

UNITY STRUGGLE

MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE!

WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!!

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BLACK LIBERATION & SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

Story
pg. 7



People march vs system of monopoly capitalism & national oppression.

THE MINERS STRIKE & OUR TASKS

Strikes, like any crises, have a way of bringing out the best or the worst in people. In the case of the coal mine owners, media bigshots, government and ruling class generally, it's clear that scum rises to the top. But down at the bottom, where most of us squat, the coal strike produced a far different reaction.

Support for the miners' struggle was widespread since December. Support committees sprang up in major cities across the country, from Los Angeles to New York. Anti-utility coalitions in the coal fields have blasted the self-serving stance of large electric companies, WHICH ARE ALSO COAL MINE OWNERS, in attempting to break the strike. Local unions passed resolutions of solidarity with the miners and took up collections of money and food for the strikers. The American Agriculture movement drove a food caravan to Central City, Ky., to aid mine workers and express solidarity between striking farmers and the UMW. And in an unprecedented move for 'big labor', though forced by the outspoken views of the rank and file, the United Auto Workers

donated \$2 million to aid needy miners and UMW retirees, whose pensions were cut off by the coal mine owners in January.

At the top of the union ladder, it's a different story. George Meany, a 'labor leader' who once proudly boasted that he never walked a picket line, revealed the true views of the top leadership of the AFL-CIO. When asked about Carter's use of Taft-Hartley, Meany replied, 'Taft-Hartley is the law of the land. We don't like it, but if the president feels it's his only alternative, then we won't criticize him.' Meany also refused AFL-CIO support for the miners' strike claiming that the UMW is an 'independent union.'

Meany's remarks do a lot to expose the true nature of 'labor leaders' in this country, who do a better job of defending capitalist interests than the bosses themselves. But the best remark on the strike belongs to an anonymous Steelworkers official, a trade union bureaucrat, who told the Wall St. Journal that 'a long and bitter and unsuccessful strike in the mines will be the best

guarantee of our no-strike agreement in steel.'

It is no surprise that real support for the coal strike comes, by and large, from the rank and file and not from top union leadership. The major issues in the strike, better safety and working conditions, the right to strike, guaranteed complete health care and guaran-

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The heroic struggle of the miners captured the attention of the working class movement as they fought for their rights against the

tactics of the capitalist class to shift the brunt and burden of the imperialist economic crisis onto the backs of the miners, as well

as the whole working class. It underlined the need for the party of the working class, its vanguard Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

MAY DAY

In 1886 American workers shed their blood for an 8-hour working day! This heroic nationwide struggle of workers for better conditions of life and labor led to the worldwide recognition of May 1st as MAY DAY, International Labor Day.

It was on May 1, 1886 that American workers rallied together and went out on a general strike demanding an 8-hour working day. The strike held in Chicago grew steadily until by May 3rd over 30,000 workers were included with thousands more showing support and in demonstrations, particularly a demonstration against the use of scabs at the McCormick Harvester Works. The police, protecting the property interests of the capitalists they serve, fired into the mass of peaceful workers, killing 4 and wounding many others.

Even though the strike had started on May 1st, it continued many days afterwards. On May 4th demonstrations were held again in favor of the 8-hour day, against police repression and in support of other basic democratic rights. About 180 police marched into the peaceful crowd of demonstrators, a bomb went off in the ranks of the police killing 1 policeman and wounding another (this was believed to be the work of an agent provocateur). The capitalist state went on the rampage, smashing printing presses, raiding workers homes, raiding labor offices, arresting and torturing workers, especially the leaders. 7 leaders of the strikes were sentenced in connection with the bombings and 4 of them were hanged. This is one of many brutal frame-ups and lynchings against working people in our history.

This heroic struggle reflected the struggles of working and other oppressed people the world over. Thus, it was at the second congress of the Second Communist International in 1889 that May 1st was designated as International Labor Day. May Day is a day of militant solidarity and celebration of the struggles of the working class and oppressed peoples, it is a day of preparation for further struggles.

"The international situation today is very good, it is very good, not just good or fairly good. In the last few years, the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat, the liberation struggles of the oppressed people and nations and the revolutionary mass movements in many countries have been forging ahead. More countries have cast off the shackles of colonialism, driven out foreign aggressors and won independence and liberation. The international united front against

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Struggle Sharpens in Southern Africa!

The U.S. government is playing its usual imperialist tricks. Out of one side of its mouth, namely Handy Andy Young, the U.S. says that Smith's negotiations with the handpicked minstrels will not accomplish anything lasting since the Patriotic Front is not included and does not desire to be included in such meaningless nonsense. The U.S. urges Smith to bring the two leaders of the Patriotic Front, Mugabe and Nkomo into the negotiations. That is even the U.S. government on the surface says that it recognizes that the negroes Smith is pow-wowing with represent only Smith and a small element of black compradors and feudalists. Sithole is a turncoat preacher with no popular base at all any longer, who compromised his way to this state of deterioration. Muzorewa, another minister, is backed only by certain sectors of the U.S. ruling class—he is without a popular base as well. Chirau, a truly loathsome specimen was one of the only black faces in the Rhodesian parliament, he represents only the colonialists and never has in any way represented the Zimbabwean people.

These traitors are accepting Ian Smith's plan for neocolonialism, plain and simple. Robert Mugabe, the leader of Zanu and Co-leader of the Patriotic front says of proposed negotiations with the racist Smith, "Smith whose record of crimes against the people of Zimbabwe would make him hang a thousand times over, has forfeited beyond measure, his right to negotiate with us. The only valid kind of negotiations we are willing to allow this hard-core criminal is with our firing squad." The idea of negotiating ones way into power is the delusion of the social democrats and the lying rap of traitors. Only by achieving even greater unity, and self reliance and continuing with the revolutionary armed struggle can victory over colonialism and racism and imperialism be achieved.

In the first place Smith is only playing at negotiations because he is desperate. He cannot any longer rule in the old straightout colonial fashion with a white minority subjugating and oppressing a black majority. The big imperialists tell Smith he must come up with a coolout, old time colonialism is dead. The big imperialists tell Smith he must raise him up some colored boys and

girls who pretend to be black leaders, and the game of minority wealth and majority poverty can go on under black fronts—this is called neocolonialism. The rule of imperialism through native agents as Amilcar Cabral called it. Even in the USA the bourgeoisie had to try to cool the black masses out after the fiery 60's by installing a black middleclass elite to manage the cities and sit at the door of certain agencies so they could soup us up that what was happening was democratic rights for black people. The bourgeoisie want Zimbabwe to be like Gibson city, with a few negroes in high places making faces but no traces of liberation!

Smith pretends to negotiate but actually is setting up a neocolonial regime so that the government's war against the Patriotic Front can continue fronted off by black traitors, who will then cry that they are the legitimate government and the genuine people forces of the Patriotic Front are just terrorists. The U.S. imperialists know they cannot back such a move out front, but of late it looks like more and more they are willing to settle for the 3 blind mice (actually 4 because of another traitor named James Chikerema, who is now sitting with Smith also). But even if the Ian Smith minstrel show goes through to completion and the blind negro tom mice are installed as some kind of transitional government, and with the U.S. backing this government undercover and trying to destroy the peoples forces they will fail. You would think Vietnam and Cambodia should have taught them something. But that is how it is with the imperialists they keep making trouble again and again until they are totally destroyed.

Rhodesian whites are fleeing Zimbabwe at a rate of 2,000 a month! Plus hundreds dying on the battlefield. A few years ago Smith said he would never negotiate, now in his frenzy he cries negotiation, meanwhile killing and massacring the African people, even raiding into Mozambique and Zambia, trying to stop the revolution, but this is impossible. The U.S. knows that not only will the Patriotic Front not stop its peoples war based on these fake negotiations with the murderer Smith, but they must also know that the frontline countries, like Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and



All over Africa today, the USSR is showing its real face, as it interferes and instigates wars in its contention with the other superpower, the USA. They both meddle in the affairs of the

liberation movements and in the affairs of the independent nations of Africa. Here the people of Somalia demonstrate vs the social fascist USSR, the more aggressive superpower.

Angola will never accept the Smith dictated neocolonial minstrel agreement. Yet because the U.S. imperialists are also in a frenzy they might support Smith's sham negotiations minstrel show.

Another factor in this decision however, is the machinations of the other superpower, the Soviet Union. The US and USSR contend all over the world for hegemony and control. In all probability one day they will fight a war to see who will dominate the world, the way imperialists always do. The imperialist U.S. is on the defensive since Vietnam, and the Social Imperialist USSR (socialism in words, imperialism in deeds) is trying to swoop into places the U.S. is getting kicked out of, and run its new imperialist ripoff. The USSR is afforded some disguise for its exploitation and oppression because it goes around calling itself a socialist country. Even though capitalism was restored in the Soviet Union since the late 50's. But its recent actions of imperialist expansion especially in Africa, in places like Angola, Zaire, and currently in Ethiopia and Somalia, are exposing the Soviet Union's imperialist face more and more.

The U.S. knows that the Soviet Union would try to make real propagandistic hay if the U.S. supported Smith's bankrupt minstrel show openly. The U.S. and Great Britain (the former colonial power in Zimbabwe) are putting forth their own plan for the transition to majority rule, and this plan also is aimed at a neocolonial Zimbabwe, admitting that the Smith government is illegal, and saying that the Patriotic Front should surrender its arms and return Zimbabwe to a British and U.S. defined legality. The doubletalk of butchers!

But all these shennanigans, as our comrades in the Irish Republican Army would say, will come to naught! All these sham dealings and counterrevolutionary double tactics are simply clear indications that the colonial structure is in deep trouble, and the big imperialists are trying to find ways to salvage their interests at the peoples expense. But Chimurenga, or war of liberation will go on, because the only way that an actual transfer of power can come to the people of Zimbabwe is by maintaining the revolutionary armed struggle and smash the racist colonial forces and drive out imperialism and all reaction.

INTERNATIONALIST GLOSSARY

THE COMINTERN RESOLUTIONS ON THE AFRO-AMERICAN NATIONAL QUESTION

The slogan of the right of self-determination occupies the central place in the liberation struggle of the Negro population in the Black Belt against the yoke of American imperialism, but this slogan, as we see it, must be carried out only in connection with two other basic demands. Thus, there are three basic demands to be kept in mind in the Black Belt, namely, the following:

1. Confiscation of the landed property of the white landowners and capitalists for the benefit of the Negro farmers. The landed property in the hands of the white American exploiters constitutes the most important material basis of the entire system of national oppression and serfdom of the Negroes in the Black Belt. More than three-quarters of all Negro farmers here are bound in actual serfdom to the farms and plantations of the white exploiters by the feudal system of "share cropping." Only on paper and not in practice are they freed from the yoke of their former slavery. The same holds completely true for the great mass of black contract labourers; here the contract is only the capitalist expression of the chains of the old slavery, which even today are not infrequently applied in their natural iron form on the roads of the Black Belt (chain-gang work). These are the main forms of present Negro

slavery in the Black Belt and no breaking of the chains of this slavery is possible without confiscating all the landed property of the white masters. Without this revolutionary measure, without the agrarian revolution, the right of self determination of the Negro population would be only a Utopia, or a best would remain only on paper without changing in any way the actual enslavement.

2. Establishment of the State Unity of the Black Belt. At the present time this Negro zone -- precisely for the purpose of facilitating national oppression -- is artificially split up and divided into a number of various states which include distant localities having a majority of white population. If the right of self determination of the Negroes is to be put into force, it is necessary wherever possible to bring together into one governmental unit all districts of the South where the majority of the settled population consists of Negroes. Within the limits of this state there will of course remain a fairly significant white minority which must submit to the right of self determination of the Negro majority. There is no other possible way of carrying out in a democratic manner the right of self determination of the Negroes. Every plan regarding the establishment of Negro state with an exclusively Negro population in America (and, of course, still more exporting it to Africa) is nothing but an unreal and reactionary caricature of the fulfilment of the right of self determi-

nation of the Negroes and every attempt to isolate and transport the Negroes would have the most damaging effect upon their interests; above all, it would violate the right of the Negro farmers in the Black Belt not only to their present residences and their land but also to the land owned by the white landlords and cultivated by Negro labour.

3. Right of Self Determination. This means complete and unlimited right of the Negro majority to exercise governmental authority in the entire territory of the Black Belt, as well as to decide upon the relations between their territory and other nations, particularly the United States... First of all, true right to self determination means that the Negro majority and not the white minority in the entire territory of the administratively united Black Belt exercises the right of administering governmental, legislative and judicial authority. At the present time all this power here is concentrated in the hands of the white bourgeoisie and landlords. It is they who appoint all officials, it is they who dispose of public property, it is they who determine the taxes, it is they who govern and make the laws. Therefore, the overthrow of this class rule in the Black Belt is unconditionally necessary in the struggle for the Negroes' right to self determination. This, however, means at the same time the overthrow of the yoke of American imperialism in the Black Belt on which the forces of the local white bourgeoisie depend. Only in this way, only if the Negro population of the Black Belt wins freedom from American imperialism even to the point of deciding itself the relations between its country and other governments, especially the United States, will it win real and complete self determination. One should demand from the beginning that no armed forces of American imperialism should remain on the territory of the Black Belt.

--excerpts from the 1930 Resolutions.

