



LONG LIVE MAY DAY & AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY! WORKERS & OPPRESSED NATIONS & PEOPLES, UNITE! BUILD A REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE USA BASED ON MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!



Chairman Mao Tsetung, great leader and teacher of the proletariat and oppressed people throughout the world. On May Day and ALD make the central task of party building a mass question gripping every class conscious worker in the USA!



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

MAY DAY

"Comrade workers! May Day is coming, the day when the workers of all lands celebrate their awakening to a class conscious life, their solidarity in the struggle against all coercion and oppression of man by man, the struggle to free the toiling millions from hunger, poverty and humiliation. Two worlds stand facing each other in this great struggle: the world of capital and the world of labor, the world of exploitation and slavery and the world of brotherhood and freedom.

"On one side stand the handful of rich blood-suckers. They have seized the factories and mills, the tools and machinery, have turned millions of acres of land and mountains of money into their private property. They have made the government and army their servants, faithful watchdogs of the wealth they have amassed.

"On the other side stand the millions of the disinherited. They are forced to beg the moneybags for permission to work for them. By their labor they create all the wealth; yet all their lives long they have to struggle for a crust of bread, beg for work as for charity, sap their strength and health by backbreaking toil, and starve in hovels in the villages or in the cellars and garrets of the big cities."

These are the words of Comrade Lenin, the great leader and teacher of the working class, written in 1904, and still they ring true today. May Day is International Workers Day, the day workers of all nationalities celebrate the struggles of the working class to fulfill its historic mission to abolish exploitation and oppression and to free humanity.

It was at the 2nd Congress of the 2nd International in 1889 that May 1st was designated as International Workers (Continued on page 12)

R C L'S POSITION ON PARTY BUILDING

Part 2

Periods and Stages

RCL holds that there are three basic periods in the life of the party, and Stalin, in summing up the history of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik), pointed these basic periods out very clearly. "a) the period of the formation of the vanguard (i.e., the party) of the proletariat, the period of mustering the party's cadres (in this period the party was weak; it had a program and general principles of tactics, but as a party of mass action it was weak. b) the period of revolutionary mass struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party. In this period the party was transformed from an organization for mass agitation into an organization for mass action; the period of preparation was superseded by the period of revolutionary action. c) the period after taking power, after the

Communist Party had become the government party." (Stalin Strategy & Tactics, pg. 29-30)

Generally we view a period as an interval of time marked by the coming in and going out of an objective process. Stages are determined by the development of a process. By there be- (Continued on page 6)

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AFRIKAN LIBERATION DAY STORY ON PAGE 2

African Liberation Day
May 28, 1977

ALD MAY 28: OPPOSE BOTH SUPERPOWERS

"Present-day democracy will remain true to itself only if it joins neither one nor the other imperialist bourgeoisie, only if it says that the two sides are equally bad, and if it wishes the defeat of the imperialist bourgeoisie in every country. Any other decision will, in reality, be national-liberal and have nothing in common with genuine internationalism." - V.I. Lenin, "Under A False Flag."



The complicated political struggle around ALD 1977 required Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces to have a clear mind so we can lead the masses to oppose both superpowers' imperialist designs in Southern Africa and throughout the world.

The Revolutionary Communist League (MLM) sees African Liberation Day as an important time to focus on the liberation of Africa from imperialism, social imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, Zionism and all reaction. In the year 1977 it is becoming more and more important for the proletariat of the world to see and understand just what is happening in Africa.

Africa today has 46 independent countries, making up 94% of the land base and 90% of the population is in those same areas. Africa is the second largest continent in the world with a total population of over 390 million people. The African continent is rich with such natural resources as oil, gold, diamonds and precious metals and this is objectively why the superpowers, United States and the Soviet Union, are both struggling to get a foothold in Africa. First we witnessed "lying Henry the K" running around Africa with his checkbook offering money to anyone who would take it with hardly anybody taking it because everyone is wise to the "old wounded tiger" and its treacherous imperialist tricks of exploitation and oppression. What we have just recently seen is Fidel Castro and one of his bosses, N.V. Podgorny, who is the president of the Presidium of the Soviet Union, running around Africa waving the Soviet Union's checkbook. These two villains represent the main danger to the people of the world today because they are traveling around using the disguise of "socialists and believing in proletarian internationalism" and many honest forces will be deceived by them. There is no doubt in our minds just who planned these friendly "tours of friendship and cooperation"; the Social Imperialists, meaning the Soviet Union because they are socialist in words but imperialist in deeds. Witness Angola where we watched the tragic degeneration of Cuba into mercenary lackies for the Soviet Union to kill Angolans so that the Soviet Union could get the oil reserves in Cabinda, putting all of Angola's resources right at the feet of the Soviet Union who have immediately set up an "international division of labor" which really means imperialism.

Also, let's check out just what is happening in Zaire "... since the Soviet Union extended its influence into Angola, it has not only dispatched over 10,000 foreign mercenary troops to Angola but also mustered a large number of the old colonialists' remnant forces there to serve its aggressive activities. Under the command of the Soviet social-imperialists, this contingent of mercenary troops, the largest in the African continent today, has brutally suppressed the Angolan people's struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism, and repeatedly made

armed provocations and invaded Zaire. The present invasion of Zaire by mercenaries from Angola is unprecedented in scale, scope and duration. As organizer and commander of the mercenary troops in Angola, the Soviet social-imperialists cannot absolve themselves of their crime." (Peking Review #13, 1977 pg. 16)

When our Chinese comrades talk about the "storm centers of world revolution" being Asia, Africa and Latin America, they are making this determination based on their analysis that the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America constitute "the weakest link in the imperialist chain" and that therefore the key to the victorious fight against imperialism and social-imperialism is to be found in the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of those areas, which is why all Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces must support all revolutionary struggles of all countries. This is what Stalin meant when he said, "It means that support must be given to such national movements as tend to weaken, to overthrow imperialism, and not to strengthen and preserve it." **Foundations of Leninism**, pg. 74) What these things also mean is that in a sense "the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of these areas who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population." (**Statement of 10 CC Members of Ceylon Communist Party**, pg. 20).

All of these events once again point out to the world that it is imperialism and social-imperialism which represent the main obstruction to the independence and liberation of the people of Africa and the oppressed peoples all over the world. But this obstruction to liberation and independence is causing "great disorder" which is a good thing because this "great disorder" is one in which imperialism, social-imperialism and reactionaries of various countries have been thrown into confusion and this reflects an excellent situation in which countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. And while the people want and struggle to make revolution in their countries we must also be aware and watch the constant struggle between the superpowers who must continually confront each other as they try to outmaneuver each other for who will control the world. Inevitably this will lead to war and as Lenin said "Imperialism means war" and the people must get prepared or we will suffer. But in observing these two trends, we as Marxist-Leninists, must make an analysis of which is principal and which is secondary and to further lay this out clearer we quote from our Chinese comrades who say, "the danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main

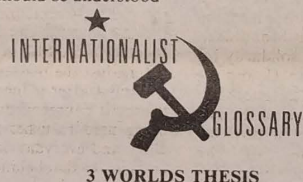
trend in the world today. The danger of a world war and revolution are the two aspects of an entity - the world situation." "The world is changing in a direction increasingly favourable to the people of all countries. This is one aspect, a principal aspect. But we must also see the other aspect - the aggressive nature of imperialism will not change. The danger of a new world war still exists. This is another trend in the development of today's world. It is dangerous if we only see the raging flames of the revolution without noticing the enemies sharpening their swords and think we can lower our vigilance because of the excellent situation." (**Study Philosophy, "Theory of Two Points,"** pg. 8) (Our emphasis).

The RCL holds that, an incorrect line on the international situation makes it totally impossible for one to have a correct line on the domestic situation. In the polemics waged by the Communist Party of China against the revisionist Togliatti, the CPC states: "The Proletariat of the capitalist countries of Europe and America, too, must stand in the forefront of those supporting the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In fact, such support simultaneously helps the cause of the emancipation of the proletariat in Europe and America. . . Therefore the proletarian parties of the metropolitan imperialist countries are duty bound to heed the voice of the revolutionary people in these regions, study their experience, respect their revolutionary feelings, and support their revolutionary struggles. . . It should be understood

that according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, without a correct stand, line and policy on the national-liberation movement and the peoples' revolutionary movement in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it will be impossible for the workers' parties in the metropolitan imperialist countries to have a correct stand, line and policy on the struggle waged by the working class and the broad masses of the people in their own countries." (from the article, "More on the differences between Comrade Togliatti and Ourselves") What this means is that the movements for proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries and the revolutionary movements in the Third World and exploited countries are inextricably linked and intertwined and share common interests and therefore cannot be separated from each other.

In order for us to understand that link up better, we must go back in history to the 1950's, after the death of Stalin, when the renegade traitor Krushchov came to power under the capitalist program of the three peacefuls: peaceful coexistence with imperialism, peaceful competition with imperialism, and peaceful transition to socialism. This revisionist program was initially pushed at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, in 1957. At the same time, a vicious slanderous attack was made upon Comrade Stalin, all in an attempt to seize power. "Being the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet Union lacked experience in consolidating this dictatorship and preventing the restoration of capitalism. In these cir-

(Continued on page 3)



The scientific thesis on the three worlds by comrade Mao Tsetung, is the result of a penetrating analysis of the international situation. By applying the scientific method of dialectical materialism, Chairman Mao summed up a wide range of data and documents in order to make a concrete class analysis of the world situation. "In this situation of 'great disorder under heaven,' all the political forces in the world have undergone drastic division and realignment through prolonged trials of strength and struggle. A large number of Asian, African and Latin American countries have achieved independence one after another and they are playing an even greater role in international affairs. As a result of the emergence of social-imperialism, the socialist camp which existed for a time after World War II is no longer in existence. Owing to the law of the uneven development of capitalism, the Western imperialist bloc, too, is disintegrating. Judging from the changes in international relations, the world today actually consists of three parts, or three worlds, that are both interconnected and in contradiction to one another. The United States and the Soviet Union make up the First World. The developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and other regions make up the Third World. The developed countries between the two make up the Second World." (Peking Review, No. 15, April 12, 1974-supplement)

Chairman Mao consistently urged and taught us "that it was imperative to unite with all forces that can be united to form the broadest united front and isolate the enemy as far as possible." (P.R. No. 5, 1977)

The Third World has risen in revolt against both superpowers and it is kie-

king the U.S. and the USSR in its behind throughout Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Meanwhile the US and the USSR are locked in rivalry for hegemony over the globe, US imperialism is clearly on the decline internally and abroad, while the USSR is the most dangerous source of war and the most aggressive, because it is the latecomer at the imperialist feast!

The Third World constitutes a revolutionary motive force propelling forward the wheel of history and it is the main force combating colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism in the world.

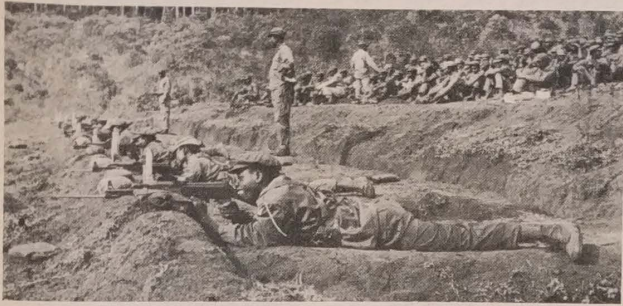
The Second World, the developed countries between the superpowers and the third world, exploit the third world through colonial or neocolonial relations, but at the same time they are themselves, in varying degrees controlled, threatened or bullied by one superpower or the other. And some of them have been reduced to dependency by the superpowers, especially the one under the signboard of "socialism". Strategically, Europe is the focus of the contention between the two superpowers, while their contention extends over the entire globe.

"We should unite with the third world (comprising about 80 percent of the world's population) which constitutes the principal force in the struggle against the two superpowers." (Taken from l'Humanite Rouge, as quoted in Peking Review No 5, 1977)

"For the Marxist-Leninists Communists of France, as for their Chinese comrades and comrades in many other countries, the article said, the concept of the three worlds is the point of departure in working out their proletarian revolutionary strategy and tactics adapted to the world today." (Ibid., p.30)

MOTION!!

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



"So long as the patriotic forces of Zimbabwe unite and persevere in armed struggle, rely on the armed people, combat all interference in their internal affairs and keep the initiative in their own hands, victory will belong to them." — **Ikwezi**

**Soviet Mercenaries' Invasion of Zaire
Condemned**

The Soviet mercenaries' invasion of Zaire has further exposed the social-imperialists' features as aggressors and expansionists. The leaders of some African countries wrote to President Mobutu or issued statements voicing solidarity and support for Zaire in counterattacking the aggression in defense of its territorial integrity. They stressed that African countries should strengthen their unity and defend the independence and liberation cause of Africa.

Referring to the invasion of Zaire's Shaba Region, Seewoosagar Ramgoolam, current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity and Prime Minister of Mauritius, on March 29 sent a letter to President Mobutu expressing full support and solidarity for Zaire on behalf of the O.A.U. and the Mauritian Government. The letter said: "The news of the violation of the territorial integrity of Zaire, a fraternal country and member of the Organization of African Unity, has aroused indignation not only among the member states of the O.A.U. but also among all the people who cherish peace and freedom." — **Peking Review**

CASTRO'S MOSCOW VISIT

Co-ordinated Soviet-Cuban Action in Southern Africa

President Fidel Castro of the State Council of Cuba paid an "unofficial visit" to Moscow from April 4 to 8 after his recent tour of Algeria, Angola, Tanzania, Mozambique and Democratic Yemen, Somalia and Ethiopia in the Red Sea region. This timing and background of his Moscow visit have attracted people's attention.

