

# UNITY STRUGGLE

and

MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE!

WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!!

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## CAPITALISM IS THE ENEMY OF WORKING WOMEN:

It Must Be Destroyed

(CONTRIBUTED)

WE DEMAND A DOCTOR ON NITE SHIFT AT THE GM LINDEN PLANT - NO MORE EXCUSES!

General Motors Corporation who gross billions of dollars yearly from the labor of these 5,000 workers claim they cannot get a doctor on the nite shift to ensure the health and safety of the workers.

If they can force 5,000 workers to work on those assembly lines making those cars, killing themselves daily in those unhealthy wretched conditions along with the forced overtime, then why can't they get a doctor on nite shift to protect the nite shift workers.

WHO DOES THE UNION REPRESENT?

Workers should come out to the union meetings that are held on the last Sunday of each month at the union hall and watch "Perez and the gang" go through their antics of "let's hurry up and have this meeting - and you workers please don't raise any problems because we don't want to deal with problems!" routine. These trade union bureaucrats need to be exposed because they do not represent us workers, but are a sick appendage of this profit making General Motors Corp., these few capitalist who own and control the means of making cars while the masses of workers are being robbed of our labor, livelihood and lives.

For those of you who don't believe this and those who do, check out these detailed facts: A female worker comes to the union meeting and asks the officials what are they doing about the harassment of workers and the discrimination against female workers. This worker and others have been harassed and have been fighting it, by all rights she should raise it on the union floor without retaliation. But this is not the case! Two days later she finds herself confronted by management who tries to bully her, asking, "What's her problem?" Is this the union's answer to conscious fighting workers? She was called into a meeting with management and the union, this only serves the company's interest by isolating the worker and set her up for further harassment. Maybe they figured since this was a young black female

worker they could scare her and make her stop complaining about the unjust, unsafe, stultifying working conditions that we are forced to go for. IS THIS YOUR ANSWER MR. SHOP CHAIRMAN? Well, it's the WRONG ANSWER AND WORKERS WILL NOT GO FOR IT. Workers all over the plant are having problems. Female workers are confronted with these problems daily along with the male chauvinism and the bad attitudes of men who say "women should not be working here". Women are part of the productive forces and should participate in social production.

In capitalist society, working class women are doubly oppressed, exploited as workers under capitalism, and as women there is a distinct exploitation, chauvinism and oppression. Capitalism utilizes women as a reserve labor force. Depending upon the nature of the capitalist crises, this reserve can be added in greater numbers to the work force or subtracted. For example, during imperialist wars when working men are sent off to fight wars of imperialist expansion and aggression, many women are pulled off the household shelves and called into capitalist production, such as armaments, clothing, etc. After the fighting stops, these women are forced back into the kitchens and nurseries. The way capitalism uses women, as a labor reserve, has the effect of depressing wages for the whole working class. Third World women suffer a triple oppression; they are oppressed as workers, and as members of an oppressed nation-

STOP EXPLOITING AND DISCRIMINATING AGAINST WOMEN WORKERS!!

The "Women's Lib" movement is not the answer. They and the bourgeois feminists are struggling to make a place for petty bourgeois women in capitalist society, and, necessarily, only for a few petty bourgeois (middleclass) women, who can be well shown off tokens, who are suppose to give the illusion of real democracy. But there is no democracy under capitalism for the masses, only the illusion of it, to trick workers so as to squash the revolutionary fighting capacity of the workers movement which is seeking to control its own lives,

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## Black Liberation Today!



We must understand very clearly that there will be no end to police brutality, no end to all the horrors of racism and national oppression, until the system of monopoly capitalism

is destroyed. Because monopoly capitalism is the economic base and root of our oppression.

Each February is Black History month, and this should be a good thing, in that it should make us focus for a time on really getting a better understanding of the history of black people generally, and especially of the history of the Afro-American people. Those of us who are descendants of the African slaves brought to the West in the slave ships of rising capitalism, have known from the beginning, unlike many immigrants to the United States, that the streets were not paved with gold, but with blood...much of it ours.

Black History month should make us more than casually inquire into the dynamic and heroic history of the Afro-American people, and struggle to get a firmer grasp of it. Because if you can be lied to about your own history, you can certainly be lied to about the history of the world. And if you can be lied to about history, you can be lied to even about the nature of the present, and have a totally distorted picture of how the

world itself functions.

The Afro-American people were sold into slavery by the feudalistic rulers of Africa, where there were classes and class struggle. The European slave traders didn't just run in to Africa and run out, Roots style, and rip off the helpless savages. In fact, black flesh was a highly paid commodity, that a corrupt African ruling class profited by selling, until there were so much of the productive forces of Africa traded away, that the great empires of the African coast began to decline, and finally were humbled before the rising might of capitalist industrial Europe.

The majority of whites in the United States also arrived here in bondage, as indentured servants, debtors, prisoners of the oppressive English and European society of the era. But very quickly the new US ruling class found out that to have black and white slaves is to have black

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## LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL WORKING WOMEN'S DAY



International Working Women's Day was celebrated by revolutionaries and broad masses of people from coast to coast in the USA, and around the world. March 8 is IWWD, a great day of celebration and commemoration of the heroic struggles of working class and other oppressed women against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and zionism throughout the world.

Originally, IWWD was born out of the militant struggles of the U.S. workers' movement, which rapidly grew in its intensity in the 19th and 20th centuries. On March 8, 1857 women from the New York's garment district on the Lower East Side marched together in the streets against the criminal working conditions under the yoke of U.S. capitalism. They demonstrated against such evils as bad working conditions, long brutal work hours,

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Abolition of Every Possibility of Oppression & Exploitation !



# The Role of the Third World

How to appraise the historic role being played by the Third World countries and people in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism is a question that naturally arises when people review the revolutionary situation in the world in the outgoing year.

Practice is the only criterion of truth. A host of facts testify to the truth that the Third World is, indeed, the main force combatting imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism and the decisive force propelling the advance of world history.

During the year, the imperialists, particularly the two superpowers, launched a series of counterattacks to sabotage any attempts for changes in international relations. They conspired to obstruct the raising of oil prices and split the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in a vain attempt to seize back the monopoly in oil pricing. They set obstacles to delay an overall settlement of the question concerning raw materials to protect their prerogatives in the world economic field. At the same time they redoubled their political and military efforts at expansion and aggression against developing countries. That particular superpower hidden under the cloak of "socialism" is all the more evil-minded and pernicious. It sent mercenaries to invade a sovereign country, instigated a reactionary coup, to subvert a legitimate government and even stirred up conflicts to make capital for itself out of strife between other countries. All this evil-doing posed a serious menace to many developing countries and threatened the national survival of some of the countries which have won independence.

In the face of the stern reality, the Third World countries rose to take courageous actions to push the anti-hegemony struggle ahead. The OPEC states unanimously decided to abolish the two-tiered price system and return to the single price system from July 1, thus holding firm to the right to fix export oil prices. The forceful argument of the raw material producers based on principles compelled the United States to agree to the establishment of a collective fund aimed at facilitating the overall settlement of commodities.

Most praiseworthy is that the Third World countries' struggle being waged on an unprecedented scale against aggression, intervention and subversion has advanced the struggle in defense of national independence and state sovereignty to a new high. The Sudanese government revoked contracts signed with Moscow, and expelled Soviet military advisers and embassy personnel. Not long ago, the Somali government abrogated the Somali-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, dismantled Soviet military installations, expelled all Soviet experts, military and civilian, and cut the number of Soviet embassy staff. These actions, which followed one another closely, demonstrated the growing awareness of the African people and the new development of the anti-hegemony struggle.

The victories of Zaire, Sudan, and Somalia have encouraged other peoples and countries of the Third World. The First Afro-Arab Summit Conference held last March adopted a Cairo declaration stressing sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence and equality among all countries and their permanent sovereignty over their natural resources. The 14th Summit Conference of the Organization of African Unity held in July adopted a resolution on combatting outside interference and approved a convention on the prevention and suppression of mercenarism, setting the fight against outside interference as the common goal of the struggle of African countries and their concerted action. The Third Summit of the Economic Community of West Africa (CEAO) held in June declared in its communique that "The principal need of all the states, or the indispensable condition of their

development, is security." On this basis, the CEAO member states signed an Agreement on Mutual Non-Aggression and Mutual Assistance. This marked a new stage in CEAO relations which had developed from economic cooperation to political and military assistance in



Superpowers out of Africa! People of Somalia have learned thru experience, the danger of the USSR and the US in the horn of Africa. In

dealing with aggression from outside by relying on their collective force. Leaders of seven South American countries including Peru and Venezuela often met to discuss ways for resistance against pressures from big powers in defense of state sovereignty and common security. The second summit of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations expressed determination to reject all forms of foreign interference and continue to work for turning the zone into one of peace, freedom, and neutrality.

The people have learnt and kept advancing in the course of struggle. Facts in the last year have proved why the Third World is the main force in the fight against hegemonism:  
First, the Third World countries

suffer the most from oppression and exploitation and are therefore the most resolute and dauntless in struggle. Relentless enslavement and plunder by imperialism and colonialism brought them economic backwardness and poverty and they had to fight to survive. Today they are still subjected to imperialism, and especially superpower, exploitation and domination, being victims of unequal trade and bearing the burdens of economic crises shifted onto them. Therefore they can neither progress nor develop unless they fight! All this places them in the van of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism.

Secondly, the Third World countries and

particular they have seen thru the Trojan Horse tactics of the USSR & its running dogs.

people have closed their ranks and enhanced their alliance in struggle emerging as a powerful revolutionary force in the world. They have come to understand that a country is too weak by itself to deal with imperialism, especially the superpowers, and so they must rely on collective force and common efforts. They unremittingly work for the consolidation of specialized and regional organizations, and for broader cooperation and joint actions. Their prestige has thus been greatly augmented and their struggle been made doubly effective. Today, settlement of any major international issues is inconceivable without the participation of the Third World countries.

Thirdly, the steady rise in the Third World's economic, political and military

strength and international prestige has brought about a fundamental change in the global balance of forces. There has been a steady increase in the proportion of the developing countries' Gross National Product and export trade in the world's total. The oil produced by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries accounts for over 50 percent of the world's output, and over 90 percent of the world's exports. The Third World controls 86 percent of the world's rubber output and 93 percent of its exports, 59 percent of mercury exports, 71 percent of bauxite output and 80 percent of its exports, and 55 percent of iron output and 65 percent of its exports. The growing economic, political and military strength of the Third World countries put them in a better position at international meetings and negotiations. The Third World has stood up and its voice is to be listened to. It carries weight in all domains of world affairs.

Fourthly, the Third World countries possess huge quantities of raw materials, which can be used as a powerful and effective weapon against the superpowers. Facts have proved that it is not the Third World which depends on the superpowers, but the superpowers which cannot do without the Third

World. UN statistics show that 41.3 percent of the primary goods imported by the imperialist countries in 1963 came from the Third World and this percentage was raised to 55.6 in 1974. Fuel imports rose from 60.2 percent to 78.2 percent. The United States, which was self-sufficient in petroleum and a metal exporter in the 1950's, has become a fuel and metal importing country. Nearly half the oil consumed in the United States this year was imported. As for the Soviet Union, the minerals it imports from the developing countries account for 65 percent of its total such mineral imports, and for agricultural raw materials they account for 55 percent. In the course of struggle, the developing countries have come to see in raw materials an effective weapon against the superpowers, and the successful use of this weapon has enabled them to seize the initiative in struggle and win repeated victories.

It is worth noting that in the present-day world, there is still a handful of diehards who are stubbornly opposed to the Third World, holding it in abhorrence and contempt. The superpower which passes itself off as the "natural ally" of the Third World has advanced the fallacy that in view of the "diversified societies" of the Third World, it cannot be said in general terms that the Third World is revolutionary and still less can it be considered the main force of the world revolution. It is only too obvious that this superpower aims at negating the Third World's revolutionary nature and its role as

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The Kampuchean people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, have inspired the world with its victory over

US imperialism and its running dogs in Kampuchea. Today they are building socialism. Their successes are even more inspiring, as

they defeat plot after plot by the Superpowers to take away their hard won independence.

