influences inside the Black liberation movement! Let us set QIR arguments straight, fully aware of course, that quotes—in context—are deeply disturbing to certain readers who prefer, as Lenin says, "to jump examples." Again, starting in the introduction, we begin our attack on bourgeois nationalism and bourgeois nationalists:

"Finally, the struggle of the masses of our people in recent years brought forth both the worst and the finest that the Black nation had to offer. Among the worst who rose to prominence and respect heights on the backs of the people in the 60's were the Jesse Jacksons, the Rev. Jesse Jackson and black and various black politicians, Black capitalists, poverty program hustlers, etc."

In the section, "Who Are Our Enemies, Who Are Our Friends," we say:

"At the same time that Black people are oppressed as a nation of people, the overwhelming majority of them are always and as such ARE PART OF A SINGLE US. WORKING CLASS. Therefore, the oppressed Black nation suffers from national, racial and class exploitation and oppression." (pg.4)

Did the Jewish separatists in Russia ever talk and act like this? But there is more RU "Bandism" and RU lies if they are needed. The entire section—"Bandism—Leninism Mao Tse Tung Thought, Revolting Marxism, and the Black Liberation Movement"—is devoted to an analysis of the danger of bourgeois nationalism in the Black community.

"This same Black bourgeoisie spreads its own form of nationalism, "bourgeois nationalism"—Mr. Michael..."
It is precisely this criminal cover of the danger of bourgeois nationalism that is the theoretical level of most RU cadres, that allows the RU leadership to deal with the struggle between BNC, FRPKO, and Black liberation with dishonest, incorrect, manner. And though they might think their heads and reasoning the loss of seriousness, in reality they have further exposed them. There is not a trace of Marxism-Leninism in their arsenal. Their only weapons are slander, distortions, and lies.

INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RU’S OPPORTUNISM!

RU’s opportunism is certainly not limited to their opportunism in the national question. On the question of Party building, the RU leaders, in an attempt to avoid complete isolation, recently have tried toorganize them into the whole communist movement and have made contributions not only to the black liberation movement, but to the communist movement as a whole.

These are the kind of criticisms we welcome, not only for the criticism in which they were put forward, but for a policy of unity, criticizing, then reaching unity on a higher level—but because these criticisms are the weak, they are a far cry from the slanderous lies and unprincipled attacks put forward by the RU leadership.

WHO IS REALLY TAKING THE WRONG PATH?

The RU attack on our pamphlet is just a cover for their own erroneous line on the national question (see pamphlets put forward by them in the RU Organisation to the Consolidation of a Revisionist Line on the Black National Question for full analysis of this). RU’s latest paper, “Red Papers 6”, RU deepens their reactionary “third period” concept, claiming that it is a “negation of a negation”, a “negation of the second period which was negated of the first” (p.95,pp.36).

This is nothing but revisionist idealism, an attempt to take the form that the dialectical process takes, that is, a dialectic process raises this form to an absolute, and thus force everything to fit into this neat little package—even if it doesn’t reflect reality. (See BWC pamphlet: “The Struggle Against Revisionism and Opportunism” pg.12) RU’s “new period”, with its “new” theories, is nothing other than a return to Marxism-Leninism, and a return to the theory of American exceptionalism (for where else does this third period exist, and where else are the writings of Lenin and Stalin not directly applicable?).

RU’s whole line has led them to the shameful, chauvinist stand that Black bourgeois nationalism, rather than internationalism, is the main danger in the communist movement today. This claim has RU cadres (and nearly every one of them is in the same thinking) that the nationalism of Blacks is the main problem, that it is to blame for divisions, and that its time is at hand. The RU is using these slogans to deceive their Black national chauvinists! This social-fascist line allows RU cadre to put the black national chauvinism in the back seat, and will only completely destroy what tiny ability RU had to unite with the Black liberation movement, and particularly the Black proletariat.

For a deeper understanding of RU’s revisionist line on the national question, see our pamphlet: “Struggle In The RU In Opposition To The Clandestine Demolition Of The Revisionist Line On The Black National Question” $1.00

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"PRESIDENTIAL CRISIS" and the CLASS STRUGGLE of the PROLETARIAT

On August 8, 1974, Richard Nixon resigned as president, and thus became the first president in U.S. history to voluntarily leave the White House, which still held office. What is the significance of this event to the revolutionary potential in the United States, and the class struggle in general?

THE REAL PHENOMENA BEHIND WATERGATE AND NIXON'S DEPARTURE

The combination of violence, impeachment, and the pressure for the maintenance of bourgeois rule, are all traditional tactics of the capitalist politicians. The world over, especially in the advanced lands of "democracy"—Britain, France, and the U.S. In America, those methods have been perfected into a system that has reached classic heights.

Big business and vested interests connect and influence on political decisions by bribing public officials who, in turn, promise to protect and expand the interests of these money-hungry vultures.

The presidential conventions themselves are mainly for public consumption. The ideal is to choose the candidates goes on in the infamous "smoke-filled rooms" where the fat party bosses puffing cigars and drinking boose, deal away the vital interests of the masses and finally decide who is to be the presidential candidate.