In its April 5 commentary AFP said: "There was no doubt that the two African tours (by Podgorny and Castro) were the result of joint planning between Moscow and Havana, just as Cuba's decisive 1975 intervention in Angola was prepared by the Kremlin." It also pointed out that the Moscow talks were "probably aimed at coordinating Soviet-Cuban action in southern Africa" and "probably with regard to the horn of Africa." — **Peking Review**

ASSATA SHAKUR

The recent sentencing of Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) to life, plus 33 years in an all men's state prison was the last of a whole series of acts of racist violent repression against this revolutionary black fighter. The county prosecutor openly called Shakur "an animal" in the court and the all-white jury was a willing part of the bourgeois state repression aimed at the black liberation movement generally, and particularly Shakur. But Assata Shakur's case must be looked at very closely, because it signifies a higher level of bourgeois terror against the revolutionary movement in the U.S., the

quicken of the bourgeoisie's move to the right. The bourgeoisie's use of terror against the people and their revolutionary movement intensifies day by day, as U.S. imperialism is shifting more and more of the brunt and burden of the economic, political, military, & social crisis onto the backs of the working class, oppressed nationalities and the working masses in general. The bourgeoisie knows that the rebellions in the 60's, as Rap Brown foretold, were just a dress rehearsal for the revolution to come. The bourgeoisie knows that the working class & oppressed nationalities will not take the brunt of the economic crisis passively, so the bourgeois state has refined a whole arsenal of deadly means of devastating and destroying the openly revolutionary elements among the masses. Cointelpro, was a means in the 60's, but the capitalists are putting together more filth in its arsenal of terror against the masses.

Jimmy Carter is the smiling swastika, the latest bourgeois diversionary tactic, being used to usher in fascism in the U.S., and everyday we can get clearer and clearer that behind Carter's smile is the stinking breath of fascism! Some people have been misled, have been tricked by the so-called liberalism of the Democrats, but we must get our minds clear that Carter is just another example of the dual tactics of the bourgeoisie aimed against the great masses of the people. So while we get the very empty cosmetic noises of "progress" & "liberalism" & promise you this and promise you that, in the meantime, on the real side, we are getting the most ruthless terrorist blows against the people. This is what Carter represents, and the bourgeoisie uses lieutenants like Carter precisely as the opium against the masses, because the masses would not sit still long enough under the rule of a Gerald Ford, but the bourgeoisie is banking on diverting our attention from the revolutionary tasks that face us in smashing this evil system, by putting Carter out there with a Howdy Doody smile. These are the bourgeoisie's standard counterrevolutionary dual tactics which they aim against the people, the carrot & the stick, deception & terror, and we must all get a clear mind on the kind of political struggle & organization it will take to end this oppression.

Genuine Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces will not be diverted from our central revolutionary task in the U.S. today, which is the building of a Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party based on the science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. And we understand that central task involves and shapes all the other revolutionary tasks of the day. We support Assata Shakur in her struggle against bourgeois state repression, that is three-fold in her case, as the bourgeoisie oppresses & represses her because she is one of the working masses, an Afro-American patriot

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African Liberation Day

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circumstances and after Stalin's death, Krushchov, a capitalist-roader in power hiding in the Soviet Communist Party, came out with a surprise attack in his 'secret report' viciously slandering Stalin and by every kind of treacherous maneuver usurped Party and government power in the Soviet Union. This was a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat which turned the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and which overthrew socialism and restored capitalism." (**Leninism or Social Imperialism**, pg. 13-14).

Krushchov's program of the three peacefuls was an act of siding with enemies and opposing friends - siding with imperialism against the national liberation movements (for example we all remember the traitorous Krushchov voting along with the USA in the UN to send in Belgian troops to kill the great revolutionary Patrice Lumumba in the Congo), siding with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat and siding with imperialists against the socialist camp which had been built up under the glorious leadership of the Soviet Union during Stalin's time.

He immediately began to try to split and sidetrack the Marxist-Leninist parties that were in the socialist camp at the time by liquidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and under the guise of "creative Marxism" he tried to replace class struggle with class conciliation and tried to impose revisionism on all the other parties. But this was met with consistent struggle by genuine Marxist-Leninists, led by the Communist Party of China, headed by Chairman Mao Tsetung, and the Party of Labor of Albania, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. The modern revisionists were partially successful in wrecking the unity of the socialist camp and then began to travel down the logical path of collaborating with imperialism, restoring capitalism and then becoming a social-imperialist power themselves. This breakup of the socialist camp, the continued revolutionary struggles of the 3rd World, and the ascendancy of the Soviet Union as an imperialist superpower in direct contention with the USA for world domination, are the continuation which characterized the world by the end of the 1960's.

But the continued development of the revolutionary movements of the peoples of the 3rd World also proved that revolution was an irresistible trend that could not be stopped, even by revisionist betrayals. Taking all this into consideration, Chairman Mao summed up these developments, and came forth with the scientific formulation of **three worlds**. The RCL takes the position that this was and still is the correct Marxist-Leninist analysis of the balance of class forces in the world today. "The Soviet revisionist clique came to power in the Soviet Union and turned that country into social-imperialism with the result that the socialist camp which had existed for a time was no longer in existence. Present international relations show that the world today actually consists of three parts, or three worlds that are both interconnected and in contradiction to one another. The two superpowers make up the First World. In between the superpowers and the developing countries, the developed countries make up the Second World. The developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions make up the Third World." ("Great Motive Force in Advancing World History", **Peking Review #44**, 1974) And further, examining the relations of the Three Worlds to each other, "The vast number of Third World countries now constitutes the main force in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, particularly the superpowers. There are conflicts of basic interest and extremely acute contradictions between them and the superpowers. The situation in the Second World in between the two is a complicated one. Some countries in it

still retain in one form or another colonialist relations with Third World countries. At the same time all the Second World countries controlled, threatened, or bullied in varying degrees by one superpower or the other, also are inclined to oppose superpower hegemonism." (*Ibid.*) The RCL also holds that this correct analysis is the basis for the strategy of the United Front against the superpowers, uniting the majority of the people in the world.

In studying this important analysis we can also see the example of applying the method of seeing the general and the particular in a dialectical way. In summing up the international situation, Chairman Mao also summed up the historical development of the People's Republic of China. Comrade Chou En Lai stated, "The Third World is the main force in combating colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism. China is a developing socialist country belonging to the Third World." (Chou En Lai, **Report on the Work of the Government, Fourth National People's Congress of the PRC**, Jan. 1975).

Genuine communists and advanced forces must uphold the concept of the three worlds and the correct strategy of the United Front against the superpowers. And as the Chinese comrades pointed out, "The practice of struggle by the people of the world in the past year provided added proof that the concept about the actual existence of three worlds fully conforms to reality and the scientific analysis of classes." (**Peking Review #1**, Jan. 1976)

Right Opportunism in ALSC

At the last Steering Committee meeting of the African Liberation Support Committee, which was held in Washington, D.C., the Revolutionary Workers Congress (RWC) objectively forced a split in the ranks of the organizations which were working in ALSC, by endorsing a demonstration that was being put on by the "Revolutionary Communist Party" ("RCP"). This was brought out clearly in the open when the "RCP" listed the names of RWC and ALSC chapters which are controlled by RWC, on a leaflet asking people to come to Washington, D.C. and support African Liberation Day by marching on the White House. This demonstration is scheduled for the same day and time (May 28, 1977) as the ALSC's demonstration and rally, so how did RWC plan to participate in both? The fact of the matter is that RWC had originally planned all along to have ALSC participate in the "RCP" demonstration under their leadership ("RCP") and when RWC's plan was disrupted by the other organizations within ALSC on the Steering Committee, who voted not to form a coalition of other so-called "progressive organizations," then RWC had no choice but to follow their true opportunistic style and force the split.

To lay out briefly what has happened, is that up until recently, the RWC has had a "majority bloc" on the Steering Committee (SC) and whenever a vote came about they were able to win the vote based on the "majority bloc" and them also controlling the most chapters. Recently the Workers Viewpoint Organization, Revolutionary Communist League (M-L-M), and other progressive forces within ALSC brought the two-line struggle to a climax in the April 2nd SC meeting which was held in Newark, N.J., in which they reversed all of the previous SC decisions, specifically the "coalition" thrust. RWC was present at this meeting and even though they voted against the final decisions of the SC, the majority of the SC voted against the "coalition" thrust. What RWC did instead of laying out that they had already contacted people and had actually put the "coalition" thrust into motion, at the meeting they cried and moaned about "left sectarianism" and "leftism" and etc. They never once laid out the fact that they had united with the "RCP" to put on a counter demonstration to the one we were actually sitting in the meeting plan-

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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 12

ROCK'S DECLARATION ON THE NATURE OF BLACK CAPTIVITY, 1862

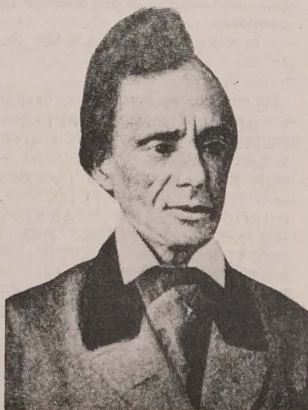
During the second year of the Civil War, Dr. John S. Rock delivered a speech at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, which exposed the fundamental roots of black captivity in America. This brilliant address speaks for itself.

"This nation is mad. In its devoted attachment to the Negro, it has run crazy after him, (laughter.) and now, having caught him, hangs on with a deadly grasp, and says to him, with more earnestness and pathos than Ruth expressed to Naomi, "Where thou goest, I will go; where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God." (laughter and applause.)

"The educated and wealthy class despise the Negro, because they have robbed him of his hard earnings, or, at least, have got rich off the fruits of his labor; and they believe if he gets his freedom, their fountain will be dried up, and they will be obliged to seek business in a new channel. Their 'occupation will be gone.' The lowest class hate him because he is poor, as they are and he is a competitor with them for the same labor. The poor ignorant whiteman, who does not understand that the interest of the laboring classes is mutual, argues in this wise: 'Here is so much labor to be performed,—that Negro does it. If he was gone, I should have his place.' The rich and the poor are both prejudiced from interest, and not because they entertain vague notions of justice and humanity."

"Our humane political philosophers are puzzled to know what would become of the slave if they were emancipated! The idea seems to prevail that the poor things would suffer, if robbed of the glorious privileges they now enjoy! If they could not be flogged, half-starved, and work to support in ease and luxury those who have never waived an opportunity to outrage and wrong them, they would pine away and die! Do you imagine that the Negro can live outside of slavery? Of course, now, they can take care of themselves and their masters too; but if you give them their liberty, must they not suffer? (Laughter and applause.) Have you never been able to see through all this? Have you not observed that the location of this organ of sympathy is in the pocket of the slaveholder and the man who shares in the profits of slave labor? Of course you have; and pity those men who have lived upon their ill-gotten wealth. You know, if they do not have somebody to work for them, they must leave their gilded salons, and take off their coats and roll up their sleeves, and take their chances among the live men of the world. This, you are aware, these respectable gentlemen will not do, for they have been so long accustomed to live by robbing and cheating the Negro, that they are sworn never to work while they can live by plunder. (applause.)"

"Many of those who advocate emancipation as a military necessity seem puzzled to know what is best to be done with the slave, if he is set at liberty. Colonization in Africa, Hayti, Florida and South America are favorite theories with many well-informed persons. This is really interesting! No wonder Europe does not sympathize with you. You are the only people, claiming to be civilized, who take away the rights of those whose color differs from your own. If you find that you cannot rob the Negro of his labor and of himself, you will banish him! What a sublime idea! You are certainly a great people! What is your plea? Why, that the slaveholders will not permit us to live among them as freemen, and that the air of Northern Latitudes is not good for us! Let me tell you my friends, the slaveholders are not the men we dread! (Hear, hear.) They do not desire to have us removed. The Northern pro-slavery men have done the free people of color ten-fold more injury



Charles Lenox Remond was a delegate to the London Anti-Slavery Conference.

than the Southern slave-holders. (Hear, hear) In the South, it is simply a question of dollars and cents. The slaveholder cares no more for you than he does for me. They enslave their own children, and sell them, and they would as soon enslave white men as black men. The secret of the slaveholder's attachment to slavery is to be found in the dollar, and that he is determined to get without working for it. There is not prejudice against color among the slaveholders. Their social system and one million of mulattoes are facts which no arguments can demolish. (Applause.)

"When the orange is squeezed, we throw it aside. (Laughter.) The black man is a good fellow while he is a slave, and toils for nothing, but the moment he claims his own flesh and blood and bones, he is a most obnoxious creature, and there is a proposition to get rid of him! He is happy while he remains a poor, degraded ignorant slave, without even the right to his own offspring. While in this condition, the master can ride in the same carriage, sleep in the same bed, and nurse from the same bosom. But give this same slave the right to use his own legs, his hands, his body and his mind, and this happy and desirable creature is instantly transformed into a miserable and loathsome wretch, fit only to be colonized somewhere near the mountains of the moon, or eternally banished from the presence of all civilized beings. You must not lose sight of the fact that it is the emancipated slave and the free colored man whom it is proposed to remove—not the slave; this country and climate are perfectly adapted to Negro slavery; it is the free black that the air is not good for! What an idea! A country good for slavery, and not good for freedom! ..."

