

War Getting Closer, What Must Revolutionaries do ?

The prospects of a new imperialist war and what is to be done in relation to it has become the center of attention of world opinion today. The events in Iran (See page 2) and Afghanistan (See page 1) have made the increasing danger of war clear to all. Thus, it is a most urgent duty of communists to establish clearly what are our views on the question of war and the tasks ahead in the struggle for Peace, Freedom, and Socialism.

The question of war and the struggle against it is not new for communists. Under imperialism, wars are inevitable, and the danger of it, although in different degrees always exists. That being the case, we will not take the time now to expand questions like the different kinds of wars, a historical analysis of the first two world wars, etc., but we will concentrate on the present danger of imperialist war and what we consider should be the general program of U.S. communists regarding that danger. We leave then, for another occasion, a lot of very relevant questions that obviously have to be grasped in order to develop a correct Marxist Leninist line on this fundamental question. To avoid possible misunderstandings, we will briefly state our general views on such questions so that the reader can see where we stand.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF WAR

Communists recognize the fact that there are different kinds of war. In brief there are (1) imperialist wars of aggression,

like the one the US waged against Vietnam or like the Soviet Union is waging today in Afghanistan, (2) inter-imperialist wars for the redistribution of the world among the imperialist powers, the First World War and the early stage of the Second World War enter into this category, (3) imperialist wars of aggression against socialist states, like the German invasion of the then socialist Soviet Union (SU), (4) civil wars in which the working class and its allies fight for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism, such as the one we have to wage in the US and has to be waged in all advanced capitalist countries, and (5) wars of national liberation, such as the ones waged by the peoples of the third world (Nicaragua, Zimbabwe, etc.) against the imperialist powers.

WHAT KIND OF WAR ARE WE CONFRONTED WITH

Unless we substitute gymnastics with dialectics, or we become part of the swamp that considers the SU a socialist country, it should be clear that we are confronting the motion towards an inter-imperialist war for the redistribution of the world's market among the two superpowers. Although it is possible for the character of the war to change such was the case of World War II, and if so, communists are to change their positions accordingly, it would be a fruitless exercise in fiction writing to establish our line ba-

sed on what is possible though not happening.

Therefore, it is important that right from the start US communists establish our opposition to the U.S. drive for war, to oppose each and every one of its war preparations, also make clear our opposition to the other superpower and its war preparations. We take no sides in the struggle between the SU and the US. We oppose them both. Obviously, the fact that we are communists **within** the US, part of the US multinational working class, poses a particular task for us. That is, to concentrate on the exposure and opposition to US imperialism. Only idealists, or people on the lookout for theoretical justifications for class collaborationist stands, can argue in the other direction. Besides being incorrect, making the exposure of the Soviet Union the main task is something that falls on its own weight. Where are the thousands of Americans that want to join the "red army" to fight against the US? We ask this because making the exposure of the SU the main task for US communists presupposes that the American people, instead of being under the influence of the warmongering US bourgeoisie, are being convinced by the revisionist CPUSA and their fellow travellers of the goodness of the SU. But this is not the

While communists oppose the first three types of war and support the latter two, the fact is that each and every war has to be analyzed in its concrete historical con-

text and develop the line accordingly. Thus, in the case of the war in Vietnam, we opposed it, while in the Second World War communists favored the participation of the US in the struggle against the nazis. Far from it, our task is to convince the American people not to ally with our own bourgeoisie, not to go to war to defend the interests of the big monopolies that run this country.

THE UNITED STATES ARE NOT THE THIRD WORLD

The fact that we are **within** the US we insist, has a lot to do with the position we are to take on all international issues. In the Third World, the exposure of the Soviet Union is key to move forward the national liberation struggles, to safeguard independence, and to advance in the road to new democracy towards socialism. Many revolutionaries in the third world are not aware of the social-imperialist character of the SU and see it as an ally, not as the enemy that is trying to substitute US imperialism. US imperialism is being exposed in those countries, it has been identified as the enemy.

