

# UNITY STRUGGLE

and

MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE!

WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!!

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## STOP KILLER COPS IN BROOKLYN!

The New York police have launched a concentrated police terror attack against the Brooklyn black community. The murder of Arthur Miller, a black community leader, by strangulation at the hands of some 19 police over a traffic ticket incident, the brutal beating of a 16 year old youth by a local white vigilante group organized and inspired by the police, which left him in a coma, and the gestapo tactics used against Charles King, a 57 year old storeowner have sparked more than a thousand people to attend Miller's funeral and hold massive demonstrations to protest the bloody injustice of national oppression and police brutality and killer cops in the black

community.

In Charles King's case, it turns out the police WOULD NOT arrest him for the parking violation, but instead told him in front of witnesses, that the police would come back to get him. All this because King resisted the policeman tossing a cigarette in his face! If community people had not stopped this killer cop from kicking and beating King repeatedly in the face with a night stick, King would have been another murder victim.

People want to know why is all this happening and what can we do. The police have been organized by the ruling

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## US - USSR Disarmament Fraud Exposed!

Day by day the movement against imperialist war is growing among the people. The recent upsurge of demonstrations against nuclear plants, demanding disarmament against superpower aggression, testifies to the fact that the danger of war is an eye opener for millions of people throughout the world. There is good reason for all this, because both the US imperialists and the USSR social imperialists are in a neck and neck race, building up arms in preparation for war. In the last 10 years, US imperialism's military strength has been on the decline relative to the USSR, while the USSR's military strength has accelerated its tempo. For instance, facts show that the US superpower spends some 5.4 per cent of its Gross National Product (GNP) on the military, while the USSR is spending from 12 to 14.5 per cent of its GNP on the military. The US is going to spend even more in order to catch the USSR now that there is a new awareness among the bourgeoisie in the US.

same tactic of talking peace all up in the West's face using this massive peace propaganda as a smokescreen for imperialist arms expansion and war preparations. One commentator said that all the US and USSR are trying to agree on is what kinds of guns are to be used to kill the people. The two superpowers are aiming for hegemonism over the world, these are their imperialist politics and they will surely shed blood to get hegemony, thus the people must get prepared against the increasing menace of world war.

SPIKE THE SUPERPOWER WAR PLANS

In the peoples preparation for the coming war, bourgeois pacifism or any other thinking that the bourgeoisie will bring, as Lenin put it, peace to us on a platter, is extremely dangerous. If we want to put off the world war, we've got to struggle. It's the only way. The superpowers are locked in rivalry over the re-division of the world among the modern slave-owners, US

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All the talk of peace can be confusing if we do not look beneath the rhetoric of peace and see what is actually happening. Lenin said, "People always were and always will be the foolish victims of deceit and self-deceit in politics until they learn to discover the INTERESTS of some class or other behind all -moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises." (Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism, pg. 7, Peking Edition) Let's give the phrase "detente" a closer look. In reality, the so-called peace talks and disarmament and SALT talks between the US and the USSR have been the scenes of fierce contention between the two superpowers; with each one holding on to whatever superiority it has gained in the arms race, while attempting to restrain the other in these negotiations.

"Last year Washington carried on research, testing and manufacture of new weapons in an attempt to offset its rival's quantitative superiority with a qualitative one. It decided to develop the FB-111 strategic bomber instead of the B-1 and accelerate the manufacture of cruise missiles of various types, and test a new generation of missiles launched by Trident submarines. It spent lavishly on the research and developments of the MX mobile missiles system to replace the present fixed Minuteman. Despite some controversy over the development of the neutron bomb, there is no sign that the US...is going to change its plan." (Peking Review No. 5, 1978)

And on the other hand, "Moscow's arms drive is always wrapped in a shroud of secrecy, but it is no secret that it has led the way in terms of quantity and speed in arms production. In 1977, it put into high gear the deployment of its ICBM-SS-17 SS-18 and SS-19. Its mobile ICBM SS-16 was being trial-produced at top speed and its mobile intermediate-range missile with multiple warheads, the SS-20, was being deployed in the western parts of the Soviet Union. 'Backfire' bombers were being produced at the rate of two a month at least. Its latest type of submarine-launched missile, the SS-NX-18, with a test range of over 5,000 miles, were test fired into the Pacific several times last year." (Same source)

All this talk about peace, but all we see actually happening is war preparation. These weapons are not made so they can talk about peace, let's be realistic. They are actively preparing for another world war. Hitler's Nazi government used the



The superpowers are preparing for another world war, the people must make preparations & upset their timetable for launching the war.

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**REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE**...see pg.9



Mao Tse-tung & Chu Teh in Yanan period. "Chairman Mao pointed out: A Communist Party built on Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party—these are the three main weapons with which we can seize political power and consolidate it. It is precisely along this course that the Chinese revolution has advanced."

## 57th Anniversary of the Communist Party of China

July 1 marks the founding of the Communist Party of China. This was in 1921, when the victorious example of the Great October Revolution in Russia in 1917 had become a catalytic inspiration to workers, oppressed people, all over the world. And from the time of its inception fifty-seven years ago, the Chinese Communist Party has also served as a heroic revolutionary example and inspiration to the struggling people of the world.

The founding of the Communist Party of China, its militant courageous struggles, and the victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949, are also tributes to the great Chinese people, to Marxism-Leninism, the triumph of the October Revolution, and the great leadership of Mao Tse-tung. The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party are eloquent verifications, as well, of the basic Marxist method of concrete analysis of concrete conditions.

It is the spirit of the October Revolution that animates the Chinese revolution.

Chairman Mao's correct leadership pointed out and the history of the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese Revolution have proven that merely repeating the general truths of Marxism, or approaching revolutionary struggle as if one were in another country where there is a completely different set of conditions, cannot make actual revolution.

The Chinese Revolution of 1949 was the continuation, the further internationalization of the October Russian Revolution of 1917, but there were also specific conditions indigenous to China and problems that had not been encountered before. Chairman Mao Tse-tung proved without a doubt that he was not only the inheritor and defender of Marxism-Leninism, and one of the Five Great Teachers of Marxism-Leninism. His contributions to Marxism-Leninism were so important that now we speak of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought.

The Communist Party of China was engaged in armed struggle with various enemies in almost all of the years of its

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## AFRICA STEPS UP THE STRUGGLE!!

The struggle for national liberation and independence is intensifying each day with new revolutionary fervor of the African people. It is part of the revolutionary front against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and superpower hegemony.

From Ethiopia to Azania there is the increasing trend of revolution as the African masses are rising up to resist the yoke of imperialism and colonialism. On the other side of the coin the imperialists are digging in, in a last ditch effort to preserve their interests.

But let's take a closer look at recent events. In Southern Africa where there are immense riches, the workers and peasants are super-exploited to the bone. U.S. imperialism which unseated British imperialism in Southern Africa as the principal exploiter after World War II is trying to defend its vested interests, while the USSR is contending with the U.S. for this economically and

imperialists to promote a so-called internal settlement. The U.S., in trying to play both sides, has said the interim government of Smith, Chiriau, Muzorewa and Sithole is lacking because it does not include the Patriotic Front, but they're going to go with it anyway. In Namibia the picture is similar where the Turnhalle talks and proposals by the contact group (U.S., Britain, France, Canada and West Germany) have been promoted in order to preserve imperialist vested interests. The imperialists would much rather support sham neo-colonial governments - regardless of color - than to allow someone like Smith or Vorster drag them into a rising people's war. The masses of African people realize that these so-called peaceful settlements offer no real independence for them, only continued exploitation and oppression in another form. But genuine forces are united in their opposition to such schemes and the armed struggle continues.

Though U.S. imperialism which represents



Eritrean forces are fighting heroically vs both Superpowers for their national liberation. Victory is Certain!

militarily and politically vital strategic area. Though the imperialists often resort to brute force - their military might to remain in power, there is also the use of diversion like the "peaceful road", i.e., so-called negotiations and settlements in their never ending battle of going against the tide of history and the will of the people to be free. In Southern Africa particularly, U.S. imperialism has been supporting various so-called majority rule schemes as if they suddenly have the welfare of the African masses at heart. This is nothing but another desperate tactic to protect their interests.

The armed struggle that has been waging in Zimbabwe has forced the U.S. and British

the principal exploiter of the African people's labor and resources has been mainly exposed, we should not relax our guard. But today, there is an ever growing danger to the peoples struggle for national liberation and independence, the Soviet Union.

The once proud socialist state of the Soviet Union during Lenin and Stalin's time under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, is now social imperialist. A latecomer to the imperialist feast, they are more aggressive and trying to make up for lost time in its

ferce contention with U.S. imperialism for hegemony. Fronting themselves off as a

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## INTERNATIONALIST GLOSSARY

### ALL NATIONALITIES IN CHINA ARE EQUAL

China is a unitary multi-national socialist state. Apart from the Han nationality which accounts for the vast majority of the population, there are 54 minority nationalities. Constituting six per cent of the population, they live in regions covering 50 to 60 per cent of China's territory. Some live in compact communities over vast regions.

The working people of the Han and other nationalities have developed close relations in the course of Chinese history. They all made positive contributions to the building of their motherland and the development of its culture.

The national problem is in essence a class problem. The reactionary rulers of China, especially the Kuomintang reactionaries in collusion with the imperialists and the exploiting classes of all nationalities, cruelly exploited and oppressed the working people of all nationalities. The Kuomintang reactionaries did not recognize the

minority nationalities as such, claiming they were "offshoots" of the Han people. They went so far as to call the minority people "save tribes". The reactionary rule drove the working people of some minority nationalities deep into the mountain regions or to remote border areas. The minority areas were held back politically, economically and culturally. Up to the eve of liberation, many of them still practiced "slash and burn" farming. Some nationalities, like the Olunchun and the Hoche, were on the verge of extinction.

The Communist Party of China has consistently stood for a policy of equality for all nationalities, big and small. Chairman Mao expounded this policy on many occasions long before the People's Republic of China was founded.

Under this correct national policy of the Party, the working people of all nationalities took an active part in the new-democratic revolution, succeeded in overthrowing the imperialism, feudalism

## HONEY ON LIPS, MURDER IN HEART; NEW TSARS IN ASIA

The Soviet Union is the most aggressive imperialist country in the world today. It constitutes the main danger to the national liberation movement in the Third World, the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The extent to which these propositions are true was underscored by the outbreak of fighting between Southeast Asian countries which had recently gained world-historic victories over US imperialism.

The history of Soviet double-dealing in Southeast Asia is long. In the early 1960's, when the Vietnamese people's armed struggle against US imperialism was gaining momentum, the revisionist traitor Khrushchov was mouthing nonsense of the elimination of imperialism through "peaceful competition" and the "peaceful transition to socialism". This led the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania to a great polemic against Khrushchov's revisionism. The Soviet revisionists were afraid of complete exposure and they wanted to make things hard for US imperialism, with which they were beginning to contend for imperialist hegemony. Accordingly the Soviet Union adopted a policy of sending Vietnam some arms, some economic aid, and much hypocrisy.

The Soviet social imperialists were exposed anyway, in 1970. In that year the traitor Lon Nol, acting on the orders of US imperialism, overthrew the legally constituted government of Cambodia. Cambodia is today known as Democratic Kampuchea. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the legal head of state, entered the Royal Government of National Unity, a united front which represented all classes of Kampuchean society that opposed imperialism, and which was led by the working class through its party, the Communist Party of Kampuchea. Waging armed struggle, the Kampuchean people dealt complete defeat to US imperialism. To the Soviet social imperialists, however, the decay of US imperialism is one thing and the national-democratic revolutionary struggle is another thing altogether. Dead set against the spread of revolution, the Soviet revisionist traitor leading clique recognized the Lon Nol traitor leading clique immediately in 1970, and continued to do so until the Kampuchean people sent Lon Nol and his US masters packing in 1975.

A few months later the US backed puppet regimes in Vietnam and Laos were similarly overthrown and the US expelled from those countries. These were great historic victories, for they sealed irreversibly the decline of US imperialism in the Third World countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Many people who had sincerely opposed the barbaric crimes of US imperialism in Southeast Asia thought at the time that imperialism was completely defeated in these three countries. Events have shown that this view was an oversight.

