

# UNITY STRUGGLE

and

MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE!

WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!!

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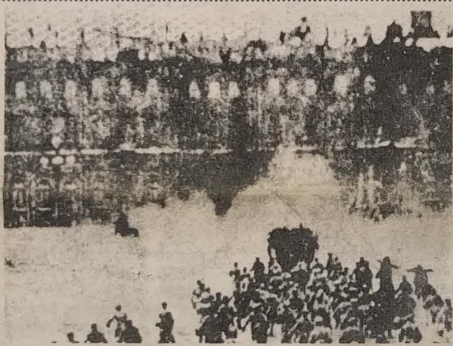
25 CENTS

## ANTI-CHINA CAMPAIGN in VIETNAM!

VIETNAMESE AUTHORITIES PERSECUTE CHINESE RESIDENTS



Killer Cops in Brooklyn pg.10



During the night of November 7-8, 1917, workers, peasants and revolutionary sailors stormed the Winter Palace and arrested the bourgeois Provisionary Government holed up inside. (print from Forge)

## Red October

The month of October is one of immense historical significance to the struggles of the working class and oppressed nations against capitalism and imperialism.

October of 1917 saw the seizure of power in Russia by the working class, led by the great Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin. Arising out of the chaos of World War I, the October Revolution immediately became a banner in struggle to oppressed people the world over. The modern proletariat, the working class born of large scale industrial production, the greatest class in history, had stepped forward to lead humanity upon a new high road of social development.

In order to secure its victory the Russian working class had won to its side the broad masses of the poor peasants and of the oppressed nationalities. This showed to the peoples of the colonized and semicolonized countries of the world that the path of their own liberation lay with revolution and socialism. In the wake of the October Revolution the Communist Party of China (CPC) was founded in 1921.

During years of complex and tumultuous struggles, Chairman Mao Tsetung emerged as the great leader of the CPC. Applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete con-

ditions of China. In a two stage revolution, first came the revolutionary overthrow of the ancient feudal landholding system in the countryside, and of the Chinese agents of imperialism, particularly American imperialism. Mao called this the stage of new democracy, for this was democracy to set the conditions for the second stage of revolution, the transition onward to socialism.

In October of 1949, the agents of imperialism were driven out of China and the great Chinese Revolution rose to power.

Just as had the Russian Revolution of thirty-two years before, the Chinese Revolution became a brilliant inspiration to progress in every country. Subsequent to Stalin's death, the traitor Khrushchov seized power in the Soviet Union and embarked upon the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China stood firm against this tragic development. Today more than ever, the progress of socialism in the Peoples' Republic of China stands as an irrefutable proof to the people of the whole world that the future of humanity is with socialism, and that the cause of revolution and socialism is invincible.

A shocking situation has developed in Southeast Asia. Beginning in November of last year the authorities of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have undertaken a vast campaign of persecution against Chinese nationality residents of Vietnam. At this time more than 150,000 persons have been expelled from Vietnam to China. The Vietnamese authorities have concocted a number of preposterous excuses for their outrageous conduct.

There are about three million people of Chinese descent in Vietnam. Many of them have been there for generations but still retain Chinese citizenship. In the 1950's Ngo Dinh Diem, a Vietnamese puppet ruler for the U.S., forcibly attempted to make these people take Vietnamese citizenship. The Communist Party of Vietnam, then call the Vietnam Workers' Party, and the Communist Party of China at the time jointly condemned Diem's action. The CPC encouraged the Chinese residents to take Vietnamese citizenship, according to its standing policy. Both parties agreed that the Chinese residents remained Chinese citizens and that the only permissible means to change citizenship was by persuasion.

Today, however, the Vietnamese authorities claim in their press that, "back in 1956 almost all the Chinese residents in South Vietnam adopted Vietnamese of Chinese origin." The Vietnamese authorities have opted on this question for the line of Ngo Dinh Diem over the line of Ho Chi Minh.

There is a considerable irony of history in this. Ten years ago, at the height of their barbaric assault upon the Vietnamese people, the U.S. imperialists systemically lied about the Geneva agreements of 1954 which settled the expulsion of French imperialism from Southeast Asia. They meant to give cover to their aggression and intervention. Now the Vietnamese authorities are using the same tactic, lying about agreements from the same period in order to justify wrongdoing on their own part. It is shameful indeed to see the Vietnamese authorities besmirch the brilliant world-historic achievements of the Vietnamese people in this way.

The Vietnamese authorities claim that the matter is exclusively internal, that the persons expelled from Ho Chi Minh City were wealthy merchants.

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## TAX REVOLT? BAKKE CASE

Disintegration and crisis reign over the affairs of US capitalism. This is the result of the unquenchable greed for profits on the part of the capitalist class.

Although they created this economic crisis the capitalists have no desire to bear its burdens. They are on the attack against the people, seeking every means to divide, suppress and impoverish the working class and oppressed nations and minorities.

### PROPOSITION 13

On June 6, by a 2-1 vote, California property owners voted a 57 per cent slash in property taxes, thus taking a \$5-7 billion bite out of California's operating expenses. The question is: who is going to take the weight? The burden of this loss of revenue will undoubtedly be shifted to the backs of the working masses of California. The State legislature estimates a loss of 75,000 jobs, with 8,300 in Los Angeles alone, a

(Afro-Americans, Puerto Ricans, etc.).

Two pieces of trickery are big news items right now. One is a bill of goods called Proposition 13 which recently was sold to California voters; the other is a legal flim-flam called the Bakke Decision by which the ruling class has announced that it is determined to intensify the system of national oppression in this country.

hiring and replacement freeze and no Cost of Living increases for all State employees (except the legislators themselves who have voted themselves a 10% wage increase). Other vital areas will also feel the crunch: scores of school districts have cancelled summer school; transit fares have been raised in L. A. and San Francisco with other cities likely to follow; education, fire departments, sanitation workers, public hospitals, day

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## THE DEFENSE of ZAIRE from RUSSIAN AGGRESSION

Soviet social imperialism is rapidly preparing the conditions for its own doom. The USSR's frantic military aggression in Africa is rapidly growing. In the case of Zaire, the New Tsars have invaded by proxy with a mercenary army twice since 1977. People are awakening all over the world to the rising danger of Soviet Imperialism and the danger of a third world war. With some 30,000 Soviet-Cuban fully armed combat troops stationed in Angola as their rear area Katangan mercenaries launched a blood thirsty invasion into the Shaba province of Zaire, which was once called the Katanga Province. The Code Name for the attack was "Operation Dove", and the mercenaries were paid with Soviet blood money, and trained and armed by the Cuban and East German governments.

Certainly, the USSR's plan was defeated in Zaire. A broad united front mobilized to stop the Soviet plan to cut off the Shaba province of Zaire. The Soviet Imperialists wanted Shaba in order to get its rich copper and cobalt. They want to take the whole of Zaire by invasion and coup, or partition it.

Why are the Soviet Imperialists in such a frenzy and taking chances like the invasion of Zaire right before the eyes of the whole world? Why twice in two years? Because the Soviet Union is the latecomer to the imperialist feast, so they are the most aggressive of the two superpowers. Yet, with its expansionist movement from Europe to the Mediterranean and all over Africa, clearly the USSR exposed its weakness: it overreaches itself and becomes a paper tiger when the people put up tough resistance!

INTERNATIONALIST



GLOSSARY

## FASCISM

Each day there is more and more talk of a fascist right wing dictatorship in the U.S. Recently, Newsweek published a cover story entitled: "Is America Turning Right?" Why is the ruling class raising this question more and more? Because the U.S. ruling class is trapped by economic, political and social crisis, and it can't find the way out. There is endless struggle among the people to find a way out of the crisis, a way that will free the people from the horrible menace of the economic crisis, the move to the right and the danger of world war. There are also endless struggles and splits within the ruling class, the monopoly capitalist class, on how to maintain their criminal rule, how to snuff out the revolutionary movement and its leaders; and how to put down the resistance of the masses to wage cuts, cutbacks in benefits, worsening working conditions, sex discrimination, poor housing, bad education, police brutality, racism and national oppression.

What do we mean when we say the bourgeoisie is moving further to the right? What is the menace of fascism? Fascism is "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital". (G. Dimitroff, 7th Congress Report 1935, pg. 10, THE UNITED FRONT). Some people want you to think that fascism is the "revolt of the petty bourgeoisie", the small shopowners, etc. But this is a vicious bourgeois lie spread by the enemy to cover the tracks of the real danger of fascism in the U.S., the monopoly bourgeoisie!

We must pay attention to the fact that "The development of fascism and the fascist dictatorship itself assume DIFFERENT FORMS in different countries, according to historical, social and economic conditions and to the national peculiarities and the international position of the given country." (Same source, pg. 12) So in the U.S., the S-1 Bill against the peoples basic democratic rights, the reactionary Bakke Decision against the democratic rights and the struggle for equality of oppressed nationalities and women, Proposition 13, etc. are the particular forms in which the most reactionary elements of the ruling class is mounting its attacks on the working masses, oppressed nationalities and women.

We must also understand that fascism does not come to power as an ordinary succession of one bourgeois government by another; it is a substitution of one form of class domination by the capitalist class, called bourgeois democracy, by another form—open terrorist dictatorship. The history of the peoples' struggles inform us that we must wage a tit-for-tat struggle against reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie

democracy that are paving the road to fascism. We cannot afford to underrate the importance of these reactionary steps to the right, which add up to a surge to the right, such as the Bakke Decision, S-1, Proposition 13, the use of renegade "Doves" turned war hawks to call for imperialist invasions in Democratic Kampuchea—measures which suppress the democratic liberties of the working masses in the U.S. and threaten the peace, sovereignty and independence of the oppressed nations of the Third World. If we do not fight these reactionary moves, if we adopt a policy of passive resistance in the face of the growth of the menace of fascism, we will not be in a good position to prevent the victory of fascism; in fact, we are inviting a fascist dictatorship and helping its bloodthirsty rise to power!

As fascism mounts its attack, it attracts the masses by its deceitful appeals to their most urgent needs and demands. So that the leading elements in the Proposition 13 movement actually pimp off the urgent needs and desires of the masses, and as it says in the article on Proposition 13 in this same issue, it uses the masses to get multi-billion dollar tax cuts for the filthy rich super-billionaire corporate interests and big landowners of California at the expense of the hard working masses of California, who don't have exotic country clubs and exclusive private schools to take care of their special needs.

We are defining fascism so you can cast away illusions about what is coming in this country and join us in the struggle to prevent it, to beat back the menace of fascism in the U.S. Some might think that it could never happen here. But the motion of history in the country and the current crisis tell us that we cannot afford to harbor illusions about the nature of capitalism in the U.S. The monopoly capitalists may use their tools like the KKK (which is on the rise again) or the American Nazis (which the Supreme Court has given its blessing) or repeat the Red Summer of 1919 or McCarthyism in the 1950's—it may be a combination of these, ferocious forms of attacks on the masses or new forms of terrorism against the people. The menace of fascism is increasing and we must prepare or we will surely suffer.

\*Both George McGovern and Tom Hayden have degenerated into agents of the bloodthirsty designs of imperialism against Democratic Kampuchea (Cambodia) and are helping prepare public opinion against the peaceful and democratic aims and aspirations of the people of Kampuchea.

Why call this ragtime gang of killers, who were historically set up by the Belgian imperialists to undermine the independence of the Congo in 1960, why call these Katangan mercenaries a liberation army? Because the New Tsars are more and more desperate, aggressively moving to redive an already divided world among the other imperialists, the New Tsars know that they must wage wars to take colonies and neocolonies away from the other imperialists. So the Soviet Union has become the main danger of war in the world today.

Africa is quickly becoming an important arena for the rivalry between the superpowers for world supremacy and one of the hottest spots in the world. Armed intervention has become the main form of Soviet expansion in Africa and the Cuban military forces are the principal tool and proxy.

Despite the variety of lies put out by both superpowers on Zaire in order to prepare public opinion in favor of their imperialist rivalry and schemes in Africa, the people of Zaire struggling against the Soviet ordered invasion of Shaba is a just and heroic struggle against colonial annexation. It is an anti-hegemonist struggle and it helps create the conditions for the revolutionary people's struggle to transform Zairean society, propelling it toward democracy and socialism. It is without a doubt part of the main revolutionary trend in the world situation today.

The struggle between the two superpowers effects every situation in world politics. All the basic contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in Africa, especially countries like Zaire, and it is one of the weakest links in the chain of imperialist slavery.

