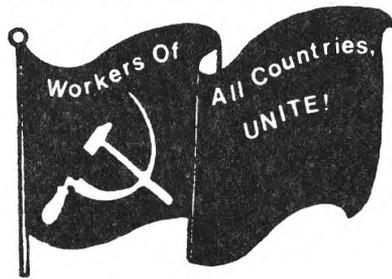


BOLSHEVIK



REVOLUTION

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special supplement

APPEAL TO ALL REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISTS

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND THE CAMPAIGN FOR WAR

It is billed as the pinnacle of "democracy", the time when the people get to decide who will run the country. It is promoted by tens of millions of dollars of T.V. ads and leaflets, which plead with us to vote for (or against) a certain candidate, supposedly for our own interests. Yet it is also an event that has only brought more disgust and frustration from more and more people. We are referring, of course, to the 1980 presidential election.

The candidates have all tried to sell themselves as representing "the people". But the fact is that all the candidates from the Republican and Democratic parties are financed and controlled by a handful of multi-millionaire corporate heads and bankers. The differences they have mainly reflect the rivalry between different groups of capitalists to bolster their relative strength in the government in light of the increasingly, severe economic and political crisis. The decline of U.S. imperialism has heightened the scramble for what is left of this

shrinking pie. The result is a further decay of the two-party system, most notably seen in Anderson's "independent" campaign. The crisis has made it harder for the capitalists to govern in the old way.

The initial backers of Reagan were a group of capitalists mainly located in California and the Sunbelt. Typical among this group that hand-picked Reagan as governor and later made up the core of his financiers is Henry Salvatori, a millionaire oil man and military industry mogul. Salvatori also finances extreme right-wing fundamentalist Christian movement, much of which is financed by the Hunt family, whose fortunes are in oil, agriculture, and numerous other areas.

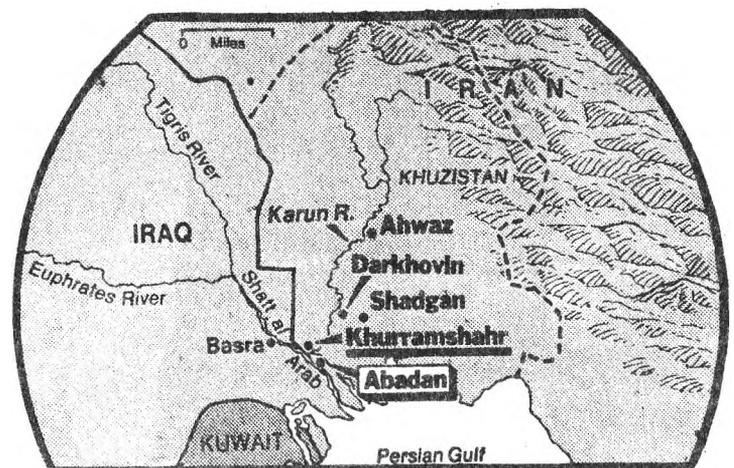
At first the Rockefeller wing of the bourgeoisie was backing either Bush or Ford for the Republican nomination. When Reagan was assured of the nomination, they moved into his camp to gain the upper hand in the inter-capitalist rivalry. Their first ploy, trying to steal the nomination by a

(cont p. 6)

Iran vs. Iraq: A Step Closer to World War

In the last week of September, what had been a months-long war of skirmishes in the border regions between Iraq and Iran, erupted into full scale war. This is an unjust war on both sides. Both Iraq and Iran have annexationist aims, and the major imperialist powers are heavily involved. In spite of the loud proclamations of "neutrality" on the part of the U.S. and Russia, there is abundant evidence to show both their involvement and the advantage they each are trying to gain from the situation.

The oil-rich Middle East, with its strategic location, has long been a key point in the inter-imperialist rivalry for a new redivision of the world, and plays a key role in the preparations for a new imperialist war. While various opportunist forces rush to take sides, and proclaim one side or the other to be the "injured party", for the working class there is no "right side" in this war. Neither the Iraqi working class, and peasantry nor the Iranian working class and peasantry, nor the workers of the imperialist countries have anything to gain



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MESSAGE TO OUR READERS

Instead of our regular edition of *Bolshevik Revolution*, we are putting out this special eight-page supplement. The reduced size is necessary because of damage to equipment and supplies due to a recent fire. These costly losses have restricted the quality and quantity of what we can publish for the moment.