# REVOLUTIONARY MOTION!!

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

**KAMPUCHEAN-VIETNAM CONFLICT**

Recently the international bourgeois press went all out to tell the world of the Vietnam-Kampuchean border conflict and while telling the world spreading as many lies, distortions and outright wishful thinking as they can. What the U.S. imperialists and USSR social-imperialists work and hope for is that fighting among the two socialist countries escalates, which will give them a chance to increase their interference—either under the guise of being “concerned” or the “natural ally”. Both tricks will be exposed and defeated by the peoples of both countries, and the rest of the world’s people.

In our view, true socialist countries, in their foreign policies must uphold and practice trying to develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance, cooperation among other socialist countries based on Marxism-Leninism. This also includes having negotiations over border disputes with all participating parties having equal status. Territorial intervention, intervening in other countries internal affairs and making demands for unequal negotiations does not lead to peace and must not be tolerated.

The same heroic struggle and vigilance that Vietnam and Kampuchea showed the world as they defeated the bloody beast US imperialism in Southeast Asia, driving them out the front door, must surely be focused on stopping the lean, hungry, and more aggressive USSR. Using the banner of “socialism” the USSR is fomenting wars between socialist countries and using force to get Kampuchea into the so-called “Indochina Federation”. The USSR betrayed the liberation war of Kampuchea all along and today it tries to undermine Kampuchea’s national independence. This bloody war is more convincing evidence that Soviet social imperialism is the main danger to the liberation and independence of the Third World.

**OPPOSE MASS EXTERMINATION IN ETHIOPIA**

A bloody orgy of mass killings is taking place in Ethiopia. The fascist military regime, backed by Soviet Social Imperialism, has unleashed a campaign of terror specially in Addis Ababa.

According to conservative western press estimates, at least 1,000 people have been brutally killed since December alone. (New York Times, Feb. 11) This savage campaign of slaughter has been directed primarily against members and sympathizers of the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party (EPRP). Clusters of bodies of children as young as 10 litter the streets of Addis Ababa. Surprise searches into private homes, without warrants and without any due regard for human liberties, have become common. These searches are often followed by indiscriminate shootings, killings and arrests. Soviet, Cuban and East German mercenaries coordinate and direct the infamous Free to kill campaigns.

The independence of our country has been bargained for one billion worth of Soviet arms and mercenaries. Already there are between 6,000 to 8,000 foreign troops in Ethiopia of which the 3,000 Cuban mercenaries comprise

the largest majority. And about 6,000 more are reported to be on their way.

Under the auspices of the so called secret strategic command, controlled by the Soviet Union, Soviet arms and mercenaries are being used for the fascist regime’s acts of genocide in Ogaden and Eritrea. In the Ogaden, at least 3,000 people have been decimated from aerial bombardment during the last few weeks alone. Ethiopian Somalis who are waging a just struggle against national oppression, such savagery will undoubtedly cause a temporary set back, but it will never extinguish the struggle.

In Eritrea, whole villages and towns have been napalmed and razed to the ground and Soviet ships have been repeatedly bombarding Massawa. The liberation forces are heroically dealing telling blows to the fascist regime.

What is going on in Ethiopia clearly reveals the naked ambitions of Soviet Social Imperialism. It reveals the naked imperialist and criminal nature of the Soviet Union, which would stop at nothing in its contention with U.S. imperialism for world domination.

But this ambition will come to no good. It will come to no good end for our people, and the rest of the people in the region, are heroically fighting back.

The Ethiopian fascist junta is preparing for yet another large scale “all out offensive” in Eritrea to drown the Eritrean people in blood, this time with the support of thousands of Cuban combat troops, several Soviet war ships and large quantities of sophisticated Soviet weapons. Recently as world public opinion focused on the war in the Ogaden the junta has been busy preparing for a dangerous large scale war operation in Eritrea. Towards this end, the junta has flown thousands of troops and large quantities of Soviet weapons into our country’s capital, Asmara.

More than 2,000 Cuban troops have also arrived in Asmara to actively take part in the junta’s counter-revolutionary genocidal war against the Eritrean people. The junta’s troops in Asmara are now demoralized and have lost the will to fight and are deserting to the EPLF en masse; the Cuban troops have taken charge of all military directives, operating the sophisticated Soviet weapons, the tanks, heavy artillery and Mig fighters and are participating in combat.

Moreover, several Soviet war ships are directly participating in the junta’s “all out offensive” in Eritrea. At the moment four Soviet war ships have taken up positions near Massawa and are constantly shelling the port city. It has also been reported that about 25 Soviet war ships have entered our country’s territorial water, the Eritrean Red Sea, in direct intervention to crush our people’s revolutionary struggle.

The present preparations of the fascist junta with the help of Cuban troops, Soviet warships and sophisticated Soviet weapons to commit mass genocide of the Eritrean people glaringly shows the extent of the junta’s barbaric and rabidly fascist designs in Eritrea. It shows the junta’s frantic attempt to exterminate the Eritrean people, and its extreme desperation in its war of

mercenary troops will be utterly defeated in Eritrea, because the Eritrean people are determined to win the national liberation of Eritrea no matter what the odds.



The Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) is led by ZANU leader, Mugabe, and ZAPU leader, Nkomo, who have closed ranks against the common enemy of colonialism & imperialism and anyone trying to break this front is in serious error or the enemy. The Superpowers are trying everything possible to split the Patriotic Front.

**Zimbabwe**

In the African country of Zimbabwe, which the colonialists named Rhodesia, the imperialists are conducting a public minstrel show with three black clowns. These clowns and the white racist chief of oppressive settler colony, Ian Smith, are working together to try to pull the wool over the eyes of the Zimbabwean people and the rest of the world—but like all such cony tricks it will fail. The three negroes have been put forward by Smith as black leaders, they are named Sithole, Muzorewa and Chirau, they represent nothing but imperialism. They represent African political aspirations about as much as Huggy Bear on Starsky and Hutch! The reason these clown-traitor negroes are being raised up as black leaders is so the racist Ian Smith can pretend that he is actually negotiating to transfer power to the black majority in Zimbabwe. But this is a

lie, black majority rule in Zimbabwe will only come through the continuation of the revolutionary armed struggle being waged by the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe which is composed of the two major liberation organizations of the country ZANU — Zimbabwe African National Union, and ZAPU— Zimbabwe African Peoples Union. These two organizations led by Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, are the genuine liberation organizations of the people of Zimbabwe. And no matter the deadly yet foolish minstrel show Ian Smith is putting on in collaboration with those three Uncle Toms, ultimately the people of Zimbabwe will choose their leadership not racists like Ian Smith. Nor will people choose traitors such as the three blind mice masquerading as black leaders who are currently trying to sell the people out pretending to negotiate in Salisbury.

aggression in Eritrea. It likewise exposes the role of the Soviet Union and Cuba in Eritrea, the extent of their intervention to extinguish the flames of the revolutionary armed national liberation struggle of the Eritrean people.

We assure the Cuban troops that they will only find death and humiliation in Eritrea. Indeed, it won’t be long before we count thousands of dead and captured Cuban troops in Eritrea.

The Eritrean people have a deep hatred of their enemies and they are resolved to wage a sustained life and death struggle against them. They are prepared to pay whatever price for their freedom, independence and liberation. They are determined to smash all the counter-revolutionary machinations against their just and revolutionary struggle. The Eritrean people have long ago decided they want independence, and liberation and to attain this they have chosen the road of revolutionary armed struggle. Their destiny is in their hands.

(CONTRIBUTED BY ESUNA)

**Revolutionary Writer Arrested Without Charges in Kenya**

On Wed., Jan. 4, 1978, it was reported in the New York Times that Ngugi wa Thiong'o (James Ngugi), the internationally acclaimed Kenyan author had been arrested by the Kenyan government. No formal charges were made, but over 100 volumes were taken from Ngugi’s home, and Ngugi’s wife was told nothing, except he “was being questioned”.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o is perhaps the brightest light of the newly emerging African literature that is committed to revealing the entire concrete reality about Africa, rather than academic abstractions or nationalistic fantasies which hide NeoColonialism. His books, eg., “Homecoming”, “A Grain of Wheat”, and many others have showed him as perhaps the most expressive and socially conscious author in Africa today, though not as well known in the West as some writers the official and academic circles push as “African Spokesmen”.

In Kenya today where the grip of neocolonialism is as grim, bloody and corrupt as anywhere else in the world, it is obvious

that in Ngugi the neocolonial Kenyan government sees an opponent and a spokesman for genuine change. The African people are fed up with neocolonialism, i.e., imperialism ruling through native agents, as Cabral said, and Ngugi is one genuine spokesman for this will to transform African society that really serves the people.

It is vitally important that conscious forces all over the world protest this attack on one of the progressive forces of Africa, since this is really an attack on all anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces.

**THIRD WORLD-Glossary**

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the main force. It is true that Third World countries are different in their socio-political status and in struggle owing to historical or other accounts. But they are indisputably common in that they suffered from imperialist and colonialist oppression and plunder and are faced with the same task of maintaining state sovereignty, safeguarding national independence and developing national economy. However big their differences and disputes, the fundamental contradictions existing between them and imperialism, the superpowers in particular, cannot be altered, nor can their common goal of opposing hegemonism and their general orientation of opposing the common enemies in unity. And therefore their great role as a whole of being the main force combatting imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism cannot be played down. Facts speak louder. The historic role of the Third World in the anti-hegemony struggle is known to all and cannot be crossed off by anybody.

It can be said with confidence that in spite of the obstacles and difficulties, ups and downs that may come up on the road of struggle ahead, the Third World countries and people will grow more steadfast, play their greater role as the main force and push world history forever onward.

(Hsinhua Reprint)



Eritrean forces are combatting Cuban troops armed by Soviet social imperialists, which have intervened on the side of the counter-revolutionary Ethiopian junta against the Ethiopian and Eritrean peoples. These

# PRE CIVIL WAR REVOLUTIONARY BLACK NATIONALISM

## LAST OF SERIES

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 is a continuation of the section on the THREE ROADS)

Howard Day

"...I cannot sit still, while this resolution is pending, and by my silence acquiesce in it. For all who have known me for years past, know that to the principle of the resolution I am, on principle opposed. The remarks of the gentleman from Cuyahoga (Mr. Douglass) it seems to me partake of the error of many others who discuss this question, namely, of making the construction of the Constitution of the United States, the same as the Constitution itself. There is no dispute between us in regard to the pro-slavery action of this government, nor any doubt in our mind in regard to the aid which the Supreme Court of the United States has given to Slavery, and by their unjust and, according to their own rules illegal decision

decisions; but that is not the Constitution; they are not that under which I vote... Our business is with the Constitution. If it says it was framed to 'establish justice', it, of course, is opposed to injustice; if it says plainly no person shall be deprived of 'life, liberty, or property, without due process of law,' — I suppose it means it, and I shall avail myself of the benefit of it. Sir, coming up as I do, in the midst of three millions of men in chains, and five hundred thousand only half free, I consider every instrument precious which guarantees to me liberty. I consider the Constitution the foundation of American liberties and wrapping myself in the flag of the nation, would plant myself upon that Constitution, and using the weapons they have given me, I would appeal to the American people for the rights thus guaranteed.

"Mr. Douglass replied by saying— "The gentleman may wrap the stars and stripes of his country around him forty times, if possible, and with the Declaration of Independence in one hand, and the Constitution of our common country in the other, may seat himself under the shadow of the frowning monument of Bunker Hill, and if the slave holder under the constitution, and with the 'Fugitive Bill,' doesn't find you, then there doesn't exist a Constitution..."

C. H. Langston

"...I perfectly agree with the gentleman from Cuyahoga, (Mr. Douglass) who presented this resolution, that the United States' Constitution is pro-slavery. It was made to foster and uphold that abominable, vampirish and bloody system of American slavery. The highest judicial tribunals of the country have so decided. Members, while in the Convention and on returning to their constituents, declared that Slavery was one of the interests sought to be protected by the Constitution. It was so understood and so administered all over the country. But whether the Constitution is pro-slavery and whether colored men 'can consistently vote under that Constitution,' are two very distinct questions; and while I would answer the former in the affirmative, I would not, like the gentleman from Cuyahoga, answer the latter in the negative. I would vote under the United States Constitution on the same principle, (circumstances being favorable) that I would call on every slave, from Maryland to Texas, to arise and assert their liberties, and cut their masters' throats if they attempt again to reduce them to slavery. Whether or not this principle is correct, an impartial posterity and the Judge of the Universe shall decide.

