

## MAY DAY & AFRIKAN LIBERATION DAY SERVE PARTY BUILDING & STRUGGLE AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM & SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM!!!



On May Day genuine Marxist-Leninists and advanced elements in the revolutionary movement will celebrate International Workers' Day by concentrating on our central task, which is the formation of the revolutionary vanguard communist party that will lead the great masses of people in the U.S.A. to socialist revolution.

### MAY DAY

International Workers Day was born out of the militant struggles of the American working class for the 8-hour day in the 19th century. The event that marks this day for recognizing workers struggle is the Haymarket Massacre that took place in Chicago, Illinois, May 1, 1886.

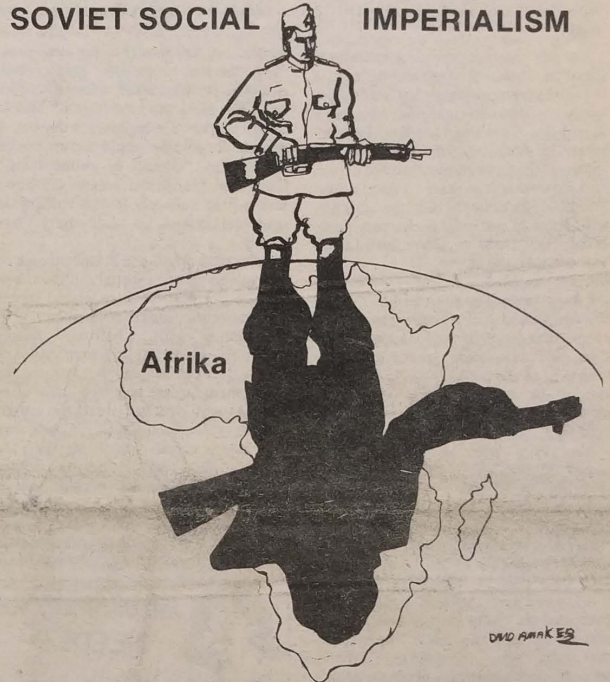
As early as 1866 workers were demanding an 8-hour day. But not until 1886 did it become a national campaign. The National Labor Union, Knights of Labor along with other trade union and labor reform groups made the struggle for the 8-hour work day their number 1 priority, gaining immediate response from workers who were now working 10-16 hours a day, and in some industries even more. On May 1, 1886 there were rallies in many of the major industrial cities such as New York, Chicago, Baltimore, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, for a general strike, bringing out 25,000 to 30,000 militant, but peaceful demonstrators. Each day there were demonstrations in Chicago building in momentum until on May 3 over 30,000

locked out striking lumbermen, freight handlers, woodworkers, and railroadmen, along with about 60,000 other sympathizers demonstrated against the use of scabs to break the strike at the McCormick Harvester Works. These scabs were protected by the police, armed protectors of the bourgeois state. "According to Marx, the state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another; it is the creation of "order", which legalizes and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the conflict between the classes." "A standing army and police are the chief instruments of state power." (Lenin, *The State and Revolution*)

The police ready to squash any kind of demonstration or rally turned the peaceable demonstration at the McCormick Harvester Works into a bloody massacre when they fired into the crowd, killing 4 and leaving many wounded. Armed police, special officers, militiamen, the National Guard (the special bodies of armed men that represent state power) were all mobilized and equipped with the most advanced weaponry to crush the work-

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### SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM



Revolutionary forces throughout the world must steel themselves in the struggle against both superpowers (U.S.A & U.S.S.R.) but especially Soviet Social Imperialism which is on the rise and therefore more dangerous. The struggle against opportunism on the question of Soviet Social Imperialism inside the communist movement is a reflection of the intensifying class struggle throughout the world today. Genuine communists and revolutionaries must close ranks and defeat opportunism in the communist movement, otherwise the struggle against imperialism is a humbug and a sham.

### INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

"The fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism." (Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism-Lenin, p. 153)

Comrades, To begin with the Congress of African People (CAP) must criticize ourselves for not laying out our contradictions with the political line of the October League (O.L.) before now and sharpening the ideological struggle between CAP and OL in the open. Later on this paper CAP will attempt to deepen this criticism showing the ideological roots for our errors, which objectively united with the Right Opportunist line of the O.L. But first, because of the intensified class struggle within the Anti-Revisionist Communist movement (and we see this as a good thing), we find it necessary to attempt to sum up our ideological struggle and social practice with O.L. around International Women's Day in particular, because the struggle around International Women's Day speaks to some general right opportunist trends in the Communist movement in general and in O.L. in particular. CAP also

unites with other genuine Marxist-Leninists that right opportunism is the main danger within the Communist movement today.

In our criticism and self-criticism of International Women's Day we are going to attempt to lay out how CAP and O.L. united to build for I.W.D. (1976) and the line struggle that took place between CAP and O.L. up to and including the day of the demonstration. The line struggle between CAP and O.L. centered around: How do Communists do work among the masses? How do you win the advanced to Communism? (By advanced we mean those workers

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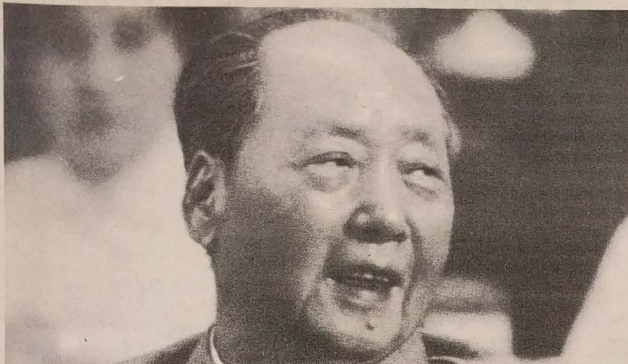
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RAISE!  
BLACK LIBERATION TODAY  
PART 2 PAGE 12

# A GREAT VICTORY!



Chairman Mao Tsetung, the greatest living Marxist-Leninist has made many great contributions to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Chairman Mao's teaching that "the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction in socialist society, that revisionism is the main danger in socialist society" is the key to the defeat of class enemies in the People's Republic of China today.

On the proposal of our great leader Chairman Mao, the political bureau of the central committee of the Communist Party of China has unanimously agreed to appoint Comrade Hua Kuo-Feng as First Vice-Chairman of the central committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, and has unanimously agreed to dismiss Teng Hsiao-Ping from all posts both inside and outside the party. This is an important measure Chairman Mao and the party central committee have taken to combat and prevent revisionism and ensure that our party and state will continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat - it is a great victory in beating back the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts.

The people are overjoyed at these happy tidings. The capital is astir with rejoicing as is the whole country. Millions upon millions of armymen and civilians are turning out to parade amid cheers and beating of drums and gongs, to hail the happy news. Grand rallies have been held in various parts of the country and messages sent to Chairman Mao and the party central committee, acclaiming and resolutely supporting the two wise decisions. In a revolutionary scene of unity in struggle, the whole nation is determined to carry through to the end the great struggle to beat back the right deviationist attempt.

Teng Hsiao-Ping has been the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the party. Over a long period of time, he has opposed Chairman Mao, opposed Mao Tse Tung Thought and Chairman Mao's Proletarian Revolutionary Line. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, he worked in collaboration with Liu Shao-Chi in pushing a counter-revolutionary revisionist line - during the early stage of the great cultural revolution, he, together with Liu Shao-Chi, suppressed the masses and pressed on with a bourgeois reactionary line. Through criticism by the masses, he expressed his willingness to mend his ways and declared that he would "never reverse the verdict." Chairman Mao saved him and gave him the chance to resume work. But he did not live up to Chairman Mao's education and help. Once back in a position to wield power in his possession, he relaxed and reversed the correct verdicts of the great cultural revolution and sought to settle scores with it. He dished up the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link," continued to pursue the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and took the lead in stirring up the right deviationist wind.

With farsightedness, Chairman Mao saw through Teng Hsiao-Ping's activities to reverse correct verdicts, and has since last October issued a series of important instructions and led the whole party, whole army and the people of the whole country in waging a great struggle to counter-attack the right deviationist attempt at reversing correct

verdicts. Chairman Mao points out: "This person does not grasp class struggle. He has never referred to this key link. He knows nothing of Marxism-Leninism. He represents the bourgeoisie. He said he would 'never reverse the verdict.' It can't be counted on." Chairman Mao's instructions hit Teng Hsiao-Ping squarely in the vulnerable spot and expose his reactionary class nature.

At a time when the broad masses of cadres and people throughout the country were criticizing Teng Hsiao-Ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, a counter-revolutionary political incident was perpetrated at Tienanmen Square by a handful of class enemies who openly hoisted the ensign of support for Teng Hsiao-Ping and carried out counter-revolutionary activities. This was by no means accidental. These counter-revolutionaries frenziedly directed the spearhead of their attack at our great leader Chairman Mao, tried to split the party central committee headed by Chairman Mao.

## GI ORGANIZERS NEEDED

The US military still has over 200,000 servicepeople poised for attack against the people of Asia. While many of them are scattered on isolated bases, the concentration in Japan—both the main island and on Okinawa—is high. For over five years Pacific Counseling Service has run counselling and organizing projects there in order to help GIs resist being used against their interests, and to strengthen the class-conscious revolutionary movement in the US.

PCS needs people with a strong interest in working with GIs, and their families. Organizers preferably should have a proletarian standpoint and experience, and some experience with the military. Subsistence and transportation are guaranteed.

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# AFRIKAN LIBERATION DAY

The Afrikan Liberation Support Committee has decided to hold local demonstrations, throughout the country, on Afrikan Liberation Day, which will take place on Saturday, May 29th.

This year's theme is: "Superpowers Out of Afrika," "Freedom for the People of Azania, Namibia, Zimbabwe & Angola." These slogans focus on the need to drive the superpowers - U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Social-Imperialism out of Afrika and into the sea!

It is the superpower who represent the obstruction to the independence, liberation and struggle for revolution of the people of Afrika. With U.S. Imperialism on the decline throughout the world and Soviet Social-Imperialism on the rise, the Soviet

revisionists have been peddling their jive "socialism in words, and imperialism in deeds" among the national liberation movement of the third world and the rest of the world's peoples. But these social-imperialists will soon meet their doom. The people of the Soviet Union led by a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party, will rise and smash these social-imperialists and social-fascists.

In this country we must continue to conduct propaganda as our chief form of activity in this first stage of party building, do this with the aim of uniting Marxist-Leninists ideologically and politically and winning the advanced to Communism. This will aid in isolating and exposing the enemies of the working class and broad masses and contribute to smashing U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism.

sang paeans of praise for Teng Hsiao-Ping and attempted to cast him in the role of Nagy, the chieftain of the counter-revolutionary Hungarian incident. This clearly shows whose interests Teng Hsiao-Ping represents. This is how the capitalist-roaders in the party are connected with the bourgeoisie and the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists in society. The heroic worker-militia of the capital, working in coordination with the People's Police and the army guards, enforced the dictatorship of the proletariat over the handful of class enemies, winning support and praise from the broad masses of the people. In view of the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square and Teng Hsiao-Ping's latest behavior, the party central committee held that the case against Teng Hsiao-Ping had in nature turned into an antagonistic contradiction and decided to dismiss him from all posts both inside and outside the party. This has greatly heightened the morale of the revolutionary people and deflated the reactionary arrogance of the class enemies.

The counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square provided an extremely profound lesson in class struggle by negative example. It tells us how sharp class struggle is in the period of the Socialist revolution. First, it took place in the capital of the country—second, it occurred in Tienanmen Square—third, vehicles and barracks were set afire, worker-militiamen, people's police, people's liberation armymen and revolutionary masses were manhandled. The counter-revolutionary arrogance was unbridled! It also shows how complex class struggle is. In a premeditated, planned and organized way, the counter-revolutionaries unscrupulously fabricated political rumors, made reactionary speeches, posted reactionary poems, distributed reactionary leaflets and agitated for the setting up of counter-revolutionary

groups. They tried to hoodwink the masses and created disturbances. They were insidious and ruthless. It also demonstrates that the broad masses of the people want revolution and cherish an undying hatred for counter-revolutionaries. No matter how frenziedly this handful of class enemies behaved, they could not withstand a single blow and were immediately disintegrated when confronted by the revolutionary masses and the powerful dictatorship of the proletariat.