"I do not regard this trying hour as a darkness. The war that has been waged on us for more than two centuries has opened our eyes and caused us to form alliances, so that instead of acting on the

defensive, we are now prepared to attack the enemy. This is simply a change of tactics. I think I see the finger of God in all this. Yes, there is the hand-writing on the wall: I come not to bring peace, but the sword. Break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free. I have heard the groans of my people, an am come down to deliver them! (Loud and long-continued applause.) ..."

"It is true the Government is but little more anti-slavery now than it was at the commencement of the war; but while fighting for its own existence, it has been obliged to take slavery by the throat, and sooner or later must choke her to death. (Loud applause.) ..."

BLACK REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM VS. BLACK ZIONISM

Not only did revolutionary nationalism undermine the authority and influence of the white liberal managers, but it also dealt a damaging blow to black zionism. Black zionism could only satisfy the greedy ambitions of unprincipled opportunists, who were willing to sacrifice the interests of the enslaved black masses. Revolutionary nationalism had history on its side, and it corresponded to the most vital interests of the black masses. Black zionists cried long and loud about the rape of black women, the murder and plunder of black manhood, and the barbarian, racist cruelty of the oppressor. And their charges were true. But the black zionists were willing to leave their mothers to the lust of the oppressor. They were willing to abandon the enslaved black masses in order to seek

their fortune in Africa or wherever else they hoped to find the promised land. Need we raise the question as to the true depth of their concern, or the real measure of their sincerity? Did they merely berate the crimes of the oppressor, as a buying and selling point to put gold and glory in their own pocket? Afro-American history has put a judgment upon black zionism—a judgment from which I cannot escape no matter when or where, or in what new form, it might raise its head. It may flourish for a time, but it cannot escape that judgment.

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.

To Be Continued

Editorial

(Continued from page 11)

Advanced Worker

RCL has also had struggle with LPR around the question of the make-up of the U.S. working class. RCL is still studying theoretical and statistical materials on this as well as using practical information from the work sites where we have cadre. LPR uses the term intermediate to describe the average worker. RCL has questioned this and asked them to show references. LPR was supposed to have shown us where Lenin uses "Intermediate" in describing the average worker several months ago, this hasn't been done yet. Also LPR used the term backward and lower strata interchangeably (vol. 8, No. 3-4, pg. 5) most recently. These terms do not mean the same thing. Lenin uses the word backward to describe a workers political consciousness. There can be backward in any strata, lower, average and the "better situated strata" Lower strata represents an economic strata as well as political consciousness, because of their economic situation workers from this strata are usually at a lower level of consciousness although you will find some advanced in the lower strata. Lenin further clarifies this distinction, "Even the most backward worker will understand the idea, provided of course, the agitator or propagandist is able to approach him in such a way as to communicate the idea to him, to explain it in understandable language on the basis of facts the worker knows from everyday experience. But this condition is just as indispensable for clarifying the economic struggle: in this field too, the backward worker from the lower or middle strata of the masses will not be able to assimilate the general idea of economic struggle; it is an idea that can be absorbed by a few educated workers whom the masses will follow guided by their instincts and their direct, immediate interests." (Lenin, CW, vol.4, pg.291)

The Woman Question

On the woman question we agree with LPR on lines such as, the woman question is a class question and cannot be resolved within the realms of bourgeois society. That one must always point to the dictatorship of the proletariat and

socialism as the road to true woman's liberation. That women suffer double oppression (class & sex) and third world face triple oppression (class, nationality & sex). The success of the proletarian revolution depends to a great degree on the extent to which women take part in it. We also support the call to struggle against revisionism, the main danger, and to attack and expose bourgeois feminism. Struggle for the democratic rights of women, keeping in mind that in struggling for these demands we always bring to the forefront the fact that real equality for women will not be won by winning these particular demands. But through Socialist revolution we will be able to do a more in depth analysis of LPR's line once RCL's position has been completed.

Our position on LPR at the present time is that we still feel that they are genuine, although we have differences in line we feel that we can carry on lines struggles with them so that the correct line will win out.

LPR once denied, but now openly & fully embraces the line reminiscent of the left in form right essence "Wing" & Liu Shao-Chi line "the masses are backward". Even though Lenin stated the masses are lower strata, this was a description of the economic level not political consciousness. Backward and lower strata do not mean the same things as LPR and the Wing incorrectly assert. And even applying Lenin's characterization of the Russian Masses in 1898 in the most backward country in Europe, mechanically and automatically to 1977 in the most advanced monopoly capitalist country in the world is not correct. The lower strata workers were those to whom a socialist newspaper was "completely or well high incomprehensible to them". Given the advanced state of the productive forces, we would question whether in the U.S. today the largest masses of workers would find a communist newspaper "completely or well high incomprehensible to them". The masses of Russian workers in Lenin's day were illiterate, Russia not even a bourgeois democracy. But these conditions that produced the makeup of the U.S. working class must be studied practically before we come to a conclusion! And the LPR "lazy bones approach" merely repeating Lenin, and incorrectly at that, will not do.

May Day

(Continued from page 12)

tle or no wage increases, inflation, cut-backs in their children's education and daycare facilities, closing of their hospitals, are all bourgeois attempts to shift the brunt of the economic crisis onto the backs of the working class, while capitalists squander superprofits, stolen principally from the third world and from the oppressed nationalities of the U.S. multinational working class. These superprofits are used to bribe the apologizers of U.S. capitalism and imperialism - a section of the upper strata of the working class and petty bourgeoisie - the labor aristocrats and trade union bureaucrats: Woodcock, who went to Viet Nam for smiling J.C. representing U.S. imperialism; No-Strike Abel - sell out of the steel workers; Sadlowski - liberal bandaid for a dying system; McBride - the '77 model right wing steel bureaucrat; Meany - notorious old time lackey of the bourgeoisie and carrier of the Gompers' lackey banner; and, Fitzsimmons who smelled so much like horse—that even the bourgeoisie had begun to clean the stables.

Imperialism enslaves whole nations and peoples and bleeds them of their resources and labor. Imperialism bullies and threatens other countries. Imperialism bribes part of the upper strata of the working class with superprofits gotten from super-exploiting the third world. Imperialism must search the world for new places to exploit and plunder, and must eventually fight wars of aggression to redivide the world among the biggest imperialist powers. Imperialism means war says Lenin. This characterizes the struggle of imperialism vs. imperialism and are the laws that govern the economic systems of both U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Social-imperialism. Imperialism takes the contradictions in capitalism to the point beyond which revolution begins. And it is precisely the revolutionary struggles against imperialism that is the main trend in the world today. The highest expression of the struggle for hegemony amongst capitalists is the superpower contention between U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Social-Imperialism. It is primarily from these two superpowers that the danger of world war comes. The main source of war comes from Social-Imperialist Soviet Union, who is the most aggressive imperialist since it is the latecomer to the feast of parasites, they must take what the U.S. imperialists now dominate through imperialist war; i.e. witness their bloody intervention in Angola and Zaire.

Imperialism is also opposed to the socialist countries which is the contradiction between fundamentally different social systems: socialism and capitalism. In the contradiction between imperialism and the socialist countries, the socialist countries are the irresistible force on the rise, while imperialism suffers defeat after defeat with each passing day, as it suffers the doom of those reactionary forces who attempt to stop the dynamic advance of the wheel of history.

But imperialism and social-imperialism are hated all over the world. People the world over are engaged in revolutionary struggles to destroy them, and the leading force in making revolution is the third world, the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and other regions. It is the proletarian internationalist duty of the U.S. working class to support the just struggles of the third world peoples against imperialism.

These are the two sharpest trends in the world, war and revolution. And revolution is the main trend.

The struggles of the U.S. working class and oppressed nationalities are part of the trend of revolution, and we must intensify and expand our revolutionary struggle to stop the trend of imperialist war, "either revolution will stop war or war will bring revolution."

But the struggle of the working class against imperialism will not be successful without a struggle against op-

portunism. "The fight against imperialism is a sham and a humbug unless it is inseparable bound up with the fight against opportunism." (V.I. Lenin, IMPERIALISM, THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM) We must wage an unrelenting struggle to expose and isolate the revisionists and opportunists who are willing to settle for short term goals while selling out the long range struggles of the working class. We must expose and isolate the opportunists who infiltrate the ranks of the working class to confuse and mislead the struggle. Revisionists like Angela Davis and the "Communist Party" U.S.A., who try to tie the U.S. working class to the social-imperialist "CP"SU. Or the "Revolutionary Communist Party" who supports the social props of the bourgeoisie like Sadlowski, in an attempt to mislead and confuse the working class, and who liquidate the right of the self-determination of the Afro-American nation with their revisionist line of "Nation of a New Type," actually denying the existence of the Afro-American Nation, in the Black Belt South. Or the October League whose white chauvinism leads them to sell out the struggles of the Afro-American people and objectively obstructs the unity of the multi-national working class. And whose opportunist "party building" schemes try to stop the workers struggle by throwing together an opportunist social-democratic party to mislead the working class. (for more info. see RCL on Party Building) The working class has no use for these opportunists who would confine the struggle to petty reforms, nor does the working class have use for the "left" opportunist line pushed by PRRWO-RWL (a dangerous duo) who state that involvement in the struggles of the working class against capitalism is bowing to spontaneity-objectively negating communist leadership in the working class. Our struggle for reforms must be seen in the context of revolution, of preparing the working class to smash by force the U.S. bourgeois state, seize state power and build a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat - the working class, leading to the eventual emergence of communism-classless society.

We must rid our ranks of these opportunists and their bourgeois ideas, if we are to succeed.

The struggle of the working class must be organized in order to win against a well entrenched enemy - the bourgeoisie, the capitalist class. It must be organized into a unified and powerful army of all nationalities. The working class must have its own vanguard, its own political party to organize and lead every stage and every aspect of the working class struggle. It needs a political party composed of the best and most advanced elements of the working class. It needs a Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the science of revolution.

The U.S. working class has needed such a party since 1957 when the "CP"USA sold out the struggles of the working class, revised the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and cut out its revolutionary essence: class struggle, the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, armed revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The central task of Marxist-Leninists and all advanced forces in the U.S. today - to build the party of the working class, the party that can organize and unite the struggles of the working class and oppressed peoples into a broad front against imperialism - a party that can organize and lead the armed struggle of the working class and oppressed peoples to smash the capitalist state and seize state power.

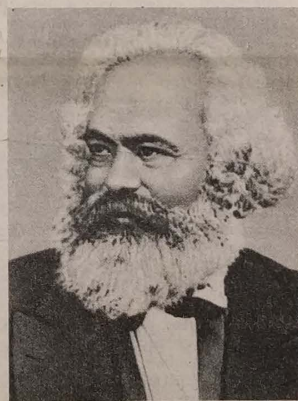
The struggle over the correct political line, which is the key link at this stage of party building, is an ideological struggle. The question of political line as key link must be grasped in order to push forward the development of a

program (i.e., maximum and minimum program and strategy and tactics for carrying them out) around which genuine Marxist-Leninists through ideological struggle can demarcate themselves from the opportunists and therefore principally unite. The polemics around political line must be aimed at the program, and this struggle must be carried out in front of and with the participation of the advanced, so as to carry out our two simultaneous tactics of party building, Marxist-Leninists Unite - Win the Advanced to Communism. And it is in this struggle over political line that our practice of proletarian ideology is confirmed.

The question of building the party of the working class is the central question at this time that faces the working class, it is the central task that must be accomplished to move our struggle closer to victory. And this question must become a mass question gripping every class conscious worker in the factory and mill, every working class community, every working class organization and every person who wants to end this system of oppression and exploitation.

This is the task before us on May Day 1977!

**LONG LIVE THE FIRST OF MAY!
WORKERS AND OPPRESSED
NATIONS AND PEOPLES UNITE!
MARXIST-LENINIST UNITE-
WIN THE ADVANCED TO COM-
MUNISM! BUILD A
REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST-
LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY
IN THE U.S.A. BASED ON
MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO
TSETUNG THOUGHT TO SMASH
CAPITALISM AND BUILD
SOCIALISM AND THE DIC-
TATORSHIP OF THE
PROLETARIAT!**



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

**"Disco Turns
Revolutionary"**

Hear dynamite new group

**The
Advanced Workers**

with The Anti-Imperialist
Singers

Music By:

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Lyrics By: Amiri Baraka

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"Better Red Let Others Be Dead"

plus

"You was Dancin' need Ta Be Mar-

chin. . ."

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Box 663

Newark, N.J.

REVOLUTIONARY REVIEW:

Stalin Was A Great Marxist-Leninist

Reprinted from
Albania Today

"Zeri I Popullit", organ of the C.C. of
the P.L.A.

The stand towards Stalin has been and still is a question of fundamental principle, a very clear-cut political and ideological line. Both now and in the future, this remains one of the main lines of demarcation dividing the genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries from the revisionists of every hue, dividing the progressive forces from the reactionary forces.

Year after year, the imperialists, the fascist, and the revisionists have invented all sorts of slanders about the figure and work of Stalin, in the hope that they will be able to revise history and make mankind forget the truth. But the place Stalin occupies in history is so figure and unassailable that the bourgeois-revisionist scum are quite unable to sully him.