There are two sides to the US defeat. The principal aspect is the absolute decline of US imperialism relative to the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world. This is a wonderful development. On the other hand, the US declined relative to the Soviet Union and went on the

defensive before the more aggressive social imperialists. This has been overlooked by many sincere anti-imperialists, and deliberately obscured by many hypocritical "anti-imperialists", the Soviet revisionists foremost.

In fact there is a considerable degree of social imperialist influence within one of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties of Southeast Asia, and this together with Soviet incitement has led to some extremely serious mistakes. The political line of these comrades incorrectly holds the Soviet Union to be a socialist country.

The question of whether a given country is capitalist or socialist is a question of objective fact, and not a matter of opinion. If one were to treat the law of gravity as a matter of opinion and step over the edge of a cliff one would fall, even if one thought to find firm footing to the very core of one's soul. Of course questions of class struggle and historical development are questions of depth rather than matters of immediate perception. Thorough Marxist-Leninist examination of the facts by communists all over the world has revealed time and again over the past twenty years that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has degenerated into a revisionist party, that capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union since the death of Stalin, and that the Soviet Union is today one of the two imperialist superpowers of the First World.

Yet, soon after they had led their country to victory over US imperialism, the comrades referred to above declared the existence of a socialist world system in which the Soviet Union is "...intensifying the building of its material and technical basis of communism..." and that

"THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM HAS INCREASING IMPACT AS THE DECISIVE FACTOR OF DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN SOCIETY." (emph. original from CPVN 4th Nat'l Congress; Documents, pp. 142-43)

This is precisely the notorious "theory" of social systems, the view that the world today is principally divided between socialist countries and capitalist countries, by which the Soviet social imperialists attempt to cloak their imperialist deeds in socialist words.

This line leads to the further conclusion that, "THE RESTORATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE SOLIDARITY WITHIN THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT ON THE BASIS OF MARXISM-Leninism AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM IS A QUESTION OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE." (emph. orig.) The only interpretation possible is that this is a call for revolutionaries the world over to give up the struggle against Soviet revisionism and social imperialism. This is another aim of the fallacious "theory" of social systems, which is the Soviet revisionists' main ideological defense against Marxism-Leninism and revolution. To unite with this "theory" is a fundamental error,

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and bureaucrat-capitalism that pressed down on the Chinese people, and founded the new China.

In line with the principle of equality for all nationalities, new China has instituted regional national autonomy where national minorities live in compact communities.

Regional national autonomy means that in the light of local conditions, a minority people or two or more minority peoples individually or jointly exercise regional autonomy where they live in compact communities. Within large national autonomous regions, smaller nationalities have their own autonomous prefectures or counties. At present, there are in the country five autonomous regions (each equivalent to a province), 29 autonomous prefectures and 69 autonomous counties.

All the areas where regional national autonomy is practised are inalienable parts of the People's Republic of China. Regional national autonomy is a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The organs of self-government in these areas are

local organs of state power under the unified leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central People's Government and they are subordinate to the people's government at the next higher level. The organs of self-government in national autonomous areas, apart from exercising the functions and powers of local organs of state of the corresponding level, may exercise autonomy within the limits of their authority as prescribed by law. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China explicitly stipulates: "The higher organs of state shall fully safeguard the exercise of autonomy by the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas and actively support the minority nationalities in carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction."

In the national autonomous areas, the working people of various nationalities, as masters of their destiny, have the right to manage their own affairs. Many minority cadres have come to the fore and are working at leading posts in the autonomous areas.

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## 3 Sources & 3 Component Parts Of Marxism

—by V. I. LENIN



Throughout the civilized world the teachings of Marx evoke the utmost hostility and hatred of all bourgeois science (both official and liberal), which regards Marxism as a kind of "pernicious sect." And no other attitude is to be expected, for there can be no "impartial" social science in a society based on class struggle. In one way or another, ALL official and liberal science DEFENDS wage slavery, whereas Marxism has declared relentless war on wage slavery. To expect science to be impartial in a wage-slave society is as silly and naive as to expect impartiality from manufacturers on the question of whether workers' wages should be increased by decreasing the profits of capital.

But this is not all. The history of philosophy and the history of social science show with perfect clarity that there is nothing resembling "sectarianism" in Marxism, in the sense of its being a hide-bound, petrified doctrine, a doctrine which arose AWAY FROM the high road of deve-

lopment of world civilization. On the contrary, the genius of Marx consists precisely in the fact that he furnished answers to questions the foremost minds of humanity had already raised. His teachings arose as the direct and immediate CONTINUATION of the teachings of the greatest representatives of philosophy, political economy and socialism.

The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is complete and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world conception which is irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction, or defence of bourgeois oppression. It is the legitimate successor to the best that was created by humanity in the nineteenth century in the shape of German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism.

On these three sources of Marxism, which are at the same time its component parts, we shall briefly dwell.

The philosophy of Marxism is MATERIALISM. Throughout the modern history of Europe, and especially at the end of the eighteenth century in France, which was the scene of a decisive battle against every kind of mediaeval rubbish, against feudalism in institutions and ideas, mate-

rialism has proved to be the only philosophy that is consistent, true to all the teachings of natural science and hostile to superstition, cant and so forth. The enemies of democracy, therefore, exerted all their efforts to "refute," undermine and defame materialism, and advocated various forms of philosophical idealism, which always, in one way or another, amounts to an advocacy or support of religion.

Marx and Engels defended philosophical materialism in the most determined manner and repeatedly explained the profound erroneousness of every deviation from this basis. Their views are most clearly and fully expounded in the works of Engels, LUDWIG FEUERBACH and ANTI-DUHRING, which, like THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, are handbooks for every class-conscious worker.

But Marx did not stop at the materialism of the eighteenth century: he advanced philosophy. He enriched it with the acquisitions of German classical philosophy, especially of the Hegelian system, which in its turn led to the materialism of Feuerbach. The chief of these acquisitions is DIALECTICS, i.e., the doctrine of development in its fullest and deepest form, free of one-sidedness, the doctrine

of the relativity of human knowledge, which provides us with a reflection of eternally developing matter. The latest discoveries of natural science—radium, electrons, the transmutation of elements—have remarkably confirmed Marx's dialectical materialism, despite the teachings of the bourgeois philosophers with their "new" reversions to old and rotten idealism.

Deepening and developing philosophical materialism, Marx completed it, extended its knowledge of nature to the knowledge of HUMAN SOCIETY. Marx's HISTORICAL MATERIALISM was the greatest achievement of scientific thought. The chaos and arbitrariness that had previously reigned in the views on history and politics gave way to a strikingly integral and harmonious scientific theory, which shows how, in consequence of the growth of productive forces, out of one system of social life another and higher system develops—how capitalism, for instance, grows out of feudalism.

Just as man's knowledge reflects nature (i.e., developing matter) which exists independently of him, so man's SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE (i.e., his various views and

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## History Develops in Spirals PART 2

The reversals and zigzags of the struggles in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution were even more soul-stirring. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the entire Party and the people of the whole country, having broken through all kinds of obstacles and gone through arduous struggles, finally smashed the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-chi as its ringleader. But the struggle did not end there.

The bourgeois careerist and conspirator Lin Piao, who "lodged for a time" in the Party, jumped out to continue Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary activities. He negated the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, attacked the socialist new things and plotted to launch a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'état, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, all in a vain effort to turn socialist New China back into the semi-feudal and semi-colonial China of old. With deep insight, Chairman Mao saw through all this and led the whole Party in exposing in good time the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and smashing its counter-revolutionary machinations to restore capitalism by following Confucius' precept of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites."

The purpose of the current deepening movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius is precisely to thoroughly repudiate the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and its revisionist line, criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius—the ideology of the reactionary decadent classes promoted by Lin Piao, consolidate and develop the tremendous achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and further strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. Historical experience has proved that each and every victory in the socialist cause has been won through repeated struggles. The socialist revolution in the days ahead will, as in the past, move forward along a spiral course in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines.

### Overcome Metaphysical Viewpoint of Straight-Line Development of History

In order to observe and analyse the situation in the revolutionary struggle from the viewpoint that history develops in spirals, it is necessary to do away with the metaphysical viewpoint which holds that history develops in a straight line. Lenin pointed out: "HUMAN KNOWLEDGE IS NOT (OR DOES NOT FOLLOW) A STRAIGHT LINE, BUT A CURVE, WHICH ENDLESSLY APPROXIMATES A SERIES OF CIRCLES, A SPIRAL." (On the Question of Dialectics.) In class struggle, looking at problems in a straight-line way means "all struggle and no alliance" or "all alliance and no struggle." According to Chairman Mao's directives and in the light of the historical experience of our Party, the Tenth Party Congress once again reminded us of the necessity to oppose and prevent these two kinds of one-sidedness. If one does not know that there are ups and downs, tension

and relaxation in the course of struggle and that the process of alliance involves struggles against reactionary things, splitist tendencies and erroneous ideas, one does not understand the law of spiral development. Chairman Mao pointed out in the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan: "TODAY OUR ANTI-JAPANESE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT POLICY IS NEITHER ALL ALLIANCE AND NO STRUGGLE NOR ALL STRUGGLE AND NO ALLIANCE, BUT COMBINES ALLIANCE AND STRUGGLE." (On Policy.) To lead any major class struggle and two-line struggle to victory, it is essential to have a good grip on this Marxist policy. The "unity-criticism-unity" formula conforms to the law of spiral development and is an important method for us to correctly resolve contradictions among the people. These contradictions and those between ourselves and the enemy are two different types of contradictions. The knowledge different persons among the people have is not always the same, but they can be united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung. Thought through criticism or struggle and through distinguishing right from wrong on



Chairman Hua and other leading comrades at the work-site.

matters of line. And only by achieving unity can the correct line be implemented and the erroneous line overcome. Denying the existence of contradictions among the people and stressing unity alone but negating struggle will of course hamper the revolutionary cause. Likewise, confusing the two different types of contradictions, stressing only struggle but negating unity, and not knowing the dialectical relationship between struggle and unity and the paramount importance of revolutionary unity will also hamper the revolutionary cause. Both tendencies are manifestations of seeing problems in a straight-line way and run counter to the law of spiral development. These two tendencies have occurred in our Party's history and brought losses to the cause of the Party. So we must pay attention to them and always keep in mind the historical ex-

perience of one tendency covering the other.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao used day-to-day routine such as eating and sleeping to give a profound illustration of what is meant by dialectics. To those who had mistaken ideas and failed to understand the dialectical relationship between fighting heroically and abandoning territory temporarily in order to wipe out enemy troops,

Chairman Mao said: "To eat and then to empty your bowels— is this not to eat in vain? To sleep and then to get up— is this not to sleep in vain? Can questions be posed in such a way? I would suppose not." (On Protracted War) To see things in a straight-line way is in fact a metaphysical way of thinking and is like "eating without emptying the bowels" and "sleeping without getting up." Anyone using this way of thinking in observing things inevitably fails to see what is the essence and what is the appearance, which is the mainstream and which is the tributary, which is the part and which is the whole. This way of thinking leads to blind optimism and loss of vigilance when revolution develops successfully, and to indolence, helplessness, pessimism and despondency when revolution faces difficulty and twists and turns. Only by using the dialectical viewpoint of spiral development can one perceive the inevitable reversals and zigzags in the development of revolution, and only in this way can one perceive the inevitable victory of revolution even when it undergoes twists and turns, discern the orientation in the acute and complicated struggles, grasp the initiative in the struggle and guide it in the course of its development

The reversals and twists and turns in a revolutionary struggle have a dual character. While bringing transitory difficulties to revolution, they at the same time pave the way for still greater successes for the revolutionary cause. The revolutionary people

invariably have to be educated and tempered by both positive and negative examples. It is the reversals and twists and turns in a struggle that educate and temper us by negative example; after correctly summing up the experience and drawing lessons from it, we create the conditions for winning still greater victories in the revolutionary cause. The failure of the First Revolutionary Civil War in 1927 was a profound lesson to the Chinese people, enabling them to understand the extremely great importance for the proletariat to take the leadership in its own hands and grasp the Marxist truth that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, our Party mastered the three principal magic weapons (the united front, armed struggle, and Party building) for the Chinese revolution, found the correct road for encircling

the cities from the rural areas and the final capture of the cities and pushed the Chinese revolution to a new stage in its development. These historical experiences

are an invaluable wealth for the revolutionary people. Chairman Mao often tells the Party cadres to bear in mind the experience and lessons of the many successes and fail-

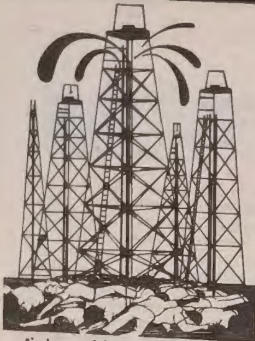
ures in our Party's history; in so doing he is teaching us to learn to analyse and correctly handle the reversals and twists and turns on the road of the revolution from a materialist dialectical point of view and to understand that such twists and turns are inevitable in the development of history. When we have studied how the reactionary classes in the past brought about a restoration and how tortuous the struggle was in consolidating the new social system, we can understand better the importance of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism today.