Because of the amount of slanders and attacks against the correct line on the national defense of Zaire against the invasion of the New Tsars, we need to make reference to lessons paid for in blood by the working class and oppressed nations and peoples against imperialism, and use these experiences as a reference in studying the political forces at work in Zaire.

The Peoples Republic of China correctly came out in defense of Zaire against Soviet aggression and by positive and leading example taught the working class and oppressed nations how to make use of contradictions in the enemy camp to create favorable conditions for the people's struggle in Zaire and throughout the world. In a document on the significance of the 3 worlds theory in working out strategy and tactics for revolutionary struggle, K Majal General Secretary of the CC of the Polish Communist Party pointed out: "In their struggle to oppose the main danger the 2 superpowers pose to their interests, to oppose the outbreak of a new imperialist world war and to consolidate their sovereignty and political and economic independence, the third world countries can and should make use of the differences among the developed second world countries, the contradiction between the first and second worlds and the ever growing and sharpening contradictions between the two superpowers." (Read Peking Review No. 51, page 19, 1977)

Some people are genuinely confused about the nature of the united front and national war against the New Tsars invasion, its revolutionary essence, and the active role the working class and its vanguard leadership must play in the national war against Soviet aggression. Especially because of the history of Mobutu, people get confused about the objective necessity of a united front against the Soviet invasion, a united front that includes Mobutu & Co. and all forces that will unite against the Soviet invaders. Yet, in reality the fact is that, "No matter what classes, parties or individuals in an oppressed nation join the revolution, and no matter whether they themselves are conscious of the point or understand it, so long as they oppose imperialism, their revolution becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution and they become its allies." (Mao Tsetung, On New Democracy)

Some people think that the struggle against Mobutu is principal at this time but they do not understand that revolution proceeds in stages! The principal contradiction in Zaire during the time

of the invasion is between the People and Soviet Social Imperialism. Imperialism must be dealt with first, and then domestic reactionaries.

Looking over decades of revolutionary experience, Chairman Mao commented in 1956, "Don't strike at too many enemies at a time, strike at a few, and even with the big landlords deal your blows at the most reactionary handful. To strike at everyone may seem very revolutionary, but actually it causes great harm". (Mao, Vol. 5, P. 528, Some Experiences In Our Party's History)

A Zairean Marxist-Leninist interviewed in The Call showed he understood dialectical materialism, "Some people would want us to take Mobutu and his government as the principal target at the moment the USSR and its mercenaries are committing aggression against Zaire. This position objectively amounts to support for the aggressive designs of the USSR against our country". (Call, p.7, July 3, 1978)

Also, Lenin said making use of contradictions among the enemy is... "a rule which will remain fundamental with us for a long time, until socialism finally triumphs all over the world. We must take advantage of the antagonism and the contradictions that exist between the two imperialisms, the two groups of capitalist states, and play them off against each other, until we have conquered the whole world, and as long as we are economically and militarily weaker than the capitalist world we must stick to the rule that we must be able to take advantage of the antagonisms and contradictions existing among the imperialists. Had we not adhered to this rule, everyone of us would have long ago been strung up by the neck, to the glee of the capitalists." (Lenin, Speech Delivered At A Meeting Of Activists Of The Moscow Organization Of The R.C.P. (B) Dec. 6, 1920, LCW, Vol 31, 438-9)

Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Leadership in Zaire will strengthen the revolutionary forces and gain necessary political maturity in the course of the national war and democratic struggles and raise the peoples consciousness by the example it set in the struggle against the Soviet invaders today. This will prepare the conditions in Zaire for the Proletariat to lead the peoples' revolutionary struggle and carry it thru to the end. But unless we want to be misled and go off the path of revolution at every turn, we must remember that revolution is made in stages! The successful united front against Soviet Social Imperialism in Zaire can only point out to the Zairean people the need to completely eliminate all hegemonism in Zaire (such as remaining U.S. interests) and help set the stage for the carrying out of a revolutionary struggle to the end.

Footnote: Mao "On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism", p. 16.

"The advocates of closed-door tactics say the forces of the Revolution must be pure, absolutely pure, the road of the revolution must be straight, absolutely straight. Nothing is correct except what is literally recorded in 'The Holy Writ'. The national bourgeoisie is entirely and eternally counterrevolutionary... If we shake hands with Tsai Ting-Kai we must call him a counterrevolutionary at the same moment... It follows therefore that closed-doorism is the sole wonder-working magic, while the united front is an opportunist tactic.

"...Like every other activity in the world, revolution always follows a tortuous road and never a straight one. The alignment of forces in the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary camps can change, just as everything else in the world changes."



# REVOLUTIONARY MOTION!!

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

**NICARAGUA**

Recent events in Nicaragua have led to an all out civil war with the masses of peasants, workers, and students fighting against the right wing dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza Debayle.

The victorious seizure of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of the national palace and over 500 legislators in return for the release of political prisoners, a \$2 million ransom and a 50% raise for striking hospital workers.

A cross section of Somoza's opponents led by the S.N.L.F. organized a general strike in an attempt to topple the obviously weakened Somoza regime. Armed attacks by the S.N.L.F. in 3 major cities; Esteli, Masaya & Chinandega as well as the capital of Managua has further intensified the struggle. Somoza's imposing martial law, nor the possible calling on neighboring countries under the Central American mutual defense pact will sidetrack the Nicaraguan people's struggle for national independence.

**NORTH & SOUTH YEMEN**

Within 1 week S. Yemen's president—Ali Robaye—was overthrown and N. Yemen's president assassinated when a bomb carried by a special envoy from S. Yemen exploded 2 days after President Robaye's ouster 500 troops landed in Aden, S. Yemen to back up the new pro-Soviet government of Ali Nasser. This is a clear attempt by S.S.I. to consolidate their huge military bases in S. Yemen as a base to secure hegemony of the Red Sea's entrance. The middle East and the Red Sea area is an important flank of Europe which contains the richest deposits of oil and natural gas.

**IRAN**

In the face of evergrowing popularly supported demonstration Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi announced in early September the establishment of a liberalized government headed by Prime Minister Sharif Emami.

Within hours of the announced reforms—14 political parties sprang up, gambling casinos and discos were closed and revoked a non-Islamic calendar. These were some demands of the largest political group the Muslim clergy who had also demanded the release of over 230 priests who had been arrested during months of protests.

These reforms, however did not pacify the masses and more anti-Shah demonstrations were planned throughout Iran. This forced the Shah to impose martial law and effectively replaced the reform government with the Martial Law Administrator, General Overissi. Thousands of demonstrators were teargassed and hundreds killed as the Shah's troops fired into the crowds. No amount of repression will stop the Iranians masses just demands for democracy.

**CAMP DAVID AGREEMENT**

The United States, Egypt and Israel announced in September that they had concluded a mutual agreement described as a "framework for peace" in the Middle East.

Regardless of the content of this agreement, it cannot bring peace. Imperialism remains in the Middle East in the presence of the two superpowers, the USSR and the US. Therefore, imperialist contention for domination of the region remains there also, and this

is the real source of war.

The aim of the US and Israel in concluding the agreement is to split the unity of the Arab countries in defense of their rights, sovereignty and natural resources; to isolate the genuine representative of the Palestinian people, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and to exclude their superpower rival, the USSR, from influence. Egypt's aim is to fulfill its just goal of recovering its territories seized by Israel in the June, 1967 war.

The US, the USSR, and Israel will all fail in their aims. The proposed settlement is entirely unacceptable to the Arab countries in its treatment of the crucial questions of Zionist settlements on Arab lands, and of the national rights and land of the Palestinian people. The Zionists are given five years to "negotiate" the status of the West Bank and Gaza territories, and Begin has categorically rejected any dealings with the PLO.

The Camp David summit has made no important break among the Arab countries. Since the US has failed to manage this trick, the USSR is now taking its turn by attempting to line Arab countries up against Egypt.

President Anwar Sadat's important positive achievement is that he has forced the US and Israel to recognize publicly that sovereignty over the Sinai Desert territory belongs legitimately and inalienably to Egypt. This important development is bound to bring even greater efforts from the countries and peoples of the Middle East in the struggle to recover all Arab lands seized by force and to restore land and national rights to the Palestinian people.

The unity of interests of the Arab countries and people is an objective fact of great historical importance. Neither the USSR, the US, nor the Israeli Zionists can set aside or defeat this great unity.

**C. Hua's Balkan Visit**

In August, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Communist Party of China (CPC), made a historic visit to Romania, Yugoslavia, and Iran.

This was the first trip abroad by a Chairman of the CPC in more than twenty years, and the first by Chairman Hua. It was extremely successful in cementing friendly relations between China and each of the three countries. Throongs of people welcomed Chairman Hua on each stop in his itinerary.

The common theme of the entire trip was opposition to the war preparations and hegemonic domination of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. Romania and Yugoslavia are recognized as socialist countries by the CPC. Both are in the geographic backyard of the more aggressive of the superpowers, the USSR. Both, however, maintain a highly independent course in their affairs. The tumultuous welcome afforded to Comrade Hua by the peoples of these two countries proves that the masses see through the disguises of both hegemonic powers, and highly value their independence.

In Romania, Chairman Hua said, "The people of all countries want peace. But the stark reality goes against the people's desire. Forces that once dreamt of founding a giant world empire were pulverized long ago by the people's iron fists and the present-day seekers of world hegemony will come

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Several recent events make it increasingly clear that the U.S. bourgeoisie is consciously tightening the screws of fascism. They are preparing both for world war with the Soviet Union, and, to put down the revolutionary upsurge of the world's peoples against U.S. imperialism including the growing upsurge right here in the U.S. With the reactionary Bakke decision they have cut back yet another democratic reform, affirmative action, in order to continue to legally justify the oppression of the oppressed national minorities and of women, and the use of demagogic racist tactics to divide the multi-national working class. The Supreme Court also ruled recently that the police can search the premises of ANYONE who MIGHT have information concerning a crime—not only newspapers, but the premises of any organization or individual—with nothing more than an easily obtained search warrant instead of a subpoena. What

this means, for example, is that the police could stage a crime involving an undercover agent in a political organization and, using this as the basis, break into the houses of all members and friends of that organization "looking for evidence". The most dangerous move, however, is the Senate Bill S-1437, formerly known as the S-1 Bill, which rewrites the entire federal criminal code in such a way that it allows the creation of a police state. This bill, pushed both by so-called liberals such as Ted Kennedy and by conservatives, shows that there is a basic unity among BOTH wings of the bourgeoisie over the need to tighten their control over the bourgeois state as they prepare themselves for war and against revolution. And finally, there is a tremendous increase in the activity of fascist organizations like the KKK, who recently stage a march in Florida, and the Nazis who marched in Chicago on July 9.

## Fascism and the Move to the Right

In a public relations ploy which got them national news coverage, the Nazis demanded to march through Skokie, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago where many survivors of Hitler's Nazi concentration camps live. What they really wanted, however, was to march through Marquette Park in a racially divided community, where they had been provoking antagonism among the people for several years. Using the cover of "freedom of speech" the bourgeoisie gave both the Nazis, and the KKK (who had been trying for several years to get a permit to march in Florida) the right to march. But then the bourgeoisie went one step further—they openly used cops to defend the Nazis. 2000 anti-fascist demonstrators showed up to chase the 25 Nazi thugs out of the park. The Nazis shouted such trash as 'Do you want us to put you in the ovens? We will. First of all you marched the niggers into our neighborhood. We say one more time, all you Jews are going to get it'; and to the largely black counter-demonstrators; 'we should put every one of these creatures in the gas chambers where they belong'. Of course, the POLICE ARRESTED THE ANTI-FASCIST DEMONSTRATORS.

Another case showing how the bourgeoisie aids and supports fascist organizations while pretending to oppose them is that of the FBI informer Gary Thomas Rowe. During the civil rights period the FBI pretended that it was 'evenhandedly' investigating both the KKK and the 'radical agitators' of the civil rights movement. But what was their star agent (a t.v. movie has been made about this 'hero's' life), and he was pictured on the cover of major news magazines. He ambushed and murdered civil rights people in cars; he was beating and terrorizing civil rights workers. And in 1963 he participated in the Birmingham bombing which killed four black girls in a church! And what did the FBI do? They not only covered up these facts, but payed him to do them! In fact, we know now that the FBI, when asked for protection by civil rights workers in the 60's was passing this information on to the KKK to set them up for terrorist attacks.