"Sir, I have long since adopted as my God, the freedom of the colored people of the United States, and my religion, to do anything that will effect that object—however much it may differ

from the precepts taught in the Bible, such as 'Whoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also'; or 'Love your enemies; bless them that curse you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you.' Those are the lessons taught us by the religion of our white brethren, when they are free and we are slaves; but when their enslavement is attempted, then 'Resistance to Tyranny is obedience to God.' This doctrine is equally true in regard to colored men as white men." 27

H. Ford Douglass was a brilliant man and a superb debater. All one can say about his assertions regarding the Constitution is: "True! true! true!" But the fact remains that black nationalists, like Douglass, used these arguments because they did not believe in political action. They were geared to convincing free blacks that they should emigrate from the U.S. and establish a black nation in Africa. Political action requires some measure of hope in the possibilities of improving one's condition under present circumstances. The black nationalists could not afford to endorse such an outlook because it contradicted their contention that black liberation is impossible in America and that the oppressor is eternal. Why bother to patch up a house when you plan to leave it? A fundamental characteristic of black zionism is its opposition, not just to voting, but to almost all forms of political action.

The reformist William H. Day, on the other hand, presented the absurd view that the Constitution stands above the men who wrote it and who are responsible for its application. He presented the Constitution as some kind of holy scripture, which stands eternal above men and beyond reproach. He said that it is better than the men who wrote it. H. Ford Douglass' reply to Day was not only brilliant, but also brought this reformist back down to the dirty earth upon which the U.S. government stood. Day revealed his typical subservient reformist mentality when he asserted, in effect that he would act only within the bounds of "law and order" which were established by the Constitution. Political action on a reformist level was all he believed in. The reformists did not believe in the revolutionary potential of the enslaved black masses. They were led by the nose by their white liberal managers. They would not violate the "law and order" under which millions of black people were brutally held in chains, by resorting to revolution. They would only play the game by the rules set up by the oppressor. Revolution was good enough for Day's white liberal managers in 1776, but not for the black man who languished under conditions far worse than those which caused the American Revolution.

The black reformist and their white liberal managers called upon black people to wrap themselves in the American flag and to servilely obey and respect the laws of the oppressor. The oppressor's law was written on a blood-stained American dollar bill, called the Constitution of the United States. Its integrity was monetary and varied only according to the oppressor's need to keep its profit value up, at the expense of the captive black masses. The reformists were in love with this greenback Constitution. Pull the master's coat, beg him—whisper, squeak, and scream in his ear about the evils of slavery, but by all means, kiss the American flag and obey his laws! All of this, while slavery was the law of the land, and the American flag was the banner of slaveholders. Had these Uncle Tom reformists been alive during the American Revolution of 1776, they would have been called Loyalists or Tories and either imprisoned, shot as traitors, or forced to flee the country. The only black men that the oppressor wanted around when he was fighting his own Revolutionary War against England were those who could carry a gun for him, or those who could be his slaves.

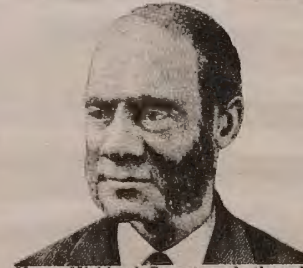
The revolutionary nationalists viewed all political action from a revolutionary perspective. A revolutionary struggle for black liberation was their goal. Revolution was their ultimate means. Wherever political action helped to consolidate the black masses, through agitation, demonstrations, voting, etc. it served as an aid to their main object. But they did not believe that voting, on the part of the handful of blacks who could vote, would achieve black liberation. They maintained an overall revolutionary perspective, while at the same time utilizing political action to achieve certain immediate ends. Charles H. Langston made it amply clear that the first order of business was black liberation, and that he would not be confined within the law and order of the oppressor. Revolutionary nationalists obviously believed that revolution was the highest form of political action that the enslaved black masses could engage in. For them it was merely a continuation of politics by other means. It

was not the Constitution of the United States which would decide the ultimate conflict between the oppressor and the oppressed; only the revolutionary power of the enslaved masses could decide this. Power is law. The American revolutionaries of 1776 knew this, and that is why they didn't bother to take their case to King George's courts of law. The black revolutionary nationalists also knew this and it would have made little sense to take the case of black liberation to the U.S. Supreme Court which had time and time again upheld slavery.

The black revolutionary nationalists asserted that the oppressor had no laws that black men were bound to respect, except where such obedience served the convenience of aiding the revolutionary overthrow of the enemy. The slaveholder had no rights that the slave was bound to respect. Temporary and partial, tactical obedience to the oppressor's law, under specific conditions of struggle at certain times and places, was advocated as revolutionary expediency dictated. Therefore, the revolutionary nationalists would engage in open, legal, political struggle, where possible, to achieve certain intermediate aims (mainly the consolidation of forces) related to the armed revolutionary overthrow of the oppressor. They had no illusions about voting or talking slavery out of existence. Political agitation and struggle heightened revolutionary potential, and provided the black masses with a weapon more powerful than ten thousand guns. When one understands why it is necessary to go to war in order to achieve liberation, then securing guns and ammunition is only a logical extension of this understanding. Political understanding and organization are more fundamental to revolutionary struggle than the gun. The man is more important than the weapon. A war of national liberation is merely the continuation of the political understanding of the oppressed masses by revolutionary means.

Reread the introduction to the Declaration of Sentiments of the Cleveland Convention of 1854 (page 27). The primacy of political understanding is stated: "...Whereas, no people can ever attain to the elevated position of freemen, who are totally or partially ignorant of the constituent elements of Political Liberty;..." etc. This revolutionary nationalist document is no less than a declaration of war, and the guiding political principles are clearly stated. We might call this document the Black Declaration of Independence.

In chapters which are to follow, we will do—



Henry Highland Garnet made the call for militant armed resistance to slavery. Garnet made it clear that Black "zionist" Back to Afrika schemes would not work, nor would Blacks moving 'en masse' to England or to nearby Mexico, in the struggle against the oppression and exploitation of slavery during this period preceding the civil war. Stay and Fight was the cornerstone of Garnet's message, taken up then and now by the masses of Black people and truly revolutionary Black nationalists such as Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner and others.

document the growth and development of black nationalism (black zionism and revolutionary nationalism) from the Civil War up to the present time.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Woodson, C. G. and Wesley, C.H., The Negro in Our History (Washington, D.C., 1922), p.69
2. Ibid, pp. 246-247. See also Woodson's Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830.
3. The Liberator, October 22, 1831.
4. John Brown was not alone in taking a principled revolutionary position on the question of slavery. Other whites (Wendell Phillips, Gerrit Smith, etc.), comprising a mere handful of those known as radicals or abolitionists, assumed a revolutionary position towards sla-

very. However, the vast majority of abolitionists were white supremacists and opportunists of one sort or another. They were the political ancestors of the present-day white liberal managers. We will deal with this question in more detail in later chapters.

5. The Liberator, September 22, 1832.
6. Proceedings of the Colored National Convention, held in Rochester, July 6th, 7th, and 8th, 1853 (Rochester, 1853, printed at the office of Frederick Douglass' paper).
7. The Colored American (N.Y.), October 4, 1837; published in C.G. Woodson, ed., Negro Orators, pp. 86-92.
8. The Negro in Our History, op. cit, p. 380. Also see Carl Sandburg's Abraham Lincoln (N.Y. 1939), especially pp. 53, 90, 103, 118-119, 212, 330, 345-46, for Lincoln's views on slavery and the black man
9. Minutes of the Fourth Annual Convention, for the improvement of the free people of colour... (N.Y. 1834, pub. by order of the convention).
10. The Liberator, March 5, 1852.
11. Ibid. March 12, 1858.
12. Proceedings of a convention of the Colored Men of Ohio, held in the City of Cincinnati, on the 23rd, 24th, 25th and 26th days of November, 1858 (Cincinnati, 1858).
13. Proceedings of the Colored National Convention held in Rochester, 1853, op. cit.
14. Ibid.
15. Op. cit. The Negro in Our History, p. 493
16. Proceedings of the National Emigration Convention of Colored People; held at Cleveland, Ohio...24-26 August, 1854 (Pittsburgh, 1954).
17. A Memorial Discourse; by Rev. Henry Highland Garnet, delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives, Washington...February 12, 1865, with an introduction by James McCune Smith (Phila., 1865), pp. 44-51.
18. The Liberator, December 3, 1843.
19. Minutes of the State Convention of the Colored Citizens of the State of Michigan, for the purpose of considering their moral & political conditions, as citizens of the State (Detroit, 1843). Copy in the Boston Athenaeum.
20. State Convention of the Colored Citizens of Ohio, convened at Columbus, January 10-13, 1849 (Oberlin, 1849).
21. Salem, Ohio, Anti-Slavery Bugle, September 28, 1850, published by Helen Boardman in Common Ground (Spring 1947), vol.VII.
22. Proceedings of the State Convention of Colored Men, held in the City of Columbus, Ohio, January 16th, 17th, and 18th, 1856 (n.p., n.d.).
23. The Liberator, March 12, 1858.
24. Ibid, August 13, 1858.
25. Ibid, February 14, 1862; indications of audience response are from original.
26. Proceedings of the National Emigration Convention of Colored People, 1854, op. cit.
27. Minutes of the State Convention of the Colored Citizens of Ohio, convened at Columbus, January 15-18, 1851 (Columbus, 1851).

## NOTE

Excerpts containing much of the documentation used in this study can be found in A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, edited by Herbert Aptheker, with a preface by W.E.B. DuBois (N.Y., 1962). The introductory matter which precedes each excerpt in Aptheker's book is often misleading and perhaps, on certain cases, reflects the editors own political aberration. He makes no clear delineation between reformism, black zionism or revolutionary nationalism. He gives the impression that the term "Abolitionist" embraced such people as Martin R. Delany, H. H. Garnet and others who represented very distinct and fundamentally different political trends, and who can in no way be lumped together with the white Abolitionists.

Martin R. Delany was not an Abolitionist. He did not believe that slavery could or would be abolished in the United States. H.H. Garnet was not an Abolitionist; he was a revolutionary nationalist, in his introductory note on pg. 363, concerning the Cleveland Emigration Convention of 1854, Aptheker says, "Noteworthy in this convention was the expression of a feeling of and a yearning for Negro nationality." Thus, he dismisses this extremely important document with an obscure bit of understatement.

The document in Aptheker's book can only be understood in the context of an independent study of Afro-American history.

THE END

# STRUGGLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST



The Palestinian Liberation Organization truly represents the Palestinian people and their struggle for self determination and de-

terminates the support of the people of the world in their just struggle against Israeli aggression and for the liberation of their homeland, Palestine!

Those two old partners in crime, US Imperialism and Israeli Zionism, have apparently had a falling out. They don't seem able to agree, at this point, on what stand to take toward the Arab countries, generally, although, they do agree they need to kill off the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

When the US connived with the Zionists to set Israel up in 1948, it gained a "watchdog" ally with which to threaten and divide the Arab countries. At the same time, the US and the Zionists drove more than a million people from their land and into exile and placed at the heart of Middle East affairs a burning revolutionary question: the return of land and national rights to the Palestinian people.

The worst single atrocity committed against the Palestinian people in 1948 was the massacre of more than 200 unarmed people at a little village named Deir Yassin. This act of fascist terror was perpetrated by a gang called the Irgun. Their leader was a man named Menahem Begin.

In 1956 the US used the Suez Canal incident to expel Britain and France from influence over Middle East affairs. In this, the US had two aims: to gain control over the Middle East's strategic geographic position and vast oil reserves, the greatest in the world; and to gain the whip hand over Europe as the controller of its oil supply in the Middle East. Chairman Mao Tse Tung of the Communist Party of China summed up the political situation of the time in this way:

"In the Middle East there was that Suez Canal incident. A man called Nasser (Egypt) nationalized the canal, another called Eden (Britain) sent in an invading army, and close on his heels came a third called Eisenhower (U.S.) who decided to drive the British out and have the place all to himself...

