

# UNITY STRUGGLE

and

MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE!

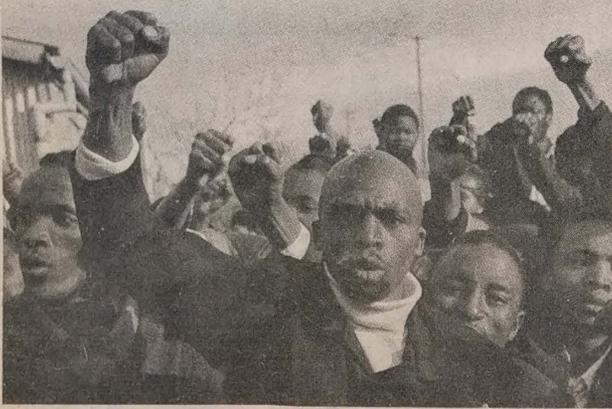
WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!!

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## DEATH TO SOUTH AFRICAN COLONIALISM!



The just struggles of the people of all countries support each other.

South Africa is in political turmoil because of the recent rise of rebellions of the heroic Azanian people and the reactionary crackdown and fascist repression against the masses in South Africa by the racist colonial Vorster regime. U.S. imperialism's apologists would like for people to believe that the Vorster regime will have a change of heart and lay down the butcher knives of white colonialism, that somehow UN resolutions will make Vorster the murderer & robber change into a man of peace and virtue. They say if you could just talk sense to Vorster, everything would be alright. So they advocate more "talks" with the racist South African regime. But what we must understand very clearly, despite all the lies of the bourgeois press—is that Vorster's regime is following a very clear logic!

It is a vicious logic that Chairman Mao summed up from the experience of the people's struggles throughout the world against imperialism. And it is this: "Make

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## Flames Of Azanian People's Struggle Cannot Be Extinguished!

## BAKKE CASE:

### MASSES STRUGGLE AGAINST DECISION

As this society speeds towards revolution, and doing this it speeds the disintegration of the capitalist system, we can see at all points the intensifying decay of so-called bourgeois democracy and its illusions. The latest case in point is the Allen Bakke case. Which is where a white student, at the University of California at Davis, sued that University, declaring that its quota system for admitting black and other minorities to its medical school violated his civil rights. What happened is that the University in its move to feign equality had laid aside 16 of 100 seats at the medical school for blacks and other minorities. This is supposed to be their way of making up for the slave trade, slavery, national oppression, and racism. By letting 16 blacks and other minorities into medical school each year no matter what. Bakke says he had better qualifications, better grades than the blacks and other oppressed minorities—so to bring them in the school and leave him out, is to practice reverse discrimination. Reverse discrimination so-called is now the codeword slogan and rallying cry of

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## MASSIVE LAYOFFS:

### Capitalism on its Deathbed

The recent series of attacks against the U.S. workers in the form of shutdowns and layoffs, especially in the steel industry, force more and more workers to ask the question: WHICH WAY CAN WE TAKE OUT OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS? 5,000 steel workers in Campbell, Ohio, 600 workers at Armco Steel Corporation, 650 at Akron's Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., all of these providing service to the Ford Lordstown plant in Youngstown, Ohio. Another 3,000 laid off in South Chicago, 340 at US Steel in Pittsburgh and still another 4,000 at Bethlehem's Lackawanna plant in New York. The so-called "economic recovery" that the bourgeoisie used to try to lull the workers to sleep with earlier in the crisis, was forced to fade out of the bourgeois press. Because the fact that the capitalist system cannot show the masses of people the way out of the hell of the imperialist economic crisis is becoming common knowledge.

In the steel industry, the capitalists have told the workers a whole series of lies, and the trade union bureaucracy in its betrayal of the interests of the workers, consistently attempts to lull the workers to sleep, so the working class cannot get itself together to fight the vicious attacks of the capitalist class against the American wor-

kers. So that in Youngstown, Ohio where the workers heard of the possible shutdowns and layoffs months and months ago, the bosses told the workers they had nothing to worry about because hard working factory hands like them should never fear losing their jobs. All this because they were tricking the workers into breaking production records so that the bosses could stock up on steel and lay the workers off! A long history of experiences in the working class movement has confirmed that modern capitalist society is a battleground of two major classes facing each other in a great political and economic struggle: on one side is this handful of super rich blood-sucking billionaires, such as the Rockefellers, the Morgans, Duponts, Fords, Mellons, and various other imperialist financial groups.

And on the other side stands tens of millions of American workers, black, Latin, Asian and white, i.e., the U.S. multinational working class. The millions of disinherited, who are forced to beg these super-billionaire moneybags for permission to work for them. The labor of these workers creates all the wealth, but all their lives they are forced to struggle for enough food, clothing and shelter to provide for their families, struggling for jobs as if it were "charity" from the capitalists, and suffering daily from the blows of the imperialist system. The current economic crisis intensifies the massive layoffs, shutdowns, the national housing crisis, the rise in police brutality and killer cops, and the cutback in all social programs.

The role of the traitorous leadership of the United Steelworkers of America, was to disarm the workers in their struggle in Youngstown, as they disarm the steelworkers throughout the country. The criminal No Strike clause that the two outlaws, Abel and McBride, agreed to behind the backs of the workers is a sample of their general role in the worker's struggles, to tie the hands of



Struggle against the layoffs and unite these struggle with the overall struggle for socialism! Life itself proves the Marxist position that economic crises (e.g., the layoffs, shutdowns, and cutbacks in vital social and health services and benefits, etc) are fellow-travellers of the capitalist system, that as long as private ownership and capitalist exploitation exist, economic crisis and misery for the masses will exist!

the working class, so that the working class cannot struggle to defend itself against the attacks of the capitalist class. This is why Lenin correctly labeled them long ago, the agents of the capitalist class inside the working class movement, and our experience has confirmed exactly what Lenin pointed out—that capitalism could not survive without the labor aristocracy (workers who have been bribed with fat salaries, special privileges, etc. and detached from the great masses of the working class) and the trade union bureaucracy (paid trade union functionaries and the trade union apparatus), which act as

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# WVO's Hegemonism Wrecks & Splits ALSC

At the last National Steering Committee meeting of the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) held in Washington, D.C., the Workers Viewpoint Organization, "administratively" (opportunistically and bureaucratically) purged all members of the Revolutionary Communist League (RCL) from ALSC. At this meeting the WVO read a resolution on the RCL which read, "Since the National Conference in July 1977, the RCL has intensified their obstructionist and splittist activities in ALSC. They have attempted to hold back and obstruct the work of ALSC by constantly arguing and filibustering the meetings, failing to carry out the work of ALSC and trying to undermine ALSC's attempts to push the work forward.

"We, therefore, resolve that members of RCL and those who support their obstructionist activities be removed from ALSC nationally and that the National Steering Committee (NSC) inform the chapters in writing of this resolution immediately."

It is interesting that just over two years ago RCL (then CAP and all other chapters) were purged for not accepting the line of the so-called "Revolutionary Wing" and now here we are again getting purged again except this time we are being purged by another of the members (at that time) of the "Wing". In fact even more interesting and slimy is the fact that the same people who were in the "Wing" then are now in the leadership of WVO, pulling the same thing as the "Wing". WVO was an active member of the "Wing" during the time they were trying to liquidate ALSC as a mass organization and make it into "Wing" cadre. What the WVO has done in terms of purging RCL and friends is almost identical to the "Wing" because they both attempted to squelch real line struggle; both attempted to "absorb" other organizations into their organizations as part of their "Party building motions"; both had no understanding at all of how Communists conduct themselves in mass organizations. Though here they differ because the "Wing" made "left" sectarian errors by trying to make every one in ALSC instant cadre and the WVO made right errors because they have tried at every turn to downplay the role of Communists in mass organizations, except for earlier this year when they were running around mouthing the idiotic "left" line that "ALSC should be built under the leadership of WVO".

This line was struggled against in meetings with them and in RCL propaganda. Perhaps in their resolution this was what they were talking about when they said RCL was "constantly arguing". Well, if that is what they mean when they say "arguing", then RCL must plead "guilty" as charged because the RCL does not uphold the bankrupt line of WVO's that they are the "basis for the genuine Communist Party" or that they have the "overall most correct line". Pure subjectivist trash. Objective history here in the US has shown that WVO (including open and hidden ones like the ones on the NSC of the ALSC) are right opportunists of a despicable ilk and this latest "trick" exposes them for what they really are: cowardly "communists". We say this because the WVO wants no real line struggle, in practice the line struggle they want is only through fantazied articles in their newspaper, to a certain extent in stacked forums and in closed "behind doors" meetings. Objectively what WVO and the Dangerous Duo before them have done is to serve imperialism in a very spectacular way by liquidating ALSC and keeping it in a state of chaos so that it cannot do revolutionary propaganda around the nature of the situation in Southern Africa and its relationship to the revolutionary struggle here in the US. This opportunist line has consistently sabotaged ALSC's efforts to work for a revolutionary united front between the revolutionary struggles in the US and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples and nations of the Third World.

Unity and Struggle will run a series to clarify some of the things we have just said here, and we will lay out the recent history of WVO in ALSC case by case (this is after they were kicked out of the "Wing" and reappeared at the ALSC conference in September in Atlanta, Ga.) so it will be clear why RCL and sympathizers were "purged" by the cowardly "communists".

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RED OCTOBER INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

In October RCL initiated a conference on the International Situation held in New

York City. This conference and many more are needed to do revolutionary propaganda to give the masses more clarity around today's complex world situation, especially in light of the sharpening of all the fundamental contradictions in the world and the raging polemic in the international communist movement around who are our enemies and who are our friends. Questions of the basic orientation of the revolutionary forces in the battle against imperialism which must be answered so that the international pro-

gress, ALL OF WVO QUICKLY EXITED AND NEVER CAME BACK! Are they still going to the bathroom (?) or is this another example of their running from line struggle? The former is possible, but the latter is what happened. One comrade from WVO even had an armful of newspapers and didn't even wait to sell any, why?

RCL has criticized itself internally for several presentations we made at the conference, they were not well prepared and speeches were not lively. Another error

that we made was informing LPR of a time limit on their speech for the evening workshop, but not editing our own presentation so that we ended up making a speech twice as long as LPR and LPR has commented that they edited parts of their speech that would have clarified their positions.

The League for Proletarian Revolution's appearance at the International Conference, while positive in some ways, was marred by their lack of firmness, almost (cont. on p.5)



The experience of the people in the African Liberation Support Committee confirms what V.I. Lenin pointed out, i.e., that it is impossible to struggle against imperialism without a long and determined struggle against opportunism. Imperialism and opportunism have been shaking hands in ALSC for several years now, by sabotaging an effective anti-imperialist mass organization that once mobilized tens of thousands of black people in opposition to imperialism and colonialism in Southern Africa. The struggle continues!

letariat can guide these revolutionary struggles through to the end.

This is a question of first importance for the revolutions throughout the world and we must do much more work around this burning question. Several communist and anti-imperialist organizations were invited and participation in this joint effort was very good. But we can always do better and RCL is right now in the process of summing up our work around the conference so this can be printed in the next issue of this paper. But we have some initial criticisms and self-criticisms we have already discussed. Concerning WVO, we invited WVO to participate in one of the workshops so they could present their line as well as engage in line struggle. The holders of the so-called "most correct line" REFUSED, mumbling about "that was not the way they see Marxist-Leninists uniting", that "LPR was not recognized as genuine", and that they see the way they "are working with RCL as the correct way for uniting Marxist-Leninists". The way they are referring to is behind the doors meetings and through their newspaper (where they can distort without any interference at all). This clearly shows the blatant opportunism of WVO. If they have the "overall most correct line" why won't they put it out so that other communists and advanced forces can unite with it? Or is it so incorrect and raggedy that it could not stand up in a forum?

And even before this we knew that the Anti-Imperialist Cultural Union (AICU) had asked the New York ALSC to give a message of solidarity at their rally in support of the Ethiopian peoples struggle against the two superpowers. WVO dominates this chapter, but instead of sending one of the chapter leadership there, they sent someone else in the chapter, so that they would not have to be there and engage in the discussion and line struggle. Let us note here that no one from WVO was present at all at the program. And they are continuing in this error because at a recent film showing of a film on Chinese liberation and the woman question at NYU, members of WVO attended the showing, but at the end of the film when the narrator announced that they would take a short break and come back for some discus-

## INTERNATIONALIST GLOSSARY

### THREE WORLDS THEORY

This theory makes it clear: The two imperialist superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, constitute the first world. They have become the biggest international exploiters, oppressors and aggressors and the common enemies of the people of the world, and the rivalry between them is bound to lead to a new world war. The contention for world supremacy between the two hegemonist powers, the menace they pose to the people of all lands and the latter's resistance to them — this has become the central problem in present-day world politics. The socialist countries, the mainstay of the international proletariat, and the oppressed nations, who are the worst exploited and oppressed and who account for the great majority of the population of the world, together form the third world. They stand in the forefront of the struggle against the two hegemonist powers and are the main force in the worldwide struggle against imperialism and hegemonism. The developed countries in between the two worlds constitute the second world. They oppress and exploit the oppressed nations and are at the same time controlled and bullied by the superpowers. They have a dual character, and stand in contradiction with both the first and the third worlds. But they are still a force in the struggle against hegemonism. This theory summarizes the strategic situation concerning the most important class struggle in the contemporary world in which the people of the whole world are one party and the two hegemonist powers the other. The internal class struggles of various countries are actually inseparable from the global class struggle. Therefore, this theory of the differentiation of the three worlds is the most comprehensive summing-up of the various fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world. This scientific thesis of Chairman Mao's has enriched the theories concerning the uneven development of imperialism and the contradictions between imperialist countries inevitably leading to war, concerning social-imperialism, concerning the struggle of the oppressed nations as

forming an important component of the socialist revolution of the world proletariat, concerning the mutual support between the international proletariat, the socialist countries and the national-liberation movements and concerning the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution — all of which are important contributions to Marxism-Leninism.