The reversals and twists and turns on the road of revolution are only whirlpools, big and small, in the long river of history and are of little significance. As far as the entire course of history is concerned, advance and ascendancy make up the mainstream and essence of things, while twists and turns and retrogression are only branches and transient phenomena. The proletariat is bound to defeat the bourgeoisie; socialism is bound to triumph over capitalism; Marxism is bound to prevail over revisionism—this is the established general trend of the development of history. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history." (On the Chungking Negotiations.) Any reversals or twists and turns, even retrogression and the repeating of history for a while, can only affect the tempo of historical development, but can neither halt the advance of history nor change the direction of its development. Both in the past and in modern times, there have been countless reversals and twists and turns in the development of history. From Confucius (551-476 B.C.) to Yuan Shih-kai (1859-1916) and Chiang Kai-shek, and from Chen Tu-hsiu to Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, all were reactionaries swimming against the tide of history. None of them succeeded in turning back the clock of history. Instead, every one of them lifted a rock only to drop it on his own feet and ended up in self-destruction.

We firmly believe that no reversals or twists and turns of any kind can obstruct the cause of revolution from advancing; this belief is based on the historical-

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# THE MIDDLE EAST & the World Situation!



be slaves to imperialism. Therefore, even the Shah, in his own ruling interest as the leader of a Third World country oppressed by imperialism, must from time to time and to a certain extent defend the sovereignty of Iran against hegemonic domination. Rather than to allow the American people to see this side of things, the bourgeois media indulge in hypocritical liberal "exposures" of a few of the Shah's infamies, hoping to appear the "good guys" in the eyes of the people. But the people of Iran know that the Shah, US imperialism and USSR social imperialism are the targets of the revolution!

Even more insidious is the "revolutionary" windbagging that emanates from Moscow. Tricked out in Marxist sounding phrases, the line of the new tsars finds numerous echoes in this country. There is an overt agent of Soviet social imperialism (socialism in words but imperialism in deeds) in the revisionist "Communist Party" of the USA, which faithfully parrots Moscow's line no matter how flagrant the falsehood.

Then there are the Trotskyites. The Trots always mouth support for revolution while opposing it in practice. Therefore the Trotskyite fools like the "Socialist Workers" Party climb aboard the Kremlin Express with the CPUSA revisionists and chug out fairy tales written by Brezhnev. A favorite story is that there is no need for Marxist-Leninist theory to be applied to the facts in order to know the truth about

The method used by genuine revolutionaries is to examine the facts, guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Some study of the history of the struggle in Iran of the people against imperialism shows that countries do indeed want independence and that this is an irresistible revolutionary trend.

In 1950 nearly half of the national budget of Iran came from the British owned Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. This may sound like a lot, but Anglo-Iranian's own earnings were five times as much as the amount that went to Iran. In fact, Anglo-Iranian's profit was so exorbitant that the taxes it paid to the British government were 20% higher than the amount paid to the government of Iran! Outraged at the situation, the people of Iran demanded changes, and in 1951 a nationalist politician named Dr. Mohammed Mossadegh came to power on a platform of nationalization of the country's oil resources. Iran's oil fields were shut down and a lengthy and complex struggle ensued.

Britain's Labor government (so-called!) sent a gunboat and massed troops to threaten Iran, but then had to back down. For one thing, Britain's "gunboat diplomacy" only further served to heighten the fighting spirit of the Iranian people. But there was another exceedingly important factor: all of the oil producing states of the Middle East were in favor of Iran's move, and opposed Britain's intervention without a single exception. There was no OPEC at the time, but there was a united front among the countries of the Middle East against imperialism and for sovereignty and control of natural resources.

Under the conditions of the early 1950's oil production continued in other Middle East countries, which allowed Britain, backed by the US, to force Iran into a standoff. By 1953 the US decided that things had gone far enough. The CIA undertook a secret intervention through Iranian police and army elements friendly to the Shah, who was then a young man who previously had played no important part in these events. Mossadegh was overthrown and imprisoned and the Shah was put in power.

Nonetheless the agreement which British and US oil companies signed with the Shah's government in 1954 differed greatly from previous agreements. With the Shah riding on the back of the people's struggle, the imperialists were compelled for the first time to legally recognize that the oil they were buying belonged to the Iranian people. Iran took ownership of all production facilities and had representatives on the boards of all subsidiary marketing companies, also for the first time. Iran's oil revenues tripled as a result.

Thus, although Iran fell under the Shah and remained within the orbit of British and American imperialism, Iran scored some

major advances against the hegemonist plunder practiced by the oil companies. These advances set a pattern that was to be widely followed throughout the Middle East in years to come. Such further extremely important developments as the formation in 1960 of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and its subsequent growth could have happened only upon the basis of these gains.

This shows that, despite wide variations in their social systems, the developing countries of the Third World share fundamental interests in the defense of their sovereignty and control of their natural resources, and that this is an irresistible trend in the struggle against imperialism.

The motive force of this trend is the mass of the people, whereas the Shah must undercut and limit the people's struggle because his class position is antagonistic to the vast majority of Iranian society. This driving contradiction turns every relative victory against hegemonism, into a heightening of the people's struggle for the complete overthrow of imperialism, so much so that Iran is today the scene of revolutionary upheavals demanding the overthrow of the Shah.

In recent months hundreds of thousands of people have battled the Shah's police and troops in the streets of every major city in the country and hundreds have given their lives in this struggle, including many heroic Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries.

The US bourgeois press is trying to fob off a wishful fantasy of religious fanatics who are angry because women go without the veil and enroll in the same universities as men. The truth is that the Iranian people have never peacefully submitted to be crushed beneath the boot of the Shah for the benefit of US imperialism.

Nowadays Soviet social imperialism is on the move throughout the entire vast area of Africa, the Middle East and South Asia in its savage superpower imperialist contention with the United States. At the same time the peoples of all these countries are in revolutionary turmoil.

In this situation head USSR imperialist Brezhnev is certain to try to weasel his way in by waving the flag of the "theory" of social systems. The social imperialists always say the world is divided between what they call socialist countries versus capitalist countries. Their aim is to cover up the struggle for sovereignty in Third World countries, to foist themselves upon the oppressed peoples as "natural allies", and to sneak in the backdoor as the new, hidden imperialists, even as the revolutionary people boot the US out of the front door.

History proves, however, that the struggle against the Shah and for Iranian sovereignty can only be settled by the Iranian people themselves. The great Iranian people will surely deal with the Shah; they will surely deal with the Trots and revisionists who are imperialist agents among the people, and persevere in struggle until they defeat both superpowers and all reaction.

A slogan of foremost importance put forth by the Communist Party of China in order to educate revolutionary people and to advance the struggle against imperialism is: countries want independence, nations want liberation, and peoples want revolution. This points up three related but distinct revolutionary processes in today's world.

It is well known what is meant by peoples want revolution: the great October Russian Revolution of 1917 against imperialism and for socialism sent echoes rumbling in the remotest corners of the world, as have other revolutions of the same type since then, notably the great Chinese Revolution of 1949. Further, the struggles of the peoples of Southeast Asia have shown how directly the liberation struggles of oppressed nations connect to the revolutionary movement of the working class for socialism.

There are obstacles to understanding the



Israeli Zionism has exposed itself once again to the world as a bloodthirsty and expansionist watchdog of imperialism in the Middle East. Begin & Co. are the real terrorists.

revolutionary significance of the point that countries want independence, however. The bourgeois press routinely presents the governments and leaders of Third World countries as demagogues, dictators, wild men, etc. Sometimes there is an element of truth to this: Shah of Iran genuinely is a blood-thirsty dictator, for instance. But there is another side to the matter.

It is in the nature of imperialism to bully and abuse Third World countries, but extremely broad sections of the population refuse to

revolution. Instead, the Soviet Union will decide who is revolutionary and who is reactionary, what country is to exercise sovereignty and how much, and that intervention in Third World countries is ok because the hit man, Fidel Castro, looks so hip.

It is to be expected that this sort of thing will generate quite a lot of pollution, and indeed the revisionists, the Trots, and other hangers-on of social imperialism have generated quite an atmosphere of lies.

## Killer Cops in Brooklyn

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claim to brutalize the people, especially in communities of oppressed nationalities; many times they beat blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Asian-Americans on sight. The police are the government's intimidators and killers. Legitimized hoods, who bash heads or blow 'em off to see that the rich stay rich and the poor stay poor under the criminal rule of monopoly capitalism. They are trained so hard to put down the working people, black, Latin, Asian and white, that very often they just go off and kill without apparent reason, just can't help themselves. "Like a dog you train to respond every time he hears a bell. And with the police, a black face, a Puerto Rican face or accent, a poor person, is that bell. They can't help themselves, they just start to slobber. Cause they've been trained so hard. To get nasty at the sight of poverty." They go mad when they see workers on a strike picket line, like The Daily News or countless others, or tenants demonstrating against inhuman housing conditions.

The fact is that Arthur Miller is one of a long list of blacks and other oppressed nationalities murdered by the police. The just rebellion of the Chicano people in Texas is in resistance to the same police terror, which the capitalist class used to re-enforce national oppression. Under the

rule of capitalism, this society is bursting with brutality and corruption, and these injustices will not end until we raise our demonstrations and rebellions into one overwhelming current of revolutionary struggle to end national oppression and its degenerate parent, monopoly capitalism. Only a socialist revolution in America can end this tyranny over the oppressed peoples! The working class must take up the just demands of oppressed nationalities, and understand it as part of its own, struggle to liberate itself from the yoke of capitalist exploitation and oppression.

These attacks on the communities where the oppressed nationalities are imprisoned will continue to escalate, they will not decrease, because this is the policy of the capitalist class during the crisis—to increasingly instigate the police, the KKK and the Nazis and organize these coordinated attacks on their communities. In defense, people will organize the broadest possible united fronts against this terror and begin to take more and more revolutionary positions with Marxist-Leninists providing practical leadership, working directly with the masses and helping them sum up their own experience in the growing struggle to end police terror and to get justice, equality and full democratic rights.

### STRUGGLE AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY



Killer cops are the tools of the capitalist ruling class. But they want to divert the people's struggle away from the real target

—monopoly capitalism, to provoke violence between Blacks and Jews in Brooklyn. Don't go for it; hit the real target.



## RCL's POSITION ON

# AFRO-AMERICAN NATIONAL QUESTION:

### THE WORKING CLASS & ITS BETRAYAL

The Comintern in 1928 and in 1930 came forward with the most progressive analyses and statements concerning the black nation in the U.S.A., and it was partially because of these correct political lines as well as the actual organizing of black workers that thousands of blacks came into the CPUSA during the 30's, only to be driven out later by the chauvinism, opportunism, and the eventual complete fall into revisionism of the CPUSA in the late 40's and 50's and from then on.

According to the "Communist" (early theoretical journal of CPUSA until 1944 when its name was changed to "Political Affairs") in October 1928 the CPUSA, based upon the resolutions of the C.I. on the Negro National Question, adopted a resolution which stated: "The various forms of oppression of the Negro masses who are concentrated mainly in the so-called 'Black Belt' provide the necessary conditions for a national revolutionary movement among the Negroes.