"In the Middle East, two kinds of contradictions and three kinds of forces are in conflict. The two kinds of contradictions are: first, those between different imperialist powers, that is, between the United States and Britain and between the United States and France, and, second, those between the United States and the oppressed nations. The three kinds of forces are: one, the United States, the biggest imperialist power, two, Britain and France, second-rate imperialist powers, and, three, the oppressed nations... The methods the United States employs are now violent, now non-violent, and this is the game it is playing in the Middle East." (Selected Works of Mao Tse Tung, Vol.5)

1956 was also the year in which the traitor Khrushchev seized power in the Soviet Union. By 1964 he had led the complete restoration of capitalism in that country. He and his successor, Brezhnev, put the Soviet Union on a course of social imperialism, i.e., socialism in words but imperialism in deeds.

Like the US, the Soviet Union plays a treacherous double game in the Middle East. The USSR poses as the friend of the Arab countries but in reality attempts to sow discord among them, trying to keep them divided among themselves and weak.

USSR stood before everyone in the Middle East exposed for what it is: an imperialist superpower.

Egypt and the Sudan subsequently broke off "friendship" treaties with the Soviet Union and kicked out Soviet military personnel. These steps were victories for all of the developing countries of the Third World against imperialism and superpower hegemony. Despite all the splitting tactics cooked up by the two superpowers, the main trend in the Middle East has been toward Arab unity, and toward Arab-Palestinian unity in particular. It is this trend toward unity that has caused US imperialism and Israeli Zionism to encounter so much difficulty in their relationship.

The fundamental interests of US imperialism in the Middle East are tied up with the Arab countries. It is these countries that hold the great bulk of the land, resources and population of the region. The US has never supported Israel or Zionism as ends in themselves, still less does US imperialism care for the interests of Jewish people (which is another thing altogether), or any other people. Israel is but a means to an end for the US, the end being to have its way with the Arab countries, to threaten, divide, dominate, and plunder them. The Arab people are a great people, however. They are the real makers of history in the Middle East and they have had a bellyful of both superpowers. Their unity and defiance have led the US to seek new means of pursuing its interests. Aware of and fearing more than anything else the revolutionary storm that is brewing in the Middle East, the US wants to relax tensions by making some token accommodation to the rights of the Palestinians. Hence Jimmy Carter's recent talk of setting up a "Palestinian entity" on the West Bank territory seized by Israel from Jordan in 1967.

The return of the terrorist Begin as the Prime Minister of Israel is no accident under the circumstances. More than anyone else, Begin embodies the Zionist logic of rejection of Arab rights and sovereignty. Rather than simply not wanting to recognize Arab rights, it is the case that the Zionists must not do so, they can not do so. This is because of the fundamental contradiction of Zionism: its acceptance of anti-semitism, its reliance upon the racist hatred against Jewish people.

Since its beginnings in the 1880's, Zionism has always said to the Jews: anti-semitism is part of human nature; the only choice is to be oppressed, or to set up one's own country and be the oppressor. Therefore it has always been natural to Zionism to work in cahoots with the oppressor of nations, capitalist imperialism, first that of Britain and France, then that of the US, and even to do a kind of hidden dance step with Soviet social imperialism.

To accommodate Arab rights would call into question the assumption, vital

to the Zionist worldview, that Jews and Arab peoples, and therefore that Israel and the Arab states must always be enemies. This is out of the question to the Zionists as it would at once open to doubt the need for the Zionist state and would thus threaten the position of the Zionist ruling class in Israel. This is the reality that President Anwar Sadat found when he went to Jerusalem in an attempt to make peace. Israel would make no recognition whatever of Egyptian sovereignty or Palestinian rights. The Begin government made clear its determination to maintain Israeli settlements and a military presence in the Sinai Desert territory of Egypt and in the West Bank territory of Jordan. Indeed the Israeli invasion of Lebanon can only be seen as a deliberate effort to thwart any possible peace settlement, even one seen favorably in Washington.

The Zionists must be thanked for having provided the clearest possible proof that the only security for the Arab peoples lies in Arab unity and not in negotiations with the superpowers. Head USSR revisionist Brezhnev, waving the flag of social-imperialism, himself stated on February 21 that, "The imperialists strive to split the national-liberation movement, to find in its ranks conciliators and capitulationists."

The Communist Party of China replied that:

"One would like to ask: When a leader of a sovereign Arab state took the initiative, approved by his people as a due move, to preserve national independence and state sovereignty and throw off foreign interference, and in the negotiations with Israel, stuck to the just stand calling for recovery of the lost Arab territories and the restoration to the Palestinian people of their national rights and for an all-round solution, how could he have offended the Soviet Union, which has nothing to do with the Middle East?"

"To this the Egyptian paper Al Akhbar gave the correct answer in an editorial stating, 'Brezhnev's anger and criticism are understandable, for Egypt has rejected its patronage and has freed her will from Soviet domination and ambitions. It is quite natural that the Soviet leaders should vent their wrath on Egypt and her policy.'"

-Peking Review, no. 11, 1978, p. 43

The situation in the Middle East today is excellent. Both superpowers are meeting with unprecedented difficulty. The intentions of Israeli Zionism are exposed to the whole world as never before. The Arab countries are persisting in their unity despite all obstacles. The Palestinian people prove again every day that their determination to fight for their land and rights is inexhaustible. Though the struggle is hard and the path has many twists and turns, they surely will overcome every difficulty and win final victory.

## HORN OF AFRICA

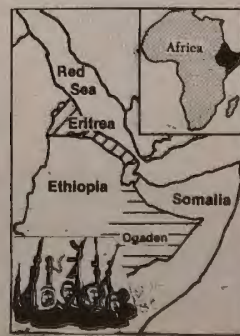
The USSR has stepped up its intervention in Africa, stirring up wars between African countries, interfering in their internal affairs, attempting to suppress revolutions and wars of national liberation, and is fomenting strife between African liberation groups. The contention between the two superpowers is the source of the danger of a new worldwide imperialist war today.

In the Horn of Africa, the USSR stirred up a war between Somalia and Ethiopia, sending tens of thousands of fresh Cuban troops and thousands of Soviet military leaders to direct the war, suppress the heroic struggle of the Eritreans for liberation, and to suppress the growing revolutionary movement inside Ethiopia against the fascist junta in power.

USSR GO HOME!

The rapid increase of military forces and equipment Moscow sent to the Horn of Africa, causes many progressive forces in Africa to denounce the USSR as the arsonist in the Horn of Africa, which has actually been fanning the flames of war in Ogaden. Control of the horn of Africa would give the USSR control of the Red Sea; control which it could use to threaten Egypt and Sudan if has been quoted as saying, "After the Soviets knock out Somalia, they will turn on Sudan and Egypt." On the same subject

Sudanese President Nimeri said, "It is also attempting to establish a base to watch over the oil states, as it will face a shortage in its oil resources towards the 80's. The peoples of Africa are readying themselves for the danger of intervention by the New Tsars. The Superpowers will certainly find Africa to be tough meat."



SOVIETS ATTACK ERITREAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

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

## R.C.L. POSITION

### RECONSTRUCTION Part 3: 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, Amendments



Afro-American youth must struggle, they suffer a double oppression under capitalism and national oppression. They have the worst unemployment rate of any group in the country.

The Reconstruction saw the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution passed, each one a classic plank of bourgeois democracy. The 13th, the making of slavery illegal in the United States; the 14th, the recognition of all citizens as equal under the law and with the right of due process; and the 15th, the right to vote (offense). The passage of these acts was accomplished primarily because the Northern industrialists wanted to crush the Southern planter oligarchy and gain complete dominance over them. They used the blacks and small white farmers to do this. But by the 70's, having accomplished the basic takeover they sought, they initiated a counter-revolution so fierce and bloody that its effects still can be seen on black people and small white farmers today. (The effects still observable are the lack of the complete extension of democracy to either group. Not only blacks in the Black Belt, but the poor white peasants of rural Alabama are among the most oppressed and exploited group in the United States. The plight of the "hillbillies" and white country people is well known. See Lenin on "Education in Black Belt" in RUSSIANS AND NEGROES, p.59, or LENIN ON THE U.S., L.C.W., Vol. 18, pp. 543-544.) In the South, the median income for whites over 14 is \$3911. The rural non-farm median annual income for whites is \$3516, \$712 less than the \$4228 urban median income for whites. But even lower than the rural non-farm median income is that for rural farm related whites which is only \$2975. Some might argue that this simply reflects the contradiction between income from industry vs farming. But when comparing the Southern white farmer to the Northeastern, North Central, or Western farmer, the South still lags behind by \$800, \$694 and \$576 per year median income respectively. (1970 Census.) The proportion of literates AMONG THE WHITES IS TWICE AS HIGH in the former slaveholding areas. It is not only the Negroes that show traces of slavery" (Lenin, RUSSIANS & NEGROES, Vol. 18, pp. 543-544). The demand for "civil" rights extended with the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments and the recon-

### Passage of the

13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, Amendments

nopeists, who used him first to build coalitions with blacks to smash the planters; but once the monopolists had consolidated the total power, they used him to help smash the Black Power because it was taking the bourgeois democratic revolution too far. Both seem plausible and probably have some elements of truth in them. Once the reconstruction governments were overturned, then the Northern monopolist controlled Southern racist governments tried to force black people back into slavery with a rule of terror. Dialectically, it was this complete attempt at suppression, segregation, discrimination and oppression that helped form the Black Nation in the South and consolidate a national character that would be sustained even in the Northern ghettos, all of which carried, as Haywood said, the "Shadow of the Black Belt." Here, too, rule over blacks was largely by terror.

The Black Codes, the so-called "Redemption of the South," the "Revolt of the Poor Whites" (KKK terror, which was Northern monopoly capitalist bourgeois financed, and Southern planter petty bourgeois led), the peonage system (See definitions and sharecropping all had the design and partial result of enforced repression. The plantation is patently an unmodest structure in the country's economic life. It is not just a relic of the past. If it has survived in defiance of social change and progress, it is because it has been bolstered up and kept alive by the dominant economic force of the country, finance capital. Wall Street is the supreme owner of the plantation. It is the secret shrine revered by the Yankees and ruling Bourbon landholders. It is the great Moloch to which are offered up sacrifices soaked with the blood, sweat and tears of the Negro bondsmen and the great propertyless mass of Southern "poor whites". This entrenched big monopoly power of the North and East is the chief grievance and Negro oppression of Southern distress and poverty.

"In the South, a direct product of Northern victory was the new Bourbon middle class. Born during Reconstruction, this was an ex-

pression of ruling Northern capitalist interests to the South and guaranteed the latter's supremacy in the former slave domain." (NEGRO LIBERATION, Haywood, pp. 49-50) These years also saw a revival of the notorious Black Codes, a resurgence of the hooded terror of the Ku Klux Klan... (NEGRO LIBERATION, Haywood, p. 59, see also, "The Triumph of the Whites," C. Van Woodward) and with this, the beginnings of the development of the earliest form of the black bourgeoisie. From enslaved Africans to freed Afro-Americans, till now after the counter-revolution that destroyed Reconstruction, what was being re-enslaved was a black nation! Between the fall of the Reconstruction governments and 1900, classes appear in the black nation. "...the Negroes, who at the time of their release from chattel bondage comprised an almost unidentifiable mass were by the beginning of the 20th century become transformed into a people manifesting among themselves the class groupings peculiar to modern capitalist society." (NEGRO LIBERATION, Haywood, p.143.)

### Black Liberation

cont. from pg 1

and white rebellions. So the white rebellions were tied in the 16th and 17th century, and given a new category...the keepers of the slaves and tricked by being told that even though they were suffering that some how since they were white they were better than the blacks.

The US has a history of revolution. The Revolutionary War to end British colonialism was a revolutionary war because George Washington and company promised freedom once the British were defeated. Earlier the British had made the same promise and the Blacks and whites early in that war fought on the side of the British.

