



MARXIST-LENINISTS' UNITE!

WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!

BUILD A REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY BASED ON MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!

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# REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN TREND!!

COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE, NATIONS WANT LIBERATION  
PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION!

## RISING STRIKE STRUGGLE: Urgent Need for a Revolutionary Party in the U.S.

Hundreds of thousands of miners, auto workers, steel workers, dock workers, textile workers, are struggling thru strikes to defend themselves against the vicious attacks of the capitalist system against the workers! Particularly, the struggle of the miners against the bosses has been very sharp, and when we look at these struggles, there is much to learn from these strikes in terms of the battle that we are

waging against the capitalist class. In the case of the miners and the steel workers, the workers are clearly struggling against the triple team: the bosses, the government (the state machine), and the trade union bureaucrats! The crisis that confronts these workers on the picket lines is the same crisis that grips the whole multinational working class

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It was out of the increased cruelty and harshness brought on by King Cotton's large scale production that the large slave revolts of the period and subsequent political activity and protests increase. Nat Turner led a revolt in 1831.



RCL resolutely supports the wise decision of the CC of the Communist Party of China, led by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, to shatter the criminal schemes of the anti-Party clique of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching, and Yao Wen-yuan to usurp Party and state power in the People's Republic of China!

Rectification of the revisionist lines of the Gang of 4 are needed right here in the Anti Revisionist Communist Movement.

## A GREAT VICTORY!

MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT WILL SHINE FOREVER! SMASH THE GANG OF FOUR!

"It is through him that we all are what we are; and it is through his theoretical and practical activity that the movement is what it is today; without him we would

still be plunged in confusion." This is what Engels said in commemoration of Karl Marx, and we join Chairman Hua, in using this passage in commemoration of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist and leader and teacher of the pro-  
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## THE NATIONAL QUESTION

### INTRODUCTION

The Afro American National Question has always been and continues to be one of the major pivotal questions that disclosed the level of opportunist or revolutionary content of different communist movements in the US. Historically, it was and is opportunist and white chauvinist positions on the black national question (BNQ) "which has its roots in the corruptive influence of the leading imperialist bourgeoisie, to which the United States working class is directly subjected" that was a part of the downfall of the early communist movement as well as contributes to the low fusion of the contemporary anti-revisionist communist movement with the workers movement. The Socialist Party, for example, sought to ignore the BNQ totally, but when forced by the fundamental importance of the question only conceded it to be a part of the general class question, and therefore requiring no specific address, as did its successor the CPUSA, in its early days led by Jay Lovestone (late 1920's)

With the decline of the revolutionary aspirations of the CPUSA necessarily came the decline of its revolutionary position on the BNQ because those not interested in revolution are also not interested in revolutionary allies. The CPUSA took up the

bankrupt revisionist line that blacks no longer constituted a nation, no longer had a right to self-determination; and, in fact had exercised self-determination and opted for bourgeois integration.

Presently, there are similar revisionist lines that have been and are being put forward by some so-called communist organizations. The Communist League, which began in 1968 as the California Communist League, was formed around a core of former members of the Provisional Organizing Committee (P.O.C.) has degenerated into a right-wing Trotskyite organization -- "Independence for the Negro Nation" is their anti-communist position on the black national question. Other once vanguard communist organizations that are upholding backward positions on the BNQ are:

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## Editorial

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like other philistines, who now shout at the tops of their voices "3rd World Theory is an opportunist theory now that Chairman Mao is dead! What communists!

WVO's recent performance at ALSC's conference brought out in even sharper relief these errors. RCL holds, as the CPC, that factors for both war and revolution are increasing. But we also hold that revolution is the main trend in the world today. The Chinese say, "The factors for both war and revolution are growing... But the general trend of the international situation is still developing in the direction favorable to the people of various countries and unfavorable to the two superpowers." The revolution in Azania, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Eritrea, Ethiopia are all more intense and on a much wider more positive scale than they were 2 or 3 years ago and they are still increasing in intensity. At the ALSC conference WVO, to try to make their point that Revolution was no longer the main trend in the world (although they will not come straight out and say war is), WVO raised Angola, and the Soviet Social Imperialists thrust that has obstructed the independence of the Angolan people. But WVO sees revolution as a straight line, like the Wing, who used to imply "Revolution is The Only Trend". With the rest of their "Onlies". The revolutionary thrusts has not stopped in Angola, there are just twists and turns, setbacks on the tortuous but ultimately certain path of revolution. Revolutionary struggle is continuing in Angola, against Soviet Social Imperialism (SSI) and the opportunists that support it. A new Marxist-Leninist party has been created in Angola as well, which is sharply opposed to the Soviet Social Imperialists and their factionalist supporters.

WVO asked what was the difference between Viet Nam and Angola. Possibly they use Viet Nam as a measure because this brings back their student protest days. But clearly Superpower contention is more sharp and intense today than during the Viet Nam War. The Viet Nam War was the major defeat, and "turning of the corner" for US Imperialism.

After the Viet Nam War, US Imperialism was in open blatant decline. And because of this the Soviet Social Imperialist could step into an offensive role, hence Angola and Zaire. But even the both superpowers try to act as fire extinguishers of revolution, the revolutionary people have still intensified the struggle. US imperialism and its lackies are being defeated with less loss to the revolutionary people than Viet Nam, but now with Soviet Social Imperialism having slaughtered over 150,000 Angolans inside a year. Soviet Social Imperialism is being revealed as the most dangerous threat to the 3rd World's struggle for independence.

WVO still does not understand that imperialism means that there is a WORLD SYSTEM and the proletariat has developed a world front of revolution against it! WVO MUST read Foundations of Leninism immediately and stop giving pre-Lenin, right error dominated international analyses. Their cadre in the ALSC meeting again and again said things like "conditions are not ripe for revolution in the US"... third world revolution provided the conditions but you are saying third world revolution can make revolution in the US. They kept saying revolution is an event like a cotillion or rock concert and not a long tortuous and profound process. But at the same time WVO does not understand Imperialism.

