



REVOLUTION

Organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

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2nd Party Congress Deepens Victory

Opening Remarks At Congress

The following are excerpts from the opening remarks at the Second Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Presidium of the Congress.

On behalf of and acting as Chairman of the Presidium, I declare this Second Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA officially open.

Since the last, the founding, Congress of our Party, there have been many important developments in the world and especially in the international communist movement, not the least of which is the death of beloved Comrade Mao Tsetung. At this point, as the first official act of this Congress, I call on comrades to stand in a one-minute silent tribute to Comrade Mao Tsetung. [All present stand in silent tribute for one minute, then the opening remarks continue.]

I think we should begin here by summarizing the immortal contributions of Mao Tsetung, which mark him as the greatest Marxist of our time. As the Programme of our Party states, in the section on the Party itself:

"Mao Tsetung, in leading the Chinese revolution for many decades, has enriched Marxism-Leninism in many areas—in its application to warfare, culture, revolution in colonial countries, in philosophy and in other fields. Most importantly, in leading the Chinese proletariat's struggle to prevent the restoration of capitalism, Mao Tsetung has developed the theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, showing how the working class must continue to transform society in order to carry through the full transition to communism."

And, further:

"... after the death of Lenin and his successor, Stalin, modern-day revisionists, led by the traitors in the Soviet Union itself who have restored capitalism there, came forward to distort Marxism-Leninism and attempt to rob the proletariat of its revolutionary science. Mao Tsetung has led the way in exposing these renegades and in so doing has further sharpened the science of revolution as a weapon of the working class. Mao Tsetung today represents the struggle of Marxism-Leninism vs. revisionism, of the proletariat vs. the bourgeoisie. For this reason, the Revolutionary Communist Party proudly raises the banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and bases itself on the application of it to the revolutionary struggle in the U.S." (pp. 58-59)

These words in our Programme now ring out with even greater force. And beyond this general summary of the contributions of Mao Tsetung it is important to call particular attention to two of Mao's great accomplishments.

First, Mao Tsetung led the way in charting what was then an uncharted course, he led the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese proletariat and masses of people in making revolution in a colonial (or semi-colonial) and semi-feudal country. He developed the basic theory and strategy for such countries of proceeding through the new democratic revolution as the first stage, with armed struggle as the main form, and then

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Communique

The Second Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA was recently convened and successfully completed its work. The Congress represented a great victory for Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and the line of the Party and a decisive defeat for a counter-revolutionary, revisionist headquarters formerly existing within the Party.

The Congress was held in the wake of serious wrecking and splitting activities by this revisionist headquarters, led by Mickey Jarvis and Leibel Bergman. The Congress enthusiastically endorsed the expulsion of these two counter-revolutionary ringleaders from the Party, and vowed to even more thoroughly eradicate the influence of their revisionist line from the Party.

The Congress reflected and concentrated the excellent situation in the Party, a situation in which the members are militantly repudiating the revisionist line which had tended to fuse with spontaneous tendencies to the right and which was stifling the revolutionary will and practice of the Party. In contrast to the petty, short-sighted, incredibly narrow and thoroughly revisionist viewpoint of the Jarvis-Bergman headquarters, Party members are making great strides in approaching every question from the high plane of two-line struggle and with the revolutionary goal firmly in mind.

The Congress began with Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Party Central Committee and the Presidium of the Congress, leading the delegates in a one-minute standing silent tribute to the memory of the late Comrade Mao Tsetung, the greatest Marxist of our time. Comrade Avakian proceeded to make an important opening address centering on Mao Tsetung's contributions and their implications for the struggle in this country and the Revolutionary Communist Party.

The Congress adopted an agenda consisting of four major parts: the Party's rectification campaign aimed at the eclecticism, pragmatism and factionalism promoted by the Jarvis-Bergman headquarters; important international developments which vitally affect the international communist movement; discussion and adoption of the Main Political Report submitted to the Congress by Comrade Avakian on behalf of the Central Committee; and the election of the Second Central Committee.

The discussion at the Congress was marked by lively and vigorous struggle, within the context of unity with the revolutionary line of the Party as it has developed in the two-line struggle with the revisionist headquarters. The high political level of the discussions reflected both the advances made throughout the Party generally in the three years since its formation and, most especially, the excellent atmosphere of study and criticism and repudiation of revisionism that has developed in the course of the current two-line struggle.