The two resolutions of the party central committee have greatly inspired the revolutionary fighting will of the whole party, the whole army and the people throughout the country. This will inevitably advance the struggle against the right deviationist attempt to new heights. We are determined to carry this great struggle through to the end. We must firmly keep to the general orientation of the struggle and concentrate our criticism on Teng Hsiao-Ping, on his revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" his counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and his crimes of trying to reverse the correct verdicts of the cultural revolution and settle accounts with it, and attempting to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. We should heighten our revolutionary vigilance and pay constant attention to new developments of class struggle. We must realize that the class enemies who are unreconciled to defeat will wage a death-bed struggle. We must resolutely strike at all the conspiracy and sabotage by the class enemies. It is necessary to pay attention to distinguishing between the two kinds of contradictions, educate those people who were duped and do a good job of ideological work among them.

Let us unite and defend Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao's Proletarian Revolutionary Line by winning still greater victories in repulsing the right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts.

## Internationalist Glossary

### ADVANCED WORKER

"The history of the working-class movement in all countries shows that the better-situated strata of the working class responds to the ideas of socialism more rapidly and more easily. From among these come, in the main, the advanced workers that every working-class movement brings to the fore, those who can education and organization of the proletariat, who accept socialism consciously, and who even elaborate independent socialist theories.

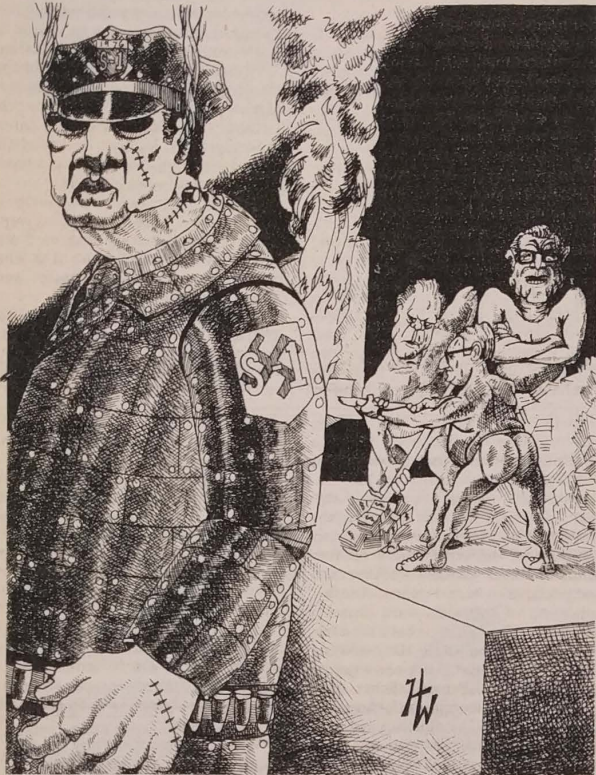
Workers who "despite their wretched living conditions, despite the stultifying penal servitude of factory labor, possess so much character and will power that they study, study, study and turn themselves into conscious social-democrats" — "the working-class intelligentsia."

Quoted from "A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social-Democracy"  
by V.I. Lenin

\*Communists

# MOTION!!

# NIXON IN CHINA



Clearly, as the crisis in imperialism intensifies and the peoples' struggle intensifies against the system of monopoly capitalism, the bourgeois ruling class is moving more and more to the right and toward fascism. Repressive laws like S-1 are the dress rehearsals for fascism in the U.S.A., and the only weapon the people have to stop fascism is to build a revolutionary party, a party of the new type, the vanguard anti-revisionist communist party that will lead the masses in the destruction of capitalism and into the era of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

**Egypt Repeals Treaty With Soviet Social Imperialists.** Egypt not only has done away with a major treaty with the Soviet Social Imperialists, but also has denied the use of ports for Soviet ships - a resounding victory for the Egyptian people's struggle against Soviet hegemonism. In 1971, Soviet revisionists pressured Egypt into signing a "treaty of friendship and co-operation". Since its signing, the Soviet Union has disregarded most of the provisions & completely reneged on their commitments while using the treaty to control Egypt. To oppose Israeli aggression, Egypt badly needed arms, but Soviet revisionists used stalling tactics & delayed supplying Egypt so that Egypt's plan to recover lost lands could not be realized. Soviet Social Imperialists sent large numbers of military personnel into Egypt and grabbed military bases & political privileges in an attempt to control Egyptian war plans. The Soviet Union even denied Egypt knowledge of master-

ing certain weapons. When Egypt was winning major victories, the Soviet Union stopped replenishing Egypt's arms & ammunition to force Egypt into accepting a ceasefire. After the October war, Egypt urgently needed to replace weapons destroyed & damaged, but Soviet revisionists withheld supplies. Aircraft for which Egypt had to pay huge amounts of money were reduced to scrap because the Soviet Union refused to supply parts. Then to top it off, right after the October War, the Soviet Union demanded Egypt pay back loans. This clearly lays bare Soviet revisionist sham aid & cooperation. Their real aim was to control Egypt. The Egyptian people refused to submit to threats or be misled by honeyed words. They are most clear about their fundamental national interests, and that is to defend their national independence and sovereignty and uphold their just cause against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism.

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Nixon's recent trip to China has been obscured somewhat by the rash of events, part of the "great disorder" in the world today. But it is necessary to analyze briefly the meaning of Nixon's trip so that we may be armed against misinterpretations of the trip's meaning by the bourgeoisie and Soviet revisionists and their fellow travelers especially.

First of all the Chinese see, and correctly so, that the main danger in the world today is from the Soviet Union. That Soviet Social Imperialism (SSI) is the most probable source of another world war because they are "wildly ambitious", they are the "new" imperialist and are willing to take chances now in their struggle to replace US imperialism, the old imperialism, as Boss of the world. All over the world, for instance, the people are driving US imperialism out on the points of their bayonets. U.S. imperialism is now, so quickly, an old exposed imperialism, known by most of the people of the world to be a bloody beast imperialism. SSI, on the other hand is more dangerous because it is not only more aggressive but at the same time hidden from many by its signboard of "socialism" which it carries exactly for the purpose of obscuring its real designs!

Nixon was brought to China because he was the head of state of the U.S. when it promised to normalize relations with China, meaning that the U.S. would then restore diplomatic relations, and in doing so, stop recognizing Taiwan as anything but a part of the Peoples Republic of China, at which time they would pull U.S. troops out. This was some of the most important content of the "Shanghai Communiqué" calling for the normalization of relations between the U.S. and China. When Nixon was run out of office, this was still not carried out, and it is still not carried out today. The U.S. bourgeoisie in their idiotic pursuit of "Detente" with the Soviet Union, which the Soviets are using to get stronger so they can be victorious in the obvious world war that will come, were reluctant to completely

normalize relations with the Chinese, and are openly dragging their feet around such issues as Taiwan. Nixon, an old Soviet baiter from way back, was brought to China to do just what he did. Put down Detente, "There are some persons who believe that peace can be gained merely by signing agreements," and raise the question openly, by his presence in China, as to what happened to the carrying out of the contents of the Shanghai Communiqué. Nixon's blast of Detente was so effective, coming when it did, right in the middle of the first presidential primaries, that Ford immediately issued a statement that he was "deleting Detente from his vocabulary." Kissinger then had to make several speeches defending the Detente policy saying it could be carried out even if it was called something else.

The Chinese, in seeing Soviet Social Imperialism as the most dangerous of the two superpowers, acts on this by continuing to follow their correct political line "making use of contradictions, waging struggle on just grounds, to our advantage and with restraint and destroying our enemies one by one." The U.S. is in decline, the USSR is the rising Imperialist, the most dangerous imperialist therefore, & therefore the one that must be most intensely opposed. The people must get prepared for world war, "or they will suffer" and the danger of that war comes mainly from the superpower calling itself socialist. The correct identification and use of contradictions and especially of what is, at any given time, the principal contradiction can only come by mastering the science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In this period of a struggle in the U.S., study must be one of our major concerns as we struggle to unite Marxist-Leninists and win the advanced to communism, in order to build the Marxist-Leninist Communist party that will make socialist revolution in the U.S.A. Party building is the only preparation for war and/or revolution, and the most important opposition to both superpowers, for people in the U.S.A. today.

## ANGOLA NO INDEPENDENCE FOR ANGOLA WHILE SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISTS & CUBAN MERCENARIES REMAIN!

Each day that the Soviet Social Imperialists remain in Angola sharpens the question of How can a nation be truly independent with thousands of Imperialists camped on their soil, and in the case of Angola, there is also the grim presence of 13,000 Cuban mercenaries. If all these foreign troops are needed in Angola to keep order then what does that say about the stability or popularity of the regime in power? Obviously the Soviet Union and their Cuban employees cannot be the government of Angola, the people of Angola will never permit it. It is also known to anyone who is interested in facts, not soviet revisionist fantasy, that all three of the liberation movements in Angola contributed to the defeat of the Portuguese, and in January and June 1975 these

liberation movements made agreements that they would collectively operate a new Angolan government of national accord, and seek to iron out their problems with each other in a peaceful fashion, focusing on their national interests and uniting against their common enemy. But it was in this very period when it seemed that the Angolan people were on their way to genuine independence that the Soviet Social Imperialists intervened and stirred up civil war between the liberation movements, enabling themselves to move in and set up open shop, using the sign board of "Socialism," preaching they were the "natural ally" of the liberation movement in Afrika, but in reality setting up their plunder and booty removal operation as the colonialists before them.

"The Soviet revisionists argue that their intervention was to 'combat' the South African invasion and that not one single soldier went to Angola 'until the imperialist South Africans invaded the territory of that country on October 23 of last year.' This is a big lie. The fact is that their armed intervention preceded the South African invasion.

"In January 1975, about the time of the signing of the Alvor agreement on the independence of Angola, over one hundred Soviet military advisers arrived in Angola. Large consignments of arms soon followed them in March of that year. In July four months later, the Soviet Union single-handedly stirred up a civil war in that country. In

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## ANGOLA



Superpower contention between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. over hegemony over Portugal will end only with the revolutionary leadership of genuine Marxist-Leninist forces in Portugal, who will lead the people in the struggle against both superpowers.

## SUPERPOWERS OUT OF PORTUGAL

After a period of 22 years of bourgeois democracy, of various republican and military governments, of political instability and economic stagnation, in 1935, fascism was consolidated as a form of state rule under the leadership of Antonio Oliveira Salazar. Salazar established his fascist dictatorship under the slogan of "defense of order."

Following the models of the then established fascist states in Germany and Italy, Salazar eliminated all political parties but one, the National Union, emphasized colonial politics and established paramilitary repressive organisms all under the banner of law and order and national unity.

For the ruling classes of Portugal, bourgeois democracy did not provide a viable shell under which to maximize profits nor protect their political dominance. The various sectors of the ruling classes - the feudal aristocracy, the large landowners, that national bourgeoisie (both small and medium industrialist) and the small petty bourgeoisie that existed united around the figure of Salazar to thwart revolution and to guarantee their class interest (economic & political).

As in Germany, Italy and Spain, Portuguese fascism was not instituted as a form of state government from one day to the next but evolved over a period of time and had its own national character.

The industrial development of Portugal and its overall economic development - modified the class forces in the country. From emerging capitalist forms of relations, with a small national bourgeoisie, capitalism grew into monopoly capitalism. As a result, the monopoly capitalists became the dominant class among the ruling classes (large landowners, small and medium bourgeoisie) of Portuguese society. This was the sector of the ruling classes that was to most vehemently support the colonial war to maintain the Afrikan colonies.

In 1968, Marcelo Caetano assumed power after the death of Salazar. But he was not able to muster the same kind of support that Salazar received from the dominant classes.

In the struggles Salazar had against opposition to his dictatorial rule he utilized all the repressive structures of the fascist state that he had constructed, i.e. the political police, the national assembly and all the judicial and administrative institutions of the "new state" and effectively destroyed all opposition. But Caetano in his professed objective of liberalizing the regime, opened up the political arena and permitted the participation of

political figures and parties that were outside the National Union, the official Party.