After this war it was thought that slavery would decline, but the invention of the cotton gin transformed cotton from a domestic product which a small group of slaves could harvest into an internationally sought after commodity. This

CONT'D NEXT COL.

meant that capitalism was now imposed upon black people as well as slavery. Hence the further reliance on agricultural development for US expansion brought about the exclusion of black people's democratic rights from the constitution.

In the 19th century the rising economic expectancy associated with cotton was accompanied by the intensification of slavery: the life expectancy of a male slave of 18 in the Black Belt, where cotton was grown, fell to 7 years. This produced a rising wave of slave revolts: Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vessey, Nat Turner all led rebellions. Turner's actually was so successful that for years an aura of fear and terror hung over the slave masters. This was the period when Harriet Tubman constructed her great underground railroad leading hundreds of slaves into Canada and freedom. This period reaches its heights with the John Brown rebellion composed of blacks and whites, and finally ends with the breakout of the Civil War.

The Civil War was fought between two social systems, one based on slavery, controlled by the southern planter-slavocrats. The other was a rising industrial system of so called free labor, actually wage slavery, controlled by the bankers of the north. The south was winning the war until the blacks came into the war in great numbers. At first the north tried to keep them out, because the northern strategy was by many southern sympathizers, the copperheads, and the racism of the American ruling class that always tried to keep blacks inert and cashed their defense. But black people rose, burned plantations, seized the sale and fought their way into the Civil War. 186,000 blacks joined the union army and one out of three black soldiers gave their lives for the rights of slavery. Unlike Rools, where the blacks read in a newspaper about the Civil War and that they were being freed, and then stayed on the plantation. In fact, the black masses fought and died for the Union and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation (which only applied to the south) was merely the legitimization of something that the black masses were already actively doing.

After the Civil War came the period called the Reconstruction. This was perhaps the most democratic period in US life. There are still not as many black congressmen and senators today as there were in the reconstruction period. The northern rulers, the industrial capitalists, needed the reconstruction period to completely strip the southern slavocrats of their political and economic power. Then they sold the blacks out, in the infamous Hayes-Tilden Compromise of 1877. The capitalists pulled out the federal troops (disarmed black militia, bankrolled terrorist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan to rule by fear and bloodshed, drove blacks out of the state legislatures, passed Jim Crow laws like the black codes, and tried to crush the progress of the reconstruction and plunge black people back into slavery with peonage and sharecropping and poll taxes and lynchings.

It is after the destruction of the reconstruction governments that the Afro-American nation arises in the Black Belt South. The area where the cotton was grown and harvested by generations of blacks, the area today where 25% of all the blacks in the US still live. This area stretches from the bottom of Delaware to east Texas, 1800 miles long, half moon shaped and 300 miles deep. The Black Belt is the location of the Afro-American nation, a nation that rose out of slavery, forged through bloodshed and struggle; a nation that resulted from the fact that black people by that time were a historically constituted stable community of people with a common language, common economic life and common psychological development manifest as a common culture, to paraphrase Joseph Stalin.

By the late 19th century in this country, black people were so long disconnected African tribes bound in slavery, or scattered peasants but a nation of people, a modern nation with all the classes of capitalist society, oppressed by US imperialism in much of the same way as the natives of the 3rd World (Africa, Asia, Latin America). This nation has the right of self-determination, up to and including the right to secession. But this is a right that can only be realized through revolutionary struggle.



The Black Panther Party picked up Malcolm X's call for armed self defense, demonstrating the influence of Malcolm X's leadership and example on a whole generation of black people.

The land of the American south is black peoples' land. Look on the map put out by the US Chamber of Commerce, which show how the various nationalities are situated today, right now, and you will see a black ballroom where the Afro-American majority still lives today, even though some of us have migrated north in search of a better life. 7 out of 10 blacks in the north were born in the south. The south is the black homeland the Black Belt nation, of the Afro-American people. But it can be liberated only through revolutionary struggle.

For the Afro-American people, the 20th century in this country has been marked by much migration out of the Black Belt (a trend now being reversed) but the majority never left. Those Afro-Americans in the north and midwest came looking for jobs, fleeing the oppression of the Ku Klux Klan-Black Codes south. As the US imperialists reaped the 19th World War in the early part of the century, they needed cheap labor and brought Afro-American people north. The Garvey Movement of the 20's was a movement largely of new black peasants from the south following the impoverished middle class idealists that characterized the Garvey Movement.

There could be no Black Africa: black people were already a nation in captivity, their land was where the majority of them lived and shared a common economic background, language and culture. And those Afro-Americans in the north had to fight for democratic rights and ultimately join in revolutionary struggle with the other exploited and oppressed people of this land to overthrow the degenerate system of monopoly capitalism.

In the 30's, during the guidance of the great Lenin, the leader of the Russian Revolution, the US communist party took up the correct political line on black people, proclaiming the existence of the oppressed Afro-American nation in the Black Belt south, and putting out the stirring revolutionary slogan: LIBERATION FOR THE BLACK NATION, SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE AFRO-AMERICAN NATION. These cities still raise fire in black hearts today, because this is a true description of the black liberation movement's real goals. LIBERATION FOR THE AFRO-AMERICAN NATION IN THE BLACK BELT SOUTH SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE AFRO-AMERICAN NATION.

In the 40's, however, the CPUSA came under the total domination of a group of reactionaries, servants of the US bourgeoisie, and sold the party over to the American rulers. In the 30's thousands of blacks had joined the Communist Party because they came to realize that only revolution could make change in this country—not submission or turning the other cheek or waiting till after you were to be free in some never land garden. But in the 40's the CPUSA turned its back on the black struggle, and by the 50's the CPUSA had turned its back completely on socialism and socialism and began to babble stupidity that socialism, which is the collective ownership by the whole people of the means of producing wealth, the land, factories, mineral wealth, oil wells, transportation, communication...could be won by working people peacefully.

The 50's and 60's saw the rise of the Civil Rights Movement, which had a mass following but was led essentially by the black bourgeoisie. The bankrupt Communist Party USA began in the 50's to say that black people had already achieved self determination under imperialism, and that the NAACP and Urban League and the black freedom movement were the leaders of the black majority self-determination, and that this could be accomplished peacefully just like socialism and integration was the key to socialism.

Dr. King was the greatest of the black bourgeois leaders, but his line of nonviolence, turn the other cheek, and metaphysical nonresistance under the abuse of racism was not a political line most black people could live in practice. This is why Malcolm X rose so forcefully during the same period to put forth the line of the black majority self-determination, self-respect and self defense. And Malcolm X had wide influence. He changed the black liberation movement from civil rights to self defense to black nationalism. The SNCC movement, once influenced by King, was transformed under Malcolm's influence. Stokely Carmichael rose as leader of SNCC echoing Malcolm's line calling for Black Power. Rap Brown rose in SNCC as its next leader calling for black rebellion saying that if America didn't come around it should be burned to the ground, not submission and nonviolence but struggle and self defense and finally rebellion.

The Black Panther Party rose from Malcolm's line of armed self defense. The cultural nationalists rose from Malcolm's line on the black nation and the importance of black people's African heritage though they distorted it and made it metaphysical. (CAP included) Malcolm was murdered because he broke with cultural nationalism and religious nationalism and began to talk about a

black united front of all classes and strata of black people in struggle against imperialism, because Malcolm was becoming an internationalist, because he began to talk about how the black liberation movement was linked up with the struggle of oppressed people everywhere, and how capitalism and racism go hand in hand.

In this part of the 70's the bourgeoisie tries to tell us the movement is dead. Can 30 million people be dead? True they killed and locked up and bought out some leaders, but the people themselves persist, and where there is oppression there will be resistance. It has become clearer and clearer to more and more Afro-American people that it is capitalism itself, the system of private ownership of the means of producing wealth by 6/10ths of one percent is the enemy that the Rockefeller's, Morgans, Duponts, Mellons, the 5 families in the O'Jays used to sing about before they were cooled out, are the enemies not only of the oppressed black nation but of the majority of people, black, white, Puerto Rican, Asian, Indian, and Chicano in this country. Our history is continuously distorted to make us think that black people of all people always enjoyed capitalist rule, slavery, lynching, union busting, indentured servitude, Appalachia, Wounded Knee, Indian genocide, the oppression of women. In many black history exhibits, for instance the one at the Newark Museum, or in the various schools, or official exhibitions, they make black history about the middle class or black entertainers. In one grammar school they had Sammy Davis, Diana Ross, but not Malcolm X. At the museum they did not have Harriet Tubman or Robeson and of course not Malcolm X. In an exhibit at a Texas college they had all the blacks in Texas who fought on the side of the confederacy as the black heroes. Yes, they will distort, they will raise up the weak or submissive and try to hide the people whose struggle makes history. As in the TV presentation King, the presentation of Malcolm X was a hideous distortion.

So black history month is important for us to seek out the real history of black struggle. A history that will invariably see us joining the struggle of the majority of blacks in this country to build a new communist party, based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, and carry out a socialist revolution to put the wealth and resources of this society into the hands of the working masses, and at the same time liberate the black nation and bring freedom, liberty and prosperity to all the people of this land.



A brave young hero of the Azanian national uprising of 1976 uses a dustbin lid as his shield and a brick as his

missile against fascist machine guns and tanks in Alexandra Township, Johannesburg.

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

### PAC INTERVIEW

Q. What role do you see for the white population—particularly the white workers—in South Africa playing in the struggle for liberation and socialism?

A. Well, for the moment, I don't see it. It isn't there because of the position in that country—racialism has become so acute that you find blood is thicker than water. We are trying to put forward a philosophy that we are not fighting against a race because we believe in one race—the human race and not in groups of races or tribes. But because of the manner in which apartheid has been implemented, the hatred of the people there

when the fighting comes—even a man in Soweto who was a reverend gentleman helping the Africans, when the battle took place they just said, "This is a white man. He must die." This is the position now, and we are not responsible for it. As far as we are concerned, we feel that even when we capture white prisoners, we are not going to kill them. We are going to educate them. You see? We'll tell them the truth and let them go to their own people and tell them, "Those people are not savages. They are human beings. Here, we have come back. Let us try and come together with these people to build peace." We are not brutes and we are not racists and we are trying to

avoid a racial war. Now, you see, the hatred there is so great that the hatred is against the WHITE MAN. It doesn't matter whether he is a reverend gentleman, a philanthropist or anything. We are not responsible for that, but as much as we can, we want to see that some of the white workers and others—because they are also oppressed by the big bourgeoisie—can understand our point of view when we tell them that they must stand with us to finish these fellows and then we can settle the issue afterwards. And then it will depend on how the struggle will go and we hope they are genuine.

Q. There is talk that the old, externally based movements—PAC and ANC— may be

surpassed by internal forces if they don't get back to the country soon to begin armed struggle. What is your view on that?

A. That is not correct because we are in contact with these forces at home. And, even apart from that, the internal forces cannot succeed without armed struggle. We are the main force that must redeem the country because we have the means to arm our people there. These people are in contact with us and we will take action to defend in court those who were arrested, and the people know this. Talk like that is an attempt to destroy the struggle in the country. I don't know about ANC, but, as far as PAC is concerned, we know that we are in contact with the masses there. We have made a contribution to their work so we have no worry about that.

Q. How does PAC see the chances for generalised warfare in Southern Africa; that is, how likely is it that warfare will spill over beyond the borders of the individual countries to engulf the whole region? How likely is this possibility and what do you see as the probable line-up of forces?

A. There is this possibility in view of the intervention of the super powers. This is obvious. U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism are interested in the affairs of Southern Africa and they have interfered there. On the basis of this it is obvious that not only a racial war but also the whole region is likely to be engulfed in terrific warfare even worse than that in Viet Nam. But, in our view, if there should be such a war, it would be advantageous to us. If there should be a third world war today it would be advantageous to the Azania revolution because such a war will enable us to win an even quicker victory. We will be able to point out to our people the dangers and advantages of this type of war and we will be able to mobilize even those who are not yet clear on what is involved. Therefore, we say that a super power war that would engulf Southern Africa will be advantageous to our revolution. When there is peace and no war there is no advantage and we suffer a great deal.