Small wonder the Soviet social-imperialists have viciously attacked this brilliant theory of Chairman Mao's. They cannot be expected to admit that the Soviet Union under their rule has become an imperialist superpower and the most dangerous source of another world war, just as renegades and aggressors cannot be expected to admit what they are. They frantically malign the theory of the three worlds as renouncing class struggle and lumping socialist countries together with capitalist countries, and so on. Not only is their abuse directed against the great Marxist Chairman Mao and the great Communist Party of China, it is hurled at the great Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as well. For, as we have seen, in principle Chairman Mao's differentiation of the three worlds completely accords with the criterion set by Marx and Engels in the latter half of the 19th century for differentiating the political forces in Europe according to their attitude towards the Russian tsarist empire. Similarly, it accords with Lenin's classification of the world into three types of countries after World War I and Stalin's division of the countries before World War II into aggressor and non-aggressor countries and into the fascist camp as distinct from the anti-fascist camp during the war. Moreover, it is a logical development from their theories on differentiating the world's political forces. True, those who frenziedly calumniate the theory of the three worlds still style themselves "loyal successors" to Lenin's cause, but when we judge a person, can we go by his mere words and not by his deeds? If we judge them by their deeds, doesn't it become clear that it is they who have betrayed the proletariat in the class struggle and made a socialist country degenerate and become a capitalist one?

# MOTION!!

**COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE,  
NATIONS WANT LIBERATION  
PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION!**

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

"In Southern Africa the people of Zimbabwe are struggling against the illegal and racist regime of Ian Smith, one of the most notorious regimes in the world. This struggle, which is a revolutionary people's armed struggle, has deep roots among the Zimbabwean people. The just struggle of the Zimbabwean people has gained the solidarity and support of many countries and of the people of the world." The just objectives of this struggle have gained such widespread support around the world that not even the imperialist dare to openly support the racist regime of Ian Smith. "With the excellent international and national situation in their favor the masses of the people are surging forward with tremendous strength. The revolutionary forces have liberated 1/3 of Zimbabwe from under the yoke of the illegal and racist regime of Ian Smith and in another third of the country armed struggle is being carried out.

The principle of "we are our own Liberators" has been a sharp weapon in the hands of the people of Zimbabwe and its revolutionary organization, the Zimbabwe African National Union

(ZANU), and has led the people of Zimbabwe to their present victory and guarantees the final victory. In spite of the enemy's modern war industries and atomic weapons, it is the people and the people alone who make the history of Zimbabwe. It is because of this principle that ZANU attaches great importance to the mobilization of the masses and the carrying out of political work among them.

The people of Zimbabwe in the process of their New Democratic revolution have consolidated their unity and have formed "The Zimbabwe Patriotic Front." The revolutionary movement upholds and

Zimbabwe. U.S. imperialism tries to save its vested interest in Zimbabwe by depicting itself as the defender of the so-called "black majority rule". The other superpower, the Soviet Union, depicts itself as the "friend and natural ally" of the peoples of Southern Africa and is plotting to extend its influence to replace U.S. imperialism. But the people of Zimbabwe are aware of these conspiracies.

The people of Zimbabwe do not want to replace Ian Smith with new masters. The decadent plots of the two superpowers and all other imperialists to turn Zimbabwe into a new colony will be crushed. The people of Zimbabwe, in particular the toiling masses, will certainly put an end to the illegal regime of Ian Smith, imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism and racism and establish a free, independent, democratic and prosperous Zimbabwe.

## MIDDLE EAST

**PEOPLE BEAT BACK ZIONIST  
AGGRESSORS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON**

For 10 days, from Sept. 16-26, the Israeli army equipped with tanks and heavy artillery invaded southern Lebanon, making one air raid after the other, and blocking the port of Tyr with its warships. For 10 days, Zionist troops attacked the villages of Kfar Chouba and Kfar Hamman, leaving over 100 dead among the Lebanese and Palestinian population and forcing dozens of families to flee.

This open attack by the Zionist state shows its mounting aggression. It doesn't respect any boundaries, sets up new colonies by force in occupied territory and continues to trample under foot all the rights of the Palestinian people. The Israeli Zionist state was condemned by the people of the world in the UN for its

military training to the fascist Falangist troops and a host of deadly weapons to use against the Lebanese and Palestinian masses. Actually they have nourished these armed attacks in So. Lebanon for 10 years! The raidings and air bombings against hundreds of thousands of Palestinians that the Israelis have driven from their homeland in Palestine cannot dampen the revolutionary determination of the Palestinian people to liberate their homeland.

## U.S.A.

**DEFEND PEREZ AND ALBA!  
VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE!**

The vicious repression of David Perez and Vicente Alba represents the height of futility for the FBI and police since it's obvious by these arrests they do not have the vaguest idea who they're after. But at the same time, these arrests are significant because they show that the bourgeois state is now openly, blatantly with no cover, spreading its repression to activists they want to get rid of no matter where they are or what they might be doing. The FBI knows full well that David Perez and Vicente Alba had nothing to do with the FALN bombings, they know David Perez and Vicente Alba are not members of the FALN. But they also know that David Perez and Vicente Alba are long time strugglers against US imperialism, particularly US imperialism in Puerto Rico and national oppression against the Puerto Rican people in the US. The chauvinism of the arrests is fantastic. "PUERTO RICAN ARRESTED" cried the headlines of the bourgeois standard, The New York Times. Yet when they arrest members of the Weather Underground do the headlines say, "WHITE PERSON ARRESTED"?

The charges the government lays out against Perez and Alba are sheer nonsense: the possession of leaflets around a given number of issues. Any advanced person in society will pick up leaflets of important struggle in the society. Obviously now the bourgeoisie is saying possession of information about US imperialism is a crime! And this is in tune with the constant rightward

while the Jimmy Carter Snake Oil and Revival hour is on the set. Despite Andrew Young tapdancing around the globe in the name of US imperialism, trying to trick people into believing that US imperialism has, like and unlike leopard, changed his spots. No matter these illusions, the US society is moving steadily to the right, increasing repression, and now it can be seen using informers to set up activists as they did in the 60's to crush the growing mass consciousness that is the result of thousands and thousands of people trying to grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

The Perez-Alba matter should also be a warning to revolutionaries that the key question today is the matter of Marxist-Leninist Unity. If the formulation by which we lay out our two tactical and simultaneous tasks towards building a Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, based on MLM, Marxist-Leninist Unity is principal. It is the unity of the ML's that will add to the widening numbers of Advanced Workers that will be won to communism. The disunity and fragmentation of the Communist Movement today, is one reason the FBI, etc. can without any evidence at all, move in to bust known activists in the Puerto Rican liberation movement. The fragmentation and splits the FBI achieved in the black liberation movement and student movements by the end of the 60's and into the 70's they are now trying to duplicate in the anti-revisionist Communist movement.

Certain irresponsible comrades, and the lunatic fringe of the movement give their whole energies to continual denunciation but never once lay out the process of Unity-Criticism-Unity which is the key to building a revolutionary party and a revolutionary movement. Certain groups suffering from what Mao Tsetung called "Small group mentality" think that the Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party that we need here in the US will spring full blown out of one small organization's head. But the scientific formulation is **MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE-WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!** The busting of David Perez and Vicente Alba is an example of how the bourgeois state works in the midst of the movement's disorganization. They work inside our organizations and movements to spread this disorganization, then when they have certain people isolated, they strike. Just like during the late 60's, early 70's, they polarized the Black Liberation movement, then they began to pull capers like the bust of Bobby Seale for murder. The killing of the Panthers at UCLA. The murders of Fred Hampton and George Jackson.

## PANAMA CANAL TREATY

After struggling for decades, the Panamanian people finally pressed the U.S. Government into signing a new Panama Canal Treaty on September 7. The unequal U.S.-Panama Treaty which the U.S. forced on the Panamanian people in 1903 will be thus abrogated and the right of the U.S. to the "perpetual use, occupation and control" of the canal and its zone which granted under the treaty, abolished. This is a major victory for the Panamanian people's struggle to defend national independence and state sovereignty as well as for the struggle of the people of Latin America and the world against hegemony.

...The victory of the Panamanian people testifies to the irresistibility of the trend that countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. Although Panama is a small country with a population of 1.7 million, its people defy brute force and persist in struggle, thus making the Panama Canal "a thorn in the side" of U.S. imperialism. The victory of the Panamanian people is also an example showing that U.S. imperialism's hegemonic position in Latin America is steadily declining and that big-power hegemony and colonialism are suffering one setback after another in the face of the struggle of the oppressed people and nations for independence and liberation.

The signing of a new canal treaty in place of the old one can in no way signify the end of the struggle. There is still a gap of 23 years from the time the new treaty comes into force to the time of Panama's complete recovery of its sovereignty over the canal and the Canal Zone. In this period, the United States still maintains a certain amount of control and jurisdiction over the canal and the Canal Zone, and its warships still retain the right to expedite transit through the canal. This means that even after the new canal treaty comes into force, the Panamanian people will still have to wage

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The struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) is a component part of the world proletarian revolution! It is a national democratic revolution, a two stage revolution. The first step is the democratic revolution, which opens the door to the socialist revolution. ZANU initiated the correct slogan: WE ARE OUR OWN LIBERATORS. The only correct internationalism is working for the revolutionary movement & revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting the people's struggles in every country through propaganda, sympathy & material aid, etc. The Soviet Social Imperialist line of exporting revolution is criminal phrasemongering.

cherishes the sacred unity of the masses of the people of Zimbabwe against the common enemy. Without the unity of the people, victory will not be possible. The people of Zimbabwe stress this principle and condemn all liquidationist plots and efforts.

The imperialists, particularly the two superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, try to block the invincible onward march of the New Democratic Revolution in

expansionist and terrorist policy of setting up these colonies on occupied Arab territory.

People must study the facts closely and come to understand that the struggle for Palestinian national rights and the struggle for the recovery of lost Arab territory form one integral whole.

The Zionists have just recently admitted invading So. Lebanon and giving

motion of the society under Carter. No matter the thousand-toothed grin. This is exactly his purpose, propose a social democrat line, but move toward fascism. The Wilmington 10, The Dawson 5, Gary Tyler, Assata Sha'ur being tortured in New Jersey, the tremendous number of arrests during New York's blackout the reopening of the Tombs, the knocking down of gains in the struggle against women's oppression, the reversal

# PRE CIVIL WAR REVOLUTIONARY BLACK NATIONALISM

The series "Pre Civil War Black Nationalism" was put together in 1966, by Bill McAdoo, as part of the "Black Liberation Commission" of the Progressive Labor Party. McAdoo was one of those arrested for refusing to testify against PL's Bill Epton who was charged with "Criminal Anarchy" in the Harlem Rebellion in 1964. Obviously the Epton-McAdoo period, and the article itself, are from a time when PL was struggling to take progressive stands. Since then however, and sadly Progressive Labor has become the most outrageous carriers of the American sickness, white chauvinism, and are now not even a serious communist organization. Unfortunately white chauvinism has always stood in the way of the construction and growth of a truly vanguard communist party, in the USA. Now as then!

(This part is a continuation of the resolutions excerpted from the PLATFORM: OR DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS OF THE CLEVELAND CONVENTION)

"21. That all great achievements by the Anglo-Saxon race have been accomplished through the agency of self-interest.

"22. That the liberty of a people is always insecure who have not absolute control of their own political destiny.

"23. That if we desire liberty, it can only be obtained at the price which others have paid for it.

"24. That we are willing to pay that price LET THE COST BE WHAT IT MAY.

"25. That according to the present social system of civilized society, the equality of persons is only recognized by their equality of attainments,—as with individuals, so is it with classes and communities;—therefore, we impress on the colored races throughout this Continent and the world, the necessity of having their children and themselves properly qualified in every respectable vocation pertaining to the Industrial and Wealth

accumulating occupations; of arts, science, trades and professions; of agriculture, commerce and manufactures, so as to equal in position the leading characters and nations of the earth, without which we cannot, at best, but occupy a position of subserviency.

"26. That the potency and respectability of a nation or people, depends entirely upon the position of their women, therefore, it is essential to our elevation that the female portion of our children be instructed in all the arts and sciences pertaining to the highest civilization.

"27. That we will forever discountenance all invidious distinctions among us.

"28. That no people, as such, can ever attain to greatness who lose their identity, as they must rise entirely upon their own native merits.

"29. That we shall ever cherish our identity of origin and race, as preferable, in our estimation, to any other people.