In an attempt to maintain possession of the Afrikan colonies (Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique), the regime in Portugal committed enormous sums of money, resources, and two-thirds of its armed forces. As a result of the colonial war in Afrika, there was a growth of an anti-colonial movement. The Armed Forces Movement (AFM) initiated this anti-war movement. The AFM was to develop in the beginning in the junior officer corps but spread among the enlisted ranks of the Army, Navy and Air Force.

The AFM started out as an association of junior officers around professional grievances and discontents not as a political movement with anti-war aims. It was only later, after many meetings and discussions, the character of the organization was to change. At first, what united them was dissatisfaction with the military structure. After 13 years of war, the officer corps had been depleted and the high command resorted to extraordinary means to rectify this shortage.

This exchange of experience, analysis and alternatives which characterized its initial stage was crystallized within the ranks of the AFM around a political program called "the Movement of the Armed Forces to the Nation" which outlined a populist, anti-monopoly and anti-colonial perspective. In this analysis, the AFM rejected a military solution to the colonial war and established the need to overthrow the dictatorship and establish democratic rights in Portuguese society.

The AFM is not a homogeneous organization and as such reflects all the political and class struggles being waged within Portuguese society. It does not include all the members of the armed forces, but only certain sectors of the enlisted and officer corps. Within the AFM, there are forces whose allegiance is to the Popular Democratic Party (National bourgeoisie), those who are loyal to the Portuguese Socialist Party (U.S. imperialism) and those allied with the Portuguese Communist Party (Soviet Social imperialism) and there is a sector that is influenced and responds to the politics of the non-revisionist left. The work of many of the Marxist-Leninist organizations in organizing among the enlisted ranks has been very effective and has resulted in the formation of a rank and file soldiers movement - the Soldiers United for Victory (SUV). But in the main the Portuguese armed forces remain an instrument of the state, to use to crush progressive and revolutionary elements.

Since April 25, 1974, there has been a great deal of social, political and economic upheaval in Portuguese society. In that span, there has been an attempted coup and five provisional governments have gone in and out of power. As a result of the coup (April, 1974) the working class has won some democratic rights that they had been denied so long under fascist dictatorship.

In terms of land reform, the Portuguese peasants have re-claimed land,

(Continued from page 3)

September, large groups of Cuban troops were dumped in Caxito, northern Angola.

"From September 25 to October 23 last year, Moscow sent five shiploads of weapons and over 2,400 mercenaries into the country, and in the week ending October 18, more than 750 Cuban soldiers were transported into Angola. All these facts can be found in the official records. Moscow, for all its subtleties, cannot dodge the following questions: Since South Africa intruded into the land of Angola on October 23, whom were you fighting previously? Were South African forces the target of your 'devastating blows' in the Caxito area and on the northern front in Angola? Was it the South African racists that you describe as 'the reactionary forces in Angola'? Are the thousands upon thousands of people you have killed with 'powerful gunfire'

formally owned by rich land owners, and formed new cooperatives. But as a form of reaction, from the fascists and social-fascists, there have been recent indications that denials of economic support to the farmers is delaying the development of the cooperatives. This is collusion of the superpowers because neither of them want the working class and peasants to be self-reliant. Another indication of this rightward swing is that Portugal's landlords have been trying to regain control of their housing from the thousands of poor families who have been occupying them.

The political struggle in Portugal has intensified due to the contention of the 2 superpowers (U.S. and U.S.S.R.) for hegemony in the world. The three major political tendencies are the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) who is backed by the Revisionist Soviet Union. The PCP under the Vasco Gonalves government was in a position of power, but was forced out by U.S. imperialism, under the present rule of Premier Pinheiro de Azevedo. The Azevedo regime represents the triumph of U.S. imperialism in Portugal. The National bourgeoisie is represented by the Popular Democrats.

When the Portuguese Communist Party was in command of Portugal there was the danger of social fascism. That is, the return to fascism under the "cloak" of socialism. Because the Soviet Union will only use Portugal for its aims of exploiting the Portuguese people for its own imperialists gains like it is doing throughout the 3rd world.

Also the Socialist Party, who now have the upper hand in Portugal, will enforce straight out fascism because U.S. imperialism will not disguise itself as anything but will talk about "law & order" to maintain a firm control over the Portuguese masses and will crush by force the revolution in Portugal to stop it from being carried to the end. Both superpowers cause chaos and disorder because they want political and economic control there. This is part of the superpower contention over Europe. Because whichever superpower controls Europe, has the key to the domination of the world. The Chinese have said:

"The struggle of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, for world hegemony is being waged with growing intensity. Their contention, both overt and covert, goes on in various fields and various parts of the world. In order to expand their spheres of influence, they station troops, ship arms and build bases wherever they can, and at the same time carry out by every conceivable means infiltration and sabotage against each other. In this all-embracing scramble, Europe is the focal point in the strategy of both sides."

On November 14, sectors of the proletariat in alliance with the Portuguese peasantry demonstrated for higher wages in front of the National Assembly building. Two days after this demonstration of class unity, November 16, there was another demonstration that included not only workers and peasants but some progressive elements

South Africans? Indisputable facts show that there is no denying the Soviet aggression in Angola and Africa while its talk about opposition to South Africa's intrusion into Angola is a sham.

"There is a further question: Why did the Soviet Union and its followers cling to their statement that it was only after October 23 that they dispatched troops into Angola? The simple answer is that they urgently needed to use the South African invasion as a pretext for the extension of their own interference in Angola. The Soviet Union surreptitiously dispatched mercenaries into Angola before October 23, and after South African's invasion it openly went into action on a big scale.

"As in the days before October 23, the unbridled Soviet actions in Angola were directed against the Angolans and not in the least against the South African

(Continued on page 11)

of the military who all demanded a halt to the right-wing politics of the 6th Provisional Government.

The right-wing government was frightened by the solidarity that was shown in these demonstrations and began to prepare their "loyal" units to defend the Provisional government and its reactionary policies. Progressive forces in the military were not going to allow this to happen so they decided to hold the garrisons which they controlled against any attacks made against them and the people. On November 25, armored cars of the government forces attacked the garrisons held by left forces in the military.

With the put down of the uprising of some elements of the left within the armed forces, the Azevedo regime, which is the representative of the right within the AFM and the social democratic "socialist" forces, fall directly into the orbit of U.S. imperialism. In fact, their whole rise to consolidate, at least temporarily, their control over Portuguese society, could not be possible without the strong support of the U.S. CIA and instant-aid-for-reactionaries mechanism within the U.S. State Department. The uprising seemed a desperation move with no clear leadership except the left sector of the AFM, without the whole weight of the people behind it. The PCP lacks of Social imperialism, who continue to function within the right social democratic government, carrying out Moscow's machination, no doubt gave some lip service to the uprising, but made no visible effort to support it. And now in the manner of a lapdog the PCP waggles its tail to get the U.S. lackies to keep them in the "coalition" government of the rightist forces.

For the honest left, time for regrouping, reorganizing in the face of the right-wing U.S. backed sweep, to mobilize the masses of the people against the U.S. imperialist lackies and the Soviet social imperialist lackies who now openly collaborate in this rightward fascist headed government.

Since November 25, repression of the working class is on the rise. More than 100 military and civilians have been arrested and implicated in the November 25 uprising. Another result of the November 25 uprising was the removal of the leftist commander Carlos Fabiao, chief of staff of the armed forces. Fabiao was replaced November 25 by Ramalho Eanes, a lackey for U.S. imperialism. The U.S. backed "Socialist" Party is making demands and clearly on top again in Portuguese politics.

On April 25, 1976, there is to be elections of the legislature, the first "free" legislative elections in Portugal in 50 years. An obstacle to moving forward with the elections on April 25 has been the delay in signing the pact between the military rulers and the main political parties which are to define the role of the military forces in Portuguese politics.

Now as the time for the elections approaches both U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social imperialism are con-

(Continued on page 5)

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# PRE CIVIL WAR REVOLUTIONARY BLACK NATIONALISM

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

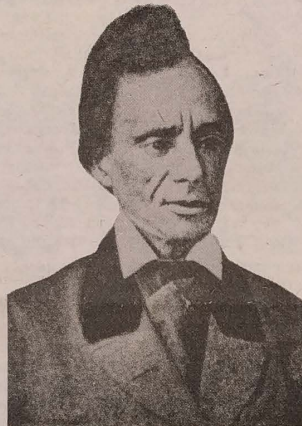
"The prejudice which some white men have, or affected to have, against my color gives me no pain. If any man does not fancy my color, that is his business, and I shall not meddle with it. I shall give myself no trouble because he lacks good taste. . .

"I would have you understand, that I not only love my race, but am pleased with my color; and while many colored persons may feel degraded by being called Negroes, and wish to be classed among other races more favored, I shall feel it my duty, my pleasure and my pride, to concentrate my feeble efforts in elevating to a fair position a race to which I am especially identified by feelings and by blood. . ."

The spirit of revolutionary nationalism spread everywhere. It even touched black men who had previously espoused the white Abolitionist's corrupt doctrine. At a State Convention of Massachusetts Negroes, which met in the New Bedford City Hall the first week of August, 1858, Charles L. Remond, a noted black anti-slavery orator, urged the black people to embrace a revolutionary course. Here are excerpts taken from a verbatim report of the proceedings by an observer:

"C.L. Remond regretted that he was obliged to ask for rights which every pale-faced vagabond from across the water could almost at once enjoy. He did not go so far as Uncle Tom, and kiss

the hand that smote him. He didn't believe in such a Christianity. He didn't object to the (Dred Scott) 'decision,' and the slave bill, any more than to the treatment of the colored race in Iowa and Kansas. The exodus for the colored men of this country is over the constitution and through the Union. He referred to parties, and asked what either of them had done for freedom. The free-soil and republican parties had, alike, been false. We must depend upon our own self-reliance. If we recommend to the slaves in South Carolina to rise in rebellion, it would work greater things than we imagine. If some blacks Archimedes does not soon arise with his lever, then will there spring up some black William Wallace with his claymore, for the freedom of the black race. He boldly proclaimed himself a traitor to the government and the Union, so long as his rights were denied him for no fault of his own. . . Were there a thunderbolt of God which he could invoke to bring destruction upon this nation, he would gladly do it. . .



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

## MAY DAY

(Continued from page 1)

king class. Thousands of workers were beaten. Many rallies were held to protest this massacre and at one rally in Haymarket Square, after many demonstrators had left, about 180 policemen marched in to "disperse" the crowd. A bomb was thrown inside the ranks of the police, killing 1 policeman and wounding others. It is widely believed that this was the work of a provocateur! This resulted in severe repression of workers and labor leaders by the state machinery. Printing presses were smashed, homes raided, people arrested; Chicago's jails were packed with tortured workers, union offices and other working class organizations were raided. Seven labor leaders were sentenced for the bombing and 4 of them were hanged, although 2 of these were not even present at the time of the bombing.

The struggles of the American workers against the repression of the working class and labor movement in the U.S. gained worldwide attention, especially among the Socialists. At the first congress of representatives of the socialist parties held in Paris on July 14, 1889 where the Second International was set up, it was decided to celebrate May Day each year—the anniversary of the bloody massacre of workers in Chicago who demanded an 8-hour work day—as a day of international proletarian solidarity.

The story of the labor movement in the U.S. has traditionally been one of struggle when the trade unions served as

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## ANGOLA FORUM

(Continued from page 10)

bourgeois nationalism and social-democracy any platform for the running of their bankrupt lines. That to allow trots the mike to speak is to give a platform to police agents and wreckers. The incorrect handling of criticism by the CAP representative on the panel flows from the world view of the petit-bourgeois individualist and has nothing to do with the class stand of the proletariat. On the question of party building, the line of CAP on this question is being summed up and will be put forward in the next few months.

Not having a consolidated position on this question in this period where party-building is the central task, is a reflection of right opportunism, which is the main danger in the communist movement and it is opportunism as Comrade Lenin said that must be struggled against otherwise the struggle against imperialism will be a humbug and a sham.

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### Part II

"Mr. Remond moved that a committee of five be appointed to prepare an address suggesting to the slaves at the South to create an insurrection. He said he knew his resolution was in one sense revolutionary, and in another, treasonable, but so he meant it. He doubted whether it would be carried. But he didn't want to see people shake their heads, as he did see them on the platform, and turn pale, but to rise and talk. He wanted to see the half-way fellows take themselves away, and leave the field to men who would encourage their brethren at the South to rise with bowie-knife and revolver and musket.