This situation comes at a time when the Bolshevik League, although young, has been consolidating itself and spreading its influence. We face a setback, but only a partial and temporary setback. We have an obligation to the working class, other revolutionary communists, and all our readers to come out with what we could now. We could not and would not let these difficulties prevent us from coming out with anything, and therefore stopping the Iskra plan of building a vanguard party by using the press as a collective propagandist, collective agitator, and collective organizer. However, many things we wanted to write about we could not, such as the mass rebellion of Polish workers, the wave of terroristic murders and attacks on Black people all over the U.S., the rebellion of the Mohawks in northern New York State, the worsening crisis and chaos among the opportunist groups and the so-called "re-industrialization" plans of the bourgeoisie, to name a few. We also were forced to delay improvements in our format along with beginning publication of a theoretical journal.

It is especially important for us to keep publishing as the

threat of an imperialist world war grows. *Bolshevik Revolution* is the only regular periodical in the U.S. to take a consistently internationalist stance against imperialist war, against all imperialist and their vassals and lackeys, and for transforming the coming imperialist war into a civil war. We thus also have an obligation to the developing international Bolshevik trend and the international proletariat to continue publishing its internationalist message to the U.S. proletariat, especially the "Appeal to All Revolutionary Communists" (in this issue).

To keep publishing, to compensate for the material damage we suffered, and to get back to the point materially when we can resume a full-size, regular periodical, we need great financial support from our readers. We are instituting a Sustainer Program among our readers, where they pledge a monthly contribution of \$5, \$10, or more (see box below). We also are encouraging readers to take out yearly subscriptions for \$8. We welcome contributions of any size, small or large, because they all add up. With your contributions, we can continue to further expand the network of agents built around *Bolshevik Revolution* and continue to spread the international Bolshevik trend in the U.S.

We will be back to full-size, and fairly soon, but how soon and how much depends on you, our readers. We believe we have not let you down, and we appeal to you not to let us down. *

Correspondence

Dear Comrades,

You asked how I first came to understand the opportunism of the CPC and Mao, and the PLA and Hoxha. Prior to coming in contact with the BL I didn't thoroughly understand their opportunist tendencies, but I did recognize that the Chinese and the Albanian revolutions were not Proletarian revolutions — but in fact nationalist revolutions. Since Mao and Hoxha both claimed that their countries were socialist and I could clearly see that the workers did not rule, then it was only evident that they had falsified Marxism to give their countries the appearance of socialism. I believe this is also true for all other so-called "socialist" countries today.

When Hoxha broke alliance with the Soviet Union and began orienting Albania to China, he never (until after Mao's death) exposed Mao's revision of Marxism-Leninism. Although he has recently been exposing the centrist and opportunist lines of Mao and the CPC along with their "three world theory," he has failed to criticize himself and the PLA. Hoxha's failure to criticize himself and the PLA is a clear indication that the Albanian government is still influenced by and following Maoism. The fact that Hoxha only exposed Mao after his death should indicate that his desire is to replace Mao and build alliances with the bourgeoisie of the so-called "third world countries." Actually I only see Hoxha as a sort of smalltown Mao.

The Bolshevik Revolution has been well received here. Not only has it been studied by me but it is also being studied by many comrades here and unlike many "left" publications that we read here, no one has disagreed with anything in it. It has been extremely effective in redeveloping an interest in revolution among people who had/have been discouraged or burned-out with the ideas of revolution. Also we all agree that the BR

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Iran (cont. from p. 1)

by this carnage. It is the Iraqi bourgeoisie, the Iranian bourgeoisie, and various imperialist powers that have something to gain in terms of annexation of territory, weakening of their enemies, stronger military positions, economic gains, etc.

The imperialists and the Iraqi and Iranian bourgeoisie spread confusion and appeal to nationalistic and backward religious sentiments by raving about "centuries-old conflict", "holy wars" against the "infidels", Sunni vs. Shiite Muslims, etc. To get a clearer understanding of the nature of this war it is more revealing to examine it in relation to the politics of oil, and specifically, to the recent developments within OPEC.

It is very interesting to note that this all-out phase of the war comes at a crucial time in an OPEC struggle over oil prices. A split within OPEC, something which Western imperialist powers have been openly desiring for some time, has been developing. It became acute at the preliminary price discussions in September, in which the bloc led by Saudi Arabia was opposed by Iran, Algeria, and Libya. The Saudi proposal was geared toward a schedule of controlled, slow price increases, indexed to inflation in the Western imperialist countries, and obviously more to the interests of the U.S., Great Britain, France, and other oil-importing countries of the Western bloc. The countries that objected want a more open structure of prices, without controls, which could rise according to their actual import costs. Due to the war, the November OPEC meeting was cancelled. This was the meeting that was to have resolved the conflict over prices.

Another factor is the recent oil glut that was receiving a good deal of publicity in the weeks prior to the outbreak of the war. The excess oil on the market was so great that a discount of up to \$5 per barrel on the spot market was being offered by some countries. After a few days of war, the loss of oil production due to the destruction of oil facilities and stopping of transportation had reached something like 3.5 million barrels per day, rapidly wiping out any glut. The discounts were dropped, and prices once again rose to their maximums. As a result of the war, it is now being predicted that oil prices will go up to a high of upper \$30's or possibly into the \$40's, per barrel.