"30. That the relative terms Negro, African, Black, Colored and Mulatto, when applied to us, shall ever be held with the same respect and pride; and synonymous with the terms, Caucasian, White, Anglo-Saxon and European, when applied to that class of people..." (26)

Nowhere in the entire document was there a word mentioned about emigration to Africa or anywhere else. Instead, this document is a brilliant statement of some of the fundamental concepts of revolutionary nationalism. What remains of the black nationalist influence is its valuable theoretical contributions to the national question.

Most of the precepts advanced in this document are self-evident. Number three states, in effect, that a nation must possess the land on which it resides in order to be sovereign. Number eleven states that no black man is free as long as some black men are enslaved. Number 15 unequivocally states that the black people must be united as one force on this continent (not Africa). Number 18 states that the black nation must be represented in a national capacity. Num-

bers 19-21 give the reasons for the necessity of revolution. Number 19 is a statement of the black nation's need for self-determination. Numbers 23-24 are statements of the necessity of revolution and the determination to pursue such a course. Number 25 reflects aspirations for black capitalism. The rest is self-evident. From the concepts of a nation and national character come the concepts of identity, historical pride, and national unity.

The distance between America and Africa turned many sincere, would-be followers of black zionism into revolutionary nationalists. It seems that it was easier to fight than to swim. Moreover, if America belonged to anyone, it belonged to the black man. As the revolutionary nationalist, David Walker, put it in his appeal to revolution in 1829 (Walker's Appeal):

"...Fear not the number and education of our enemies, against whom we shall have to contend for our lawful right... Let no man of us budge one step, and let slaveholders come to beat us from our country. America is more our country, than it is the whites — we have enriched it with our BLOOD AND TEARS. The greatest riches in all America have arisen from our property and homes, which we have earned with our blood? They must look sharp on this very thing will bring swift destruction upon them. The Americans have got so fat on our blood and groans, that they have almost forgotten the God of armies. But let them go on..."

## THREE ROADS

There were other fundamental differences between the reformists, black zionists, and revolutionary nationalists, which must be reviewed before we close the present chapter. At a State Convention of Ohio Negroes, held in Columbus, Ohio, January 15-18, 1851, a hot debate developed, ostensibly over the Constitution of the United States. The three black men who participated in this debate were H. Ford Douglass (black

zionist), William Howard Day (reformist), and Charles H. Langston (revolutionary nationalist). The debate arose over a proposed resolution by H. Ford Douglass, to the effect that no black man could consistently vote under the United States Constitution, because it was a pro-slavery document. But what was really at issue in this debate were the fundamental differences between the three political tendencies. As we shall demonstrate, after presentation of the document, the debate on the Constitution was merely a vehicle to air these differences. Here are excerpts:

H. Ford Douglass

"A Resolution was introduced by H. Ford Douglass: 'That it is the opinion of this Convention, that no colored man can consistently vote under the United States Constitution'— He spoke for it as follows: Mr. Chairman I am in favor of the adoption of the resolution. I hold, sir, that the Constitution of the United States is pro-slavery, considered so by those who framed it, and construed to that end ever since its adoption. It is well known that in 1787, in the Convention that framed the Constitution, there was considerable discussion on the subject of slavery. South Carolina and Georgia refused to come into the Union, without the Convention would the continuation of the Slave Trade for twenty years. According to the demands of these two States, the Convention submitted to that guilty contract, and declared that the Slave Trade should not be prohibited prior to 1808. Here we see them engraving into the Constitution, a clause legalizing and protecting one of the vilest systems of wrong ever invented by the cupidity and avarice of man. And by virtue of that agreement, our citizen went to the shores of Africa, and there seized upon the rude barbarian, as he strolled unconscious of impending danger, amid his native forests as free as the winds that beat on his native shores. Here, we see them dragging these bleeding victims to the slave-ship by virtue of that instrument, compelling them to endure all the horror of the 'middle passage,' until they arrived at this asylum of western Liberty, where they were doomed to perpetual (cont. on p.5)

## BAKKE (cont. from p.1)

the backward elements in society to stop any mechanical attempts at sham equality. What is so frustrating is that the 16 black, brown, yellow and red faces in the freshman class of the Univ. of California changes nothing at all in this society. Mr. Bakke's suit is in keeping with the period of reaction that we are going thru, in which the bourgeois state, edges further and further to the right all the time we are weighted down by the fake liberalism of smiling jimmy. The reversal of the rulings which had entitled women to compensation at their work when they were pregnant, the gradual restoration of the death penalty, the erosion of some of the gains of the black liberation movement in the 60's—this rightward move is not just spontaneous. As a result of the spontaneous uprising in the 60's, this is also being orchestrated by the bourgeoisie to take us as far away from revolutionary ferment as we can get.

The only reason those 16 have to be admitted in a special way into the medical school is because of continuous discrimination. Some opportunists have exposed themselves on this question, like the so-called friends of black people who have shown themselves to be straight out racists, for instance, the American Jewish Committee. And the black lackies like Bayard Rustin, who tells blacks that they should not resist this erosion of reforms because they are not as important as unemployment also reveal the extent of the perversion they are warped by. If we stop and think, we know that 16 minorities out of a population of 200 million is not going to make change, and that just to have this program is a pure example of tokenism and nothing else. It is really the bourgeoisie struggling among themselves, because the masses are not struggling to get into the Univ. of California Medical School. But this attack the Bakke case makes is important because it is aimed at creating a more conservative and right wing climate in the US, and the various organizations that were supposedly interested in Negro civil rights, are coming up on the wrong side of the question. This is good, and important that many of the so-called liberals are being exposed on this issue, because all this



The imperialist economic crisis worsens & the bourgeoisie increasingly reduces the economic conditions of the people and cuts away at basic rights, attempting to divide the people. The mass revolutionary struggle must close the ranks of the people vs the enemy.

can do is isolate them.

The entire society is gripped by recession, unemployment, and as the bourgeoisie has to draw it in more and more they have to shift more and more of the weight of their crisis onto the backs of the people. Revolution throughout the third world is also destroying some of the superprofits, and forcing the US imperialists to harass the people even more directly. The cutbacks, layoffs, speed-ups, reduction of social programs are all part the general crisis of imperialism, particularly the declining defensive U.S. imperialism. The elimination of minority programs in the universities such as the closing of Newark Rutgers night school, the threat to close the law school at Rutgers, the repeated threat to close down the art and music programs in the public schools, all

these things are part of the same attack the bourgeoisie is making on the people. The Bakke case is the flagship effort to spearhead and legitimize such anti-popular moves.

But in opposing the bourgeoisie's attempt to cutback on the peoples' movement against segregation and discrimination, we must also uphold the fact that letting the 16 students in is a trick too. And what's more by making us fight about the 16 students we are on the defensive. The real truth is that in order to get educational institutions that represent the needs of the masses that are oriented to teach the masses, we are going to have to change society itself. Reforms like adding 16 black and Chicano and Asian students to the freshman class, represent fake change and actually change nothing. In or-

der to have an all around change in education, we must have a socialist system not a capitalist system. Even in fighting against the racists who are using the doubletalk nonsense of "reverse discrimination" we must also point out the contradictions in the quota system, and the basic fact that capitalism cannot provide for the masses of people, only exploit them. The American Jewish Committee's bogus line that the Jews suffered from quotas so they should oppose quotas in the abstract is a vicious cover for their reactionary line in support of black national oppression and national exclusion. Blacks and other minorities suffered from zero quotas, the point is that we must understand the facts, and also understand the movement of the facts, i.e., how things change.

# Massive Layoffs

Continued from page 1

a fifth column inside the workers' movement. Their positions are a component part of monopoly capitalism and they are the sworn enemy of the interests of the working class. When capitalism is overthrown by the working class and its allies, the labor aristocracy and trade union bureaucracy will go too! And this is why the direction of the main blow must be aimed to isolate these social props of imperialism, that is, the labor aristocracy, the revisionists (fake communists) and the petty bourgeois politicians who are now leading the workers down a blind alley away from their liberation.

One of the unpopular songs sung by the bourgeoisie in the steel industry and their social props is to stop imported steel as if this was the cure—all for the imperialist crisis. This hogwash is not limited to the steel industry, the same trick is used throughout the United States from textiles to electronic equipment to cars. But let us look at the logic of this bourgeois slogan that the bosses have given to the social props in order to make chumps out of the workers.

In steel they say that Japanese imports are the problem, so they want us to believe that we must focus on getting a law passed in the Congress instead of uniting to fight against these layoffs and uniting this struggle with the struggle for socialism. Of course, the job of the social props is to go along with this lie, and to propagate it and lead us down a blind alley into the ranks of the army of the unemployed. First they told us, we shouldn't fight the capitalist. They said, we should "suffer peacefully" and then capitalism would save us. But now with the massive betrayal of the workers, the workers are pushing for mass action, striving to find a way out of the imperialist economic and political crisis. So the trade union leadership's duty to the bosses is to lead us from one blind alley to another, to keep us away from seeing the essence beneath the surface of the problem, the root cause of all our problems — the capitalist system itself!

Let us look at Japanese imperialism for a second. After World War Two, U.S. imperialism emerged as the top dog in the imperialist world. It became the Jaws among the other imperialist sharks. Even the old imperialist powers were temporarily under the control of U.S. imperialism. Then Joseph Stalin pointed out very clearly that Germany, Japan, Italy, Britain and France had fallen into the clutches of the U.S. But U.S. imperialism, in order to stall revolution and socialism and the revolutionary struggles of the Third World for national liberation and independence, was forced to rebuild its old enemies (German imperialism and Japanese imperialism) largely thru multinational corporations. But when Germany and Japan recovered, despite the wishes of the US bourgeoisie, Germany and Japan began to struggle against U.S. control over them, and they began to penetrate into the world imperialist market and they even penetrated into U.S. imperialism's home market. As the U.S. imperialist economy went from crisis to crisis, step by step, the value of the American dollar which was once king, began to decline, until finally there were a series of international monetary crises, and the dominant position of the U.S. trade was and is increasingly on very shaky ground! This is one aspect of the struggle between the second world and the superpowers, that has arisen based on the uneven development of imperialism.

All these rises and falls of the struggles of different capitalist financial groups and imperialist powers among themselves are fundamental to the imperialist system itself. These massive layoffs and shutdowns and the general economic, political and social crises of imperialism cannot be solved by any bourgeois congressional laws. This is another blind alley, a diversion away from the real struggle we must wage to defend the working class and oppressed nationalities against the vicious attacks of the bourgeoisie, as the bourgeoisie moves further and further to the right, and closer and closer to fascism.

**NO FUTURE FOR WORKING CLASS UNDER CAPITALISM!**

More and more people are awakening to the fact that under capitalism, conditions for the working masses will sink deeper and deeper into misery and oppression. The masses are awakening to the fact that the capitalists themselves are unfit to rule over our lives and capitalism cannot assure the basic necessities of life (food, clothing and shelter) for the great masses of workers and oppressed

peoples. Even when the U.S. and the Western imperialist countries held their capitalist summit in Europe on the economic crisis this year, the only solution that capitalism could see was to shift the brunt and burden of the imperialist economic and political crisis onto the backs of the great masses of working people and oppressed nationalities! Capitalism cannot guarantee job security, but poverty and misery and class and national exploitation and oppression are at the foundation of monopoly capitalism. And this is why we must propagate the truth: **THE ONLY REAL FUTURE FOR THE WORKING CLASS IS UNDER SOCIALISM!**

It is the role of the revisionists (fake communists), labor aristocrats, trade union bureaucrats and petty bourgeois politicians to act as the bodyguards for the capitalist system, by keeping the truth away from the workers' movement. And along with this, to keep the struggle of the workers inside the boundaries of capitalism, so that we can never free ourselves from the yoke of the capitalist system of wage slavery.

The experience of the working class struggle against the capitalist system in the U.S. and the rest of the world has confirmed the truth of Marxism-Leninism, that rebellions and strikes against the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression in and of itself is not enough to win our liberation from capitalism. "Rebellion needs to be guided by scientific theory; it needs ultimately to be rebellion of the workers, working people and other oppressed—not only produced by actual social conditions but guided by scientific theory." This science of revolution is Marxism-Leninism—Mao Tsetung Thought, the best of all possible weapons in the struggle against monopoly capitalism and national oppression. Without this revolutionary theory the working class is lost at sea like a ship without a compass. The revisionist and trade union misleadership don't want us to find a way out of the economic crisis — this is their traitorous mission to serve capitalism. Revolutionary Marxist-Leninists understand how society develops, how the imperialist system arose, why there is an economic crisis throughout the capitalist countries, and know the road which the workers must take to put capitalism in the garbage can of history and build a new life under socialism, and communism. Now, when the workers understand exactly where they are going, to paraphrase E.F. Hill, and if they understand what is the purpose of their struggle, then they are well armed in the struggle against the class enemy to liberate the working class from the imperialist system as the core of all oppressed peoples struggling against imperialism. But if the workers do not unite Marxism-Leninism with their struggle, they will remain wage slaves and paupers under the decaying, deathbound imperialist system. This is why it is a fundamental task of all true Marxist-Leninists to bring the science of revolution to the workers' movement. In order to bring the working class this mighty liberating weapon to use to solve our problems and overcome all difficulties in our struggle, Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces in the US must build a Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the US, based on the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism—Mao Tsetung Thought.