The figure of Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin is that of a great revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist. Stalin is the faithful pupil and successor who carried onward and further developed the thought and work of Lenin. Together with Lenin, he laid the foundations for and built the first socialist state in the world. For thirty years on end, Stalin successfully led the communist party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet proletarian state in the great battles of socialist construction according to Lenin's teaching and the Leninist norms. Stalin was the glorious leader of the Soviet people and the Soviet army in the great patriotic war which led to the destruction of German fascism and which made that priceless contribution to the liberation of the peoples of Europe and the world. Under the leadership of Stalin, within a short period and without the material aid of anybody else, the Soviet people healed the wounds of the war, reconstructed the economy and created the necessary basis for the further development of industry, science, etc.

As a principled and consistent revolutionary and internationalist, Stalin worked for the promotion and strengthening of the international movements, both in the time of the Comintern and afterwards. After World War II, it was he who inspired the creation of the Information Bureau, which, as long as it existed, acted with wisdom for the exchange of experience among the sister communist and workers parties on a revolutionary internationalist basis. Time has completely confirmed the correct decisions it adopted. The Party of Labour of Albania has frequently spoken out and has always heartily defended Stalin and his work from the attacks and slanders of Khrushchov, the Khrushchovites and all the anti-communists. It is proud of having done this. It will rise again and speak out forcefully against the reactionary bourgeoisie and the revisionists who attack Stalin in order to fight the revolution and the ideas of communism.

There are people and revisionist parties that, whenever they are faced with internal difficulties or want to gain capital in the eyes of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, reactivate the old bankrupt propaganda arsenal and begin to slander Stalin. It has already been proved that the anti-Stalin campaign of these parties has been associated with or has been a consequence of their further opportunist degeneration, of the growth of the chauvinist spirit and the domestic affairs of others. In order to defend their bankrupt cause, a number of individuals

(Continued on page 8)

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

(Continued from page 1)
 contrasting or differing aspects (or tasks) of the masses are not pronounced at one point (or stage) than that which preceded it or follows it. Comrade Dimitroff put it this way, "These main periods in the party's history naturally have their own stages of development." (Sel. Works, Vol. 3, p.269, Sofia Press). Why is this important to see this in Party Building? Because, "If people do not pay attention to the stages in the process of development of a thing, they cannot deal with its contradictions properly." (Mao Tsetung, 4 Essays on Philosophy), pg. 43). Marxism - Leninism - Mao Tsetung Thought clearly lays this out and the experience of the proletariat in party building confirms that we must understand the period and stage we are in, in order to understand the historical tasks that we must accomplish in making proletarian revolution in the U.S.

Periods and Stages

1st stage of pre-party, party building period: key link affirmation of theory and ideology of M-L-M.

We hold that this is the second stage of the pre-party, party building period. The 1st stage emerged from the eclecticism which had gripped many advanced forces that arose in the fifties and sixties, and the key link in this 1st stage was the affirmation of the theory and ideology of M-L-M. This means that the advanced forces that emerged in the upheavals of the 60's, looking for a revolutionary theory to answer the problems posed by the revolutionary movement of the masses, turned to the writings of Malcolm X, Fanon, Guevara, Mirigheia, Nkrumah, Debray, Nyerere, Toure', Castro, Karenga and others.** This turns to eclecticism in search of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the U.S. to bring the science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism - Mao Tsetung Thought, to the spontaneous working class movement, because of the criminal betrayal of the "CP" USA. There were 2 major party building attempts in the 1st stage, the Provisional Organizing Committee (P.O.C.) first in 1958 which criticized the revisionism of the "CP" USA, but later sunk into the quagmire of bourgeois ideology itself with a consolidated "left" opportunist line. The 2nd attempt was made in 1962, Progressive Labor Movement, later to declare itself the Progressive Labor Party in 1965. PL played a positive role at the outset, criticizing Soviet revisionism, but PL also sunk into the bog of opportunism. PL lines up with Liu Shao-chi against the Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated by Mao Tsetung in China, and they began to take a consistent counterrevolutionary chauvinist line against oppressed nationalities in the U.S.

But clearly from the experiences of advanced forces in the 60's what was necessary was to break with the eclecticism, and affirm the theory and ideology of M-L-M. In summing up these periods and stages one formulation is an obstacle in understanding the periods and stages in party building in the U.S.

We say that the key link in the 1st stage was the affirmation of the theory and ideology of M-L-M, because of the vagueness and misuse of the formulation "1st stage was when ideology was key link", and we say this formulation some comrades are using, is an obstacle to a clear understanding of the stage we are in now. Because it tends to lead to the misunderstanding that the struggle for correct political line is not an ideological task, just as in the next stage in which organizational tasks of party building will be key, ideological struggles over those tasks will play a crucial part of the completion of those

** SEE JUNE EDITION OF UNITY & STRUGGLE CRITICISM OF KAWAIDA

tasks. Theory is the summed up experience of the working class movement taken in its general aspects and put forward chiefly by 5 Great Teachers - Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. By ideology (though at times these are used interchangeably) we mean the stand, worldview and methodology of the proletariat, i.e., dialectical and historical materialism. But the practice of the Dangerous Duo shows that the formulation "ideology is the key link" is an obstacle, because they use this formulation to liquidate the ideological tasks of this stage, and to misunderstand the role of ideology generally.

The struggle over the correct political line, which is the key link at this stage in party building, is an ideological struggle, and there are ideological tasks throughout the life of the party. To liquidate the importance of building the party on the ideological plane would sabotage the ideological & political foundations of the party we struggle to build, because to the degree we belittle proletarian ideology, we open the door wide to revisionism and bourgeois ideology.

The question of political line as the key link must push forward the development of a program (i.e., maximum and minimum program, etc.) and strategy and tactics for carrying them out) around which genuine Marxist-Leninists, through ideological struggle, can demarcate themselves from the opportunists and therefore principally unite. The polemics around political line must be aimed at the program, and it is in this struggle over political line that our practical proletarian ideology is confirmed. But we must not deal with polemics in the abstract, they must be aimed at a program so that in the ideological struggle over political line that is key in this stage, the scattered political lines on the burning questions of proletarian revolution in the U.S. must be forged into a party program through ideological struggle in propaganda, forum, joint theoretical and practical work, exchanging theoretical materials and waging the theoretical and practical form of class struggle to achieve a correct and comprehensive system of views - that is a system of answers to the revolutionary struggle, which Marxist-Leninists and advanced unite around and also upon which a party organization can be formed.

And in the process of ideological struggle over the correct political line, we can demarcate the genuine from the sham. We must sum up the results of our own, as well as others', practice in polemics that promote genuine unity based on sharp lines of demarcation, analyzing the correctness of the political line measured by the concrete practice of the crucible of class struggle and how it corresponds with the theory & ideology of M-L-M, that is to say, we must unite M-L-M with the concrete practice of proletarian revolution in the U.S. Lenin says that "... if the polemic is not to be fruitless, if it is not to degenerate into personal rivalry, if it is not to lead to a confusion of views, to a confounding of enemies and friends, it is absolutely essential that the question of the programme be introduced into the polemic. The polemic will be of benefit only if it makes clear in what differences of substance or differences on partial questions, whether or not these differences interfere with common work in the ranks of one and the same party. Only the introduction of the programme question into the polemic, only a definite statement by the 2 polemizing parties on the programmatic views, can provide an answer to all these questions, questions that insistently demand an answer." (Lenin, "Draft Programme of Our Party," LCW, Vol. 4, pp. 230-31). Political line is the key link at this stage in the pre-party period, which we must firmly grasp to propel the revolutionary motion toward the building of the party forward.

Uniting Marxist-Leninists, Winning The Advanced To Communism

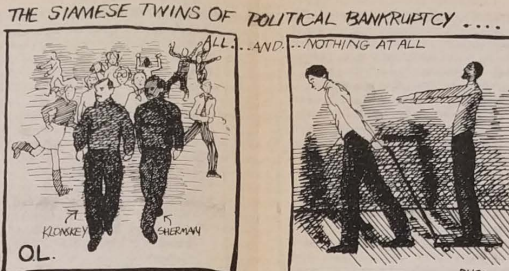
The two simultaneous tactics of Party Building are Uniting Marxist-Leninists and Winning the Advanced to Communism.

One of these aspects must play the leading role and give this simultaneous task its character and the conscious element (the Marxist-Leninists) must in order to win the Advanced to Communism, take the leading role - "Marxist-Leninists Unite!" therefore is principal. This aspect, the principal aspect, is the catalyst that makes the entire process work, and while the Marxist-Leninists unite, simultaneously the Advanced are won to Communism. In order to win the Advanced to Communism it must be the Marxist-Leninists who bring the science of M-L-M into the workers movement causing the fusion. The workers movement is spontaneous and not based on the science of proletarian revolution. This is the job of the communists (the Revolutionary theoreticians) to introduce the science of M-L-M, the science that will lead the proletariat under the leadership of a communist vanguard party to victory in armed struggle to overthrow the bourgeois state.

The working class movement does gravitate towards socialism; but scientific socialism is brought to the workers from the outside because the spontaneous movement of the workers also gravitates more toward bourgeois ideology which is what keeps the working class from the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought. "The working class spontaneously gravitates towards Socialism, but the more widespread (and continuously revived in the most diverse forms) bourgeois ideology nevertheless spontaneously imposes itself upon the working class still more." (Lenin, What Is To Be Done, pg. 51) Stalin raised the relationship as to how the science would be brought into the working class movement. "Here is what Marx and Engels say in their Manifesto: 'The Communists (i.e. Social Democrats)... are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all their consciousness, 'exclusively by its own efforts' is not Marxist-Leninist but mainly trade unionist, and their fighting is divided. However, when the Marxist-Leninists bring the science of M-L-M into the workers' movement, the proletariat begins to understand the need for a proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, it is the duty of the Marxist-Leninists to unite to fuse the science of M-L-M with the working class movement, to imbue the workers' movement with Marxist-Leninist consciousness and thereby give the spontaneous working-class movement a conscious character.

At present, the state of the Communist Movement is marked by Marxist-Leninist disunity, the Workers' Movement by spontaneity, these are the principal aspects of these contradictions. But if we are to build the party and make revolution, Communists must struggle to transform the principal aspects of these contradictions to Marxist-Leninist unity and fusion of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought with the spontaneous workers' movement, i.e. winning the advanced to communism.

Until the science of M-L-M is fused with the working class movement the proletariat does not see that their aim is the overthrow of capitalism and that "their conquest of political power (dictatorship of the proletariat)" is the vital "means of achieving the victory of socialism." The proletariat fights but their consciousness, "exclusively by its own efforts" is not Marxist-Leninist but mainly trade unionist, and their fighting is divided. However, when the Marxist-Leninists bring the science of M-L-M into the workers' movement, the proletariat begins to understand the need for a proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, it is the duty of the Marxist-Leninists to unite to fuse the science of M-L-M with the working class movement, to imbue the workers' movement with Marxist-Leninist consciousness and thereby give the spontaneous working-class movement a conscious character.



EVERY STRIKER, STUDENT, PROTECTOR AND SONGSPERD, WILLING TO HOLLER FIAT CREDIT
 ... GOING TOWARD THEIR FIRST "PARTY" CONGRESS

Within the process of Party Building, the fundamental contradiction is fusion of the communist movement with the working class movement. There are two aspects of each of these separate contradictions. In the communist movement it is (1) Marxist-Leninist Unity vs (2) Marxist-Leninist Disunity and in the workers' movement it is (1) the fusion with M-L-M vs (2) the spontaneity of the working class without M-L-M.

At present, the state of the Communist Movement is marked by Marxist-Leninist disunity, the Workers' Movement by spontaneity, these are the principal aspects of these contradictions. But if we are to build the party and make revolution, Communists must struggle to transform the principal aspects of these contradictions to Marxist-Leninist unity and fusion of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought with the spontaneous workers' movement, i.e. winning the advanced to communism.

Until the science of M-L-M is fused with the working class movement the proletariat does not see that their aim is the overthrow of capitalism and that "their conquest of political power (dictatorship of the proletariat)" is the vital "means of achieving the victory of socialism." The proletariat fights but their consciousness, "exclusively by its own efforts" is not Marxist-Leninist but mainly trade unionist, and their fighting is divided. However, when the Marxist-Leninists bring the science of M-L-M into the workers' movement, the proletariat begins to understand the need for a proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, it is the duty of the Marxist-Leninists to unite to fuse the science of M-L-M with the working class movement, to imbue the workers' movement with Marxist-Leninist consciousness and thereby give the spontaneous working-class movement a conscious character.

At present, the state of the Communist Movement is marked by Marxist-Leninist disunity, the Workers' Movement by spontaneity, these are the principal aspects of these contradictions. But if we are to build the party and make revolution, Communists must struggle to transform the principal aspects of these contradictions to Marxist-Leninist unity and fusion of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought with the spontaneous workers' movement, i.e. winning the advanced to communism.

ADVANCED WORKER In A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social Democracy, Lenin lays out the definition of what an advanced worker is. We agree with his definition and think that the essence of this definition applies in the U.S. today, and that the better situated strata of the working class responds to socialism more rapidly and this is true today. Lenin specifically said: "The history of the working class movement in all countries shows that the better-situated strata of the working class respond to the ideas of socialism more rapidly and more easily." (A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social Democracy, pg. 26) By advanced worker we mean "those who can win the confidence of the laboring masses, who devote themselves entirely to the education and organization of the proletariat, who accept socialism consciously and who even elaborate independent socialist theories ... workers, who despite their wretched living conditions, despite the stultifying penal servitude of factory labor possess so much character and will power that they study, study, study, and turn themselves into conscious social-democrats - the working class intelligentsia" (Ibid, pg. 26-27). We think that this definition should be studied and used as a guide by Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces in applying this to the concrete conditions to play in the U.S.A.