A.L.D. CONFERENCE ON BLK. LIBERATION MOVEMENT

May was a month for programs sponsored by the Revolutionary Communist League around May Day and African Liberation Day. A series of programs leading up to the conference worked to put out a mass line on the struggle for black liberation and socialist revolution, and to fuse Marxism-Leninism with the black liberation movement's struggle vs monopoly capitalism and national oppression. Programs such as a forum on Black Liberation Today in Detroit, Mich. got good mass response to a revolutionary line on black liberation, calling for the struggle for the Self Determination of the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South and full democratic rights for the black oppressed nationality everywhere else in the US state. And a poetry program in tribute to Malcolm X, was held in Harlem where many progressive and revolutionary poets read to a packed audience. Such poets as Sonia Sanchez, Pili Sababa, Nathan Heard, Sylvia Jones, Rosemary Mealey, Jayne Cortez, Amiri Baraka, bro. Yusef Iman, Bakari Ajene, Joel Cohen and Jose Angel Figueroa turned the house out showing the force of revolutionary anti-imperialist culture in helping to unite the hearts and minds of the masses against imperialism.

Although RCL has not finished summing up its work around the conference, it must be noted that this conference was an advance in RCL's work to break its recent isolation from mass work and to break the grip that sectarian errors have had in hindering its work in the black liberation movement. The conference participants who came from far and wide with a lot of enthusiasm pledged to work for a much larger conference next year. In the next issue of Unity and Struggle we will give our summary of the conference, its workshops, forum and the line struggle that developed. One of the highlights of the conference was the cultural performances by the Proletarian Ensemble and the Yenan Forum Theatre Workshop which is one of the workshops of the Anti Imperialist Cultural Union.

REVOLUTIONARY MOTION!!

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



The Peoples Rep. of China is prepared to defend itself against the raiding by the USSR into Chinese territory with 30 troops backed by a helicopter and 18 military boats. Unless the USSR apologizes and punishes the culprits who created the incident, in which the USSR killed 9 Chinese, dragging and kicking Chinese people near the border incident. They will bear full responsibility for the consequences. Make no mistake Peoples China is tough meat, the USSR is making a loud noise in the East, in order to strike in Western Europe, the real focus of its aggression!

US ECONOMY: OMINOUS SIGNALS

Sluggish recovery, even a fall in industrial production, price hikes and a continued foreign trade deficit—all add up to a gloomy picture for the U.S. economy this year.

Despite an 0.5 per cent pickup in February after an 0.8 per cent drop in January, all signs indicate that the American industry as a whole is having difficulty in holding on to its upward trend.

At present, recession is haunting the three mainstays of the U.S. industry—steel, construction and auto. In January, private housing starts fell 29 per cent from the previous month. And most experts forecast a continued decline. In the auto industry, domestic production by the big three decreased 3.05 per cent in January this year from the corresponding month last year, and again dropped 1.6 per cent in February.

Inflation is still serious. January wholesale prices rose 0.6 per cent and hit 1.1 per cent in February, i.e., a 13.2 per cent increase on an annual basis. This was the biggest monthly rise in the past three years. The January consumer price hike was also the largest for the past year.

Foreign trade deficit for January was 2,400 million dollars and 4,500 million dollars in February, a record monthly deficit in U.S. history and the 21st consecutive monthly deficit.

U.S. officials, businessmen and economists have all expressed concern over the U.S. economic outlook.

NEUTRON BOMB TALK DECEPTIVE!

As far as their capacity to murder is concerned, the hydrogen bomb, the atomic bomb and the neutron bomb are all nuclear weapons and there is no difference in the sense of one being humane and the other barbarous. They



The PLO and the Palestinian people have been so tempered and tested in the flames of war vs Israeli Zionism and superpower hegemonism, so have the Kampuchean people shown here side by side with the PLO in solidarity.

should all be prohibited and destroyed for the sake of humanity. The USSR wants us to think its missiles are more humane since they have the power to destroy both men and property but who will go for it?

USSR-Backed Mercenaries Invade Zaire

4000 USSR-backed Katangan mercenaries have launched a second invasion in 14 months against the copper-rich Shaba province of Zaire. The Katangan mercenaries the so-called "Congolese National Liberation Front (FNLC)" are no "liberators" but a filthy mercenary army fighting for blood money with a sordid history of serving imperialism. They were set up in the early 60s to fight with the US, Belgians and So. Africans against the newly independent government of the Congo led by Lumumba. This attack is part of the USSR's worldwide offensive. (Taken from The Forge)

Mass Struggles Advance in Latin America!

A general strike in Peru paralyzing the country started May 22 protesting a price hike of 60% on food, fuel and transportation prices. In Brazil some 40,000 workers have been on strike since May 19th vs US imperialist companies. Shaking the fascist regime there. While in Nicaragua the mass demonstrations and strikes have raged for 3 months vs the Somoza regime, in whose hands some 15% of all the land is concentrated and they control all vital sectors of the economy. In Salvador the struggle sees hundreds of peasants demonstrating for the redistribution of the land. And in Colombia, 300,000 workers went out on strike May 18. These struggles will continue to intensify as the US shifts more and more of its economic crisis onto the backs of the Third World countries. (Taken from the Forge, CCL-ML)

STRUGGLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST



The situation in the Middle East today is marked by an unprecedented degree of exposure of the aims and aggressive nature of Israeli Zionism, and by unprecedented difficulties for the two imperialist superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. These excellent developments are due to the unflinching struggle of the Palestinian people, led by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), to regain their land and national rights; and to the trend toward unity among the Arab countries in defense of their sovereignty and independence.

When President Anwar Sadat of Egypt went to Jerusalem last November, his intention was to put an end to the state of "no war, no peace" which the two superpowers have imposed upon Middle East affairs. He based himself upon the principles of the return of Arab lands seized by Israel in 1967, recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, and an end to the antagonism between Israel and the Arab countries. The Israeli Zionists responded by insisting upon the maintenance and expansion of Israeli settlements and military outposts on Egyptian lands, and by making no concession at all to the rights of the Palestinians. The initial round of talks came to one result only: the full exposure of Israel's flagrant rejection of Arab rights and sovereignty.

After several months of stalling the negotiations, the Zionists backed their words with deeds: they launched the invasion of southern Lebanon, grabbing hundreds of square miles of territory and killing hundreds of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians. Israel moved on a pretext of "defense" against the PLO, but the invasion caused the PLO no serious military damage whatsoever. It was the Israelis who announced a ceasefire in Lebanon, not the PLO. The invasion showed that Israel is absolutely determined to prevent the outbreak of peace in the Middle East. The Zionists have proved to everyone that it is they who are unwilling to admit the existence of any rights of the Arab countries and peoples.

The Zionists are forced by their own bloody history to maintain the antagonism between Israel and the Arab countries. The Zionists are now "celebrating" the 30th anniversary of the founding of Israel. For the vast majority of Israeli people it has been thirty years of poverty, tension, fear and bloodshed, hardly cause for celebration. Some of the economic consequences include the facts that 1) the Israeli pound has been devalued on more than twenty occasions since June 1975, making it the most frequently devalued currency in the world; 2) income tax alone eats up 46% of Israeli people's earnings, the highest levy in the world; 3) Israel bears the highest per capita foreign debt of any country in the world, more than \$3,000 (US) per person; 4) Israel's foreign trade deficit is the highest in the world on a per capita basis.

Such glaring economic crises have intensely sharpened the internal contradictions of Israeli society. Under such circumstances, even the hint of peace causes tumult; in March and April, the country was shaken by a wave of strikes in airlines, education, radio broadcasting and shipping, all this coming on the heels of the massive popular protests in Israel against Begin's sabotage of the peace talks. Without the grave antagonism between Israel and the Arab countries, the Zionists would have to offer to the masses of the Israeli people and to the masses of Jews worldwide a full explanation for the necessity of this history and this situation. They dare attempt no such thing.

Recent events have greatly dismayed both superpowers. Brezhnev & Co. of the

USSR opposed Sadat's peace initiative from the start. The Soviet social imperialists ("socialist" in words but imperialist in deeds) want to maintain the Arab countries in a weak position before Israel and therefore dependent upon Soviet patronage. Egypt's move was independent of Soviet control and went against Soviet aims. The Soviet Union whipped up a lot of propaganda, trying to organize Arab opinion against Egypt. The Soviets ran a line that President Sadat was trying to "split the ranks" of the national liberation movement. But Sadat was concerned not only with questions of Palestinian rights, but with questions of Egyptian sovereignty as well. Brezhnev's presumption is therefore that he, and not President Sadat of Egypt, speaks for Arab sovereignty. It is Brezhnev who is really trying to split the Arab ranks. This shows him for what he is: an imperialist, a revisionist, and an international hypocrite.

Neither is the United States content with circumstances. The US imperialists are afraid to put too sharp a point on the



A persistent struggle will lead to victory. Defying all sacrifices and persisting in armed struggle, the Palestinian guerrilla fighters have dealt heavy blows to the Israeli aggressors at the front and Palestinian residents are hammering at their rear wave upon wave.

question of Arab sovereignty. They are well aware that this would pose the question of which class must lead the national movement, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat, and would thus raise even higher the prospect of revolution. For this very reason the US imperialists have for many years played a double game in the Middle East. Sometimes their tactics are openly violent, sometimes they use deceptive tactics, according to what suits them. The Zionists cannot afford to be two-faced in this way. Begin is heavy on the stick and light on the carrot, and this makes him a "good teacher" to the Arab world as to just what must be done to overthrow Zionism and imperialism.

The disarray of the camp of the Zionists and imperialists can be seen in the sale of military aircraft to the Middle East which Carter has put through Congress. Israel and Saudi Arabia will each receive a number of advanced design airplanes. Egypt will get a smaller number of planes of a primarily defensive type. Politically, one feature of the deal is its package aspect: all three countries (Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Israel) get planes in one deal. The Zionists are furious. Never before has the US attached such conditions to its arm supplies.

HISTORY IN SPIRALS DEVELOPS

by Hung Yu

Under the Guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line over the past quarter of a century, our Party, by uniting the people of all nationalities in our country and overcoming all sorts of difficulties, has beaten back repeated attacks by class enemies at home and abroad and won great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction. In particular, our Party has in the past 25 years undergone four major struggles between the two lines in which the anti-Party conspiracies of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, chieftains of the opportunist lines, were exposed and smashed, thereby ensuring our country to march forward along the road of socialism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the last eight years further testifies to the correctness of Chairman Mao's thesis and policies on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it has further heightened our understanding of the laws governing class struggle in the period of socialist revolution. Practice in our socialist revolution and socialist construction has over and over again testified to this truth: Revolution invariably advances along a zigzag path by incessantly surmounting all kinds of obstacles and obstructions. New things are bound to replace the old and revolutionary forces are bound to prevail over reactionary forces. This is an objective law independent of man's will.

Unity of Opposites—Progressiveness And Tortuousness

In his work KARL MARX, Lenin made a vivid and scientific generalization on the law of the development of things, describing it as "a development, so to speak, that proceeds in spirals, not in a straight line." In many of his important works, Chairman Mao has incisively expounded and elaborated this brilliant thought of Lenin's. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Events have their twists and turns and do not follow a straight line." (On Protracted War.) Dwelling on the law of development of class struggle, he has said: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again...till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law." "Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again...till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law." (Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle.) This teaching of Chairman Mao's points out the

two diametrically different outcomes for the imperialists and reactionaries on the one hand and the revolutionary people on the other; he also points out that a tortuous course of development is inevitable in the struggle between the revolutionary forces and counter-revolutionary forces. The disruption and failure of the counter-revolutionaries and the failure and success of the revolutionary people are two aspects which are interlinked and can transform themselves into each other. The alternate appearance of these two aspects in the course of revolutionary struggle is a concrete manifestation of the law of spiral development.

Why do things develop in spirals? It is because in each thing there is the contradiction between its new and its old aspects and the two aspects of the contradiction are united and at the same time opposed to each other, thereby pushing the development of things. The course of the development of things from a low to a high stage is one in which the new things develop through continuously defeating the old. To conquer the old and replace it, a new thing is bound to meet with strong resistance from the old; only by repeated and fierce struggles can the new thing grow in strength and rise to predominance, and only thus can the old thing be weakened and forced to perish gradually. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the general direction of the development of things is a forward movement from a low to a high stage, it cannot advance in a straight line. The inevitable phenomenon in the actual process of development is that there are twists and turns of varying degrees at one time or another. Chairman Mao has said: "Like every other activity in the world, revolution always follows a tortuous road and never a straight one." (On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism.) This is because there is a process of development for the revolutionary forces to grow and for the counter-revolutionary forces to perish, and it is not possible for the former to completely defeat and annihilate the latter overnight. This is also because the cognition of objective laws, the leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom, requires a process of accumulating experience—from without experience to having experience, from less experienced to more experienced. Only by repeated comparisons between positive and negative experiences can one achieve a correct understanding of the law of the development of revolution and consciously apply this law to accomplish the revolutionary tasks.