At appropriate times during the Congress votes were taken on various resolutions on the floor. All resolutions were approved by unanimous vote, as was the election of the Second Central Committee. This unity was achieved not on the basis of sliding over differences or shortcircuiting struggle but precisely through the vigorous struggle that marked the entire Congress. In the course of the discussion and struggle at the Congress, amendments were made to various resolutions and changes were incorporated into the Main Political Report based on the deepening of the Party's correct

line achieved at the Congress.

Absent entirely from the Second Congress was the type of cliquishness and arrogance that marred the overall victory of the Founding Congress, behavior that was promoted by those who were to head up the revisionist headquarters and which grew to characterize their line and method. The Second Congress was a model of creating what the Party's Constitution calls "a political situation in which there is both centralism and democracy, both unified line and broad initiative, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and action and personal ease of mind and liveliness."

The revisionist headquarters developed in opposition to the Party's correct line adopted at its Founding Congress in 1975. Since that time the Party's line has been deepened and its work has advanced. Jarvis and Bergman, however, consistently clung to every backward tendency that the pull of spontaneity and these opportunists had encouraged, stubbornly opposed every advance and undermined the collective life and unity of will of the Party.

Jarvis and Bergman, the two revisionist ringleaders, were former members of the Communist Party, USA and while breaking with the revisionist CP organizationally, they refused to fully break with a revisionist ideological and political line. They tried to eliminate Mao Tsetung Thought from our ranks. They negated the significance and lessons of the Cultural Revolution. They attempted to poison the RCP with revisionism that has historical and international roots.

Awestruck by the remaining strength and some temporary gains of the bourgeoisie in this country and internationally, Jarvis and Bergman were emboldened and staged a desperate attempt to seize leadership of the Party or provoke a split at the Third Plenary of the First Central Committee. When this attack met with ignominious defeat, this Menshevik headquarters feigned overall unity with the Party, voted to repudiate their line on the path forward to revolution in this country as revisionist, pledged themselves to study more and vowed to uphold Party discipline, but then turned around and launched an open, public assault on the Party and its Central Committee. Through these wrecking and splitting activities, Jarvis and Bergman were able to hoodwink somewhat less than one third of Party members to leave its ranks, almost all from one or two areas long under the domination of the revisionist headquarters.

The two-line struggle with the revisionist headquarters has tempered the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally. The Party has shown that it can stand firm in the face of a revisionist wind and not be dragged down the road of betrayal.

The Second Central Committee met in its First Plenary Session and unanimously elected its standing bodies and officers. Comrade Avakian was unanimously reelected Chairman. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee the whole Party is resolved to root out the influence of the Jarvis-Bergman clique, more thoroughly dig at the roots of this revisionism, and to make the Party's line into an even more powerful material force, in our own hands and those of ever broader ranks of the masses, to "transform the world through class struggle," as the Programme of the Party sets forth. ■

Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions
Part I: Revolution in Colonial Countries Page 3

Party Routs Revisionist Clique

The High Road vs. The Well-Worn Rut

Editors Note: In the coming months Revolution will be going thoroughly into the counter-revolutionary line, criminal features and history of the Jarvis-Bergman headquarters. The revisionist headquarters provides an excellent teacher by negative example—by repudiating their line of eclecticism, pragmatism and factionalism the Party is strengthened and its understanding of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought is deepened. In this first installment of the series, we concentrate on the question of the high road of waging revolutionary struggle in today's non-revolutionary situation in the U.S.

The roots of the Jarvis-Bergman headquarters and the influence of the line and outlook they championed go back to the Founding Congress of the RCP and to the Revolutionary Union before it, which played the central role in forming the Party. The conclusion to the *Programme of the RCP* adopted at the Founding Congress reads in part:

"This programme is both a declaration of war on the ruling class and a battle plan for the working class of this country.

"The proletariat in the United States and throughout the world faces a protracted and complicated task, for the objective of its struggle is nothing less than the complete transformation of all society and involves the complete break with all previous forms of society and all past traditions. But its triumph is inevitable, because the whole of human history and the development of society itself has prepared the conditions for it and only proletarian revolution can continue to move society forward in this era."