Comrades, listen to this and repudiate the nonsense and right errors of your ALSC performance! Or is Lenin too Left for you?? "Formerly it was the accepted thing to speak of the existence of absence of objective conditions for the proletarian revolution in individual countries, or to be more precise, in one or another developed country. Now this point of

view is no longer adequate. Now we must speak of the existence of objective conditions for the revolution in the entire system of world imperialist economy as an integral whole; the existence within this system of some countries that are not sufficiently developed industrially cannot serve as an insuperable obstacle to the revolution. If the system as a whole or, more correctly, because the system as a whole is ripe for revolution." (Foundations of Leninism, Stalin, page 28)

Comrades, read this and repudiate your line that objective conditions in the US are not ripe for revolution. **THE ENTIRE SYSTEM IS RIPE FOR REVOLUTION** and it is occurring already at the weakest link of imperialism! The revolution in the third world, the struggles for national independence weakens the bourgeoisie everywhere else!

What is unripe is the subjective factor in the US, there is no Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party based on M-L-M, in the US. RU,OL,CLP, and their pipedreams have not changed this.



Some people...act as though the fewer the people the smaller the circle, the better. Those who have this "small circle" mentality resist the idea of bringing all positive factors into play, of uniting with everyone that can be united with, and of doing everything possible to turn negative factors into positive ones...

WVO, by settling for short term declarations at the expense of the long term struggle for a genuine party, is putting another wreck in the path of the US proletariat's struggle to build a genuine party, in order to make Socialist Revolution in the USA.

WVO does not understand imperialism, how can it say it has the over all most correct lines? Its errors in the ALSC conference were blatant.

Around the question of the first principle of unity (POU), for the ALSC, WVO wanted to take out all mention of ALSC supporting the National Liberation Movements in the Third World. They said they wanted to focus in on Africa! Fantastic, for communists to step away from Proletarian Internationalism, saying they want to focus. What poppycock! The communists who developed within ALSC know how much of a long struggle it was to broaden the POU's originally from JUST Africa, as the focus of nationalists and pan-africanists, to include the struggles of the entire third world. Now WVO, in its struggle to hegemonistically appeal to the Afroamerican people figure the best way to do this is to come on like pan-africanists! What opportunism!

The scientific formulation of the principal contradiction in the world today is the third world versus imperialism, which is the motive force of revolution in the world. Not Africa vs imperialism, but the

people and nations of the third world who are the main strugglers against imperialism, colonialism, racism, Zionism, and superpower hegemonism, not just the people of Africa. And the ALSC must take up this scientific struggle, trying to unite more closely the people of the third world against imperialism, even while supporting the struggle for African liberation.

WVO denied they were liquidating the 3rd world. They denied they were taking the line that has philistinely crept up in the international communist movement that the 3rd world thesis is incorrect and opportunist. Yet the WVO paper which they were dropping on the genuine forces in ALSC without warning wherein they propose to change the focus of the ALSC from propaganda to agitation, does not mention the third world. It says, "The correct line is that the chief form of activity for ALSC is agitation in support of the struggles in SOUTHERN AFRICA AND, SECONDARILY AGITATION IN SUPPORT OF THE US PEOPLE'S

by a common front of revolutionary movement in all countries.

"Formerly the proletarian revolution was regarded exclusively as the result of the internal development of a given country. Now this point of view is no longer adequate. Now the proletarian revolution must be regarded primarily as the result of the development of the contradictions within the world system of imperialism, as a result of the breaking of the chain of the world imperialist front in one country or another." (Foundations of Leninism, pages 28-29)

Revolution occurs where the link of the front of capital can be pierced, where the chain of imperialism is weakest. Today this is the 3rd world. But this piercing in the 3rd world readies that chain to be pierced even in the superpowers themselves!

WVO recovered from its exposure and defeat around the question of the 3rd world by having one of its supporters come smashing forward adding the Self Determination of the Black Belt south to the POU's, another cadre added up to and including secession.

But right after this WVO went into its open Hegemonic section of its act. Comrade Tung, coming in after the meeting started rushed to the WVO cadre on the national steering committee (NSC) and ordered the POU No. 2 had to be gone back over, even though the ALSC as a mass organization, supposedly with an integrity of its own, had finished the second POU satisfactorily. The second POU stated: "Oppose the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, the two main enemies of the peoples of the world. Expose SSI as the main danger to the independence of of the 3rd world peoples and the peoples of the world and as the main source of war in the world today." WVO wanted to add, "The main task of US people is to fight against US imperialism."

First of all RCL protested vigorously against the plain out hegemonism of WVO mechanically imposing its will, its line on ALSC, a mass organization supposedly with integrity and movement of its own independent of any other organization. WVO cries "Partyism"—this is their cover story for plain out hegemonism. But even if they were a party, which they aren't, they still should not nakedly impose their will on a mass organization. Mass organizations do need communist guidance, but this is gained through the communist organization's fractions in the mass organizations which struggle for the correct Marxist-Leninist line. They do not merely arbitrarily state a change of this or that, and because that is the line of the communist organization the mass organization must do a flip flop.