Spiral development only approximates a



The Gang of 4 caused serious disruption to China's economic growth, and oppressed many revolutionary people. It was by struggle against the Gang that the Chinese people learned that they were fake "Leftists" but really

Rightists, and laid the groundwork for the triumphant advances in socialist construction that have allowed the Gang of 4's overthrow.

series of circles, but each cycle is not a simple repetition of the previous one and does not return to where it started. As Chairman Mao has summed up: "With each rise to a higher level." (On Practice.) Superficially, reversals and zigzags look like going out of the right path, but actually every time a reversal or a twist and turn is overcome, it is invariably accompanied by a victory and progress, thereby pushing the thing to a new stage. Compared with the old stage, every new one is brought to comparatively higher plane and by no means returns to the original place. The unity of opposites—the progressiveness and tortuousness of development of things—makes up the complicated spiral movement. The viewpoint that things develop in a straight line negates the tortuous nature of the development of things, and the viewpoint that things move in a circle negates the progressive nature of the development of things; both negate the dialectical unity of the progressive and tortuous nature, and will inevitably lead to the metaphysical quagmire.

The history of development of human society over the past several thousand years is a history of spiral development full of twists and turns. Revolutions in the past, be it the replacement of the slave system by the feudal system, or the replacement of the feudal system by the capitalist system, involved dozens or hundreds of years of repeated and tortuous struggles centring around progress and retrogression, restoration and counter-restoration. Since the replacement of one

system of exploitation by another system of exploitation involved such a process of development, the socialist revolution in which socialism triumphs over capitalism and which makes final elimination of the system of exploitation and classes its goal, will by no means be smooth sailing. The struggles involved will be more tortuous and protracted than those of any previous revolution and tremendous efforts have to be exerted. Chairman Mao has taught us: "New things always have to experience difficulties and setbacks as they grow. It is sheer fantasy to imagine that the cause of socialism is all plain sailing and easy success, without difficulties and setbacks or the exertion of tremendous efforts." (On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.) Chairman Mao said this in 1957. Practice in the past 17 years has greatly heightened our understanding of this viewpoint. After the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the overthrown reactionary classes refuse to take their defeat lying down. They are bound to come out to engage in sabotage and disruption to get back their lost "paradise" and look for agents in the ranks of the Communist Party as their political representatives for staging a come-back. In addition, the socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure will be more arduous than before owing to the thousands of years of influence of the exploiting classes' traditional ideas. It will take a considerably long period of time to decide the question of which will win out, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, in the political and ideological spheres. Class struggle and the two-line struggle at home always coordinate with the class struggle abroad. The domestic class enemies are bound to work hand in glove with the imperialists and social-imperialists and make trouble whenever they have the opportunity to do so. Therefore, after the seizure of political power, the proletariat faces the heavy task of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, uniting the people of various nationalities, and persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Much work remains to be done. The proletariat must sum up the positive and negative experiences in the protracted and repeated struggles and continue to deepen its understanding of the laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Only in this way can it overcome hardships and obstructions on the path of advance, defeat the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and realize communism.

ZIGZAG COURSE OF DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA'S SOCIALIST CAUSE

Our socialist cause in the past 25 years has developed along a zigzag course in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Speaking at the Second Plenary Session of the 7th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1949, Chairman Mao clearly pointed to the principal contradictions at home and internationally in the period of socialist revolution and foresaw the protracted and complex nature of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. He thus set forth a correct line and laid down the basic steps and various principles and policies for the transition from the new-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

cont. on page 10



The Kampuchean people's revolutionary experience has confirmed the truth that twists and turns in revolutionary struggle educate and temper the people by both positive and

negative example. When the traitor Lon Nol overthrew the legal government of Kampuchea at the behest of US imperialism, the Kampuchean people learned to follow the lead of the work-

ing class even more, guided by the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Kampuchea, and to take the path of new democracy and socialism.

MINERS STRIKE

cont. from page 1

teed equalized pensions for all coal miners, are a direct challenge to the capitalists' move to put the weight of their economic crisis onto the backs of the workers (particularly by cutting back in areas like health, safety, pensions, and general benefits). This challenge will be at the hearth of every strike waged in this country.

George Meany pointing out that Taft-Hartley "is the law of the land", was to also put forward that concrete demonstrations of working class solidarity like sympathy strikes and boycotts were "illegal". But it was so long ago that it was "illegal" to organize a union in this country, and if we "respect" hostile bourgeois serving laws, those days will come again. Demonstrations of class solidarity, and a determined stand against sellout leaders, put bureaucrats like Meany and Arnold Miller and their jobs and political power, on very shaky ground.

Labor bureaucrats like Meany, and their capitalist masters, know full well that examples like the mine workers are very contagious. If the miners can demand the right to strike and a voice in determining working conditions, so can the steelworkers. If the UMW rank and file decides to throw out Arnold Miller, then the rank and file of other unions will be given new impetus toward removing sellout leaders. Meany

and his cohorts live in fear of the day when "their" workers will no longer stomach "leaders" whose major purpose is to keep the rank and file in line and defend the "rights" of the owners and bosses. When this happens, then these labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, along with their masters, will be swept onto the slagpile of history.

(EDITOR'S NOTES)

The coal miners alone held 4 strikes last year. One, of the coal mine construction workers, is still going on. The steelworkers also struck last year and at one point over 20,000 steel workers were involved. In 1977 there were "4,686 strikes involving nearly 1,840,000 workers in the first 3 quarters of the year"! Clearly the working class has been fighting back and accelerating its strike movement. There was a loss to the U.S. capitalists of 26.7 million workdays!

The U.S. economy has never recovered from the '74-'75 crisis, its 6th major one since World War 2. And in the key industries that determine the basic shape of the U.S. economy, iron and steel, there was so much inactivity, over 60,000 workers were laid off last year. This has made the capitalists frantic. All this is coupled with overproduction in agriculture which has sent prices spiraling and caused the farmers to organize and threaten to strike and the continued existence

at the same time of high unemployment and inflation. About 10 million people are unemployed, with blacks and other oppressed nationalities unemployment rates being twice as high, while food prices shoot up at an annual rate of 13.6%.

The stock market, meanwhile, was going down steadily as the big capitalists continued to demonstrate their "no confidence" vote in Howdy Doody Carter's Snake Oil remedies.

The miners strike was so critical at this time because it showed the working class escalating its attack on capitalism. The miners armed themselves from the beginning and repeatedly fought off scabs, tore up trick contracts and confronted the bureaucrats who head their union.

The strike lasted 110 days, ending late in March. It was the longest of the 9 major coal strikes in the last 35 years. But even when Carter's cajoling turned to threats the miners resisted, told the capitalists to "take that contract and shove it", and refused to go back to work until the coal mine owners withdrew their "suppressive provisions" from the new contract.

The strike cost the mine owners "120 million tons less coal" with a direct loss in profit to the coal industry and railway transport of 3 1/2 BILLION DOLLARS!!!

The U.S. workers movement steadily intensifies as the capitalist system itself

blatantly nosedives and the people of the 3rd World step up their furious armed assaults on imperialism forcing it to contract and speed up internal domestic economic crisis. The "energy crisis", so called, is a direct result of the anti-hegemony movement of the OPEC. And the fading U.S. bourgeoisie must prop up its client colonialist states like Rhodesia and South Africa, trying to hold on to its interests and at the same time prepare for war with the aggressive Soviet Social Imperialist superpower.

Crisis on top of crisis, spurred on by the four fundamental contradictions in the world today, Labor vs Capital in the Western industrial countries (as the U.S. strike movement attests); Imperialism vs Imperialism, principally the contention of the two superpowers, U.S. and U.S.S.R.; Imperialism vs the 3rd World, the principal contradiction in the world today, driving revolution forward around the world; and Imperialism vs the Socialist countries; all these bring the reality of Socialist revolution closer to the United States. It is therefore of critical importance that a Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought be built which can fashion a strategy and tactics for that revolution and mobilize the masses of the U.S. people behind the working class and their party, to smash capitalism and build socialism. A party to turn the strike movement, which Lenin said, was "a school of war" into the war itself.

International Workers Day

cont. from page 1

aggression, interference, subversion, control and bullying by the super powers is broadening. Both the hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are beset with difficulties and crises and are having a harder and harder time. This is particularly true of Soviet social imperialism." (Political Report to the 11th National Congress of the CPC, Hua Kuo-feng, pp. 54-55)

The peoples of the 3rd world (the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions) are engaged in struggle from South Africa to the Middle East, to Panama, against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, zionism, super power hegemonism and all reaction. There is struggle to increase the unity of the 3rd world. There is struggle to develop and defend the independence of the 3rd world countries. The peoples of the 3rd world are the main and leading force today combatting imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction. They are representative of the trend of revolution, which is the main trend in the world today.

The peoples of the second world (the advanced capitalist countries of Europe, Japan, Australia, Canada, etc.) are engaged in struggle also. There are growing strike struggles and mass demonstrations of workers and working people against inflation, unemployment, and for better conditions. The workers and working people are also engaged in struggle to develop and defend the national independence of their countries from the hegemonism and bullying of the two superpowers, especially the USSR. There is the striving on the part of the countries of the second world for independence from the superpowers, and against superpower control, threats and bullying. The second world countries are in contradiction to the third world based on a history of colonialism and oppression. The second world countries also have a growing basis for unity with the third world in its opposition to the two superpowers' hegemonism and the danger of a world war. The second world is a positive force in the united front against the superpowers.

The US and the USSR are the two biggest exploiters and oppressors of the people of the world today. They alone stand as superpowers, whose economic and military power is far greater than other countries, and who rely on this power to carry on economic exploitation, political oppression and military control on a world wide scale, each with the aim of exclusive world control. They alone stand capable of unleashing a 3rd world war on the masses of people. They are the main enemies of the people of the world today. It is the continuous struggles, the contention, between these 2 superpowers that is the source of a new world war. All over the world we see their strivings for hegemony, in Europe, Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, etc.

Strategically speaking of the two of them, the U.S. is in a defensive position, being the older and more established of the two. The U.S. emerged as the number one imperialist power after World War 2 and has dominated the world since. It is trying to hold onto and protect what it has. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, emerged as an imperialist superpower after socialism was overthrown and capitalism restored in the Soviet Union by the 1960's. It is a new and young imperialist; it is on the offensive; it seeks to establish its domination of the world. It is the most reckless and dangerous of the two. It is the struggle between these two for world domination that is the source of World War 3. This is the other trend in the world today.

These are some of the features of the world situation on May Day 1978. There is great disorder, the old imperialist order is shaking. The imperialist world is in deep economic, political and social crisis. There is revolution and peoples struggle for a new life. There are attempts by reactionary forces to maintain and strengthen the old order. They can't - COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE, NATIONS WANT LIBERATION, PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION! This has become an irresistible trend in the world today.

In the U.S.A. the working class, working and oppressed people are faced with conditions of life that are constantly getting worse. Inflation continues to rise, cutting back more and more on the ability of the people to just make ends meet. Last year, food prices rose at an annual rate of 13.6 percent, heating 19.2 percent, medical fees, 10.1 percent, gas and electricity 11.4 percent. Prices are rising more and more beyond the reach of the masses of people. Workers in many basic industries are forced to work longer and longer hours, taking away more and more of their leisure time, their time to rest and relax, their time to spend with their loved ones and families, their time to pursue artistic, cultural, and educational interests. Unemployment continues to plague millions of American workers; last year over 7 million unemployed, with oppressed minorities, youth and women being hit the hardest. The conditions of oppressed national minorities are getting worse and there are increased attacks on the rights of the oppressed nationalities and minorities for better housing, jobs and education, eg. the A. Bakke case. All around us the capitalist class promotes the worse kind of decadence as we see a rise in prostitution, the sexual exploitation of children, pornography everywhere, and the promotion among the young in particular of a get high-stay high mentality. There is a deep and all around economic, political, social and cultural crisis in American society, that is affecting every aspect of the life of working

The struggle of the working class for better conditions of life and labor is being attacked. Capitalists are taking back gains

won by workers through struggle. The number of workers organized in unions is declining and is at its lowest point since World War 2. Capitalists are trying harder and harder to break the resistance of the workers, hiring scabs to break strikes, closing plants and moving them to places where workers are unorganized, throwing workers out on the street who refuse to submit to their oppression.

These are conditions facing the U.S. working class, working and oppressed people on May Day 1978.

This oppression is being met by the struggles of the people. Farmers are engaged in struggles against inflationary effects on their incomes. The youth and other sectors of the working class who are unemployed are raising an even louder voice demanding meaningful jobs. There are growing demonstrations against the attacks on oppressed nationalities and minorities. More women are becoming active in the struggle. There is growing



People of the World Unite to Smash U.S. Imperialism and U.S.S.R. Social Imperialism - the 2 Superpowers!

mass involvement in the movement to free political prisoners such as the Wilmington 10, Gary Tyler, RNA 11, Assata Shakur, etc. The working class, working and oppressed people know that they are under attack and must respond in action.

In the last year there were hundreds of strikes involving millions of workers. Both union and wildcat strikes are growing. The two month long strike of longshoremen in the fall of '77 and the 110 day strike by the coal miners are examples of the spirit of resistance that is growing in the working class and among the oppressed people. The strike movement is becoming a mighty force in the struggle.