Therefore, in the third world, exposure of the SU, without meaning to become pro US imperialism, has to play a primary role in the tasks of communists. But here, let's repeat it again, independently of the existence of honest forces who



With slogans like "Stop national oppression and racism!" and "Suspend and prosecute killer cops", the BLACK AND LATINO COALITION AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY has been developing a militant campaign against police killings and

other attacks in Black and Latino communities in New York City. Since its formation, after the murder by police of Luis Baez in Brooklyn, the Coalition has held a number of programs and demonstrations like the one shown above, bringing to the

public's attention the need to struggle against these attacks. Police brutality has been intensifying as a result of the economic crisis and is happening nationwide. In fact, all over the country, coalitions like the BLC have been forming and waging struggle. If you would like to get in touch with the BLC, please call

212-368 0811

The next activity of the BLC will be held on March 1st. It will include accounts by victims of police brutality, a slide show, and speakers and discussion on the work of the Coalition and the struggle against police brutality. The BLC is inviting all interested to attend. Remember

SATURDAY, MARCH 1, 1980
1 P M
296 E 4th ST (bet B&C)
Manhattan

WAR

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have been manipulated by the revisionists and have not taken consciousness yet of the true character of the SU, it is the lack of consciousness about what US imperialism is all about that must be our main concern.

SUPERPOWERS' CONTENTION IS GEARED TOWARDS WORLD WAR

Since the 60's, the US and the SU have been engaged in a fierce competition for world hegemony. That contention has been manifested in many ways and fields. It has been economic, political and military. It has been in technology. It has been "peaceful" and also violent, although not direct armed conflict between the two superpowers has occurred. Little by little, the SU, who at the beginning was behind the US in every aspect, has been overtaking the US in all fields. In fact, what we have witnessed in the last two decades is the decline of US imperialism and the rise of Soviet social-imperialism. This has placed the SU on the offensive and the US on the defensive.

Indisputably, the SU is the most aggressive of the two superpowers and the main source of war in the world today. While US imperialism was not able to do anything to stop the Iranian and the Nicaraguan revolutions, the SU was able to orchestrate the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, to keep its grip on Angola and Ethiopia using Cuban troops, and now to go out in the open and execute a naked invasion of Afghanistan.

This new balance of forces, made absolutely clear to many by the Afghanistan invasion, brings as a result an increase in the danger of war. The SU has momentum and is hungry for markets, the US is not going to sit idly by and let the Soviets take them all without putting up a fight. Thus we see the development of the two superpowers' strategy and tactics in their goal to defeat the other and become supreme imperialist master of the world.

BREZHNEV DOCTRINE LIMITED SOVEREIGNTY

Explaining the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, Brezhnev states that "the interests of any particular socialist country has to be subordinated to the overall interest of the world socialist community." Although this sounds very fine in words, in deeds that means that the interest of every country under the influence of the Soviets is subordinate to the interests of the Soviet Union's ruling class.

This theory of "limited sovereignty" makes of the SU the international police of "socialist" countries (US imperialism plays that role in relation to the so-called "free" world). Thus, it is OK for the Soviets, or their mercenary troops, to invade any country as long as they do so to protect "socialism." And protecting "socialism" is what supposedly thousands of Cuban troops are doing in Angola and Ethiopia, thousands of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea and Laos and now thou-

sands of Russian troops in Afghanistan.

The formula is simple. They place a pro Soviet government in power or establish relations with a government already in power, declare that country socialist and then, as soon as they need to, they have a cordial invitation sent to their "troops" to "protect" the socialist homeland. The cases of Angola, Ethiopia, and now Afghanistan, show what is to be expected of the "natural ally of the oppressed nations of the world."

THE CARTER DOCTRINE THE SAME IMPERIALIST GARBAGE

In his recent State of the Union speech, President Carter laid out the US bourgeoisie's response to the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan. Using the same concept of "limited sovereignty", but in the US way, Carter says that "An attempt by an outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the US. Such an attack will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force." For Carter, the people of the Persian Gulf region don't count. The US' vital interest" (read OIL), is what counts, and nobody from outside that region, with the exception, obviously, of the US, has nothing to do there.

And to show he meant business Carter moved toward major increases in the "defense" budget, the establishment of military facilities, in the development of a mobile rapid deployment force, military aid to Pakistan, the killing of SALT II negotiations, the boycott of Moscow Olympic Games, the embargo of grain and high technology items sales to the SU, the allowing of more cover-up actions by the CIA (remember the bombings of Kampuchea and the overthrow of Allende), and the starting of the registration as a first step towards the re-establishment of the draft. This is, plain and simple, war preparations. And the opposition to the Carter Doctrine, that is to US war preparations, is the main task of US communists in dealing with the war threat.