"... He had counted the cost. If he had one hundred relations at the South, he would rather see them die today, than to live in bondage. He would rather stand over their graves, than feel that any pale-faced scoundrel might violate his mother or his sister at pleasure. He only regretted that he had not a spear with which he could transfix all the slaveholders at one. To the devil with the slaveholders! Give him liberty, or give him death. The insurrection could be accomplished as quick as thought, and the glorious result would be instantaneously attained.

"A vote was taken, and the motion was lost. This was by far the most spirited discussion of the Convention."

(To Be Continued)

## INTERNATIONAL

(Continued from page 9)

feminism" (Woman Question, Lenin, p. 89) O.L. takes an opportunist line on the Woman Question artificially separating the woman question from proletarian revolution, this is why they couldn't see the relationship of International Women's Day to Party Building.

### In Summation

In summing up the ideological errors and political line of O.L. it is clear the deviation is Right Opportunism. O.L.'s right opportunism surfaces in their handling of International Woman's Day; unity of action before unity on political line, Shah of Iran; Busing; Aiming the propaganda for International Women's Day to the lower strata of the proletariat; Posing artificial opposition between democratic and Communist slogans and demands. Their line that reforms are everything and O.L.'s liquidation of the struggle against Soviet Social Imperialism.

In summing up the line of O.L., we in CAP can see we have made errors similar to that of the O.L. However, we in CAP are trying to analyze our errors and get to the root of them so we can correct them. In line with correcting our errors we are stressing study to get a firm grasp of the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the philosophical outlook of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

### O.L. and Martov Unite

Another serious contradiction CAP has with the O.L. is the question of opportunism's relationship to Imperialism. O.L. denies that the Super-profits of Imperialism based on super exploitation of the 3rd World, used "to bribe certain sections of the workers, and for a time a fairly considerable minority of them, and win them to the side of the bourgeoisie of a given industry or given nation against all the others. The intensification of antagonism between imperialist nations for the division of the world increases this striving. And so there is created that bond, between Imperialism and opportunism, which revealed itself first and most clearly in England, owing to the fact that certain features of imperialist development were observable there much earlier than in other countries."

## PORTUGAL

(Continued from page 4)

solidating their forces against the people. The "Socialists" (U.S. imperialism), who won last year's elections for a Constituent Assembly put up a major show of diplomatic strength by bringing most of Western Europe's "Socialist" (Social-Democratic) leaders to Portugal for a 2-day meeting. The aim was to demonstrate the power of the Social democrats in their alliance with U.S. imperialism and a promise of economic aid.

The other superpower had a national conference in Lisbon, under the auspices of the Portuguese Communist Party, who stressed the theme of "national independence" and called for the "liberation of Portugal from political or economic submission to foreign imperialism."

This is clearly superpower contention because they both are fighting to influence and dupe the masses in favor of their domination, for the election.

The National bourgeoisie's forces are weak and the comprador wing may collude with whichever side seems to be winning. Because in the end their class views and interests can unite with either of the superpowers.

The Chinese correctly have pointed out:

"Countless historical facts tell us that in the present struggle against the policy of aggression pursued by U.S. imperialism and soviet social imperialism, the only way for us is to be guided by a correct revolutionary line, 'dare to fight, defy difficulties, advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed. . ."

## WOMEN'S DAY

(Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism- Lenin, P. 152).

O.L.'s line unites with that of Martov on the question of the effects of imperialism on the working class movement and the connection between opportunism and imperialism. We in CAP came to understand this connection in an attempt to trace the material base for the division among white workers and workers of oppressed nationalities in particular. O.L. instead, seems to think that admitting this fact (in order to struggle against it) represents a pessimistic view of the working class movement. This view of O.L.'s to our understanding unites with Martov's "Official optimism." "Some writers, L. Martov, for example, are prone to wave aside the connection between imperialism and opportunism in the working class movement - a particularly glaring fact at the present time - by resorting to "Official optimism" (a la Kautsky and Huysmans) like the following: the cause of the opponents of capitalism would be hopeless if it were precisely progressive capitalism that led to the increase of opportunism, or, if it were precisely the best paid workers who were inclined towards opportunism, etc. We must have no illusions about 'optimism' of this kind. It is optimism in regard to opportunism which serves to conceal opportunism. As a matter of fact the extraordinary rapidity and the particularly revolting character of the development of opportunism is by no means a guarantee that is victory will be durable: the rapid growth of a malignant abscess on a healthy body can only cause it to burst more quickly and thus relieve the body of it. The most dangerous of all in this respect are those who do not wish to understand that the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism." (Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism- Lenin, pp. 152-153)

\*Martov also was the chief defender for the building of a Menshevik Party and was entirely opposed to Lenin's formula for a Bolshevik Party.

# RIGHT OPPORTUNISM MAIN DANGER! CAP SUMMATION OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

(Continued from page 1)

"who can win the confidence of the laboring masses, who devote themselves entirely to the education and organization of the proletariat, who accept socialism conscientiously, and who even elaborate independent socialist theories. . . workers, who despite their wretched living conditions, despite the stupefying penal servitude of factory labor, possess so much character and will-power that they study, study, study, and turn themselves into conscious Social-Democrats . . . the working class intelligentsia." (Lenin, "A Retrograde Trend In Russian Social Democracy," Vol. 4, pp. 280). Other Struggles: The role of propaganda in general and slogans in particular? Party Building's Relationship to the International Women's Day.

**CAP's Incorrect Approach To Building For International Women's Day**  
 CAP, recognizing our theoretical weakness, and in summing up the lessons we learned from last year's International Women's Day Anti-Imperialist Coalition led by O.L., as well as the work we had to do within the Black Women's United Front (BWUF) to build for the Multi-National Women's Conference, decided that we should not take the lead independently to build for International Women's Day. CAP then met with O.L. to discuss unity around International Women's Day. It was from this discussion that CAP and O.L. united around "No United Action with Revisionists" as the main principle of unity and the other Principles of Unity were: 1) Full equality for Women. 2) Oppose Super-power preparation for War. 3) Support the Struggle of Third World People. 4) Down with Imperialism. From this unity CAP and O.L. moved to build an "Anti-Imperialist Coalition." Here it should be noted that O.L. put forward these principles of unity, only to later on try to withdraw the second principle of unity (Oppose superpower preparation for War) when the principles of unity became slogans in the International Women's Day demonstration. It is clear to us now in summing up our approach to International Women's Day, CAP in building for International Women's Day did not take into consideration the sharpening of class struggle in the International Communist movement. The emergence of an open Right Opportunist line on the question of Soviet Social Imperialism by some forces in the Anti-Revisionist movement - that would prove they were not Anti-Revisionist but revisionists in new disguise. We have to unite with the Comrades from the August 29th Movement (ATM) who clearly pull the cover off of O.L.'s disguise.

"With the defeat of modern revisionism did not come the death of opportunism. It was forced to assume a new mask, to cover itself ever more cleverly and insidiously with the cloak (but not the essence) of Marxism. Opportunists who talk about 'peaceful transition' and 'part of the whole people,' etc., were obviously not going to be able to get over as easily with the advanced elements who were receiving their baptism in the rebellions and mass movements of the 60's and 70's."  
 "No, to succeed in their task opportunism had to wave the flag of Marxism, to shout about 'armed struggle,' and 'building a new communist party,' and attacking the CPUSA. But attacking revisionism does not make one anti-revisionist. We need only look at the trotskyst Communist Labor Party to see the truth of this as they continue their shameful groveling at the feet of Soviet social-imperialism and attack the correct leadership of the Communist Party of China. In our Unity Statement we refer to this latest brand of opportunism as the 'new revisionists.'" (We are referring here to a tendency, not necessarily Communists at this time used the name social-democrats.

sarily the out-front revisionism of Marxist-Leninist principles.") (Revolutionary Cause Vol. 1, No. 3, Feb. 76, p. 7-8)  
 In trying to get to the ideological roots of our error we did not apply the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought. We did not sum up concrete conditions of the World today but instead made an empiricist error by just going by what had been our practice last I.W.D. (1975) with O.L. Specifically we did not use a dialectical materialist approach, our decision was not based on time, place and conditions. Instead we fell idealism and metaphysics, which in turn became we did not correct this error gave rise to other errors along the same lines.

**"Anti-Imperialist" Coalition Called Together By Workers Viewpoint**  
 Both CAP and O.L. were aware of another "Anti-Imperialist" coalition that had been pulled together by Workers Viewpoint. Both CAP and O.L. met and agreed that we should attend these coalition meetings to win as many honest forces as we could to the Anti-Imperialist coalition O.L. and CAP were building. This coalition that Workers Viewpoint had pulled together was characterized by Trots (YAWF), lesbians and revisionists (the revisionists were there in the person of some representatives from the U.N. coalition who openly stated their union with the revisionists by calling for the coalitions to unite around the principle of Peace, Development and Equality). In the minority were some Marxist-Leninist organizations.

The main struggle in the coalition was how do genuine Marxist-Leninists stand on the question of Soviet Social Imperialism.  
 When CAP and O.L. entered the coalition there was unprincipled unity around the non-Marxist-Leninist definition of Imperialism which was a cover for Soviet Social Imperialism. This was proven when the question of a genuine Anti-Imperialist coalition was raised, it brought to the forefront that the principles of unity were against all Imperialism except Soviet Social Imperialism. The Right Opportunist line that was used to cover Soviet Social Imperialism was that the U.N. and Soviet Social Imperialism to the level of a principle of unity would divide the coalition. This line was mainly put up by El Comite-MINP and YAWF. As the struggle around Principles of Unity for a genuine Anti-Imperialist coalition sharpened, there was an attempt to merge a two line struggle into one. This attempt to cover class struggle led to a Comrade from Workers Viewpoint telling CAP that CAP could not respond to a written criticism made by the Latin Women's Collective that accused CAP of "disruption" (by this they mean by carrying on a 2 line struggle) and "Ultra Leftism" (by this they mean raising Anti-Soviet Social Imperialism to the level of a principle of unity.) Objectively there were 2 lines in the meeting and in fact the coalition split. The Comrades from Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO) and Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) led the struggle to put the question to a vote. By this time El Comite-MINP had already split. After the vote to include Soviet Social Imperialism in the definition of Anti-Imperialism the Trots, lesbians, and revisionists split. After the split PRRWO called for sum up of the split and proposed that the Marxist-Leninist and Anti-Imperialist forces meet again to form a genuine Anti-Imperialist coalition for International Women's Day. (Organizations present were PRRWO, RWL, WVO, OL, CAP, and FFM).  
 The question of Soviet Social Imperialism and how it was dealt with in this "Anti-Imperialist" coalition called together by Workers Viewpoint is reflection of the class struggle in the International Communist Movement

where genuine Marxist-Leninists are closing their ranks and becoming more vigilant against Soviet Social Imperialism, which is the main source of war today.