What about "freedom of speech"? Does someone who calls for the genocide of millions of people deserve any freedom? Freedom of speech is just a false issue created by the bourgeoisie—as they well know, freedom of speech only exists in the concrete, in the control of the mass media, in the ability to get out information to the people. As long as the bourgeoisie control the media they call for freedom of speech because they're the ONLY ONES who have it. They can even push fascism by pretending to be opposed to it as they did with the Nazis in Chicago—for they're the ones who decided to give the Nazis repeated nation wide coverage on T.V., radio, newspapers, and magazines! There has never been any real freedom of speech in this country except for the ruling class. Malcolm X got murdered for exercising his "freedom of speech" and H. Rap Brown was jailed; workers at the J.P. Stevens Plant in the south get fired or beaten by fascists goons for exercising their "freedom of speech". While the fascists got nationwide coverage, the anti-fascists had to rely on leaflets to expose the fascists and fascism; while the fascists had police protection, the anti-fascists got arrested.

What really needs to be understood is the relationship between such fascist organizations as the Nazis, the KKK, the National Caucus of Labor Committees (which, very much like the German Nazis who called

themselves "National Socialists", pretends to be pro-working class), the Minutemen, and fake "religious" groups like the Moonies on one hand; and the move further to the right of the U.S. bourgeoisie, the major fascists, on the other.

Fascism refers to the system of government which is the last refuge of the bourgeois ruling class in its attempt to defeat the revolutionary working class movement. The primary characteristic of fascism is the imposition of an absolute military and police dictatorship over the masses of people, and the removal of all democratic rights that have been gained over years of struggle by the working class under bourgeois democracy. While the bourgeoisie controls the state under both fascism and bourgeois democracy, under the latter the stick of fascism is deceptively hidden by the carrot of "democratic reforms" and certain democratic rights.

Georgi Dimitroff states, in the UNITED FRONT: THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM, the basic Marxist-Leninist line on the peoples struggle vs fascism, which should be read by everyone. "Fascism

Georgi Dimitroff states in THE UNITED FRONT: THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM, the basic Marxist-Leninist line on the peoples struggle vs fascism, which should be read by everyone: "Fascism is a most ferocious attack by capital on the mass of working people; fascism is unbridled chauvinism and annexationist (i.e. imperialist) war; fascism is rabid reaction and counter-revolution; fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and of all working people!" (p. 15)

In order to cover up the fact that they are the real power behind fascism, the bourgeoisie falsifies history and offers various theories about the origins of fascism. For example, they try to explain the rise of Hitler in Germany as an ACCIDENT of history due to what they say are purely psychological factors such as the "German national character", when in fact Hitler was supported by the monopoly capitalists. They needed to completely wipe out the German communist and working class movement, physically by sending all communists and their sympathizers to the concentration camps, and to divide the working class through the doctrine of racism and national chauvinism. They did this in order to prepare themselves to wage wars of aggression against the other nations.

Today the Soviet Union already has established a bourgeois dictatorship of the Hitler type and the U.S. bourgeoisie is doing everything it can to prepare itself in the same way. On the one hand they secretly support the neo-fascist groups while stating in the bourgeois press that they abhor fascism and are doing everything they can to avoid it. On the other hand they are preparing themselves to institute real fascism by tightening their control of the state—the police, CIA, FBI, courts, jails and armed forces. History won't repeat itself; and nurtured sickies like the American Nazi party are not the ones who will come to power under fascism. It will more likely be a more direct representative of the right wing of the bourgeoisie like Ronald Reagan or one of his cohorts who will lead a (cont. on p.5)



# LEFT BLOCISM IS ACCEPTANCE OF CAPITALIST OPPRESSION!

(Reprint from Australian Communist #84)

In the course of building revolutionary organisation in Australia we have amassed some experience of left blocism. One of the first things that can be said about it is that the writing of articles about it has never served to properly dispose of the problem. Nevertheless, the summing up of experiences is an important part of the process of getting to know a thing, and this is also true of left blocism.

The existence and influence of capitalist ideology is all-pervading. It exists in and influences Communists and the Communist Party. It manifests itself in different ways and in different conditions. As was said in a previous article, "the human brain is the highest form of organisation of matter but it exists in a social environment."

That environment at the present time is the environment of capitalism, of classes and class society in the context of which the masses of the people are exploited and oppressed. It is an environment of struggle and counter-struggle, of the people's struggle to seize state power and end capitalism, and of the capitalists' struggle to retain state power and prolong its life in the face of the ever-intensifying struggles of the people. Even under socialism there are still classes and class struggle. Even after the abolition of classes there will still be social contradictions.

Under capitalism, capitalist ideas play their part in shaping the world outlook of the given Communist and even of the Communist Party. This is a necessary part of the social existence of Communists and of Communist Parties. It is not and cannot be the decisive factor in determining the outcome of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but it can be a decisive factor in determining the approach of individual Communist Parties to that struggle.

One of the manifestations of the existence and influence of capitalist ideology upon a Communist or Communists is the left bloc. Certainly capitalism seeks to reconcile the oppressed with their oppression. This is as true of those who do not yet recognise it or who only half recognise it, feel it, sense it. Left blocism is precisely such a reconciliation with capitalism, an acceptance of its oppression on the part of those who "recognise" its oppression and who "struggle" against it.

How is left blocism an acceptance of the oppression of capitalism? It is an acceptance of the oppression of capitalism because it is a failure to take a stand against the obstacles created by capitalism to a truly mass style of work, it is a withdrawal from struggle against obstacles in favour of the comfort of the small group of like-minded people who are divorced from mass work and from the obstacles to it.

What are obstacles to mass work under capitalism? They are basically two-fold: physical and ideological. Physical obstacles exist in the standing army, the police, courts, jails, reactionary thugs etc. They constitute violence and the threat of violence. Our experience of them is still rather small in Australia—it is not a daily phenomenon to be accosted by police, to be beaten or shot at. Nevertheless, we have had experience of them and will have much more of it in the future.

The ideological obstacles to mass work at the present time the more numerous, the more widespread. They are a daily, an

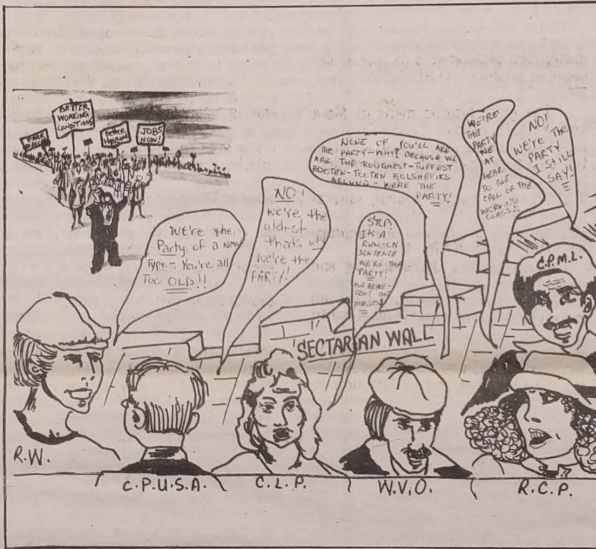
hourly phenomenon. The ability of Communists to cope with them varies, but they exist as obstacles for all Communists, and all Communists have some degree of difficulty with them. An example of such an obstacle is the experience of finding that one's presentation of an advanced idea is rejected — with varying degrees of intensity — by the person or people with whom one is trying to do mass work. Often this is the fault of the presentation. Whatever the reason it is an unpleasant experience, whether in the course of casual conversation or of the handing out of leaflets etc. More examples could be cited, but this one serves to illustrate the point.

The reaction of the given Communist to the various obstacles to mass work can be two-fold. It can lead either to a self-examination as the basis of a strengthening of resolve, or it can lead to feelings of failure and of contempt for the masses, both of which represent a weakening of resolve. Where there is a weakening of resolve there is the temptation to withdraw into small-group security, into that close and comfort-

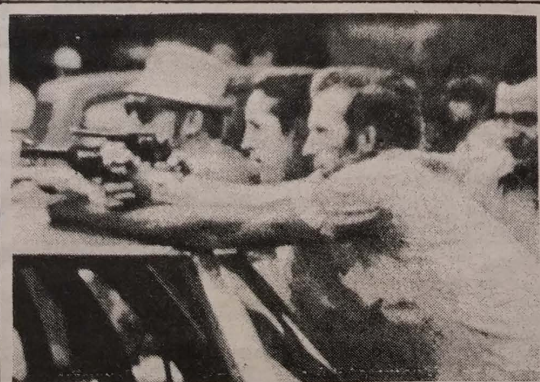
table circle of friends who are less likely to challenge one's cherished assumptions, or if a challenge is made, to do it in an academic, pedantic, philistine way where both sides can easily score points through debate. The intellectuals are particularly susceptible to this sort of thing as they are not forced through daily, hourly participation in socialised production to associate with people of various ideas and philosophies. Intellectuals are mainly responsible for left bloc houses, left bloc pubs etc. But it can also infect the workers and working people — the group of advanced workers always sitting together during lunch breaks, or the handful of "politically interested" teachers always sitting and talking together in the staff room. Political work becomes the frenzied attendance at meetings and the attempt to get onto committees of all sorts. Phrasemongering and nitpicking becomes the hallmark of the work of such people. They do not understand, or forget, that revolutionary work for the most part is not work that leads one into the limelight, that enables one to always be at the forefront of things. (Sometimes, of course, revolutionary work does lead to these things, but they are accepted with humility and for the purpose of serving the people. They are the exception rather than the rule.)

Factionalism is the logical extension of left blocism, of accepting the obstacles and oppression of capitalism by withdrawing from them, of rejecting mass work for close-circle phrasemongering. Differences of opinion appear within the left bloc (which despite its own self-proclaimed purity cannot escape the inevitable division of one into two), and those of one opinion retreat to the comfort of their particular faction (where their ideas won't be challenged), whilst those of the other opinion do likewise. Or there is the inevitable clash between Marxism-Leninism and the politics of the left bloc, with the latter operating as a faction within and against the Party, or within and against a mass organisation or organisations. The matter is nearly always resolved in time, but as a general problem it always remains, is always present as a problem.

The human brain, to repeat an earlier point, exists in a social environment. It is this fact which gives rise in class cont. on page 11



## Bourgeoisie's lies will never hide the truth



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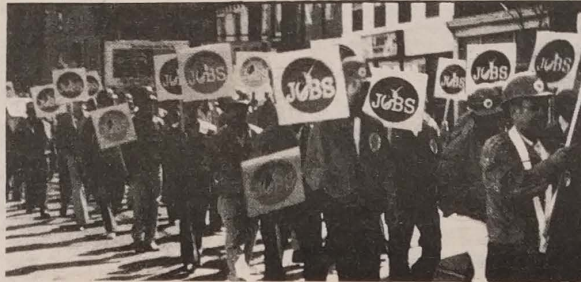
# MULTI-NATIONAL WORKING CLASS IS THE VANGUARD!

## Capitalism Cannot Be Saved!!

Day by day it becomes clearer and clearer that capitalism is coming to an end. Capitalism (wage slavery) is a wornout social system. It brings nothing but pain and suffering for the working masses. It has served its historical purpose. The U.S. economy is in deep crisis, and the ruling class plans to save this country have failed one after another. And the only thing that any honest commentators must agree on, is that the capitalist class cannot lead us out of this economic and political crisis that threatens the future of working masses in the U.S. Only the working class can lead us out of this crisis, and the only way out is socialist revolution.

In this situation, the capitalist class concentrates a lot of energy and money and propaganda presenting the working people as if we were dirt, as if we were stupid, slow and backward. But in reality, the U.S. working class is the greatest class in the U.S. society, the greatest class in U.S. history, and the leading class in making social change in the U.S.

The working class is the leading class and the main force in making revolution in the U.S. The working class is the most disciplined, organized, cohesive class, because it is directly attached to the most advanced means of production. Because it is subjected to capitalist exploitation, our class has been placed in a special and favorable position as far as liberation is concerned. The great founders of Marxism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, 130 years ago pointed out, "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie (the capitalist class) today, the proletariat (the industrial working class) alone is a really revolutionary



class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product." (THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, pg 44)

"The great historic merit of Marx and Engels consists in the fact that they indicated to the proletarians of all the countries their role, their mission, to be the first to rise in the revolutionary struggle against capital, rally around themselves in this struggle all the working people and the oppressed." (V.I. Lenin, KARL MARX)

No wonder the capitalist class and its bourgeois agents inside the workers movement, the labor aristocracy and the revisionists are working overtime to put out the fire of class struggle and political consciousness among the workers. No wonder they must slander the working class and its historic mission at every turn! Each day with the rising layoffs, the shutdowns, the financial crisis, inflation, the budget cuts

and the cutback in public education and other vital social services for working and oppressed people, we see that the capitalist class is unfit, as Marx said, to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence (these periodic crises) upon society as an overriding law. It is unfit to rule because it cannot even guarantee a decent life for the wage slave under wage slavery, as the workers sink deeper and deeper into the crisis and prices get farther and farther out of reach.