RCL waged a principled stand on this question, although we should have pointed out earlier that the question of the addition regarding the US bourgeoisie, RCL was in agreement with. Though WVO's addition was IMPRECISE! But we were fighting against the naked hegemonism of WVO, its bourgeois method. It was outlined to WVO that method and ideology world view are the same—that the bourgeois method WVO employed showed clearly its bourgeois world-view. But WVO wriggled and twisted and kept running off at the mouth that what was principal was the question of the US bourgeoisie! But the garbage in this trick approach was that WVO did not even understand clearly how this should be formulated, and RCL had to point out that it was not enough to say "The main task of US people is to fight against US imperialism". Because right away a WVO supporter (maybe it was a cadre??) got up and said that the main task of US people is to fight against US imperialism because they are the ones who really control places like Southern Africa! And this is why RCL had opposed WVO's instant rearrangement of the agenda. This was an important question, but even WVO's supporters and cadres did not understand why it was an important question. The people of the US have to fight against US

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# MOTION!!

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



We must understand that the essence of the Palestinian and Middle East questions is the Israeli Zionist aggression and the contention between the two superpowers for hegemony in the Middle East vs the just and heroic struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab people against aggression and hegemonism. The struggle for Palestinian national rights and the struggle for the recovery of lost Arab territory form one integral whole!

### SOUTHERN AFRICA

The vicious murder of Steven Biko in Azania, is one more sign that colonialism and racism in Azania are clearly headed for doom, as thousands and thousands rallied to vow death to South African colonialism. "The evil system of racial discrimination and apartheid is rooted in colonialism, and it is in itself an expression of colonialism. Therefore, to uproot racial discrimination and apartheid, it is imperative to overthrow the colonial system and racist domination. ...The armed struggles of the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia are developing in depth, the mass struggle of the Azanian people against violent repression is mounting. The national liberation movements of the people in the whole of So. Africa are surging forward vigorously, presenting an excellent situation. The handful of racists represented by Vorster and Smith, who are besieged on all sides find themselves in utter desperation. However, like all the reactionary forces on the verge of extinction in history, they will never be reconciled to their own defeat. In fact, they are putting up a desperate last-ditch struggle with the backing of imperialist forces and carrying on their counterrevolutionary dual tactics of combining armed repression with political deception." — Peking

Patriotic Front leader, Robert Mugabe, in recent speeches has exposed the role of the two superpowers that add to the difficulties and complexities of the liberation struggles. What demands our attention in this situation, is the stepped up infiltration and interference of the USSR social imperialists, as they attempt to elbow out US imperialism to replace them as the new overlords in Southern Africa.

"14 years ago, Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out: 'The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people.' This brilliant prediction by Chairman Mao will certainly come true, and the just struggle of the African people will surely triumph in the end! This is the inevitable trend of historical development, WHICH NO FORCE ON EARTH CAN STOP."

— Peking (Our emphasis)

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## Editorial

(Continued from page 2)

imperialism principally because WE ARE IN THE US! And as the Australian Comrades have pointed out, paraphrasing Mao Tse Tung, STRUGGLE IN ONE'S OWN COUNTRY IS ALWAYS DECISIVE!

Finally RCL added to the POU "The main task of US people is to fight against US imperialism, as part of the United Front against the Superpowers throughout the world". This had to be said, otherwise WVO was in effect liquidating the struggle against both superpowers!

RCL should have stopped struggling with them over the method sooner and conceded the point on the US bourgeoisie so WVO couldn't have used the US bourgeoisie to cloud the fact of their hegemonistic bourgeois method! Still it is obvious to many genuine forces in the ALSC that WVO was twice exposed. As one worker stated, to WVO, "You all got the numbers, if you don't want real line struggle, I could go on out and eat a twinkie — cause I know how you gonna vote... I thought the question was real line struggle."

### A MEETING WITH WVO

Recently RCL asked for a meeting with leading Comrades of WVO to put certain questions to them, to make certain we understood clearly some of the things we had heard them say or were attributed to them by other Marxist-Leninist sources.

The first three or four questions concerned the erroneous lines that WVO had put out in the past. We wanted to know did they actually make full repudiation of these lines or did they still hold them or what? In the main WVO still held that it was correct the way it put forward United Front from Above and Unite To Expose. And far from repudiating their liaison in the IWWD '75 with the "CPUSA" they congratulated themselves on it saying it was the only correct thing to do. (The year RCL, PRRWO, RWL, BWC and OL held a separate and successful though small IWWD demonstration.)

As for the '76 IWWD coalition they took no responsibility for its initial composition, and attributed the ultra left lines that came up shortly after to PRRWO. We struggled over the international question, and WVO said that actually, its line on "Two contending Trends" means they don't know what the main trend is, not, as one of their leading cadre said at an ALSC meeting,

that there was no principal trend — out and out idealism.

But the main topic of the discussion was what was behind the RYL's (Revolutionary Youth League's — WVO youth organization) continuing statements "WVO is the Party", and WVO's continued statements on "Settled Question", and "WVO is the foundation of the genuine Marxist-Leninist Communist Party". They said flat out, that they upheld these statements, and what's more that they would be calling a party congress in the near future!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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# SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE AFRO-AMER

(Continued from page 1)

1) October League's (formed in 1971) position - "While supporting the rights of the Black Nation to Self-determination we, at this time, oppose secession."  
 (For Working Class Unity and Black Liberation, OL, 1973);  
 2) Revolutionary "Communist" Party (formed in 1969 as R.U.) position of "Nation of a New Type" is very much so related to the CPUSA's line of liquidating the national question. At the same time, RCP, declares they uphold the right of self-determination they denounce the black nation's right to secession;  
 3) The Guardian; and 4) The Revolutionary Workers League (which was formed in 1973) have the same similar right opportunist anti-communist positions as the traitorous revisionist CPUSA.

Harry Haywood's analysis of the "CP" USA's line on the Afro-American National Question sums up very well why these other so-called communist organizations uphold similar opportunist and white chauvinist positions. Haywood states: "Thus, in the name of the general class struggle it denied the special character of the Negro question, regarding the fight for special demands of the Negro people as devious and tending to distract the workers from the struggle for socialism."  
 (For A Revolutionary Position On The Negro Question.p.1)

The turn to revisionism by all of these recently formed organizations named above can be attributed in part to their anti-Marxist-Leninist positions on the BNQ. Unity among the multi-national working class has not been sufficiently moved forward by these incorrect lines on the BNQ because the fight against the major obstacle to working class unity (white chauvinism) proceeds from a correct position on the BNQ.