It is becoming quite clear also that Iraq aims to annex Khuzestan province, location of the Abadan refineries. The oil production of this region, combined with that of Iraq, would give it a potential for production that would rival Saudi Arabia, which is the world's largest oil producer. Iran, for its part, is fighting to hold on to the territory annexed by it, "legitimized" in the 1975 treaty signed by the Shah. This treaty gave Iran the right to the Shatt al Arab region, vital to the control of Persian Gulf shipping. Both Iraq and Iran are whipping up antagonisms on the basis of Arab against Persian, Sunni against

*What we have written about is the present alliances between the various imperialist blocs with Iran and Iraq. This does not rule out that, say, the U.S. and Russia will in the future, even the very near future, switch sides, as imperialists have historically done. While each is presently supporting one side, there is evidence they both are playing both sides of the street and probing to see just how much influence they still have with the Iranian and Iraqi governments.

Shiite Muslim, in order to justify their annexationist aims. They utilize legitimate desires for national emancipation on the part of various peoples of the region as pawns to strengthen the position of their respective bourgeoisies, and obscure their true puposes.

Relationship to Inter-Imperialist Rivalry

Various countries are lining up with one or the other side in this war, revealing even more clearly their relationship to the rival imperialist blocs of the U.S. and Russia. Confusion is being spread by the U.S. government, trying to portray Iraq as in the Russian camp, receiving arms from Russia, etc. What is being covered up is that for several years, Iraq has been moving closer to the Western imperialist bloc. For example, France is now its major arms supplier, with a recent \$1.6 billion arms contract. Iraq has also condemned the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. In April Iraq vowed to help overthrow the Russian client regime in South Yemen, offering support to a group formed for that purpose. South Yemen is of key importance to Russia in terms of its position in the Middle East, as Russia has established a large military base there. Its loss would be costly. Back in April of this year, the Russians denounced Hussein of Iraq as a lackey of the U.S.

In addition, it is apparent that Iraq has formed a bloc with Saudi Arabia within OPEC, backed up by the smaller and weaker Gulf States. All of these countries, whose economies are basically state oil monopolies, are dependent on the Western imperialist countries. Regardless of whatever feudal relations may remain internally, they are all well integrated into the international system of capitalist economic relations. All the Gulf states have voiced their support of Iraq in the present war against Iran.

The Khomeini regime has found itself increasingly isolated internationally. Its only friends in the present war are Syria and Libya, which are presently planning to merge. Both have economic and military ties to the Russian bloc. In fact, in early October, in the midst of the war, Russia signed a "friendship" pact with Syria, pledging military assistance if Syria is attacked. Russia is thus trying to exploit the war to gain an advantageous position with Iran, seeking to consolidate and expand its influence in the Middle East, which is weaker in relation to that of the U.S. bloc. Recently, Libya announced its open support to the Iranians.

There are some indications that this war might have also been initiated to get rid of the Khomeini regime. His regime has proved to be troublesome for the U.S., which has suffered considerable losses economically and militarily, as well as politically through the hostage situation. It is also troublesome to the Persian Gulf rulers, including Hussein of Iraq and the Saudi princess since Khomeini is continually calling for their overthrow as "corrupt", "infidels", "traitors to Islam", etc.

Reports came out in the press (*Washington Post*, Sept. 20, 1980) of a secretive meeting in Bonn, presumably to seek a negotiated settlement of the U.S. vs. Iran situation before the November elections. Undoubtedly, this meeting also included discussions of contingency plans in the event that negotiations did not succeed (evidently they did not). A list of those in attendance at this meeting gives a good indication

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APPEAL TO ALL REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISTS

Economic and political crisis is sweeping the world. All the imperialist powers are frantically competing over export markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of capital investment. The uneven economic and political development of the various imperialist powers drives them towards redividing the world through force. Imperialism intensifies all the contradictions of capitalism to such a degree that the "peace" that prevails today is nothing but a breathing spell between wars: wars between the imperialist powers to redivide the world for the profit of the imperialists.

These wars are an inevitable feature of imperialism. Already imperialism has plunged the world into two world wars and innumerable wars of colonial conquest. Today, however, imperialist world war is not only an inevitable prospect but something being actively prepared for by all the imperialists who are becoming more bellicose and warmongering everyday. For years the imperialists have waged wars against the oppressed peoples of the world to enslave them and to redivide this or that colony, semi-colony or dependent country, in favour of one or another group of imperialist robbers. The politics of the coming interimperialist war are the politics of today, the politics of unbridled economic, political and military competition between the imperialists to prepare for a military redivision of the world.