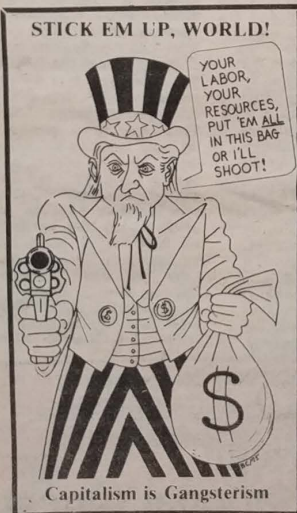
But the working class is the new social force created by capitalism to be the gravedigger of capitalism and put capitalism in the garbage can of history next to slavery and feudalism. The working class, led by its vanguard political party, is the bearer of the new socialist society. It is the only class that can lead the way to a new life for us all; that can lead the way out with socialist revolution. The working class has many allies in this struggle—the op-

pressed nationalities (Afro-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Asian-Americans, Indians), women, small farmers, and the urban petty bourgeoisie. Based on this alliance, the working class will rally the great majority of American people to destroy this filthy capitalist system and its dictatorship by the handful of moneybags (the capitalists).

Until the working class becomes conscious of this historic mission, it will remain a class for others, especially the wage slaves of the capitalist class. We must become a class for ourselves. And this is why we need a new political party, a revolutionary vanguard party to lead us through the twists and turns of the class struggle to victory over all our enemies. The kind of party we must have, to lead and teach the working class, is a new type of party, the first party that is dedicated to serve the interests of the vast majority of people and not a small handful of exploiters—the party we're talking about is a Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, the party of the working class. It is the party that will be composed of the best sons and daughters of the working class. This party will possess the science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, which is the best of all weapons to defeat the bloody beast, monopoly capitalism.

The enemy will make a thousand films and TV shows (F.I.S.T., Blue Collar, LaVerne & Shirley) to slander us, but without a doubt, the working class is the greatest and the most revolutionary class in world history. It will liberate the American people from the hell of capitalism.

† fake revolutionaries and traitors like the so-called Communist Party USA and the criminal Trotskyites.



The profit motive is what makes the capitalist system go. It's the bourgeoisie's insatiable thirst for profits that has dragged us into this crisis and all the crises that came before.

### Fascism / Nazism

cont. from page 3

fascist government against the people.

But these fascist groups of secret police, agent provocateurs, sick goons, thugs, and murderers have two important roles to play for the bourgeoisie; 1) they are used to terrorize working class communities and those of the oppressed nationalities and to kill off

our leadership while the bourgeoisie pay their bills and give them police protection, and 2) by pretending to oppose such fascist perverts the bourgeoisie can prepare the legal framework under the banner of law and order and the military power of the police and army through such devices as the SWAT squads to institute real fascism under their own direct control.

They also try to cover their tracks by pretending that fascism is purely a racist phenomenon. It is important to understand that this is not the case. In Chile there is a clear example of a fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the working class where racism doesn't play a part; and in Ethiopia the fascist junta oppresses both the Eritrean and the Ethiopian peoples, all of whom are the same race. But if it can, the bourgeoisie instigates the most violent forms of racism under fascism to divide the working class, to terrorize it, and to keep it from organizing a solid united front against fascism. Dimitroff states concerning the rise of fascism in the thirties that: "Fascism was able to come to power primarily because the working class, owing to the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie pursued by the Social-Democratic leaders, proved to be split, politically and organizationally disarmed, in face of the onslaught of the bourgeoisie: (p. 19). In the case of the U.S., today resistance to fascism is developing much less strongly than it should, due primarily to the policy of class collaboration initiated by the degenerate CPUSA, and other social democrats like the trade union bureaucrats. Thus our only real defense against fascism in the U.S. is to build a new, anti-revisionist communist party, which is truly multinational in character, and which can unite all sectors of the U.S. peoples in an anti-imperialist, and anti-fascist united front.

### Tax Revolt / Bakke Case - cont from page 7

care centers and public services (most notably welfare) will all suffer at least a 10% cutback. A \$5 billion State surplus will somewhat forestall the total effects of these budget cuts until the '79 budget year in all these areas, with the big exception of Layoffs of city and State workers.

Proposition 13-- the Jarvis Amendment-- directly benefits California large property owners. Who are these owners who suffer such undue tax burdens ??? According to a New York Times article datelined June 13, the largest beneficiaries are as follows: United Airlines - \$3 million saved in property taxes; IBM - \$6 million; Standard Oil of California - \$13.1 million; Lockheed - \$9.5 million; Pacific Telephone and Telegraph - \$130.2 million; Southern California Edison Co. - \$53.8 million; Pacific Gas and Electric - \$90.6 million; Southern Pacific Pipeline - \$2.7 million, of the total \$7 billion estimated to be "saved" in property taxes - businesses and landlords account for almost \$4 billion openly. We have not researched the hidden holdings yet.

Genuine tax cuts and reforms would surely ease the burden of the working masses faced by ever increasing inflation and tax increases but 'Proposition 13' type "reforms" are like fool's gold. The way capitalism has it worked out, what the small California property owner might gain by Proposition 13 is lost to Federal taxes by eliminating property taxes as a deduction. Proposition 13 not only benefits the very wealthy, but is a cover to further shift the US economic crisis (runaway unemployment, inflation, devaluation of the US dollar on the world market, balance of trade deficit, loss of international superexploited markets due to defeats in just liberation struggles, etc.) onto the backs of the workers and the poor. The masses cannot struggle effectively for meaningful economic or political

reforms until they understand "... to discover the INTERESTS of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises." (Lenin)

#### BAKKE DECISION

In a 5-4 decision, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of admitting Alan Bakke into the Univ. of Cal. at Davis medical school based on the charge that he was discriminated against because of color. At the same time, the courts supposedly upheld affirmative action programs which take into account racial factors as long as "...it acts not to demean or insult racial groups but to remedy disadvantages cast on minorities by past racial prejudice..." Race can be considered as a FACTOR if it doesn't "insulate" the individual from comparison with other candidates. Another aspect of the decision stated that "an institution itself free of any taint of past discrimination is not obligated to have an affirmative action program."

The Supreme Court has actually surged to the right. In supporting Bakke, the courts attack the democratic rights of minorities to have special programs that are designed to make up for past oppression. The decision also allows the schools freer individual discretion in deciding similar cases. Based on past history, even with affirmative action programs, the discretion of schools has attacked minority programs: whether admissions, special studies, scholarships, etc. The only way blacks, women, and oppressed minorities can have consistent democracy is with socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This will come based on peoples' struggle to defeat this oppressive system of monopoly capitalism, smash it, and put it in the garbage can of history next to slavery and serfdom.



# SEVERE DETERMINATION FOR THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN IN THE BLACK BELT SOUTH

## RCL's POSITION ON

### AFRO-AMERICAN NATIONAL QUESTION:

Crumbs For A Few, But No Integration

But at the end of the 60's, what had been consolidated is a somewhat larger petty bourgeoisie and a new set of compradors to take advantage of the black market and at the same time "allow black leadership" politically and economically. It was essentially a program of neo-colonialism, exactly like what was imposed on Africa and the West Indies and the rest of the Third World. "The indirect role of imperialism, by means of native agents," as Cabral pointed out. All talk of black people moving into the greater society, "the great society" not being borne out by any statistics. As a matter of fact, in 1971 there was a \$3700 gap between Black and White families income measured against only a \$2700 gap in 1947. In 1971, 1.7, 3%, or 1 out of 5 blacks were still below the poverty guideline (\$137 annu), about 7.7 million. And even though there was some expansion to the black petty bourgeoisie, a black college graduate after 4 years of college could still only make an average of \$8,669 as opposed to \$8,829, a white high school graduate could expect only 6.3% of the black population finishes college—only 54% complete high school!

High School	Go to College	Finish
Black 54%	to 10%	to 3%
White 81%	to 17%	to 15%

The quality of separateness and distance still are consistent; and in the Black Belt itself, even more blatantly so, the look of an oppressed nation, oppressed by imperialism. The Black Belt voter registration is 23.6% of the whole South 50%. Average income of whites in the North is \$8937, of blacks is \$5360, or whites in the South is \$7963, of blacks in the South is \$4282. The average income of blacks and whites in the Black Belt has an average income of \$3,846! (The border areas about \$430.)

Union membership of blacks in the Black Belt is 14.2 as opposed to 24.0 in the rest of the South and 27% in the U.S. as a whole. What is evident is that the Black Belt South is the bourgeoisie in the C.I. in 1928 and the CPUSA pointed out is the seat of the National Oppression of black people in the U.S. And it remains so today despite a rapid industrialization in the last 30 years. "Between 1940-56, the number of factories tripled from 11,000 to 33,000. Between 1935 and 1955, the number of employees in manufacturing increased 86% for the U.S. as a whole, 127%, from 1.5 to 3.4 million workers, in the South." (Haywood, For A Revolutionary Position On the Negro Question.)

By 1963 there were 1,631,514 black industrial workers in the South. But Haywood adds, "But the harsh facts are that the kind of industrialization based upon war economy and runaway shops is not leading to the all-around industrialization of that area." It is the focus of national oppression, the actual oppression of the black nation which casts its shadows, a shadow of steel, pulling all life of the oppressed black nationality wherever it is in the U.S.; and the white workers too, anchored to the oppression and degradation of blacks in the Black Belt, the imperialists use to depress the quality of life of the whole multinational working class. The runaway shops always run to the Black Belt, unless now they go to South Africa or Taiwan or South Korea. The ghettoes themselves no more than displaced Black Belts with the same relationship to those cities, as the Black Belt has to the U.S. nation.

Following any statistical data, not seeking to lie with figures, it is easy to see that essentially for the great masses of black people there has been no relative change with regard to distance from the U.S. nation's economic center in the last 35 years. The dollar gap has actually gotten broader. All classes within the black nation, bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie,

working class, peasant (farmer) and lumpen, have only an absolute relationship, as those that exist within the context of the black nation and oppressed nationality. The black national bourgeoisie is the black bourgeoisie only because of the black nation and the market of the oppressed nationality.

The black bourgeoisie is an authentic bourgeoisie, in the scientific definition of that term. That is, the black bourgeoisie exists as a class because of its relationship to the means of production, i.e., it owns the means of production and exploits labor. But it exists as a bourgeoisie only because of the black nation, that was and is its market; therefore, its inclusion in the U.S. bourgeoisie is problematical. Certainly, in terms of the magnitude of

### The Beauty Care Industry



the U.S. bourgeoisie's ownership and accumulation. (See Haywood, "The bourgeoisie is marginal. (The black business in the U.S. represents 6 of 1% of all business, See Appendix). "Economically, the Negro upper and middle classes are essentially a marginal bourgeoisie, restricted to the leftovers of the dominant white ruling class; they are a class of small entrepreneurs." (Negro Liberation, Haywood, pp. 154,195.)

What is necessary is an in-depth class analysis of the black nation in the Black Belt, and of the black oppressed nationality in the U.S. nation, and how the black nation class structure relates to the black nationality outside the Black Belt (Since part of the black market of the black bourgeoisie resides outside the Black Belt as well, and some of the labor it exploits does too.) Haywood says about the black nation, "For example with regard to common economic life, there exists class differentiation. There is an industrial proletariat, a class of farmers. There is an intelligentsia, or educated stratum, of the middle class. For A Revolutionary Position On The National Question, Harry Haywood, p. 23.) In other words, all classes essential to modern social development exist in the Black Belt area. The development of all these classes is artificially retarded by American monopoly capitalism and its Bourbon cohorts. All classes suffer from ferocious racist-national oppression, and the people as a whole, find their interests running counter to this stifling Jim Crow.