**Class Struggle Sharpens Between The Marxist-Leninist Organizations**  
 Before going into the Anti-Imperialist coalition meeting called by PRRWO, CAP had a pre-meeting where we made an incorrect summation in which we viewed unity of action as primary, pushed line struggle into the background. This summation was based on empiricism (i.e., our '75 International Women's Day demonstration with O.L.) "All things in the world are interconnected and at the same time different from one another. In practice, we should not only pay attention to the general character of things. More important, we should pay attention to the individual character of everything, that is, the particular contradictions it contains which distinguishes it from other things, so as to take appropriate measures to solve the contradictions accordingly. That is what we mean by us-



International Women's Day hundreds marched in New York City, but O.L. attempted to disconnect the women question from proletarian revolution.

ing the right key to open the lock. Likewise, we cannot use one prescription to cure all diseases. As to experiences gained from one thing, some may be applicable to other things, others may be partly inapplicable. To neglect the particularity of contradictions and mechanically apply old experience is empiricism" (Study Philosophy, "Overcoming Empiricism," pp. 19) Carrying this empiricist error into the meeting CAP consistently lined up with O.L.'s Right Opportunist line that "Unity Of Action" is primary in coalitions. This error masked the difference in line between CAP and O.L. In the beginning of the meeting PRRWO put forward 11 principles of unity: 1) Oppose the Superpowers and danger of World War. 2) Superpowers out of Angola 3) support the National Liberation Struggles 4) Independence for Puerto Rico 5) Support the struggle of the Iranians against Imperialism and Against the Shah of Iran 6) Fight ruling class attempt to shift the burden of economic and political crisis onto the backs of the working

class. Oppose union busting, cutbacks, speed-ups, layoffs and unemployment 7) Fight the menace of fascism, including the S-I bill, police repression, forced busing and all forms of chauvinist and degenerate culture. Title 20 8) Fight for democratic rights of oppressed nationalities and women 9) Oppose super seniority 10) Oppose all forms of women's oppression, equal pay for equal work, universal daycare-free and 24 hour, paid maternity leaves, fight for equal employment. 11) Defeat the Equal Rights Amendment.  
 After PRRWO laid out the above Principles of Unity this is when the class struggle emerged between the Marxist-Leninists. O.L. stated that they could not unite around opposition to the Shah of Iran. Opposition to forced busing, defeat of the ERA and opposition to Super Seniority. It was at this point that we, CAP, tabled O.L.'s right line by not making a clear demarcation between our line and the O.L. line on these questions and in fact walked out of the meeting with O.L. In self-criticism it is our view that this is what led to the Comrades from Resistencia printing in their

newspaper that CAP and O.L. held the same lines. "We should support ERA, super seniority, and forced busing," (O.L. and CAP) - (Resistencia Vol. 7, #2, pp. 6). This was an error of liberalism "to hear incorrect views without rebutting them and even to hear counter-revolutionary remarks without reporting them, but instead to take them calmly as if nothing had happened. To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and inquiries among them, and instead to be indifferent to them and show no concern for their well being, forgetting that one is a Communist and behaving as if one were an ordinary non-Communist" (Selected Readings from the works of Mao-Tsetung, Combat Liberalism, pp. 135).

Objectively, it must also be added that the line taken by PRRWO, RWL and WVO that the Principles of Unity as put forward by PRRWO had to be taken or people objecting to them had to leave, is a sectarian error. The Principles of

## MULTI-NATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

The Black Women's United Front held a Multi-National Women's Conference March 6, 1976, at the Riverside Church in New York City. The Conference was called for the purpose of mass education of the women who attended the conference. Education around the issues and the nature of our oppression, under the system of monopoly capitalism and imperialism. The same ideological and political errors made as a whole during International Women's Day by the October League are repeated in the October League's participation in the October Conference and their analysis of the ideological struggle that went on during International Women's Day and in the Conference.

What stands out again in this article is the O.L.'s abandonment of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought and the fundamental principles of dialectical materialism in characterizing line struggle. Of line struggle. The O.L. tries to characterize open and above board ideological struggle as disruptive. How can an organization that is going to call for a Bolshevik Party be afraid of ideological struggle? We would like to quote from Josef Stalin on Dialectical and Historical Materialism:

"Hence, we must not cover up the contradictions of the capitalist system, but disclose and unravel them, we must not try to check the class struggle but carry it to its conclusion.  
 Hence, in order not to err in policy, one must pursue an uncompromising proletarian class policy, not a reformist policy of harmony of the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, not a compromisers' policy of 'the growing of capitalism into Socialism'.  
 Such is the Marxist dialectical method when applied to social life, to the history of society."

When genuine Marxist-Leninists use the Marxist method of dialectics, O.L. Unity should have been put out to further the line struggle, not merely to drive O.L. out with no further explanation. Though it is the internal contradictions within the CAP that made us trail O.L. out of the meeting, we seeking clear demarcation as to actual line, but the conditions for that error were clearly set up by sectarianism of using the principles of unity as "wolfbane" to drive out the vampire rather than a method of deepening the line struggle, and finally achieving a similar but more progressive end.

In an attempt to make a clear line of demarcation and deepen the struggle between CAP and O.L. on political line,

characterizes the Marxist dialectical method as ultra-leftism and sectarianism. This is what we see as fundamental to their right error in analyzing the class struggle that went on during the Multi-National Women's Conference.

The right error was furthered by the attempt of the O.L. to get CAP to influence the Black Women's United Front to keep the other Marxist-Leninists out of the conference. This is what O.L. characterizes as C.A.P.'s conciliation to the "Revolutionary Wing" (RWL, PRRWO). If C.A.P. is guilty of any kind of class conciliation, it is guilty in not waging ideological struggle with them around political line.

O.L. divorces the woman question from proletarian revolution. Not seeing that the line struggle would advance the consciousness of women and win the advance to Communism, O.L. thinks it has done everything by discussing the basic reforms. But to raise the question of a Bolshevik Party which is necessary to lead revolution in ultra-left and sectarian according to O.L.

O.L.'s line is dangerous because this rejection of ideological struggle leads to the error. Chairman Mao was talking about in his essay, "Combat Liberalism":

"But liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and the revolutionary organization."

We agree with Chairman Mao Tse Tung when he says:  
 "We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight. Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon."

We are going to briefly lay out our differences with O.L. The line of the O.L. that says you cannot oppose the Shah of Iran because he is a part of the United Front Against Imperialism is an abandonment of Proletarian Internationalism and a misunderstanding and mis-use of the Chinese line of United Front. O.L.'s line attempts to disarm the revolutionary people of Iran against their own reactionaries. In 1963 the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in a letter to the Soviet Union states, "When a United Front is formed with the bourgeoisie, the policy of the proletarian party should be one of both unity and

struggle. The policy should be to unite with the bourgeoisie, insofar as they tend to be progressive, Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Feudal, but to struggle against their reactionary tendencies to compromise and collaborate with imperialism and the forces of feudalism." (A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement, p. 17). While CAP sees the Shah of Iran as part of the United Front Against Imperialism, we uphold and join the Iranian peoples struggle to oppose the Shah of Iran. CAP upholds the Chinese position for "resolute revolutionary struggle by the people of all countries and of carrying the proletarian world revolution forward to the end: it is the line that most effectively combats imperialism and defends world peace;" (ibid, p. 4)

CAP is not taking a straight out revisionist line that drops the struggle for self-determination of Afro-American people and unites with the liberal bourgeoisie and bourgeois assimilationists. O.L. goes so far as to state that the "Black Liberation



The women question is a component part of socialist revolution. O.L.'s incorrect line is that International Women's Day is disconnected from the revolutionary motion of the building of a vanguard communist party in the USA.

Movement is a struggle for integration." This is an out and out reformist line on the Afro-American question. O.L. sacrifices the long term principles of the proletariat and oppressed nationalities instead of supporting the democratic rights, self-determination and self-defense of the Afro-Americans. O.L. upholds bourgeois democracy and calls for the instrument of the bourgeoisie, the state, to defend the rights of the working class and oppressed nationalities and the right of self-determination and self-defense of Afro-American people in particular.

Though CAP does not have a solidated line on the ERA and super seniority, we think it is important to state that we in CAP are going to serious take up both questions, the ERA and super seniority in light of what other Communist organizations have stated concerning the reformist and divisive nature of the ERA and super seniority, as well as some independent study. We still publish our position as soon as we have a consolidated position.  
 It is crystal clear to us now that these line differences we have with O.L. are and were deeper than we were theoretically clear enough to understand. The further implication of these line differences didn't come out until CAP and O.L. began to build together for International Women's Day.  
**CAP Clearly Sees O.L.**

**Right Opportunist Line**  
 A few days later, after O.L. led the split (with us following) from the Anti-Imperialist coalition called by PRRWO, O.L. called CAP to say they (O.L.) wanted to drop the slogan: Oppose Superpower Preparation for War. Not only were we taken back by O.L.'s open right opportunist line, because we had just struggled with the same opportunist line in the coalition Workers Viewpoint had called together with the aid of O.L., but it also raised serious questions to us as why O.L. upheld this slogan until a few days after the split

with the Anti-Imperialist coalition. Do they want us to believe that the Central Committee of O.L. changed their line on this (this on those few days after the split)? (This is what they said) Or was this one of O.L.'s tactics (upholding the slogan) to keep CAP under its hegemony by making believe that they firmly stood against Soviet Social Imperialism which CAP and other genuine Marxist-Leninists clearly see as the main source of Imperialist war in the world today. In an attempt to justify this revisionist line and philistine attitude, O.L. laid out the following incorrect lines: 1. It was a tactical error for O.L. to have put that slogan out in the beginning. 2. Slogan would drive masses from coalition. 3. Don't have to oppose both superpowers. 4. Raising the danger of World War would scare masses from revolution.

On the first line put out by O.L. about the slogan being a tactical error, we ask the O.L. to read Stalin on Strategy and Tactics "Tactics are subordinate to the interest of strategy. Speaking generally, tactical successes preare

for strategic successes. The function of tactics is to lead the masses into the struggle in such a way, to issue slogans, to lead the masses to new positions, in such a way, that the struggle should, in sum, result in the winning of the war, i.e., in strategic successes. But cases occur when a tactical success frustrates, or postpones, strategic success. In view of this, it is necessary, in such cases, to forgo tactical successes.  
 "Example. The agitation against the war that we conducted among workers and soldier at the beginning of 1917, under Kerensky, undoubtedly resulted in a tactical setback, for the masses dragged our speakers off the platforms, beat them up, and sometimes tore them limb from limb; instead of the masses being drawn into the Party, they drew away from it. But in spite of the tactical setback, this agitation brought nearer a big strategic success, for the masses soon realized that we were right in agitating against the war, and later this hastened and facilitated their going over to the side of the Party." (Stalin on Strategy and Tactics, p. 8) O.L.'s petty bourgeois vacillation on the question of the slogan, Oppose Superpower Preparation for War as being tactically incorrect points again to O.L. sacrificing the long term interest of the proletariat, Proletarian Revolution and the Dictatorial Workers' Day.

**CAP Clearly Sees O.L.**  
 Right Opportunist Line  
 Line two of O.L. that opposition to both U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism would drive masses from coalition. This raises the question as to who was the propaganda of the coalition aimed at? It is our view O.L. was aiming at the lower strata of the Proletariat (by lower strata we mean "the very undeveloped workers") this line is further seen by O.L.'s fear of raising Communist demands in the coalition. Line three: You don't have to

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**CONGRESS OF AFRIKAN PEOPLE**

**Harry Haywood**

Harry Haywood was born on February 4, 1898. Son of former slaves, Haywood became involved in a revolutionary black organization The Afrikan Blood Brotherhood in the early twenties. He joined the Young Communist League in 1923, and later the Communist Party USA (when it was a genuine Communist Party, before it became revisionist). Haywood has done important work bringing clarity on the relationship of Black Liberation to the struggle of the whole working class for democracy and socialist revolution. Also showing how Black people in the USA became a nation in the black belt. He is a leading historian on the development of the Afro American Nation in the USA.

Since the sell-out of the working class by the CPUSA, it is necessary to bring that understanding of the Afro American National Question to Marxist-Leninists and advanced forces, to help us unite to build an anti-revisionist vanguard Party in the USA, which is the main task of all genuine Communists.

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# Listen to the People

QUESTION: Do you think any of these presidential candidates will do us any good?



**Chris Woolbright, New York City:** No, I don't really even know them because if they would have done some good for the people I would have heard about it.

**Walter Petty, New York City:** It's obvious that they are not. I think the system itself won't allow anyone to come in and help the people because it ain't built that way. It's built so that anyone trying to help the people will be eliminated.



**Cheryl Richards, Piscataway:** No I think all the candidates are out to get themselves elected by saying anything. And in the case of all the candidates from the Dems or the Republicans, they all promise the world and deliver the same bill of goods. NOTHING. Before they finish saying the promises they have forgotten it because they don't serve the people but they serve big business.

## INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

(Continued from page 7)

oppose both superpowers, flies in the face of the 2 sharpest contradictions in the world today, the contradiction between Imperialism and Third World people and the contradiction between Imperialism and Imperialism, which give rise to the two main trends in the world today - War and Revolution. "I has become an irrefutable historical trend today for the people of the whole world, and many medium-sized and small countries, to unite and oppose hegemony by the two superpowers, U.S. Imperialism and Social-Imperialism, and draw a close line of demarcation between themselves and these superpowers. Revolutionary dialectics is sticking firm roots in the heart of the people, is being grasped by more and more Marxist-Leninist political parties and revolutionary people. It has become their sharp weapon in making revolution. So long as they integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice in the revolutionary movement of their respective countries, the revolutionary people of all land will overthrow this entire old world and win final victory in the proletarian world revolution." (Three Major Struggles on China's Philosophical Front - 1949-64, p. 65-66).