"To accomplish this task, the Communist Party must come out as the champion of the right of the oppressed Negro race (nation) for full emancipation. While continuing and intensifying the struggle under the slogan of full social and political equality for the Negroes, which remains the central slogan of our Party for work among the masses, the Party must come out openly and unreservedly for the right of Negroes to national self-determination in the Southern states where the Negroes form the majority of the population."

The emergence of the black working class after the first World War as an increasingly independent force was signalled by their massive entrances into the Communist Party in the 1930's. Harry Haywood says that "...the Negro proletarians under the leadership of the Communist Party made their first real bid for leadership of the Negro movement in the Scottsboro Case, unemployed struggles, and the fight for the organization of the unorganized, crowned by the formation of the C.I.O. and the National Negro Congress, effectively challenging the bankrupt, collaboratorist and accommodationist policies of the Negro bourgeois reformist leadership

centered in the NAACP" (FOR A REVOLUTIONARY POSITION ON THE NEGRO QUESTION, p. 34).

Furthermore, the work that the Communist Party did among blacks was responsible to a great extent for bringing black workers into the unions as well. In 1930, there were 110,000 blacks in the C.I.O.; and by 1945, there were 739,000. The subsequent turns to the right by the CPUSA disillusioned and disoriented a great many black people. The line of class collaboration seized on by opportunists as a result of distorting the correct United Front Against Fascism policy of C.I. in 1935, allowed the American Exceptionalists led by Earl Browder to dissolve the militant Sharecroppers Union in the South in 1936, made up of largely black sharecroppers. They were merged into a union of small white farmers with a rightist leadership in the name of "national unity". After Browder's infamous "Teheran Speech", in which he actually called for class collaboration saying, "Communism is 20th Century Americanism;" he also said, "Black people have already exercised their right of self-determination and decided for the complete integration into United States society as a whole." The slogan of Self-Determination was dropped in 1944 and also the Communist Party itself, as Browder had projected in his 1943 speech was liquidated in favor of a "Communist Political Association" which could "influence both parties of the American two party system." The Association's line on international affairs was that the small nations should "Trust America".

It is no wonder that in this atmosphere of dizzy compromise and collaboration with monopoly capitalism and imperialism, the party lost its base among the black

masses, whose working class was just emerging as the leading and most militant force. It is no wonder as well that by the emergence of the Civil Rights movement in 1953, the party was uniting completely with the line of the black bourgeoisie, pushing the assimilationist comprador wing as the leadership of the Negro Freedom

Movement. The revisionist bound party actually tailed the more progressive sector of the black bourgeoisie, M.L. King, etc., whose non-violent tactics paralleled Gandhi in India and Nkrumah in Africa.

During World War II and the Korean War, and especially in the post war periods of these wars, the struggle of the Afro-

their war time experience..." it had "...served to break the historic isolation of the Afro-American people from the struggles of the people of the world," he continued.

"Black men and women had served over a million strong in the armed forces and the war time expansion of industry saw an unprecedented number of blacks—close to a million workers—in the U.S. labor force. Through such an involvement, black people were able to see more than ever that they had allies in the colonially oppressed people abroad and in the U.S. working class in their struggle against Jim Crow and the monopoly capitalist."

Just as the U.S. imperialists had used the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of repression and reform abroad in their

questioned U.S. claims of being the "defenders of freedom" abroad while maintaining Jim Crow at home. Moreover, these concessions were intended to allow the U.S. imperialists to save face in the world; but in reality, they further aggravated the struggle for equality and were almost always met with massive resistance from reactionary forces in the U.S. who saw even in the least token concession to blacks a direct threat to the rotten Jim Crow System.

By the time of the Civil Rights Movement, the Montgomery bus boycott and the sit-ins, freedom rides, etc., of the early sixties which had originated in the black nation, but had spread rapidly throughout the North and West as well, the leadership of Wilkins and his NAACP had been overshadowed by the national wing of the black bourgeoisie represented by M.L. King. "It was the national wing that could articulate some struggle against our national oppression, i.e., against our oppression as a black nation, but because of their class interests could never carry the struggle beyond the civil rights phase. The beneficiaries of the gains from the civil rights movement were mainly the black bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. The reforms directed toward the black working class were mainly illusory and have for the most part been destroyed by the seventies." (Amiri Baraka, Black Liberation Today, "Unity & Struggle, 1976.) The Civil Rights Movement was able to bring together the "big six leadership" bourgeois and petty bourgeois of the black nation (NAACP, SCLC, Urban League, A.P. Randolph, SNCC-John Lewis, CORE-Farmer) for the March on D.C. because from "left" to right the black bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie were lined up with their sponsor the United States bourgeoisie (which was applauded by the CPUSA) who had also reached accord on tactics against the left-over production relations of the unfinished bourgeois democratic revolution of the reconstruction. For U.S. Marxist-Leninists the struggle to build a new Anti-Revisionist Communist Party of the new type that Lenin spoke of, free of the "soiled shirt" of Social-Democracy, began with the consolidation of revisionism in the "Communist Party" U.S.A., at its 16th National Convention held in 1957.

### BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT & BLACK CLASS CONSOLIDATION

By the early 60's, the Afro-American struggle occupied the center stage of U.S. domestic turmoil. It had both a non-violent, bourgeois integrationist led aspect (King & Co.) as well as an anti-imperialist, revolutionary nationalist aspect which arose with and was articulated for by an internationalist black working class leader, Malcolm X. His rise to leadership and his consistently revolutionary nationalist and developing anti-imperialist positions not only overshadowed M.L. King and the non-violent scope of the "Civil Rights Movement", which was being supported and pushed



In the 60's the black liberation struggle occupied center stage of US domestic turmoil,

militant patriots like H. Rap Brown advocated rebellion against national oppression.

Americans reached new heights only to be met by a more brutal and violent repression from the U.S. imperialists who sought to turn around the minor gains made by blacks during the war years and to frustrate the newly awakened political consciousness that had emerged as a result of black participation in these wars.

"From 1933 to 1945, for instance, some 149 anti-lynching bills were submitted to the U.S. Congress—and all died there. From 1940 to 1945, 18 anti-poll tax bills were also killed, thus denying the vote to some 4 million blacks in the South. And from 1942 to 1945, 17 bills against discrimination in industry were also thwarted. (See William Z. Foster, "The Negro People in America History") Black people resisted these attacks. Rebellions against racist harassments took place in many military camps. Pitched battles with many casualties shook Detroit, Michigan; Mobile, Alabama; and Beaumont, Texas in 1942 and 1943."

The CPUSA came up shaky again during this period, it actually took a position to the right of the black reformist leaders who had raised the "Double V" slogan of "Victory against fascism abroad and Jim Crow at home". The CPUSA opposed both the "Double V" slogan and the threatened March on Washington under the guise of "national unity".

"The victory over fascism in World War II signalled a new period of struggle for the Afro-American people. The end of the war held the promise of new advances in the struggle against national oppression and class exploitation, a fight which was inspired even further by the great victories in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

"Black people would no longer be cowed and bullied by Jim Crow," writes Harry Haywood in his recently published book, "Black Bolshevik". "They experienced a mass political awakening as a result of

attempt to thwart the rising tide of national liberation struggles and socialist revolution (war in Korea, but "aid" to the newly independent third world countries); they used these tactics against the Afro-Americans and working class at home as well, i.e., Smith Act, Rosenberg executions, Taft-Hartley injunctions, McCarthy reign of Terror and the rise of lynchings and Klan activity throughout the country and especially in the south, on the one hand, and on the other, the tokenism of the Truman administration, the bribery of upper sectors of labor and black reformist leaders, etc. Additionally, U.S. imperialism was compelled to make such concessions to the Afro-American people in this period as the Brown vs. Topeka 1954 Supreme Court Decision, which was brought about due to decades of black struggle and the political stand of the newly independent African countries who

THE BLACK NATION - position of  
Revolutionary Communist League on the

## Afro-American National Question

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on all sides by the ruling class; it moved the whole Black Liberation Movement to a more militant and revolutionary position, as a whole, and influenced a more militant student movement (SNCC, Stokely Carmichael 60's, H. Rap Brown) and the national rebellions from Watts to Newark, mid to late 60's. Malcolm's influence was responsible for the increased and heightened concern for self-defense evidenced in the call for armed self-defense by Robert F. Williams, Monroe, N.C., Deacons for Defense and Justice, Bogalooosa, La., and again in the Black Panther Party for self-defense.

By the end of the 60's, the most militant aspect of the Black Power rebellions had subsided. It was a good example of the democratic impulse which the black bourgeoisie pushed because of its national oppression, taken up in earnest and past black bourgeois restraints by the working class and oppressed black masses, led to the rebellions of the late 60's. These rebellions by and large were led by working class blacks, not the lumpen, as has been falsely projected. "Characteristically, the typical rioter was not a hoodlum, habitual criminal, or riffraff; nor was he a recent migrant, a member of an uneducated underclass, or a person lacking broad social and political concerns. Instead, he was a teenager or young adult, a life-long resident of the city in which he rioted, a high-school dropout—but somewhat better educated than his Negro neighbor—and almost invariably underemployed or employed in a menial job. He was proud of his race, extremely hostile to both whites and middle-class Negroes, and though informed about politics, highly distrustful of the political system and of political leaders." (Report on Civil Disorders.) But the militancy of the black working class was led in some cases into a similar petty bourgeois idealism, on the one hand, like the Garvey escapism of an earlier period which was replayed with the Nation of Islam, and Black Cultural Nationalist Organizations (US Organization, Congress of African People - CAP, Student Organization for Black Unity - SOBU, etc.) And on the other hand, to the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, who combined a position on anti-imperialism with negative gun cultism and romanticization of the Lumpen. The mood of the sixties was necessary and positive overall; but after Malcolm's death, the void in leadership of the black liberation movement was filled by the petty bourgeois, because there was no vanguard communist party to give correct proletarian leadership to the mass movement, because of the traitorous fall to revisionism of the CPUSA, and so it came to a dead-end with "Eastern" metaphysics, new Back to Africa Pan Africanism, idealist cultural nationalism, romantic gun cultism, and worship of the lumpen, and militant reformism vis-a-vis black capitalism.

Later on, the emergence of working class organizations like the League of Revolutionary Black Workers which emerged from the spontaneous struggles of black workers could not gain clear leadership of the

black liberation movement because of the lack of a vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party.

The gains in the 60's were largely cultural revolution of raising "black consciousness" against the triple-team bourgeois assimilationist line of the comprador, the revisionists and U.S. bourgeoisie. The fight for democratic rights that marked the so-called Civil Rights movement put an end to the surface of segregated social and production relations that came back into being with the betrayal of the reconstruction. But U.S. imperialism needed this, hence Kennedy's support and leadership in the Civil Rights movement, to give United States Imperialism the look of progress in order to facilitate its struggle with European power for hegemony in the 3rd World markets. The oppression of black people in the South, especially in the Black Belt, made all talk of U.S.A. as world leader shaky.

The absence of a vanguard party and the vacuum created by the murder of

Malcolm X, can still be measured today in the Black Liberation Movement with a whole group of opportunist, bourgeois nationalists and reformists who are trying to mislead Afro-Americans.

The so-called Pan Africanist trend represented by groups like the PAC-USA, and people like Oba Shaka and Elombe Brath, whose solution to the problems faced by black people is to go back to Africa, much like the Garvey escapism of an earlier period. People like this were also helpful to the superpower contention in Angola by advocating that people here support one liberation movement over the others.

Another so-called Pan Africanist is the All African Peoples Revolutionary Party headed up by Stokely Carmichael, who openly supports the attempts by Soviet Social Imperialism to gain control over Southern Africa. They also objectively aid the struggle of the Social Imperialists by advocating support of its imperialist plans,

thus facilitating the growing threat of a new world war.

And while talking about the Pan Africanists, we must also include Roy Innis and his CORE, whose whole line is so openly bourgeois that he would even advocate the recruitment of mercenaries to fight on the side of one imperialist against another. All of these "Pan Africanist" trends have something in common, their objective service to one superpower or the other.