The conditions which produce the advanced worker in the United States are not exactly the same as during Lenin's time. Stalin pointed out, "the new productive forces require that the workers in production shall be better educated and more intelligent than the downtrodden and ignorant serfs, that they be able to understand machinery and operate it properly." (History of CPSU(B), pg. 125) Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism. Based on these concrete conditions with the development of imperialism the

development of the productive forces have resulted in a broader strata of "better situated workers" and therefore, the U.S. more advanced workers more advanced numerically and more advanced workers in the sense that the level of the productive forces today require that the worker be more educated, and at a higher level of consciousness "to operate the machinery properly."

But on the other hand fusion in the U.S. is at a low level between the communist movement and workers' movement because there has been no genuine communist party since 1957, and due to the high level of opportunism based on superprofits imperialism gets from the exploitation of Asia, Africa and Latin America and oppressed nationalities inside this country, which makes it possible for imperialism to bribe a small sector of the working class in the U.S. and gives concessions to others. Opportunism exists to such a high level that the "CP" USA has degenerated into revisionism. The spontaneous working class movement is "led" by a large number of bribed elements such as the labor aristocrats, revisionists, as well as economists and other social props of the bourgeoisie because there's no vanguard Marxist-Leninist party to introduce scientific socialism into the working class movement.

The advanced worker is class conscious, politically active, can win the confidence & trust of the masses, educate and organize the proletariat, studying and actively seeking answers to the questions thrown up by the movement and society, and once socialism is laid out to them they will consciously accept it, and will become a communist based on their contact with M-L-M and their active study to turn themselves into Communists.

Lenin pointed out that "everywhere and at all times the leaders of a certain class have been its advanced", and this is true here also because the socialist workers' struggles in the 60's, the black liberation movement, the anti-war movement, each brought forth such examples of advanced workers. In this stage of the pre-party period when political line is the key link we must aim our propaganda & agitation mainly at the advanced who are located in large scale industries and who are part of the spontaneous working class movement, and begin to do necessary concrete analysis to see what workers are advanced based on applying the essence of Lenin's definition to our concrete conditions in the U.S.A. as well as workers response to the analysis put forward in our propaganda, questions that the workers raise about our programme and the lines they put forward, and begin to select advanced workers that can be pulled into study circles and developing factory nuclei.

FUSION
 "In every country there has been a period in which the workingclass

movement existed apart from socialism, each going its own way; and in every country this isolation has weakened both socialism and the working class movement. Only the fusion of socialism with the working class movement has in all countries created a durable basis for both. But in every country, this combination of socialism and the working class movement was evolved historically, in unique ways, in accordance with the prevailing conditions of time and place (our emphasis). In Russia, the necessity for combining socialism and the working class movement was in theory long ago proclaimed but it is only now being carried into practice. It is a very difficult process and there is therefore nothing surprising in the fact that it is accompanied by vacillations and doubts." (Lenin, Party Work in the Masses, pg. 9)

During the revolutionary life of the CPUSA, socialism was being brought to the workers movement in the factories, trade unions, and to mass organizations. But fusion in the U.S. was turned around almost to a standstill because of the betrayal of the "CP" USA with its consolidation of revisionism in 1957. The U.S. proletariat has been without its vanguard, the conscious element in fusion, to guide the spontaneous workers' struggles to conscious class struggle and victory. Therefore fusion in the U.S. is slow.

Without a genuine Marxist-Leninist Communist Party the working-class movement in its struggle against monopoly capitalism is spontaneous and "led" by economists, revisionists and other social props of the bourgeoisie. It lacks the science to turn its struggle into a powerful movement to violently overthrow the bourgeois state and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"When this fusion takes place the class struggle of the workers becomes the conscious struggle of the proletariat to emancipate itself from exploitation and the bourgeoisie, it is elevated into a higher form of the socialist workers' movement, the independent working class Social Democratic Party. By directing socialism towards a fusion with the working class movement, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels did their greatest service. They created a revolutionary theory that explained the need for this fusion, and gave the socialist the task of organizing the class struggle of the proletariat." (Lenin, Retrograde Trend in Russian Social Democracy, p. 3)

The concrete conditions in the U.S. show that the communist movement is separated from the working class movement. Because the proletariat has lost its vanguard, its communist party, the U.S. working class movement and scientific socialism are separated.

Lenin waged polemics against the economists who said that all that needed was the economic struggle - strikes and trade unions. Economist belittle the introduction of the conscious element into the working class movement. Lenin said, "Hence our task, the task of Social Democracy, is to combat spontaneity to divert the working-class movement from this spontaneous trade-unionist striving to come under the wing of revolutionary Social Democracy." (Lenin, What Is To Be Done, pg. 49).

"Comrade Stalin in the pamphlet 'Briefly About the Disagreements in the Party', sums up the views of the Lenin wing of Social Democracy on the subject of fusion as follows: 'What is scientific socialism without the labour movement? A compass which, if left unused, can only grow rusty and then has to be thrown overboard. What is the labour movement without socialism? A ship without a compass which will reach the other shore any way, but would reach it much sooner and with less danger if it had a compass.'

"Unite the two and you will get a splendid vessel, which will speed straight towards the other shore and reach a haven unharmed. Unite the labour movement with socialism and you

will get a social democratic movement which will speed straight towards the 'promised land.' The whole history of the working class struggle in Russia has brilliantly confirmed the important theoretical conclusion of Comrade Stalin. In the pamphlet in question Stalin subjected the opportunist theory of Spontaneity to withering criticism and gave a reasoned explanation of the role and significance of a revolutionary party and of revolutionary theory for the working class. 'The labour movement' wrote Stalin, 'must be united with socialism; practical activities and theoretical thought must merge into one and thereby lend the spontaneous labour movement a Social Democratic character ... Our duty, the duty of Social Democracy is to direct the spontaneous labour movement from the path of narrow trade unionism to the Social Democratic path. Our duty is to introduce socialist consciousness into this movement, and unite the advanced forces of the working-class in one centralized party. Our task is always to be at the head of the movement and tirelessly combat all those - foes or 'friends' who hinder the accomplishment of this task.' (Biography of Joseph Stalin, p. 14-15).

The building of the vanguard communist party is the "biggest step forward towards this fusion." (Retrograde Trend in Russian Social Democracy, pg. 4) and fusion continues throughout the entire life of the Communist Party.

Our concrete conditions in the U.S. dictate for genuine Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces to strengthen this union and build the Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, the "higher form" class organization of the proletariat."

Propaganda, The Chief Form of Activity
 Propaganda is the chief form of activity in the pre-party period, the period in which party building is the central task. And this propaganda must principally unite Marxist-Leninists and Win the Advanced to Communism.

Propaganda is the means by which the teachings of scientific socialism are spread among the masses. The propaganda piece contains within it many ideas so that the particular topic can be understood in its totality. In his pamphlet, The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats, Lenin describes the content of the matter of communist propaganda and what the aim of communist propaganda is:

"The socialist activities of Russian Social Democrats consists in spreading by propaganda the teachings of scientific socialism, in spreading among the workers a proper understanding of the present social and economic system, its basis and its development, and understanding of the various classes in Russian society, of their interrelations of the struggle between these classes, of the role of the working class in this struggle, of its attitude towards the declining and the developing classes, towards the past and the future of capitalism, and understanding of the historical role of international Social Democracy and of the Russian working class ... (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 2, p. 239, Progress Pub.)

There are different ways of spreading communist propaganda, but the Communist International guided us to the chief forms of propaganda, which they laid out in 1921 from their 3rd Congress: (i) Individual verbal propaganda (ii) Participation in the industrial and political labor movement. (iii) Propaganda through the party press and distribution of literature. Every member of a legal or illegal party is to participate regularly in one or the other of these forms of propaganda." (C.I. Resolutions on "Principles of Party Organization" 1921, pg. 16)

The Communist International put verbal propaganda first, that is discussion with the workers, face to face (as for instance the struggle over political line in the presence of and with the party).

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Party Building



(Continued from page 7)

ticipation of the advance). Second it upholds the existence of Communists working within the working class movement, necessarily putting forth communist lines on all issues, as the next form of propaganda.

Next is printed party propaganda. Too often we have a tendency to downplay the first altogether (especially non-verbal petty bourgeois intellectual types) and also not understand that our presence as communists within the working class movement is to teach i.e., bring the science of M-L-M to the workers in a concrete and practical way, and by example. Building study circles, developing factory nuclei and leading the spontaneous working class movement are the practical and organizational work that goes on even while propaganda is the chief form of activity.

Communist propaganda, whose aim and objective is to educate, train and raise the working class consciousness to a revolutionary proletarian class level is inseparable from the task of political exposure and agitation. Agitation explains or presents a single idea for the purpose of arousing political action, and in the main these ideas are expressed through participation in workers struggles, the living word, and agitational literature. Communist agitation must give a conscious character to the spontaneous struggle of the masses. To quote Lenin, "Inseparably connected with propaganda is agitation among the workers." "Agitation among the workers means that the Social Democrats take part in all the spontaneous manifestations of the working class struggle, in all the conflicts between the workers and the capitalists over the working day, wages, working conditions, etc. Our task is to merge our activities with the practical everyday questions of working class life, to help the workers to understand these questions, to draw workers' attention to the most important abuses, to help them formulate their demands to the employers more precisely and practically, to develop among the workers consciousness of their solidarity, consciousness of the common interest and common cause of all the Russian workers as a united working class that is part of the international army of the proletariat..." (Op. Cit. pg. 329) It is through propaganda and agitation that the link between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the working class movement is fused. Propaganda without agitation becomes sterile, because there exists no connection between it and the day to day abuses of working class life. Agitation without propaganda becomes spontaneous, because the total political significance of the situation cannot be clearly understood, so therefore the movement lacks proper direction.

Clearly our propaganda must be aimed at the advanced workers principally, in the pre-party period, the

period of the formation of the vanguard of the proletariat, i.e. winning the best elements of the working class to the side of communism. This propaganda should not lower its content to the level of the non-class conscious worker, but must constantly raise the level of consciousness of the advanced, and at the same time raise the political consciousness of the average and lower strata of the working class.

In our propaganda, the chief form of activity in this period when the party is in formation, we must uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tsetung Thought in theory and in practice. And propaganda must carry the struggle against right opportunism the main danger, (on the right O.L. does no propaganda and trifling polemics) and its reverse side, "left" sectarianism (the duo in upholding propaganda as the chief form of activity liquidates all other forms of struggle). We must oppose every stripe of opportunism that attempts to obstruct the irresistible motion toward building the Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

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

Marxist-Leninists Unite - Win the Advanced to Communism!

Defeat Right Opportunism, the Main Danger - Intensify Struggle Against the "Left" Sectarian Deviation!

Build a Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party Based On Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

SUMMARY

1. We began with the overall world situation, outlining the four fundamental contradictions of imperialism, the two sharpest contradictions which give rise to two rising trends, revolution and war. We held that revolution is the main trend in the world today and Soviet Social Imperialism the main source of war, though they try to cover their rapacious designs with the sign board of "socialism" when capitalism has been restored there, and with the bogus cry of "Detente".

2. That the central task of Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces in the U.S. at present is party building, and has been since the historic tragic consolidation to revisionism of the "CP"USA in 1957. But party building is the central task not the only task as the "left" sectarians hold. The main danger to the Communist and workers movements is revisionism and right opportunism, coming principally from USSR-"CP"SU revisionism in state power, and in the U.S.A., their 5th column "CP"USA.

That R"CP" and C"L"P" are no longer in the anti-revisionist communist movement, and main source of revisionism in anti-revisionist communist movement is O.L. who is rapidly consolidating to revisionism - manifested clearly by its menshevik call for a party of the Martov type.

Clearly we see the main danger as revisionism from the right, led by OL in the anti-revisionist communist movement, but at the same time a rising danger has been the "left" infantile sectarianism of the Dangerous Duo - PRRWO & RWL. Both of these lines have been manifest inside our own organization, put forward in essentially menshevik, i.e., hidden and underhanded methods, but we are struggling against "left" and right mensheviks.

3. We held that this is the second stage of the pre-party, party building period. The first being the stage emerging from eclecticism, in which the affirmation of the theory and ideology of M-L-M was key. The second, the present stage, in which the ideological struggle over the correct political line, i.e., the application of the theory of M-L-M to the concrete conditions of proletarian revolution in the U.S.A. is key, and by means of which we will be able to confirm whether comrades are actually practicing M-L-M ideology, i.e., the stand, viewpoint and methodology of the proletariat, dialectical and historical

materialism. But we see this key link as an ideological task and we see that there are also organizational tasks even at this stage of the party building period such as study circles, factory nuclei, fractions in mass organizations.

4. We also waged a polemic against and tried to correct the vagueness and misuse of the term "the 1st period" when ideology was key link", because it tended to lead to a misunderstanding that the struggle for correct political line was not an ideological task. Just as in the next stage in which organizational tasks of party building will be key, ideological struggle over those tasks will play a crucial part of the completion of those tasks.

We stressed that by theory we meant the summed up experience of the working class movement taken in its general aspect and as put forward chiefly by 5 great teachers - Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. By ideology (though at times these are used interchangeably) we meant the stand, worldview and methodology of the proletariat, i.e., dialectical and historical materialism.