"There is a Negro urban class or bourgeoisie, living in both urban and rural communities, striving as do all bourgeois classes for the extension of its markets. Its most influential segment resides in the cities, being mainly in the fields of insurance, small-scale banking, real estate, and other services for the Ne-

gro community. There is also a sprinkling of well-to-do Negro farmers in the rural areas. This Negro bourgeoisie has its roots in the educated middle classes, ideologists in the modern development of the people. There is the stratum of professional people, including doctors, lawyers, teachers, ministers (the largest group), and social workers." (NEGRO LIBERATION, Harry Haywood, pp. 145-148)

"The Negro workers want modern conditions of labor, the sharecroppers, poor farmers, and plantation hands want land and freedom from the yoke of peonage; the town middle classes and intellectuals want equal opportunity in business and professions." (Negro Liberation, Haywood, p. 146.)

refining, in processing of tobacco, in chemical industries and in pulp and paper, in longshore and logging, on railroads, etc." (Negro Liberation, Haywood, p. 145.) The nucleus of the class structure of the black nation in the Black Belt and the inclusion of the black oppressed nationality in the U.S. class structure is important, because the national oppression of blacks follows them via racism wherever they go in North America outside the Black Belt homeland. This racism allows the black bourgeoisie to market to collect thousands of miles outside the Black Belt, to a certain extent. It depressed the black nationality economically to the point where it is a marginal, almost separate labor force. The marginal character exists among all classes of the black nation and oppressed nationality in corresponding relationship to the whole of the class structure of the U.S.A. This has resulted in a marginal black bourgeoisie, a marginal petty bourgeoisie, as well as the marginal character of the black sector of the working class. Bruce Hartford in his study of class structure of U.S.A. says that 4% of U.S. petty bourgeoisie are "third world" (black); but he also gives as a definition of petty bourgeoisie, "What separates these members of the petty bourgeoisie from the working class is they are not exploited. That is, the wealth returned to them as a salary is equal or greater than the value of the wealth or service they create (if any)."

He defines their salary as from about \$50,000 to \$200,000 and also says, "the number of third world people can probably be counted on your fingers." It is also, we know, a power relationship that is being defined by the term, and the separation between blacks and whites should be obvious. We know that the black petty bourgeoisie is exploited, nevertheless, and the same education and performance in the same job still brings \$1200 less salary. The black petty bourgeoisie is exploited economically in absolute terms. The racism that is one form and the maintainer of black national oppression throughout the oppressed nationality is an added torture to the black petty bourgeoisie as well. And even the black bourgeoisie suffer national oppression, a national oppression that made them the leader of the Black Liberation Movement in the last part of the 19th century and early 20th century. That lifted them to a leadership of the movement in the early 50's because of the traitorous activities of the CPUSA in disorienting and disorienting black working class leadership that had arose using the CPUSA as its vanguard in the 20's and 30's and early 40's. This is one reason why we cannot take a static, dogmatic position, which would be undialectical, on the national black bourgeoisie. We do not think they are totally comprador, as the Black Workers Congress and Communist Labor Party assert. Quite the contrary, they have shown in the past a tendency to struggle when their interests were threatened but an instability and tendency to compromise related to that class. But certainly we must

"The character of the oppression of the Negro people in no sense differs from that of colonial peoples. The economy of the region is not controlled by the Negro capitalists. Its immediate direction is in the hands of white local capitalists and landlords, who act as the outpost command for the real rulers, the financial dynasty of Wall Street." (Negro Liberation, Haywood, p. 146.) Haywood says elsewhere in NEGRO LIBERATION, "Among the Negro people of the area, there exist all class groupings peculiar to capitalism, which historically provided the basis for the emergence of modern nations. Not only Negroes work as laborers in the cotton and tobacco fields; they work also in the coal mines, steel mills, saw and planing mills, graining and collieries oil mills, in furniture, turpentine

THE BLACK NATION - position of Revolutionary Communist League on the

## Afro-American National Question



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understand this dual tendency and relate to them accordingly. (To understand the percent of black bourgeoisie which is comprador, see chart, p. 16.)

The black petty bourgeoisie tend to break down into three tendencies—like everything else—advanced, middle and reactionary. There is an urban progressive tendency to the petty bourgeoisie; there is also a comprador aspect. There are generally those that relate to the proletariat (usually the lower strata of the petty bourgeoisie) and those that serve the bourgeoisie. We must unite and struggle with the black petty bourgeoisie accordingly.

The black proletariat inhabits the bottom of the labor market, is at the bottom of the whole proletariat. The multinational working class is not divided vertically; it is divided horizontally, with blacks and other third world people at the very bottom. The national consciousness of the black proletariat is in the main anti-imperialist but the majority of U.S. workers. There is a small sector of the U.S. working class whose consciousness is shaped to some extent by a bribery made possible by imperialist super exploitation of the third world, and of third world peoples inside the U.S.A. It is a consciousness shaped by the petty bourgeois politicians, trade union whores and revisionists. It is a consciousness shaped by chauvinism. The black nation and oppressed nationality, on the other hand, and receiving some small concessions are largely ruled by: repression and terror! "The third world labor market is basically limited to the bottom sector of the proletariat, a small number of third world men in the middle sector and a small number of third world women in the office sector." It is a "separate and unequal job market, with the overwhelming bulk of them in the lowest paid, dirtiest, most menial and oppressive jobs." (Hartford, Jordan Hill, CLASS ANALYSIS, p. 44.)

"Ninety three percent of proletariat women are in the lowest paid most oppressive sectors..." Most black workers are marginal and manufacturing workers, 43% are industrial proletariat. Ninety-six per cent of the total black population in the U.S. are in the working class. Most black workers are operators (operatives), i.e., assembly line workers, checkers, cutters, pressers, garage workers and gas station attendants, laundry workers, butchers, miners, packers, metal workers (punch press, welding, grinding, lathe, milling), sailors, sewers, textile workers, machine operators, equipment operators, drivers (category of transport operatives). "Operatives are the mass base of America's industrial system. More than any other group, these workers are trained by their work into patterns of cooperation, unity and interdependence...work in giant industrial plants employing thousands. Most operatives are not unionized; only 1/3 are unionized. Most of the black membership in unions is from this sector of the proletariat. The majority of these in steel, auto, appliances, chemical, rubber, electrical, food processing, assembly lines." It is Hartford's opinion that as an occupation category, operatives will play the most important role in class struggle." (ibid, p. 33.)

But these jobs were, and are, the worst there are to find. The jobs no one else would do. And as Marx pointed out, "in proportion, therefore, as the relativism of the work increases, the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and division of labor increases, the same proportion and the burden of toil increases whether by prolongation of working hours, by increases of work exacted in a given time, or by increased speed of the machinery." (COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.)

As far as the political relationship of blacks to the U.S. nation, the national representation tells the story. We are speaking of the degree to which blacks have been assimilated into the U.S. by the productive forces, which we deny and state Italy is a revisionist and reformist contempt worthy of Browder and Lovestone. For instance the only time blacks have been in the U.S. Senate in its history before 1967 and Brooke (rebellion at its highest) was 1863-1871, (Hiram Revels and 1875-1881, Blanche K.



Bruce, both products of Reconstruction and both from Mississippi. There never has been another Black Senator.

From 1891 to 1945, there was only one black representative at any time in Congress at all. Cheatam 1891-93, Murray 1893-97, White 1897-1901.

From 1901 until 1929, THERE WERE NO BLACKS IN CONGRESS AT ALL! Neither Senate nor House. From 1901 till 1943, there was only one at any time, Deprest 1929-1935 and Arthur Mitchell from 1935-43.

From 1945 to 1955, there were only two (Dawson, Illinois and Powell, New York). By 1969, by adding one every two years since 1955 (Diags, 1955; Nix, 1957; Hawkins, 1963; Conyers, 1965), there was a grand total of 6, or two less than there was in 1875 Reconstruction!

The first black congressman from the South since 1901 was elected in 1947! So until five years ago, there were only 6 members of Congress and one Senator to represent over 20,000,000. Most of the present 16 members have all been elected since 1969, half since 1971! The total number of black elected officials is 3,503. This total, according to the Joint Center for Political Studies, represents a 196% increase in the number...since 1969. However, black people who are 11% of the U.S. population, "continue to account for less than one percent of the more than 500,000 elected officials in the U.S."

Even the term, assimilated into the U.S. Nation, conjures up an idea that somehow we are spread evenly through this nation but that is far from the truth. As we said, there are about 26 large cities (100,000 and over) with ghettoes which are exact replicas of the Black Belt, where black people are found in homes that are worth on the average \$11,000 (as compared with \$17,000 for the rest of the U.S.) paying rent 24% of black income, as compared to 6% white income, with infant mortality

rates 12.1% black, 4.7% white; unemployment rate at least twice as high as the official 9.2% national rate.

But this notion of reform and inclusion of blacks at white collar and selected job levels, included with the electoral movement occasioned by the legal and legislative battles of the 50's and 60's, and the firestorms of the late 60's, removed only the most extreme repressors inspired public segregation and discrimination laws of the civil constitution that formally halted the march to bourgeois democracy in the South. It created a superstructural illusion that the bourgeois democratic revolution was carried to completion! In reality, full democratic rights have never been extended to the masses of black people. Only an armed liberation struggle can totally free a nation from imperialism. The contradiction to the bourgeois democracy against which we generally struggle in the U.S. is the fact that the national oppression of the black nation and oppressed black nationality lays a double oppression on black people, a triple oppression on black women that makes a black struggle a National Liberation Struggle in the Black Belt but one that takes place within the framework of a bourgeois democracy, in which blacks are an oppressed nation submerged that cannot liberate itself unless the entire framework of imperialism-monopoly capitalism is smashed throughout the U.S.A. imperialism cannot withdraw from out of the Black Belt like it withdrew from Vietnam. (See, For A Revolutionary Position On The National Question, Haywood, p. 21.)

The fallacy of the completion of the democratic revolution that the Civil Rights movement purports to be is that finally there is no independence for the national bourgeoisie; there is no final control of their market; there is no real economic base yet for political equality with the U.S. nation. And there can never even be a fully formed black national bourgeoisie without the full release of the productive forces of the nation, and that could only come with the destruction of imperialism. But even then, given the leadership of the proletariat through its Communist Party, there would be no consolidation of the hegemony of the national bourgeoisie, but the rapid motion toward socialism. This was Lenin's line in TWO TACTICS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY. It was proven true then, and since then in China, North Korea, North and South Vietnam, Cambodia, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, etc.

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1967	1970	1973
Officers, Managers	1.0% to 1.9%	to 3.7%
Professionals	1.8% to 2.5%	to 3.3%
Technicians, salesworkers and office clerical	show a slight decline	
These together make up	(in 1970) 18.5%	of the total black work force.
On the other hand, for Operatives and Laborers and service workers,	the share of the black proletariat (64%); white operatives move from 11.8% to 14.1% to 15.3%, both laborers and service workers (33.7%) show declines.	
Laborers	21.5% to 21.8%	to 20.6% and service workers 27.2% to 26.3% to 23.9%
And in many cases, the most marked gains were black women (black men 1967, 8.7% to 1973, 9.9%) with the rate going from 8.6% to 1967 to 11.8%, 1973 of total female employment. "But in all too many cases, this simply represented the employer's way of converting previously high or medium-paying		

MOTION (cont. from p.3)

to no better and either, though they may run rampant for awhile."...the affairs of a country should be handled by its people, the affairs of a region should be handled by the countries of that region and the affairs of the world should be settled by all the countries through consultation. We are firmly opposed to the policies of aggression and expansion pursued by big power hegemonism and are resolutely against their interfering in the internal affairs and meddling on the sovereignty and dignity of other countries under whatever pretext."



# Vietnam Exposed

cont. from page 1

and that "bad elements" among the Chinese residents encouraged their flight.

None of this will wash. A massive number of Chinese residents have been expelled; only a small percentage could have been wealthy. The "bad elements" story is flagrant nonsense. It is uncomfortably reminiscent of a story made up by the Israeli Zionists in 1948 to cover their expulsion of masses of people from Palestine. The whole attempt to depict Vietnam as the victim of big-power bullying by China is a spineless evasion of the truth, an attempt by wrongdoers to make someone else seem the villain.

Facts are facts. It is Chinese nationalists who are being persecuted by Vietnamese authorities, and not the other way around. It is foolish to think that this can be explained away. Nonetheless some people are willing to try.

The list of comrades who are in error on this matter unfortunately includes a fraternal Marxist-Leninist party which several years ago won worldwide respect for its principled and courageous struggle against Khrushchev revisionism. Lately these comrades have taken positions which have put their high reputation in doubt.

The following empty claptrap is typical of what this party has had to say about this problem:

Vietnam has its own political and ideological views. This is its own affair. But we defend the rights of the people of Vietnam. The principle is that each people decide for itself the destinies of its own country, without interference from outside. No one has the right to exert pressures and threats on them. (1)

This is to put things entirely in the abstract. In the concrete, masses of people have arbitrarily been deprived of property, means of livelihood, and residence. These comrades seem to "forget"; they never so much as refer to these facts. They seek to give the impression that the side making response is exerting "pressures and thr-



ests", and not the side which actually committed the offense. This incredible sophistry insults the intelligence of every honest person.