The unstableness of petty bourgeois vacillators who have grown disillusioned by the struggles of the masses is objectified by the "institution building", health foods, mysticism and nonsense programs of people like Haki Madhubuti (IPE) and Jitu Weusi (The East), which is also in unity with the "Black people are a nation wherever we are," line of Ron Karenga and his New Afro American Movement. All of these positions are variations of the same position of cultural autonomy, which means

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The emergence of the black sector of the working class after WWI as an increasingly independent force was signalled by their

massive entrance into the Communist Party in the 1930's. Red Summer of 1919 saw many black veterans of WWI lynched in

America in their uniforms, and thousands of Communists and class conscious workers arrested by the secret police.

# BLACK WRITERS CONFERENCE

In February, Unity & Struggle Newspaper organized a Black Writers' Conference in Newark, New Jersey, at the campus of Newark Rutgers. Significantly, the site was the Paul Robeson Student Center, the name of which was obtained only after a militant struggle led by black Rutgers students who were members of the then Congress of African People.

The theme of the conference was "Black Writing Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow". It featured well known writers now living in and around Newark, New Jersey. Nathan Haard, author of HOWARD STREET, one of the classic novels of urban black life; Amiri Baraka, poet, playwright and member of RCL (MLM) and the Anti-Imperialist Cultural Union; Claude Brown, who first rose to fame with the novel, MANCHILD IN THE PROMISED LAND; and Richard Wesley, the screenwriter of the two very popular Sidney Poitier hits, "Upturn Saturday Night" and "Let's Do It Again".

Workshop created by each of the writers

began at 3 in the afternoon. Each of the workshops was filled to capacity, a crowd around 400 people attended. Each workshop lasted until 5pm, and then after a dinner break, all four writers were present in a forum and discussion with members of the audience, after summing up just what was discussed in their original workshops. After the discussion, each writer read briefly from his works to very positive audience response.

What was important about the conference, was not only the broad range of people attending, workers, intellectuals and artists, students and other interested persons, but the crisp and stimulating back and forth that went on in the workshops and the forum. Naturally the conference was multinational, even though it dealt with the problems and historical development of black writing. A central part of the discussions was the Afro-American National Question, and Self-Determination of the Afro-American Nation in the Black Belt South.

Along with the history and development of the black nation, the struggles of black artists and of writers in particular was discussed at length. The 60's and the rage and dynamism of the Black Liberation Movement and its reflection in the Black Arts Movement was handled, and each of the writers was pressed to give his own opinions on a host of questions related to these major topics.

In the main a distinct anti-imperialist line emerged, though there was criticism raised—that writing for Hollywood was a way "to get power", or that one could be involved in the writing of novels, &c., "just for the money". Certainly the old bourgeois cliché of "art for arts sake" did not raise its head, but in one of the workshops, there was militant rejection of a few people who thought that pessimism and the status quo were preferable to struggle, revolutionary optimism, and the eventual triumph of revolution and socialism in the USA.

Mao Tsetung's great work on art and literature, YENAN FORUM was roundly quoted and made repeated reference to, as was the writing of Lu Hsun and Bertolt Brecht. Richard Wright and Langston Hughes, and the influence of revolutionary ideas upon their work was also discussed especially Wright's Blueprint for Negro Writing and Uncle Tom's Children, and the collection of Hughes' 30's revolutionary poetry and essays, Good Morning, Revolution.

Young writers in the audience repeatedly asked for guidance, especially on the nature of the publishing business. Before the end of the conference the fact that publishing is just that, a capitalist business, was made very clear. Also the fact that black writers like black people in general are doubly obstructed by such a business, and that it is impossible for the majority of writers, especially black writers, and certainly anti-imperialist and revolutionary writers, to make a living from writing. The need for developing

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# Afro - American National Question

that black people should have "their own" separate educational and cultural institutions; but the system of monopoly capitalism can remain in tact with all power and control still in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

Groups like the Republic of New Africa, who correctly identify the historic homeland of the Black Nation, also fall into the bourgeois nationalist position with such lines as, separating the struggle to liberate the Black Nation from the struggle to overthrow U.S. imperialism, thus leading to theories of peaceful transition, and tactics of pleading with the government to set us free and give us reparations. They advocate male chauvinist practices like polygamy, and take national chauvinist positions like, only blacks will be allowed citizenship in the nation after liberation.

The largest and most organized movement, the Nation of Islam, even with all of its recent changes, must still be criticized and exposed as it becomes more and more evident that they represent the interest of the bourgeoisie. And even dressed up in Islamic clothing, the positions that the "Nation" takes, like its continuous support for gun control, and "anti-crime" actions by the state, and also its constant anti-communist lines, must be seen as objectively aiding the bourgeoisie in its move towards fascism.

Since the 60's, the rise of the Black Christian Nationalist movements are further attempts to paint an enslaving religious doctrine "Black" in order to keep the masses tied to external solutions to our problems and pacify black people with promises of black heaven and black Jesus rather than fire the people to revolution.

And even Eldridge Cleaver's strange religious conversion can only be seen as a continuance of his bankrupt bourgeois line, from his earlier positions on women, to his relationship with Trots, to the Bakuninist anarchy and terrorism he advocated in the Black Panther Party, to his decadent pants creation, all of his lines have objectively been in the service of the bourgeoisie.

Jesse Jackson and his PUSH represent

a bourgeois attempt to promote a petty bourgeois reformist preacher to the leadership of the Black Liberation Movement, whose programs for the liberation of the black masses amounts to nothing more than empty appeals to the sentiments of the masses of working class people, while at the same time advocating that the petty bourgeoisie buy stock and get on the board of the corporations that exploit and oppress us. It is only another version of "militant Booker T. ism."

Another attempt by the bourgeoisie and/or revisionists to push an opportunist up as the leadership of the Black Liberation Movement is Angela Davis. But what must be pointed out again and again is that she is a member, a mouthpiece for the "CP"USA, the traitors of the working class, the 5th column of the "CP"SU, the Soviet Social Imperialists who are the main source of a new world war. Angela Davis is a revisionist, a sellout who advocates that our liberation can come peacefully, that we can live happily together with the Rockefeller and the rest of the bourgeoisie; she is an agent of bourgeois ideology, attempting to keep us chained to the bourgeoisie.

All patriots and revolutionaries must oppose all of these incorrect lines, and the organizations and people who represent them should be criticized and we must work to win over the middle forces, and isolate the revisionist and traitor counter-revolutionaries, to clear the path of bourgeois obstacles.

## Black Liberation - Socialist Revolution!

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

### Democratic Rights and Self - Determination!

### Equal Rights and Self - Determination!



Mao Tsetung speaking in Yenan. "Comrade Mao Tsetung has attached great importance to building the Party ideologically since its early days." It was during the Yenan period that he wrote both "On Practice" and "On Contradiction". "In the early 40s, when the War of Resistance Against Japan was in the stage of stalemate, the Central Committee of the Party grasped the excellent opportunity to launch the rectification movement throughout the Party in order to raise its Marxist-Leninist level. Chairman Mao published a series of works on the rectification movement such as 'Reform Our Study,' 'Rectify the Party's Style of Work,' 'Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing' and 'Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art'..."

# 57<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE C. P. OF CHINA

cont from page 1

existence until liberation in 1949. It was also a third world country where the vast majority of the population were peasants, a colonial and semi-colonial country. And even though the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese revolution were led by the proletariat, still the organization of the masses of small farmers in China was necessary. The building of the heroic worker-peasant alliance to defeat first Japanese imperialism, and then Bureaucrat Capitalism and the comprador traitors of Chiang Kai-shek, called for concrete Marxist analysis, not dogmatism or empiricism, as Chairman Mao pointed out again and again.

The Communist Party of China has had setbacks, and its revolutionary road like any other has had twists and turns. At one point following the reactionary "Left" Opportunist lines of Li Li San and Wang Ming, before Chairman Mao ascended to the leadership, almost 90% of the party's cadres were lost. Earlier the Right lines of Chen Tu hsui, had allowed Chiang Kai-shek to slaughter thousands of communists. There have been 11 major political line struggles since the party's inception, including formidable opponents to the building of socialism once Chiang's traitors were defeated.

There were twists and turns not only internally but internationally, in which the CPC has persevered and eventually triumphed.

The October Revolution had tragedy befall it after Stalin's death, Nikita Khrushchov, representing the old and newborn bourgeoisie inside the Soviet Union, led the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat, set up the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and restored capitalism in the Soviet Union. This was a tragedy for the struggling masses throughout the world! The first to expose and oppose the revisionist betrayal of the Khrushchovites was the CPC led by Chairman Mao.

The facts, that came to light with the emergence of Soviet Revisionism allowed Chairman Mao to formulate the theory of continuing the Revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, pointing out with great clarity that in the epoch of socialism there were still classes and class struggle and that the proletariat must continue to wage revolution against the bourgeoisie even under socialism. The Great Proletarian

Cultural Revolution inside China was a result of this teaching. That revolution flushed out Liu Shao-chi, and his bourgeois headquarters. Later as a result of this revolution the Chinese people were mobilized to drag out Lin Biao as well as the notorious Gang of Four, both disguised as super-revolutionaries, much in the style of the so-called "Revolutionary Wing" here in the United States, full of irrevolutionary phrases concealing ultra rightism!

Today China remains the greatest existing example of Socialism. And while it must be clear that revolution cannot be imported or exported, it is equally clear that the Chinese Communist Party, guided as it is by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and led by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng is a revolutionary teacher of great importance.

The international two line struggle around the correct Marxist theory of three worlds finds the CPC taking Chairman Mao's revolutionary analysis and making it a mass question worldwide, at the same time exposing to the quick the "left" opportunists, revisionists, social chauvinists and neo-trotskyites, who either mistake metaphysics for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought or who gladly uphold reaction. The theory of three worlds is a concrete Marxist-Leninist analysis of the concrete international situation in the world today. It points out who is the main enemy, who are the revolutionary forces and who the middle forces. It is an indispensable revolutionary weapon in the hands of the peoples of the world. This correct strategic and tactical theory means to unite the great masses of the world against the two superpowers, oppose imperialist war, and speed revolution by providing clear analysis of the world situation.

China's stature in the world grows day after day, because of its revolutionary people and its great and correct Communist Party. The example of the CPC will make all genuine revolutionaries inside the U.S. work that much harder toward building a genuine Communist Party, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, so that we can make revolution in this country and end the criminal rule of capitalism.

# People's Struggle

cont. from page 3

preparing fascist attacks on the people. People must understand very clearly the so-called democratic institutions in the US are bourgeois illusions, from the Congress and Presidency to the State senates and city councils, this bourgeois deceit conceals the naked force which the ruling class relies on primarily to maintain this capitalist system in the interest of a tiny minority of super rich billionaires, as the expense of the great majority in US society, the working people. And we cannot rely on these capitalist institutions to save us from the dangerous move to the right in the USA, we must mobilize and organize the people, with the working class providing leadership, to stop the move toward fascism thru revolutionary struggle. It's the only way.

These factors of the rapid move to the right in the US, the economic crisis, the growing danger of an inevitable world war, all underline the vital necessity for the Marxist-Leninists and most advanced and active sectors of the proletariat to work more persistently toward the creation of the party that we all need to lead us in the battles we must fight. This Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, that we have been without for more than 20 years now, will guide us in the struggles each and everyday against the class enemy, defend our vital political and economic interests against the attacks of the capitalist class, and while preparing us thru mastering all forms of struggle, this vanguard party will lead us in the struggle for power, to end capitalism and its social ills forever with socialist revolution. This is our fundamental preparation for war, our basic preparation for our struggle against fascism, the political party of the working class, because without it, it is simply impossible to defeat the vicious class enemies of the working people.

## Glossary - cont. from pg 2

Most of these cadres were born in the families of labouring people. They know

# NOTICE

Recently, the capitalist state, especially its secret police units have systematically disrupted our communications with the people and their organizations, our mail comes back opened or many times it just comes back

from good and current addresses. We have reports of people writing us and getting their mail returned saying that we are no longer at our address. This is the sinister capitalist state apparatus interfering with our contacts with the people and trying to isolate us from the masses. If this has happened to you, please try to contact us again, we are definitely here doing propaganda, agitation and organization of the people for the revolutionary cause and in the interests of the working class and all oppressed peoples. The FBI has files with thousands of pages of transcripts of their police activities over the years causing chaos thru their agents in our organizations --we are raising our level of vigilance against these attacks from within and without, because in this rising crisis of capitalism the attacks will surely intensify. The ruling class will kick and scream and go into violent frenzied attacks on the people and their political leadership, but this is another sign of their doom. The revolution raging in the rest of the world combined with our own struggle will bring the US bourgeoisie to its knees, but it is the historical mission of the US working class to rally its allies to take off the head of the beast, US imperialism thru socialist revolution in the USA.

how the minority people guided by the national policy of the Party since their liberation, the working people of minority nationalities have, on the basis of democratic reforms, undertaken socialist transformation in the light of the economic and social conditions of their own nationalities. Together with the Han people, they are advancing along the road of socialism. This ensures that the days when they were oppressed and discriminated against are gone forever. (Hsinhua News Agency, 1976.)



REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE

"3 MOVIES REVIEWED"



**HARLAN COUNTY:** Directed by Barbara Kopple  
**BLUE COLLAR:** Written and directed by Paul Schrader; starring Yaphet Kotto, Richard Pryor, and Harvey Keitel  
**F.I.S.T.:** Written by Joe Esterhas and Sylvester Stallone, starring Sylvester Stallone



Sylvester Stallone plays Jimmy Hoffa in FIST

By accident, HARLAN COUNTY started it—in 1976 this documentary film about the recent strike in Harlan County, W. Virginia won the Academy Award for best documentary. Although consecrated by the bourgeoisie in this manner, (the film never really moves beyond a trade union consciousness and supports the election of Arnold Miller as a "victory" for trade union reform), HARLAN COUNTY remains one of the most arresting American films of the last several years. It portrays the causes of the strike, the daily lives of the strikers, their struggles to keep unified after months on the picket line, the role of the state in support of the union owners, and the violence these owners initiate—the strike wasn't settled until after an eighteen year old father was murdered—and the important and active support of women. One of its finest scenes shows a large woman pulling a pistol out of her dress to drive home the need for self defense on the part of the miners. It was used successfully by several different strike support committees during the national strike this spring as a basis for discussion of the political aspects of the strike. The film portrays the militant solidarity of the workers and their families so powerfully that it overshadows the limits of trade union consciousness and foreshadows the rank and files' rejection of Miller during the recent strike.

What HARLAN COUNTY started was a spate of Hollywood films "about" the working class, or with working class "heroes"—Rocky, Saturday Night Fever, Blue Collar, F.I.S.T., and several others—for HARLAN COUNTY showed just how powerful films about the working class can be. But to compare any of the Hollywood movies with HARLAN COUNTY is to compare truth with falsehood and lies in a more fundamental sense than that HARLAN COUNTY is a documentary and the other films are all "fiction".

Take F.I.S.T. for example. It's a fictionalized biography of Jimmy Hoffa and his rise and fall in the Teamsters. The concern here is not with its accuracy in portraying Hoffa's life but in its distortions of working class history. The most blatant of these concerns the role of violence in strikes. The film makes it obvious that the source of violence are the factory owners who, in cooperation with the police, use hired thugs and fascist organizations like the KKK or the "Citizens Law and Order League" portrayed in the film. But it distorts the response to this violence. In the film the strikers arm themselves only with clubs—they hire a gang to sabotage trucks and to shoot back when fired upon—as if they're too weak or too "pure" to defend themselves.

Then the film distorts the role of communists and other left wing elements in the building of unions during the thirties. In the book, F.I.S.T., which was relatively well researched, the Hoffa character Johnny Kovak (Sylvester "Sly" Stallone) is described as being influenced by his Marxist half-brother. (Hoffa himself was influenced by Trotskyites.) But Sly, who rewrote the script in his own self-image, wrote that out of the film—what remains is a highly ambiguous scene in which the union president delivers a thundering denunciation of "Bolshevik agitators" who are turning the workers against the system—Kovak turns to Abe, his partner, and says "you know any bolsheviks". Whether it is said with irony or not, the film makes it appear that the union was built primarily due to the demagogic power of Kovak with the support of organized crime without

any contributions by communists. In reality communists played leading roles in the building of many of the unions.

The third distortion concerns the role of the state—in this case the Senate—for it is a Kennedy type senator (Rod Steiger) who "selflessly" and "honestly" is out to set the union straight by exposing corruption among its bureaucrats. In doing so the film plays with the audiences emotions—in the early parts of the film the audience is made to sympathize with the workers and the need for a union to defeat the "unenlightened" capitalists of the thirties. When it comes to the present however, the unions are "naturally" too "big", and too "corrupted", NOT BY THE BOURGEOISIE WHO BRIBE THE TRADE UNION BUREAUCRATS but by organized crime. And the bourgeoisie' political stooges—the senate—are the good guys out to clean up the union and to defend the workers! The salvation of the working class lies in the bourgeoisie! What garbage! ! !

A fourth distortion comes from the structure of the film itself—where HARLAN COUNTY has no single hero, and where victory is clearly the result of the collective struggle of the miners, F.I.S.T. is a standard Hollywood success story showing the rise to power of an individual and the corruption that "naturally" comes from power. Workers play little role in this film except as an undifferentiated mass of extras—everything happens on the level of their "leaders" and the workers are shown as blindly following these trade union traitors instead of taking the initiative themselves as in the present rise of rank and file caucuses or as in the actual creation of the unions themselves.

Stallone has shown himself to deserve his nickname in this film: he is a sly agent of the bourgeoisie acting as an actor, writer, and director, and as worthless as a foxes tail.

BLUE COLLAR shares some similarities with F.I.S.T., but is more interesting and worth seeing. Like F.I.S.T. the script for BLUE COLLAR was ripped off a writer with more familiarity with the facts—in the case of BLUE COLLAR, the son of a black autoworker who died from the oppressive working conditions; and in the case of F.I.S.T., the son of a militant Hungarian immigrant and labor organizer.

Where F.I.S.T. describes the rise and fall of a trade union bureaucrat, BLUE COLLAR concerns the oppressive and frustrating daily lives of three Detroit assembly line workers (romanticized by Average workers vis a vis their consciousness) played by Yaphet Kotto, Richard Pryor, and Harvey Keitel. They have become good friends because they have to rely on each other on the job—Kotto and Keitel work at the same welding station—and get exploited by the bosses in the same way. The film makes it cont. on page 12

THE DEDICATION

by Sylvia Jones

these poems are not for the bourgeoisie black or white, brown, red or yellow  
 these poems are not for those who set off the muscles in our arms and suck the blood from our labor  
 these poems are not meant for the murderers of nations, countries & people  
 they are not meant for the blood thirsty Imperialists  
 these poems are not in any way meant for them  
 these poems are meant to aid in their death!

these poems are not meant for the reactionary sector of the petty bourgeoisie—the modern overseers of the factory plantations  
 they are not meant for school teachers who teach students lies about reality—who would rather be absent than teach the truth  
 they are not meant for social workers who hold back welfare checks or office workers who go out to lunch while we stand in the unemployment line or doctors who take care of you only when you are well and got money  
 or lawyers who make deals with the state to get you a little time for committing no crime while they take all your money  
 these poems are not meant for store keepers who set up shop in the ghetto to sell us rotten food and poison at maximum prices  
 or landlords who lord over the slums killing our children in their sleep  
 nor are they meant for any one else of that kind  
 these poems are not meant for those who exploit our lives on the beaches of the West Indies, in Europe on the Riviera, or sipping cocktails on private jets or riding around in chauffeur driven limousines  
 NO!  
 these poems are not meant for any of them

these poems are not meant for pimps or cool black musicians or hip black intellectuals who hate black women and themselves who think that black women and white women who work on assembly lines are beneath them  
 these poems are not meant for bourgeois nationalists who think wearing a dashiki or a buba and selling african art will liberate the Afro-American Nation in the black belt South  
 or those piece suit wearing nationalists that think running for public office will change the strategy for revolution in the U.S.A.  
 these poems are not meant for them!

these poems are not meant for preachers, ministers, rabbis, priests, mystifiers or bleeders of any kind who sell our peoples dreams for golden mosques, silver temples, big white houses, and long gleaming cars with 40 wives and communal fucking

these poems are not meant for a small sector of extremely backward workers who join in to aid their own oppression who have been beat down and sucked into the belly of the bourgeoisie and have acquired their appetite for human blood  
 these poems are not meant for counter revolutionaries, trots, revisionists or any other conscious destroyers of the peoples war  
 these poems are finally not meant for them or that!

these poems are meant for the millions and millions and thousands and thousands of workers who have to punch the clock every morning  
 they are meant for the workers on the lines giving up their muscle sweat and blood  
 these poems are meant for all the workers and oppressed nationalities children that get shot down in the streets daily because the bourgeoisie is in power  
 these poems are meant for the mountain workers  
 these poems are meant for APPALACHIA!

these poems are for the liberation of the Afro-American Nation  
 these poems are for Malcolm X  
 these poems are meant for the liberation of the Chicano Nation  
 these poems are meant for the workers and peasants in Puerto Rico to kick U.S. Imperialism's ass out!  
 these poems are meant for all the workers black and white men and women who were shot down in the streets of the U.S.A. trying to build unions, struggling against child labor, fighting for democracy in general  
 these poems are meant for the workers in the Haymarket massacre  
 these poems are meant for the women workers who were murdered in the triangle shirt waist factory  
 these are Mayday poems these are International Working Women's Day poems

these poems are meant for all the slaves that died trying to escape oppression on the boats, on the plantations  
 these poems are for Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth

these poems are meant for all the students who burned their draft cards who went to jail, who died, rather than kill their comrades  
 these poems are meant for all the students and workers in Chicago during the days of rage  
 these poems are meant for Kent state

Yeah....without a doubt they are meant for them

these poems are for the indentured servants and slaves that rose up in rebellion from the very beginning of this shit

these poems are for the students & workers who died in the rebellions against all this bullshit in the sixties  
 these poems are for Wally, Newark, Detroit, Harlan

these poems are in particular for the women and men and oppressed nationalities who fought and died and are living against Imperialism every day  
 these poems are for them!

these poems are for the advanced workers who are determined to determine the character of the movement—who are the real revolutionaries  
 these poems are for the Marxist-Leninists who are fighting to build a genuine communist party in the U.S.A.

these poems are meant for revolutionaries, the workers, and peasants around the world fighting for national liberation in Asia, Africa, and Latin America  
 these poems cry out for the freedom fighters of South Africa  
 these poems are for the Palestine Liberation Army  
 these are songs for the Victory of the Irish revolution

these poems are meant to be songs to and about them  
 they are meant to be a monument to their strength a word on their side

these poems are meant for the black the white the brown the yellow the red the poor the oppressed the workers, the masses

these poems are meant for the great majority of the people

they are lines of love and struggle for you and me  
 they are meant to celebrate the people  
 they are meant to celebrate revolution

finally they are meant to spit fire from the mouths of the masses

they are meant to be word weapons

these poems are meant for all the living revolutionaries who will never stop until this death fortress of Imperialism in the U.S.A. is completely smashed  
 burned to ashes  
 these poems are for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the U.S.A.  
 these poems are for the liberation of the people all over the world.

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Workers Box - cont. from p.12  
 and establish socialism under the dictatorship of the working class in the USA.



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



V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin in Gorki, 1922

### Last Part

A third feature of production is that the rise of new productive forces and of the relations of production corresponding to them does not take place separately from the old system, after the disappearance of the old system, but within the old system; it takes place not as a result of the deliberate and conscious activity of man, but spontaneously, unconsciously, independently of the will of man. It takes place spontaneously and independently of the will of man for two reasons.

First, because men are not free to choose one mode of production or another, because as every new generation enters life it finds productive forces and relations of production already existing as the result of the work of former generations, owing to which it is obliged at first to accept and adapt itself to everything it finds ready made in the sphere of production in order to be able to produce material values.

Secondly, because, when improving one instrument of production or another, one element of the productive forces or another, men do not realize, do not understand or stop to reflect what SOCIAL results these improvements will lead to, but only think of their everyday interests, of lightening their labour and of securing some direct and tangible advantage for themselves.

When, gradually and gropingly, certain members of primitive communal society passed from the use of stone tools to the use of iron tools, they, of course, did not know and did not stop to reflect what SOCIAL results this innovation would lead to; they did not understand or realize that the change to metal tools meant a revolution in production, that it would in the long run lead to the slave system. They simply wanted to lighten their labour and secure an immediate and tangible advantage; their conscious activity was confined within the narrow bounds of this everyday personal interests.