Despite a dozen dizzy proclamations, this revolutionary party that we all need to guide us in our struggle, the life and death class struggle against monopoly capitalism — this party does not exist! But there is a young Marxist-Leninist movement dedicated to building this party. The central task of all revolutionaries, the Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces, is the formation of this revolutionary party. The building of this party is a strategic task. And the tactics that will lead us in this work are guided by the slogans — Marxist-Leninist Unite! and Win the Advanced to Communism! Both these tasks must be developed in this period, but the unity of Marxist-Leninists is primary because it is Marxist-Leninists who must win the advanced to communism. And as long as Marxist-Leninists are disunited, the workers struggle is condemned to spontaneity.

The recent series of layoffs and the growing strike struggle of the workers underlines the conditions we see necessary for the calling of any serious party congress in the US by communists, and they are: 1) the unity of genuine Marxist-Leninists in the US; 2) the winning over of a sufficient number of advanced workers in the key industries to communism; and, 3) a revolutionary Party Program, developed based on the ideological struggle for the correct political line, around which genuine Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces can unite, a program to lead the working class and its allies in waging socialist revolution.

## Gang of Four

(cont. from p.11)



Chairman Mao initiated the struggle vs the criminal Gang of Four.

revolution of the old type, instead of the new democratic revolution which passed on to the socialist revolution without interruption!

Chang's attempted to distort the target of the revolution for the gang's own ends, by trumping up the article, "On Exercising All Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie" (see Peking Review no. 14, 1975, see page 9 especially). In this article Chang states: "If Marxism is limited, curtailed and distorted in theory and practice, if the dictatorship of the proletariat is turned into an empty phase, or all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie is crippled by amputation and exercised only in some spheres but not all, or only at a certain stage (for instance before the transformation of the system of ownership) but not at all stages, or in other words, if not all of the fortified villages of the bourgeoisie are destroyed but some are left; allowing the bourgeoisie to expand again, doesn't this mean preparing the conditions for bourgeois restoration? Doesn't it mean turning the dictatorship of the proletariat into a thing that protects the bourgeoisie." (our emphasis) What Chang is doing actually is attacking Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Constitution.

Both Chairman Mao and the Chinese Constitution state, "The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture." (Article 12, page 16 Chinese Constitution) Chang article is idealistic because what is called for by Chairman Mao and the constitution is ideological dictatorship over the national bourgeoisie. According to Article 14, pages 17-18 of the Chinese Constitution, "The state deprives the landlords, rich peasants, reactionary capitalists and other bad elements of political rights." As for the national bourgeoisie it is a matter of education and reform. "As their thorough remoulding can be achieved only in the course of work, they should engage in labour together with the staff and workers in the enterprises and regard these enterprises as the chief place in which to remould themselves. But it is important for them to change some of their old views through study. Such study should be on a voluntary basis..." (SELECTED WORKS OF MAO TSETUNG, Vol. 5, page 403)

Again, the Gang of 4 muddled the concept of scientific socialism on a series of questions. They spread the lie that socialist revolution and class struggle are the ULTIMATE GOAL of communists, but "To communists, socialist revolution and class struggle are means and not objectives; we should use these means to achieve our ultimate goal, i.e., the realization of communism through socialism." (Peking Review, No. 34, page 31)

The Gang of 4 were masters of babbling the r-r-revolutionary phase (Lenin) and used this tactic to undermine & tamper with Mao's revolutionary line. End Part One

## Flames of Azania

(cont. from p.8)

phy. And therefore, the allegations against us of anti-communism is just dunk, trash, unfounded and malicious slander. And we are not racists. Our position is quite clear. We have no fear. We stand on the basis of Africa for the Africans — a government of the Africans, by the Africans, and for the Africans — with everybody — irrespective of race, color, creed or religion—who accepts the democratic rule of an African majority being also regarded as an African. This is what we say. We are saying that the democratic rule of the African majority is decisive. Therefore, how can it be said that we are racists in the fatherland? We are not going to Europe or elsewhere and demand to have African majority rule there. Neither have they the right to come to Africa and say that the majority rule here must be of the minority whites. The whole thing is another slander.

CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE

**Panama Canal** (cont. from p.3)  
an arduous struggle in order to attain full sovereignty over the Canal Zone. It should also be pointed out that in recent years Soviet social-imperialism has stepped up penetration and expansion in Latin American countries and cast a covetous eye on the strategically important Panama Canal. But the Panamanian people who have stood the tests of protracted struggle will surely heighten their vigilance, strengthen unity and carry through to the end their just struggle to uphold national independence and attain full recovery of their sovereignty over the canal. (excerpts from Hsinhua Correspondent, Peking Review)

## ALSC Split

(cont. from p.10)

revisionist communist movement in the USA. And how much too the Gang of Two (Wing) reflects the Gang of Four's lines and how much the rest of us must do to understand and rectify the insidious, dangerous mark the Gang has made on all of us.

At the conference, ex-wingers raised the anti-Three Worlds Theory most vocally. Some ex-wingers purged by the Gang of Two have made rectification and now oppose the totally bankrupt line of the wing, but these opportunistic flotsam in the movement represented at the conference, now aligned with the U.S. clone of the reactionary "Canadian Communist Party M-L", show that they will hook up with any "Left" opportunist sectarian line, just as they pushed in the "wing". But LPR must show that it has repudiated the "left" phrasemongering of the Wing — who also "supports" the CPC, but pretends the Gang of Four purge has not happened — meanwhile picking up all the anti-Three World, and anti-CPC lines. Perhaps, if the comrades would actually STUDY the lines of the Communist Party of China, Three Worlds Theory and what the Gang of Four actually represented they would be able to take a firm stance in support of the Three Worlds Theory and abandon centrism and "left" errors. (NEXT ISSUE PART 2)

## A.A.N.Q. Position

(cont. from p.7)

the slavocracy ("In 1860," Kenneth Stamp points out, "there were in the South 385,000 owners of slaves distributed among 1,516,000 families. Nearly 3/4's of all free Southerners had no connection with slavery. The typical Southerner was a small farmer and a non-slaveholder." Half of the Slaves owned by about 25,000 masters (the Peculiar Institution operating large plantations) to make ever increased demands on the country, including the forcing of slavery West, attempts at re-opening the slave trade, fugitive slave acts, all served to force the coming of the Civil War. The South had developed finally a drive against the entire "free labor" system itself not just in the North, and had no other alternative but to try to force the slave system upon the entire United States. DuBois preps this when he says, "The war was not against slavery, it was fought to protect free white laborers against the competition of slaves; and it was thought possible to do this by segregating slavery." And again, "Emancipation was a war measure to break the power of the Confederacy, preserve the Union and gain the sympathy of the civilized world." The increased repression of the international cotton trade era brought a militancy among blacks against slavery that culminated with them having literally to fight their way into the Union Army, as most Northern leadership, even the abolitionists, and especially some of the Northern military leaders who were really copperheads (Southern sympathizers) were all opposed to black participation. It was only in desperation at the military situation that the North finally put the blacks formally in arms, under white commanders. The defeat of the South was brought about in part by the fact that the North had 200,000 black troops in arms at the close of the war.

- 1 Weatherford — The Negro From Africa to America — pp. 130-31
- 2 Woodrow Wilson "Division And Reunion" — pp.124
- 3 Weatherford — The Negro From Africa to America — pg. 131 END PART 2

## Re Civil War

(cont. from p.4)

chains. Now, I hold, in view of this fact, no colored man can consistently vote under the United States Constitution. That instrument also provides for the return of fugitive slaves. And, sir, one of the greatest lights now adorning the galaxy of American Literature, declares that the "Fugitive Law" is in accordance with that stipulation; — a law unequalled in the worst days of Roman despotism, and unparalleled in the annals of heathen jurisprudence. You might search the pages of history in vain, to find a more striking exemplification of the compound of all villainies! CONT. NEXT ISSUE

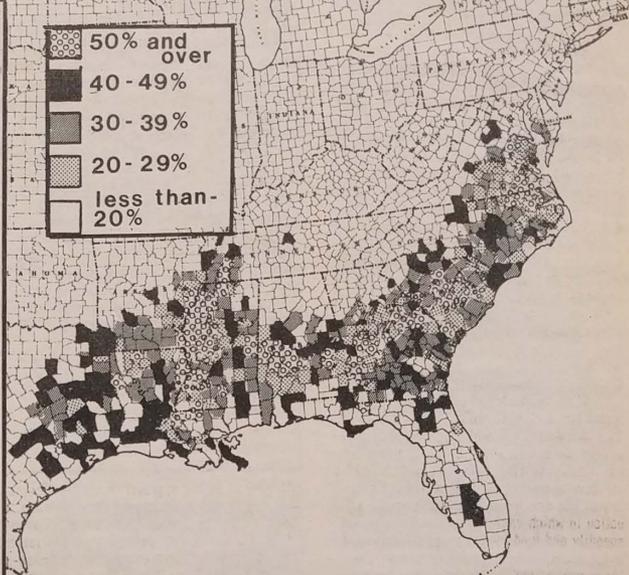
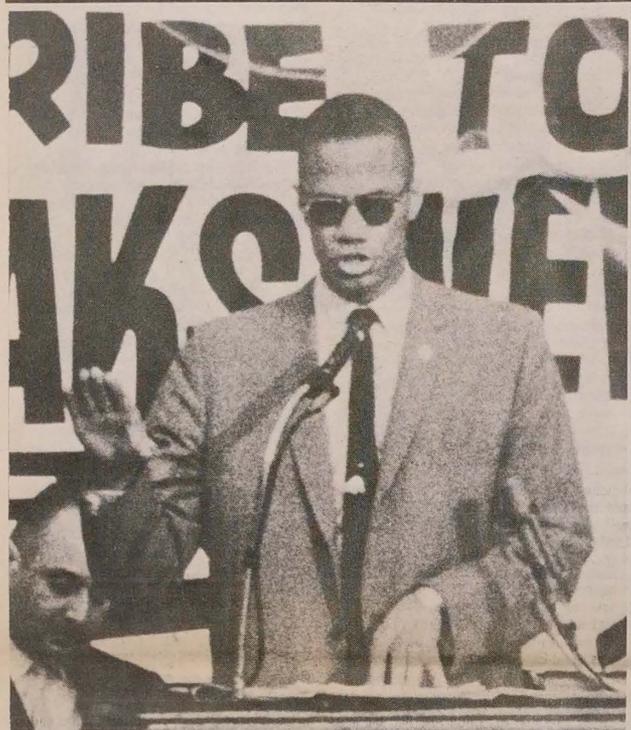
# RCL POSITION ON AFRO-AMERICAN NATIONAL QUESTION Part 2

Actually, it was the counter-revolutionary overthrow of the black and progressive Reconstruction governments in the South that made any talk of "assimilation" of black people into the United States Nation idealist. Haywood in NEGRO LIBERATION points out, "The rise of a finance-capitalist oligarchy to dominant position in American economic and political life precluded the possibility of peaceful democratic fusion of the Negro into a single American nation along with whites. Thenceforth the issue of Negro equality could be solved only via the path of the Negro's full development as a nation. The Negro question had now definitely

"The compromises which the Constitution contained on the issue of slavery precluded the participation of the Negro in the 1st. American Republic. It prevented his democratic integration into the new national state. But the constitutional compromises only postponed the issue of slavery. This issue was to flare up anew in the second decade of the 19th century and was to occupy the spotlight in American politics up to the end of the Civil War. very around, and in fact moved slavery from its earlier feudalistic and patriarchal stage to the more vicious capitalist slavery based

on the cotton crop as a large scale enterprise covering much of the entire lower South. "The Negro was not freed by the Revolution of 1776, nor was he fully freed by the 2nd American Revolution of 1861-77--The Civil War and Reconstruction. The fact is that the first American republic contained a glaring flaw--the institution of chattel slavery...Excluded from these "inalienable" rights (given to Americans) was an important segment of the American people-- The Negro Slave who, at the time comprised one-fifth of the countries population.

"The issue was finally resolved only by the Second American Revolution -- the Civil War and Reconstruction. "Were again, for the second time, hope was held for the full integration of the Negro into American life as a free and equal citizen, for the consolidation of Americans, Black and White, into one nation. But again the revolution was aborted, again the Negro was left outside the portals of full citizenship." (Negro Liberation, Harry Haywood, pg. 142). A successful Bourgeois Democratic Revolution, which would have given land and, therefore, political rights to the freed slaves as



SELF-DETERMINATION  
FOR THE  
AFRO-AMERICAN NATION  
IN THE BLACK BELT SOUTH!!