## THE BLACK NATION

Black People in the United States are at once an oppressed nation, whose land base is the Black Belt South, and at the same time live as an oppressed nationality in the other areas of the U.S. state in which they are found. Though in these other areas, which can be abstracted to about 26 major cities with populations over 100,000, they are redeposited in ghetto versions of the Black Belt, thereby reinforcing or extending the national character of their lives, even spread throughout this land. And though the cry in these spread out areas of the United States is democratic rights, equal rights, Blacks are in many cases grown to such substantial plurality, and even in some cases majority, that the struggle for equal rights and democratic rights to be meaningful often is a struggle for political "control" of institutions, communities, or whole cities. For this reason we are anti the bogus line of imperialist assimilation, or "integration", pushed by the bourgeoisie because these are used to oppose the democratic rights and political "control" of black people and often involve cultural aggression as well. (This must not be confused with voluntary union of the working class, which we support.) But even as part of the multi-national working class blacks must demand "control" of those areas where they are in the

majority as a means of obtaining democracy and equal rights.

By nation, we mean, according to Josef Stalin's definition, "a historically constituted stable community of people formed on the basis of a common language territory, economic life, and psychological makeup manifested in a common culture." (1) Such a nation exists, as it has since the end of the Reconstruction period following the Civil War, in "the whole lower South", (2) (But basically a territory stretching as far North as Dela-



Martin Luther King represented the national black bourgeoisie in the civil rights movement.

ware and as far Southwest as Texas) in a broad sweeping crescent some "1600 miles long and 300 miles deep", (3) the historically evolved territory of the Black Nation is the old agrarian Black Belt plus the "border" areas surrounding it that give the Nation its total economic and geographical character. Though Harry Haywood has said, "It has become abundantly clear from the population shifts that have taken place that we cannot restrict the territorial basis of the Negro nation to the agrarian Black Belt region. We cannot now determine the question of specific national boundaries. This will be determined at the appropriate time, and on the basis of the interests of the formerly oppressed people" (4). The data show precisely the area we mean. The Black Belt has also been called the cotton belt, because it was here that the great majority of the United States cotton crop was grown. It could also be called the sugar cane, rice, tobacco, indigo and sugar belt as well, and the slaves were concentrated according to where the crops were. It is in these areas that the historically constituted stable community of people were and are located, from the time Africans were new to this land, from many different parts of Africa through slavery, reconstruction, developing into an Afro-American Nation into the twentieth century, even up to present day. And throughout the United States Black peoples' common condition as doubly exploited (nationally oppressed and economically exploited) and those elements we mentioned previously help maintain their national character wherever they are in the United States.

Some people, anxious to liquidate the National Question have said that because blacks speak English, even the blacks in the Black Belt Nation, that this somehow diminishes that as their national language, but this is nonsense. Americans still exist even though the English speak English, and throughout the West Indies English is spoken, certainly no one is asking that we liquidate national entities because they speak the language of their imperialist oppressors! (See p.19 Marxism & The National-Colonial Question, J. Stalin).

The common territory has been pointed out, and as far as common economic life, it is the existence of classes within the Black Nation (5) in the black belt, and in the commonality of economic conditions of the other blacks as an oppressed nationality throughout the United States, that indicate our national economic character. And even those dispersed from the territorial delimitation of the nation share all of the oppressive exploitative effects of imperialist domination, though inside the national territory itself conditions of life are the worst of any section in the United States landmass. Afro-Americans are exploited commonly as wage-salary workers, (See p.19, para. 2, Marxism and The National-Colonial Question) but there is as well a national black market organized since the reconstruction which gave rise to the earliest elements of a black national bourgeoisie. (This contradicts the "ALSC-Johnson-Alkalimat" position that our common economic life has "more to do with our exploitation as wage-salary workers rather than a national market organized by the black bourgeoisie". This trend of thinking wants to talk - to a certain extent - of class struggle in the black nation, and about a black bourgeoisie, etc, but does not want to see that this bourgeoisie was formed with the formation of the black nation before the turn of the century.)

The commonality of black culture is obvious, whether in the black belt national territory or in the huge Northern, Midwestern and Western ghettos. The "ALSC-Johnson-Alkalimat" assertion that Afro-American culture was "based on our creative response to our condition but mostly organized; controlled and defined by our oppressors (e.g., black radio stations)", is to make culture simply singing and dancing, rather than the totality of black lives, how they live, caused at base by the economic and political character of their productive forces and their relationship to them. Someone could think black culture could be limited to something one heard on the radio, only if a soul station was the only relationship one had to the organic living culture of the black masses.