With the rise in the struggles and resistance of the people against oppression and exploitation by capitalism, there is also the search for truth, revolutionary truth to solve the problems brought forth in the peoples movement. This is good. Our situation demands a revolutionary scientific analysis. Our problems demand a revolutionary scientific solution. Our struggles demand revolutionary and scientific leadership. This truth is embodied in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Today the U.S. working class is in need of revolutionary scientific leadership in the form of a Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. A party that can lead the struggles in the unions; to expose the misleaders who sell out the workers time and again. A party that can unite the struggles of the people into one mighty struggle for revolution and socialism, for workers' state power, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the eventual emergence of As we press on through the year, the struggles of the working class, working and oppressed peoples will continue to broaden, just as the crisis of capitalism will deepen. So too will the search for revolutionary truth broaden and also the struggle to build the party we need.

This May Day the tasks facing the working class are many, among the most important are: Supporting the struggles of the 3rd world people; Supporting the struggles of the 2nd world against hegemonism Opposing the war preparations of the superpowers; Strengthening the struggle against the attacks on the working class, working people, oppressed nationalities and minorities, youth and women. Preparing ourselves theoretically by studying and propagating the revolutionary truths of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, applying these truths to the problems facing the movement, and participating in and deepening the struggle to achieve our central task - to build the Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought we need. LONG LIVE MAY DAY! WORKERS AND OPPRESSED NATIONS AND PEOPLES UNITE! MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE, WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM! BUILD A REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE U.S.A. TO SMASH CAPITALISM & BUILD SOCIALISM!

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AFRO-AMERICAN NATIONAL QUESTION:

The Northern monopolist financed counter-revolution set up to stop the ultimate redivision of land and wealth that the bourgeois democratic revolution, especially through the Reconstruction governments, would supposedly have accomplished. (Immediately after the Civil War, blacks seized great acres of land in the South, only to be called squatters and run off the land by force by federal troops!) The terror of the assault, the codification of it in the Black Codes, etc., rigid segregation laws and discrimination dialectically built the framework for the emergence of the black nation. And it is this unfinished bourgeois democratic revolution that not only finished any idea of assimilation of blacks into the United States nation, but linked the Black National Liberation struggle directly to Socialist Revolution. The Civil Rights Movement in many ways can be looked at as the bringing to (in some cases superficial and in most cases illusory) completion of the Bourgeois Democratic Revolution as far as superstructure but this has the effect finally of compromising completely the Black National bourgeoisie and building an even larger comprador sector, since the economic basis for political equality is still not achieved since there has yet been no land redivision or independence. Like all 3rd World nations, the national liberation of black people can only be accomplished, in this era, with the destruction of imperialism, to smash the imperialist dominations of the black nation and racist exploitation of the oppressed nationality, which is part of the United States multinational working class.

CLASS FORMATION, CLASS INTEREST

Some class stratification began among blacks even before the Civil War with the freed blacks producing the actual beginnings of the black middle class (See Roots). In 1820, out of a total United States population of 9,638,533, the black population was listed as 18.5 percent, or 1,771,665. Out of this, some 233,634 or 13.2 of the black population was free, the majority living in the South. (McAdoo, PRE CIVIL WAR BLACK NATIONALISM). Some of this miniature "middle class" in the South "openly collaborated with the slaveholders in order to win all sorts of special favors and considerations". In 1830, 3,777 blacks were listed as holding slaves in Louisiana, Maryland, North and South Carolina and Virginia (1830 census).

A black bourgeoisie and black proletariat are more recent class formations than the black peasant. The early freedmen were petty bourgeois, small peasants and even a middle-class peasant holding slaves! DuBois summed up the motion of the black people from slavery to black nationhood, in its class consolidation thusly: In 1863, there were about 5,000,000 persons of Negro descent in the United States. Of these, 4 million and more were just being released from slavery...These slaves could be bought and sold, could move from place to place only with permission, were forbidden to learn to read or write, and legally could never hold property or marry. 90% were totally illiterate. Fifty years later, in 1913, there were...10 1/2 million...an increase of 105%. Legal slavery had been abolished leaving... vestiges in debt slavery, peonage, and the convict lease system. Today there are 2 1/4 million laborers...1 million servants and tenant farmers, 1 million skilled and semi-skilled workers...and at the top of the economic column are 600,000 owners and managers of farms and businesses, cash tenants, officials, and professional men...a total of 5,192,535 colored bread-winners in 1910."

"By 1875 the Negroes had gotten hold of something between 2,000,000 and 4,000,000 acres of land through their bounties as soldiers and the low price of land after the war. By 1880 this was... 6,000,000; in 1890 about 8,000,000 in 1910 this land had increased to nearly 20,000,000 acres, a realm as large as Ireland." (By 1969 this had "shrunk" to 8.7 million acres or 13,000 square miles, an area the size of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island combined!)

"The 120,738 farms owned by Negroes in 1890 increased to 218,972 in 1910 or 81%". (This despite the disenfranchisement via the Black Codes; etc., of 3/4 of

the black population during this same period!). There were already "200 private schools and colleges managed and almost entirely supported by Negroes, plus 100 old folks homes and orphanages, 30 hospitals, and 500 cemeteries, also an organized commercial life," as DuBois called it, including "22,000 small retail businesses and 40 banks!"

With the birth of the Afro-American nation after the reconstruction period, the black struggle for democratic rights

meets these needs with calls for a bigger and better capitalism, a capitalism open to all, into which "all" could peacefully advance. By 1909, the NAACP had become a dominant force, the militant Niagara Movement had begun to disappear and also Washington's power and influence was on the decline.

In reaction to this openly compromising stance of the NAACP (the B.T. Washington wing of the black bourgeoisie), later on sections of the black petty bourgeoisie,



Long Live Malcolm X, study his life and his words on May 19th and remember that Malcolm X knew our struggle is an international struggle and he sounded the struggle of the 3rd World vs. imperialism.

in the Black Belt South was transformed into a struggle for national liberation. It was out of the growing black bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, but especially the black bourgeoisie, that the first heaves toward national liberation most naturally came. Monopoly capitalism was growing rapidly during this period and would emerge as dominant in American life by 1900. Therefore, this bourgeoisie like all national bourgeoisies under imperialism, could not develop except in a national liberation struggle (the "freedom movement"). But by 1890, it was apparent that the black bourgeoisie had already two wings: 1) the national sector which DuBois articulated for a little later and, 2) the conservative aspect or earliest comprador element which arose, as personified by the person of Booker T. Washington. The DuBois sector was related somewhat, later on, to the militant Niagara Movement and some years later even to the Communist Party; the other sector related to the comprador line of the NAACP and bourgeois integrationist reaction.

Because of the post-reconstruction segregation in the form of white terror campaigns, legal lynchings, etc., the black bourgeoisie had rapid growth within the confines of the black market. We find the expanding imperialist monopolies did not get fully hip to the black market until the 60's (hence the rising numbers of compradors post 1960).

Black business doubled between 1910 and 1920. By 1920, the ownership of land rose still higher. The black national bourgeoisie was not only progressive in facing a developing U.S. imperialism but also "internationalist", as DuBois also initiated a Pan-Africanism by 1900 as well as the militant Niagra Movement (with J.M.Trotter) which called for full equality for blacks in direct defiance of the Carnegie funded B.T. Washington! The imperialists countered, however, with the NAACP which despite its record of "accomplishment" many times was, in overall nature, the creation of the American bourgeoisie and black comprador sector. Cyrus McCormick, Firestone and DuPont were among the first backers of the NAACP, an open attempt to co-opt the Niagara Movement which worked. However, the NAACP did objectively seem to meet a rising need in the face of the continued reign of terror and lynching throughout the U.S.; but it

especially its more impoverished sectors (doctors without patients, lawyers with few clients, small businessmen), in alliance with the peasants newly come to the city as yet unintegrated as a northern proletariat and thus still ripe for the idealism of the petty bourgeoisie, formed movements such as Garvey's Back to Africa Movement. "Garveyism reflected the ideology of the Negro petty bourgeoisie, their abortive attempt at hegemony in the Negro Movement. It was a trend of the small property holder, the shopkeeper pushed to the wall, ruined or threatened with ruin by the ravages of the crisis, the frustrated and unemployed Negro professional, doctors and lawyers with impoverished clientele, storefront preachers, poverty stricken students; in sum, these elements of the middle class closest to the Negro laboring people and, therefore, affected most keenly by the deterioration of their conditions." (NEGRO LIBERATION, H. Haywood, p. 198-199). Another aspect of this trend was represented by the transformation of the rural black church into storefront Evangelical societies and sects. These numerous "churches" served as forums for ambitious petty bourgeoisie wishing to develop their leadership talent and bail themselves out of debt. These semi-religious organizations preached self-esteem, self-improvement, upward social mobility, i.e., black integration into American society through

economic and often mystical means. These organizations served also as the root from which the larger scale organizations of Father Divine, Daddy Grace, Elijah Muhammad, Nobel Drew Ali and Elder Lightfoot Micheaux were to come.

Thus, it can be seen that DuBois, the focal point of progressive political consciousness of the radicalized black national bourgeoisie, fought ideological battles with the compradors on one hand (B.T. Washington and Co.) and the petty bourgeois idealists and narrow nationalists (Garvey & Co.) on the other. The weakness of DuBois and the Black National Bourgeoisie was that they never posed self-determination and independence of the black nation, but more constant calls for democratic rights that could be easily co-opted by the bourgeois integrationist tendency of the compradors. Garvey rightly felt the black masses need for "sovereignty and independence"; and this is why he was so popular, but he saw those incorrectly as Black Zionism. This is but another replay of the black ideological struggles among the people; Stay & Fight, or Stay & Submit, or Back to Africa. Revolutionary black nationalism was always juxtaposed between adject compromise and liberalism or black zionism. Men like C.H. Langston, H.H. Garnet, C.L. Redmonds had taken clear revolutionary nationalist positions in the 1850's and at the Cleveland Convention in 1854 even raised the question that a Negro nationality had to be based on possession of some land in the United States! "Platform: or Declaration of Sentiments of the Cleveland Convention, Aug. 24-26, 1854" "3; That the right to breathe the air and use the soil on which the creator has placed us, is co-inherent; consequently, whatever interferes with this sacred inheritance, is the joint ally of slavery, and at war against the just decree of Heaven. Hence man cannot be independent without possessing the land on which he resides.

"4; That whatever interferes with the natural rights of man, should meet from him with adequate resistance." (From Pre-Civil War Revolutionary Black Nationalism, McAdoo.)

The depression years wiped out a great many black businesses; in fact, according to Woodson and Wesley, "During the crisis and depression years of 1920-1927, 1/2 to 2/3 of all negro businesses were wiped out." (THE NEGRO IN OUR HISTORY, p. 545). This calamity turned the national bourgeoisie around and saw the national bourgeoisie decline as the fighting leadership of the black nation and oppressed nationality. Before the end of the depression, the Garvey movement had failed as well; and emerging for the first time, was the beginning of the working class movement.

The black working class movement had its origins in the great migrations of southern blacks during and after World War I, which was the acceleration of a northward trickle already in progress. There were a number of factors that contributed to these population shifts. The stifling racial oppression of blacks in the south, natural disasters, which severely effected southern economy such as the invasion of the boll weevil, catastrophic floods particularly in Alabama and Mississippi, and finally since the migrations of Europeans had been cut off by the imperialist war, the northern indus-

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RCL's POSITION ON BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT!!

trialists energetically encouraged impoverished blacks to come north, because they needed a quick source of unskilled and semi-skilled labor (i.e., cheap labor) so they could supply their imperialist allies in Europe. However, blacks upon reaching their northern urban destinations found that conditions, racial and economic, were much the same, if not worse, in some cases. Bourgeois inspired racial hatred ran rampant resulting in many race riots and numerous other racially motivated acts of violence and black reprisals in self defense. Economically, blacks received the most laborious jobs and were generally underpaid compared to the wages of the working whites.

In the Post-war period, much of the same was to occur in the U.S. labor movement. As reported by Meier in his book, *PLANTATION TO GHETTO*, p. 233, "The unionization of industrial plants often led to the expulsion of black employees. On the other hand, many employers wanted to use Negroes to destroy or suppress union activity, which of course only antagonizes white workers even more." These bourgeois tactics can be viewed as an attempt to divide and confuse the workers because of the immense difficulties the bourgeoisie faced in the wake of WWI, in the form of mass unemployment and other labor difficulties. The repeated failing of black bourgeois and petty bourgeois organizations such as the Urban League and the NAACP, which all

but ignored the pressing needs of the black working class, caused a noted leftward movement of black workers. Harry Haywood points out strikes in 1917 and 1919 led by black labor and the emergence of black left wing publications as early as 1917, such as the *MESSENGER*, *THE EMANCIPATOR*, *THE CHALLENGE*. "The organization of the African Blood Brotherhood with its organ *THE CRUSADER* brought together splittoffs of the Garvey movement and the Negro communists." (See H. Haywood, *BLACK BOLSHEVIK*)

Liberation for the Afro-American Nation in the Black Belt South!

Democratic Rights and Self-Determination!

Equal Rights and Self-Determination!