Malcolm X's development and articulation that black people are a Black Nation with the right of self determination, self respect and self defense, signaled the re-emergence of the black sector of the working class into a leadership position in the black liberation movement. Malcolm X also pointed out that black peoples struggle is not merely a moral question, but it is first and foremost a struggle for political power!

become the problem of an oppressed nation striving for national freedom against the main enemy, imperialism." (For a Revolutionary Position on the Negro Question, Harry Haywood p. 143)

That is, the smashing of the reconstruction governments, which was directly financed by Northern finance capital, halted the United States BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN AN UNFINISHED state. The Northern industrialists had achieved their main aim to completely dominate U.S. economic life and subdue the Southern planter oligarchy. But redivision of the plantations and the extension of democratic rights to blacks was not on their agenda. (As a matter of fact, by the time the reconstruction governments were destroyed, the ownership of "Southern" land had largely passed into the hands of the Northern industrialists!) C. Van Woodward states in the ORIGINS OF THE NEW SOUTH p. 179 "At least half the planters after 1870 were either Northern men or were supported by Northern money." F. C. Morehead, President of the National Cotton Planters' Association, estimated in 1881 that not one-third of the cotton plantations of the Mississippi Valley were "owned by the men who held them at the end of the war," and that others were daily passing "into the hands of the commission merchants" at that time. (ORIGINS OF THE NEW SOUTH, C. Van Woodward).

But in describing the relationship of the Black Nation and the black oppressed nationality in the United States as a whole, it is critical to see how the nation came into being in the first place, and how this initial appearance set a particular pattern for this relationship that still exists. At the end of the Revolutionary War, the movement fully into United States society was anticipated; but the introduction of capitalist slavery in the early 19th century, spurred by the emergence of cotton as an international cash crop able to be supplied by the United States South with the cotton gin and slave labor turned the gradual dying away of sla-



The national oppression of black people in the U.S. takes a deadly toll on the whole U.S. working class. With the worst unemployment, one quarter of the black sector of the labor force has no chance of finding work! The effects of this oppression by the bourgeoisie is a cheap labor supply that thus forces down wages and lowers the material conditions of the whole working class, thus it is absolutely necessary for the U.S. working class to support the democratic rights of all oppressed nationalities, and to support the democratic right of self determination for the Afro Americans in the Black Belt South up to and including secession. The multinational working class must support this struggle, not out of any abstract sentiment, but as the pre-condition for its own social emancipation!

emancipated peasants, would have been the basis for such integration into America; but it did not happen. As the Civil War and Reconstruction governments were supposed to extend full democratic rights to the black people, but the destruction, of the reconstruction governments prevented that. The Reconstruction governments had a dual purpose - 1) to govern the South for the Northern monopoly capitalists, so that the Southern vote could be neutralized and the financiers be in total control over the South, and 2) To see that the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments could be enforced, so as to make the first task, possible.

"The contemporary Negro Question in the United States is a product of the unfinished Bourgeois Democratic Revolution of the Civil War and Reconstruction - the failure to carry through democratic land redistribution as only economic basis for political freedom. . . ." (See also, *For A Revolutionary Position On The National Question*, Harry Haywood, pg.22).

In the formation of National-States, Lenin in showing that they were not limited to West Europe, but existed in England and France; he also points out that the U.S.A. and Japan are generally homogeneous (Japan 99%) but the U.S.A. "In the U.S., the Negroes (and also the Mulattos and Indians) account for only 11.1 percent. They should be classes as an oppressed nation, for equality won in the Civil War of 1861-65 and guaranteed curtailed in in the chief Negro areas (the South) in connection with the transition from the progressive, premonopoly capitalism of 1860-70 to the reactionary, monopoly capitalism (imperialism) of the new era, which in America was especially sharply etched out by the Spanish American Imperialist War of 1898 (a war between 2 robbers over the division of the booty).

"The white population of the United States makes up 88.7% of the total, and of this figure 74.3 are Americans and only 14.4 per cent foreign-born, i.e., immigrants. We know that especially favorable conditions in America for the development of capitalism and the rapidity of this development have produced a situation in which vast national differences are speedily and fundamentally, as nowhere else in the world, smoothed out to form a single 'American nation.'" (*Statistics and Sociology*, Lenin, C.W. Vol. 23 pg. 275-76).

For further analysis, see Lenin On The National & Colonial Questions - "The Meaning of the Right to Self-Determination and Its Relation to Federation."

DuBois has contrasted the earlier slavery as a feudalistic plantation slavery most objectified in the Virginia and Carolina plantations ruled over by the slave master, and the "house service" and personal relationship with a personal interpretation of the slave code which ranged from paternalistically "moderate" to arbitrarily cruel as anything known. But about the late 1820's with an economic catalyst provided by the earlier invention of the cotton gin as part of the industrial revolution (cotton production in the United States increased from "8,000 bales in 1790 to 650,000 bales in 1820," DuBois, *THE NEGRO*, p. 17), slavery took on another economic and social character. And just as the United States economy became tied to the international economy with the massive cotton trade, so did slavery which was the base for an entire economic motion of United States society take on a capitalist character. Marx in *DAS KAPITAL* summed it up, "But as soon as people, whose production still moves within the lower forms of slave labor, corvee-labor, etc. are drawn into the whirlpool of an international market dominated by the capitalist mode of production, the sale of their products for export becoming their principal interest, the civilized horrors of overwork are grafted on the barbaric horrors of slavery, serfdom, etc. Hence, the Negro labor in the Southern States of the American Union preserved something of a patriarchal character, so long as production was chiefly directed to immediate local consumption. But, in proportion, as the export of cotton became of vital interest to these states, the overworking of the Negro and sometimes the using up of his life in 7 years labor, became a factor in a calculated and calculating system."

At this point, the laws of slavery began to be reinforced and where they had gradually started to weaken after the revolutionary war, they are now severely enforced. In 1835, even the 320,000 free blacks in the United States lost democratic rights. And it was out of the increased cruelty and harshness brought on by King Cotton's large scale production that the large slave revolts of the period and subsequent political activity and protest such as the Negro Convention Movement in the 30's came about. (1822, Denmark Vessey; 1829, David Walker's Appeal; 1831, Nat Turner and Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad a year before. By 1840 Frederick Douglass in



Discrimination and segregation are the pincers of national oppression caused by monopoly capitalism. They cannot really be destroyed until monopoly capitalism is destroyed! Only violence, armed struggle, can change capitalist society to socialist society. Not "turn the other cheek," or "non-violent revolution", or "we shall overcome" by kneeling and praying as the police and dogs attack, and the racists shoot you down. Malcolm X's line of self determination self respect and self defense summed up the black working people's feelings in opposition to the black bourgeoisie's submissiveness and exploitation and oppression by capitalist and racist U.S. society.

active relationship with the Abolitionists made his first pronouncements.)

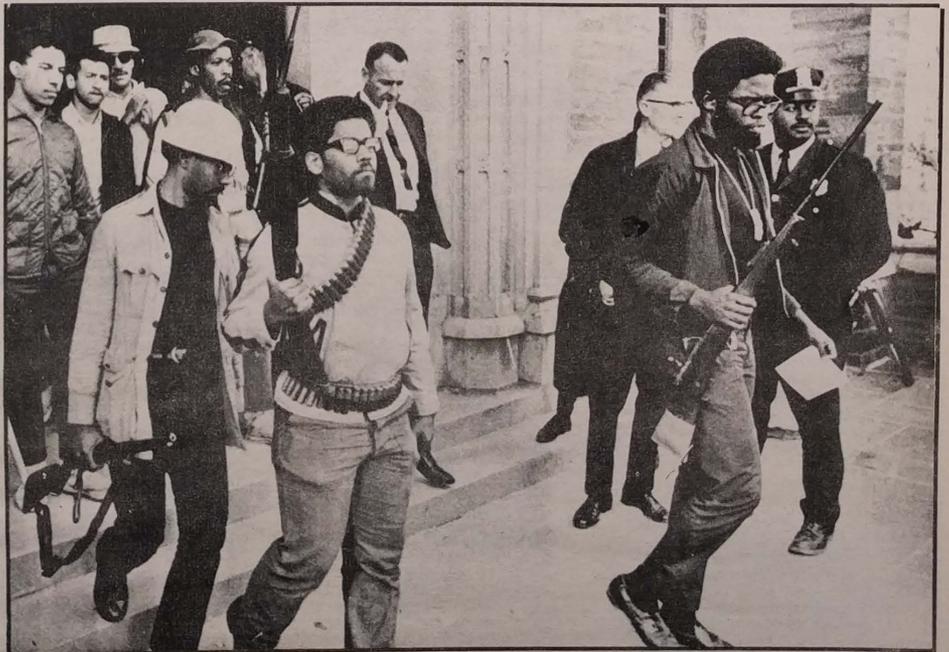
Black slavery began in the United States much like the white indentured labor of the whites. For blacks, it was necessary that they be converted to the "true religion" and cast down their heathen ways. Hence, they were redeemable and could be freed. But the owners, many in the North, quickly dismissed the religious justification for slavery, and with that the redeemable, freedom for conversion, relationship. They had determined that it was better to have slave labor for the slaves entire life than be cut off by religion. It was at this point that it become a feudalistic or patriarchal slavery and then later passed into capitalist slavery. In *Capital*, Marx explains, "Direct slavery is just as much the pivot of bourgeois industry as machinery, credits, etc. With-

out slavery you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that has given the colonies their value; it is the colonies that have created world trade, and it is world trade that is the pre-condition of large scale industry. Thus, slavery is an economic category of the greatest importance.

"Without slavery, North America, the most progressive of countries would be transformed into a patriarchal country. Wipe out North America from the map of the world, and you will have anarchy -- the complete decay of modern commerce and civilization. Abolish slavery, and you will have wiped America off the map of nations." (*Poverty of Philosophy*, Handbook of Marxism, Marx, pp. 356-7).

The entire United States Nation was tied to slavery, with the North selling the South meats and cloth; and it was not until the North ac-

tually began to produce more than the South could use did the struggle for political power intensify. For one thing, once the North began to produce corn and meat for export, two products that had once been solely traded to the South, and also when the North became principally an "industrial country," then the North no longer depended on the South as it had earlier. Prior to this, the only products the United States exported were cotton and tobacco, the products produced by slave labor. (See *Engels-Poverty of Philosophy*, Introduction). These facts made slavery more expendable, plus the fact that the American cotton monopoly now had to face powerful competition in India, Brazil, Egypt. . . The gradual depletion of cotton lands, the increased prices of the slaves and consolidation of the Northern industrial economy forced. (cont on p.5)



The "peaceful transition to socialism," dished up by the revisionist CPUSA and the black bourgeoisie's non-violent revolution are related reformist lines, but the question of violence vs non violence became a mass question in the U.S. for the Black liberation movement and the answer of the masses rung out from the rebellions in the 60's, only armed struggle can break back of national oppression, and these students at Cornell Univ. used armed self defense in their struggle against the forces of racism in 1968.

# FLAMES OF AZANIAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

(cont. from p.1)

trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again...till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law. When we say 'imperialism is ferocious', we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom.' (Mao Tsetung "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare For Struggle", Vol.4, Selected Works)

But the masses operate by a totally different logic than the Vorsters of the world,

decades by trying to lull the people to sleep historically, and now to worm their way into the liberation movements and undermine the growing united front of the forces against colonialism and imperialism in South Africa. The USSR must pose internationally as the friend of the Azanian people, because they want to step into the shoes of US imperialism throughout Africa, just as US imperialism put on the mask of democracy after world war two in its struggle to step into the shoes of the old British imperialists in Africa. It becomes clearer and clearer each day in the struggle that Soviet social imperialism is the main danger to the liberation movements in South Africa. No amount of US imperialist spon-

areas in Azania. I appealed to the Heads of State on behalf of my organization that the revolution that has been kindled there—and which has the support of the Pan Africanist Congress — is something that cannot just be put off. This revolution is a certain raiser for the armed struggle, and therefore our serious concern is that the Frontline States must co-operate with us and give us transit facilities for our armed guerrilla units to go into the country to challenge the racist regime and to defend our children. We informed them that the struggle at home will easily be put down by the racists with their armed troops because it is based on non-violence. The people are not using weapons to repel the reactionary violence of the racist regime's forces. We feel that since we have the knowledge and technique to wage a people's war based on guerrilla warfare, we can be in a position to direct the struggle there correctly. We requested these facilities and we told them that we know the Frontline States

Q. In the past PAC had made attempts to enter South Africa through Mozambique and ANC had made an attempt to go through Rhodesia. The question that I would ask is that, given the fact that these were war zones at the time, why was not a greater effort made at infiltration through Botswana? And if there was an effort, why was it not successful?

A. Well, it was not successful because this was not supported by the Frontline States. We were doing this on our own, and all the time we did, we fell into the hands of enemy agents. As you know, these neighboring countries' security is combined with the security apparatus of the racists, South Africa. All around Africa you will find BOSS (the South African Bureau of State Security) everywhere, you see. It is difficult to say that it is not here somewhere — BOSS is here. I remember our people were arrested in Botswana and their weapons were confiscated and the OAU (Organization of African Unity) had to go and plead for their release. We made more than three attempts through there and every time we were caught.

Q. In the past three months of turmoil in South Africa several hundred people have been killed. What can come out of this struggle — if anything — if the liberation movements are not given the transit facilities that you have been asking for? In other words, can the struggle continue without the liberation movements?

A. It cannot. It will not be possible because the enemy is using armed violence against the uprising of our people there. This uprising is non-violent and therefore, the enemy will have the upper hand. Also, the struggle is not being fought with the correct strategy of guerrilla warfare. It is just an uprising and people are not being properly deployed; they have no arms to reply back. So, the struggle will be short-lived until it can be directed along the correct lines of revolutionary armed struggle based on people's war.