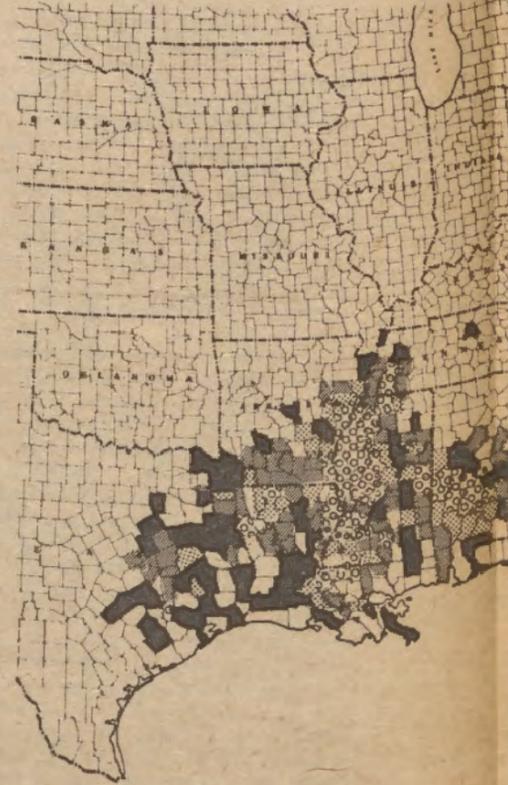
Two arguments that some forces give for liquidating the national question are first that blacks are "dispersed" from out of the black belt south (the so-called Revolutionary "Communist Party", formerly R.U., puts out this bankrupt line as part of their revisionist formulation that black people in the U.S. are "a nation of a new type", i.e., everywhere they are and that self-determination is no longer the main demand in the black belt south. This is out right chauvinism, completely liquidates the Afro American National Question.) Our research data disprove this opportunistic assertion completely. Since 1940, black

people have left the South at the rate of one and one half million per 10 years, which is a total of 4 1/2 million in the last thirty years. But in this same period, there has been an actual INCREASE of blacks in the South by over 3,000,000! And even though there has apparently been a decrease of blacks in proportion to whites in the South, 53% of the black population still lives in the South or about 12,000,000 people 10,000,000 in the black belt and its border regions. A population in the black belt alone larger than the population of 34 nations in the UN!

The map also shows how scattered in actuality the blacks outside the Southern concentration are, located in the 26 large ghetto cities, but also at this moment over 70% of the total black population in the United States were born in the South! And most of the rest, almost certain, have ties in the South.

The other main argument, this one the favorite of revisionists, is that by now (Lovestoneites talked this same argument in the late 20's), black people have been assimilated into this United States Nation completely by "the development of the productive forces." Even though the Comintern position in 1928 and the Communist

Party USA's position in 1930 spoke bluntly against the assimilationist bourgeois integrationists' hypothesis, but as the party became revisionist the same bourgeois assi-



Black people in the United States are at once the Black Belt South (shown in map above) nationality, in the other areas of the U.S. state

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# PRE CIVIL WAR REVOLUTIONARY BLACK NATIONALISM

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

PART 13

An example of the defeats suffered by the black zionists during the period under consideration can be found in the proceedings of the Emigration Convention, held in Cleveland, Ohio, August 24-26, 1854. We have previously made reference to the speech made by the black zionist, H. Ford Douglass, at this convention. It was revolutionary nationalism which won the day at the Convention as the following excerpts from the Platform: Or Declaration of Sentiments of the Cleveland Convention demonstrate:

"Whereas, for years the Colored People of the United States have been looking, hoping and waiting in expectation of realizing the blessings of Civil Liberty; and Whereas, during this long, tedious and anxious period, they have been depending upon their white fellow-countrymen to effect for them this desirable end but instead of which they have met with disappointment, discouragement and degradation; and Whereas, no people can ever attain to the elevated position of freemen, who are totally or partially ignorant of the constituent elements of Political Liberty; and

"Whereas, in the multitude of of Conventions heretofore held by our fathers and contemporaries among the colored people of the U.S. no such principles as a basis have ever been adduced or demonstrated to us as a guide for action; and

"Whereas, no people can maintain their freedom without an interested motive and a union of sentiment, as a rule of action and nucleus to hold them together; and

"Whereas, all of the Conventions heretofore held by the whites in this country, of whatever political pretensions—whether Democrat, Whig or Free Democracy—all have thrown themselves upon the declaration: 'To sustain the Constitution as our forefathers understood it, and the Union as they formed it,' all of which plainly and boldly imply, unrestricted liberty to the whites and the right to hold the blacks in slavery and degradation.

"Therefore, as the Declaration of Sentiments and Platform of the Convention, be it — "Resolved,

"1. That we acknowledge the natural equality of the Human Race,  
"2. That man is by nature free, and cannot be enslaved, except by injustice and oppression.

"3. That the right to breathe the Air and use the Soil on which the Creator has placed us, is co-inherent with the birth of man, and coeval with his existence; consequently, whatever interferes with this sacred inheritance, is the joint ally of Slavery, and at war against the just decree of Heaven. Hence, man cannot be independent without possessing the land on which he resides.

"4. That whatever interferes with the natural rights of man, should meet from him with adequate resistance.

"5. That, under no circumstances, let the consequences be as they may, will we ever submit to enslavement, let the power that attempts it, emanate from whatever source it will.

"6. That no man can have political liberty without the sovereign right to exercise a freeman's will.

"7. That no individual is politically free who is deprived of the right of self representation...

"11. That a people who are liable, under any pretext or circumstances whatever, to enslavement by the laws of a country, cannot be free in that country, because the rights of a freeman necessarily are sacred and inviolable...

"14. That the political distinctions in many of the States, made by the whites, and accepted of by the colored people, comprise, in many instances, our greatest social curses, and tend more than anything else to divide our interests and make us indifferent to each other's welfare.



"15. That we pledge our integrity to use all honorable means, to unite us, as one people, on this continent...

"17. That the Act of Congress of 1850, known as the Fugitive Bill, we declare to be a general law, tending to the virtual enslavement of every colored person in the U.S.; and consequently we abhor its existence, dispute its authority, refuse submission to its provisions and hold it in a state of the most contemptuous abrogation.

"18. That, as a people, we will never be satisfied nor contented until we occupy a position where we are acknowledged a necessary constituent in the ruling element of the country in which we live.

"19. That no oppressed people have ever obtained their rights by voluntary acts of generosity on the part of their oppressors.

"20. That it is futile hope on our part to expect such good results through the agency of moral goodness on the part of our white American oppressors.

(To be continued)

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LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN MAO

It is through him that we all are what we are; and it is through his theoretical and practical work that the movement is what it is today; without him we would still be plunged into confusion.