It was in this spirit and with this orientation that the Revolutionary Communist Party was formed. The formation of the Party marked a qualitative advance in the class struggle in this country in that it represented the consolidation of a correct line capable of leading the masses in revolution in contrast to the other trends in the then-existing communist movement which had consolidated into erroneous, opportunist lines.

But for Mickey Jarvis and Leibel Bergman, the formation of the RCP was no real advance at all. Blinded by pragmatism, Jarvis and Bergman were unable to understand the decisive importance of *line* and instead were only able to see the organizational aspects of building the Party. They were only capable of viewing the process of forming the Party from the narrow blinders of "immediate results"—specifically, *how many* people could be united to form the Party. So, even though some new forces did come forward in the process of forming the Party, when it became apparent that it would not be possible to unite a qualitatively larger number of forces beyond those already centered around the Revolutionary Union, they lost their enthusiasm for forming the Party and in fact regarded the process as a failure.

The Old CP

This view was closely connected with their concept of what a "revolutionary party" should be in the first place. Both Jarvis and Bergman had been members of the Communist Party, USA and had never thoroughly broken with it politically or ideologically. Their "ideal party" was none other than the old CPUSA of the '30s and of the '40s, minus the most blatant extremes of CP leader Earl Browder's revisionism.

What inspired them about the old CP was not its genuine revolutionary qualities, that at that time it saw its goal as revolution and communism, but the

fact that the old CP was relatively large and relatively influential over the masses of people. What they failed or refused to grasp was how even during its overall revolutionary period the CPUSA increasingly fell into pragmatism, seeing only the immediate results and the current struggles, and increasingly lost sight of its revolutionary goal, its very reason for existence. They could not recognize the essence of this fatal flaw in the old CP because it was exactly their own outlook.

Although Jarvis and Bergman did not see the RCP as the revolutionary vanguard capable of leading the masses to revolution (for such a vision was completely beyond their horizons) they saw in the RCP the largest organization in the U.S. declaring that it stood on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and they tried to capture it.

At the time of the Founding Congress and since, Jarvis and Bergman had sought to substitute their own political line for the revolutionary line of the Party. The essence of their line was aptly summed up by their ideological forebear, Eduard Bernstein, when he said, "The movement is everything, the final aim is nothing." As Lenin commented, "this catchphrase of Bernstein expresses the substance of revisionism better than many long arguments."

Jarvis and Bergman had broken with the revisionist CP organizationally and with some aspects of its line, but neither had made a radical rupture with revisionism. Even during the period when they made, overall, some contributions to the revolutionary cause, the influence of revisionism caused them to vacillate at key junctures and often take incorrect stands. As the revolutionary movement and the Party advanced, requiring Party members to advance also, Jarvis and Bergman remained weighed down by the revisionist baggage of the old CP. Their revisionist tendencies finally took a qualitative leap and Jarvis and Bergman reverted fully to the revisionist outlook with which they had never fully broken.

Jarvis

Jarvis remained in the CP, in which he was a "rising star" until 1969, when it was not only thoroughly revisionist but had placed itself in direct opposition to the crest of revolutionary struggle then shaking the country. Memorable indeed was Jarvis' performance at the 1969 Austin, Texas Students for a Democratic Society convention when, wearing a jacket emblazoned with an American flag, he mounted a table holding aloft the CP's Program and blustered about, denouncing SDS members as "petty bourgeois creeps" and calling on them to read "a working class program!" It is no wonder Jarvis harbored a lasting grudge against the revolutionary movements of the '60s. While it would be wrong not to see the limitations of that earlier movement or to fail to see the need to go beyond it, it is downright reactionary to set oneself in opposition to its overall revolutionary thrust.

All along, Jarvis revealed his infatuation with the old (pre-Khrushchev) CP and his total inability to sum up any of its errors. While he never took up the task of arming himself and others with the overall stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, he was fond of uncritically promoting bits and pieces of old CP documents as "recipes" for how to conduct communist work. Many of these gimmicks were things long since summed up by Marxist-Leninists. A case in point was Jarvis' promotion of an organizational manual of the old CP which he had reprinted and distributed in the name of the Revolutionary Union without any discussion in the leadership of the RU. This manual put organization above political line and promoted an economist view toward the workers struggle.