It is to be hoped that these comrades will drop this bureaucratic wooden-headedness and look at the questions of Marxist-Leninists, that is, in contrast to their present practice, that they will seek truth from facts.

The full gravity of the Vietnamese error is to be seen in the fact that internationally its main backer is the Soviet Union.

Despite the seriousness of their errors, the Vietnamese authorities are to be counted among the people. On the whole, their conduct is mainly correct.

Things are fundamentally different with the rulers of the USSR. The social-fascist new tsars are complete and final traitors to Marxism-Leninism and

the working class. They are among the main enemies of all of the peoples of the world and they are the main dangers of the national liberation movement. Wherever they get their hooks into the revolutionary movement trouble soon follows. They have left a dirty trail of bloodshed and disgrace in reactionaries are shortsighted fools. Honest and progressive people have no reason to lose heart. It is no surprise that grave errors occur within the revolutionary movement. Years ago the great revolutionary V.I. Lenin made the wise comment that:

...it is undialectical, unscientific and theoretically wrong to regard the course of world history as smooth and always in a forward direction, without occasional gigantic leaps back. (2)

1) Zeri i Popullit, Tirana, Albania, 6/24/78

2) V.I. Lenin, "The Junius Pamphlet", reprinted in THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST No. 87, p. 6

Difficulties will temper the revolutionary people. By learning from mistakes the revolutionary people will root out the backward tendencies from among themselves. With their understanding thus deepened the people of Vietnam will surely resume their triumphant advance to liberation and socialism.

Czechoslovakia, in Cuba, in Angola, and elsewhere. They exult over their persecution of Chinese nationals by the Vietnamese authorities, because they are the main international instigator of it.

The Hitler-fascist revisionist clique of the USSR believes that it has found means to disrupt the traditional friendship of the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples, which was nurtured by Chairman Mao and by President Ho Chi Minh. They trumpet the absurd reversal of facts. They accuse China of "hegemonic" behavior towards Vietnam, thinking that if they yell enough then people will forget the campaign of persecution is against Chinese nationals. The revisionists are fools. People will see right through them. They will only succeed in exposing themselves once again.

Both superpowers are trying to profit from the troubled situation in Southeast Asia.

## USSR-Turkey 'friendship treaty'

Soviet plotting is thick in Turkey also. The USSR and COMECON have built up more investments over the past ten years in Turkey than the US managed to build up over 30. Turkey is home to the southern flank of NATO and the US fleet here is aimed at preventing the Soviet fleet based in the Black Sea from reaching the Mediterranean in case of war.

To counter this US influence Moscow recently signed a "friendship treaty" with Turkey, which is a carbon copy of treaties already torn up by countries like Egypt and Somalia.

But the Soviet offensive has not gone as they had planned. It has met with a solid resistance on the part of the people of the region and a number of countries are growing aware of the need to resist the efforts of the US and the USSR to gain control of the world.

In Eritrea the EPLF is leading the struggle to throw back the Ethiopian offensive launched in mid-June. At a recent emergency meeting of 17 members of the Arab League on July 1, Arab leaders unanimously denounced the coup d'etat in South Yemen.

With the Soviet Union trampling on the rights of the peoples and nations of the Middle East, even countries like Iraq, which was a strong ally of Moscow, are pulling back. Iraq recently refused to allow Soviet planes to land in Iraq on their way to the war in Ethiopia. In a recent interview with the American weekly magazine Newsweek, Iraq's president Saddam Hussein said: "By allowing ourselves to be drawn into spheres of influence we Arabs are ensuring that we will become an East-West battlefield."

## Most aggressive and hungry

Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Stalin resolutely pruned the garden of socialism. He kept a sharp eye out for weeds and plucked them whenever he saw them. But there were roots which he never pulled up. They grew and grew. Just three years after the death of Stalin, in 1956, the traitor Khrushchev seized power.

Khrushchev slandered Stalin and socialism, renounced the dictatorship of the proletariat, told the revolutionaries of the world to give up the armed struggle against capitalism and imperialism. Basing himself upon the new bourgeois stratum of Soviet society, he undertook the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. The consequences of this great historical tragedy are everywhere apparent in the USSR today.

The Soviet Union once produced a surplus of grain. The country was a large grain exporter and stored large reserves. The chaotic present state of Soviet grain production is notorious. Huge shortfalls occur commonly. For instance, the 1975 grain harvest was 28.5 per cent lower than the previous year's total. Between 1971 and 1975 the USSR was a net importer of grain to the extent of 40 million tons. This is unheard of in the onetime "granary of Europe".

A comparable picture exists in the animal products and fresh produce areas.

Industrial growth in the Soviet Union is stagnant. The growth rates of Soviet industry once astounded the world. Now, however, even modest planned growth rates are usually unfulfilled. The only significant exceptions to the low-growth pattern are areas such as machine-building, electronics, and computers which are stimulated by the frantic Soviet armaments buildup.

Consumer goods are in short supply. The elite lives high and has special access to quality merchandise. Everyone else must put up with a meager supply of shoddy goods which constantly rise in price. In other words, the masses live in dire poverty and inflation is rampant. Such things were unknown in the socialist period.

(cont. on p 11)

# NO DOUBT! Soviet Union is most dangerous source of war

## U.S.S.R. is An Imperialist Country

What is the nature of Soviet society today? Is the USSR a socialist country or is it a capitalist country?

Storms of controversy swirl around this question, proving that it is of vital significance.

One old bourgeois line on socialism is that, "There's no such thing, workers are dumb, they have no interest in politics and could never organize production without the (useless, parasitic) capitalists, and besides, nobody even really knows what capitalism really is, it's a matter of opinion, uh, what were we talking about? We forgot, ho hum..."

This kind of thinking is put out through the press, the media, "learned" publications, from the pulpit, and so on. But the masses of the people see into things more deeply than the capitalists, and no one is taken in by such stupidity except for the exploiters themselves.

Socialism is a triumphant advance to a new, higher, better stage of social development. This is proven by the shining example of the Peoples' Republic of China. In the words of the noted heart specialist, Dr. Paul Dudley White, who visited China in 1974, "A vast multitude has emerged out of poverty, ignorance and disease."

In 1949 the Chinese people liberated themselves both from the ancient yoke of feudal landlords in the countryside, and from US imperialism and its Chinese hangers-on. In the historically short span of time since then, the Chinese people have made immense progress in all spheres.

Both agriculture and industry have been transformed. Socialism has unleashed the productive forces in China. Where drought and famine once ruled, the peoples' agricultural communes have brought continual advances in cropland construction, area yields and gross yields, despite natural difficulties and disasters. Industry has developed everywhere, on a diversified basis and to such an extent that comparison to levels before liberation is virtually meaningless. The overall growth rate of industry in China has held at more than 10 per cent annually for year after year, the highest long-term growth rate in the world.

All of this has come about because the masses of the workers and peasants (farmers) are the rulers of China. There is some tendency among the higher-up, better paid people in supervisory types of positions to forget that and to dabble in the bourgeois notion that the masses don't know much, aren't interested in politics, etc. In the middle of the 1960's this problem became so intense that the Communist Party, led by Chairman Mao, undertook the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

A lot of people who held these jobs lost them. They had to go to work in factories or farms in order to learn what life was like for workers and peasants.

They didn't get their jobs back unless they proved that they had grasped the fact that China is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., the ordinary people are in power and woe betide them that oppose.

Years ago, behind the revolutionary leaders V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin, the USSR was a socialist country and an inspiration to people all over the world much as China is today. Now, however, the only "inspiration" anyone draws from Moscow is of the bought-and-paid-for variety. The reason for this change is that the USSR itself has changed: it is no longer a socialist country. Capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union was the first socialist country in the world. It wrote a glorious page, which will never be forgotten, in world history. Due to the fact that the working class was inexperienced in holding power some crucial problems were overlooked. It was not seen that there exists within socialist society a material basis and a class interest for capitalism. A stratum of higher-ups within the Communist Party, in the military, in economic management, in the government, etc., took the bourgeois view that they were better than the masses and deserved more.

The great revolutionary leader J. V. Stalin fought such interests hard and persistently. But he never saw that this stratum operated on a basis of class interest, i.e., they constituted a would-be bourgeoisie. Hence the Soviet people were never called upon to wage class struggle on a mass basis against the enemies and traitors among them.

There was no Soviet version of the Great



**REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE**

**AICU - Main Trend**

**Culture that Serves the People**

Readers of Unity & Struggle will have noticed several references to the Anti-Imperialist Cultural Union (AICU) and will have seen the ad for their publication, Main Trend. Who are they and what is the nature of their publication? The AICU is a mass cultural organization, which was initiated by cultural workers from various nationalities and various class strata, and who have joined together to struggle against imperialism by building revolutionary culture and by criticizing bourgeois culture. As an anti-imperialist organization they stand on the side of the people in opposition to both U.S. and Soviet Social imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and Zionism. As a cultural organization they seek to unite all those who have an interest in doing cultural work. And who, through their creative labor, shape the culture that springs from the life of the masses into the ideological forms of literature, art, music, drama, dance, etc., and bring this work back to the masses, not only for their enjoyment but also to test their work for correctness through the criticism of the masses.

They are currently organized into three workshops. The Yenan/Theater Workshop produced during the last year a play, composed of revolutionary poetry drawn from the last hundred years of class struggle, which are read and sung by workers on a picket line. They are presently working on a play by the great communist poet Langston Hughes, "Scottsborough Limited". The Visuals Workshop developed a slide show on the oppression of women under capitalism which is available to groups interested in putting on programs. They are currently working on numerous projects involving different visual media such as photography, film, video, posters, etc. The Publications Workshop's major task is publishing Main Trend but they are also interested in doing other projects such as a writer's workshop, books, pamphlets, and a calendar of revolutionary history.

Main Trend is a review of revolutionary, anti-imperialist culture. The first issue, published last May, concentrated on criticizing the bourgeois mass

media—television, movies, music—and showed how the media is affected by the class struggle so that it has both positive and negative aspects. For example one article exposed the connection between television cop shows and the growing trends towards fascism. Another article discussed the music of Gil Scott Heron and showed that, although his lyrics are often metaphysical and reflect bourgeois nationalism, the dominant character of his music is potentially revolutionary.

The second issue will be published in September. Its major theme is the relationship between the imperialist oppression of nations and national minorities and the revolutionary culture that grows out of this oppression. A major article presents the line of the AICU in support of right to self-determination for the Afro-American nation. It is accompanied by poetry from writers such as Nathan Heard, Sylvia Jones, and Amiri Baraka who have come to see the need for a socialist revolution because of their struggles in the black nationalist movement. Another article discusses the music that has grown out of the struggles of the Chicanos, or Mexican-Americans in Texas and is accompanied by poetry from Pablo Neruda, who was killed by the fascist counter-revolution in Chile, and Jose Figueroa whose work springs from the struggles of the Puerto Rican people. A poem by Joel Cohen exposes Smith and his stooges in Zimbabwe, and a poem by Gary Allen Kizer, a fine revolutionary poet currently incarcerated in Attica, deals with the multinational character of the U.S. working class. There is an excellent article on the history of baseball which exposes the bourgeois rip-off of what was once an important aspect of working class culture. Two other articles are worth mentioning. One deals with elementary and high school education, and the other calls for the freedom of Ngugi Wa Thiongo, who was jailed by the neo-colonialist government of Kenya because of his revolutionary cultural work. The articles are written in a lively style together with graphics and cartoons that should be of interest to all progressive forces.

speech by a revolutionary poet, on the role of the artist.

Overall the set was very well received by the multi-national audience of about 100 people. There was a large number of auto workers present in the audience and the scenes in the dramatic presentation dealing with the workers struggles were particularly well received.

This first presentation in the Detroit area by U&S is part of the developing motion to build mass organization among artists drawing them into the people's struggle to fight the enemy. Since, the event, meetings and plans are being made and held to continue these activities and help to unite artists to serve the people.

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**PEKING REVIEW** 41

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THE PATH OF LIBERATION

by Pili



the road is dusty,  
many soles have travelled it.  
the road is dusty and bloodstained  
the tired feet and the broken heeled boots,  
the converse allstars,  
the highheels,  
the corns and the calluses  
have all walked and ran and stomped along.  
the road is dusty,  
dead bodies of heroic fighters  
have fallen on the road,  
we walk on their backs,  
they are bridges on this dusty bloodstained, deathfilled road.  
the road is dusty,  
but the feet keep on marching,  
now again we marching not just walking,  
crossing many bridges,  
and taking many turns but never stopping.  
the road is dusty, but soon the sun will rise in front of us and the dust will turn to fertile red soil.