5. We pointed out how the question of political line being key link had to further the development of a program [i.e., maximum and minimum program and strategy and tactics for carrying them out] around which genuine Marxist-Leninists through ideological struggle can demarcate themselves from the opportunists and therefore principally unite. And that one clear relationship of the dangerous O.L. party building motion, which was programless, and the erratic "leftism" of the Duo was that neither had or gave priority to program!

6. On the question of advanced worker we held to the essence of Lenin's definition of 1899 in Russia, but paraphrased it thus: "one who is class conscious, politically active, can win the confidence and trust of the masses, educate and organize the proletariat, studying and actively seeking answers to questions thrown up by the movement and society, consciously accept socialism and will become a communist based on their contact with M-L-M and their active study to turn themselves into Communists".

But at the same time we recognized the differences in concrete conditions between Lenin's Russia and the degree of fusion between Revolutionary Marxism and the spontaneous working class movement at that time and in the U.S. today. We held that the productive forces of the U.S. had produced more advanced workers but that because of the absence of a genuine CP and the level of opportunism created by imperialism and the scattered state of the anti-revisionist communist movement, fusion was low.

7. We held that the two most important tactical tasks of this period were "Marxist-Leninists Unite - Win the Advanced to Communism". We held that Marxist-Leninists unity versus Marxist-Leninists disunity was the principal contradiction among a number of contradictions in party building generally. And that in the entity Marxist-Leninists Unite - Win the Advanced to Communism, the basic initiating form of fusion, which is a fundamental principle of Communist parties, Marxist-Leninists Unite was principal.

Marxist-Leninists unite was principal because it played the leading role, it was the lever, the initiating factor and catalyst that made the entire process Marxist-Leninists Unite - Win the Advanced to Communism happen simultaneously, (though we rejected the equilibrium theory put out by the "left" sectarians, or the separation of the tasks put out by the right.)

8. We held that propaganda was the chief form of practical activity, in this period, but that it was inseparable from agitation. And we put forward that we recognize not merely written propaganda, but uphold all forms that the C.I. put forward, i.e., 1. Verbal 2. Participate in workers movement. 3. Written.

In general we raised struggle against the main right danger and the rising "left" sectarian deviation. We tried also to make self criticism for the slowness,

and right deviation of our practice around taking clear positions on party building.

During this period in which we put together this paper, RCL (M-L-M) has undergone extremely significant changes. Not only the change from CAP to RCL and what that implies and entails, but because of intensified internal struggle, we saw the crystallization of certain Right lines (tailing O.L.) and "Left" (tailing the Duo) tendencies which have resulted in the ejection and flight of some opportunists and mensheviks. This is a good thing, it is part of the process of bolshevization, a formidable and lengthy process, involving intensive study and training and revolutionary practice and the remoulding of world view in the development of a party which is "fully consolidated ideologically, politically, and organizationally" and comes not merely by proclamation as some of our "instant bolsheviks" seem to think.

Stalin Was A Great Marxist-Leninist

(Continued from page 5)

of this sort label their personal enemies, or rivals for power, saboteurs and spies in the pay of the Soviet social-imperialists or of the U.S. imperialist as "Stalinists" — supporters of the Information Bureau." But this is a false appellation because nowadays even children know that the saboteurs and spies, the imperialists or the social imperialists have nothing in common either with Stalin or with the Information Bureau. But even the fanciest patches can't make tattered clothing new, any more than sickness can be cured with a magic wand.

In order to cover up the failures, in their national policy, which is a typically bourgeois nationalist policy, these same individuals and revisionist parties even reach the point of labelling some nationality with all sorts of epithets, accusing them of "irritantism", "Stalinist" dogmatism, and so on. However means of such falsehood and insinuations they will not be able to cover up the injustices that exist or extinguish people's pure and legitimate national feelings, nor will they have the slightest effect on those countries to which the modern revisionists seek to make allusions and to damage the friendship between peoples.

Stalin was a great Marxist theoretician on the national question. If the revisionists have forgotten this, let them read Lenin properly and see how highly he appraised the great theoretical and practical importance of Stalin's work on the national question, let them recall the struggle waged by Lenin in defense of Stalin's theses against the attacks of the deviators and other enemies of the revolution. ("On the National Programme of R.S.D.L.P.", Lenin, Works, vol. 19). In writing about these questions in defense of Stalin, our desire is that the matter will be kept on the ideological plane. However if the scribblers and the defenders of anti-Marxist theses on the national question aim at persecuting the national minorities, they may be sure that the Party of Labour of Albania, on a Marxist-Leninist way, will defend any people and national minority which is oppressed and persecuted by any one at all. This is a revolutionary obligation and an internationalist duty from which no people and no party fighting for socialism and the liberation of the peoples can turn away.



African Liberation Day

(Continued from page 3)

ning. **True opportunism.** So then they show up at the Washington, D.C. meeting claiming (after much petit-bourgeois maneuvering and wriggling) they would not support the ALSC demonstration and conference because it had been decided by the "left bloc" and should not be honored because it did not "represent the true sentiment of the SC" **True opportunism.**

In essence RWC was saying because we had not voted the way the "majority bloc" would have voted, then it is not legitimate and should be used as an excuse to join a demonstration led by the chauvinist "RCP", who have liquidated the Afro-American National Question and who downplay national liberation movements. The "RCP" has declared themselves "the Party" based on subjectivism, opportunism and white chauvinism have objectively taken themselves right out of the anti-revisionist Communist movement here in the USA where genuine Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces are still struggling to build a **real REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY BASED ON MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT.** The "RCP" or OL for that matter, does not meet the requirements of the proletariat which would give them legitimate right to call themselves the "Party." "RCP's" revisionist line on the Afro-American National Question, talking about a "nation of the new type" is one example of their opportunism and is actually the CPUSA turned inside out. Their line liquidates the Afro-American Nation in the end, opposes self-determination, talking the same doubletalk as OL, i.e., they support self-determination but oppose secession. If they oppose secession, then they oppose self-determination, since self-determination means nothing if any of the Black Nation's options are removed. "RCP's" line that the "nation has dispersed" is factually bankrupt and an attempt to legitimize their opportunism and chauvinism.

So why is RWC allowing itself to be used as a front organization for "RCP" within ALSC? One reason for this is that the RWC holds that "RCP" and the OL are fraternal organizations because of the general affirmation of the general truths of Marxism-Leninism and implies that they see the affirmation of the theory and ideology of M-L-M as the key link in this period of party building instead of seeing ideological struggle over the political line as the key link. This right opportunist line leads the RWC to make such unholy alliances such as theirs with "RCP". Another of RWC's right opportunist lines is "unite advanced workers and Marxist-Leninists into a single Communist Party" (Movin' On, Vol. 1, #2, June/July 1975). Generally from these lines, RWC makes a series of right errors. They give lip service to "Revolution as the main trend" but in their September 1976 ALSC proposal, presented at the Conference in Atlanta, and in their article "Imperialism: A Dying System", they never apply that to our tasks, all the tasks they proposed come from the other factor of war, which they say repeatedly is "the main issue today". This objectively means that they are saying that "war is the main trend" which is "RCP's" and WVO's lines also. From out of this we can now see and understand their line and practices in ALSC, for instance:

1. Sending out forged membership guidelines for ALSC to people wanting to join ALSC. The RWC inserted the line "objectively expose our own bourgeoisie in the US", which is theirs and "RCP's" line. That is, their line doesn't expose Soviet Social Imperialism as the main danger of war. They push "equilibrium", which objectively unites with the "CP"SU.

2. Stripping of ALSC's principles of unity so that "RCP" could unite with them so they and the "Revolutionary Student Brigade, (RSB) could join and

take over ALSC. (The specifics of this will be gone over in the ALSC conference in the debate between RCL and WVO on the international situation.)

3. The forcing of a comrade off the SC after he had been elected at the September conference in Atlanta, using "policy" as the excuse to do it.

4. Continuous right opportunist style of work.

And so all the above general lines and practices show that RWC is suffering from right errors, and this is why they do not come out and point to right opportunism as the main danger in the anti-revisionist Communist movement in the USA. But RWC is not alone in making right errors, WVO also makes a number of serious errors which if not corrected will objectively place them right beside RWC in the marsh of right opportunism.

For example, on the International situation WVO held that there are "two contending trends", and babbles that "to say Revolution is the main trend is revisionism". This line is completely undialectical and pushes equilibrium, of which Chairman Mao said, "Nothing in this world develops absolutely evenly; we must oppose the theory of even development or the theory of equilibrium", ("On Contradictions," Sel. Readings, pg. 117). WVO's contention that revolution and war are in equilibrium makes almost impossible the planning of such strategic and tactical policies and analysis, such as where the main blow must be aimed, the weakest link of the imperialist chain, and etc. Actually WVO holds that superpower contention is the principal contradiction, "the principal contradiction in the world is shifting from that between the oppressed nations and imperialism to that between the imperialist powers," (WVO Journal #4, pg. 34). This is clear evidence that they hold "war is the main trend" and also at the ALSC forum in New York City, while struggling with RCL they were forced to say they think "war will happen because revolution is not likely in the two superpowers". This is the old Progressive Labor Trot line which belittles struggle and revolution in the 3rd World. WVO did this verbally at the September ALSC conference when a vote was taken and their reactionary line on "two contending trends" was defeated. The WVO exhibited very un-Marxist behavior and was asked to repudiate their actions, and to this date they have not done this yet. However, this line struggle will be taken up in the debate at the ALSC conference in Washington, D.C. on May 27, 28.

Also the RCL would like to have self-criticism around the role that we played during the whole struggle against the left-liquidationist line which was represented by RWL at the time. We realize that as Communists we could have done much more propaganda, organized more chapters and generally could have mobilized and organized more people to struggle against that line. This was not done based on our right opportunist errors which we still see as the main danger and will continue to struggle against it.

Bourgeois Nationalists Love Affair With The Soviet Union

In 1977, African Liberation Day will be confusing to the masses of people because there will be three different demonstrations all supposedly supporting African Liberation; we will attempt to show how objectively two undermine it and are actually collaborators with the enemies of the world's peoples, the superpowers. We have already spoken to the second demonstration being organized by the right opportunists "RCP" and RWC and now we have to speak to the third demonstration being put on by the All African Peoples Revolutionary Party which is led by the eclectic opportunist, Stokely Carmichael. The danger of the AAPRP is that they sow the greatest corruption among the Black masses and workers by teaching them that:

1. The USA is the main danger to the people of the world. (Is it a coincidence that this is the same line of "RCP" and its lackey RWC?)

2. That the Soviet Union and Cuba are socialist countries. (We wonder how do they explain Angola and the role of Cuba and the Soviet Union?)

3. The "Core of the Black Revolution is in Africa." This totally liquidates the need to struggle for revolution here in the United States which is out and out collaboration with the enemy.

4. "The principal contradiction in the US is racism." They then place capitalism in a secondary position and say that if racism is eradicated then capitalism will be destroyed which is a totally metaphysical line because capitalism is the material base upon which racism was invented to serve and not vice versa. What this does is to help the bourgeoisie divide the working class along national divisions, attempting to make it impossible for them to unite and destroy capitalism, and without this unity, socialist revolution is not possible here in the US. Once again this is pure collaboration with the enemy.

All of the above general statements point out the dangers of bourgeois nationalism which attempts to smother class struggle, disunite the international proletariat, and collaborates with U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. This is done by such bourgeois nationalist organizations as AAPRP (all of the above points are covered in their call to the ALD demonstration which is dated March 26, 1977), and the Pan-African Youth Movement, who recently sent a letter to many organizations in the USA attacking the role of the USA in Zaire while totally leaving out the fact that it was the Soviet Union who had the mercenaries trained by their lackey puppet Cubans and sent into Zaire in the first place. The letter speaks of the great revolutionary Patrice Lumumba but we failed to understand how the bourgeois nationalists justify the fact that it was the USSR who voted along with the USA, Argentina, Ceylon, Ecuador, Italy, Poland, and Tunisia in 1960 in the United Nations Security Council to send in the Belgian troops to kill Lumumba. The AAPRP and the PAYM are all shields for Soviet social-imperialism and conciliators with revisionism. What these organizations fail to understand is that to oppose US imperialism, it is also necessary to oppose Soviet social-imperialism. The struggle against imperialism cannot be separated from the struggle against revisionism. In 1977, this is the test for all who truly persist in the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist struggle and makes a clear line of demarcation with those who support and uphold the revisionists in state power, the Soviet Union, the main source of world war and the main danger to the people of the world. It is understandable that for various reasons some people have, for the time being, failed to see this, but in the case of AAPRP, who claim to be "scientific socialists" (actually they are "nationalist philistines" who masquerade under the guise of being "socialists", who are in reality reactionary bourgeois nationalists), yet cannot analyze the international situation and correctly point out the main danger, we question how is this possible.

Revisionism has always been a social prop of imperialism, a force serving imperialism. To combat imperialism, it is imperative to carry out the struggle against revisionism to the end. Also today the revisionism of Soviet social-imperialism and its lackies are engaged in splitting activities against Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary peoples of the world. For example, the Soviet Union claims to be the "natural ally" of the Arab people but yet they continually send manpower to Israel, the Zionists in aggression and expansion against the Arab countries. Also we wonder what is the point of the USSR now resuming trade relations with Israel. While the USSR is courting Israel (US lackey) the USA is courting Cuba (USSR lackey) which can only mean that the imperialists are once again

maneuvering for spheres of influence to the detriment of the people of the world.