The Revolutionary Communist League (M-L-M) sponsors:

## BLACK LIBERATION TODAY

### A MARCH & CONFERENCE

IN CELEBRATION OF AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY 1978

May 20th, & 21st, 1978  
in Harlem, New York City.

#### WORKSHOPS:

- THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT TODAY
- AFRO-AMERICANS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT & MARXISM
- BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN\*
- BLACK LIBERATION AND AFRICAN LIBERATION
- BLACK LIBERATION AND REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE

FOR MORE INFORMATION WRITE:  
Unity & Struggle, P.O. Box 1181, Newark, N.J. 07101

## NICARAGUA

### WORKERS ON PROTEST STRIKE

On January 23, 300,000 Nicaraguan workers went on strike. They demanded a full investigation of the murder of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, a well known opposition leader assassinated in Managua on January 10. That same day, 80 per cent of the stores and businesses in Nicaragua's ten major cities....closed down in sympathy with the workers' strike.

Chamorro was a leader of the Democratic Liberation Union and editor of LA PRENSA, the only anti-government newspaper in Nicaragua. Chamorro has been imprisoned and exiled many times for his statements against the government.

...The murder of Chamorro has aroused intense indignation among people in every walk of life. The day Chamorro was assassinated, about 50,000 people in Managua (the capital of Nicaragua) held a demonstration in protest and expressed their condolences. (Taken from Peking Review)

## Celebrate



#### FILM:

- "Finally Got the News"
- Cultural Presentations
- Solidarity Messages from Workers and Anti-Imperialist organizations.
- Discussion

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY (Conklin Hall)

University Ave., Newark, NJ  
APRIL 30th 1978 3-8PM

Free Daycare Refreshments Sold



"Do more self-criticism and seek common ground on major questions while reserving differences on minor ones."

## LPR LETTER-

cont. from pg 12

alist group like PIS in the middle of the leadership of this coalition. And we take the leading responsibility for the errors in the struggle over the role of PIS in this coalition.

In summation, the RCL criticizes LPR for raising the correct call of Marxist-Leninists unite in theory but in pushing "left" sectarianism in practice. Practically, they held up the motion of the IWWD Coalition for several meetings on the question of a "left"-bloc parade.

Practically, LPR took the line in the coalition as being the "overall most correct" and "objective leadership" of the coalition in the style of the now-defunct "left" sectarians of the "Revolutionary Wing". Practically, LPR did not seek truth from facts on many questions

in the coalition and in their "open letter" to RCL, thereby laying the basis for further unprincipledness between the two organizations.

Practically, LPR has not met with RCL to begin to resolve our differences by seeking common ground on major questions while reserving our differences on minor questions.

We are now approaching May Day 1978 and LPR(ML) has proposed that we maintain our coalition and do joint work for that event. The RCL intends to make public its self-criticism for the errors it committed around IWWD and to in-practice repudiate what has been incorrect in our theory and actual work. If LPR(ML) can see past their subjective view of themselves and also make honest self-criticism for their incorrect lines and errors, then we should be on the way to a much better organized May Day event.

Comradely yours,  
RCL (M-L-M)

# REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE

## Revolutionary Review

### WAR IN POPULAR CULTURE



The reason we say War, is because within the broad spectrum of popular culture, the same class struggle goes on as goes on throughout the rest of the society. The struggle between the working masses of people who are the exploited majority, and the exploiting minority, the bourgeoisie. Basically, we ought to know, that it is a struggle for dominance. The bourgeoisie do no work, but because they own and control the means of producing wealth—factories, machines, land, oil wells, communications, transportation—they also control and use most of that wealth for their own selfish interests while the majority of people are ripped off and own nothing really but the muscle in their arms, while many are even without jobs in a land of plenty.

It was Karl Marx who laid out scientifically the nature of capitalist society in his great work, CAPITAL. It was Marx who transformed socialism from a utopian desire for a communalistic society where none are exploited or oppressed into a science, and this is why we honor him, and try to apply the science of Marxism to present day capitalist societies all over the world, to eliminate capitalism and build socialism, under the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. In the contemporary era, we say Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tseung Thought to take into consideration the great contributions to the treasure house of revolutionary Marxism great revolutionaries like Lenin of Russia and Mao Tseung of China made to the revolutionary science.

One thing that Marx pointed out was that the most important aspect of society was the economic base, that is, how did the society get its food, clothing and shelter, because unless it could answer these questions it could not exist. The method by which food, clothing and shelter is provided is the mode of production, and all of the ideas, customs, institutions to rise in the society actually reflect that economic base. The economic base of contemporary US society is capitalist, this means that the superstructure, i.e., all the ideology, institutions, customs, religion reflect that economic base of capitalism. So that US schools are capitalist schools which teach a capitalist education—the prevailing philosophy spread around is capitalism, justifying the rule of the rich and the continued exploitation and oppression of the workers and poor.

What passes as popular culture is for the most part capitalist oriented. So that even though it might be more obvious that so-called classical music, ballet, and the painting in the art galleries and museums reflect the ideology and rule of the bourgeoisie and the justification of the domination of the rich in society which they control. What you read in newspapers, hear on the radio for the most part, see on television, even in the sports arenas and stadiums, are for the most part, creations of capitalism. In fact the bourgeoisie even

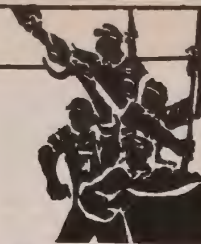
creates an artificial popular culture, specifically filled with images celebrating and supporting capitalism and the bourgeoisie, designed to dupe, to trick working people. A real popular culture would be a culture shaped by the people which served the people's interests. The fake popular culture is shaped by the bourgeoisie in imitation of popular forms, which serves the bourgeoisie.

Let's take a brief look at various areas of popular entertainment, i.e., which use forms that are popular but which contain to various degrees the enemy philosophy of capitalism. A random look at some of the popular films being shown now will tell us a great deal. The biggest grosser money wise, which means that the most people have filed past the box office to see it, is STAR WARS. The popularity of STAR WARS is already legendary, and certainly the bourgeoisie will always tell you their wares are popular even before they are, to make them popular, and to a certain extent this is true with STAR WARS, but also an enormous amount of people have seen it, and many, the media says, have liked it. The film itself, in its form is a children's science fiction film, with cute robots as the partial heroes of the film. But not only is the film science fiction dealing with rockets, spacecraft, and another time and another solar system, another galaxy, it says—but also this flick is heavy on the metaphysics telling us about the FORCE, a mysterious energy form which is a medium for telepathy or combat. (The bourgeoisie are pushing metaphysics and mysticism versus reality, eg. THE EXORCIST, 1&2) The heroes are fighting against the forces of the Empire, and the empire is represented by a figure dressed in science fiction knight's armor. We never see his face, and the armor, of course, proper for a villain, is black. And the voice is that of James Earl Jones. Plus, the villain's name is Darth Vader, which is a gloss on Dark Invader. Of course the blonde blue eyed heroes finally wipe out Dark Invader with the help of the mystical Force. Another interesting insight is a scene in an intergalactic bar, and the residents of the various other planets look like the animals of this planet—meaning that the most intelligent life in the universe is the blonde blue eyed one—you guessed it huh?

But check out THE DEEP in which all the villains are black, and Lou Gossett who got famous in ROOTS, playing a well meaning Tom, is now the villain, so terrifying he actually makes a white woman take off her blouse and views her uncovered bosoms. For this effort he is eaten by a shark horribly.

In SATURDAY NIGHT FEVER which has some good aspects the main jolt, of course, as usual, is that they take the lives of blacks and Puerto Ricans or of any oppressed nationality and give those lives to whites. Whether it is Paul Newman on a chain gang in COOL HAND LUKE, or

John Travolta as the Disco Whiz in SATURDAY NIGHT FEVER. There is no doubt that the white working class is linked to the whole disco life too, but its initiators & innovators are the dark skinned nationalities. One moment of truth is when Travolta, after a disco contest sees the hypocrisy of him winning the award from the Puerto Rican couple who do the Spanish hustle and so he gives up the award. Too bad we don't see that happen when they give out the Grammys, Emmys and Pop Music Awards. They tell us the greatest performer of the year is Fleetwood Mac...sure among white middle class teenagers. One performer after another that receives these awards is no doubt a star to the white middle class. But then there is only one award given to Stevie Wonder, to let you know they are still in the world somehow. But the plain out racism and national chauvinism of these awards is obvious, just as it is in society. Or what about Helen Reddy after a couple years of zooming into the public eye singing I AM A WOMAN and being instantly acclaimed as a spokesperson for women's struggle, now hippy hoppy with a make believe dragon in Walt Disney's Pete's Dragon. Instant Fame, Instant Stardom, Instant Money! Did Aretha, Sarah Vaughan, Ella Fitzgerald, Dionne Warwick, ever make any instant film billions—not on your life...Barbara Streisand, the old Aretha Franklin imitator has made millions in films. And while there is nothing wrong with people learning from one another, the depriving system of national oppression that is normal with capitalism makes us bitter because The Osmonds can imitate the Jackson Five, and come up with a National TV show—it's an old story, Benny Goodman is the King of Swing while Basie and Ellington still play one night stands, like Paul Whiteman was the King of Jazz, if so,



Ellington, Louie Armstrong, and Fletcher Henderson must have been its Gods! The National oppression still operates as grimly and terrifyingly as ever. In the 60's we spoke of Black Art, that black images would help liberate us. In the 70's check out the black images of What's Happenin and The Jeffersons. What Happenin is just mindless, and The Jeffersons features a middle class negro with a maid who has made the cries of black liberation in the 60's turn into disconnected negative comments about whites which are really putdowns of the revolutionary nationalism associated with heroes like Malcolm X. You think minstrelsy is dead? Hah, well check out Baretta or Starsky & Hutch. If Baretta's pimp Rooster ain't a minstrel there never was one, and Huggy Bear with Starsky & Hutch, is a tragic case of a good actor reduced to shuffling for a living or a dying—take your pick. Why was Stepin Fetchit worse than Huggy Bear and Rooster? No way, it's the same thing, slander of blacks and of poor people in general.

And when the bourgeoisie tells you're going to see reality, that they're going to tell it like it is, then you really better watch out, because the trick is getting ready to go down deep! Check SHORT EYES, the new film by promising Puerto Rican writer, Miguel Pinero. After the flaming language, and look into the slam as it supposedly really is, what are we left with. The theme of the flick seems to be everybody in jail turns queer, which is not even close to the truth. So what's the point? And then to top it off, Pinero then shows up with a story he writes for Baretta, in which he actually is featured as a Latino sidekick of the great Capitalist enforcer Baretta. A really amazing sellout, so quickly, we thought Pinero had much more heart than that. Also the Italian people are constantly being putdown and berated in so-called popular media. Most of the daytime television villains are Italians, even in children's movies like SUMMER DOG, the villain is, you guessed it, an Italian criminal. Why not some villains named Rockefeller, Dupont, Morgan, Ford? They are the real villains of this society!

(TO BE CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE)



Black women are the most oppressed among the oppressed: The vicious forces of capitalism and national oppression have enslaved

black women, thus they are amongst the best fighters against this evil system of oppression.

### Capitalism - Enemy!

cont. from pg 1  
through the dictatorship of the proletariat under socialism, the only alternative to this dying capitalist system. The struggles of working and oppressed women are part of the workers movement, and this oppression can only be solved with the elimination of the system that is responsible for it, Capitalism (private profit, public poverty).

"As women increasingly join the revolutionary movement and struggle for various reforms (in society, in work places, daycare, etc.) and for revolutionary change, the ruling class inevitably employs its dual tactics of force and deception in an attempt to destroy, defuse the growing struggle of working women. In terms of deception, it promotes its own bourgeois version of women's emancipation. Countless magazines, cosmetics, cigarettes, clothes and so on for the 'liberated' women appear, (ie., Cosmopolitan, Virginia Slims). Articles and interviews appear in the capitalist newspaper and magazines, on television and radio, about 'women's liberation'. Bourgeois experts on the question are thrust forward, fads are created, the whole problem is surrounded with mystification, metaphysical nonsense and blatant

lies." (Australian Communist No. 82, p99)  
These attempts to divert and destroy the struggles of working women have been unsuccessful. Despite the efforts of the ruling class and despite the legal and social discrimination to which working women are subject under capitalism, women have and are playing a tremendous part in the workers movement all over the world.