A GREAT VICTORY (Continued from page 1)

letariat, oppressed nations and people in the contemporary era. All revolutionaries must understand that the best way to com-merate Chairman Mao is to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and use it as a guide to revolutionary action. In the US we must study the works of Chairman Mao consistently and remember his

teaching: "Chairman Mao always urged us to proceed from actual conditions, acquire as much material as possible and, guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, draw from the facts the laws governing them to serve as our guide to action." (Peking Review, Nos. 37-38, 1977)

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# NO ECONOMIC RECOVERY UNDER CAPITALISM!!

## STRIKE STRUGGLE (Cont.)

and other oppressed people in the US, as the capitalist class attacks the living standards & rights of the workers in a thousand different ways, at the factories & in the communities, from the cancer of imperialist inflation to cut backs in health benefits. We must agree we have a common enemy, but the question is how do we wage a united struggle to defend the true interests of working class & all oppressed people against these vicious attacks!

The US continues to go deeper and deeper into the death grip of the imperialist economic crisis and day by day it becomes evident to more and more people that there is no economic recovery under capitalism! The imperialist crisis, a general crisis that grips the capitalist system worldwide, is getting worse and worse and the catastrophe is still to come. Especially, US imperialism, the superpower imperialist on the decline, based on bloody defeats in the 3rd world, with its markets constantly shrinking, the bourgeoisie must change its tactics in ruling the masses in the US. No matter what lies the Carter administration & its public relations machines puts out to the people, the death rattle of the capitalist system actually poisons every aspect of life for the multinational working class and oppressed nationalities in the US. The US is suffering its worst economic upheaval since the Great Depression & WW2, and the present economic crisis promises to be the worst yet, as the capitalists shift the brunt and burden of the imperialist economic and political and military crisis onto the backs of the great masses of people in the US. And with the rising strike struggles & revolt of the working class in reaction to the massive layoffs, financial crises and budget cuts, the cutbacks in vital services, the education crisis, the health crisis, and more, we witness the fact that the contradiction between the proletariat (the propertyless wage earners) and the bourgeoisie (the capitalist class) in the US becomes sharper and sharper!

Despite the liberal rhetoric and bogus lies of the Carter administration about economic recovery, the periodic economic crises in the US that used to come every 8-10 years or so have quickened to once every 3 to 4 years like the spasms of some beast dying. This shortening of the interval between capitalist economic crises is a continuing phenomenon and it is a further sign that the world capitalist system of wage slavery and national oppression is drawing nearer and nearer to its doom. In fact, as the crisis deepens the workers' rebellion against the capitalist class is visibly growing, as hundreds of thousands of workers, (black, Latin, Asian & white) are marching in the streets on picket lines and in demonstrations against the move of the capitalist class to intensify its exploitation and oppression of the working class in order to squeeze MAXIMUM PROFITS from the blood and sweat of the working class and oppressed nationalities! In many cases the workers, like the miners are in open rebellion to both the bosses and the trade union bureaucracy because they have begun to

sum up their own experience with the bosses and their henchmen and see that the trade union bureaucracy is the agent of the capitalist class INSIDE the workers' movement.

The workers' struggles against the capitalist class have always been slandered by the bourgeois press, and in times of crisis such as this period, the attacks intensify. "The bourgeoisie does not admit that the people make history but they spend a good deal of their time in trying to keep the people from making history. To elaborate: the whole purpose of the propaganda machine of the capitalist class is to divide the people, reduce their confidence in their capacity to organize, to misinform the people, create confusion with lies and half truths. This is the central task of the capitalist press." (Australian Communist, No. 81, page 57)

But the workers' rebellion continues to develop as the class tempers itself in the struggle against the capitalist attacks. In the class struggle the working class forges its own weapons against the enemy, and it is precisely in close connection with the class struggle, that Marx and Engels discovered Marxism. Today Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has further developed as the science of revolution.

This mighty weapon is a beacon for oppressed people all over the world, struggling to find a way out of the imperialist crisis, trying to throw off the yoke of exploitation & oppression. Our rebellion must be guided by a scientific understanding of how this capitalist system of exploitation arose, why it is doomed and exactly how we can take it off the planet.

It is absolutely necessary to expose the essence of capitalism, discovered by Karl Marx, which the capitalists constantly strive to keep hidden from the working class. "This was done by the discovery of SURPLUS VALUE. It has shown that the appropriation of unpaid labor is the basic form of the capitalist mode of production and of the exploitation of the worker effected by it; that even if the capitalist buys the labor-power of his worker at the full value it possesses as a commodity on the market, he still extracts more value from it than he paid for; and that in the last analysis this surplus-value forms these sums of value from which there is heaped up the constantly increasing mass of capital in the hands of the possessing classes" (F. Engels, SOCIALISM: UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC, p.73)

As Marx explained it, "...two very different kinds of commodity-possessors must come face-to-face and into contact; on the one hand, the owners of money, means of production, means of subsistence, who are eager to increase the sum of values they possess, by buying other people's labor-power; on the other hand, free laborers, the sellers of their own labor-power..." (Karl Marx, CAPITAL, Vol.1)

Once we understand exactly who our enemies are, and that the true source of the strength and wealth of the capitalist class is the savage exploitation and oppression of the working class, then we can begin to solve our problems. Once we understand that we are waging a class struggle, the working class and all its allies against, the bourgeoisie, and not limiting it to each local shop against each individual factory owner, then we understand that the economic struggle, our economic demands are just, but they are clearly not enough to win our liberation from capitalism.

The role of revolutionary communists in the working class struggle is to provide political leadership and defend the true interests of the working class by promoting the working class struggle.