When, in the period of the feudal system, the young bourgeoisie of Europe began to erect, alongside of the small guild workshops, large manufactories, and thus advanced the productive forces of society, it, of course, did not know and did not stop to reflect what SOCIAL consequences this innovation would lead to; it did not realize or understand that this "small" innovation would lead to a regrouping of social forces which was to end in a revolution both against the power of kings, whose favours it so highly valued, and against the nobility, to whose ranks its foremost representatives not infrequently aspired. It simply wanted to lower the cost of producing goods, to throw large quantities of goods on the markets of Asia and of recently discovered America, and to make bigger profits. Its conscious activity was confined within the narrow bounds of this commonplace practical aim.

When the Russian capitalists, in conjunction with foreign capitalists, energetically implanted modern large-scale machine industry in Russia, while leaving tsardom intact and turning the peasants over to the tender mercies of the landlords, they, of course, did not know and did not stop to reflect what SOCIAL consequences this

extensive growth of productive forces would lead to, they did not realize or understand that this big leap in the realm of the productive forces of society would lead to a regrouping of social forces that would enable the proletariat to effect a union with the peasantry and to bring about a victorious Socialist revolution. They simply wanted to expand industrial production to the limit, to gain control of the huge home market, to become monopolists, and to squeeze as much profit as possible out of the national economy. Their conscious activity did not extend beyond their commonplace, strictly practical interests. Accordingly, Marx says:

"In the social production which men carry on (that is, in the production of the material values necessary to the life of men—Ed.) they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and INDEPENDENT\* of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material forces of production." (Karl Marx, SELECTED WORKS, Vol. I, p. 356.)

This, however, does not mean that changes in the relations of production, and the transition from old relations of production to new relations of production proceed smoothly, without conflicts, without upheavals. On the contrary, such a transition usually takes place by means of the revolutionary overthrow of the old relations of production and the establishment of new relations of production. Up to a certain period the development of the productive forces and the changes in the realm of the relations of production proceed spontaneously, independently of the will of men. But that is so only up to a certain moment, until the new and developing productive forces have reached a proper state of maturity. After the new productive forces have matured, the existing relations of production and their upholders—the ruling classes—become that "insuperable" obstacle which can only be removed by the conscious action of the new classes, by the forcible acts of these classes, by revolution. Here there stands out in bold relief the TREMENDOUS ROLE of new social ideas, of new political institutions, of a new political power, whose mission it is to abolish by force the old relations of production. Out of the conflict between the new productive forces and the old relations of production, out of the new economic demands of society there arise new social ideas; the new ideas organize and mobilize the masses; the masses become welded into a new political army, create a new revolutionary power, and make use of it to abolish by force the old system of relations of production, and firmly to establish the new system. The spontaneous process of development yields place to the conscious actions of men, peaceful development to violent upheaval, evolution to revolution.

"The proletariat," says Marx, "during its contact with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class...by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production." (THE

COMMUNIST MANIFESTO—Karl Marx, SELECTED WORKS, Vol. I, p. 228.)

And further:

a) "The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible." (IBID., p. 227.)

b) "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one." (Karl Marx, CAPITAL, Vol. I, p. 776.)

Here is the brilliant formulation of the essence of historical materialism given by Marx in 1859 in his historic Preface to his famous book, CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY:

"In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material forces of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they have been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the

entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic—in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained rather from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social forces of production and the relations of production. No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have been developed; and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society itself. Therefore, mankind always sets itself only such tasks as it can solve; since, looking at the matter more closely, we will always find that the task itself arises only when the material conditions necessary for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation." (Karl Marx, SELECTED WORKS, Vol. I, pp. 356–57.)

Such is Marxist materialism as applied to social life, to the history of society.

Such are the principal features of dialectical and historical materialism.

It will be seen from this what a theoretical treasure was safeguarded by Lenin for the Party and protected from the attacks of the revisionists and renegades, and how important was the appearance of Lenin's book, MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM, for the development of our Party.

### 3 Sources and 3 Component Parts of Marxism by V. I. Lenin

cont from page 4

doctrines—philosophical, religious, political and so forth) reflects the ECONOMIC SYSTEM of society. Political institutions are a superstructure on the economic foundation. We see, for example, that the various political forms of the modern European states serve to fortify the rule of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat.

Marx's philosophy is complete philosophical materialism, which has provided humanity, and especially the working class, with powerful instruments of knowledge.

II

Having recognized that the economic system is the foundation on which the political superstructure is erected, Marx devoted most attention to the study of this economic system. Marx's principal work, CAPITAL, is devoted to a study of the economic system of modern, i.e., capitalist, society.

Classical political economy, before Marx, evolved in England, the most developed of the capitalist countries. Adam Smith and David Ricardo, by their investigations of the economic system, laid the foundations of the LABOUR THEORY OF VALUE. Marx continued their work. He rigorously substantiated and consistently developed this theory. He showed that the value of every commodity is determined by the quantity of socially necessary labour time spent on its production.

Where the bourgeois economists saw a relation between things (the exchange of one commodity for another) Marx revealed a RELATION BETWEEN PEOPLE. The exchange of commodities expresses the tie between individual producers through the market. MONEY signifies that this tie is becoming closer and closer, inseparably binding the entire economic life of the individual producers into one whole. CAPITAL signifies a further development of this tie: human labour power becomes a commodity. The wage-worker sells his labour power to the owner of the land, factories and instruments of labour. The worker spends one part of the day covering the cost of maintaining himself and his family (wages), while the other part of the day the worker toils without remuneration, creating for the capitalist SURPLUS VALUE, the source of profit, the source of the wealth of the capitalist class.

The doctrine of surplus value is the cornerstone of Marx's economic theory.

Capital, created by the labour of the worker, presses on the worker, ruining the small proprietors and creating an army of unemployed. In industry, the victory of large-scale production is at once apparent, but we observe the same phenomenon in agriculture as well: the superiority of large-scale capitalist agriculture increases, the employment of machinery grows, peasant economy falls into the noose of money-capital and declines and sinks into ruin under the burden of its backward technique. In agriculture, the decline of small-scale production assumes different forms, but the decline itself is an indisputable fact.

By destroying small-scale production, capital leads to an increase in productivity of labour and to the creation of a monopoly

cont. on page 11

### History Develops in Spirals

cont from page 4

materialist viewpoint that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." At all times the people are the masters of history and the people always want to make revolution. Led by Chairman Mao, the broad masses are firm in taking the road of socialism. The working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals all have profound proletarian sentiments for the Party and Chairman Mao and have enormous enthusiasm for the socialist cause. As long as we have firm faith in the masses and rely on them, we can overcome any reversals or twists and turns and surmount any kind of difficulty. Both at home and abroad, class enemies all try to subvert our dictatorship of the proletariat and change our socialist system by taking advantage of the reversals or twists and turns that appear in the advance of our revolutionary cause, but all to no avail. This is because our revolutionary cause stands for the fundamental interests of the people and has won the approval and support of the masses.



# 3 Sources & 3 Component Parts of Marxism

cont. from page 10

position for the associations of big capitalists. Production itself becomes more and more social—hundreds of thousands and millions of workers become bound together in a systematic economic organism—but the product of the collective labour is appropriated by a handful of capitalists. The anarchy of production grows, as do crises, the furious chase after markets and the insecurity of existence of the mass of the population.

While increasing the dependence of the workers on capital, the capitalist system creates the great power of combined labour.

Marx traced the development of capitalism from the first germs of commodity economy, from simple exchange, to its highest forms, to large-scale production.

And the experience of all capitalist countries, old and new, is clearly demonstrating the truth of this Marxist doctrine to increasing numbers of workers every year.

Capitalism has triumphed all over the world, but this triumph is only the prelude to the triumph of labour over capital.

III

When feudalism was overthrown, and "free" capitalist society appeared on God's earth, it at once became apparent that this freedom meant a new system of oppression and exploitation of the working people. Various socialist doctrines immediately began to arise as a reflection of and protest against this oppression.

But early socialism was UTOPIAN socialism. It criticized capitalist society, it condemned and damned it, it dreamed of

its destruction, it indulged in fancies of a better order and endeavoured to convince the rich of the immorality of exploitation.

But utopian socialism could not point the real way out. It could not explain the essence of wage slavery under capitalism, nor discover the laws of the latter's development, nor point to the SOCIAL FORCE which is capable of becoming the creator of a new society.

Meanwhile, the stormy revolutions which everywhere in Europe, and especially in France, accompanied the fall of feudalism, of serfdom, more and more clearly revealed the STRUGGLE OF CLASSES as the basis and the driving force of the whole development.

Not a single victory of political freedom over the feudal class was won except against desperate resistance. Not a single capitalist country evolved on a more or less free and democratic basis except by a life-and-death struggle between the various classes of capitalist society.

The genius of Marx consists in the fact that he was able before anybody else to draw from this and consistently apply the conclusion that world history teaches. This conclusion is the doctrine of the CLASS STRUGGLE.

People always were and always will be the foolish victims of deceit and self-deceit in politics until they learn to discover the INTERESTS of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises. The supporters of reforms and improvements will always be fooled by the defenders of the old order until they realize that every old institution, however barbarous and rotten it may appear to be, is maintained



V.I. Lenin, founder of the Russian Communist Party (B), and leader of the October Revolution in 1917

by the forces of some ruling classes. And there is ONLY ONE way of smashing the resistance of these classes, and that is to find, in the very society which surrounds us, and to enlighten and organize for the struggle, the forces which can—and owing to their social position, MUST—constitute the power capable of sweeping away the old and creating the new.

Marx's philosophical materialism alone has shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have hitherto languished. Marx's economic theory alone has explained the true position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism.

Independent organisations of the proletariat are multiplying all over the world, from America to Japan and from Sweden to South Africa. The proletariat is becoming enlightened and educated by waging its class struggle; it is ridding itself of the prejudices of bourgeois society; it is rallying its ranks ever more closely and is learning to gauge the measure of its successes; it is stealing its forces and is growing irresistibly.

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## MAIN TREND

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## Detente Exposed

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imperialism and USSR social imperialism, for new markets, sources of raw materials, colonies and spheres of influence. Lenin spoke of the slogan: "Convert this war among the slave-owners for the division of their loot into a war of the slaves of all nations against the slave-owners of all nations." (See, "The 4th Anniversary of the October Revolution", Oct. 14, 1921) The people of the world must form the broadest possible united front against Superpower hegemonism in order to spike the war plans of the US and the USSR, and in this way postpone the inevitable war between the superpowers until we are better prepared to fight for our liberation. Due to the reality of the law of uneven development of capitalism, the two superpowers are not of equal danger in terms of war, because of a number of economic and military and political factors, the USSR is the most aggressive superpower. We are bearing witness to this all over Africa.

In a recent speech by the Chairman of the Chinese Delegation at the UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament, Huang Hua (the Foreign Minister of China) exposed the superpower disarmament fraud to the quick. He stressed that rather than talking about "general disarmament", peoples' demands must focus in on the two superpowers! "Their armaments already far exceed their defence needs and are being used as tools of aggression and expansion and tools in the struggle for hegemony. They are subjecting countries in all parts of the world to threats of force, military control and even armed aggression and they are busily preparing to unleash a new world war. ...Disarmament must start with the two superpowers...The superpowers are trying to use 'general disarmament' as an excuse for their refusal to cut their own armaments." (Peking Review No. 22, 1978)

In the USA, we must make preparations for our struggle against the coming world war. And we had better face the fact that modern war is bred by imperialism, and war is inevitable as long as society is divided into classes. The only way out of this insane inferno is socialist revolution, the revolution that will in this era end exploitation and oppression by smashing the resistance of the imperialist bourgeoisie, smashing the power of the

bourgeois state apparatus, and the working class seizing state power and making the means of producing wealth the public property of the working masses. This revolution will come in the USA; if any country needs revolution surely the USA needs a popular revolution that will liberate the working class from wage slavery, the oppressed nationalities from the national oppression, and women from the special oppression of women under monopoly capitalism. But in the era that we live in, it is necessary for the working class to be led by a revolutionary party in order to make revolution. This revolutionary party that we all need must be the vanguard of the working class, a party of the new type that can lead the working class and all oppressed peoples in a war to overthrow monopoly capitalism forever and establish socialism under the dictatorship of the working class, the rule of the majority for the first time in the US over the exploiting minority, the bourgeoisie.