From the beginning Jarvis was infected with a heavy dose of careerism which was coupled with his inability to take a firm stand on questions of principle, instead always seeking to find some kind of accommodation with opportunism. During the struggle in the Revolutionary Union against the opportunist line of Bruce Franklin, a leader within the RU, in 1970—a struggle which involved two completely antagonistic lines, Marxism and adventurism—Jarvis sat on the sidelines until it was clear who was going to win out. Later, when the struggle against narrow nationalism and Bundism (adapting socialism to nationalism) was first breaking out inside the RU and with the Black Workers Congress and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, he was initially unconvinced of the central importance of this struggle. This was partly because of his own empirical and careerist outlook (at the time he was waging a struggle, in the main correctly, against a tendency toward bureaucracy and self-cultivation in his local area, which to him therefore had to be the main problem facing the RU overall) but also because he was trying to cook up deals with PRRWO and the BWC, who championed the Bundist tendencies. During the period of the Liaison Committee between the RU, PRRWO and the BWC Jarvis told leading members of the RU from other areas, "What is wrong with you guys. In New York we have already merged with PRRWO." Actually, nothing of the kind was the case, although setting up of joint work in several parts of the country was an advance. What was happening was that Jarvis was going outside of the RU to conduct negotiations on his own with certain leaders of PRRWO, including going so far as to sneak around and encourage them to oppose certain positions of the RU.

Since the formation of the Party, Jarvis' careerism and doubledealing stepped up. He perfected a method of encouraging forces under his command to leap out and attack the Party's line while he lurked behind in the shadows and tried to present himself as a conciliator and follower of a "third line." To facilitate this he carefully avoided putting anything down on paper for which he could later be held accountable.

Given Jarvis' whole method it is impossible to identify him with any consistent political principles. He is a living example of Lenin's point in *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, where he wrote: "An opportunist, by his very nature, will always evade formulating an issue clearly and decisively, he will always seek a middle course, he will always wriggle like a snake between two mutually exclusive points of view and try to 'agree' with both and to reduce his differences of opinion to petty amendments, doubts, good and pious suggestions, and so on and so forth."

Despite its snake-like character, under today's circumstances such opportunism is generally manifested

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Note on Publication

In light of the importance of the Second Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party, we delayed publication of Vol. 3, No. 7 in order to publish a somewhat larger than normal issue making available the Communiqué on and important articles relating to the Congress. Hence this is our combined April-May 1978 (Vol. 3, No. 7-8) issue.

Conquering The Mountain

Inspired by the struggle against revisionism, a comrade recently wrote this poem. It was read to the delegates at the Second Party Congress.

*Laboring only to survive
we toil and struggle day by day
from our necks to lift the rich man's boot
to raise our eyes, to see the way.*

*And even as we bend in the darkness of the mine
still heads lift up and spirits soar
above the grindstone factories,
the brain battering noise of the assembly line.*

*Yet as we trudge home on treadmill streets
though anger burns in every eye
there are those who claim to walk among us
who dare to preach, who dare to sigh*

*"Don't look up, don't lift your head.
Life's not much more than daily bread.
Don't raise your hearts, don't look too high
lest you might see the limitless sky."*

*Oh, this oppression! It seems a mountain!
To conquer it we must climb above the plain
following the river of our tears and sweat
that flows uphill to the source of all our pain.*

*The journey is long, the road is hard
but before us generations have trod
struggling against ill wind and gale
to move great rocks, to blaze the trail.*

*And comrades, yes, the road is high
and it is easy for to stumble
yet hands reach out to guide our steps
the higher we climb, the mountains rumble!*

*Don't fear the heights! Don't fear to tread!
We'll stand the mountain on its head!
Unleash the river to the farthest distance
irrigating the land with our resistance!*

*And when the hour has finally come
the toiling millions cry out as one
"Seize the peaks! Seize the towers!
The fruit of our labor will be ours!"*

*From the mountaintop, we can see the vast horizon.
Our foot on the neck of capital is lying!
And look around you, oh my comrades,
the Red Flag is surely flying!*

Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions

Part I: Revolution in Colonial Countries

Introduction

In his opening remarks to the recently held Second Congress of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, Comrade Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party, in "summarizing the immortal contributions of Mao Tsetung, which mark him as the greatest Marxist of our time," pointed out that:

"First, Mao Tsetung led the way in charting what was then an uncharted course, he led the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese proletariat and masses of people in making revolution in a colonial (or semi-colonial) and semi-feudal country. He developed the basic theory and strategy for such countries of proceeding through the new democratic revolution as the first stage, with armed struggle as the main form, and then advancing, immediately upon achieving victory in this stage, to the socialist revolution. This he did by concretely applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete situation in China, in the context of the world revolution; and in so doing he enriched these principles."

"The success of such a revolution, and the embarking of China, a large country with nearly one quarter of the world's population, on the socialist road—this radically changed the face of the world. It carried forward and represented a further advance in the new period of history mankind had entered with the victory of the October Revolution in Russia in 1917." (see p. 1)

This article, the first in a series on the contributions of Mao Tsetung, will focus on the basic questions of Marxist theory and strategy concerning revolution in colonial countries which Mao Tsetung applied and enriched in leading the Chinese people in winning liberation and advancing to socialism, in particular his development of the line of new democratic revolution. This is, of course, closely related to Mao Tsetung's great contributions in other fields, in particular with regard to warfare since Mao fought for and developed the correct analysis that from the beginning to the seizure of power the main form of the Chinese revolution must be armed struggle. Other articles in this series will deal with these questions in some depth; this first article will concentrate on Mao's development of the general line of new democratic revolution and its relation to socialist revolution in countries like China.

To better understand Mao's contributions, first it is necessary to review the development of Marxism and Leninism on the question of national and colonial oppression and national revolution and revolution in colonial countries. Marx and Engels founded scientific socialism in the middle of the 19th century. At that time they analyzed the development of capitalism and the penetration and influence of capitalist commodity production not only in the capitalist countries themselves but in all parts of the world. They pointed out in the *Communist Manifesto* that:

"Modern industry has established the world market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages. . . .

"The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere. . . .

"The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all



Mao, speaking in 1949, said that with the victory of the new democratic revolution, the principal internal contradiction would become "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." The international proletariat will cherish forever his great contributions.

instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image." (Peking Foreign Language Press Edition, 1970, pp. 32, 35, 36)

Marx and Engels firmly supported the struggles of the oppressed nations and the masses of people in the colonial areas subjected to this form of capitalist colonialism—including the struggle of the Irish people, and mass rebellions in places such as India, Persia and China. For example, in an article entitled "Revolution In China And In Europe," written by Karl Marx in 1853, and analyzing the effects of what came to be called the Taiping Rebellion, Marx pointed out that England, through enforcing the opium trade in China and through other means, humiliated and oppressed China and the masses of Chinese people, but at the same time this also tended to break down the isolation which contributed to the preservation of the old feudal system of China. In this article Marx pointed out that:

"Complete isolation was the prime condition of the preservation of old China. That isolation having come to a violent end by the medium of England, dissolution must follow as surely as that of any mummy carefully preserved in a hermetically sealed coffin, whenever it is brought into contact with the open air. Now, England having brought about the revolution of China, the question is how that revolution will in time react on England, and through England on Europe. This question is not difficult of solution . . . if one of the great markets [of England] suddenly becomes contracted, the arrival of the crisis is necessarily accelerated thereby. Now, the Chinese rebellion must, for the time being, have precisely this effect upon England."

Several decades later, in the 1880s and 1890s, Engels further made an important analysis of the development of colonial oppression in such countries as China and pointed to the reaction of this on conditions in Europe and to a basic relationship between revolution in the capitalist countries themselves and revolution in colonial countries. For example in a letter to Karl Kautsky in 1894 Engels noted that:

"The war between China and Japan signifies the end of old China, the complete, if gradual, revolution of its

entire economic foundation, including the abolition of the old bonds between agriculture and industry in the countryside by big industry, railways, etc., and thus also the mass exodus of Chinese coolies to Europe; consequently, a hastening for us of the debacle and the aggravation of antagonisms into a crisis. It is again the wonderful irony of history: China alone is still to be conquered for capitalist production, and in so doing at long last the latter makes its own existence at home impossible. . . ."