#### EDITORIAL NOTE:

This article was excerpted from a longer article, which went on to explain that the basic contradiction in U.S. monopoly capitalism is the contradiction between social production and capitalist appropriation, i.e., it takes tens of millions of workers to produce the commodities that make the U.S. rich, yet a small handful of super-billionaire capitalists steal the fruit of the labor of the workers, and give them slave wages in exchange. One trick the capitalists use is to try to make people afraid of communism, but the people aren't afraid of communism, because they are understanding more and more each day that it is capitalism that is exploiting, oppressing and killing the people each and every day! —the end—



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



JOSEPH STALIN

### Part 11

In contrast, an instance in which the relations of production completely correspond to the character of the productive forces is the Socialist national economy of the U.S.S.R., where the social ownership of the means of production fully corresponds to the social character of the process of production, and where, because of this, economic crises and the destruction of productive forces are unknown.

Consequently, the productive forces are not only the most mobile and revolutionary element in production, but are also the determining element in the development of production.

Whatever are the productive forces such must be the relations of production.

While the state of the productive forces furnishes an answer to the question—who with what instruments of production do men produce the material values they need?—the state of the relations of production furnishes the answer to another question—who owns the MEANS OF PRODUCTION (the land, forests, waters, mineral resources, raw materials, instruments of production, production premises, means of transportation and communication, etc.), who commands the means of production, whether the whole of society, or individual persons, groups, or classes which utilize them for the exploitation of other persons, groups or classes?

Here is a rough picture of the development of productive forces from ancient times to our day. The transition from crude stone tools to the bow and arrow, and the accompanying transition from the life of hunters to the domestication of animals and primitive pasturage; the transition from stone tools to metal tools (the iron axe, the wooden plough fitted with an iron collar, etc.), with a corresponding transition to tillage and agriculture; a further improvement in metal tools for the working up of materials, the introduction of the blacksmith's bellows, the introduction of pottery, with a corresponding development of handicrafts, the separation of handicrafts from agriculture, the development of an independent handicraft industry and subsequently of manufacture; the transition from handicraft tools to machines and the transformation of handicraft and manufacture into machine industry; the transition to the machine system and the rise of modern large-scale machine industry—such is a general and far from complete picture of the productive forces of society in the course of man's history. It will be clear that the development and improvement of the instruments of production were effected by men who were related to production, and not independently of men; and, consequently, the change and development of the instruments of production were accompanied by a change and development of men, as the most important element of the productive forces, by a change and development of their production experience, their labour skill, their ability to handle the instruments of production.

In conformity with the change and development of the productive forces of society in the course of history, men's relations of production, their economic relations also changed and developed.

Five main types of relations of production are known to history: primitive communal, slave, feudal, capitalist and Socialist.

The basis of the relations of production under the primitive communal system is that the means of production are socially owned. This in the main corresponds to the character of the productive forces of that period. Stone tools, and, later, the bow and arrow, precluded the possibility of men individually combating the forces of nature and beasts of prey. In order to gather the fruits of the forest, to catch the fish, to build some sort of habitation, men were obliged to work in common if they did not want to die of starvation, or fall victim to beasts of prey or to neighboring societies. Labour in common led to the common ownership of the means of production, as well as of the fruits of production. Here the conception of private ownership of the means of production did not yet exist, except for the personal ownership of certain implements of production which were at the same time means of defence against beasts of prey. Here there was no exploitation, no classes.

The basis of the relations of production under the slave system is that the slave owner owns the means of production; he also owns the worker in production—the slave, whom he can sell, purchase, or kill as though he were an animal. Such relations of production in the main correspond to the state of the productive forces of that period. Instead of stone tools, men now have metal tools at their command; instead of the wretched and primitive husbandry of the hunter, who knew neither pasturage, nor tillage, there now appears pasturage, tillage, handicrafts, and a division of labour between these branches of production. There appears the possibility of the exchange of products between individuals and between societies, of the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, the actual accumulation of the means of production in the hands of a minority, and the possibility of subjugation of the majority by a minority and their conversion into slaves. Here we no longer find the common and free labour of all the members of society in the production process—here there prevails the forced labour of slaves, who are exploited by the non-labouring slave owners. Here, therefore, there is no common ownership of the means of production or of the fruits of production. It is replaced by private ownership. Here the slave owner appears as the prime and principal property owner in the full sense of the term.

Rich and poor, exploiters and exploited, people with full rights and people with no rights, and a fierce class struggle between them—such is the picture of the slave system.

The basis of the relations of production under the feudal system is that the feudal lord owns the means of production and does not fully own the worker in production—the serf, whom the feudal lord can no longer kill, but whom he can buy and sell. Alongside of the feudal ownership there exists individual ownership by the peasant and the craftsman of his implements of production and his private enterprise based on his personal labour. Such relations of production in the main correspond to the state of the productive forces of that period. Further improvements in the smelting and working of iron; the spread of the iron plough and the loom; the further development of agriculture; horticulture, viticulture and dairying; the appearance of manufactories alongside of the handicraft workshops—such are the characteristic features of the state of the productive forces.

The new productive forces demand that the labourer shall display some kind of initiative in production and an inclination for work, an interest in work. The feudal lord therefore discards the slave, as a labourer who has no interest in work and is entirely without initiative, and prefers to deal with the serf, who has his own husbandry, implements of production, and a certain interest in work essential for the cultivation of the land and for the payment in kind of a part of his harvest to the feudal lord.

Here private ownership is further developed. Exploitation is nearly as severe as it was under slavery—it is only slightly mitigated. A class struggle between exploiters and exploited is the principal feature of the feudal system. The End

# Concerning Dialectics

MAO TSE-TUNG 1893-1976

## Unity and Struggle of Opposites

Concerning dialectics Lenin said, "In brief, dialectics can be defined as the doctrine of the unity of opposites. This grasps the kernel of dialectics, but it requires explanations and development." It is our job to explain and develop the doctrine. It needs to be explained, and so far we have done too little. And it needs to be developed; with our rich experience in revolution, we ought to develop this doctrine. Lenin also said, "The unity (coincidence, identity, equal action) of opposites is conditional, temporary, transitory, relative. The struggle of mutually exclusive opposites is absolute, just as development and motion are absolute." Proceeding from this concept, we have advanced the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend.

Truth stands in contrast to falsehood and develops in struggle with it. The beautiful stands in contrast to the ugly and develops in struggle with it. The same holds true of good and bad, that is, good deeds and good people stand in contrast to bad deeds and bad people and develop in struggle with them. In short, fragrant flowers stand in contrast to poisonous weeds and develop in struggle with them. It is a dangerous policy to prohibit people from coming into contact with the false, the ugly and hostile, with idealism and metaphysics and with the waddle of Confucius, Lao Tzu and Chiang Kai-shek. It will lead to mental deterioration, one-track minds, and unpreparedness to face the world and meet challenges.

In philosophy, materialism and idealism form a unity of opposites and struggle with each other. The same is true of another pair of opposites, dialectics and metaphysics. Whenever one talks about philosophy one cannot do without these two pairs of opposites. Now in the Soviet Union they will have nothing to do with such "pairs" but are going in only for "singles", asserting that only fragrant flowers, but not

negative stuff. Having read a few books by Marx, they just repeat what is in them and sound rather monotonous. Their speeches and articles are not convincing. If you don't study the negative stuff, you won't be able to refute. Neither Marx nor Engels nor Lenin was like that. They made great efforts to learn and study all sorts of things, contemporary and past, and taught other people to do likewise. The three component parts of Marxism came into being in the course of their study of, as well as their struggle with, such bourgeois things as German classical philosophy, English classical political economy and French utopian socialism. In this respect Stalin was not as good. For instance, in his time, German classical idealist philosophy was described as a reaction on the part of the German aristocracy to the French revolution. This conclusion totally negates German classical idealist philosophy. Stalin negated German military science, alleging that it was no longer of any use and that books by Clausewitz should no longer be read since the Germans had been defeated.

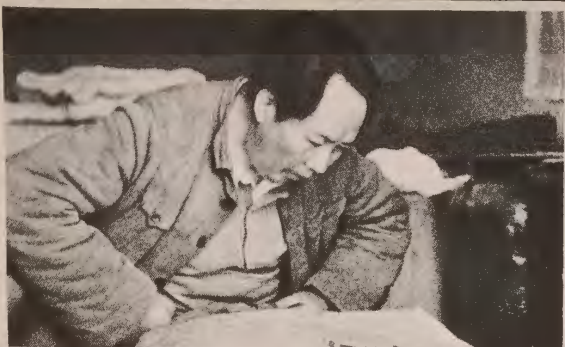
Stalin had a fair amount of metaphysics in him and he taught many people to follow metaphysics. In the HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION (Bolsheviks), Short Course, Stalin says that Marxist dialectics has four principal features. As the first feature he talks of the interconnection of all things, as if all things happened to be interconnected for no reason at all. What then are the things that are interconnected? It is the two contradictory aspects of a thing that are interconnected. Everything has two contradictory aspects. As the fourth feature he talks of the internal contradiction in all things, but then he deals only with the struggle of opposites, without mentioning their unity. According to the basic law of dialectics, the unity of opposites there is at once struggle and unity between opposites, which are both mutually exclusive and interconnected and which under given conditions transform themselves into each other.



poisonous weeds, grow there, and denying the existence of idealism and metaphysics in a socialist country. As a matter of fact idealism, metaphysics and poisonous weeds are found in every country. In the Soviet Union many of the poisonous weeds appear in the name of fragrant flowers, and many absurd statements bear the label of materialism or socialist realism. We openly recognize the struggle between materialism and idealism, between dialectics and metaphysics, and between fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds. This struggle will go on forever and will move a step forward at every stage. "If you comrades here already know materialism and dialectics, I would like to advise you to supplement your knowledge by some study of their opposites, that is idealism and metaphysics. You should read Kant and Hegel and Confucius and Chiang Kai-shek, which are all negative stuff. If you know nothing about idealism and metaphysics, if you have never waged any struggle against them, your materialism and dialectics will not be solid. The shortcoming of some of our Party members and intellectuals is precisely that they know too little about the

Stalin's viewpoint is reflected in the entry on 'identity' in the SHORTER DICTIONARY OF PHILOSOPHY, fourth edition, compiled in the Soviet Union. It said there: "There can be no identity between war and peace, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between life and death and other such phenomena, because they are fundamentally opposed to each other and mutually exclusive." In other words, between these fundamentally opposed phenomena there is no identity in the Marxist sense; rather, they are solely mutually exclusive, not interconnected, and incapable of transforming themselves into each other under given conditions. This interpretation is utterly wrong.

In their view, war is war and peace is peace, the two are mutually exclusive and entirely unconnected, and war cannot be transformed into peace, nor peace into war. Lenin quoted Clausewitz, "War is the continuation of politics by other means." Struggle in peace—time is politics, so is war, though certain special means are used. War and peace are both mutually exclusive and interconnected and can be transformed into each other under given conditions. If war is



Chairman Mao studying a military map in northern Shensi in 1947 while directing the great People's War of Liberation.

**Unity of Opposites -**  
cont. from pg 10

not brewing in peace-time, how can it possibly break out all of a sudden? If peace is not brewing in wartime, how can it suddenly come about?

If life and death cannot be transformed into each other, then please tell me where living things come from. Originally there was only non-living matter on earth, and living things did not come into existence until later, when they were transformed from non-living matter, that is, dead matter. All living matter undergoes a process of metabolism: it grows, reproduces and perishes. While life is in progress, life and death are engaged in a constant struggle and are being transformed into each other all the time.