This war is made all the more inevitable by the fact that there are so few organized forces opposing the imperialist war plans. Once Communists the world over stood in opposition to the imperialist war. The Communists led the revolutionary proletariat in class struggle before, during and after wars. Today, however the overwhelming majority of so-called Communists have sold themselves to their imperialist masters. Bribe and corrupted by the superprofits of imperialist exploitation, they stand today as a bulwark of the imperialist system which they defend with every

kind of demagoguery in order to prevent the revolutionary proletariat from its historic mission of ending imperialist war for all time by overthrowing the imperialist system and replacing it with the socialist system.

These social-chauvinists align themselves with one imperialist bloc or another. Some support the Western imperialists; others support the Russian imperialists. Even before the war they are organizing support for one of the groups of imperialist robbers in the coming war. These "Communists" do not represent the proletariat, they represent the imperialists in the labour movement.

War is an inevitable result of class society and the continued existence of the imperialist system and war can only be put to an end by the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism and class exploitation. No pacifist illusions will prevent war, only the revolutionary action of the international proletariat to turn the war into a civil war, a revolution against the bourgeoisie of all the imperialist countries and a national revolutionary struggle in oppressed nations against imperialism will put an end to the imperialist system and put a final end to the carnage of war. The proletarians consider it a crime to fire at each other for the profits of capitalists, and must instead turn the guns against their "own" bourgeoisie. The proletariat must struggle against the imperialist war preparations by preparing the proletarian revolution.

The line of revolutionary Communism has always been to transform imperialist wars into civil wars against the bourgeoisie. This stand started before the first imperialist world war and was upheld against the betrayal of social-chauvinists and social-pacifists by the internationalists, the revolutionary Communists led by Lenin and the Bolsheviks. It is in this tradition that this appeal is made. We call on all those who uphold the cause of proletarian revolution and socialism to break with the social-chauvinist

"Communists" and the social-pacifist "Communists" to build once again a real Communist International to lead the cause of world revolution.

It is not enough to oppose the war with words, and to favor peace it is not enough to utter empty phrases about proletarian internationalism as the "centrists" do. There is no possibility of real peace under capitalism. To preach peace instead of revolution is to betray the proletariat and condemn the world to an endless series of wars. These social-pacifists also serve the imperialists by sabotaging the preparation of civil war and its execution by spreading pacifist illusions. They mystify and deceive the proletariat and try to deroute it from the only path to end imperialist war. We must break with these deceivers of the proletariat and once again re-establish the principles of revolutionary Communism. We must uphold the programme of revolutionary defeatism, the transformation of the war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie and support and conduct national revolutionary wars in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries against imperialism.

We call on all revolutionary Communists to join us in

preparing the proletarian revolution against the imperialist war.

We call on all revolutionary Communists to join us in preparing to transform the imperialist war into a civil war, a civil war against the bourgeoisie and for socialism.

We call on all revolutionary Communists to join us in supporting the revolutionary struggle of all oppressed nations against imperialism's war to redivide the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries.

We call on all revolutionary Communists to join us in preparing a Conference against imperialist war which will draft a Manifesto to the international proletariat upholding the revolutionary principles of Communism defining the character of the upcoming war and the tasks of the proletariat against the war.

It is our proletarian internationalist duty to work together to accomplish this vital task. The number of revolutionary Communists may be small but it is with them we stand, because they are the only ones who in reality represent the aspirations and hopes of the revolutionary proletariat to live in a world free from war.

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE! WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES UNITE!

**L'Union de Lutte Communiste
Linea Bolchevique
La Voie Ouvrière
Bolshevik Union
En Avant!
Bolshevik League**

**Upper Volta
Puerto Rico
Ivory Coast
Canada
Togo
United States**

INTERNATIONAL BOLSHEVIK CONFERENCE and the APPEAL...

War — an imperialist war to redivide the world — is the key point on the agenda for the imperialist "great" power blocs led by the U.S. and Russia. Both blocs have been rearming and preparing its forces for a global confrontation.