Yet, in the USA, we do not have our general staff to lead us in the class struggle against the enemy, we do not have a genuine revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party based on the science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. Since 1957, with the total degeneration and betrayal of the so-called Communist Party USA, the working class and all oppressed peoples in the US have struggled without their party. This is why revolutionaries throughout this land must grasp our central task of all the other revolutionary tasks throughout this period, the formation of this revolutionary party that can lead the working class in the struggle for power, one that must master all forms of struggle against the class enemy. In a word, the working class will disarm the bourgeoisie and through socialist revolution concretely prepare the conditions for peace; it's the only way: "Only AFTER the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able without betraying its world-historical mission, to throw all armaments on the scrap heap; and the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but ONLY WHEN THIS condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before." (V.I. Lenin, "The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution")

## Honey on Lips, Murder in Heart, New Tsars.

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as it gives cover to the social imperialists and allows them to sink their hooks in, to meddle, disrupt, and cause trouble. Events in Southeast Asia prove that this has indeed happened.

One of the parties to the hostilities has accused the other of wanting to set up and dominate an "Indochinese federation" of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. Examination of the line of the comrades in question shows that they do indeed advocate, "To endeavor to preserve and develop the special relationship between the Vietnamese people and the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea..." (ibid. p.149) Though this declaration is unobjectionable on its face, the means by which this "endeavor" is being put into effect happen to include the invasion and occupation of the neighboring country's territory.

A gross error of conciliation to revisionism and social imperialism has led to a gross error in practice. If they are to continue their heroic and inspiring tradition of struggle, these comrades must repudiate both types of errors. They must withdraw their troops from the neighboring country's land and settle differences by negotiations, and they must stop giving cover to Soviet social imperialism through the "theory" of social systems. Otherwise surely they will go the dishonorable route of the Cuban ruling clique, mere mercenaries for social imperialism.

After the end of World War II, the people of Southeast Asia first defeated French imperialism. Then they overthrew US imperialism. It might be said that they have now entered the next stage, the stage of struggle to expel Soviet social imperialism.

These developments further expose the traitors to the people's struggle against imperialism in this country. As noted before, there are many people who sincerely oppose US imperialism but who still have not grasped the necessity to fight against Soviet social imperialism. Many of them will learn from the Southeast Asia events. (As many learned from the Soviet imperialists' fierce expansionist aggression in Ethiopia, Angola and Zaire.) However, the revisionist

"Communist Party" USA, the revisionist Guardian Weekly newspaper, the Trotskyite backstabbers, and some others are in a "united front" of treachery and betrayal of the people, the main article of which is support for Soviet aggression in the Third World and in the Second World (see U.S. & June ed.). In the face of the facts they are desperately trying to avoid the exposure of their treason.

All of the lies and distortions of the CPUSA, the Guardian, the Trots, etc., will fail. People are waking up to the danger of Soviet social imperialism. The people of Southeast Asia will surely deal total defeat to Soviet social imperialism, just as they have already dealt total defeat to US imperialism. People all over the world will surely gain full awareness that the Soviet Union is the most aggressive imperialist country in the world today and is the main danger to the national liberation movement of the developing countries of the Third World.

## "3 MOVIES"

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ing of the role of the police and the state. Again the state is made to be the savior. (Just as in F.I.S.T.)

BLUE COLLAR is a more positive film than F.I.S.T. because it contains a certain critique of capitalism and racism; because its heroes are recognizable workers, and because of its language. But it too distorts reality, primarily because it points to no positive direction for the workers to move in—it has no references at all to such movements as the Detroit Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) and certainly not to communist groups. In this sense this film reflects the ideology of petty bourgeois film makers trapped in their own cynicism, pessimism and blindness. In reality the only solution to the exploitation and oppression of workers and oppressed nationalities is building a revolutionary III-L Communist Party and making socialist revolution.



# AFRICAN STRUGGLE

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socialist state and the "natural ally" of the people, they represent a more dangerous threat in its quest for hegemony over Africa and the rest of the Third World. It exposed its hegemonic designs first in Egypt, then Angola and Zaire, Sudan and Somalia. They are trying to get African countries to be part of their sphere of influence and set up more military bases.

One of the imperialists favorite tactics is to divide and rule. USSR social imperialists are trying to play one liberation movement off against another, saying one is the "genuine" or "revolutionary" and the other "reactionary"; they will arm one and not another under the pretense of who is revolutionary and who is not. But actually they are arming these liberation movements to fuel civil wars, like in Angola. Soviet weapons were used to kill more Africans than the Portuguese had killed in the liberation war. These are just moves by the Soviet Union to gain allies as they try to wrest territories away from U.S. imperialism and to dominate and re-colonize the African continent.

The Soviet Union's imperialist designs have been most apparent in Angola, with the use of its pawns, Cuban mercenaries (over 20,000 troops based there). It precipitated a civil war there by giving aid to only one liberation movement. Soviet social imperialism is now using Angola as a springboard to penetrate further into southern and central Africa. Most recently, it has reared its ugly head in directing Katanganese mercenaries - who once fought for the reactionary Tshombe - to invade independent Zaire's Shaba province (which is rich with copper) to violate the sovereignty of Zaire. It is just another blatant example of social imperialism interfering in the internal affairs of other nations to further their own bloodthirsty imperialist designs.

The Soviet Union continues to foster division. In Zimbabwe the Soviet social imperialist has given sole support to one group and none to the other group; both imperialist has given sole support to one group and none to the other group; both superpowers would like to see the revolutionary forces within the Patriotic Front kill each other. Clearly the unity of this Patriotic Front for the liberation of Zimbabwe has the full support of the African masses. The picture is similar in Namibia

where the Soviet Union wants to isolate the SWAPO revolutionaries. In Azania, the Soviet Union props up the bankrupt South African "Communist Party" which invests all its time in diversionary politics while the true resistance movement against national oppression is being led by the PanAfricanist Congress (PAC). All these maneuvers reveal the treachery and aggressive nature of the Soviet Union as they try and worm their way into the liberation movements, fostering divisions, and attempting to coopt leaders for their own superpower interests through the tactic of divide and rule.

The recent events in Shaba and Kolwezi saw the direct involvement of some second world countries, notably, France and Belgium, old time colonialists, as they took over action to repulse the Katanganese invasion. However, the involvement of France and Belgium clearly points out that contradictions between the second world countries and the superpowers are sharpening, as the superpowers continue to threaten the interests of these second world countries by invading Zaire. In the struggle against hegemonism the Third World countries must be vigilant against both superpowers and keep the initiative in their hands and make use of contradictions in the enemy camp.

Despite superpower meddling, the African people are advancing the struggle of national liberation and independence and resisting the yoke of imperialist aggression, as we hail the anniversary of the Soweto uprising in Azania and support the unity of the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe to consolidate their struggle. The African peoples' unity with the rest of the Third World is being forged daily in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and Superpower hegemonism. In the Third World extremely broad sections of the population have refused to be slaves of imperialism and these revolutionary struggles are beating and undermining the foundations of the savage rule of imperialism and colonialism.

# BLK WRITERS CONFERENCE

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alternative means of publishing and new periodicals was stressed. A strong representation from the Anti-Imperialist Cultural Union, a mass organization dealing with anti-imperialist art, was present.

A key discussion was this: Whether anti-imperialist or revolutionary art can actually change society or not. It grew obvious after lengthy discussion that neither capitulation and compradorism (which the bourgeoisie is pushing hard as "black writing" trying to fill the vacuum left by many black writers moving past cultural nationalism) nor black capitalism will transform society. Just as the black liberation movement is a revolutionary movement, which will combine with the multinational workers struggle for socialism, so the struggle of black writers and artists in general is directly connected

to the struggles of the black liberation movement as well as part of the overall struggle against US imperialism waged by the great majority of people in this country. The Black Writers Conference was a part of the Revolutionary Communist League's newly developed initiative in encouraging revolutionary and anti-imperialist culture, and linking a newly revitalized cultural movement with the central task of revolutionaries, building a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. To belittle or misunderstand the importance of revolutionary arts and culture to the whole movement of the working class and oppressed nationalities and their allies to make revolution, smash capitalism and build socialism, is a serious error that could retard the whole revolutionary movement by allowing bourgeois art and culture to thrive with only scattered and spontaneous opposition!

## "3 Movies" cont from page 9

clear that racism is a fundamental part of the divide and conquer strategy of the bosses:

"Why do you go to the line on Friday? Because the finance man's going to be at your house on Saturday. The company wants to keep you on the line. They put the lifers against the new boys, they put the blacks against the whites, they put the old against the young, anything they can do just to keep us in our place."

After scenes showing the working conditions at the plant—"plant, we all know what the plant is. The plant's just short for plantation", says Pryor—and the workers' increasing indebtedness—back taxes, medical bills, etc.—their moonlighting at extra jobs, and their general frustration—"You buy this shit, you buy that shit, and all you're got is a bunch of shit"; "Somedays I get so depressed. Man's supposed to be able to take care of his family". So they decide to rob the union's safe, not only in hope of getting enough money to get out of hock, but also

as a way of getting back at the union bureaucrats who have been screwing them over.

Instead of money they find a ledger detailing the union's loan sharking activities and they decide to use it to blackmail the union. This too fails and the union bureaucrats find out who the culprits are. While the three workers understand that the owners, the government, and the bureaucrats work together to exploit the workers, Kotto is the only one who sees that there is no hope in reforming the situation (and for this reason the capitalist stooge bureaucrats rightly regard him as dangerous)—he takes a baseball bat and makes spaghetti out of a union thug's knees, and is in turn murdered by the bureaucrats in an industrial "accident". Pryor turns out to be an opportunist who legitimizes his bribery by crying "black" and sells out to the union in the idealist and self-serving hope of making changes as a low level bureaucrat. Keitel's sell-out, while done as "his last resort", after being threatened with murder, comes from a final act of faith in an Ephram Zimbalist Jr. FBI and a Kojak inspired understand-

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## WORKERS CORRESPONDENCE:

As you can see Unity and Struggle is attempting to make some changes to improve this paper and make it a better instrument to serve the people. In order to make this paper the voice of the class conscious proletariat, we need articles contributed by you! We need news articles on the struggles you are in-

volved in against monopoly capitalism, in defense of the people's democratic rights, against police brutality and killer cops, for a better life and living conditions, opposing the menace of fascism, against superpower war preparations, and in support of national liberation struggles in the Third World. We need theoretical articles and criticism you have of RCL or the rest of the revolutionary

movement. We need exposes on the capitalists and their lackeys. When possible please send in PICTURES with your correspondence. All this is to make this newspaper a sharper weapon in the hands of the working class and its allies in its struggle to overthrow the bloody beast US Imperialism

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## UNITY & STRUGGLE NEEDS SUSTAINERS AND CONTRIBUTORS!

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.

A Unity & Struggle sustainer is a person who supports Unity & Struggle by donating \$5 each month to sustain the newspaper and to help the paper expand its features. We are planning a section of our paper in Spanish, and we need funds to help make this expansion. Sustainers will get a copy of all our publications free, will be put on our mailing lists, will get periodic newsletters about our organization's line & activities, and will be notified about all of our programs. Comrades and friends who cannot afford to be sustainers can help sustain this effort by making any donation they can afford, as often as they can afford! In fact, we have received donations and this had helped us get back on our feet. But we need much much more to publish this newspaper regularly. Contributions will get copies of propaganda pieces we distribute free, will be put on our mailing lists, will get periodic newsletters about our organization's line & activities, and will be notified about all our programs. Everyone can help by supporting the different fundraising programs we will sponsor to support the newspaper: attend programs, sell a bundle of newspapers in your organization or study group, distribute raffles in support of the paper, etc.

There are many features that will unfold in Unity & Struggle in the near future. Support Unity & Struggle, watch for its development, and let us hear from you as soon as possible. Donations should be sent to: P.O. Box 1181, Newark, N.J. 07101, made payable to Unity & Struggle. Thank you for your support!

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