RED POEM  
(a tribute to Mao Tsetung)

Comrade,

for over a year since you passed I've had difficulty in making a poetic comment on your life. but now I know—  
your life was a poem—  
an epic poem—  
that travelled with the speed of history and shaped the present brought vision to the future.  
your work Red leader is like fire, red fire in the hands of millions it warms us and brings comfort in times of uncertainty it lights our path in darkness and it burns the smiling masks off those who betray us—  
your life Red brother is a statement of love for millions that life is most precious and needs much more than imperialism has to offer. No sacrifice is too great no struggle too hard no enemy too powerful nothing can stop the people led by a party like the great one you built and armed with the great science of revolution  
Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.  
your life Red comrade was a poem written to the melody of revolution.

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

**HARD FACTS (DETROIT)**

On Sunday July 23, 1978 in Detroit, Unity and Struggle Newspaper sponsored a cultural event entitled, "HARDFACTS—an evening of revolutionary culture". The event included poetry from local and other poets read by poets and actors and actresses from the Detroit area. There was also a dramatic presentation of combined scenes of two of Amiri Baraka's recent plays, "S-1" and "The Motion of History", as well as music, poetry and songs from the dynamic musical group from St. Louis, The Proletarian Ensemble. The set was opened with a brief

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## STRUGGLE AGAINST WRONG TENDENCIES NEVER ENDS!

(Reprint from Australian Communist #86)

For all Communists in Australia, and all over the world, the struggle against wrong tendencies engendered by capitalism never ends. Not even the greatest Marxist-Leninist can ever say truthfully that "I have defeated completely all the wrong tendencies in my thinking and style of work." To say such a thing would immediately show, in fact, that one had not even grasped the most basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

In LOOKING BACKWARD: LOOKING FORWARD, E.F. Hill summed it up thus: "Every worker, every Marxist-Leninist in Australia is a product of capitalism. He commences life with his mind full of bourgeois habits. All his life he is surrounded by bourgeois ideology which continually presses in on him and tries to claim him for itself. Hence intense struggle to resist all this is required. That struggle can only go on in actual participation in working class and people's struggle. It is only in struggle that people will be remoulded. To acquire a working class Marxist-Leninist ideology is the most difficult of the tasks before Marxist-Leninists. But just because it is the most difficult and splendid task, Marxist-Leninists must set out to achieve it and not be daunted by difficulties. Nor can the past be thrown off at one thrust; it is a continual, never-ceasing process." (pp. 153-154)

Depending on the particular backgrounds and experiences of particular Communists, certain bad tendencies will manifest themselves in different degrees. For instance, the tendency to adventurism and impetuosity will be more pronounced in younger Communists than in older Communists. The tendency to succumb to trade union politics will be stronger in those comrades involved with the trade unions than in those not involved in them. This article will deal with a number of bad tendencies which require constant struggling against, some particularly on the part of younger comrades with intellectual backgrounds, some of more universal applicability.

Take for example the tendency to be hyperactive in "political work" (identified as meetings, demonstrations, printing and writing leaflets, organisational work etc.) as opposed to "mass work" (integration with the people). E.F. Hill said in Looking Backward: Looking Forward, "at all times THE most important question is the integration of the Communists with the masses. The masses must be to the Communist what the water is to the fish." (p. 51, Hill's emphasis)

Often this is read, and acknowledged in words, but a comrade's practice does not fall into line with his or her theory. Political work comes to consist almost entirely of attending demonstrations and meetings, writing and printing leaflets, painting banners and so on. Incessant and endless hours are spent in conversation about politics amongst other Communists. It often breeds a contempt for people who do not behave in the same way. Not being involved in THIS SORT of political activity becomes equated with not being involved in political activity at all. There develops a desire to have a "finger in every pie".

This sort of thing can emerge quite easily. It becomes particularly prevalent amongst comrades who do not have a regular job, because the opportunities are so much greater to become involved in this vicious circle. It is often written off as being the result of "practical problems". A certain amount of work "simply has to be done". Therefore, instead of examining our own practice and the ideological weaknesses giving rise to the commission of the above-mentioned errors, there is a defensive response: "Who's going to do this and that if I don't?" This is really a topsy-turvy way of approaching things, for unless Communists lead a relatively normal and balanced life, how can they understand, really understand, the problems of the people or integrate with anyone but fellow Communists? Such hyperactivity can only ultimately lead to the development of fish out of water. There is no integra-

tion of revolutionary theory with the masses.

Then there is the ever-recurring problem of left blocism. Often this quite literally consists of sitting in rooms together with like-thinking people, while the real world goes on around us. Again, for those comrades who are not involved in day-to-day employment the problem can become very serious indeed. Once becoming involved in such employment, these comrades carry with them the bad traits of their earlier style of work.

Left blocism means, for instance, Communists attending parties (whether they are left bloc parties or not) in a group, and speaking only to each other at such parties, having no social life independent of like-minded people. It can mean getting drunk with other comrades, and doing all manner of wrong things. It can take the form of a group of people, for instance, going to the pub after any or all of countless demonstrations and rehearsing the spectacular events of the demonstration through an alcoholic haze. If there are no spectacular events to rehash, then past spectacular events are discussed.

It is all very wrong and very un-Communist, yet it goes on. Why does it go on? Because it is such an easy mistake to make, and continue making. Left blocism needs to be fought much more thoroughly. In every period of a powerful flow of struggle it tends to re-emerge. New comrades enter the revolutionary movement and the Party. They tend to hang around together far too much. This can only restrict integration with the people, just as hyperactivity can do this. As we have said time and again, left blocism is acceptance of capitalist oppression.

Left blocism in its worst stages can produce "strongholdism", the development of a stronghold mentality towards other comrades or other sections of the revolutionary movement. This, too, is a very bad tendency, but one which will inevitably

emerge if the basic problem of left blocism is not overcome.

For example, a particular political slant on certain matters can develop, and be constantly reinforced by endless repetition and "reaffirmation" in the daily company of those who think similarly to oneself. It can lead to factionalism, and has done so on a number of occasions in our Party's history. It can, and does, lead to the development of a "them and us" outlook, when "them" represents other people or another way of looking at things in the revolutionary movement, and "us" represents a particular left bloc.

For instance, an anti-worker attitude may develop in a left bloc of revolutionary students. Or an anti-intellectual attitude may develop in a left bloc of revolutionary workers. It is given rise to and constantly reinforced by the left bloc. It does serious damage to the unity of the Party and the whole revolutionary movement, and ought to be fought very strongly for this reason. Peculiar lines can develop within such left blocs, and once the seed is planted, unless the original error is corrected, they can grow and grow until the fetish of a small group comes to be regarded by that small group as "being of crucial importance to the whole Party," or representing "a major two-line struggle" and so on.

These are all relatively easy traps to fall into, and once the first step is taken it can quite quickly develop into a stampede. It does not mean that people who make such errors are to be "written off" or that they are evil counter-revolutionaries. "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone," as the saying goes. But they are real problems and need to be guarded against and fought in a practical and Communist fashion.

A more general problem is that of wrong attitudes to criticism and self-criticism. (cont. on p.11)

## United Front Against KILLER COPS in BROOKLYN

On June 14, 1978 again, Killer Cops struck. It's Brooklyn again, only four years after Claude Reese, a black youth, was murdered in Brooklyn, shot in cold blood by a N.Y. City cop. This time it was Arthur Miller, a black community leader who was Beaten, Kicked and Strangled to death by N.Y. City policemen. The cops were all from the Seventy-seventh precinct and all of them knew Miller because he was very active in the community affairs. Although there have been several conflicting reports concerning this incident, eyewitnesses firmly maintain that Miller was murdered in cold blood!

In response to this murder the residents in Crown Heights showed their true feelings during a morning march to city hall and later with an overflow meeting at P.S. 283, stating that this was murder and a racist act by the police. Mayor Koch and Police Commissioner Robert McGuire were present at police headquarters when the representatives of Crown Heights asked for justice. Black Assemblyman Al Vann told Koch: "In order to gain the confidence of the people of this community, I suggest that the mayor have the police commissioner replace the police in the 77th Precinct now." Koch did nothing, as expected, later a police spokesman said they can't have the policemen suspended or transferred because there is no evidence that they did anything wrong. If the masses of people and Miller's dead body are not enough evidence, then what? But we understand this, because it's the same line that was run when Claude Reese was murdered. Then Abe Beame stated at a meeting that he, then they mayor, had no power over the police department, that the police department was autonomous.

The people again, are being educated that the police are the "hit men" of the ruling class, legal assassins whose job it is, consciously or not, to keep the poor and oppressed masses from taking what we need: i.e. the power to live full productive lives. TO DO THIS COPS MUST OFTEN KILL!! The only ways the oppressive rich people's government can maintain its control over the multitude of poor and oppressed, is by force and violence, or with TRICKERY AND DECEPTION.

On June 27, 1978 the Community held a meeting and called for a Community patrol, forms were filled out by those who wanted to be a part of it. The age minimum: 16. The duties of this patrol is to go to the precinct if someone is arrested for protection and information. Safe escort of community residents.

Some of the community residents also saw the need for a larger front to struggle against national oppression because of the brutal murder of Arthur Miller, the beatings of CETA workers (hard core unemployed youth) in Borough Park in Brooklyn and also the brutal beating of Victor Rhodes and Thurmond Robinson (Robinson with both arms broken and a concussion and internal bleeding lay cuffed to a hospital in Rikers) charged with attempted murder because he came to the aid of his cousin who was being brutalized by some cops who had gone berserk, these same police though half beating Robinson to death and beating his cousin, a female remain immune to any prosecution.

The principles of unity of the Black United Front is: 1) Opposition to racism, bigotry and racial violence. 2) Redistribution of the resources and wealth of the nation, to provide abundant

ly for all citizens. 3) Opposition to genocide through mis-education. 4) Opposition to police brutality. 5) Opposition to national and international denial of Human Rights.

The BLACK UNITED FRONT in its infancy had made errors and will make more. But the method for development of the BUF is improving thru Unity and Struggle. One of the errors was that the Jews control the police. To state this is an incorrect line, because the Bourgeoisie control the police and the police are a principal part of the state. "The state is a machine for maintaining the rule of one class over another," according to V.I. Lenin's scientific study, page eleven, The State. We must shoot the arrow at the TARGET. Jews didn't enslave Black People, didn't separate blacks and create the Jim Crow system, and did not extend that shadow of the Black Belt in over 20 different cities outside of the south where Blacks catch the hell of National Oppression and Racism.

We must not forget the Police are like the trained animals who slobber when they hear a special sound or see a special color. They kill even before they get the direct order to, from the Ruling Class because of their general instructions to put down the rebellions of working people and oppressed nationalities. With capitalism falling fast, the U.S. economy falling deeper into crisis and revolutionary forces defeating U.S. imperialism around the Globe, the ruling class and its lackeys are moving further to the right. The masses of people, having been oppressed by the bourgeoisie's police for so long must not be tricked by ingenious planning and programs aimed at more effectively policing and oppressing them, so that the rule and paradise for the

bourgeoisie and its collaborators can be maintained. Watergate, the Nixon pardon, exposure of the FBI and CIA schemes directed at revolutionary forces in the U.S. and around the world has heightened the consciousness of the masses and further exposed the real criminals, Capitalism, Imperialism, and National Oppression.

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# Left Blocism

cont from page 4

society to the inevitability of tendencies towards left blocism. Our ability to avoid left blocism arises from a recognition of its objective basis in class society. Because it inevitably tends to arise it must be consciously opposed. This means the most thorough and constant attempts to keep reminding one's outlook in accordance with the ideology of the proletariat. It is not an insurmountable problem. It necessitates a good grasp of the mass line method of work, and of the style of studying with concrete problems in mind. Above all it means adherence to Chairman Mao's famous three do's and three don'ts: "Practise Marxism-Leninism and not revisionism; unite and don't split; be open and above-board and don't intrigue and conspire."

Comrades who practise Marxism-Leninism, love the country and serve the people are the subjective basis of victory in the revolution to seize state power and realise national independence and socialism.

Struggle Against...

## Wrong Tendencies Never Ends!

Cont. from page 10

This is an area in which bourgeois ideology has a very strong influence indeed: Sometimes people deeply resent being criticised. Their initial response is to defend themselves, whereas it should be to "blame not the speaker but be warned by his words". At other times criticism is given with ulterior motives, or is given in a way which can only make the person being criticised feel very bad. Both of these errors are as bad as each other.