But in the U.S. and throughout the world there exist false "friends" of the working class, opportunists, who under the stolen flag of "socialism" and "communism" actually build support for the coming imperialist slaughter. These so-called "communists" or "socialists" have either been calling for workers to unite and strengthen the NATO bloc because of Russian "superpower" ambitions as in the case of the Chinese style "communists" or to support the Russian and Warsaw countries against the "fascist U.S." as in the case of the Russian and trotskyite style "communists" and "socialists". All these social-chauvinists want workers to die for one or the other imperialist bloc. Then there exist other so-called "communist" like the Party of Labor of Albania, who though say that the U.S. and Russians are "superpowers" bent on imperialist war, they claim that it is possible to prevent imperialist war through a peace movement. These centrist, social-pacifists claim that

if the peace movement does not stop imperialist war, then it is the task of workers to unite with "freedom loving" forces in a war of liberation against the "superpowers". And who are these "freedom loving" forces? The great imperialist powers such as France, Germany, Canada, etc., and various national-reformist bourgeoisies in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In effect, they too are leading the workers and oppressed people to doom for they fail to call on all the workers and toilers to turn the imperialist war into a *Civil War*, a war for socialism, a war to get rid of capitalism. There are those who occasionally call for turning the imperialist war to a civil war, but in reality pursue anarchistic and suicidal tactics that will lead the working class to slaughter. Groups such as these include in the U.S. the Maoist sects, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the Communist Workers Party (CWP), who try to lead rebellions at the most inopportune and disadvantageous times for the proletariat. Such petty-bourgeois "revolutionaries" only bring down further repression on the working class, and the isolation and suppression of real communists, and are thus really social-fascists and social-imperialists.

Opposing these two trends of social-chauvinism and social-pacifism is emerging an internationalist, revolutionary communist trend.

For the first time since the death of J.V. Stalin, an international conference of Bolsheviks was held which have issued an *Appeal to all Revolutionary Communists*. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia which took place during the first world war is the great example which inspires the true internationalist today as to what path to take in the wake of an imperialist war. Once again the proletarian internationalist banner of turning the imperialist war into a civil war is being upheld.

This conference and the appeal represents the beginnings of the rupture with the social-chauvinist and centrist swamp which has been dominating the international communist movement. Bolsheviks from six countries have issued a call to all Revolutionary Communists to prepare an international conference in order to draft a manifesto to the international working class upholding the revolutionary principles of communism, defining the character of the upcoming war and the tasks of the working class against the war.

Those who fail to answer this appeal are revealing their own social-chauvinism, centrism and/or narrow nationalist mentality. Upholding *internationalism* in words, while failing

to uphold this appeal made by Bolshevik from imperialist countries, colonies and semi-colonies, is but to only display ones opportunism in deed. That shades of opinion exist amongst revolutionary Communist is no excuse not to take an *internationalist* stance against the preparations for imperialist war. It is imperative that revolutionary Communists stand up internationally and jointly state that they will not support their "own" bourgeoisie in the slaughter of workers of other countries in their fight for oil, etc. To wait for the outbreak of war is but to aid the slaughter of the workers of the world. The workers of all countries will not be able to overthrow the yoke of capitalism and its wars if its leaders, the revolutionary communists cannot come together and fight under the real banner of proletarian internationalism, against the entire imperialist system.

The Bolshevik League call on all revolutionary communists, workers, and toilers to discuss and take a stance on this appeal. Revolutionary Communists in the U.S. must come together and partake in this task. The fight to construct a party of the U.S. working class cannot be separated from the task of preparing the working class against imperialist war. We therefore call for the widespread distribution of the appeal and the coming together of revolutionary communists in the U.S. to prepare the conference of *Internationalists*. ★

Elections (cont. from p. 1)

Reagan-Ford "co-presidency", which was proposed by David Rockefeller and Henry Kissinger, failed. They then got Rockefeller's personal choice for president, Bush, as vice-president, serving under a 70 year old Reagan. Kissinger, the long-time Rockefeller family adviser, will certainly have some key role under Reagan. George Shultz, a director of the Rockefeller-dominated Council on Foreign Relations, and Labor and Treasury Secretary under Nixon, is chairperson of Reagan's Economic Policy Coordinating Committee. Although much influence of the Sunbelt and extreme right elements remains, the strongest sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie now have a firm foothold in the Reagan camp. This has resulted in Reagan "moderating" his positions on various issues, such as tax cuts, social security, OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration), China etc., While Reagan and his backers have always been strongly against even limited cooperation between the U.S. and Russia (the deals known as "detente"), the Rockefeller group itself has largely dropped detente as the capitalist crisis deepened and the preparations for imperialist war heightened. This situation created a basis for a closer alliance of these rival capitalist groups. Still, it is a most delicate balance. The last time a California politician beholder to the Sunbelt capitalists teamed up with Rockefeller's brain trust was the Nixon administration. Significantly, that alliance took place in war-time. Now is another period of intense war preparations. However, that alliance blew apart in the Watergate affair (see *Bolshevik Revolution*, No. 2 & No. 3 for this analysis). A repeat performance should not be unexpected.

When examining the financial interests behind Carter, it must be remembered that the major capitalist groups usually finance both major candidates. In 1976, Carter emerged from political obscurity via Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission, from where came over 20 cabinet-level and other key officials. Ford, then as much as now, was also a creature of similar financiers. Anyone elected president must represent the entire capitalist class and only lean so much towards one group or another. If he does not, he is removed in one way or another, as were Kennedy and Nixon. This accounts for the fact that the financed groups behind Carter and Reagan somewhat overlap, especially among the Eastern-based financiers.