Black Liberation-Socialist Revolution!

to be continued

because at that time it was thought that slavery would just fade away since there was no great profit in them. But after the Revolutionary War, with the discovery of the cotton gin, cotton became an international commodity, so that onto the burden of patriarchal or almost feudalistic type



Huey P. Newton was the co-founder of the Black Panthers, who took up Malcolm X's correct call for armed self defense

and plunged black people back into near slavery, with the black codes, segregation, jim crow laws, kkk guerrilla terror, all bought, paid for and directed by the northern bankers and industrialists on Wall Street. And to this day, the southern bourgeoisie and managerial class is still tied directly to Wall Street.

With the destruction of the reconstruction governments, and the imposition of rigid segregation and discrimination, all conditions now had come together for the emergence of an Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South. J. Stalin defines a nation as "a historically constituted stable community of people, based on a common territory, language, economic life, and a common psychological development manifest as a common culture". The existence in the Black Belt, an area stretching from Delaware to Texas some 1600 miles long and 300 deep it could be called the cotton belt where blacks existed for many years as slaves delivering up a cotton crop for international distribution, speaking English or Afro-American dialect of American English; a common economic life expressed by the development of all the classes found in a modern nation, from at first a largely peasant people, with an upper petty bourgeoisie developing even during slavery among the freed slaves, and the bourgeoisie emerging, after the destruction of the reconstruction governments, serving a segregated black market, beginning with catering, funeral service, savings and loan and insurance. The existence of an Afro-American culture is by now well known.

It is this Afro-American nation, which still exists in the black belt south that was and is oppressed by U.S. imperialism, in the same fashion as imperialism oppresses other nations in the Third World. But since the Afro-American nation actually exists on the land base of the United States the approach to its liberation is somewhat more complex than many of the colonial questions whose solution is to be made by revolution, though make no mistake, the only solution to the Afro-American national question is by violent armed revolution, socialist revolution!

The newly emergent black bourgeoisie for a time were the leaders of the black liberation movement, what was called the freedom struggle. But the peculiar economic and political flabbiness of the black bourgeoisie made it lose leadership of the freedom movement in the '20's, when after the sharpest economic crisis in monopoly capitalism, 1/2 of all black businesses closed. So that the struggle between the comprador sector of the black bourgeoisie articulated by Booker T. Washington and the national sector articulated by W.E.B. DuBois was replaced by the debate between DuBois and Marcus Garvey, who represented the impoverished sector of the petty bourgeoisie, the lawyers without clients, doctors without patients, small businessmen, who seized leadership over a great mass of black people, predominantly the newly displaced southern peasants just arriving into the North. The idealism and utopianism of this petty bourgeoisie with their PanAfricanism, was positive only insofar as it expressed the idea of solidarity between Africans and Afro-Americans, and the need for black sovereignty, but in most other respects it was wanting. But it revealed clearly that the black bourgeoisie had forfeited leadership of the black liberation movement.

By the '30's a working class leadership had arisen, given impetus by the militant work and correct lines of the Communist Party USA. By 1938 some 38,000 blacks had been recruited into the party. And the 1928 Comintern and CPUSA position on the Afro-American national question, reaffirmed the Leninist position that black people constitute a nation in the Black Belt of the U.S. south with the right of self-determination up to and including secession! The struggles to build the unions, the Scottsboro boys fight, the founding of the militant sharecroppers union in the south were all part of the revolutionary work that the CPUSA performed. It was also the deepest incursion of Marxism-Leninism into the Black masses. But by the '40's the opportunist leadership of the CPUSA in the person of Earl Browder and others had used the second world war and the correct united front tactic put forward by

cont. on page 3

BLACK LIBERATION-SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The Slave Trade which brought the masses of Africans to the new world, marks the expansion of capitalism, it is also the beginning of world trade. The so-called triangular trade that DuBois spoke of with slaves coming to the Americas in exchange for cotton and tobacco, with manufactured items going to Africa was the beginning of world trade as we know it today. And it was slaves that were the foundation of this world trade, and as Karl Marx pointed out, it was slaves and world trade that made the new world important.

Millions of slaves perished during the slave trade, but this lucrative slavery business was the basis for the so-called primitive accumulation of capital, that makes the later expansion of capitalism, including the Industrial Revolution possible. There is no industrial capitalist Europe nor

prosperous democratic colonies without the trade in African slaves.

Throughout U.S. history these slaves and ex-slaves have played an extremely important role in the shaping of U.S. society, and especially in the U.S.'s democratic revolutions; the Revolutionary War which made the U.S. an independent developing capitalist state; the Civil War which saw the northern bankers and industrial monopolists defeat the southern slavocrats for total domination of the U.S. state; and we can include the Civil Rights Movement and rebellions of the 60's as still another segment of the U.S.'s democratic revolutions. In the first of these, the American Revolutionary War, the black slaves and Indians at first put in with the British because they were promised freedom. When the 13 colonies came around to seeing the doom this spelled for them, they then took up the same tact of promising freedom,

slavery, was added the murderous weight of capitalism. It was during this period in the early 19th century that slavery in the Black Belt became so notoriously brutal that the average slave had a 26 year death expectancy, which the slaver-capitalists had calculated exactly so as to get the most production for their money.

The Revolutionary War against Great Britain did not solve the slavery question, and the celebrated documents of beginning bourgeois democracy, that the Declaration of Independence and constitution supposedly constitute, do not even address themselves to the issue of slavery. And when cotton became an international commodity, bringing millions of dollars, the slavers reintroduced even harsher measures, and even took the democratic rights away from some of the freed slaves. But this is also the period of the intense slave rebellions, beginning with Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vessey, Nat Turner, Harriet Tubman's Underground Railroad 1830-1859, John Brown (blacks and whites)!

The same pattern characterized the Civil War, that the North finally was backed into using the slaves to fight, because the South was winning and the North using the slaves meant being able to put 186,000 fighters into the field. At the end of the Civil War, was the point at which again there was a chance for black people to have become integrated into a democratic USA, but that was not the intention of the ruling class. After the northern monopolists defeated the southern slavocrats spearheaded by the masses of working people in the North who saw slavery as a direct threat to their lives, and the black slaves who took up arms to ensure their freedom, there were reconstruction governments set up in the South. These reconstruction governments, many of them with blacks in key governing and critical roles brought a measure of democracy to the South, insured the enforcing of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, which actually brought education and the vote to many poor whites as well. These reconstruction governments were necessary at first for the big northern capitalists to thoroughly put down the defeated southerners. And who was more loyal than the blacks to the federal government which had just freed them? But once having achieved this stability, the northern bourgeoisie in the notorious Hayes-Tilden compromise of 1876, removed federal troops from the South, delivered the governments of southern states back to the defeated southerners who were now a comprador for the northern monopolists, and through armed counterrevolution and terror destroyed the reconstruction governments,

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BLACK LIBERATION - SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

(Continued from page 7)

the Comintern, to legitimize their desired collaboration with the U.S. bourgeoisie. They put out theories of American Exceptionalism, that somehow U.S. capitalism was different from all the rest of the capitalism, that it did not adhere to universal laws governing the development of capitalism. Browder said that American capitalism was still a young progressive competitive capitalism that it had not turned into its opposite, imperialism, as Lenin pointed out. Therefore, the traitor Browder reasoned, that since American capitalism was an exception it could be collaborated with, that American capitalism would help the U.S. working class. But this was and is, pure bullshit, pure traitorous bullshit! Capitalism is the enemy of working people everywhere, and in its present monopoly stage, called imperialism, it is a menace to the majority of the peoples on the planet. Capitalism is an economic system -- a mode of production characterized by private ownership of the means of production, the land, factories, mineral wealth, transportation, communication, waterways. This means of production is owned privately by a single class in capitalist society called the capitalist class or the bourgeoisie. The principal contradiction in this bourgeois society, and the US is the leading bourgeois society in the world, is the contradiction between the private ownership of the means of producing wealth, against the public character of the production process itself. That is, it takes millions of people to produce the wealth by laboring long hours in factories, mines, on docks, in shops, yet the class that makes the gigantic wealth off this labor is the bourgeoisie, who do no work at all. All the wealth that the workers produce that they do not get is called Surplus Value, and this is the secret of capitalism that Karl Marx discovered. 100 workers in an hour put together 100 automobiles from which a gross profit of \$500,000 can be realized. The workers are paid for that hour 10 dollars, times the 100 workers is 1,000 dollars. Subtract that from \$500,000 and you understand what surplus value is, and you also understand why capitalism must always be relegated to the bottom of the heap as long as the fruit of their labor is appropriated by the 6/10ths of one percent who constitute the US bourgeoisie! Imperialism is capitalism in its monopoly

stage, where it has left the boundaries of one country, having used up and controlled the raw materials and capital inside its own boundaries. It then begins to look for new sources of raw materials, new markets for its goods, new places to export capital (capital is wealth used to exploit labor). And to do this it must scramble around the world, overturning governments, setting up colonies, neocolonies and supporting tyrants.

When the leadership of the so-called Communist Party (USA) came out saying US imperialism was an exception they were merely laying the stage for their own liquidation and their following of the bankrupt so-called Communist Party of the USSR onto the tragic traitor path of revisionism. The once proud party of the Soviet Union turned revisionist after the death of Stalin, as the result of a political coup led by Nikita Khrushchov, who was an agent of the old and new bourgeoisie

within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The CPUSA, with its own opportunist leadership, and history of critical struggle against opportunism and chauvinism, now degenerated completely into revisionism. Revisionism is the using of Marxist-Leninist phrases and terminology to cover reformism and collaboration with the bourgeoisie. The CPUSA abandoned the militant sharecroppers union in the black belt, and then reversed itself on the Afro-American National Question, eliminating the call for self-determination for the Afro-American Nation in the black belt south. By 1957, the CPUSA was a completely consolidated revisionist clique, a pack of new liberals who one day will probably run their lies from the official buildings in Wash., DC. They call it "peaceful transition"!

The effect on the black liberation movement, and on the working class struggle and struggles of other oppressed nationalities was grave. With-

FREE ASSATA SHAKUR!



Assata Shakur has been in jail for about 5 years --first the state of NJ rigged a shoot-out and then they rigged a frame-up! This proves that the capitalists will use both force and fraud to repress the struggle for democratic rights of Afro American people and of women.

Recent revelations about the FBI's Cointelpro operations show that her arrest and imprisonment was no isolated incident, but part of a nationwide campaign against the black liberation movement.

out a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party to give leadership to the various mass struggles, they remain spontaneous, rising and falling in waves. The black liberation movement is a particular classic example of this. First the CPUSA began to support the "comprador sector of the black bourgeoisie as the leadership of the black liberation movement, the Wilkins, Whitney Youngs and the like... Martin Luther King emerged as spokesman for the black bourgeoisie, its national sector, the sector that still has some militance, in that it objectively is, in contradiction with the big bourgeoisie over its market, black people. The national sector of the black bourgeoisie wants control over its market, but this is impossible because the Afro-American Nation is oppressed by imperialism and to gain control over that black market, the black bourgeoisie would have to fight an anti-imperialist war of liberation against foreign domination. The bitter irony of this for them however, is that any such war would invariably be led by the black working class, which might include them as part of a united front, but would never let them lead. And the goal of such a liberation struggle would be new democracy or peoples democracy, and then upward to socialism. It certainly would not have as its aim the delivering of the black masses into the hands of a black bourgeoisie in place of the imperialists. But because of the traitorous actions of the CPUSA the leadership of the black liberation movement was delivered back into the hands of the black bourgeoisie. This was the era of the civil rights movement, a mass movement for democratic rights led by the national sector of the black bourgeoisie & petty bourgeoisie. The contrast with the black bourgeois position, and the position of the actual masses of working people is the contrast between Dr. King's political lines, and the line articulated by Malcolm X, who was a spokesman for the black sector of the working class. Without a doubt Malcolm X was the most influential black leader of his time, and that time, and historically will be summed up to be the most significant leader in America of the entire period.

It was Malcolm who in the face of the line of "we shall overcome" and "turn the other cheek", which were the metaphysical watchwords of the black bourgeois leadership, put forward the line that black people had the right to self determination, self respect and self defense. He said that, if we had to struggle for civil rights, which are merely the democratic rights of any citizen of a society, then we must not be citizens in the first place. Malcolm X made us aware of our connection with Africa, both historically and politically.

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The Struggle Against Hegemonism and Bullying and for Revolution in the Second World

We Must Understand the Second World!

In Chairman Mao's profound contemporary international class analysis, the Three World thesis, it is explained that today because of the development of imperialism, and the breakup of the Socialist Camp due to the fall of the Soviet Union (and those former peoples democracies under Soviet influence in Eastern Europe) into revisionism and Social Imperialism, that the world is actually divided into three parts. The First World is the two superpower imperialists, USA, and USSR. Socialism in words, imperialism in deeds is what characterizes the Soviet Union...a young imperialism that must expand and grab off colonies to survive which is why it is so aggressive, and why in the struggle for world domination with the declining superpower the USA, the Soviet Union constitutes the main danger of starting World War 3!

The Third World, is the countries mainly of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the colonies and semicolonies, the so-called developing countries underdeveloped by imperialism. The Third World is the main force against imperialism, colonialism, zionism and superpower domination (hegemonism). It is the struggles of the 3rd world that make revolution THE MAIN TREND IN THE WORLD TODAY. (And we wonder, why, in the face of such overwhelming evidence, Workers' Viewpoint Organization does not repudiate its erroneous line that there is no main trend, that between the contending forces of revolution and imperialist war, there is no single trend that is principal?)