But at that time Engels was not able to foresee the actual relation between revolution in the West and East, nor was he able to predict what specific form the revolution in such countries as China would take. He noted, for example, in a letter to Karl Kautsky earlier, in 1882, that "as to what social and political phases these countries will then have to pass through before they likewise arrive at socialist organization, I think we today can advance only rather idle hypotheses."

Period of Rising Capitalism

In sum, then, Marx and Engels dealt with the colonial question during the first phase of the development of capitalism, pre-monopoly capitalism, before it had developed into imperialism. This was a period in which colonialism was characterized economically by the export of goods, finished products, rather than later, in the imperialist era, by the export of capital itself, as Lenin was to analyze in *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*.

From the beginning Marx and Engels also devoted considerable attention to analyzing the development of the bourgeois national liberation movements in Western Europe, where such movements were then focused. Marx and Engels supported various bourgeois liberation movements insofar as and when they represented a struggle against feudal absolutism and against reactionary states holding back the development of capitalism, which was then still historically on the order of the day in a number of countries such as Italy and Germany and others.

For example, in 1870-1871, Germany, still not having completed the bourgeois democratic revolution, waged a war against the France of Napoleon III, which together with Russian Tsarism, had been preventing the unification of Germany on a capitalist basis, which unification would represent a progressive step at that time. Marx and Engels supported this struggle on the part of Germany. Lenin, in setting forth and fighting for the correct line on World War I in opposition to social-chauvinism, analyzed this policy of Marx and Engels, stating for example that:

"The war of 1870-1871 was a historically progressive war on the part of Germany until Napoleon III was defeated; for the latter, together with the tsar, had oppressed Germany for many years, keeping her in a state of feudal disintegration. But as soon as the war developed into the plunder of France (the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine), Marx and Engels emphatically condemned the Germans. And even at the beginning of that war Marx and Engels approved of the refusal of Bebel and Liebknecht [socialist leaders in Germany] to vote for credits and advised the Social-Democrats [socialists] not to merge with the bourgeoisie, but to uphold the independent class interests of the proletariat. To apply the appraisal of this bourgeois-progressive and national-liberating war to the present imperialist war means mocking at the truth.

"Whoever refers today to Marx's attitude towards the wars of the epoch of the progressive bourgeoisie and forgets Marx's statement that 'the workers have no fatherland,' a statement that applies precisely to the epoch of the reactionary, obsolete bourgeoisie, to the epoch of the socialist revolution, shamelessly distorts Marx and substitutes the bourgeois for the socialist point of view." (*Lenin On War and Peace, Three Articles, "Socialism and War,"* see "False References to Marx and Engels," Peking FLP, 1966, pp. 16, 17)

Lenin consistently explained why it was that Marx and Engels supported various bourgeois liberation movements in Western Europe during the latter half of the 19th century, even as late as 1891 when, as Lenin noted, Engels said that in the event of war against Russia and France it would be the duty of the German socialists to defend their fatherland.

Blasting the social-chauvinists who attempted to misuse these positions of Marx and Engels, Lenin sharply pointed out that in the circumstances where

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Revolution

Revolution is the organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA (RCP, USA). It is published monthly. All correspondence to the Party should be sent to RCP, USA, PO Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654.



Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade contingent marches in the anti-Bakke Decision demonstration in Washington D.C., April 15.

Opportunists Let Enemy Off Hook

15,000 Hit Bakke Decision

More than 15,000 people of all nationalities marched through the streets of Washington D.C. on April 15 to oppose the Bakke Decision, a major attack being launched by the capitalist rulers of this country against affirmative action programs, as part of a general attack on minority nationalities.

The demonstration and a rally following were sponsored by a group called the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision (NCOBD), which has developed in the past year into an influential force in the anti-Bakke Decision movement. Joining the activities on April 15 were thousands of students—particularly from Washington's Black campuses like Howard University, workers from a number of areas, and professionals like doctors and lawyers.

Included here was a contingent organized by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB—youth group of the RCP), joined by the African Liberation Support Committee, and a number of chapters and individuals of the Medical Committee for Human Rights. This contingent was united under the banner: "Fight Imperialism—The Source of All Oppression!" and also raised the slogans, "Minorities and Whites, Unite to Smash the Bakke Decision!" and "Fight All Attacks on Oppressed Nationalities!"