In Carter's corner is Irving Shapiro, a leading member of the elite Business Council, chairman of DuPont, and a board member of I.B.M. and Citicorp (Citicorp's ranks are split, with Chairman Walter Wriston pushing Reagan while other officials are for Carter). Besides backing by the Atlanta-based Coca-Cola group, behind Carter are major capitalists from Waiver Communications, American Express, Philip Morris, Sergrams, the investment houses of Salomon Brothers and Paine Webber, New York realtors like Tishman and Trump, and on and on. Both Reagan and Carter have gotten enormous contributions from wealthy financiers, including through big corporations' "political action committees".

This year the capitalists have a third candidate, John Anderson. Among his key backers are Wall Street investment bankers George Ball of Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb, and also the Trilateral Commission and CFR, and Felix Rohatyn of Lazard Freres of Paris and New York, and of New York

Emergency Financial Control Board. These two investment houses are two of the three main international firms (along with Warburg Paribas of London) that concentrates on financial "advice" to the colonial and semi-colonial countries, that is, directing them to take loans (with very profitable interest re-payments) from the major Western banks. Fulfilling this economic interest, along with maintaining closer ties with the Western European capitalists (which, of course, include part of Lazard Freres' owners), forms much of the economic stance of these capitalists. They are upset at the crumbling of the Western alliance under Carter, and seek to repair it with Anderson, himself a member of the Trilateral Commission, CFR, and the U.S.-Japan Friendship Commission.

This, in brief, is who these three really represent. It should not be difficult to see that such a "democratic" choice is only a choice between which group of capitalists thieves will have the upper hand in the government for the next four years. "Democracy" under capitalism is only really democracy for the capitalists. The elections are nothing but a fraud and a deception to conceal the fact that the state in capitalist society is nothing more than a tool of the capitalist class to further enrich itself and exploit and oppress the working class and oppressed peoples.

Despite their rivalries, all the candidates represent the capitalist system. And, despite their ritual of empty promises, the fact is that all the candidates have basically the same platform for "solving" the grave crisis capitalism is in. That platform can be summarized in one word: WAR.

Reagan has taken the most openly war-mongering stance. His chief foreign policy advisor is Richard Allen, a former representative of major Portuguese companies with large investments in Portugal's old African colonies. He is now with the anti-detente and anti-SALT II Committee on the Present Danger, a collection of capitalists, military men, and academies that demand virtually unlimited military spending. Reagan's new ally, Kissinger, himself secretly sent U.S. military personnel to Angola in 1975 to aid South Africa against the pro-Russian MPLA. Kissinger, along with its patron Rockefeller, were involved in the intrigue that brought the Shah to the U.S., provoking the Iranian hostage crisis that gave the U.S. an excuse to attack Iran to try to regain control of its oil.

The Sunbelt and Western region backers of Reagan also want a North American Common Market to grab the oil of Canada and Mexico. Hence, they are prepared to invade a place like El Salvador to bolster military dictatorships to retain an iron hold on this region so vital for oil production and shipment. An unnamed high Reagan operative admitted in a recent interview: "Listen, El Salvador itself doesn't really matter. We have to establish credibility there because we are in very serious trouble." ("Mother Jones", Sept.-Oct. '80, p. 41) Both the Reagan and Kissinger forces have denounced in starkest terms the Sandinistas of Nicaragua, and oppose U.S. loans to them. They prefer to keep military stronger like Somoza, unlike the Carter forces, who see buying out the petty-bourgeois "revolutionaries" and making a few concessions as the surest way of maintaining imperialist

dominance in the Caribbean. Consequently, the national-reformist and revisionist forces in Latin America are either backing Carter directly or mainly denouncing Reagan (as Castro himself has done), while the right-wing militarist and fascist elements are backing Reagan.

To cover war preparations to grab sources of oil, a variety of rationales are being used. The Reagan camp in particular, besides supporting a return of prayers in the public schools, is using the Evangelical Christian movement, which enthusiastically supports him, although all three candidates are themselves Evangelicals. A key Reagan supporter, T.V. preacher Jerry Falwell, even has a book out entitled "Armageddon and the Coming War With Russia". All in the name of Christian "love", "charity", etc.

It is no secret that there is no love lost between the West European imperialists and Reagan. Because of the growing divergence of the economic and political interests of these with most of the U.S. bourgeoisie, and especially the Sunbelt forces, much of Reagan's forces of war preparations centers on Asia. He advocates a new permanent U.S. fleet in the Indian Ocean. Especially since Japan has now become the U.S.'s largest overseas trading partner, a development especially favorable to West Coast capitalists for obvious geographical reasons. The Reaganites call alliance with Japan "a pillar" of their views.