We must promote the working class struggle by developing the class consciousness of the working class, the consciousness that the only way to defend the interests of the working class is in the class struggle against the capitalist class, that in this political struggle our interests are identical, and we must wage socialist revolution against the capitalist class.

No ruling class has ever stepped down from the stage of history voluntarily; the capitalist class is no exception to this lesson of history!

Rockefeller and Morgan will not wake up one morning and give up all their power and wealth; it will take armed struggle, with the working class leading the great masses of the people in the US to smash the capitalist state. Chairman Mao Tsetung summed up this lesson of history brilliantly when he said, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." (PROBLEMS OF WAR AND STRATEGY)

In a word, "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally..." (Ibid.)

And this is true in our struggle right here in the US, whether it is the bosses ordering the police to attack the workers on the picket lines, like the woman auto worker shot by the po-

lice, the same class enemy orders the police to "shoot to kill and bust heads" during the rebellions in Chicago and New York, or 10 years ago the bourgeoisie had to order 4700 federal paratroopers and the 82nd airborne to put down the revolt in Detroit, Mich. The many, many spontaneous struggles of the masses against capitalism, make the question of how to throw off the yoke of capitalist and national oppression a mass question.

"The fundamental question of all revolutions is the question of state power." (Long Live Leninism, CPC) And the fundamental question of the socialist revolution in the US is the dictatorship of the proletariat. This dictatorship of the proletariat is established by smashing the bourgeois state machinery (the army, police, courts, jails, parliament, etc.) It establishes proletarian democracy for the great masses of the people and a dictatorship over the small handful of the population that constitutes the bourgeoisie.

In the face of the growing crisis in the US, the sharpening of the fundamental contradictions of imperialism, revolutionary political leadership in the form of a Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party is urgently needed. The heroic rebellions of the workers and oppressed nationalities that we see cannot be sustained for long without Marxist-Leninist leadership. Especially, as the workers are rejecting the leadership of the labor aristocrats and bureaucrats, they are demanding revolutionary leadership in the class struggle, leadership in the struggle to defend the vital interests of the working class that are being attacked more and more by the capitalists every day!

The massive rebellions and rising strike wave that is growing from coast to coast in the US is only the dress rehearsal for the revolutionary battles to come because until Marxist-Leninists unite and bring communism into the actual class

Marxist-Leninists unite and bring communism into the actual class struggle of the proletariat, the working class will be left like

working class will be left like a ship without a compass. A Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the U.S. will be the biggest step toward the fusion of the anti-revisionist communist movement in the U.S. and the U.S. workers' movement. Once the proletariat in the U.S. is armed by its revolutionary party with the science of revolution, the working class will find its way on the correct road to revolution and accomplish its part of the world historic mission, as the grave-diggers of capitalism and the bearers of the new socialist and communist society!

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# EDITORIAL

WILL WVO SURVIVE ITS SERIOUS ERRORS OR CONTINUE HEADLONG TOWARD THE SWAMP?

In the last issue of our paper we criticized WVO (Workers' Viewpoint Organization) variously, beginning with their now notoriously sham party building motion, e.g., "The Party Is A Settled Question!", "WVO Is The Party", "WVO Is The basis for the New Communist Party!", and other unpopular songs. Pure romance! Subjectivism!

Comrades, why do you persist in this fantasy? The clutching hands of sinking opportunists disappearing horribly in the swamp confronts us on all sides. The superpowers frantically preparing for war and the U.S. bourgeoisie stepping up its repression of the masses. (including the framing of revolutionaries and undermining and creating chaos in revolutionary organizations) - these confront us also.

The disunity and fragmentation of Marxist-Leninists and low state of fusion between the anti-revisionist Communist movement and the spontaneous workers' movement makes it even clearer that Party Building is the central task of all revolutionaries in the U.S. But merely proclaiming this in the absence of the necessary reality is foolishness -- initiated and tolerated primarily by the petty bourgeoisie. Dangerous foolishness in the face of the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie and their frantic war preparations with the other superpower, the USSR.

The frantic petty bourgeoisie with their small group mentality, sectarianism, ultra "Left" and Right deviations, all stemming from the idealism and subjectivism characteristic of unremolded members of that class, still dominate the anti-revisionist Communist movement in the U.S. The RU's, OL's, "Wings", & WVO's. Now they are "RCP", "CP-ML", "s", or staggering and babbling toward "US Bolshevik"-dom or arrogantly, strutting toward whatever whipped rhetorical topping WVO sets on top of their fantastic concoction they will almost certainly call a party! In an article partially quoted and partially paraphrased in the Peking Review, written by the National Committee of the Communist Federation of

Britain (M-L), it is pointed out just what barriers are stopping the formation of genuine Communist parties in the capitalists countries. "At present the few hundred Marxist-Leninists in Britain are divided into a dozen different organizations. This is an impossible position that prevents us mobilizing all positive factors". And certainly this is true in the US. They went on, "The reason is small group mentality. Chairman Mao hit the nail on the head when he wrote: 'Some people...act as though the fewer the people, the smaller the circle, the better. Those who have this "small circle" mentality resist the idea of bringing all positive factors into play, of uniting with everyone that can be united with, and of doing everything possible to turn negative factors into positive ones...'" The article lists "Rooting out the small group mentality" as the most immediate task of party building; as well as taking up the task of criticizing opportunist errors and building unity among Marxist-Leninist organizations, even to the point of building larger democratic centralist organizations moving toward the foundation of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party by starting with a desire for unity and taking the attitude Mao Tsetung had laid out of "Do more self criticism and seek common ground on major questions while reserving differences on minor ones." And this correct Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung (M-L-M) does not seek to gloss over differences of principle but to develop more skill at drawing firm and definite lines of demarcation around which to unite.