Q. One of the main calls being made by independent Africa and the OAU liberation committee is the call for unity among the various liberation movements. What does PAC see as the basis for unity with the other nationalist movements in South Africa — particularly with the ANC?

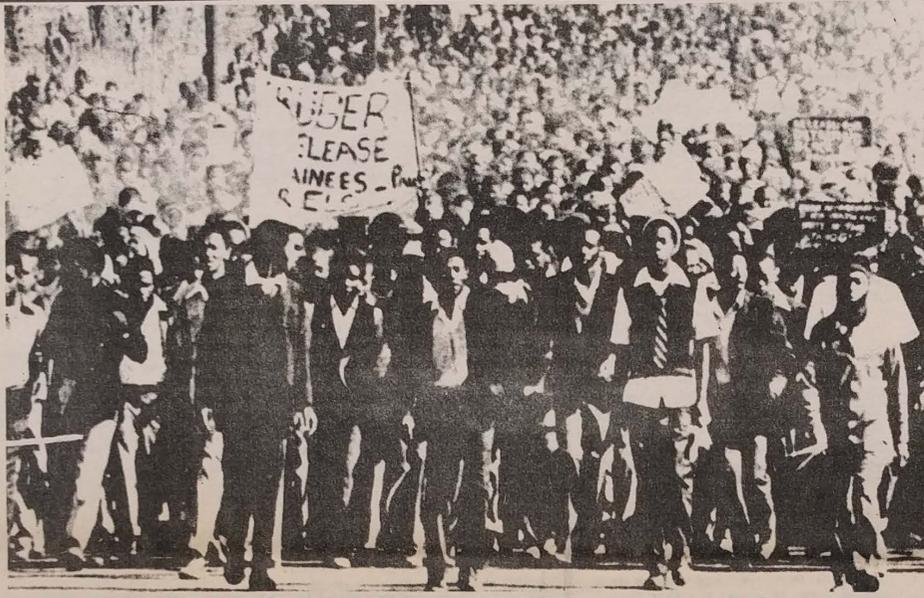
A. I want to say that there is a serious mistake made by outsiders such as the OAU member states or the Liberation Committee to try and force and pressurize the liberation movements outside of their own countries. In the first place, they don't appear to understand what a united front is. A united front can only succeed inside the country where the struggle has to take root. The two liberation movements — PAC and ANC — in the first place, if they had a united front, this united front will just be on the surface. It will not be a correct united front because a united front means a front of ALL the organizations, ALL individuals — whether the intellectuals, the petty bourgeois — or, however — as long as those people have contradictions with the enemy and they are opposed to the enemy. All those who are opposed to the enemy can have a united front for the purpose of defeating the enemy in the stage of the national democratic revolution. Therefore, a united front is really not a united front if we have to unite with the ANC outside, and think we have a united front inside the country. It is not correct. There are so many organizations there — there are teachers' organizations, there are nurse's organizations, there are a host of others, and individuals who have contradictions with the enemy. We have to make an analysis of class — and be able to know who are against us and who is the enemy, and who is opposed to the enemy, and who can be with us in the struggle.

Q. On the basis of PAC's analysis, who are your allies and who is the enemy?

A. Our allies are the peasants and workers inside Azania. And the enemy is the racist regime backed by the imperialist powers with all of those — the capitalists — who are the exploiters of our country. But all of those who have contradictions with the enemy at this stage of the national democratic revolution — we are prepared to unite them in this first stage.

Q. Some of PAC's detractors have labelled you as racialist and anti-communist. Where does PAC stand ideologically?

A. Well, that is the malicious slander of those who are afraid of us because of our correct political line. Between the capitalist road and the socialist road, PAC has taken the correct scientific socialist road based on Marxist-Leninist philosophy. (cont. on p.5)



Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this is the main and irresistible trend in the world today! The racist colonial regime in South Africa has done so much harm to the people of Azania that they will surely not allow the murderers of Steven Biko go unpunished! The masses of Azania and the oppressed peoples of the U.S. must close ranks against imperialism and social imperialism; they will never put down the butcher knife voluntarily, revolution is the solution.

and summing up the people's experience Mao got to the heart of the Azanian peoples struggle and their logic when he said: "Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again...till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law." (Ibid)

Certainly, the just and heroic struggle of the Azanian people against hundreds of years of colonial and national oppression, has captured the attention of the whole world's peoples, now more than ever before as the Azanian masses are awakening! This is a major political event in the world. And people are learning profound lessons by witnessing and in many cases supporting this political awakening, which is part of the whole third world's awakening. South Africa is part of the third world, the stormcenter of world revolution today, of the people's struggle against colonialism and imperialism, and the weakest link of the chain of imperialist oppression and exploitation. The third world is the stormcenter of world revolution, precisely because all of the various contradictions that riddle imperialism are concentrated in their most barbaric and undisguised forms in Africa, Asia, Latin America and other regions where they are the chief force struggling against the bloody beast, imperialism.

And just as Vorster cannot put out the flames of the Azanian people's struggle against colonialism in South Africa, the bourgeois press cannot continue to mask the ugly features of the two superpowers from the great masses of the people of the world. While U.S. imperialism tries hard to hide and disguise its bloody hand in South African colonialism, people know full well that it is only trying to protect its vested imperialist interests. And the USSR social imperialism is exposed more and more everyday as the Azanian peoples struggles reach a new high & all the stories of the betrayals of their hired henchmen in South Africa, come out. We are talking here about the USSR's fifth column in South Africa, the revisionist so-called "Communist Party" of South Africa, which has been trying hard to hijack the revolution in South Africa for

sored sermons on non-violence will trick the liberation movements in South Africa, but the USSR penetration inside the ranks of the people's liberation organizations is designed to weaken their revolutionary determination to root out colonialism and imperialism in South Africa.

The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania has consistently exposed the danger of both superpowers in South Africa. As one of the outstanding liberation movements in Southern Africa and part of the growing united front against South African national and colonial oppression, the PAC has contributed much toward the kind of revolutionary political awakening we are witnessing in South Africa today. The following interview with a leading comrade in the PAC is the first part of a talk in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, which helps us to see clearly the political, social and military realities of Southern Africa, and especially South Africa today. We are providing this report to help all revolutionary and progressive forces in the world to close ranks and unite against the racist colonial and national oppression of the Azanian people.

Q. The Frontline States (Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana and Angola) have just completed a summit meeting here in Dar es Salaam at which the various liberation movements spoke and presented their views on the situation in Southern Africa. What position did the PAC put forward to the Frontline Heads of State?

A. The position was quite clear, as far as PAC was concerned. I put forward the PAC's position and Oliver Tambo represented the ANC of South Africa (African National Congress). I informed the Heads of State about the situation prevailing in Azania (South Africa), and they wanted to know particularly our attitude concerning the uprising that is taking place in the country, in Soweto, Johannesburg, Cape Town and a number of other

are afraid of retaliation by the racists. If the guerrilla units can pass through the neighboring states to South Africa and are then under so-called hot pursuit, they will be pursued back into these neighboring states. But the position is clear — today the OAU has a majority of military regimes and they should be asked by the Frontline States to go and assist them militarily to repel the enemy aggression. And also, a number of African countries are well-to-do, are rich — oil rich countries like Algeria, Nigeria, Libya and others — they can assist economically and then the question of the economy should not be an excuse for the Frontline States for not making sacrifices to assist the armed struggle in Azania. We have in fact said that we are prepared to enter into a minimum program to initiate the armed struggle in Azania rather than to see this year go by without an armed struggle. We have informed them that we have no problem in so far as manpower and weapons are concerned — we have these things. We want to go to Azania today to wage the armed struggle.

Q. Have the Frontline States shown any willingness to give the transit facilities which you have requested?

A. All that they have said to us was that now the armed struggle has split over beyond Zimbabwe and Namibia — in other words the priorities of the Dar es Salaam strategy (to first liberate Zimbabwe and Namibia and THEN tackle South Africa) are no longer operative and that the struggle now must continue right up to Cape Town. But they were not able to commit themselves as to whether they will give us those facilities. I think the question of giving us those facilities is a matter between the liberation movements concerned to discuss with the different Frontline States neighboring our country without having to go to the press — how we can work out the mechanism of initiating an immediate armed struggle.

Reprint

OCTOBER-NOVEMBER EDITION

Page 3 1977

Thousands of our last newspaper were printed badly on page 3. This is a reprint to rectify that situation, from the last of that editorial criticizing Workers' Viewpoint Organization's line. But this was not the only error in that newspaper; there were many mistakes in spelling and general sloppiness that stem from right errors in our work. We think that this paper shows that we have begun to struggle against these.

RCL said that we did not agree that WVO "was the party" nor "the foundation for the Party". We did not see the majority of genuine Marxist-Leninists having been united - which we take as the principal aspect of our two simultaneous tactical tasks of party building - nor do we see any evidence of Advanced Workers in key basic industries around this country having been won to Communism. This is compounded by the absolute lack of Program put out by WVO, i.e., Maximum and Minimum goals and Strategy and Tactics for accomplish- them. RCL sees this program being put together only as a result of the ideological struggle over political line, and this is what makes "political line key link" in moving the party building motion forward towards its "organization is key link" stage.

WVO, incredibly enough said that it had united the genuine Marxist-Leninists in the US (except for RCL). They also said, that it was true that more work had to be done among the Advanced, but they had reached an acceptable level of winning the advanced right now!! As far as program, WVO said that all one had to do was check its journals and newspapers over the years and the program could be found!!! Incredible to the third power!

WVO's line on the 1st fantasy that they have already united all the genuine Marxist-Leninists in the country is the plain out sectarianism and small group mentality the article in Peking Review mentioned. The Marxist-Leninists they haven't united with represent "other trends" if you listen to WVO, and never the twain shall meet! Excellent example of the subjectivism and idealism of the petty bourgeoisie. It is also an excellent example of the kind of "Left" sectarianism which is the hallmark of the Gang of 4 and the "Wing". Too many times, in too many instances organizations in the Anti-revisionist Communist Movement (ARCM) in the US are quick to label easily other organizations and people inside their own organizations "opportunists" to set up "cap factories" and 'steel plants' to label and deal mortal blows at people who raise different views... (PR No.32, Aug.5, 1977) This is not mobilizing all positive factors, or beginning with a desire for unity. This is petty bourgeois sectarianism. Both LPR and WVO term each other "consolidated opportunists". WVO's explanation of of this is that LPR has struggled with them in an unprincipled fashion. LPR's condemnation of WVO as "a consolidated Right Opportunist Organization" would also benefit by more in depth analysis relating specifically to the creation of a party program. The "Left" sectarian attacks a la Gang of 4 & "Wing" add no clarity to our struggle, bring us no closer to a party, though criticism of opportunism and the ability to draw clear and firm lines of demarcation are essential. Many organizations subjectively and in the roughly sectarian fashion tell us in each issue of their newspapers that the genuine communist party has either already sprung directly out of their foreheads Zeus style, or that it soon will, or otherwise they imply that they are key and central to all party building efforts, not that Marxist-Leninists have to unite based on the ideological struggle over political line, which puts together the program, but that they, this one organization, merely by adding a few people here and

there some bodies, actually will be miraculously transformed into the genuine Marxist-Leninist Communist party that will lead the working class in war and victory against the bourgeoisie, the destruction of capitalism and the building of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The only correct line is MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE- WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!

As far as the Win The Advanced Fantasy that WVO was running, we have seen no evidence of this - for the most part WVOers we've seen have been student types and the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals, who all tend to merge. By saying look at our journals and newspapers, WVO revises the definition of program, which RCL upholds, as stated in the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), "The program of a workers' party, as we know, is a brief scientifically formulated statement of the aims and objects of the struggle of the working class." (page 38) Apparently WVO does not know. By sending comrades scrambling to look in journals and newspapers for their program they are celebrating primitiveness and actually easing into OL land. WVO said RCL's concern and emphasis on program amounted to our "mystifying program". We think to say the program is there. - somewhere - in that pile of stuff over there, is an obviously right line & obstruction to party building. Among many unrepudiated backward lines, polemics aimed at "topping" other organization with scant aim at program & to say that the program is somewhere in there, so that one can rush headlong toward a party congress at which people must carry suitcases full of journals & to refer to the program upon which they are supposed to be unified is Klonskyism of a rather gross sort.

WVO now sees "Organization as key link". They said this, and in the ALSC conference put out a scrambled/erroneous document push for ALSC to take up Agitation as its chief form of activity rather than propaganda. They justified this by saying that propaganda was chief form of activity in the "last period" in which "Marxist-Leninists unite was principal", but now, they imply since they are the party, we have moved into a new period, where we are not trying to win the vanguard to communism, but to win the masses to the side of the party. YeeGads!! The subjectivism of the petty bourgeoisie knows no bounds, just babble and pontificate, rhetorize and doubletalk, and Viola! The party springs into being. What utter unrealistic nonsense.