Bush's bad reception in China reflected the dilemmas the Reagan group faces in Asia. His campaign is full of registered, paid agents for the Taiwan rulers. Many electronics firms, such as General Electric (Reagan's former employer when he was a TV actor, later serving as a public spokesman), have very profitable, terroristically enforced cheap labor plants in places like Taiwan and South Korea. These electronic firms have also been constant funders of extreme pro-war groups like the American Security Council and the Committee on the Present Danger, all of which are strong among Reagan's backers. This places their economic and long-range political interests in opposition to the Beijing revisionists, who have their own designs on Asia. Yet the Beijing regime, a stronger and more popular force than Taiwan, could be and has been aiding the western imperialists in Asia in their rivalry with the Russian imperialists. The Rockefeller forces in Reagan's group would, at present, do everything possible to prevent a total rift with Beijing, whom they consider too important an ally to lose over some investments in Taiwan that they, needless to say, do not share in that much. Relations with China is thus another time bomb set to blow apart the alliance behind Reagan.

Carter has differences with Reagan, but *not* over the Pacific focus or war preparations in general. Carter revised traditional U.S. military strategy by no longer automatically committing U.S. forces in the Pacific to defend Western Europe if a war started there. Instead, these forces would be used either in the Pacific itself, or, if necessary, in the Persian Gulf to grab the oil. Pressure has been put on Japan, who the Carter group thinks is a more reliable imperialist ally than the Europeans, to rapidly re-arm. U.S. military forces in the Pacific have been beefed up, including plans for a new U.S. base in Australia for nuclear-aimed B-52 bombers.

Carter's military plans for a war for oil involve strengthening both conventional and nuclear forces. He has resumed

draft registration, established Rapid Deployment forces for the Persian Gulf and the Caribbean, and enacted an overall increase in military spending, in line with his "Carter doctrine".

The most dramatic move regarding nuclear strategy involved Presidential Directive 59, which openly adopted the doctrine of "limited" nuclear war. The problem the imperialists face with nuclear weapons is this: They wage war for profits, to seize sources of cheap labor, raw materials (like oil), and markets. An all-out nuclear war would destroy so much of the world that it would contradict the capitalist aims they sought by getting into the war in the first place. Yet they have these powerful nuclear weapons, and would like to use them in a war if it would not jeopardize their capitalist interests altogether. Hence, we get the idea of a "limited" nuclear war, where there is no all-out exchange, where nuclear weapons are used in a limited or regional capacity (preferably not on their own territory, but in a colony or semi-colony), and where one side surrenders or collapses with enough of its resources (or the resources of the colonies and semi-colonies it controls) left intact to make the war profitable for the victor. Yet a nuclear war can only stay "limited", and thus profitable to the imperialists, if the other side is militarily defeated badly enough to force it to surrender. This requires targeting of nuclear weapons primarily at the rival's military targets, and missiles and other delivery systems accurate enough to pinpoint these targets. In short, it is a plan for a devastating first strike capacity. Carter has merely implemented this plan. Contrary to what the bourgeois media usually says, this was *already* officially adopted as part of U.S. military strategy by Defense Secretary McNamara in the Kennedy administration, at least by 1962, in both secret and public speeches, despite official denials (see "Inquiry", Sept. 22, 1980, p. 10).

The differences between Reagan, Carter, and Anderson, like the differences historically between rival monopoly groups in the U.S., involve merely which alliances are key and which countries to invade first. All vigorously support arming the Israeli Zionists, although they differ on which concessions to make to which Arab national bourgeoisies. Besides supporting liberal, national reformist semi-colonial regimes in Latin America and Africa (Reagan, like Kissinger, would bolster ties with the racist South African regime), Carter would try to develop India as a U.S. vassal, possibly leading to a U.S.-China-India-Japan alliance to dominate Asia. Carter supported sending nuclear fuel to India, obviously to be used for nuclear weapons, while the Reagan and Kissinger forces vehemently opposed this and instead want to bolster ties with India's rival, Pakistan.

Anderson, despite his mask as the "peace" candidate, wants to preserve the Atlantic alliance more than Carter or Reagan. He took precisely the same position as most West European imperialists (and also one similar to Kennedy) by supporting the trade and Olympics boycott against Russia over Afghanistan, while criticizing Carter's abortive invasion of Iran and the decline of detente. Anderson's chief foreign policy adviser, George Ball, has nevertheless called for greater military spending and an expanded U.S. military presence in the world, and, if the Iran-Iraq war threatened oil routes, a joint U.S.-British-French occupation of the Persian Gulf. Ball also takes the European position that the U.S. should

Elections

seek a deal with the national-reformist PLO. Although Anderson has much less capitalist backing than his rivals, and thus almost no chance of winning, he too sees the only way out of the crisis of capitalism as war.