The Second World is those capitalist and revisionist countries between the First and Third Worlds. It is true that these developed countries "oppress and exploit the oppressed nations" but they are "at the same time

controlled and bullied by the superpowers". "They have a dual character, and stand in contradiction with both the First and the Third World. But they are still a force the Third World can win over or unite with in the struggle against hegemonism". The Social Imperialists and some comrades making "left" opportunist errors incorrectly attack this obviously correct and scientific analysis which lays out the specifics of class struggle in this period. At the same time these people are also attacking Chairman Mao, who was the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era, but also Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin! In the latter half of the 19th century Marx and Engels grouped European countries according to their attitude towards Russian Czarism. Lenin divided the world into three types of countries after WW1. And Stalin, who the "Left" opportunists abuse by misquoting to support their deviations, also divided countries before WW2 "into aggressor and nonaggressor countries and into the fascist camp as distinct from the anti-fascist camp during the war".

Some people, making "Left" errors, typical of the Gang of Four, have said they do not see how the proletariat can rely on allies like the 2nd World, who are after all, imperialist countries. Such rrrrevolutionary "reasoning" of course would oppose The Chinese Communist Party's United Front with Chiang Kai Shek against Japanese imperialism. It would also oppose Stalin's and the Comintern's line calling for a United Front with France, Great Britain and the U.S. against German and Italian Fascism and Japanese militarism. (As the petty bourgeois "theorists" at MLOC did!) Lenin in "Letter To American Workers" describing such proletarian tactics had this to say, "When in February 1918 the German imperialist vultures hurled their forces against unarmed demobilized Russia, who had relied on the international solidarity of the proletariat before the world revolution had fully

matured, I did not hesitate for a moment to enter into an 'agreement' with the French monarchists. Captain Sadoul, a French army officer who, in words, sympathized with the Bolsheviks, but was in deeds a loyal and faithful servant of French imperialism, brought the French officer de Lubersac to see me. 'I am a monarchist. My only aim is to secure the defeat of Germany', de Lubersac declared to me. 'That goes without saying (cela va sans dire)', I replied. But this did not in the least prevent me from entering into an 'agreement' with de Lubersac concerning certain services French army officers, experts in explosives, were ready to render us by blowing up railway lines in order to hinder the German invasion. This is an example of an 'agreement' of which every class conscious worker will approve, an agreement in the interests of socialism. The French Monarchist and I shook hands, although we knew that each of us would willingly hang his 'partner'. BUT FOR A TIME OUR INTEREST COINCIDED*. Against the advancing rapacious Germans, we, in the interests of the Russian and the world socialist revolution, utilised the equally rapacious counter-interests of OTHER imperialists. In this way we served the interests of the working class of Russia and of other countries, we strengthened the proletariat and weakened the bourgeoisie of the whole world, we resorted to the methods, most legitimate and essential in EVERY war, of manoeuvre, strategem, retreat, in anticipation of the moment when the rapidly maturing proletarian revolution in a number of advanced countries completely matured."

But not only must the oppressed peoples of the 3rd World and the proletariat see the 2nd World as an ally against superpower hegemonism, anyone who understands the reality and eminence of a 3rd World War,

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The masses of people in Europe are becoming aware of the dangers of superpower contention, that may lead to another world war. This

huge demonstration against the revisionist traitor party in Italy took place last year.

REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE

Revolutionary Review

WAR IN POPULAR CULTURE



Part-2

In sports, another popular medium, we see the same ugly line of capitalism and national oppression being pushed. Look at the slander put on Reggie Jackson all last year. Billy Martin is so backward and chauvinist that he refused to put Jackson in the prestigious cleanup spot for the Yankees, until he was backed to the wall and had no choice. Once Reggie Jackson was number 4, the Yankees soared. Reggie made the remark that if he played in New York they would name a candybar after him, plus he is a young single black man with lots of money; this is resented uniformly by the sports writers who are only reflecting the system of monopoly capitalism in which the normal place for blacks is submission and humiliation.

The fool that owns the New Jersey Nets was so chauvinist and racist that he actually destroyed his franchise rather than give Dr. J., the best player in the game today, his financial due. And even then the owners would be ripping him off. The people don't come to see the owners—they come to see the players. The way its reported in the newspapers people sometimes take up the owners' side and grumble about the players asking for money. But it is O.J., and Dorsett

and Payton, or Reggie J and Mickey R or Jabbar who are putting out the energy, taking the hard blows, giving up their life blood on the field or on the court, not the owners. The black players are put in the peculiar position of having to be stars and shufflers at the same time, but many of them reject this role and image. But the unwritten laws like No black quarterbacks in the pros continue—so that we continue to believe only whites have the intelligence to lead. Or now in the highly physical and highly competitive world of pro basketball another law is never hit a white player, if you're black, especially not a white star. Abdul Jabaar is the stellar center in pro ball, most valuable player year in year out, a rookie white center name Kent Benston elbowed Jabbar, almost doubling him over, clearly shown on television. Kareem walked around him then flattened him with a right. Jabbar was fined and suspended, Benston did not even get a foul. In a free for all in one game, a highly touted white star, Rudy Tomjanovich rushed over to Kermit Washington who was just emerging from the heat of the battle, and Alexander suddenly confronted by Tomjanovich acted instinctively and fired, breaking Tomjanovich's jaw, Washington was immediately fined \$10,000 and suspended for enough time so that the total financial bleeding will be more like \$50,000. Never fight with white folks is the moral.

Image after image in the movies, television, reinforces this capitalist society. They are popular forms but the content serves the minority not the majority. LaVerne and Shirley use the characters of white working people to attract working people to look at it, but the concerns on the show are trivia and nonsense. The

police on television and the films are always our friends, even the dreaded tactical police, SWAT. But go out in the street and reality will show you the opposite, as police continue week after week to gun down innocent youths—like the Jim Nance shooting of Reggy Threadgill in Newark, New Jersey—this is the fourth or fifth time Nance has been involved with a shooting like this; it is time he was put out to pasture at once—he is a menace. But the television tells us Barney Miller and company are easygoing and funny, Kojak is hip and knowledgeable, full of integrity, that the Rookies mean well and are for the people and Starsky and Hutch are right now today Batman and Robin types swinging with the rest of the swingers. Meanwhile Clifford Glover, Claude Reese, Randolph Evans, Obie Wynn, Keith Ballou, Kevin Scott, Shelia Farrell, Steven Russell, David Perez, Francisco Cordova, Charles Sutton, Reggie Threadgill are shot down to show us how much the bourgeoisie lie to us.

In film after film we see naked people and sexual intimacy, and because of this we are supposed to be persuaded that we are seeing reality, that the filmmakers are holding nothing back, telling it like it is. Plus the hot language—many four letter words. And the use of these words also is supposed to convince us that we are seeing reality, hearing it told like it really is, but nothing could be further from the truth. We are still being lied to—we are still being twisted by the rulers and their stooges into thinking the present system is the best there is, and nothing ever changes and that everything progressive is really backwards and everything backwards is really progressive. And it is not just blacks and oppressed nationalities that it is aimed at, but the majority in the society, all working people to keep us tricked up, and confused as the psyched and souped up saps who willingly serve monopoly capitalism.

The first thing we must understand is that this system, the society can be changed. There is nothing eternal or immortal. The only constant is change. Metaphysics teaches that everything stays the same, nothing changes, that's why the bourgeoisie lets things like religion thrive and pushes mysticism and mysteries. Everything can be known by humanity and problems can be solved, there is real progress made in the world, but it does not come peacefully, it comes only through struggle, through confrontation with our enemies and finally a war between the classes, the working class and oppressed nationalities and their allies against the bourgeoisie and their stooges. To fight this war we must have a general staff, a leading force, such a leading force is a Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party guided by the science of revolution Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. There are internal laws to the development of society and to change society we must learn these laws and put them to our own use. We did not understand this is the '60's and thought that spontaneity and emotionalism was enough. We found out

different. The struggle is not over, it is just continuing on a higher level. Just as people all over the world are making revolution against imperialism—monopoly capitalism, in Vietnam, Cambodia, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau; in Rhodesia and South Africa the African people are gathering strength to crush the colonialists, and in Palestine, the zionists are backed to the wall and talk nonsense about peace, while the peoples national liberation forces through more unity, self reliance and armed struggle, will surely break their backs like matchsticks—all over the world revolution is the main trend, and here in the USA, our revolutionary struggle is moving upward and onward. '77 has come and gone, Jimmy

Carter's grinning bs has given you nothing but an unholy ghost—'78 more unemployment, more cutbacks and budget cuts of social programs; education is getting worse and there is still no housing; the crime rate is rising still higher, and the bourgeoisie will be putting more and more of the weight of their defeats onto working people's backs.

Only socialism can solve these problems, they are brought on by capitalism. To have a better world, we must have a better economic and social system. Racism and women's oppression are the creations of capitalism and class society—to end them, capitalism must be ended, and to do that we must first build a revolutionary party, that can mobilize the great masses of people, and resolutely smash the bourgeois state so that the power of government and control of the economy and social system will be in the hands of the majority of people, the working class. This is called the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the total domination by the majority in society, it is the only guarantee of the end of oppressive and exploitative society.

Black Liberation

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It was also Malcolm X, who declared the March on Washington a black bourgeois status symbol which would solve nothing!

Malcolm X influenced a whole generation of black people and people of other nationalities as well. And his expulsion by the Nation of Islam for remarks he made about the Kennedy assassination was merely one splitting into two, showing that the revolutionary nationalism of Malcolm X could not exist within the cultural and religious nationalist and black capitalist framework of Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam.

The line of self defense was picked up by people like Robert F. Williams in North Carolina who comprador Roy Wilkins also fired for firing up some Klansmen in Monroe, N. Carolina. Also the Deacons for Self Defense in Bogalooosa, and the Black Panther Party in California were deeply influenced by Malcolm, as well as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Carmichael's cry of "Black Power" was merely putting forward Malcolm's line on Black Nationalism, and Huey Newton and Bobby Seale marching into the California legislature with arms were simply carrying out Malcolm's message to the grassroots of armed self defense, in practice.

As a result of Malcolm's great leadership the black liberation movement moved very quickly from an idealist led mass movement with metaphysical goals to a revolutionary mass movement culminated by the mass rebellions in the late 60's carried out predominantly by black working class people. The motion from Dr. King's WE SHALL OVERCOME to Rap Brown's revolutionary cry, "if America don't come round America need to be burnt to the ground", is not possible without Malcolm X's revolutionary leadership and example!

But the lack of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party remained a tragic vacuum dooming the black liberation movement and the other workers movements to spontaneity. It should be clear that the reason the black rebellions of the 60's could not become revolution is that there was no Marxist-Leninist leadership. And renegades like the CP-USA played the bourgeoisie's game by constantly denouncing leaders like Malcolm, calling him a police agent, and the same as the Ku Klux Klan. If they were examples of Marxists, of communists then we wanted nothing to do with them. But they were not! It was obvious they were simply misguided petty bourgeois reformists and white chauvinists to boot.

Malcolm X's assassination left a vacuum in the black liberation movement, one made even more glaring and tragic by the principal vacuum left by the absence of a genuine communist party in the USA. For one thing, petty bourgeois leadership moved into this vacuum, and leading forces in the black liberation movement made tragic errors. On one hand, the cultural nationalism that ascribed black oppression simply to all white people, was finally simply the ideology of the small merchants protecting their tiny market, bourgeois philosophy that objectively served the bourgeois ruling class by dividing the working class. Chauvinism has the same political base as opportunism, collaboration with the bourgeoisie, even as far as to work with the bourgeoisie against the workers of other nations. The economic basis of opportunism is the superprofits ripped out of the third world by imperialism that allows it to bribe a small section of the working

class and petty bourgeoisie, the so-called labor aristocrats.

The absence of a vanguard party, and the practice of the revisionists and chauvinists who masqueraded as communists, such as the CPUSA, was also another catalyst for the bourgeois cultural nationalism that developed in a large sector of the black liberation movement. The organization that many of our comrades were members of at that time, the Con-



Fred Hampton was assassinated in 1968 by the FBI and the Chicago police.

gress of African People, has made self criticism for being involved with this bourgeois ideology, and some time ago removed itself from the ranks of cultural nationalists to embrace Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

The other major trend of the black liberation movement during the 60's was represented by the Black Panther Party, who initially forcefully carried out Malcolm's correct line of armed self defense, the right to bear arms in the defense of our lives, in contrast to turn the other cheek — and let it get blown away too! But without Marxist-Leninist guidance this line was perverted into a kind of gun cult, which quickly brought the brutal forces of the bourgeois state down on the Panthers in bloody repression. Also, under the sinister influence of the Bakunist-anarchist ideology spread by Eldridge (Elder) Cleaver, which masqueraded as Marxism, the Panthers pushed the incorrect line that the revolutionary class base that would lead socialist revolution was the lumpen, i.e., the pimps, the hustlers, dopepushers and prostitutes, romanticizing an inconsistent, sometimes dangerous class, already destroyed by capitalism. But the revolutionary social force of proletarian revolution is the working class, the masses of workers, who armed with the science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, by means of a revolutionary vanguard party, will smash capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism.