What WVO needs like most the ARCM is rectification for the injurious lines of the Gang of 4, and the "Wing" - to recognize the "Left" danger around party building, but at the same time not cease struggle against the general right opportunism that is the main danger in the communist and workers' movements, WVO's having emerged "victorious" from the innersect struggle of the "Wing" has convinced them that they represent the single dominant correct line in the ARCM. This is subjectivism plain and simple. "Do more self criticism and seek common ground on major questions while reserving differences on minor ones. Learn to draw firm and definite lines of demarcation not glossing over questions of principle. Opportunism must be exposed because that is the only way the correct line can grow, is in the struggle against incorrect lines. But it will take rectification of the bourgeois methods of the Gang of 4, the Wing, and even some of the philistine practices floating into view around the 3rd World Thesis, rectification of all these tendencies, so that comrades will be able to distinguish between sectarian sterility and real line struggle, based on unity-criticism-self criticism-unity. Marxist-Leninists Unite-Win The Advanced To Communism is the only correct tactics for this stage of the pre-party party building period.

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THE POET'S CIRCLE

REPLY TO COMRADE KUO MO-JO

- to the tune of *Man Chiang Hung*

January 9, 1963

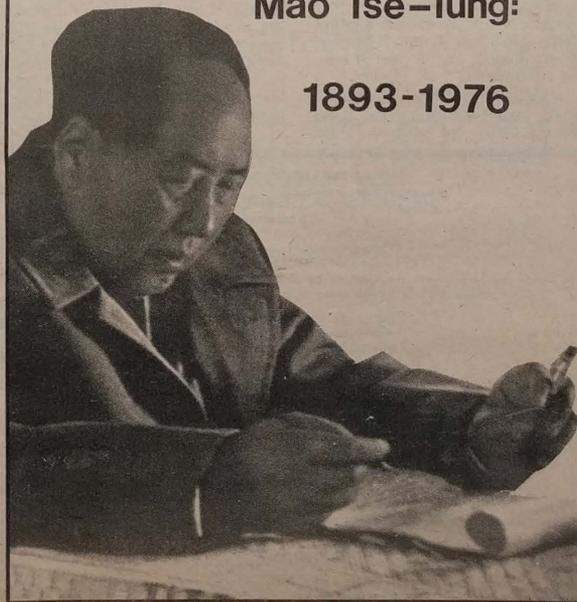
On this tiny globe  
A few flies dash themselves against the wall,  
Humming without cease,  
Sometimes shrilling,  
Sometimes moaning.  
Ants on the locust tree assume a great-nation  
swagger  
And mayflies lightly plot to topple the giant tree.  
The west wind scatters leaves over Changan,  
And the arrows are flying, twanging.

So many deeds cry out to be done,  
And always urgently;  
The world rolls on,  
Time presses.  
Ten thousand years are too long,  
Seize the day, seize the hour!  
The Four Seas are rising, clouds and waters raging,  
The Five Continents are rocking, wind and thunder  
roaring.  
Our force is irresistible,  
Away with all pests!

Chairman

Mao Tse-Tung:

1893-1976



Dialectical and Historical Materialism: From History of the Communist Party Soviet Union (Bolshevik) 1939

Part 10

"ONE OF THE FEATURES of production is that it never stays at one point for a long time and is always in a state of change and development, and that, furthermore, changes in the mode of production inevitably call forth changes in the whole social system, social ideas, political views and political institutions—they call forth a reconstruction of the whole social and political order. At different stages of development people make use of different modes of production, or, to put it more crudely, lead different manners of life. In the primitive commune there is one mode of production, under slavery there is another mode of production, under feudalism a third mode of production, and so on. And, correspondingly, men's social system, the spiritual life of men, their views and political institutions also vary.

Whatever is the mode of production of a society, such in the main is the society itself, its ideas and theories, its political views and institutions.

Or, to put it more crudely, whatever is man's manner of life, such is his manner of thought.

This means that the history of development of society is above all the history of the development of production, the history of the modes of production which succeed each other in the course of centuries, the history of the development of productive forces and people's relations of production.

Hence the history of social development is at the same time the history of the producers of material values themselves, the history of the labouring masses who are the chief force in the process of production and who carry on the production of material values necessary for the existence of society.

Hence, if historical science is to be a real science, it can no longer reduce the history of social development to the actions of kings and generals, to the actions of "conquerors" and "subjugators" of states but must above all devote itself to the history of the producers of material values, the history of the labouring masses, the history of peoples.

Hence the clue to the study of the laws of history of society must not be sought in men's minds, in the views and ideas of society, but in the mode of production practised by society in any given historical period; it must be sought in the economic life of society.

Hence the prime task of historical science is to study and disclose the laws of production, the laws of development of the productive forces and of the relations of production, the laws of economic development of society.

Hence, if the party of the proletariat is to be a real party, it must above all acquire a knowledge of the laws of the development of production, of the laws of economic development of society.

Hence, if it is not to err in policy, the party of the proletariat must both in drafting its program and in its political activities proceed primarily from the laws of development of production, from the laws of economic development of society.

A SECOND FEATURE of production is that its changes and development always begin with changes and development of the

productive forces, and, in the first place, with changes and development of the instruments of production. Productive forces are therefore the most mobile and revolutionary element of production. First the productive forces of society change and develop and then, DEPENDING ON THESE CHANGES and IN CONFORMITY WITH THEM, men's relations of production, their economic relations, change. This, however does not mean that the relations of production do not influence the development of the productive forces and that the latter are not dependent on the former. While their development is dependent on the development of the productive forces, the relations of production in their turn react upon the development of the productive forces, accelerating or retarding it. In this connection it should be noted that the relations of production cannot for too long a time lag behind and be in a state of contradiction to the growth of the productive forces, inasmuch as the productive forces can develop in full



measure only when the relations of production correspond to the character, the state of the productive forces and allow full scope for their development. Therefore, however much the relations of production may lag behind the development of the productive forces, they must, sooner or later, come into correspondence with—and actually do come into correspondence with—the level of development of the productive forces, the character of the productive forces. Otherwise we would have a fundamental violation of the unity of the productive forces and the relations of production within the system of production, a disruption of production as a whole, a crisis of production, a destruction of productive forces. An instance in which the relations of production do not correspond to the character of the productive forces, conflict with them, is the economic crisis in capitalist countries, where private capitalist ownership of the means of production is in glaring incongruity with the social character of the process of production, with the character of the productive forces. This results in economic crisis which lead to the destruction of productive forces. Furthermore, this incongruity itself constitutes the economic basis of social revolution, the purpose of which is to destroy the existing relations of production and to create new relations of production corresponding to the character of the productive forces."

To be continued

ALSC split-

(cont. from p.2)

centrism, on the three world thesis. While proclaiming that they uphold the Three World Theory, LPR uses the fact of the two line struggle to imply that since there are great Marxist-Leninist parties on either side of the struggle, LPR can get away without firmly taking one side or the other. To artificially "reconciliate" two opposing sides is centrism. But one of these

positions correlates with objective reality, the other is idealist and erroneous. RCL upholds Chairman Mao's analysis of the Three Worlds as a scientific evaluation of class forces in the world today. The anti-Three Worlds line is dogma, of a blatantly metaphysical nature — which does no actual evaluation of forces struggling in the world today — but proceeds from abstraction to abstraction denying the obvious real life situation in the world today.

LPR does not want to characterize one line as wrong because it is held by one leading Marxist-Leninist party, yet it wants to verbalize that they uphold the Three World Theory.

The THREE WORLD THEORY lays out the world as it is contemporarily divided by the development of imperialism: with the US and the USSR making up the First World, the superpowers; the advanced capitalist and revisionist countries are the Second World; and, the socialist countries and oppressed nations, mainly of Asia, Africa and Latin America, constitute the Third World. This correct line also, based on a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, holds that the Third World is the MAIN force struggling against imperialism, Colonialism, Neo-colonialism, Racism, Zionism, and Superpower Hegemonism. And this is obvious to anyone observing the world as it actually is, except the Sectarians and Dogmatists obscuring reality with outdated texts. The most intense struggles, the struggles in which imperialism's blood is being spilled openly by the revolutionary forces is in the Third World. The Three World Theory sets the basis for a World United Front against imperialism, showing who are the proletariat's friends and who are the enemies, who is the main danger and what the strategy & tactics for world proletarian revolution. The anti-Three World forces, by utilizing the theory of social systems (i.e., that the world's principal division is between socialism and capitalism), DENY ACTUAL REALITY, which is that the sharpest of the four fundamental contradictions in imperialism is Imperialism versus the people and nations of the Third World. This is incorrect, and the theory of social systems also isolates the proletariat from its allies and opts for either adventurism or quietism.

LPR mouths upholding the Three World Theory, but immediately takes a line which supports the anti-Three World Theory — e.g., they oppose the correct line of supporting the unity and strengthening of the western powers against Soviet Social Imperialism.

LPR does not hold that Soviet Social Imperialism is the MAIN danger of war, they take up the undialectical line of the anti-Three World Theory forces in saying that the two superpowers are exactly the same. This is a flat denial of Leninism, and Lenin's profound analysis of uneven development in imperialism. The contention between the two superpowers is based in part on the uneven development which sees one superpower (the US) protecting its interests and the other superpower, the lean and hungry one (the USSR), involved with expansionism at all costs. Chairman Mao in ON CONTRADICTION opposes the "static absolutes" of the bankrupt theory of equilibrium. But LPR opposes Lenin, trying to keep one bad foot in the anti-Three Worlds camp.

LPR denies that Soviet Social Imperialism is the main danger of war and main danger to the independence of the Third World (as demonstrated clearly by their aggression in Angola, Zaire and Ethiopia) upholding the bankrupt equilibrium theory that would dismiss the concrete reality that the U.S. is in decline and defensive and the USSR is the rising aggressive superpower. Mao criticized the Deborin school in the USSR, in ON CONTRADICTION for not understanding ALL DIFFERENCES ARE CONTRADICTIONS. To deny this is to deny dialectics and to deny reality!

LPR opposes the strengthening of NATO in the face of the coming fascist social imperialist Soviet Union, by saying that NATO is an appendage of the US. This denies the very struggle going on between

the Second World and the Superpowers for independence. We support the strengthening of the Western European Second World countries against Fascist Soviet Social Imperialism. LPR must deny that Soviet Social Imperialism is social fascist and social imperialist and that the focus of U.S. imperialist-USSR social imperialist struggle is Europe!

One breaks into two! West Europe struggles against the US and the USSR. Part of this struggle is for more control over NATO and to make it more independent from the USA. This could be seen as far back as De Gaulle.

But LPR even outspokenly denies that the Second World is really struggling against the Superpowers. LPR says that the principal characteristic of the Second World is its oppression of the Third World. But such a thing, if it was reality, would deny the possibility of alliance! It would render the Three Worlds Theory untenable. Well how then can LPR "uphold" the Three World Theory and still make errors like

World Theory and still make errors like characterizing the Second World as principally the oppressors of the Third World, rather than seeing that the Superpowers interfering, meddling and ripping off the interests of the Second World including its domination of the Third World is what makes the Second World fight against Superpower domination in the first place!

Comrades, you can not have it both ways. Either uphold the profound and correct Three World Theory of Chairman Mao's or say hello to the swamp!

LPR slanders us by saying that because we favor the strengthening of Western Europe IN STRUGGLE WITH U.S. HEGEMONISM AND IN DEFENSE AGAINST USSR SOCIAL IMPERIALISM that we support the B-1 Bomber and the U.S. war preparations. Nonsense. We oppose superpowers war preparations. We support Western Europe's unity against superpower war — against US hegemonism and USSR attack.

LPR claims also that the Panama treaty is no victory for the Panamanian people, a completely "left" line. The treaty does represent a big victory for the Panamanian people. The US has been forced to make a treaty that says that the canal belongs to the Panamanian people. LPR scoffs and says it is 1999 before Panama takes over; that is only 23 years. Before the treaty, it was never! Most of the land around the canal becomes Panama's territory immediately, the other part in 23 years. This is a great move from the U.S. control until "eternity" (or as the treaty had stated "in perpetuity").

Management of the canal will now be jointly shared. All US troops will withdraw, according to the treaty, by Dec. 31, 1999. The U.S. does maintain in the treaty "primary responsibility to defend and protect the canal" but it is idealism to think the U.S. imperialists would completely back out of Panama at once.

The Panama treaty is part of the pro-independence, anti-hegemonic struggle against the two Superpowers waged by the Third World. Not to see the treaty as a positive step is to deny stages of revolutionary development and condemn Panama because it has not yet brought socialism to Panama with the treaty nor even got rid of the U.S. completely. (See Peking Review No. 37-38, Sept. 13, 1977)

LPR again, in practice, denies the implementation, the practical, tactical line of the Three Worlds Theory, making great "left" statements that liquidate objective conditions, stages of revolutionary development, and the clear reality of the Third World's national democratic, anti-hegemony struggle against the superpowers. Only armed struggle can bring socialist revolution Comrades, the positive step in Panama, merely prepares more clearly the arena, like all reforms and the national democratic revolution itself, clears the arena for the final showdown between the Panamanian proletariat and its domestic reactionaries. Not to see elimination of imperialism and hegemonism as a prerequisite for the socialist revolution is akin to the thinking of trotskyites!

LPR took such centrism and left deviate lines all day. Comrades, you say you uphold the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao's correct and profound Three Worlds Theory and oppose the enemy Gang of Four. You are to be commended for your swift and resolute action in upholding the great and correct CPC against the Gang. But perhaps more actual study of the Gang's lines which were "Left" opportunist, trotskyite, idealist-philosophical, sectarian-organizationally and revisionist-politically will lead you to understand the great influence their lines have had on the anti-

(cont. on p.5)

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**EDITORIAL** (cont. from p.12)

(Chairman Mao Talks to the People, ed. S. Schram, 1974, pgs. 277-278) And Chairman Mao went on to criticize them for Trotskyite errors!