This is the "choice" we have. Even all their economic programs emphasize increased militarization of the economy (a key part of the so-called "re-industrialization" plans for greater government help for massive capital investment). The minor, middle class "third" parties, like the impotent Citizens Party or the Libertarian Party, push the impossible dream of going backwards from the monopoly stage of capitalism, imperialism, to the competitive, pre-monopoly stage. Others also clamour for "peace," which is impossible under imperialism, or support the aggression by the Russian imperialists, such as the revisionist Communist Party, USA and assorted Trotskyite counter-revolutionaries.

The elections show the complete bankruptcy of the imperialists and the middle class opportunists. The working class and oppressed peoples have no candidate or party in 1980, and we cannot vote for any of them. We must break with all of them and stand up for our own class interests. We must develop our own party, and not a reformist, electoral party, but a revolutionary working class party that can lead a socialist revolution to end imperialism and its predatory wars once and for all. ★

Correspondence

(cont. from p. 2)

is very readable and direct to the point.

When major issues are covered in the bourgeois media, it is nothing unusual for me to be asked "do you think that the BR will have something on that," this was especially true for the Miami rebellion.

I will say that your theoretical articles on Marxism-Leninism are great and they have really helped us a great deal. Also those articles on the coming imperialist war and the one on the trilateral commission has sparked a lot of healthful discussion as well as given us a deeper insight into those issues.

A Correspondent★

Dear Comrades,

I received a copy of the Bolshevik League's Political Statement. After reading the report I must admit that I never ready anything before that was either printed on newspaper, pamphlets, or in any other form that was as affirmative and clear in purpose as that of the Bolshevik League's Political Statement.

In fact, I haven't noticed how I've been being guided away from the teaching of Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin and of Comrade Stalin until I ready your organization's founding document.

A Correspondent★

Iran vs. Iraq

(cont. from p. 3)

of its importance. In addition to Deputy Sec. of State Christopher and U.S. National Security Council representatives, the meeting included West German Chacellor Schmidt, French President d'Estaing, British Primer Minister Thatcher, and U.S. specialists on Iranian finances on Iran and Afghanistan, etc.

A few days later, the war brok out. The situation resembles very much that of the invasion of Kampuchea by Viet-Nam—in that case Russia, in this case the U.S., using dependent countries (which also have a large stake in the gains) as surrogates to get rid of troublesome regimes and consolidate spheres of influence for one imperialist great power or another. While proclaiming its neutrality officially, the U.S. has sent highly sophisticated AWACS radar aircraft to Saudi Arabia. These radar craft can obtain detailed knowledge of all military activity within several hundred miles. The U.S. government has also stated that it would not remain neutral if Saudi Arabia was attacked. Obviously, it would *not* be Iraq that would be attacking it! The U.S. is also sending a 2000 man Rapid Deployment Force to Egypt in November, considerably strengthening its actual military presence in the Gulf region.

Local wars such as this, are a prelude to all-out imperialist war, and a part of its preparation. The opportunists, both social chauvinists and centrists, as always, take sides on such local wars as a prelude to their taking sides in an all-out imperialist war. The Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) of the U.S. for example, is staying true to its tradition of taking sides. Today it is supporting the Khomeini regime, as in the past it supported the Pol Pot regime of Cambodia against the Vietnamese invasion, lining up with the U.S. and China. In the same way it supports the guerrilla movements of Afghanistan, which are aligned with the U.S. bloc. In the case of Iraq and Iran, it takes the side which is aligned with the Russian imperialists, while issuing general denunciations of the "two superpowers". It gives Khomeini a slap on the wrist for "reactionary internal policies", while continually referring to the Iranian regime as "revolutionary", "nationalist" and "neutral". They call for the defense of Iran, faithfully following the Maoist nationalist line of "New Democracy", supporting the "patriotic" bourgeoisie's of this country.

For the international proletariat, there is no "right" side in this war. This is not a just war, in Marxist-Leninist terms. It is a war of conflicting imperialist interests, part of the world-wide inter-imperialist rivalry for a new redivison of the colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries by force, for the greater profits of the imperialist powers. As always, it is the masses who will be slaughtered, and as often happens, they will be tricked into sacrificing their lives under the banner of "national defense", "holy war", etc. Opportunist forces will rally to the banner of one imperialist bloc or the other, the centrists covering their position with "revolutionary-sounding" denunciations. The only correct position for the working class is to condemn both sides, to expose the imperialist interests at play, and to join with the genuine Marxist-Leninists to organize a struggle against the approaching imperialist war. ★