The masses have nothing to do with selecting the candidates, and when these four years comes, all the others, the hopeless two or three million, the masses, go the polls to decide which ruling class personality will exist for the next four years. The struggle for the presidency, insofar as the Republicans and Democrats are concerned, is usually an exercise in reaction—struggle for power and political spoils (government jobs, contracts, etc.). Some minor tactical differences do exist on this terrain, but they are grossly exaggerated for demagogic, electioneering purposes.

ALL ELECTORAL CREDITS ARE UNITED WHEN IT COMES TO FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL QUESTIONS, QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE MAINTENANCE OF THE CAPITALIST ORDER, AND THE OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

If this is the actual state of affairs, how can a situation like "Watergate" and a presidential resignation be anti-revolutionary?

The strength and resources of capitalism in the U.S.—a reflection of the more powerful, privileged power centers and interests of the world—made it possible for the U.S. bourgeoisie to pursue a more "liberal" and far reaching front (minority nationalities excluded). since the nominal participation of the masses in the "political life" of the country and the existence of constitutional and "democratic" institutions and the "political stability" of the government.

For an U.S. imperialism continues to deal only with the general crisis of capitalism, and the "democratic" institutions and the "political stability" is increasing by extending the monopoly of U.S. imperialism on the world market breaks down; colonies like Vietnam revolt; the decay of the dollar; prices rise, and the class struggle within the country intensifies.

The bourgeoisie is forced to take new concessions and reforms along with the working class and oppressed masses, and turn to a more "conservative" policy. launching attack after attack on the working class. This, in turn, brings new intensity to the already intensifying class struggle. From here a further process of political reaction, the fascism of the state, i.e., the discarding of democratic rights in favor of open terrorism and dictatorship rules, the breakdown of parliamentary and constitutional illusions on the part of the masses as a whole.


BOURGEOISIE Kicked NIXON OUT

The struggle among the various groupings within the bourgeoisie itself is also a struggle within the working class struggle takes place not on fundamental political questions, but in the form of questions relating to how best to exploit the masses (with the carrot or the stick), on how best to protect the U.S. economic and political interests in the world (i.e., protectionism or "free trade") and on how best to deal with financial problems and the state of the economy (deficit spending or inflation), etc., etc.

Within the confines of these kinds of tactical disputes, events and scandals make good a "change of heart" and "Get-It-Done"—getting exposed doing what they always do under the deception of a government.

In this case, the bourgeoisie had the choice of moving directly towards fascism, or forcing Nixon to resign and maintaining their bourgeois democratic rule. The bourgeoisie moves to open totalitarian dictatorship only as a last resort, when no other choice is possible. In other words, Conditions in the U.S. today do not yet warrant such a move. Instead, the bourgeoisie choose to maintain the democratic state, and, in an attempt to preserve the illusions of the masses that they leave the "troubles" out of their lives, forced Nixon out. Now, becoming the scapegoat, serving as a means to take the heat off the bourgeoisie in a class, the interests of one individual are not above those of the whole class.

That is why for the new rulers of the country (Gerald Ford, William Safire, Maryanne, Pellonis, Harrimans, Kennedy, etc., and their like), it makes no difference which of the president bears the name of Nixon or Ford, or any other typical career politician—all are servants of the same bourgeois class.

Ford himself is said to be more "conservative" than Nixon. He has already made public that he intends to introduce governmentally oppressive features of American capitalism and imperialism; the plans for the future wars and further encroachment on the basic standards and democratic rights of the working class and oppressed masses.

THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT

In history, political crisis of the ruling class, "crises at the top." Lenin called them, were a prelude to a revolutionary situation—e.g., the great French revolution started with a crisis of the upper classes; the Russian revolution of 1905 started with the "liberal Spring" of Stavropol-Krasny; the February revolution of 1917 was also preceded by a crisis of the ruling classes during the Rasputin period. "Watergate" itself has preceded against a background of a mass struggle of the proletariat, which is far from over.

Right now, political crisis of the ruling classes like that which caused Nixon to resign, are rocking most of the capitalistic countries. "Scandals" have caused the resignation of Prime Ministers and high officials in Germany, Britain and elsewhere. Thus the types of crises, while accentuating all forms of oppression and exploitation on the part of the bourgeoisie, at the same time sharp as forms of the class struggle and compels more and more people, heretofore, not interested in politics, to join mass political struggles.

The U.S. proletariat, although intensifying its struggle against the monopoly capital, is still not yet strong enough, not conscious enough of its historic mission, not organized enough to overturn the capitalist class and establish a new society under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The task of communists and advanced workers in the U.S. is, on the basis of increasing their activity on and through the working class struggle—the theoretical, political and organizational—prepare the proletariat for independent leadership of the class movement.

Today, this has been linked first and foremost to the organizing work of the proletarian vanguard, a new anti-imperialist, anti-Party. Without a strong Bolshevik-type party the proletariat cannot even think of a historical mission of proletarian dictator, nor of giving leadership to the struggle for the everyday working class or the masses. That is why it can only be built by fighting for the correct political line in the communist movement, and by fighting with the whole line in practice, with the aim of winning the advanced to communism.

Then, only in the matrix of the proletarian as a class for itself, prepare the conditions for the complete overthrow of capitalism and the building of a new socialist society!