Lastly, O.L.'s line raising the danger of World War would scare the masses from revolution is an out and out Soviet line. March 30, 1963 the Soviet Union in a letter to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party states "If Communists were to start tying up the victory of the socialist revolution with world war, this would not evoke any sympathy for socialism, but would drive the masses away from it. With modern means of warfare having such terrible destructive consequences an appeal like this would only play into the hands of our enemies." Now check where this line led to - in the next paragraph - "The working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist Parties, endeavor to carry out Socialist Revolutions in a peaceful way without civil war." - (A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement, p. 81) - This is the same low-lived and deadly line the revisionists themselves, U.S.S.R., used to justify their betrayal of the international proletariat and the revising of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The question of O.L. attempting to do away with the slogan (oppose superpower preparation for war) is linked to O.L.'s real stand on Soviet Social Imperialism. If they are willing to let Soviet Social Imperialism slide and

go unexposed as the main source of World War, for the sake of not losing "honest" forces that don't have a position on Soviet Social Imperialism (as they put it) then they clearly don't understand the danger of Soviet Social Imperialism, or how to win the advanced to Communism to build the Bolshevik party which is the missing link to Proletarian Revolution in the U.S.

### No Communist Propaganda or Agitation in the O.L. led International Women's Day Demonstration

O.L.'s right opportunist line degenerated to the point of abandoning Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. On International Women's Day O.L. had no Communist literature, no Communist slogans, no Communist speakers, no Communist culture. In fact O.L. later criticized CAP for bringing Communist slogans and culture to the demonstration. Although in the coalition meetings O.L. said they would

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## RACISM IS STILL A MAJOR EVIL IN AMERICAN SOCIETY (reprint from Albania Today July-Aug 1974)

The first slaves bought in Africa were taken to America 350 years ago. Thus, alongside the barbarous extermination of the native Indians, there began one of the most shameful periods of the exploitation of black people as beasts of burden, and the most savage racial discrimination. But even now, after more than three and a half centuries, although the word "slave" does not exist in the American constitution, there exists in essence the same situation: people are divided into "black" and "white". In the U.S.A. the unwritten laws of racial discrimination and savage exploitation, laws which are based on the capitalist system itself, as an oppressive and exploiting system, are in full force.

**Racism is an offspring of the bourgeois order.** In the U.S.A. it constitutes one of the typical examples of the cynicism of U.S. imperialism. **American racism was born along with the bourgeoisie, with U.S. imperialism; it developed with it and will disappear only when U.S. imperialism disappears.** U.S. racism is an integral part of the social-led "American way of life".

The U.S.A. is populated by people of various races: Europeans, Africans, Indians, Asians, Portoricans, etc. But the unwritten law of racial discrimination stipulates that the white is master, and superior to all the other races. Despite the demagogical fuss of the rulers, and although the American constitution expressly states that "all men are by nature free and equal", this racist law is preserved and defended by the American system of government, by the ruling and racist circles. **This policy, helps the business and monopoly circles to exercise, alongside the exploitation of white workers, a still more savage exploitation of the so-called "coloured" workers, making them the object of double exploitation.**

"In the U.S.A." - the French newspaper "Le Monde Diplomatique" writes - "the black people are entirely neglected. In his messages to the Congress, Nixon does not mention the blacks at all. The funds assigned for black people in the federal budgets are constantly diminishing. . ."

Nixon was asking the Afro-Americans to improve their lot by themselves; in other words, to continue living under the same conditions of savage racial discrimination. Nixon's scornful statements differ a great deal from his demagogical declarations made during the election campaign, where the list of promises was very long. "Consequently," - "Le Monde Diplomatique" further continues, - "the Afro-Americans are at the bottom of the ladder in per capita income; they constitute the largest number of unemployed, and their ghettos have not yet disappeared."

According to official American sources, 12.3 per cent of black women and 10.2 per cent of black men are

jobless in the United States. In fact, the actual percentage of black people unemployed is much greater, and comes to 31 per cent of the able-bodied black population. In the big American cities more than a quarter of the black labour force has no chance of finding work. In Detroit, for example, the percentage of unemployed black people is 29.2, in Chicago 28.2, in Newark 28.3 in Milwaukee 26.8, in Kansas City 24.3, and so on. Black people are the last to be hired and the first to be fired. Even those blacks who are employed are very badly treated and are subject to great inequality. Blacks are paid less than whites for the same work. Black make up the majority of the army of 23 million American poor. One out of three black families lives in complete poverty, while over 2 million black Americans suffer from malnutrition.

## MAY DAY

(Continued from page 5)

"centres of resistance against the encroachments of capitalism" (Marx - Wages, Prices & Profit) during the 1930's when there were genuine communists fighting for the working class, before the CPUSA turned revisionist. There were some gains made in terms of better sale of their labor power: shorter working hours, unemployment benefits, social security, minimum wages, and right to strike. But with the CPUSA becoming revisionist, the working class movement is being misled by the labor aristocrats, revisionists and petit bourgeois politicians which objectively are not struggling in behalf of the working masses. It becomes clear that in order for communists to snatch the leadership of the working class away from this lackey sector they must first unite Marxist Leninists and win the advanced to communism, in order to build

(Continued on page 10)

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# MARXISM OR REFORMISM

By V.I. Lenin

Unlike the anarchists, the Marxists recognize struggle for reforms, i.e., for measures that improve the conditions of the working people without destroying the power of the ruling class. At the same time, however, the Marxists wage a most resolute struggle against the reformists, who, directly or indirectly, restrict the aims and activities of the working class to the winning of reforms. Reformism is bourgeois deception of the workers, who, despite individual improvements, will always remain wage-slaves, as long as there is the domination of capital.

The liberal bourgeoisie grant reforms with one hand, and with the other always take them back, reduce them to nought, use them to enslave the workers, to divide them into separate groups and perpetuate wage-slavery. For that reason reformism, even when quite sincere, in practice becomes a weapon by means of which the bourgeoisie corrupt and weaken the workers. The experience of all countries shows that the workers who put their trust in the reformists are always fooled.

And conversely, workers who have assimilated Marx's theory, i.e., realized the inevitability of wage-slavery so long as capitalist rule remains, will not be fooled by any bourgeois reforms. Understanding that where capitalism continues to exist reforms cannot be either enduring or far-reaching, the workers fight for better conditions and use them to intensify the fight against wage-slavery. The reformists try to divide and deceive the workers, to divert them from the class struggle by petty concessions. But the workers, having seen through the falsity of reformism, utilize reforms to develop and broaden their class struggle.

The stronger reformist influence is among the workers the weaker they are, the greater their dependence on the bourgeoisie, and the easier it is for the bourgeoisie to nullify reforms by various subterfuges. The more independent the working-class movement, the deeper and broader its aims, and the freer it is from reformist narrowness the easier it is for the workers to retain and utilize improvements.

There are reformists in all countries, for everywhere the bourgeoisie seek, in one way or another, to corrupt the workers and turn them into contented slaves who have given up all thought of doing away with slavery. In Russia, the reformists are liquidators, who

renounce our past and try to lull the workers with dreams of a new, open, legal party. Recently the St. Petersburg liquidators were forced by *Severnaya Pravda* to defend themselves against the charge of reformism. Their arguments should be carefully analyzed in order to clarify an extremely important question.

We are not reformists, the St. Petersburg liquidators wrote, because we have not said that reforms are everything and the ultimate goal nothing; we have spoken of movement to the ultimate goal; we have spoken of advancing through the struggle for reforms to the fulness of the aims set.



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

Let us now see how this defense squares with the facts.

First fact. The liquidator Sedov, summarizing the statements of all the liquidators, wrote that of the Marxists' "three pillars" two are no longer suitable for our agitation. Sedov retained the demand for an eight-hour day, which, theoretically, can be realized as a reform. He deleted, or relegated to the background the very things that go beyond reforms. Consequently, Sedov relapsed into downright opportunism, following the very policy expressed in the formula: the ultimate goal is nothing. When the "ultimate goal" (even in relation to democracy) is pushed further and further away from our

# ●●●●●●●●●● Poets Circle ●●●●●●●●●●

## TWO BIRDS: A DIALOGUE

— to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao  
Autumn 1965

The roc wings fanwise,  
Soaring ninety thousand li  
And rousing a raging cyclone.  
The blue sky on his back, he looks down  
To survey man's world with its towns and cities.  
Gunfire licks the heavens,  
Shells pit the earth.  
A sparrow in his bush is scared stiff.  
"This is one hell of a mess!  
O I want to flit and fly away."

"Where, may I ask?"  
The sparrow replies,  
"To a jewelled palace in elfland's hills.  
Don't you know a triple pact was signed  
Under the bright autumn moon two years ago?  
There'll be plenty to eat,  
Potatoes piping hot  
With beef thrown in."\*  
"Stop your windy nonsense!  
Look you, the world is being turned upside down."

Chairman Mao Tse Tung

(Originally published in the January 1976 issue of the journal "Shikan", Poetry.)

\*This refers to "goulash." — P.R. Ed.

agitation, that is reformism.

Second fact. The celebrated August Conference (last year's) of the liquidators likewise pushed non-reformist demands further and further away — until some special occasion — instead of bringing them closer, into the heart of our agitation.

Third fact. By denying and disparaging the "old" and dissociating themselves from it, the liquidators thereby confine themselves to reformism. In the present situation, the connection between reformism and the renunciation of the "old" is obvious.

Fourth fact. The workers' economic movement evokes the wrath and attacks of the liquidators (who speak of

"crazes", "milling the air", etc., etc.) as soon as it adopts slogans that go beyond reformism.

What is the result? In words, the liquidators reject reformism as a principle, but in practice they adhere to it all along the line. They assure us, on the one hand, that for them reforms are not the be-all and end-all, but on the other hand, every time the Marxists go beyond reformism, the liquidators attack them or voice their contempt.

However, developments in every sector of the working-class movement show that the Marxists, far from lagging behind, are definitely in the lead in making practical use of reforms, and in fighting for them. Take the Duma elections at the worker curia level—the speeches of our deputies inside and outside the Duma, the organization of the workers' press, the utilization of the insurance reform; take the biggest union, the Metalworkers' Union, etc.,—everywhere the Marxist workers are ahead of the liquidators, in the direct, immediate, "day-to-day" activity of agitation, organization, fighting for reforms and using them.

The Marxists are working tirelessly, not missing a single "possibility" of winning and using reforms, and not condemning, but supporting, painstakingly developing every step beyond reformism in propaganda, agitation, mass economic struggle, etc. The liquidators, on the other hand, who have abandoned Marxism, by their attacks on the very existence of the Marxist body, by their destruction of Marxist discipline and advocacy of reformism and a liberal-labour policy, are only disorganizing the working-class movement.

(Continued on page 10)

## INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

(Continued from page 8)

bring independent Communist slogans and literature, when raised that Communist demands should come out of the coalition this was the O.L. line particularly when asked about the coalition stand on superpowers out of Angola. O.L. consistently said O.L. would bring Communist demands and literature to the demonstration. In summing up why O.L. said one thing and did another we trace this to O.L. seeking hegemony over new Communist groups, collectives and study circles. In fact, O.L.'s real line on this question surfaced in their newspaper *The Call*. "CAP further conciliated with these opportunists by failing to put forth a firm program of its own on the immediate demands for democratic rights that were the focus of the debate. This was reflected in the march and rally as well, where CAP used the slogan, "Build the Vanguard Party," in opposition to the coalition's broader, democratic slogans like "Free Todd and Woods!" or "Build the Fight Back." O.L. following through on their right line see democratic demands as being opposed to Revolutionary demands. It is CAP's line that we were correct in putting Communist slogans and demands on International Women's Day.