All of these dangers of bourgeois nationalism must be defeated and will be defeated along with imperialism and social-imperialism which is why all those who seek to serve the proletariat must unite the workers of all nations, and unwaveringly fight bourgeois nationalism, domestic or foreign. The place of those who advocate bourgeois nationalism (usually the petit bourgeois) is beside the bourgeoisie so they can be smashed along with the bourgeoisie, because proletarian internationalism and bourgeois nationalism are two irreconcilable lines that objectively represent two opposing world outlooks, that of the international proletariat and that of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and social-imperialism.

African Liberation Day and Party Building in the USA

The struggles in Africa, particularly in Zaire, Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe, is a life or death struggle against colonialism (old and new), imperialism, racial discrimination and apartheid. They are a component part of the proletarian revolution that is dealing decisive and crushing blows to the imperialists and social-imperialists and their lackies. All Marxist-Leninists, advanced forces and the progressive peoples of the world must unreservedly support these struggles. The best way for Marxist-Leninists and the advanced to support African Liberation is to participate in "Uniting Marxist-Leninists, and winning the advanced to Communism" to build a **REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY** based on **MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT**, the science of revolution. The building of this party of "the new type" is the **only assurance** that revisionists, such as the "CP"USA, right opportunists, such as "RCP" and the RWC, and bourgeois nationalists, such as AAPRP, APP and PAYM, will be thoroughly exposed and defeated here in the USA. The central task of Marxist-Leninists and all advanced forces in the USA today is to undertake the building of this party, this party of the working class, this party that will organize and unite the struggles of the working class and oppressed peoples into a mighty fist to smash imperialism through armed struggle, seize state power and institute the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We must have a party that will be bold enough to lead the proletariat and the masses of people in this struggle for power and no matter what the twists and turns, this party must base itself on the correct ideological and political line because the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. Without such a party guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, it is impossible to even think of winning a socialist revolution and establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat here in the USA. Our efforts to build this party, a multinational communist party is part of the irresistible trend of revolution which is the main trend in the world today, and as for the other trend, the tide of imperialist war, we must prepare for it or we will suffer. But ultimately, war or not, it is the imperialists, social-imperialists and their lackies all over the world who will suffer, and be completely destroyed by the peoples of the world.

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED NATIONS AND PEOPLES, UNITE! MARXISTS-LENINISTS UNITE - WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!

BUILD A REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE USA BASED ON MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT TO SMASH CAPITALISM AND BUILD SOCIALISM AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

Dialectical and Historical Materialism: From History of the Communist Party Soviet Union (Bolshevik) 1939 Part 9

Further, there can be no doubt that the concept "conditions of material life of society" also includes growth of population, density of population of one degree or another, for people are an essential element of the conditions of material life of society, and without a definite minimum number of people there can be no material life of society. Is not growth of population the chief force that determines the character of the social system of man?

Historical materialism answers this question too in the negative.

Of course, growth of population does influence the development of society, does facilitate or retard the development of society, but it cannot be the chief force of development of society, and its influence on the development of society cannot be the *determining* influence because, by itself, growth of population does not furnish the clue to the question why a given social system is replaced precisely by such and such a new system and not by another, why the primitive communal system is succeeded precisely by the slave system by the feudal system, and the feudal system by the bourgeois system, and not by some other.

If growth of population were the determining force of social development, then a higher density of population would be bound to give rise to a correspondingly higher type of social system. But we do not find this to be the case. The density of population in China is four times as great as in the U.S.A., yet the U.S.A. stands higher than China in the scale of social development, for in China a semi-feudal system still prevails, whereas the U.S.A. has long ago reached the highest stage of development of capitalism. The density of population in Belgium is nineteen times as great as in the U.S.A., and twenty-six times as great as in the U.S.S.R. Yet the U.S.A. stands higher than Belgium in the scale of social development; and as for the U.S.S.R., Belgium lags a whole historical epoch behind this country, for in Belgium the capitalist system prevails, whereas the U.S.S.R. has already done away with capitalism and has set up a Socialist system.

It follows from this that growth of population is not, and cannot be, the chief force of development of society, the force which determines the character of the social system, the development of society from one system to another?

This force, historical materialism holds, is the *method of procuring the means of life* necessary for human existence, the *mode of production of material values* — food, clothing, footwear, houses, fuel, instruments of production, etc. — which are indispensable for the life of development of society.

In order to live, people must have food, clothing, footwear, shelter, fuel, etc.; in order to have these material values, people must produce them; and in order to produce them, people must have the instruments of production with which food, clothing, footwear, shelter, fuel, etc., are produced; they must be able to produce these instruments and to use them.

The instruments of production wherewith material values are produced, the *people* who operate the instruments of production and carry on the production of material values thanks to a certain *production* experience and *labour skill* — all these elements jointly constitute the *productive forces* of society.

But the productive forces are only one aspect of production, only one aspect of the mode of production, an aspect that expresses the relation of men to the objects and forces of nature which they make use of for the production of material values. Another aspect of production, another aspect of the mode of production, is the relation of men to each other in the process of production, men's *relations of production*. Men

carry on a struggle against nature and utilize nature for the production of material values not in isolation from each other, not as separate individuals, but in common, in groups, in societies. Production, therefore, is at all times and under all conditions *social* production. In the production of material values men enter into mutual relations of one kind or another within production, into relations of production of one kind or another. These may be relations of co-operation and mutual help between people who are free from exploitation; they may be transitional from one form of relations of production to another. But whatever the character of the relations of production may be, always and in every system, they constitute just as essential an element of production as the productive forces of society.



Chairman Mao said, "Comrade Stalin, in comprehensive and classical manner, developed Marxist-Leninist theory, he opened up a new stage in the development of Marxism. . . Comrade Stalin also creatively developed the Leninist theory of the building of the Party."

"In production," Marx says, "men not only act on nature but also on one another. They produce only by co-operating in a certain way and mutually exchanging their activities. In order to produce, they enter into definite connections and relations with one another and only within these social connections and relations does their action on nature, does production, take place." (Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 264).

Consequently, production, the mode of production, embraces both the productive forces of society and men's relations of production, and is thus the embodiment of their unity in the process of production of material values.

To be continued

SLOGANS FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY PUT FORTH BY THE AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE:

THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN PEOPLE WILL SURELY WIN VICTORY THRU SELF-RELIANCE AND ARMED STRUGGLE!

KICK THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, US IMPERIALISM AND USSR SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM, OUT OF AFRICA!

DOWN WITH THE FASCIST WHITE MINORITY REGIMES. REJECT ALL SHAM INDEPENDENCE SCHEMES!

US PEOPLE, OPPOSE THE SUPER-POWER WAR PREPARATION, DEFEAT US IMPERIALISM!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED NATIONS AND PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Editorial

(Continued from page 12)

turnaround in that there always exists both right and left deviations in any Marxist-Leninist line, and our task at the moment is to break with the left opportunist trend." But this is plain out & out sophistry for MLOC to say that this isn't a major turnaround in their line, for they even admit elsewhere in their correspondence with RCL that these repudiations are, "major developments in our line on party building and other questions." And in actuality this "major development" is also a great step into the swamp.

But on the question MLOC's repudiating the fact that fusion is a question of fusing the communist and workers movement, we would raise first that as Lenin stressed, "In every country there has been a period in which the working-class movement existed apart from socialism, each going its own way; and in every country this isolation has weakened both socialism and the working class movement. Only the fusion of socialism with the working class movement has in all countries created a durable basis for both. . . . It is a very difficult process and there is therefore nothing surprising in the fact that it is accompanied by vacillations and doubts." (Lenin, *Party Work in the Masses*, p. 7) And again Lenin says in **A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social Democracy**, ". . . When this fusion takes place the class struggle of the workers becomes the conscious struggle of the proletariat to emancipate itself from exploitation by the propertied classes, it is evolved into a higher form of the socialist workers movement — the independent working-class Social-Democratic party." MLOC's backward line on fusion liquidates the anti-revisionist communist movement and says there is only a spontaneous workers movement, and like true reformists want only to worship that spontaneity.

In talking about Party Program, MLOC somehow separates it from the question of political line. But without ideological struggle over political line, no program can be reached. Political line being M-L-M concretely applied to the concrete issues that must be solved to make proletarian revolution in the U.S. They have no understanding of what key link means, that link in the political chain of our present tasks that will enable us to have a grasp of the entire chain and move to complete the present task and move on to the next. At one point they say Party Building is the Key Link, ("to revolution") but this does not tell us how we complete our central task now which is party building. Later they say fusion is the key link, but having liquidated the communist movement where is the fusion to come from, where is scientific socialism to come from — why it spontaneously pops into the working class movement, imply the arch economists MLOC. Fusion is the fundamental contradiction in the life of the party, the combining of scientific socialism with the workers movement. But the key link at the present stage of the party building process is Political Line, and the ideological struggle over political line by which we unite as Marxist-Leninists and win the advanced to communism.

MLOC mutates lines so fast that they shrink away from the idea of ideological struggle over political line being the key link to party building, and the method by which a program will be put together which will enable genuine Marxist-Leninists to call a party congress together.

Organizations like IWK are also not clear enough that they uphold Political Line is Key link in the party building process today, and ideological struggle over political line, the method by which we unite Marxist-Leninists and win the advanced to communism, creating a party program — maximum and minimum goals, & strategy and tactics for achieving them. IWK tends to talk about mass struggle without lending a consistently revolutionary analysis of the situations of mass struggle that they cite. They tend to leave these decisions in the realm of reformism and not point out that reform is not an end-in-itself,

but must be a means of party building & struggling for socialist revolution.

WVO line of "equilibrium" re: the international situation, ie. "two contending trends," which belittles materialist dialectics, they are being backed off of, and changing their **Viewpoint** line to "war is the main trend" (ref. "NYALSC" forum, and P.S-4. "Either war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent the war. These are the two possible paths to revolution. The more likely situation is that world war will give rise to revolution, though we cannot predict the exact course history will take.")

Although the factors for both war and revolution are rising, this does not uphold equilibrium, events in Southern Africa, Middle East and in Asia, Latin America or So. Ireland show that revolution is still the main trend in the world today. This does not mean that at one time war cannot become the main trend. The line that "revolution is the main trend because this is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution" is an idealist line that does not differentiate between the general and the particular, between the universal and the specific. The "Wing" took this line with the bankrupt "Revolution is the only trend," and MLOC takes (took?) they might have mutated it already) this line, absurdly putting forward that "Revolution is always the main trend even during world war" and charging that the Comintern and Stalin were incorrect for formulating the United Front tactic with the liberal bourgeoisie against fascism. It shows how much idealism links the "left" trot-like deviations with the right opportunist deviations. Begin by saying revolution is always the main trend so that even during fascist upsurge all the bourgeoisie is seen as exactly the same, without contradictions, which leads to a trot line.

But WVO does not seem to understand imperialism thoroughly, and also are buffaloes by their continuing denigration and downplaying, outright belittling of the national liberation movements (perhaps related to the same national chauvinism that made them say that the national movements were the source of the Dangerous Duo's **Hustlerism**, rather than their petty bourgeois class outlook. This is also reminiscent of the old Progressive Labor "Party's" national chauvinism and neotrotskysm)

WVO does not understand revolution as spearheaded by the people and nations of the third world will help bring revolution in the U.S. and eventually USSR too. In the NY ALSC forum, WVO put forward that in order for revolution to stop war it would have to be raging inside the US and USSR too. **But they shd remember how Mozambique and Angola's being ripped out from under Portugal, toppled that fascist state! Intensified the internal contradictions inside Portugal to such an extent as to actually set off revolution in Portugal.**

This is because the essence of imperialism is the oppression of nations, the division of the world into oppressor nations and oppressed nations, and it is this oppression that raises to such intensity the contradiction between imperialism and the third world and has made of the national movements spearheads of the proletarian movement world wide. Imperialism is an international system, the capitalists have left the boundaries of one country, and in their search for new markets, new sources of raw materials, new places to export capital, new spheres of influence the very stability of the imperialist powers themselves is based on their continual expansion. Revolution in the third world causes the violent contraction of imperialism's markets, sources of raw materials, places to export capital, spheres of influence. . . it undermines the very basis of imperialism's strength, its constant expansion. It intensifies all the internal contradictions inside the imperialist fortresses and speeds revolution there.

Opportunism's material base is the

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ASSATA SHAKUR

(Continued from page 3)

struggling against national oppression & racism, and a revolutionary black woman struggling against the ruthless oppression of women in capitalist society. The multi-national proletariat & all revolutionary people in the U.S. must come out and support Assata Shakur in her struggle against the organized terrorism & repression at the hands of the Bourgeois State Apparatus and tirelessly defend her democratic rights.

We do not agree with the political line of the Black Liberation Army, specifically we believe that there are more than enough outrages committed by the bourgeoisie under U.S. capitalism each & everyday to rouse the advanced elements of the working class movement and those who are not roused by the general oppressive conditions under capitalism, these acts of terror by the bourgeoisie, will not be roused by "watching a handful of terrorists engaged in single combat with the government." (See Lenin's discussion of

economism & terrorism in **What Is To Be Done**, p.95) In fact the masses are aroused by the general conditions under capitalism and these outrages & terrorist acts of the bourgeoisie against the masses, but the question is, how do we organize & educate the proletariat in its own class interest to end this evil system of capitalism & national oppression forever? Thru propaganda, agitation and organization, the working class and its allies must be organized by its vanguard, its Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, to smash capitalism, build socialism and establish and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to suppress the real beast, the real "animal", the handful of moneybags—the capitalist class. But at the same time, we will support the resistance of the people against oppression wherever it occurs and we do our communist duty to expose the beastly nature of the capitalist system so that the great masses of people will rise up under the leadership of its vanguard communist party and smash it.