As Chairman Mao pointed out: "Inner-Party criticism is a weapon for strengthening the Party organization and increasing its fighting capacity...However, criticism is not always of this character, and sometimes turns into personal attack. As a result, it damages the Party organization as well as individuals. This is a manifestation of petty-bourgeois individualism." (On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party)

Or again: "If we have shortcomings we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it." (Serve the People)

An initial mistake in correct handling of criticism and self-criticism can lead to a snowballing of errors. Take, for example, the question of a comrade who is criticised by another comrade and reacts resentfully to the criticism, or refuses to accept it even though that comrade knows, keep down, that is correct. This can have the result of embittering the comrade who made the criticism, and making that comrade fearful of ever raising that (or other) criticism again. This is a liberal attitude of keeping one's mouth shut for the sake of peace and quiet on the part of the comrade who makes the criticism, and a wrong attitude of putting self first on the part of the comrade who rejects a truthful criticism, or the truthful aspects of a criticism.

**Domestic Linen & Laundry Supply Co.**  
contributed

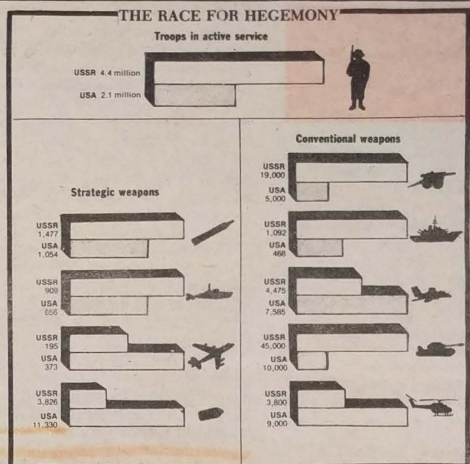
## U.S.S.R. IMPERIALIST COUNTRY!!

cont from page 8

Young people on Soviet farms commonly leave because of desperate poverty. They swell the ranks of unemployed workers, people thrown out of their jobs according to the dictates of fat-cat factory managers and other rich Soviet capitalists.

These economic conditions lie in with backward capitalist social phenomena of all kinds. Internally, the Soviet Union has once again become a "prison-house of nations". The country seethes with resistance among minority nationality peoples to violations of their language rights, economic interests, and so on. The bullying, aggressive, imperialist international course of the Soviet revisionists is well known.

Nonetheless the Khrushchev-Brezhnev gang of traitors is weak. They are trying to make the current of history run backward. More and more, all of the peoples of the world resist them, and their difficulties multiply. These usurpers will not last long. The great Soviet people overthrow the old tsars; they will surely overthrow the new tsars. They will surely destroy them utterly, root and branch. In the long run the peoples' cause of revolution and socialism is invincible.



in the above chart on left from top: intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, long-range bombers, warheads. On right from top: artillery, naval ships, fighter planes, tanks and helicopters. (Source: US Dept. of Defense Institute for Strategic Studies).

the Party's Style of Work)

One very difficult problem is that of thinking we understand things when we don't. For instance, it would be quite natural for people who have read something of Chairman Mao to think that they understand adequately the questions raised above of criticism and self-criticism, liberalism, factionalism, left blocism and the petty bourgeois malady of hyperactivity. But the fact that problems constantly recur in these areas shows that these matters are, as yet, not really understood in essence. There is a superficial understanding, in that the words relating to these matters are understood formally. But still there is not fundamental, deep-down understanding. The problems are seen as applying "to someone else, but not to me".

Recently AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST published an article by a young comrade entitled "Striving to be a Revolutionary is a Life-Long Struggle". In this article the problem of thinking we understand things when we don't was presented as a recurring problem in the writer's development. Some comrades have expressed the view that this recurring theme could not but suggest that, in the final analysis, no-one could really every understand anything. This is a completely wrong interpretation of it.

All that it means is that getting to understand something is a process. This applies with everything to do with Marxism-Leninism, it applies to the question of independence and socialism, and the struggle for their achievement in Australia. It applies to everything and occurs in everyone. To deny this is to say that one has reached a certain level in some area or other where nothing further can be learnt. This is obviously impossible.

There is nothing to be frightened about in the fact that bad tendencies exist in our midst. They will continue to exist for thousands of years. But they have to be fought and will be fought by every serious Communist who is really determined to serve the Australian people, and

to win independence and socialism for Australia.

"It is not hard for one to do a bit of good. What is hard is to do good all one's life and never do anything bad, to act consistently in the interests of the broad masses, the young people and the revolution, and to engage in arduous struggle for decades on end. That is the hardest thing of all!" (Mao Tse-tung, Message of Greetings on the 60th Birthday of Comrade Wu Yu-Chang).

In the course of building revolutionary organisation in Australia we have amassed some experience of left blocism. One of the first things that can be said about it is that the writing of articles about it has never served to properly dispose of the problem. Nevertheless, the summing up of experiences is an important part of the process of getting to know a thing, and this is also true of left blocism.

The existence and influence of capitalist ideology is all-pervading. It exists in and influences Communists and the Communist Party. It manifests itself in different ways and in different conditions. As was said in a previous article, "the human brain is the highest form of organisation of matter but it exists in a social environment."

That environment at the present time is the environment of capitalism, of classes and class society in the context of which the masses of the people are exploited and oppressed. It is an environment of struggle and counter-struggle, of the people's struggle to seize state power and end capitalism, and of the capitalists' struggle to retain state power and prolong its life in the face of the ever-intensifying struggle of the people. Even under socialism there are still classes and class struggle. Even after the abolition of classes there will still be social contradictions.

We've heard so much chit chat about human rights violations in the world from President Jimmy Carter, the U.S. Congress and various bourgeois press. One of the reasons for this talk is to cover up wage slavery and the oppressed conditions of the multinational working class, oppressed nationalities, and women in America. Bourgeois Democracy isn't a guarantee that there will not be any class oppression.

For example, all one would have to do is look toward the city of Detroit and check out the Domestic Linen and Laundry Supply Company. These small capitalist employ 200-250 people mostly Black women at bare subsistence wages (\$3.05 an hour). At the Domestic Linen and Laundry Supply Company the triple oppression of Black women is crystal clear. The women have to sort linen that

comes from different restaurants in Detroit. The linen has food still on it from the restaurants and is packed into bundles. These bundles may sit for a day or two and by the time the bundles get to the company they contain maggots, dead flies and roaches. While working the women are surrounded by flies and a number of rats running around the work area. The women's restroom looks like an outhouse (filthy). One woman while using the restroom came running out because of the sudden appearance of a rat. There are no clean eating areas for the workers and overtime is mandatory (forced).

The hiring policies of the Domestic Linen and Laundry Supply Company are as such, the employment office has you sign a time card, they try you on the job for a week or two, if they like your work they keep you, if not you're fired. The workers fill out no

application, no tax forms, no nothing until the end of the first or second week of work. The workers serve as a cheap labor source, there is no protection for them at all. They work under conditions of terror and are not even allowed to talk.

The conditions existing at Domestic Linen and Laundry Supply Company exists in workplaces all over America, standing in stark contradiction to the lies of Human Rights and Democracy told by Jimmy Carter and company.

Workers everywhere must organize and fight against these conditions and see that finally only revolution will lift us up out of the filth of places like Domestic Linen and Laundry Supply Company.

**SUPPORT UNITY & STRUGGLE**



# R. C. L. EDITORIAL

In the late 1950's the working class of the US suffered a great setback. The Communist Party of the USA, once the proud vanguard of the class-conscious workers in this country, betrayed the goals of armed struggle, revolution, and socialism. The traitors who led the CPUSA into the swamp of revisionism were following the lead set internationally by the traitor Khrushchev in the Soviet Union (see Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union, this issue p. ).

Since that time the central task of all genuine Marxist-Leninists in the US has been to rebuild the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninist communist party.

The 1960's were a decade of upheaval and revolution, but also in many respects a time of great confusion. Through all the turmoil of the 60's, a powerful polemic was waged against Soviet revisionism by the Communist Party of China led by Chairman Mao Tsetung. This stood out as a beacon to people all over the world seeking guidance in struggles against all types of social evils. Many new Marxist-Leninist formations sprang up in this period in which the reaffirmation of the leading role of Marxist-Leninist ideology was the key to progress toward the new communist party.

This is only part of the story, however, Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought must be concretely applied to reality in the US. In other words, the task of unifying the scattered Marxist-Leninist organizations, individual Marxist-Leninists, and advanced workers must rest upon a basis of unity in political line.

Every attempt up to now to unite Marxist-Leninist organizations and build the party has disclosed deep differences of political line. None was entered upon in a genuinely principled fashion; each previous attempt therefore yielded fragmentation and sectarianism rather than unity and the party. For example, there was the National

Liaison Committee (NLC), which was made up of the Revolutionary Union (RU), the Black Workers' Congress (since split into factions), and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers' Organization.

The NLC soon split, primarily due to errors in the line of the RU. The RU took what is called an economist line in its approach to the working masses, i.e., RU opted for a "dollars and cents" approach essentially the same as that of liberals and trade union bureaucrats. RU also dished up a "nation of a new type" theory which was in reality revisionism of an old type, an attempt to deny the right of self-determination to the Afro-American nation (see article, p. ).

Rather than correct its errors and unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, RU soon after declared itself to be the party, calling itself the Revolutionary Communist Party. The transformation of RU to RCP was really only a flip-flop from economism and open right opportunism to off-the-top-of-the-head, super-revolutionary "left" subjectivism. RCP has since sunk even further into outright revisionism; it has made a Trotskyite repudiation of socialism in the great People's Republic of China, and now openly upholds the disgraced counterrevolutionary Gang of Four.

Other examples of sham party-building motion include the National Continuations Committee which was led by the Communist League, now the Communist Labor Party, into the arms of Soviet social imperialism; the extreme left-sectarian Revolutionary Wing led by the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers' Organization; and the Unity Trend led by the October League before it erroneously declared itself to be the party.

Setbacks of this type are unavoidable during this period of struggle to build the party. After the complete decay of the CPUSA bourgeois ideology penetrated every corner of the workers' movement. Hence the struggle to expel this influence from the anti-revisionist communist movement is lengthy, full of twists and turns.

On the one hand, sham party-building efforts are bad things because they are entered upon in an unprincipled way. On the other hand they are good

things because, by revealing errors and shortcomings they show the correct path forward.

An immense revolutionary storm is building all over the world. The two superpowers are headed for war; the general crisis of imperialism deepens every day, as does the revolutionary struggle of the Third World. All of this makes party building a task of utmost urgency. Genuine Marxist-Leninists must base themselves firmly upon principle and make every effort to unite.

It is in this framework that RCL (M-L-M) views the recent statement on Marxist-Leninist unity from the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML), August Twenty-Ninth Movement Marxist-Leninist (ATM), and I Wor Kuen (IWK). RCL welcomes this development.

These organizations have included agreement upon Chairman Mao's Theory of Three Worlds as part of their basis of unity, along with other questions.

RCL has previously stated that:

the scattered political lines on the burning questions of proletarian revolution in the US must be formed into a party program through ideological struggle in propaganda, forums, 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.

—U S, May-June, 1977

However, we must raise that we still have major line differences with CPML. In our past relations with CPML, formerly the October League (OL), we handled line disagreements incorrectly. RCL has criticized itself and repudiated the "jumping on the bandwagon" approach to criticism of OL. Our method of criticism certainly did not contribute to Marxist-Leninist unity.

RCL raises the following questions to CPML:

1) Does CPML believe that it should have made stronger efforts to unite Marxist-Leninists prior to its first party

- congress?
- 2) Does CPML still call itself the party, or has it repudiated this?
- 3) Does CPML still say that the Afro-American nation has no right to secession in the Black Belt of the South? Does it still hold that the BLM is a "struggle for integration"?
- 4) Does CPML still refuse to demonstrate against the Shah of Iran?
- 5) Does CPML still hold its "official optimist" position on not explaining to the working class the connection between imperialism and opportunism, point out the bribed sector of the class itself?
- 6) Does CPML have any self criticism for its method of arriving at a "program" for its "party" and the loose "Mortov"-like organization that was a result of this?

RCL and CPML also hold opposing lines on the role of trade unions in the destruction of capitalism, differences over the question of the key link in party building, differences over the relationship of the party to various classes.

These questions and others should be raised in meetings to be held. We raise them not to block unity, but in order to advance the struggle for principled unity among Marxist-Leninists. This level of unity is now very low in the anti-revisionist communist movement.

RCL (M-L-M) views ideological struggle over political line as the correct way to demarcate the genuine from the sham, the correct method to unite Marxist-Leninists and build the revolutionary communist party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the USA.

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