Communism must be raised on International Women's Day because International Women's Day is not just a special event, but a question of strategic importance because as the Chinese say, "Women's liberation is a component part of proletarian revolution." "The thesis must clearly point out that real freedom for women is possible only through Communism. The inseparable connection between the social and human position of the women and private property in the means of production, must be strongly brought out. That will draw a clear and ineradicable line of distinction between our policy and

(Continued on page 2)

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## Dialectical and Historical Materialism:

From History of the Communist Party Soviet Union  
(Bolshevik) 1939 Part 8

# ANGOLA FORUM

It now remains to elucidate the following question: what, from the viewpoint of historical materialism, is meant by the "conditions of material life of society" which in the final analysis determine the physiognomy of society, its ideas, views, political institutions, etc.?

What, after all, are these "conditions of material life of society," what are their distinguishing features?

There can be no doubt that the concept "conditions of material life of society" includes, first of all, nature which surrounds society, geographical environment, which is one of the indispensable and constant conditions of material life of society and which, of course, influences the development of society. What role does geographical environment play in the development of society? Is geographical environment the chief force determining the physiognomy of society, the character of the social system of men, the transition from one system to another?

Historical materialism answers this question in the negative.

Geographical environment is unquestionably one of the constant and indispensable conditions of development of society and, of course, influences the development of society, accelerates or retards its development. But its influence is not the *determining* influence, inasmuch as the changes and development of society proceed at an incomparably faster rate than the changes and development of geographical environment. In the space of three thousand years three different social systems have been successively superseded in Europe: the primitive communal system, the slave system and the feudal system. In the eastern part of Europe, in the U.S.S.R., even four social systems have been superseded. Yet during this period geographical conditions in Europe have either not changed at all, or have changed so slightly that geography takes no note of them. And that is quite natural. Changes in geographical environment of any importance require millions of years, whereas a few hundred or a couple of thousand years are enough for even very important changes in the system of human society.

It follows from this that geographical environment cannot be the chief cause, the *determining* cause of social development, for that which remains almost unchanged in the course of tens of thousands of years cannot be the chief cause of development of that which undergoes fundamental changes in the

course of a few hundred years.

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

Historical materialism answers this question too in the negative.

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

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

It follows from this that growth of population is not, and cannot be, the chief force of development of society, the force which *determines* the character of the social system, the physiognomy of society.

(To Be Continued)

In March, the Congress of Afrikan People sponsored a forum on Angola to discuss the role of the superpowers, the civil war, and the developments in the situation there.

The organizations represented on the panel included, the Revolutionary Workers Congress, Federation of Pan African Nationalist Organizations, October League, and Congress of Afrikan People. The line struggle that developed on the panel focused on whether to call for the superpowers out of Angola and call for a national unity government or to support the military victory of MPLA.

The questions raised concerning the developments in Angola were: "What kind of real independence can be brought with 10,000 Cuban troops winning battles killing Angolans for Soviet Social-Imperialism? . . . Will the Cubans have to be stationed in Angola permanently to secure MPLA's "victory" . . . What about the certain guerilla warfare that will now drag on, with USSR & USA each taking part in front and behind the scenes? . . . It was brought out that in the contention between the superpowers which represents the danger of a third world war, that the Soviet revisionists are the main threat in this rivalry.

It was made clear in the struggle against FOPANO, who called for more armed intervention by the Soviet Social-Imperialists in Southern Afrika, which they said they saw as a good thing, that in this period, actually the cry of Pan-afrikanism is being used as a cover for soviet social-imperialism and the Soviet Union is being militantly defended by groups of bourgeois nationalists like FOPANO as well as the All Afrikan Peoples Revolutionary Party, who at a recent forum in St. Louis denied that the Soviet Union was a country of "socialism in words, and imperialism in deeds", or that the superpowers must be driven out of Angola before any true liberation and independence can be gained and that the people of Angola and not the Soviet revisionists, must determine which of the liberation movements has the correct line.

The history of Soviet Social-Imperialism in "supporting" national liberation struggles was also exposed, it was explained that these new tsars are not upholding proletarian inter-

nationalism, but are practicing imperialist expansionism.

no indictments were ever made against the guards. Gov. Wallace who now seeks the highest office in this country set the climate for these types of racial murders to continue. He and the other prison officials by their public statements and inflammatory rhetoric created an environment of fear and repression which encouraged violent attacks upon Black inmates of the Alabama prisons who dared to speak against the brutal, inhuman, cruel treatment. Several months ago, Wallace called the Alabama prisons "luxury hotels", in spite of the fact, the State Supreme Court ruled them inhuman. IFA and Dobbins-Dotson Legal Action Fund need support. Contact them at P.O. Box 955, Birmingham, Alabama 35201.

nationalism, but are practicing imperialist expansionism.

The history of Soviet Social-Imperialism line on national liberation struggles is as follows: "The Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique invented the theory that "any small 'local war' which might spark off the conflagration of a world war" which might even "destroy Noah's ark - the globe." Therefore, to "safe guard world peace" and protect "Noah's ark - the globe," they have all along opposed just national-liberation wars. (Peking Review, No. 51 p. 12, 1975).

However in struggling against the bourgeois nationalism of FOPANO and its liberalism on the question of Angola, the right opportunism that exists in the communist movement raised its head and also had to be battled with, that is, the opportunism of OL who has proposed that the slogan of "Oppose Superpower War Preparation" be dropped from its coalition work because "the people would not understand it!" This shows how OL bows to (and is an example of) the "vacillation of the petty bourgeoisie," something Comrade Stalin said we must never do.

The OL never dealt with the questions that were addressed to them on this question straight up, but in its typical liberal fashion, which also characterizes its call on party-building, side stepped these questions and never really dealt with the essence of the line struggle saying "it wasn't what we had come to discuss."

A number of genuine criticisms were addressed to CAP in the summation of the forum which we think are valid, which were 1) giving bourgeois nationalist and opportunist "communist" organizations a platform to run their lines, 2) allowing known trots to get up and speak for a certain amount of time, 3) incorrectly handling criticisms raised and 4) not dealing with the question of party building.

We would say here to our comrades from Resistencia and Revolutionary Worker League who in the main raised these criticisms that they all have been well taken and we internally have had discussion of them and determined that in this period of party-building, where propaganda occupies the chief form of activity, it is an error to allow forces of

(Continued on page 5)

## MARXISM & REFORMISM

(Continued from page 9)

Nor, moreover, should the fact be overlooked that in Russia reformism is manifested also in a peculiar form, in identifying the fundamental political situation in present-day Russia with that of present-day Europe. From the liberal's point of view this identification is legitimate, for the liberal believes and professes the view that "thank God, we have a Constitution". The liberal expresses the interests of the bourgeoisie when he insists that, after October 17, every step by democracy beyond reformism is madness, a crime, a sin, etc.

But it is these bourgeois views that are applied in practice by our liquidators, who constantly and systematically "transplant" to Russia (on paper) the "open party" and the "struggle for a legal party", etc. In other words, like the liberals, they preach the transplanting of the European constitution to Russia, without the specific path that in the West led to the adoption of constitutions and their consolidation over generations, in some cases even over centuries. What the liquidators and liberals want is to wash the hide without dipping it in water, as the saying goes.

In Europe, reformism actually means abandoning Marxism and replacing it by bourgeois "social policy". In Russia, the reformism of the liquidators means not only that, it means destroying the Marxist organization and abandoning the democratic tasks of the working class, it means replacing them by a liberal-labor policy.

## MAY DAY

(Continued from page 8)

a vanguard communist party, an anti-revisionist revolutionary communist party that can unite the whole working class and oppressed nationalities and by means of socialist revolution bring capitalism to its knees.

May Day 1976 has even more reason to put forth the call to struggle with the crisis of imperialism deepening. "Imperialism is a special historical stage of capitalism, its specific character is threefold, Imperialism is 1) monopolistic capitalism, 2) parasitic or decaying capitalism, and 3) moribund capitalism." (Lenin - Imperialism and the Split in the Socialist Movement)

There is great disorder in the world today, caused by the sharpening contradictions of imperialism throughout the world. There are 4 fundamental contradictions in imperialism. The first is labor vs. capital: this means the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the "advanced" capitalistic countries. "It is this fundamental contradiction of capitalism - the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of appropriation - that makes crisis inevitable under capitalism. And it is this contradiction that stands

out most sharply and clearly during crises.

"This contradiction inevitably leads to a point where the masses of commodities produced find no market. It is not because no one is in need of food or clothing that they find no market; on the contrary, under capitalism the number of those in desperate need of the bare necessities of life is tremendous. The trouble is that the masses of the workers who stand in need of these necessities have no means of obtaining them. The market is curtailed, plants and factories cannot get rid of their products, over-

(Continued on page 11)

## MOTION!!

(Continued from page 3)

Presidential Candidate, George Wallace, Sued for Murdering Inmate Leader, Tommy "Yukeena" Dotson. Yukeena, an outspoken critic of the inhuman Alabama prison system, was chairperson of the IFA (Inmate for Action) at Holman prison. He was under constant harassment and subjected to frequent beatings & threats. On March 1974, Yukeena was stripped naked and handcuffed, allegedly to be taken for a shower. On the way, 7 guards attacked and beat him until he was dead, threw him down a flight of stairs. Needless to

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# MAY DAY

(Continued from page 10)

production overtakes one branch of industry after another. The warehouses are full of finished products, the factories cut down production, many enterprises close altogether, the workers are thrown out onto the streets. The growth of unemployment cuts down the consumption of goods by the working class even more, cuts down the demand for commodities. Tremendous masses of workers starving while the warehouses are full—this is the picture of capitalist crises." (Leontiev - Political Economy)

This is a classic description of the present situation with the masses, layoffs, cutbacks, unemployment and inflation. The second contradiction is the contradiction between imperialism vs. the Third World: this represents the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Afrika, and Latin America against imperialism, neo-colonialism, hegemonism and the super powers. These struggles have borne great victories for the people of these countries fighting for national liberation. These struggles are the motive force of Revolution in the world today. The third contradiction is the contradiction between imperialism vs. imperialism, the most intense being the struggle of the two superpowers for world domination with U.S. imperialism on one hand and Soviet Social Imperialism on the other. These superpowers represent the danger of a new world war and this threat of war comes mainly from the Soviet Union which is the most aggressive. The fourth contradiction is imperialism vs. socialist countries. The sharpest of these four contradictions are imperialism vs. the third World and Imperialism vs. Imperialism. In the U.S.A. the only preparation for either war or revolution is the building of a Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Vanguard party. A party built by uniting Marxist-Leninists ideologically and politically, and winning the advanced sectors of the working class to communism.

To increase its imperialist war budget, the U.S.A. continuously cuts backs in

social services — housing, education, daycare, and layoffs and unemployment mount. Conditions at the work places become more repressive with the speedups, etc. Everyday more and more people enter the struggle against monopoly capitalism and the question of how to overthrow it is constantly raised. Increasingly strikes have become the order of the day and even the bourgeoisie has stated that there will be record strikes in 1976. But these strikes have been largely economic strikes so far, that is the workers are struggling against their employers for better terms for the sale of their labor power. The task of communists is "not to lend the economic struggle itself a political character" but to turn these economic strikes into political strikes through agitation and propaganda. Economic struggles for better wages, shorter hours and fringe benefits are reforms, and while we see the struggle for reforms as necessary we do not see them as an end themselves, but as a means to an end which is the complete destruction of capitalism-smashing the bourgeois state, seizing state power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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Preparation!  
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Stop Speed Ups & Safety Violations in the Workplaces!

No Bourgeois Tricks! Struggle for Working Class Unity!  
Third World Liberation Struggles are part of the U.S. Workers' Struggles!

Economic Crisis Breeds Police Repression! Oppose S-1 and the Rise of Fascism!  
Superpowers Out of Angola!



## FREE RAP BROWN!

We urge our readers to write and demand information on the status of Rap's case! If you are in the area, call and harass the prison officials for this, write directly to the prison officials

H. Rap Brown has just been transferred to Green Haven Prison, Stormville, N.Y., which is a large behavior modification center.

- presently serving 12-20 year prison sentence
- Revolutionary Black Nationalist, led resistance to national oppression of Black Nation
- former Chairman of SNCC, symbolized rebellion & militancy of Black Nation during mid 60's-70's
- framed by FBI & CIA

## ANGOLA

(Continued from page 4)

troops. After suppressing one liberation organization in early February in northern Angola, the Soviet Union then directed its mercenaries to launch a massive attack on another liberation organization along the Benguela Railway in central Angola.