If the bourgeoisie and the proletariat cannot transform themselves into each other, how come that through revolution the proletariat becomes the ruler and the bourgeoisie the ruled? For instance, we stood in diametrical opposition to Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. As a result of the mutual struggle and the mutual exclusion of the two opposing sides, a change took place in our status and theirs, that is, they turned from the ruler into the ruled, where-as we turned from the ruled into the ruler. Those who fled to Taiwan were only one-tenth of the Kuomintang, those remaining on the mainland accounting for nine-tenths. The latter are being remoulded by us; this is a case of the unity of opposites under new circumstances. As for the one-tenth who have gone to Taiwan, our relationship with them is still a unity of opposites, and they, too, will be transformed through struggle.

Stalin failed to see the connection between the struggle of opposites and the unity of opposites. Some people in the Soviet Union are so metaphysical and rigid in their thinking that they think a thing has to be either one or the other, refusing to recognize the unity of opposites. Hence, political mistakes are made. We adhere to the concept of the unity of opposites and adopt the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend. When fragrant flowers are blossoming, you will inevitably find poisonous weeds growing. This is nothing to be afraid of, under given conditions they can even be turned to good account.

Some phenomena are unavoidable at a given time, and after their occurrence a way will be found to cope with them. For example, in the past rigid control was exercised over the repertory of drama and this or that piece was banned. Once the ban was lifted, all sorts of plays about ghosts and monsters such as THE STORY OF A HAUNTED BLACK BASIN and RETRIBUTION BY THE GOD OF THUNDER appeared on the stage. What do you think of this phenomenon? I think their appearance is all to the good. Many people have never seen ghosts and monsters on the stage, and when they see these ugly images, they will realize that things are being staged which should not be staged. Then these shows will be criticized, changed or banned. Some say that a few local operas are so bad that even the local people disapprove of them. In my opinion, it is all right to stage some of them. Let practice decide whether they can survive and how large an audience they will draw, so don't be in a rush to ban them.

We have now decided to increase the circulation of NEWS FOR REFERENCE from 2,000 to 400,000 so that it can be read by people both inside and outside the Party.

This is a case of a Communist Party publishing a newspaper for imperialism, as it even carries reactionary statements vilifying us. Why should we do this? The purpose is to put poisonous weeds and what is non-Marxist and anti-Marxist before our comrades, before the masses and the democratic personages, so that they can be tempered. Don't seal these things up, otherwise it would be dangerous. In this respect our approach is different from that of the Soviet Union. Why is vaccination necessary? A

virus is artificially introduced into a man's body to wage "germ warfare" against him in order to bring about immunity. The publication of NEWS FOR REFERENCE and other negative teaching material is "vaccination" to increase the political immunity of the cadres and the masses.

This passage by Mao Tseung is a lesson in dialectics and helps us to see how we should apply dialectics to our revolutionary tasks today, free from idealism and metaphysics. This particular criticism by Mao Tseung has

**IWWD cont. pg.1**

slave wages, the horrors of child labor in America, and unsafe, indecent housing conditions. Again, in 1908 on March 8, garment workers from New York's Lower East Side demonstrated and went on strike to end the same oppressive and exploitative conditions. The very same day, needle workers in Chicago struck for equality and freedom from these oppressive conditions. Women are the most oppressed of the oppressed; their just struggle could not be turned around. The International Congress of Socialist Women made March 8th International Working Women's Day in 1910 based on a proposal from Clara Zetkin, an outstanding communist fighter. And the working class has commemorated this day each year since 1911, and sponsors demonstrations, rallies and programs to raise the class consciousness of the broad masses around the Woman Question.

The woman question is a class question that can only be resolved by socialist revolution in the US; it is a strategic question and a component part of proletarian revolution. Women are certainly not a minority; they are at least one half of the working class and other oppressed peoples who will push history forward by destroying monopoly capitalism in the U.S. and reordering society by building socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This dictatorship of the majority of the people over the minority of exploiters must put down the resistance of the exploiters and oppressors, and act as a guarantee for women and other oppressed peoples that they will never again suffer the oppression, exploitation and misery at the filthy hands of the bourgeoisie.

This correct Marxist-Leninist line on the woman question is a powerful blow against the counter-revolutionary bourgeois line on the woman question! "Since oppression of woman has its social roots in private ownership and class exploitation, and thorough change in the unequal status of working women can be achieved only through revolution, through the elimination of private ownership and the exploiting classes. Precisely because of this the great task of the complete liberation of woman falls on the shoulders of the proletariat whose historical mission is to eliminate private ownership and class exploitation. Hence, woman's liberation cannot but be a component part of the proletarian revolution. Since the women's rights movements of the bourgeoisie pursue 'equality of the sexes' in form, and do not take into account classes and class struggle and are divorced from the social revolutionary movement, they can only side-track the women's liberation movement." (WOMEN HOLD UP HALF THE SKY)

All genuine forces must begin now organizing for better IWWD celebrations in 1979, ones that will reach much broader strata of workers and other oppressed people with a revolutionary line showing the path to women's equality and socialism.

bearing on the essay we are running on this page, "Dialectical and Historical Materialism", taken from the text of the HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION (BOLSHEVIKS) 1939 Short Course. Joseph Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist, a great communist revolutionary. RCL (M-L-M) will defend Stalin against any slander or incorrect criticism leveled at him by "friend" or foe. (See U&S, 1977, "Stalin was a Great Marxist-Leninist".) In order to advance the revolutionary cause, RCL is reprinting this passage from Mao's Selected Works, Vol. 5. It is important to take the correct stance toward the evaluation of Stalin. We uphold Stalin as one of the great leaders and teachers of Marxism. From the study we have been able to do of this question, we agree with the evaluation of the CPC: 70%-30%. His contributions were primary and his mistakes in theory and practice were secondary.

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EDITORIAL

CRITICISM & SELF CRITICISM BY RCL(M-L-M)

Response to Open Letter by LPR(M-L)

Response to Open Letter of League for Proletarian Revolution (M-L) to Revolutionary Communist League (M-L-M)

TO THE COMRADES OF LPR (M-L)

We first want to raise our criticism of the method which your organization chose to make criticism of the IWWD Coalition '78 and of the groups within it. We are of the firm opinion that many of the contradictions that exist between our two organizations have not been given a proper arena to be resolved. We have approached your organization time and again on the need to meet and fully discuss our intra-organizational relationships. Over the past two years, we have not met! Although the RCL (MLM) takes some responsibility in failing to make these meetings a reality, we feel the principle criticism must be directed at LPR (ML) who has consistently failed to meet, yet has maintained they are upholding the principle of Marxist-Leninists unite. Certainly, as Marxist-Leninists who must adopt a dialectical materialist approach in analyzing and resolving contradictions, the RCL firmly believes that small and petty differences can go on and on and develop into major and principal differences if they are left un-addressed. We feel that this may be the case at hand and we are openly repeating our desire to meet and begin resolving our differences through the process of Unity-Criticism-Unity.

In your open letter, you have distorted many of the lines and positions of RCL which has served to further muddy the waters and confuse independent forces involved. There is no reason to create straw men for the sake of scoring points. If Marxist-Leninists are really serious about uniting, then we should start from facts and rely on scientific analysis to understand them.

You criticized the tactical plan for the IWWD Coalition by stating that the RCL (MLM) supported a proposal that the IWWD event should be aimed at Marxist-Leninists and the advanced. The tactical plan was drawn up by a member of the Anti-Imperialist Cultural Union (AICU), in the name of AICU. The AICU is a mass cultural organization which is separate and independent of RCL, although it is a fact that the two organizations work closely together. The RCL did not participate in drawing up the tactical plan and is not responsible for the line that was presented. Facts affirm that RCL openly criticized the tactical plan and con-

firmed its line that IWWD should be aimed at the broad masses. In this meeting, the AICU had self-criticism around the plan and retracted that aspect of the plan aiming at the Coalition uniting Marxist-Leninists. There is no need to merge AICU and RCL in this struggle - they are completely different organizations.

Your line that the RCL did not want a mass event was your own creation and you further built this straw man by raising the March versus indoor program question. But what are the facts? You entered the Coalition at a point where plans for an indoor



V.I. Lenin, great leader and teacher of the Russian Revolution taught us a Party perishes if it conceals its mistakes, if it fears criticism and self criticism.

event were already on the table. You raised that the event could not really be of a mass character unless it was a March. In presenting your line, you could not present even one concrete plan you had for organizing a march WITHIN 30 DAYS yet you even went so far as to propose that there should be a March and outdoor rally ONLY thereby liquidating the concrete work for the indoor event by the AICU.

We want it to be perfectly clear that RCL has no opposition to marches as a form of

mass activity - but we are resolutely opposed to the spontaneous and sectarian character of a "left-bloc parade", which is our view of what you proposed. If you really understand the "left"-bloc mentality and can unite around the fact that "left" distortions of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung are not one iota better than right distortions of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Thought, then you would not have taken up valuable time in several meetings pushing this incorrect line.

Marches definitely take a higher level of planning and organization than the kind of indoor event we planned. In past IWWD's the planning and organizing of the march has taken several months. Did LPR really believe that such a task could be pulled off in 30 days? In our view, a mass march means that it has the participation and support of the masses. We don't believe that a small group of Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces who parade through working class communities constitute a mass march. In our history, we have participated in and organized a significant number of marches and we must look at positive and negative experiences. While we recall the 60,000 people who poured out into the streets for ALD '72, after months of hard work and preparation; we also recall the poor planning that led to a dismal march of approximately 40-50 people who appeared in Brownsville to demonstrate against police brutality. Not only were the Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces sitting ducks for the agents of the bourgeoisie to photograph and identify - but not a SINGLE member of the Brownsville Community joined this march. In discussing the question of a march, LPR was asked repeatedly what concrete plans they had for the implementation of a truly mass march and repeatedly they could offer nothing but a march in the abstract. We also want to point out that a mass march is not determined by the number of people that are in them. Every mass march will not be made up of 60,000 or even 1,000 people. But at the same time, we see no point in advancing the line that a march can be mass in character without the participation of the masses in it, which means much more than parading through their community!

One further note on the march -- RCL never said it would split the coalition on the question of an LPR led march. What we did say is that we would not co-sponsor a march that would be spontaneous and sectarian in its character. We went on to say

that we would march along with LPR(ML) if you had a march because we see your organization as genuine. But we did not want to be listed as sponsors since we opposed the plans being put forward. However we chose our right to criticize what we saw as a "left" error and struggled against this line in the coalition based on it being a "left" error.

At the point where LPR had filibustered several meetings on the question of this "left"-bloc parade and were finally defeated on the question, they still asked if they could continue to raise the issue again at the next coalition meeting where other organizations were expected to attend. The coalition unanimously united around the point that they could raise their line, even though it had been defeated. In this position, the coalition pointed out, however, that the line should not be raised in an obstructionist way. That the next meeting should deal primarily with the program on which we had unity and that the march question should follow that discussion and not precede or interrupt it. At the end of the meeting LPR (M-L) united with us on this point and that letters of invitation would go out to other groups stating that the purpose of the coalition would be to have an indoor event of a mass character to celebrate IWWD.

In a totally philistine manner, the LPR showed up at an RCL event less than a day after the meeting, with their open letter of "criticisms" and announced they were leaving the body of groups who were leading the event. We feel that if LPR did not unite with the coalition, they should have raised it open and above board and not disrupt the event. To come back, hours later, and announce a complete reversal in their position without first raising their departure to the coalition itself, was incorrect.

In all honesty, RCL's representative must do self-criticism for subjectively and spontaneously putting forward People In Struggle Against Imperialism (PIS) to form part of the leading and sponsoring groups of the coalition. Not knowing the exact state of affairs in the development of PIS, RCL's representatives put their name forward for this coalition leadership. And instead of repudiating this error, RCL made the center of its line struggle with LPR, the erroneous statements put forward by LPR saying that PIS had told them in one meeting that they were about to liquidate themselves. The initial error was clearly RCL's for involving a young anti-imperi-

cont. page 8



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Due to a series of internal and external factors, our paper has suffered and continues to suffer from a severe financial crisis. The primary internal factor has been right errors inside our organization, which belittles the decisive role of propaganda, but this paper coming out is a reflection of our struggle against this right opportunism. It is a struggle that must continue! At the same time, we are publishing this paper under some difficult external conditions, and the undermining effects of this system of monopoly capitalism on its deathbed, take their toll on the production & distribution costs of the newspaper.

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