The black liberation movement includes a number of tendencies and organizations, and classes all struggling in some way to some degree against national oppression and for democracy. There are black capitalists such as the Nation of Islam who consider them-

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IF WE MUST DIE

If we must die, let it not be like hogs
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
Making their mock at our accursed lot.
If we must die, O let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honor us though dead!
O kinsmen! we must meet the common foe!
Though far outnumbered let us show us brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one death-blow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!



Claude McKay (1890-1948)

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



JOSEPH STALIN

Part 12

The basis of the relations of production under the capitalist system is that the capitalist owns the means of production, but not the workers in production—the wage labourers, whom the capitalist can neither kill nor sell because they are personally free, but who are deprived of means of production, and in order not to die of hunger, are obliged to sell their labour power to the capitalist and to bear the yoke of exploitation. Alongside of capitalist property in the means of production, we find, at first on a wide scale, private property of the peasants and handicraftsmen in the means of production, these peasants and handicraftsmen no longer being serfs, and their private property being based on personal labour. In place of the handicraft workshops and manufactories there appear huge mills and factories equipped with machinery. In place of manorial estates tilled by the primitive implements of production of the peasant, there now appear large capitalist farms run on scientific lines and supplied with agricultural machinery.

The new productive forces require that the workers in production shall be better educated and more intelligent than the downtrodden and ignorant serfs, that they be able to understand machinery and operate it properly. Therefore, the capitalists prefer to deal with wage workers who are free from the bonds of serfdom and who are educated enough to be able properly to operate machinery.

But having developed productive forces to a tremendous extent, capitalism has become enmeshed in contradictions which it is unable to solve. By producing larger and larger quantities of commodities, and reducing their prices, capitalism intensifies competition, ruins the mass of small and medium private owners, converts them into proletarians and reduces their purchasing power, with the result that it becomes impossible to dispose of the commodities produced. On the other hand, by expanding production and concentrating millions of workers in huge mills and factories, capitalism lends the process of production a social character and thus undermines its own foundation, inasmuch as the social character of the process of production demands the social ownership of the means of production; yet the means of production remain private capitalist property, which is incompatible with the social character of the process of production.

These irreconcilable contradictions between the character of the productive forces and the relations of production make themselves felt in periodical crises of overproduction, when the capitalists, finding no effective demand for their goods owing to the ruin of the mass of the population which they themselves have brought about, are compelled to burn products, destroy manufactured goods, suspend production, and destroy productive forces at a time when millions of people are forced to suffer unemployment and starvation, not

because there are not enough goods, but because there is an overproduction of goods.

This means that the capitalist relations of production have ceased to correspond to the state of productive forces of society and have come into irreconcilable contradiction with them.

This means that capitalism is pregnant with revolution, whose mission it is to replace the existing capitalist ownership of the means of production by Socialist ownership.

This means that the main feature of the capitalist system is a most acute class struggle between the exploiters and the

The basis of the relations of production under the Socialist system, which so far has been established only in the U.S.S.R., is the social ownership of the means of production. Here there are no longer exploiters and exploited. The goods produced are distributed according to labour performed, on the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." Here the mutual relations of people in the process of production are marked by comradesly co-operation and the Socialist mutual assistance of workers who are free from exploitation. Here the relations of production fully correspond to the state of productive forces, for the social character of the process of production is reinforced by the social ownership of the means of production.

For this reason Socialist production in the U.S.S.R. knows no periodical crises of overproduction and their accompanying absurdities.

For this reason, the productive forces here develop at an accelerated pace, for the relations of production that correspond to them offer full scope for such development.

Such is the picture of the development of men's relations of production in the course of human history.

Such is the dependence of the development of the relations of production on the development of the production forces of society, and primarily, on the development of the instruments of production, the dependence by virtue of which the changes and development of the productive forces sooner or later lead to corresponding changes and development of the relations of production.

"The use and fabrication of instruments of labour," says Marx, "although existing in the germ among certain species of animals, is specifically characteristic of the human labour-process, and Franklin therefore defines man as a tool-making animal. Relics of bygone instruments of labour possess the same importance for the investigation of extinct economic forms of society, as do fossil bones for the determination of extinct species of animals. It is not the articles made, but how they are made, and by what instruments that enables us to distinguish different economic epochs.... Instruments of labour not only supply a standard of the degree of development to which human labour has attained but they are also indicators of the social conditions under which that labour is carried on." (Karl Marx, CAPITAL, Vol. I, p. 159.)

And further:

a) "Social relations are closely bound up with productive forces. In acquiring new productive forces men change their mode of production; and in changing their mode of production, in changing the way of earning their living, they change all their social conditions. The hand-mill gives you society with the feudal lord; the steam-mill, society with the industrial capitalist." (Karl Marx, THE POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY, p. 92.)

b) "There is a continual movement of growth in productive forces, of destruction in social relations, of formation in ideas; the only immutable thing is the abstraction of movement." (Ibid., p.93.)

Speaking of historical materialism as formulated in THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, Engels says:

"Economic production and the structure of society of every historical epoch necessarily arising therefrom constitute the foundation for the political and intellectual history of that epoch; ...consequently ever since the dissolution of the primeval communal ownership of land all history has been a history of class struggles, of struggles between exploited and exploiting, between dominated and dominating classes at various stages of social evolution; ... this struggle, however, has now reached a stage where the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) can no longer emancipate itself from the class which exploits and oppresses it (the bourgeoisie), without at the same time forever freeing the whole of society from exploitation, oppression and class struggles." (Preface to the German edition of THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO—Karl Marx, SELECTED WORKS, Vol. I, pp. 192-93.)

*By instruments of labour Marx has in mind primarily instruments of production.

History Develops in Spirals

(Continued from page 4)

In the years immediately after the birth of New China, the Party led the people of the whole country in rehabilitating the cycle the content of practice and knowledge national economy and carrying out the san fan and wu fan movements (the movement against the three evils—corruption, waste and bureaucracy—and the movement against the five evils—bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information for private speculation). It put forward the general line for socialist industrialization and socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, and got The First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957) for socialist construction going. The vigorous development of socialist revolution and construction filled the people throughout the country with joy and elation, but at the same time it evoked bitter hatred and fear on the part of the class enemies at home and abroad.

Bourgeois careerists Kao Kang and Jao Shu shih who had wormed their way into the Party ganged up in an anti-Party alliance and wildly carried out conspiratorial activities, vainly trying to split our Party, usurp the supreme power in the Party and the state and obstruct the advance of socialism. Chairman Mao led the whole Party to expose and shatter in good time the Kao-Jao anti-Party alliance and rallied all Party members and the people of the whole country to bring about an upsurge in socialist transformation and win the basic victory in the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production.

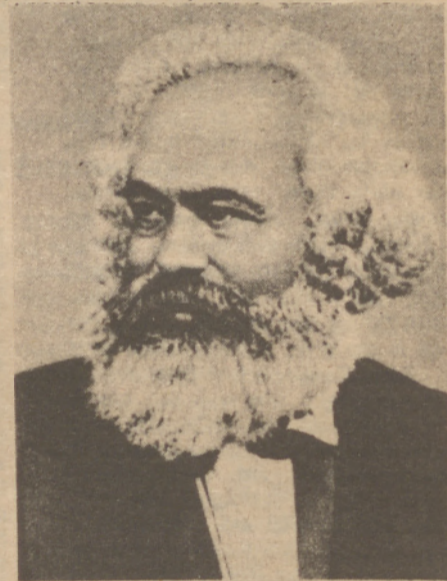
The bourgeoisie, however, did not take its defeat lying down. Taking advantage of the rectification campaign in 1957, it unleashed another furious attack on the Party. This fully showed that, with the socialist revolution on the economic front alone, the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat still was not secure and it was imperative to carry out a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological front. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's thesis on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the nation started a vigorous struggle to beat back the bourgeois rightists and once again repulsed the bourgeoisie's large-scale frenzied attacks, thereby giving great impetus to the rapid development of socialist revolution and construc-

Having summed up the experiences, both positive and negative, of socialist construction at home and abroad, Chairman Mao put forward the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism." Hence the excellent situation marked by the big leap forward in the national economy and the establishment of the people's communes in 1958. But the struggle in the political and ideological spheres remained very intense. At the Lushan Meeting in 1959, the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique took the field, frantically attacking the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune in a futile effort to split our Party and check the onrushing torrent of socialism. Chairman Mao led the whole Party in meeting the onslaught head-on and crushing the Peng Teh-huai Right opportunist clique whose plots fell through.

With the daily deepening of the socialist revolution, the Liu Shao-chi renegade clique ran wild in carrying out counter-revolutionary activities. During the period when China had temporary economic difficulties due to three successive years of natural disasters and sabotage by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, Liu Shao-chi and his followers openly trumpeted and pushed the revisionist line of SAN ZI YI BAO (the extension of plots for private use, the extension of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the individual households) and of SAN HE YI SHAO (the liquidation of struggle against the imperialists, reactionaries and modern revisionists, and the reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries). They spared no effort in their criminal activities to restore capitalism in the political, ideological as well as economic spheres.

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At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of our Party in September 1962, Chairman Mao summed up the historical experience of the dicta-



Long Live Karl Marx! Lenin said, "Marxism is the system of the views and teachings of Marx." "The remarkable consistency and integrity of Marx's views, acknowledged even by his opponents, views which in their totality constitute modern materialism and modern scientific socialism. . . are the strong foundation for the science of revolution today, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought."

torship of the proletariat at home and abroad advanced in a more comprehensive way the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism and issued the great call: "NEVER FORGET CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE." Immediately afterwards, Chairman Mao initiated the socialist education movement on a nationwide scale, criticized Liu Shao-chi's reactionary bourgeois line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence, set in motion the revolution in Peking opera and other cultural and art fields and launched the criticism of "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office" (a bad opera designed to reverse the verdict passed on the Right opportunists)

Part 2

(To Be Continued)

SECOND WORLD STRUGGLES

cont from page 8

based on the contention between the two superpowers, and the Soviet social fascists as the most dangerous source of that war will understand the necessity for uniting the broad masses against superpower aggression in such a war. Despite their struggles with each other all over the world, the focus of the superpower contention is Europe. Despite their babble about disarmament and detente, the two superpowers are everyday clearly preparing for war. They have hundreds of thousands of troops massed in Europe, and they feverishly develop new and more deadly weapons with each hour readying for each others destructions.

The contention of the superpowers in Europe has raised broad sentiment against them in Europe. It should also be obvious that in the event of a third world war, "Europe is certain to bear the brunt of the attack". In Eastern Europe their principal fight today is against the Soviet Social imperialists in a struggle for national



V.I. Lenin, founder of the Russian Communist Party (B), and leader of the October Revolution in 1917, taught us to always struggle against opportunist lines in the building of the Party.

independence. The Western European countries are fighting more directly against U.S. hegemony and their unequal 'equal partnership', although at the same time the grave menace of Soviet Social Imperialism is well known among the West European masses. These countries of the second world now no longer have to be concerned, as secondary imperialist powers, about redividing the world with the superpowers, **THEIR STRUGGLE IS TO TRY TO SAFEGUARD THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE AND SECURITY.**

Certain comrades have erroneously argued that the principal relationship between 2nd world countries and 3rd world countries is exploitation by the 2nd world countries, but this is incorrect. The League for Proletarian Revolution (M-L) for instance, says that it upholds the Three World Theory, but in every practical situation abandons it for "left" phrasemongering. The Superpowers push the other imperialists away from the booty, and make them pay "tribute" with what little booty they have left. The superpowers try to gobble up the entire world, which is why they must fight an imperialist war with each other, and why the 2nd world is in constant conflict with the superpowers. The Soviet Union has stepped up its aggressive deployment of troops and ships and armaments throughout Central Europe, as well as on Europe's southern and northern flanks. In the event of World War 3, the Soviet Union would attack West Europe at once. A war between Soviet Social Imperialism and the Second World countries "will be a war between the aggressor and those fighting against aggression, between the annexationist and those against annexation". (Peking Review No. 5, Feb., '78, "Defence of National Independence and Second World Countries")**

This is why RCL sees the fight around NATO as important, that is, that the West European countries struggle to make NATO independent of the U.S. superpower as a weapon of struggle against the other superpower, WHICH IS A FASCIST COUNTRY READING FOR WAR. Otherwise we are saying that the 2nd world countries and Soviet Social Imperialism are THE SAME. That there is no such thing as uneven

development, that there is no such thing as Superpowers, that the Soviet Social Imperialists are not also Social Fascists, "of the Hitler type". We do not take sides with the superpowers, but in their struggle with the 2nd world we must see that the 2nd world's struggle against the superpowers is an aid to the world front against hegemonism and the danger of World War 3.

West European unity against both superpowers has been strengthening of necessity in the last few years, and especially against the aggressive Soviet Social Imperialism. But in the US, on the question of supporting West European resistance to Soviet Social Imperialism, there has been a distinctly appeasement sounding line, exposed recently with the uncovering of Carter's "Presidential Memo 10" which revealed that the US was willing to give up one third of West German territory in the event of a USSR invasion!

At the same time that the Second World struggles against superpower hegemonism and preservation of national independence, revolution is brewing inside these countries as well, as the European proletariat continues to struggle against its domestic bourgeoisie. Smaller European Marxist-Leninist organizations, have been following the positive trend toward uniting smaller democratic centralist organizations into larger democratic centralist organizations, defeating the small group mentality and uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning advanced workers and forming genuine Marxist-Leninist parties to oppose the bourgeoisie and the large revisionist parties which exist in much of the Second World just as in the superpowers.