"By January 26 the South African troops had withdrawn to the border area in Southern Angola. We would like to ask the new tsars: At what time did you launch an attack on the South African troops during their stay in southern Angola in the two months ending March 27th?" (Peking Review #15, P. 10-11, April 9, 1976)

The lies of the Soviet Union will become clearer and clearer, just as the tragedy of Cuban degeneration in becoming lackies of Soviet Social Imperialist expansionist policy is becoming clearer and clearer. Cuba's behavior around the Angolan situation also must raise serious questions about the class in power in Cuba itself! The lie that the Soviet's use of Cubans as mercenary troops in Angola is proletarian internationalism is smelly garbage. "We are Marxist-Leninists. We have always held that revolution is each nation's own affair. We have always maintained that the working class can only depend on itself for its emancipation, and that the emancipation of the people of any given country depends on their own awakening, and on the ripening of revolution in that country. Revolution can neither be exported nor imported. No one can prevent the people of a foreign country from carrying out a revolution, nor can one produce a revolution in a foreign country by using the method of 'helping the rice shoots to grow by pulling them up.' Lenin put it well when he said in June 1918:

"There are people who believe that the revolution can break out in a foreign country to order, by agreement. These people are either mad or they are provocateurs. We have experienced two revolutions during the past twelve years. We know that revolutions cannot be made to order, or by agreement; they break out when tens of millions of people come to the conclusion that it is impossible to live in the old way any longer." (The Fourth Conference of Trade Unions and Factory Committees of Moscow, Sel Works. Int'l Pub.) (Whole quote from "Long Live Leninism!" from Peking Review, April 1960 reprinted in *Essential Works of Marxism*, Bantam, page 543)

Revisionists are trying to use the Angolan crisis to rehabilitate the Soviet Union's image as a fighter for National Liberation struggles, but in reality just the opposite is taking place. And with the further revelation recently that the Egyptian government demanded that "Egyptian treaty of friendship and cooperation" be cut off immediately, because of the blatant imperialist stand and attitude of the Soviet Union in its relationship with Egypt! Pressing Egypt for repayment of debts like the straight out capitalists they are, charging more interest than western imperialists, cutting off arms supplies, some right in the middle of the last Egyptian-Israeli war, and even refusing to let its vassals supply Egypt's arms needs. It was fake aid real

domination. The imperialist closeup of the Soviet Union was openly exposed. And that's exactly what will be revealed in Angola.

Meanwhile various groups mouthing revisionist propaganda in the U.S., who have no real understanding of Soviet Social Imperialism are really supporting the wolf coming in the back door after the tiger has been driven out the front door, are doing Afrika a real disservice. The U.S.A. used to give aid to end colonialism in Afrika, they even made anti-colonial movies during that period like *Something of Value*, with Rock Hudson and Sidney Poitier showing how brutal colonialism was. Why? Because they were trying to drive British colonialism out, so they could get in.

*Something of Value* was aimed at helping drive British colonialism out, but look at Kenya today, the U.S.A. has taken its place for sure. Is that what these misguided patriots want for Afrika, not U.S. domination, but Soviet Imperialist domination? The Soviet Union has already set up some 29 trade agreements with Afrikan countries, and these countries had best study the Egyptian example very closely, unify their ranks, heighten their vigilance, and help drive all imperialism, U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism from Afrika.

In Zimbabwe, where the U.S. and Soviet Union momentarily colluded around the hopeless negotiations carried on by Joshua Nkomo with racist colonial head Ian Smith of "Rhodesia," Smith's intransigence, and apparent unwillingness to accept even the modern neo-colonialism, in the person of Nkomo, rather than the old time white domination of straight out colonialism is causing the superpowers to shift somewhat in their policies. U.S. imperialism is now coming straight out saying there must be a "majority rule" regime in Zimbabwe and Smith better get to work getting the right kind of "majority rule," i.e. neo-colonialism in, before its too late. That is before the revolutionary forces in Zimbabwe step up the pace of revolutionary violence, which is just what is happening. In the last few weeks more and more "Rhodesian" and South Afrikan soldiers and police are showing up dead. The Soviet Union is now making overtures to other elements in Zimbabwe besides Nkomo their old ZAPU contact.

Bishop Muzorewa of ANC has come out saying he'd be soon interested in bringing in the Cuban mercenaries to fight in Zimbabwe, which is truly a tragic line because it, like the line of some misguided "Panafrikanists" in the U.S.A. is the perfect cover Breznev and Co. need to set up shop. There is evidence that the genuine fighters in Zimbabwe are now intensifying the armed struggle which is a good thing! It is necessary for all these genuine fighters for the liberation of Zimbabwe to unify their ranks and rely on armed struggle.

The fight against racism and colonialism in Zimbabwe is also a struggle against the superpowers and their attempted hegemony. It is impossible to wage a genuine struggle against colonialism and racism in southern Afrika without objectively opposing U.S. imperialism and Soviet

(Continued on page 12)

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# Black Liberation Today

## RAISE!!!

AMIRI BARAKA  
part 2

The fact that there was a "US"-Panther split and for several years intense polemics between the two general ideological tendencies inside the Black Liberation Movement (BLM), covered the fact that within the cultural nationalist movement, there was also a split. And the militant Panafrikan movement that arose that was characterized to varying degrees by organizations like YOBU, CAP, borrowed from both wings of the split movement of the late 60's and culminated in the development of two broad liberation fronts. The National Black Assembly which first met in Gary in 1972 (though it has since come to be dominated by petit bourgeois compradors) and the Afrikan Liberation Support Committee which also brought together 50,000 people all over the U.S. to march against colonialism and imperialism in Afrika. As many of us, who were cultural nationalists to one extent or another, came closer and closer to the real Afrikan liberation movement, as we witnessed our brothers and sisters in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Namibia, Azania, fighting against imperialism it became clearer to us that Afrikan liberation was against imperialism, that imperialism was the enemy. And as the neo-colonial Afrikan rulers of many nations and neo-colonial leaders in the West Indies, and finally our own developing petit bourgeois bureaucratic elite emerged inside the United States, by the middle seventies, it was clear that imperialism could also rule through native agents as Cabral pointed out. We found out further by the time of the 6PAC that the most progressive governments of Afrika had also recognized that neocolonialism was a critical enemy of liberation in Afrika, and also stated openly that revolutionary Panafrikanism had to be a world wide struggle by Afrikan people against imperialism and for socialism.

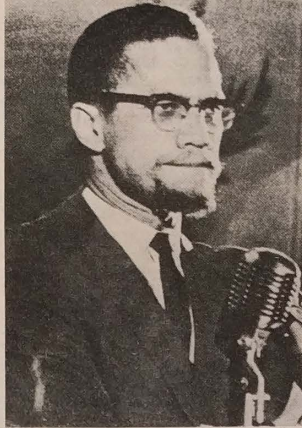
There are still many contrasting aspects to the whole black liberation movement as a broad and somewhat contradictory front against black national oppression. We have black capitalists who consider themselves part of it, the Nation of Islam for instance. There are also right wing nationalists such as CORE, who recently advocated sending black Vietnam veterans to Angola in a scheme that seemed to have popped directly out of the CIA's feverish brow. Cultural nationalists, some of whom are still including health tips for chewing your grains 100 times as

methods of liberation; utopian Panafrikanists who still think we must return to Afrika to find our home, when although we realize our Afrikan history and heritage, we also understand that we have been here 4 centuries, and that there is an oppressed black nation in the south that will be liberated, along with all the rest of the black oppressed nationality throughout the United States. There are also the broad masses of black people who are struggling day after day against the robbery and exploitation and limitation of democratic rights that characterizes national oppression and the added horrors of racism. It is our view, as Marxist-Leninists whose ideology is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, that there will be no black liberation until the system of monopoly capitalism, the economic base and root cause of our oppression, is destroyed. And that finally only those aspects of the black liberation movement which oppose imperialism and fight for consistent democracy can really be considered as revolutionary and the rest must be exposed as reactionary and as aides to our oppressors.

We are very clear now that skin color is no indicator of one's political line, and what's more that our liberation will come only through socialist revolution, and socialist revolution can only be made by uniting the multinational working class behind a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist anti-revisionist communist party. What Lenin called the party of a new type, so as to distinguish it from the old social democratic electoral dominated parties. A party that would be an advanced sector, an advanced detachment, of the working class. Advanced because it possessed the science of revolution, M-L-M. A party who could lead the working masses in war in revolutionary peoples war against the bourgeoisie and their lackies. A party that would be the highest form of organization in the working class, a party characterized by discipline, unity, that would not merely tail behind the masses but would be the general staff of the class to lead it in the struggle for power, to lead it in revolution, to lead it in the destruction of the bourgeois state machine and the seizure of state power. A party itself that would be the instrument through which the dictatorship of the proletariat would be instituted and the proletariat or workers' state created!

To understand how this will be done it is necessary to understand something about the nature of the world today. As our Chinese comrades say, "The World's In Great Disorder", meaning that all over the world the old order is

being contested and overthrown, this is a good thing for the people. It means imperialism, which is the present ruler of much of the world, the monopoly, parasitic, moribund or dying stage of capitalism, is truly on its death bed. That the four fundamental contradictions in the world today have all gone to the point by beyond which socialist revolution begins - between labor and capital in the western capitalist countries; between imperialism and the 3rd world; between imperialism and imperialism, the sharpest of which is that between the USA and the USSR; and between imperialism and socialist countries. These 4 fundamental con-



Malcolm X knew that black liberation was a political struggle not a religious struggle. He knew it was an anti-imperialist struggle not a struggle for black capitalism. Malcolm knew it was an international struggle and he sounded the struggle of 3rd world peoples vs. imperialism.

traditions are all sharpening, but the sharpest are the antagonistic struggle between imperialism and the peoples and nations of the 3rd world, i.e., Afrika, Asia and Latin America which is the driving force of revolutionary struggle around the world, and also the contradiction between the two super-power imperialisms, the USA and the USSR. This struggle between the super-powers as they contend all over the world - in Portugal, the Middle East, South East Asia, Europe and now in Afrika Angola - will invariably lead to war - either conventional or nuclear war. The struggle of the 3rd world people's against imperialism and the struggle between the USA and USSR social imperialism forces more and more cutbacks, layoffs, budget cuts inside the USA as the world market of imperialism steadily contracts by the victories of the

3rd world, and more and more of the existing wealth of the superpowers must be spent arming for world war so that many of the reforms and concessions given to workers inside the USA must be pulled back, and the whole working class grows more and more fed up with this unworkable system, becomes subjectively more revolutionary and more objectively in unity with the oppressed peoples around the world.

We must build our revolutionary party before the ruling class moves toward fascism, because only revolution socialist revolution can stop the world war, but on the other hand, the people led by a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party will turn any imperialist war into revolution.

It is the central and critical task of all Marxist-Leninists to unite ideologically and politically and win the advanced workers to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, in order to build the vanguard communist party necessary for revolution. It is the critical task of revolutionaries within the black liberation movement to bring Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, the science of revolution to the forces of black liberation particularly the advanced workers. To unite the struggle for black liberation with the struggles of the whole working class and oppressed nationalities, to unite the black liberation movement with the struggle of the whole people towards democracy, revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism and the eventual emergence of communism.

**"MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM!"**

**LIBERATION FOR THE BLACK NATION!**

**SOCIALIST REVOLUTION! VICTORY TO ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE!**

## ANGOLA

(Continued from page 11)

Social Imperialism, Neo-Colonialism and Zionism as well. Zambia and Tanzania and Mozambique can help the struggle in Zimbabwe not only by issuing statements of support, but Zambia can release Zanu political leadership from prison and Tanzania and Mozambique can make certain that the ZANU fighters who are in camps in their countries receive training, are well cared for, and receive all the weapons they need. Only armed struggle and revolution will liberate Zimbabwe and the rest of Southern Afrika from colonialism and imperialism. And any negotiations must be based primarily on armed struggle, which cannot stop or be slowed down until the Afrikan masses of Zimbabwe and all Southern Afrika are free.

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