Under the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, national oppression was destroyed, and it will take Socialist Revolution in the U.S.A. to end this evil system of national oppression and racism!

Editorial

(Continued from page 10)

superprofits scooped out of the third world by imperialism. Opportunism does effect the whole multinational working class, from its most blatant manifestation, viz. the bribery of the labor aristocrats, a small sector of the workers, and the petty bourgeoisie. But it also creates a bigger carrot to use in its carrot and stick control of the masses, it enables there to be put out more widespread illusions of reform and peaceful change. It also means that, in the USA, the sector that is bribed is larger, and this bribed sector is put in more widespread "leadership" of the masses through trade unions, through electoral politics and antipoverty type programs, through the media, frequently thru art, culture, athletics, community and civil rights organizations, even thru sham "Marxist" organizations.

The revolutionary surge of the third world helps destroy the material base for the widespread opportunism in the USA, & exacerbate the internal contradictions of this dying imperialist system.

Who can deny the revolution raging forward in Southern Africa, only a bourgeois official, an ignorant person or a chauvinist. (Trots of course combine all three.) It is the fire, the pressure steady increasing and intensifying throughout the 3rd world that forces imperialism into defensive postures and at the same time force it to put even more weight on "Its own workers," eg. the budget cuts and layoffs here in the US. Liberation of Southern Africa will further isolate the US and throw all imperialism into a terminal frenzy. It will also throw the USSR into antagonistic contradiction with independent Africa, to the exact extent that these govts move toward socialism. Because the USSR will have its expansionism opposed and its mask of "natural ally" of the revolutionary movements torn off.

WVO does not believe that revolution is going on in the 3rd world. Like Trots they think only revolution in US & USSR ("the advanced capitalist countries") constitutes real revolution.

WVO has recently become a member of the ALSC (See article in this issue) and so their erroneous line on the international question must be struggled against, but at the present time the main danger in ALSC is the consolidating rightward motion of the RWC (Revolutionary Workers' Congress) which has now become a cats paw and interlocutor for the sham communist of the so called "Revolutionary Communist Party", "RCP" is a consolidated right opportunist mish-mosh; witness their trashy May Day non-propaganda. Not once did it mention socialism, party building, revolution or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Instead it called for reforms & the forming of a national mass workers organization.

RWC & RCP holding up only "US Imperialism as the enemy of the world's people is objectively liquidating the blow that must be struck at Soviet Social Imperialism, and by so doing unite openly with the CPSU, and the CPUSA (R).

The national question is a part of the general question of the proletariat revolution, a part of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (J. Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, pg. 73) LPR presently holds the line that the Puerto Rican revolution will have to be a two stage revolution, based upon the facts that it is a colony of United States imperialism, which controls it economically, politically and militarily, i.e. 14% of Puerto Rico is occupied by US military bases. The US is the principal contradiction vs the oppressed Puerto Rican nation.

LPR also raises the attempts by Soviet Social imperialism to dominate the Puerto Rican national liberation movement, specifically thru their control of PSP (Puerto Rican Socialist Party) and Cuba. RCL unites with this. The Puerto Rican people, led by the proletariat and its vanguard must in the

first stage wage a struggle (democratic revolution) against foreign imperialism and from there, in the second stage defeat their own bourgeoisie and their lackies in order to build socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat and the eventual emergence of communism.

We think it is a good thing that LPR criticized their past line where they characterize the Puerto Rican revolution as only having one stage. (see Resistance Vol.7 #9 where they lay out their self-criticism) Many times organizations merely change their line without admitting to past errors. To paraphrase Lenin, self-criticism and criticism show if we are genuine communists or not and how we conduct that criticism. We also unite with LPR in exposing and opposing the US imperialist trick of statehood of Puerto Rico and the current international situation. "The principal contradiction in the world today is between the two superpowers - U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social imperialism on the one hand and the nations and oppressed peoples of the third world on the other. The people of the third world and their struggles for liberation is the principal force shaping the world today. Revolution is the main trend in the world today. . . . In their struggle to dominate the world, each of the superpowers try to maintain a tight grip on areas under their control while at the same time gaining influence in areas under control of the other superpower. In Puerto Rico for an example, the principal contradiction against who all forces that can be united must be united is Yankee imperialism." (Resistance, Vol. 8#1) **Party Building, the Central Task**

In Resistance vol. 8#1&2, LPR began polemicizing with ATM. We are also doing an analysis of ATM's line which will be forthcoming. But we see the need to raise questions to LPR about these polemics. In a forum in Newark several months ago, LPR repudiated the position they previously had had held in common with the ATM on 2 line struggle being the exception to the rule inside communist organizations. Since LPR repudiated this erroneous line, we question why we have not seen this repudiated publicly or seen it in the criticism of ATM.

This line cannot be disconnected with the other errors LPR accuses ATM of. MLM can only develop in struggle and this struggle must be continuous, outside and inside the organization. "At all times the class struggle in society the struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, is reflected within the Communist Party and indeed within the minds of individual communists. The class struggle is a fact. It exists irrespective of man's will. . . . The Communist Party as a part of that objective reality cannot stand aside from the class struggle. Internationally it does and must reflect the class struggle. (The Australian Communist, #78, pg. 22-23)

Right Opportunism, the Main Danger

We have already criticized LPR for the formulation, "Revisionism is the main danger in the communist movement and reformism is the main danger in the workers movement." LPR still has not offered sufficient basis for their position and in studying this further we found further justification for RCL's line that revisionism is the main danger in the communist and workers movements. "The main danger and enemy for our party and the entire international revolutionary communist and workers' movement has been and still is right opportunism, revisionism." (Summary of the Report on the Activity of the Central Committee of the P.L.A., pg. 8) And in their continuing struggle against modern revisionism the Australian Communists state, "The struggle against revisionism required hard, continuing work amongst the people. The integration of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with revolutionary practice could only be done in ceaseless struggle against revisionism. (The Australian Communist #78, pg. 62)

(Continued on page 4)

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EDITORIAL

RCL's original party building paper tried to lay out unities and differences with several communist organizations. We feel this is constantly necessary in order to promote the unity of Marxist-Leninists which is the leading aspect of our two simultaneous tactical tasks of party building, one half of the slogan that describes these tasks, MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE, which is the aspect that sets the other aspect in motion, as the catalyst that enables us to WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM.

The October League recently put themselves forward as the "Communist Party (M-L)". This further confirms that they are the main danger pushing right opportunism in the anti-revisionist communist movement. In the current issue of the Call, O.L.'s so called party program contains page after page of phrase mongering and O.L.'s bourgeois lines on various questions. They continually speak of themselves as the "party of the proletariat", but should add to that they are self appointed. The "CP(M-L)" is a right opportunist "party" of the menshevik Martov type, a bourgeois labor party that will act as an agent of the bourgeoisie inside the working class movement not a Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao TseTung Thought.

O.L.'s "party program" is not a program at all, but more "current events", economism and phrase mongering. They completely negate the ideological struggle over political line which is the key link in this stage of the pre-party period. Without ideological struggle over political lines, there can be no clear lines of demarcation between the genuine and the sham and no real unity achieved. But O.L. is not interested in waging that ideological struggle, or any other struggle for that

MAY DAY

(Continued from page 1)

Day. This day was chosen because it was on May 1, 1886 that workers throughout the U.S. rallied and held a general strike in the struggle for an 8 hour day. This was an immediate and important struggle for the workers who at that time were forced to work for 10-16 hours a day.

The strike held in Chicago grew steadily until by May 3rd over 30,000 workers were included with thousands more showing sympathy and in demonstrations, particularly in a demonstration against the use of scabs at the McCormick Harvester Works. The police, protecting the property of the capitalists they serve, fired into the crowd of peaceful workers, killing 4 and wounding many others.

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

The struggles of the workers in Chicago taught the working class some bloody lessons. Marxist-Leninists theory is the summed up experience of the working class & oppressed nations and peoples' struggles taken in its general aspect; the Chicago workers struggles taught the international working class some bloody lessons, which summed up, deepened and confirmed

matter. Their method of attaining this unity is by being "personable and friendly," using their traveling salesman approach to party building, based on "all unity" of a completely unprincipled kind, trying to suck in young Marxist-Leninist groups under their hegemony.

In the stampede to call the first "party congress", O.L. has united all of its opportunist forces around their "party building is a question of immediacy" line and to further justify this opportunism, say that the danger of a new world war has made the formation of their party an even more urgent task. O.L.'s erroneous assertion that "the CP(M-L)" was forged in the heat of class struggle is an out and out lie. As a matter of fact, rather than struggle around the slogans for IWW 1975, O.L. said the slogan "Oppose Superpower War Preparation" could stay (after they tried to opportunistically drop the slogan) because it didn't make any difference to them, as long as "we did not lose friends."

In terms of the world situation, O.L. says that war and fascism are the main trend in the world today. O.L. does not see the role of the 3rd world struggles against imperialism as being important. This is more of O.L.'s chauvinism, because the liberation struggles in the 3rd world are the motor of revolution and the main trend in the world today. And on the Afro-American National Question, more chauvinism. O.L. says throughout their "party program" that they support the right of self determination for oppressed nations, but never once do they mention the fact that **They oppose secession**, which is more of their foul opportunism. O.L. knows that without the right to secede, the call for self-determination is a sham. This is the classic 2nd International chauvinist line of not supporting self-determination of oppressed nations.

OL has liquidated the anti-revisionist communist movement from which they themselves came, saying that all other political parties and trends are the defenders of capitalism and that all

the correctness of Marxism-Leninism.

It taught us that the police, courts, prisons, army, etc. are part of the state machinery, and that "the state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another." (Lenin, STATE AND REVOLUTION) And that no matter how "peaceful" and disciplined the workers are, the capitalists will unleash the most vile terror of the state to repress the struggle of the working class and oppressed peoples. Thus confirming another basic law of Marxism-Leninism that socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat can only come about through the smashing of the capitalist state by armed force and seizing state power.

It taught that the working class must be united in its fight against capital, and that the bourgeois ruling class is afraid of the organized power of the working class and will use everything it can to create disunity among the ranks of the workers. From using scabs and strikebreakers, to fomenting national chauvinism and hatred.

It taught that nothing would be gained without a most determined fight, and that for this fight the workers must master all forms of struggle and organization both illegal and legal.

Workers the world over summed up these struggles and learned from these lessons and International Workers Day, May Day was born

Now, in 1977, U.S. capitalism is entrapped in the further degeneration of its moribund economic system which is nearing a state of permanent crisis. There is no relief or emancipation of the working class from this death grip of capital other than Socialist Revolution. Workers, who must sell their collective labor power for their own subsistence to a small group of profit hungry vampires who expropriate all wealth, are finding out daily that the layoffs, speed-ups, lit-

(Continued on page 5)

those who oppose the system of capitalism should rally around the "CP (M-L)" and take up its program wholeheartedly. This is totally reactionary and another example of O.L.'s hegemony. But genuine Marxist-Leninist and Advanced forces will not unite with this bankrupt, right opportunist "party".

OL says nothing about the development of factory nuclei, the basic unit of communist organization in their party program. They pay lip service to the fact that the communist party is an illegal organization, but in reality practice legalism. OL raises trade unionism and economism as the answer to the problems of the working class in the U.S. They summarize each section of their so called program with a long list of reforms, and puts them forth as if these are the final aims of the struggle of the multi-national working class and oppressed nationalities.



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

The sham declaration that OL is now the party shows that they are now a con-

solidated right opportunist organization. The fact that OL claims to be anti-Revisionist makes them even more dangerous. OL has begun to cut the essence from M-L-M with their conciliatory revisionist lines such as **party of all classes** (anyone who hollers light-back can be in the party) and be calling for a loose martov type party, denying the party's role as vanguard of the proletariat.

OL's petty bourgeois hobbyism which they insist on calling "The Party", The Dangerous Duo's (PRRW & RWL's) "On To The First Party Congress" the CLP's revisionist non-party & RCP's chauvinist clique should make honest Marxist-Leninists struggle even harder to form a genuine Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao TseTung Thought. All these sham party formation rituals are just the petty bourgeois calling attention to themselves, as they zoom on out of the communist movement. WVO's "The Party Is A Settled Question!" and "WVO is the foundation of the genuine Communist Party" certainly seems to be a motion towards these same kind of false alarms. And a clear indication of WVO's raging hegemony ("The overall most correct line").

Additions to RCL's Analysis of MLOC

MLOC has repudiated, as being left opportunist, the lines which they formerly held of: (1) The 2 tasks of winning the advanced and uniting Marxist-Leninists (2) Propaganda as the chief form of activity (3) There is a low level of fusion (4) Political line is key link/Political line is key and theory is decisive (5) Political line is really the same as party program, or political line is what you say on a certain question. MLOC says that these repudiations necessarily flow from their having repudiated, "the essence of the line of the wing," i.e. that fusion is a question of fusing the communist and workers movement.

MLOC then has the nerve to say, "We do not see this repudiation as a major

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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 opportunist. 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!