MAKE THE FIGHT FOR PEACE AND OPPOSITION TO BOTH SUPERPOWERS OUR POINT OF DEPARTURE

Being far away from a revolutionary situation in the US, without a genuine Marxist-Leninist party to lead us in the struggle, and the very little, to say the least, influence of the genuine US Marxists among the American people, are things to be taken account when mapping out our tasks. The correct slogan of "turn the imperialist war into a civil war" would not create the conditions for us to really do so. Neither can the self-proclamation of another "party" help the situation. The US bourgeoisie is driving towards imperialist war, there is a lot of great nation chauvinism and bourgeois patriotism among the American people, large sectors of the working class included, and it is within that framework that we are to act.

We stand for peace. The time is working in favor of the oppressed peoples and nations of the world. The more time it

takes the superpowers to unleash the war, the more time revolutionary and progressive minded people the world over will have to prepare themselves to bury the superpowers in their own war of national liberation.

Being for peace at this moment requires that we oppose both the US and the SU. Opportunists of all shades who talk a lot about peace, but support the SU's imperialist actions around the world don't stand for peace, but for war. They are, objectively, and independently of their will, allying themselves with the SU and helping their war preparations. The same holds true for those in the US who don't oppose in a consistent and concrete way the US war preparations. We are to stand against the military budget, against the establishment of more US military installations in the Third World, against the fabrication of more weapons and the continuations of the arms race, etc. We have already identified three major areas in which we can and should move immediately to build the opposition against the war drive in the US. These are: opposition to the Draft, support the national liberation struggles in the Third World and support and defense of socialist China. Of course, this does not constitute a fully developed plan of action on what form this opposition will take in order to be effective in the real world, and not remain in declarations. But it is definitely a good start.

OPPOSITION TO THE DRAFT

The registration of American youth to serve as cannon fodder in their imperialist war is the foundation upon which American militarism is built. Resistance to the draft has already been aroused spontaneously all across the US, and thousands have demonstrated against it. Of all the aspects of the Carter Doctrine this is the area of greater vulnerability for the bourgeoisie due to the mass sentiments against the draft in this country and the experiences of the Vietnam war. We consider that focusing on the anti-draft movement US communists would have a fertile ground to build opposition to the US war preparations.

SUPPORT FOR THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES

The oppressed peoples and nations of

the Third World are waging the most important battles against superpower hegemony in the world today. The Third World and not the advanced capitalist countries is the stormcenter of revolution today, and support their struggles is a way to weaken both super powers and to build the strong worldwide united front against both superpowers. In this respect, we have special responsibility and should focus more on those national liberation struggles that are spearheaded against US imperialism.

DEFENSE OF SOCIALIST CHINA

It is the duty of communists the world over to resolutely defend those countries under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Socialist China is such a country and we are to defend it against attacks from all quarters. This is especially important in view of the present international situation in which one of the superpowers, the SU, has troops all along the Chinese border and at the same time is pushing its Vietnamese lackeys to continue their provocations of People's China.

These are in our view the more concrete ways to fight for Peace and against imperialist war in the US today. The discussion on how to build the struggle against draft, in support of national liberation struggles and in support of Socialist China would definitely be a rich and very crucial one. There is not doubt that when each of these struggles are seen as a separate compartment the forces susceptible to be united would vary, and even those that are friends in one issue can become foes or neutral in others. That is why it is our contention that without belittling the importance of a broad united front against the war (this is particularly possible around the Draft and in support of some national liberation struggles), we cannot forget about the most crucial tasks of helping to build a real and effective worldwide united front against both superpowers, and to see the relation between that task and the major and fundamental one of US communists, that is, to organize and lead the working class and its allies in the struggle for the overthrow of the US bourgeoisie, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism in the US. ■

"THE CHARACTER OF THE WAR (WHETHER IT IS REACTIONARY OR REVOLUTIONARY) DOES NOT DEPEND ON WHO THE ATTACKER WAS, OR IN WHOSE COUNTRY THE 'ENEMY' IS STATIONED. IT DEPENDS ON WHAT CLASS IS WAGING THE WAR, ON WHAT POLITICS THIS WAR IS A CONTINUATION OF. IF THE WAR IS A REACTIONARY, IMPERIALIST WAR, THAT IS, IF IT IS BEING WAGED BY TWO WORLD GROUPS OF THE IMPERIALIST, RAPACIOUS, PREDATORY, REACTIONARY BOURGEOISIE, THEN EVERY BOURGEOISIE (EVEN OF THE SMALLEST COUNTRY) BECOMES A PARTICIPANT IN THE PLUNDER, AND MY DUTY AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT IS TO PREPARE FOR THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AS THE ONLY ESCAPE FROM THE HORRORS OF A WORLD SLAUGHTER."

V. I. LENIN