Yes, Comrades we desperately need a party. We, all U.S. revolutionaries, must commit the best part of our lives and energies to building this party. But this petty bourgeois frenzy gets us nowhere but more chaos and confusion. WVO is not alone, as we pointed out, in these errors. Some of them come from the petty bourgeois class base of the movement. In party building "Left" opportunism has arisen as the main danger, but "Left" bloc-ism also causes further Right degeneration because of the separation of the revolutionaries from the masses. (See Australian Communist, No. 74). Right opportunism is the main danger generally in the Communist and Workers movement. But the "Left" errors have dominated around party building. "Left" errors! Again, this has been caused by the petty bourgeois class base of the Anti-Revisionist Communist Movement

(ARCM) and its taking up many of the "Left" lines of the Gang of Four (GOF), uncritically, most spectacularly the Dangerous Duo (Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers' Organization and Revolutionary Workers' League, now "united" in a suicide pact known as "The Revolutionary Wing"). What's more some organizations that have left the "Wing" have since done flipflops on their lines but in many cases retain the essential "Left" opportunist essence of the "Wing's" lines, e.g. WVO or like ATM, which are more pronounced superficially Right errors. Many of these "Left" errors, like those of The GOF, cover basically Right opportunist lines. For instance "Central and Only Task" which the "Wing" put forth is translated throughout a great part of the movement as a screech that says, "Central, Only & Right Now Task!"

WVO in a brief period has laid out a great many erroneous lines on a variety of issues. We have criticized some of the most important. But there needs to be "...More Self Criticism"... instead we get "The overall most correct line" ... "Settled Question"... and hegemonistic manipulation, double talk, and gimmicks. More self criticism is needed...seek common ground on major questions, reserving differences on minor ones. Not petty bourgeois profiling or Muhammad Ali showmanship!

But what about the lines on "Unite To Expose" and "United Front From Above" without the work below, which is still to be done? What about the "Anti-Revisionist Theoretical Premises"? Have these just been eased away from? WVC was exposed when it united with the "CP"USA in the 1975 IWWD. In 1976 WVO began its IWWD coalition with the CPUSA, Trots, Lesbians, until criticized by RCL. WVO came back along with the other then members of the "Wing" as Supras and Ultras, the Duo "Left"ing itself dead in the swamp! (RCL has criticized itself for tailing OL in leaving that coalition, but we also criticized the "Wing" at the time for their sectarian deviations which set that chaos in motion.)

And WVO's involvement with the Wing has not really been summed up clearly, maybe not even objectively. There is some philistinism, we suspect, in talking about the split.

RWL and PRRWO are opportunist fragments of once genuine organizations. Some of the most reactionary "Left" lines came out of the "Wing" when WVO was a part of it, e.g., the liquidationist line on ALSC, and when they began to mechanically impose the "Left" opportunist line of the "Wing" on party building on the ALSC and tried to "purge" whole chapters that wouldn't go along or capitulate to their social-fascist methodology and backward line.

WVO was not in ALSC during this period. They were represented, they'll tell you by RWL - the notorious wreckers and splitters. RWL who one time had a line so far to the Right they sat silent at forums and didn't even talk openly of M-L-M. A line that openly opposed the existence of the Afro-American nation. And WVO united with RWL and PRRWO, talking about "Political line was Key Link". And suddenly these are the "Wing", all supras and ultras attacking and abusing in the most extreme sectarian fashion everyone in sight. What has been the rectification for this? Merely denouncing the "Wing" is no rectification. According to WVO they hardly made any errors at all, the errors were all "The Wings", i.e., PRRWO and RWL. ATM now says "There never was a Revolutionary Wing", which you bet is not exactly a Marxist-Leninist method of rectification!

We have laid out basic differences with WVO more completely internally than externally. But some differences that we did lay out were on the International question, and this remains a major area of disagreement. WVO's line of "Two Contending Trends" as opposed to Revolution Is The Main Trend In The World Today, which RCL holds, we feel is a cover for WVO's real line War Is The Main Trend. Comrades, if you actually hold War is The Main Trend come out with it, and also come out with your tactical line and program in the face of this development.

WVO liquidates the revolutionary role of the 3rd World. They play down revolution in the 3rd World as providing conditions to intensify the conflicts and antagonisms leading to revolution in the 1st and 2nd Worlds. We feel that WVO may even be trying to slide away from Chairman Mao's correct international analysis of the 3 Worlds, a mighty weapon of the proletariat-

(Continued on page 2)



Recently, there has arisen controversy about whether or not the utilization of the contradictions between the imperialists is a Leninist line. This paragraph by Lenin, shows clearly that V.I. Lenin was rooted in dialectical and historical materialism and he knew that revolution is not a straight line.

"It will readily be understood why these outcries give me pleasure. The fact that a cry of alarm has gone up from the rank and file about the possibility of the old capitalists returning, and that this cry has gone up in connection with an act of such tenth-rate significance as the decree on concessions, shows that there is a very keen consciousness of the danger of capitalism and the great danger of the struggle against it. That is excellent, of course, and it is all the more excellent because, as

I have already said, alarm is being voiced by the rank and file.

From the political point of view, the fundamental thing in the question of concessions--and here there are both political and economic considerations--is a rule we have not only assimilated in theory, but have also applied in practice, a rule which will remain fundamental with us for a long time until socialism finally triumphs all over the world: we must take advantage of the antagonisms and the contradictions that exist between the two imperialisms, the two groups of capitalist states, and play them off again against each other. Until we have conquered the whole world, and as long as we are economically weaker than the capitalist world, we must stick to the rule that we must be able to take advantage of the antagonism and contradictions existing among the imperialists. Had we not adhered to this rule, every one of us would have long ago been strung up by the neck, to the glee of the capitalists..."



## UNITY & STRUGGLE NEEDS SUSTAINERS AND CONTRIBUTORS!

Unity & Struggle newspaper has not been published since the October 1976 edition. 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!