It is these genuine Marxist-Leninist organizations and parties that have taken the lead in calling for European unity against the superpowers, with special vigilance in opposing the aggressive Soviet Social Imperialism.

The generally declining and problematic economic situation in all the capitalist countries plus the revolutionary struggles of the Third World cutting down the superprofits of imperialism, opposing the expansion imperialism needs to live, contracting its markets, spheres of influence, places to invest capital, cutting off its supplies of raw materials...all this contributes to the worsening economic dilemma of the capitalist countries, because capitalism and imperialism are being systematically killed all over the world! And in these growingly more chaotic situations that are the result of this dying economic system's more and more obvious failure to meet the peoples' needs, day after day demonstrations, street fights, rebellions, widespread incidents of terrorism, erupt to underline this: viz that the bourgeoisie is no longer fit to rule, and at the same time the various revisionist parties are being thoroughly exposed as mere collaborators with the bourgeoisie, e.g., in Italy, France, Spain, &c., driving the people ever more sharply towards genuine revolutionary solutions.

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Middle East

(Continued from page 3)

The excellent situation of today is the result of the united struggle of the great Arab peoples, of which the catalyst is the struggle of the Palestinian people, against the imperialist superpowers and Zionism and for independence, sovereignty and national rights. Though the struggle is long and reverses occur, the great Arab people will surely persevere and win final victory over the two superpowers and all reaction. In so doing they are making a fundamental contribution to the progress of humanity all over the world.

Black Liberation

cont from page 9

selfes part of it, right wing nationalists such CORE, who recently advocated sending black Vietnam veterans to Angola in a scheme that seemed to have leaped directly from the state department's feverish brow. There are cultural nationalists, who are also part of the broad and contradictory black liberation movement, some of whom are still including health tips for chewing your grains 1000 times as methods of liberation; there are Pan-Africanists who still think we must return to Africa to find our home. And while we must realize the historical and political significance of our relationship to Africa, we must abandon the idealism and confusion that does not allow us to see that our principal struggle is for the land we have lived on for almost four centuries, including the liberation of the black nation in the black belt south, and the black oppressed nationality throughout the rest of this country. The broad masses of black people who are struggling day after day against the robbery and exploitation and limitation of democratic rights that characterizes national oppression realize it and this national oppression with the added horrors of racism, the monster created by capitalism and its slave ships which must be destroyed in the USA.

But we must understand that there will be no black liberation until the system of monopoly capitalism is destroyed, that this is the economic base and root of our oppression. And finally only those aspects of the black liberation movement which oppose imperialism and fight for consistent democracy can really be considered as revolutionary, the rest must be exposed as reactionary and as aides to our oppressors.

We must also be very clear by now that skin color is no indicator of one's political line, and that black liberation, the self determination of the Afro-American nation and the liberation of the black oppressed nationality will only come through armed violent socialist revolution, but a revolution made in concert with the entire multinational working class. But in order for such a revolution to become a reality, the masses of working people must be led by a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, the party Lenin described as the party of a new type, a party of the working class, a party composed of the advanced sector of the working class, advanced because they are armed with the science of revolution. This is why the central task of all revolutionaries in the USA today must be the building of such a Marxist-Leninist party, because without such a party, we are at the mercy of monopoly capitalism and its bloody bourgeois rulers.

In the US today there is a severe economic crisis, no matter the constant chatter of the bourgeoisie's paid liars who tell us different, who try to conjure up once a week, a new "upturn". Depressions are a cyclical occurrence in capitalism due to the anarchistic production of commodities for profit rather than peoples needs. Periodically the markets are flooded because the impoverished masses simply cannot absorb the torrent of unnecessary commodities. Workers are then laid off, but x sometimes prices rise at the time, because the capitalists try to make the same profit off a lower volume of sales, also the largely paper money of the decadent society no longer represents actual labor, but printers ink and bourgeois desparation and so we have inflation.

In the wave of this economic crisis which grips the entire capitalist world, is added the searing force of the peoples and nations of

the Third World, Africa, Asia and Latin America and other regions who are the chief fighters against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, zionism and superpower bullying and control, called hegemonism. As the revolutionary forces drive US imperialism out of Asia and Africa and Latin America, the economic crisis grows even more intense, because the captive markets and sources of cheap raw materials and labor that the imperialists counted on to make super profits are forcibly ripped away from them. And the exploitation of workers inside the US must also intensify as the bourgeoisie cuts back and lays off more and more. It is these struggles that make revolution the main trend in the world today. Countries want independence, Nations want liberation, and the People want revolution, was how Chairman Mao termed it! There are four fundamental contradictions in the world today, labor vs capital in the advanced capitalist countries; imperialism vs imperialism with the sharpest struggle between the two superpowers, USSR, socialism in words and imperialism in deeds, and the USA; the third contradiction

is between imperialism and the third world; and also the contradiction between imperialism and the socialist countries, a contradiction between what is dying and what is invincible. The sharpest of these contradictions is the one between imperialism and the third world which we describe which is the motor driving revolution around the world; and the other sharp contradiction between the two superpower imperialisms for redivision of the world, just as the big imperialist powers contended and struggled and finally declared world wars to redivide the world between them which was world war one and world war two. Even though revolution is the main trend in the world today, the factors for both war and revolution are rising. And the people must prepare for this imperialist war no matter the fraudulent line which one superpower throws around and the other conjures with. The politics of imperialism is war, and the people must prepare for such a war, or suffer. The fundamental preparation for such a war, just as the fundamental preparation for revolution is the building of a vanguard Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, to smash capitalism and transform the privately owned means of production, the land, factories, mineral wealth, mines, transportation into publicly owned state property under the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

Black Liberation will come only thru socialist revolution, and it is part and

parcel of proletarian revolution and socialist revolution can only come led by a party

which combines the entire multinational working class guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Jimmy Carter's 88 teeth, his colored stooges, women stooges, trade union bureaucrat stooges will change nothing in this society, but the accent in which the lie will be told. There will never

be the change we seek under capitalism, only revolution and socialism, can bring a truly just and equitable society.

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Strikes Are A "School Of War" But Not The War Itself

Lenin wrote his article "On Strikes" in 1899. The ideas contained in it still stand.

AN EXTRACT FROM LENIN'S ARTICLE "ON STRIKES"

A strike teaches workers to understand what the strength of the employers and what the strength of the workers consists in; it teaches them not to think of their own employer alone and not of their own immediate workmates alone but of all the employers, the whole class of capitalists and the whole class of workers. When a factory owner who has amassed millions from the toil of several generations of workers refuses to grant a modest increase in wages or even tries to reduce wages to a still lower level and, if the workers offer resistance, throws thousands of hungry families out into the street, it becomes quite clear to the workers that the capitalist class as a whole is the enemy of the whole working class and that the workers can depend only on themselves and their united action. It often happens that a factory owner does his best to deceive the workers, to pose as a benefactor, and conceal his exploitation of the workers by some petty sops or lying promises. A strike always demolishes this deception at one blow by showing the workers that their "benefactor" is a wolf in sheep's clothing.

A strike, moreover, opens the eyes of the workers to the nature, not only of the capitalists, but of the government and the laws as well. Just as the factory owners try to pose as benefactors of the workers, the government officials and their lackeys try to assure the workers that the tsar and the tsarist government are equally solicitous of both the factory owners and the workers, as justice requires. The worker does not know the laws, he has no contact with government officials, especially with those in the higher posts, and, as a consequence, often believes all this. Then comes a strike. The public prosecutor, the factory inspector, the police, and frequently troops, appear at the factory. The workers learn that they have violated the law: the employers are permitted by law to assemble and openly discuss ways of reducing workers' wages, but workers are declared criminals if they come to a joint agreement! Workers are driven out of their homes; the police close the shops from which the workers might obtain food on credit, an effort is made to incite the soldiers against the workers even when the workers conduct themselves quietly and peacefully. Soldiers are even ordered to fire on the workers and when they kill unarmed workers by shooting the fleeing crowd in the back, the tsar himself sends the troops an expression of his gratitude (in this way the tsar thanked the troops who had killed striking workers in Yaroslavl in 1895). It becomes clear to every worker that the tsarist government is his worst enemy, since it defends the capitalists and binds the workers hand and foot. The workers begin to understand that laws are made in the interests of the rich alone; that government officials protect those interests; that the working people are gagged and not allowed to make known their needs; that the working class must win for itself the right to strike, the right to publish workers'

newspapers, the right to participate in a national assembly that enacts laws and supervises their fulfillment. The government itself knows full well that strikes open the eyes of the workers and for this reason it has such a fear of strikes and does everything to stop them as quickly as possible. One German Minister of the Interior, one who was notorious for the persistent persecution of socialists and class-conscious workers, not without reason, stated before the people's representatives: "Behind every strike lurks the hydra (monster) of revolution." Every strike strengthens and develops in the workers the understanding that the government is their enemy and that the working class must prepare itself to struggle against the government for the people's rights.

Strikes, therefore, teach the workers to unite; they show them that they can struggle against the capitalists only when they are united; strikes teach the workers to think of the struggle of the whole working class against the whole class of factory owners and against the arbitrary, police government. This is the reason that socialists call strikes "a school of war", a school in which the workers learn to make war on their enemies for the liberation of the whole people, of all who labour, from the yoke of government officials and from the yoke of capital.

"A school of war" is, however, not war itself. When strikes are widespread among the workers, some of the workers (including some socialists) begin to believe that the working class can confine itself to strikes, strike funds, or strike associations alone; that by strikes alone the working class can achieve a considerable improvement in its conditions or even its emancipation. When they see what power there is in a united working class and even in small strikes, some think that the working class has only to organise a general strike throughout the whole country for the workers to get everything they want from the capitalists and the government. This idea was also expressed by the workers of other countries when the working-class movement was in its early stages and the workers were still very inexperienced. *It is a mistaken idea.* Strikes are one of the ways in which the working class struggles for its emancipation, but they are not the only way; and if the workers do not turn their attention to other means of conducting the struggle, they will slow down the growth and the successes of the working class. It is true that funds are needed to maintain the workers during strikes, if strikes are to be successful. Such workers' funds (usually funds of workers in separate branches of industry, separate trades or workshops) are maintained in all countries; but here in Russia this is especially difficult, because the police keep track of them, seize the money, and arrest the workers. The workers, of course, are able to hide from the police; naturally, the organisation of such funds is valuable, and we do not want to advise workers against setting them up. But it must not be supposed that workers' funds, when prohibited by law, will attract large numbers of contributors, and so long as the membership in such

organisations is small, workers' funds will not prove of great use. Furthermore, even in those countries where workers' unions exist openly and have huge funds at their disposal, the working class can still not confine itself to strikes as a means of struggle. All that is necessary is a hitch in the affairs of industry (a crisis such as the one that is approaching in Russia today) and the factory owners will even deliberately cause strikes, because it is to their advantage to cease work for a time and to deplete the workers' funds. The workers, therefore, cannot, under any circumstances, confine themselves to strike actions and strike associations. Secondly, strikes can only be successful where workers are sufficiently class-conscious, where they are able to select an opportune moment for striking, where they know how to put forward their demands, and where they have connections with socialists and are able to procure leaflets and pamphlets through them. There are still very few such workers in Russia, and every effort must be exerted to increase their number in order to make the working-class cause known to the masses of workers and to acquaint them with socialism and the working-class struggle. This is a task that the socialists and class-conscious workers must undertake jointly by organising a socialist working-class party for this purpose. Thirdly, strikes, as we have seen, show the workers that the government is their enemy and that a struggle against the government must be carried on. Actually, it is strikes that have gradually taught the working class of all countries to struggle against the governments for workers' rights and for the rights of the people as a whole. As we have said, only a socialist workers' party can carry on this struggle by spreading among the workers a true conception of the government and of the working-class cause. On another occasion we shall discuss specifically how strikes are conducted in Russia and how class-conscious workers should avail themselves of them. Here we must point out that strikes are, as we said above, "a school of war" and not the war itself, that strikes are only one means of struggle, only one aspect of the working-class movement. From individual strikes the workers can and must go over, as indeed they are actually doing in all countries, to a struggle of the entire working class for the emancipation of all who labour. When all class-conscious workers become socialists, i.e., when they strive for this emancipation, when they unite throughout the whole country in order to spread socialism among the workers, in order to teach the workers all the means of struggle against their enemies, when they build up a socialist workers' party that struggles for the emancipation of the people as a whole from government oppression and for the emancipation of all working people from the yoke of capital — only then will the working class become an integral part of that great movement of the workers of all countries that unites all workers and raises the red banner inscribed with the words: "Workers of all countries, unite!" (1899).

Vanguard April 28th, 1977



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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.

We need your help! Unity & Struggle has taken on many responsibilities which we see as necessary, but which are very costly. For example, Unity & Struggle has the policy of free subscriptions to prisoners, who cannot afford subscriptions, as part of a correspondence program we've operated to serve the prison population & their families for years. This is very expensive, and we need your help to sustain this kind of activity. We have also made some important changes that will get subscriptions to the people faster.

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