Chiang Ching also rose with Lin Piao, who set her up for praise in the realm of culture, based on false credit she was given for other people's work. Historically, she was a renegade that worked for the Kuomintang in the 1930's in reactionary capitalist films, snuck into the Party with a false history, and finally with the collusion of Lin Piao rose during the Cultural Revolution. She had a disruptive effect on literature and art, suppressing much of the art that the people produced in China. To make it clear, Chairman Mao said: "She doesn't speak for me, she speaks for herself." "In a word, she represents herself." (Peking Review, No. 35, 1977, page 26)

Chiang Ching's mask of struggling for women's liberation must be pulled off to clear the air: her politics and policy on women was bourgeois! She attempted to disrupt the revolutionary orientation on the woman question so that she could use women as a force in her own seizure of power. The woman question is a class question, but Chiang Ching put out the line that it was the battle of the sexes, i.e., men vs women, and not proletariat vs bourgeoisie. "Both in countries with bourgeois governments and with proletarian governments, whoever is in power represents the interest of his or her own class, never those of either men or women." (China Reconstructs, June 1977, page 6) At the same time she abused quite a few women, both veteran comrades in the revolutionary struggle, and going as far as to have one nurse brought up on charges & put under arrest because the nurse was "too slow" getting empress Chiang Ching a drink of water! We don't need any illusions about this gang of 4 renegades, who wanted to impose a bourgeois dictatorship over the working class; that is what capitalist restoration aims to do.

Yao Wen-yuan, like we said earlier, was an alien class element who rose to prominence along with Chang Chun-chiao & Chiang Ching in Shanghai, under

the leadership of Chen Po-la and Lin Piao. Along with Chang he was consistently associated with Trotskyite lines, and he played the infamous role of the hatchet man who wrote the article, "On the Social Basis of the Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique" (see Peking Review No. 10, 1975). This article was part of the conspiracy to run the bogus line that "empiricism was the main danger" in order to hide the fact that revisionism is the main danger. Chairman Mao said: "It seems the formulation should be: Oppose revisionism which includes empiricism and dogmatism. Both revise Marxism-Leninism. Don't mention just one while omitting the other." "In my opinion, those who are criticizing empiricism are themselves empiricists." (P.R. no. 49, 1976, page 7) Ideologically, this was part of idealism that the Gang of 4 spread in China, despite Chairman Mao's criticisms. In fact the gang went on tours spreading the falacy that the struggle against "empiricism is the key link"! Ideologically they tried to turn reality on its head with this idealism, which has been used by different reactionary classes throughout history to fool the people. Actually, as Marxism teaches, "the standpoint of life, of practice, should be first and fundamental in the theory of knowledge." (Lenin, as quoted in Study Philosophy, Peking Review Reprints, page 14) In battling against idealism and dogmatism, Chairman Mao said: "The Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism has two outstanding characteristics. One is its class nature: it openly avows that dialectical materialism is in the service of the proletariat. The other is its practicality: it emphasizes the dependence of theory on practice, emphasizes that theory is based on practice and in turn serves practice. The truth of any knowledge or theory is determined not by subjective feelings, but by objective results in social practice. Only social practice can be the criterion for truth." (Mao, On Practice, Vol. 1, page 297)

Basically, the Gang of 4 are a bunch of counter-revolutionary scabs, who struck an ultra-left pose to intimidate

people and to hide their actual political line which was right in essence. The Gang of 4 practiced revisionism politically, idealism ideologically, and sectarianism organizationally. They were jackals from the same lair as the renegade Wang Ming, another "left" opportunist, who like the psychopaths of the so-called "Revolutionary Wing" right here in the anti-revisionist communist movement, also styled themselves "100% Bolshevik". It seems obvious that the Anti-revisionist communist movement in the U.S. must make rectification a serious project because we have been deeply influenced by the lines of the Gang of 4, and while fighting the main right deviation in this country, we have allowed that Right deviation to cover the idealist, metaphysical and sectarian "Left" style and method that has in the main isolated the anti-revisionist communist movement from the advanced and the broad masses.

The gang worked feverishly to manipulate public opinion for their counter-revolutionary ends; thus, they have tampered with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and muddled a great many people's thinking concerning Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The heroic struggle of the Chinese masses, headed up by the CPC, against the Gang of 4 is somewhat similar to the Bolshevik Party's struggle against the Trotskyites more than 50 yrs ago. Like Trots, the Gang of 4 distorted Marxism in all areas, distorting Mao's revolutionary line on political economy, scientific socialism and philosophy. This has caused confusion in China and in the U.S.. In terms of political economy, the essence of the gang's distortion was to babble that for the CPC to promote the socialist economy of China, to push the national economy forward, was "the theory of the productive forces" & "Laying the foundation for capitalism". The CPC laid these bogus lines to rest with the correct line on the relationship between revolution and production under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and explained the proletariat's task this way: "Therefore, after seizing political power, the proletariat must firmly keep the power of political rule

in its hands, persist in taking class struggle as the key link and adopt a correct line so as to guarantee the maximum development of the social economy. Obviously, the commanding role of politics over economics cannot be separated from the development of the economy, otherwise the commanding role of politics over economics simply does not exist." (Peking Review, No. 34, 1977, page 32)

The Gang of 4 departed from the materialist dialectics of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and spread idealism & metaphysics. They acted as if the dictatorship of the proletariat could exist without a material base, i.e. the socialist economy! "They denied that, 'mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, ect.'" (Engels, Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx, 1883) (As quoted in Peking Review No. 34, page 37) Socialism must have a growing material base to consolidate & strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat; the Gang of 4 purposefully distorted and adulterated our understanding of the fundamentals of Marxism, so they could paralyze the dictatorship of the proletariat by sabotaging the socialist economy. And they actually pushed a straight up capitalist line on economy, similar to Liu Shao-chi, by letting the economy handle itself, Laissez-faire style, which is the capitalist road! Several areas under their control have been noted in that socialist sectors of the economy were sabotaged and paralyzed while capitalism and corruption went unobstructed.

Politically they practiced revisionism. Yao's article and the campaign against "empiricism" was actually a smokescreen for the attack on the veteran cadres in the CPC, whose revolutionary experience in the great Chinese Revolution, the gang of 4 attempted to undermine by calling them bourgeois democrats and capitalist roaders. Chairman Mao said that only a handful of Party members were capitalist roaders, and that most comrades had remodelled their outlook in the rectification movements during the revolution, otherwise, one would be misled to believe that China had a bourgeois democratic

(cont. on p.5)

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# EDITORIAL

# RCL's POSITION ON THE GANG OF FOUR

## PART 1

The Revolutionary Communist League (M-L-M) resolutely supports the wise decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, led by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, to shatter the criminal schemes of the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching, and Yao Wen-yuan to usurp Party and state power in the People's Republic of China. The Gang of 4 are the latest in a series of unrepentant capitalist roaders in China, cut from the same cloth as the renegades Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, who attempted to restore capitalism in the People's Republic of China and who were crushed by the people of China led by the CPC. We join the people of China and the international communist and worker's movement & all oppressed people in rejoicing from the bottom of our hearts this great victory. Our conclusions are based on the facts and scientific analysis published in the Peking Review, especially Nos. 3, 13, 15, 16, 21, 23, and 25 of Peking Review during 1977, and our understanding of the questions struggled out in these documents, using the works of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, Joseph Stalin and Chairman Mao as a guide in dealing with the vital questions about the foundations of Marxism, political economy, scientific socialism, and philosophy, which the Gang of 4 tampered with and distorted. We also did research to get cross references on Mao's criticisms of the Gang of 4 in publications and documents dating back to accounts in the 1960's during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, initiated and led by Chairman Mao in China.

The struggle against the Gang of 4 is a life-and-death struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, and the proletariat has won another victory, keeping China on the socialist road under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and defending the purity and strength of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse tung Thought against revisionist tampering. Thus, we firmly support the October 7, 1976 Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China appointing Comrade Hua Kuo-feng as Chairman of the CC

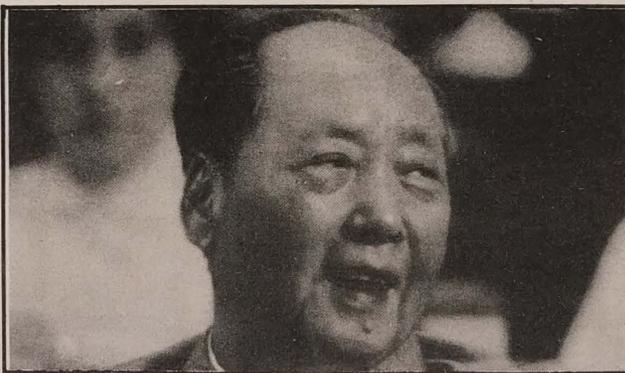
and Chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee.

"Chairman Mao has constantly taught us: It is imperative to note that one tendency covers another." (Chou En-lai, Report to the 10th National Congress of the CPC, pg. 18) Thus, the opposition to the revisionism of Liu Shao-chi, the right, covered Lin Piao's revisionism and the revisionism of the Gang of 4's "Left"

the Cultural Revolution. Pushing a semi-Trotskyite political line, idealism & metaphysics in ideology, and sectarianism and factionalism organizationally, the Gang of 4 went a long way to disrupt the development of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and to sabotage its revolutionary objectives. Chairman Mao and the CPC put forward the directive of using the method of conducting debates by reason and

scoundrel & a scab, guilty of plotting the overthrow of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat in China, promoting embezzlers and other bad elements from behind-the-scenes, and this clown actually attempted to overthrow Premier Chou En-lai by trumping up charges against Premier Chou so that the Gang of 4 could form a bourgeois cabinet! What kind of "rebel" was Wang? Wang was a working class renegade, who betrayed the interests of the working class: "After usurping a portion of the power of the central authorities, he grabbed everything he could lay his hands on either through deceit or by force, and he committed all kinds of evil...He lived a most extravagant and licentious life; in fact, he outdid the capitalists in this respect. He himself knew he had already become a bourgeois to the core." (P.R. No. 6, p. 13)

Chang Chun-chiao, had been a hidden renegade in the Party for years. He was a scribbler for the Kuomintang reactionaries, and old time capitulationist. Clowns like Chang have done so much wrong in the last 40 years, pretending to be revolutionary, that he could not escape the punishment of history. So he wormed his way into the leadership of the Party, with the help of Chen Po-ta (who was later expelled from the Party for colluding with Lin Piao), Lin Piao and Chiang Ching in Shanghai during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Chang was constantly opposed by the people of Shanghai, but was able to hide under the cover of opposing the menace from the right, Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters, for a time. He collected information in order to blackmail his way into important positions! And during the Cultural Revolution the Red Guard struggled against him and Yao as organizers of Trotskyite organizations! In fact, Chairman Mao had to call Chang & Yao to Peking, to criticize the erroneous lines they were taking in Shanghai: "The slogan of 'Doubt everything and overthrow everything' is reactionary. The Shanghai People's Committee demanded that the Premier of the State Council should do away with all heads. This is extreme anarchism, it is most reactionary...There is a slogan in Honan, 'The present-day proletarian dictatorship must be completely changed. This is a reactionary slogan.'" (cont. on p.11)



Chairman Mao Tse Tung was the great continuer of the revolutionary work of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. Going against the tide of modern revisionism, Mao launched a struggle against the revisionist tide led by the CPSU. Before his death Chairman Mao initiated the struggle vs the revisionism of the Gang of Four setting a good example for us.

in form but right in essence deviations. As Lenin said, "The dialectics of history are such that the theoretical victory of Marxism obliged its enemies to DISGUISE THEMSELVES as Marxists." (As quoted in PR, No. 35, 1977) In fact in order to keep this cover of their errors, the Gang of 4 forbade the mention of the ultra-"leftism" of Lin Piao. (The Rise and Fall of the "Gang of Four", pg. 14).

Chairman Mao criticized the Gang of 4 over and over again for their erroneous theory & practice, warning them: "PRACTICE MARXISM-LENINISM, AND NOT REVISIONISM; UNITE, AND DON'T SPLIT; BE OPEN AND ABOVEBOARD, AND DON'T INTRIGUE AND CONSPIRE. DON'T FUNCTION AS A

GANG OF FOUR. STOP DOING THAT ANYMORE. WHY DO YOU KEEP ON DOING SO? WHY DON'T YOU UNITE WITH THE MORE THAN 200 MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY? A FEW BANDING TOGETHER IS NO GOOD, NEVER ANY GOOD." (Peking Review No. 35, p. 27) But the Gang of 4 was a bunch of double-dealers, who actually never accepted the criticism of Chairman Mao, and used every opportunity to oppose Mao's revolutionary line in retaliation!

Wang Hung-wen, is a typical representative of the newborn bourgeoisie elements, who dressed himself up like a "rebel", a "leader of the workers", and a "newborn force." (P.R. No. 6, 1977, p. 10) Actually Wang Hung-wen turns out to have been a real



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