Overall the demonstration and rally had a positive effect in helping to build a powerful and broad struggle to smash the Bakke Decision, as the demonstrators marched past the Capitol and Supreme Court, showing the strong and growing opposition to the Bakke Case.

Unfortunately the march also showed that the NCOBD has sunk even deeper into the quicksand of reformist politics since its first attempts last year to draw up petitions to the Congressmen asking them to truly act as the elected representatives of the people and vote to overturn the Bakke Decision. These new depths were proven in Washington by the NCOBD's parading of one after another politician before the crowd at the rally, and during the march by their attempts to drown out any chants which linked the fight against the Bakke Decision to the fight against imperialism.

Few people listened to the speeches at the rally, as city officials, union hacks (there were speakers from the Internationals of both the UAW and a postal workers' union), and aspiring political pimps ran out the raggedy line which NCOBD has been pushing for months: it is the task of all patriotic Americans to stop the new right wing movement afoot in the U.S. In particular, the fascist scum of the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis were pointed to as being responsible for nearly all the problems in the country, from the oppression of minorities, to unemployment, to the oppression of women. Totally absent from the speeches was any mention of the bourgeoisie being the main enemy to fight around this and all questions of oppression. The KKK and the Nazis need to be combated every time they show their ugly costumes, but this has to be done as part of the larger fight against the capitalist ruling class which is behind them and other, far more signi-

ficant, reactionary happenings.

Instead of seeing that these varmints are actually promoted every inch of the way by the monopoly capitalists, the NCOBD leadership has consistently done everything in its power to not only confuse the source of the Bakke Decision, but in fact they have purposely pointed the finger away from the capitalists.

Revive Civil Rights Movement?

A number of speakers at the rally seemed to take into account some of the developments in this country in the last 10 years, since the time massive struggles of minority peoples erupted in the cities and on college campuses raising demands for affirmative action programs which the Bakke Decision would wipe out. Many spoke of the renewed attacks on minorities coming down now as a result of the economic crisis facing this country today. But the solutions which were promoted at the rally were simply that a new civil rights movement was needed, which would not even start from where the old one left off, but which would "relive the good old days" of Martin Luther King and the freedom rides. (More than one speaker even tried to *sound* like King, figuring that this would add legitimacy to their words.)

The development of the civil rights movement itself proved that the struggle against national oppression cannot be limited to fighting for new laws and against racist attitudes. Laws are no guarantee of equality as people have learned through the experience with affirmative action laws themselves. While there are definitely racist ideas among people and these must be vigorously struggled against, they are part of and rooted in the systematic national oppression of the capitalist system. And while fighting around particular laws and against racism are both important, neither by itself gets to the heart of the matter, the rule of the capitalist class and the brutal super-exploitation and oppression they bring down on minority peoples.

What is called for today is not a renewed civil rights movement. Equality and emancipation are indeed the goals in ending national oppression, but these goals cannot be achieved as long as the capitalists rule. And the fight against them cannot be separated from the fight against their imperialist system. As the experience of the movement of the '60s helped lay the basis to understand, the core of this fight is the revolutionary alliance of the working class movement as a whole with the struggles of oppressed nationalities—aimed at the common imperialist enemy.

The petty bourgeois world outlook of NCOBD and their speakers in Washington blocks them from seeing and acting on these things, as do their narrow, self-seeking aspirations of building themselves up as the leaders of this "new Civil Rights movement."

In short, the NCOBD limits the entire explanation of the Bakke Decision and the fight against it within the confines of capitalism. Its very name lends itself to this, with the thrust of their efforts confined to

"overturning" the Bakke Decision, in other words, fighting the battle out mainly in the legal arena where, they hold, the real issue will be decided.

A Puny Echo

Lending a helping hand to the attempts of the NCOBD to hide the target of the Bakke Decision fight is the "Revolutionary Student Brigade" (RSB—not to be confused with the RSB which helped form the RCYB last fall. Those now calling themselves the RSB include members of the opportunist clique which tried to wreck the RCP and, upon failing, left the Party to wallow in the low and muddy marshes of Menshevism). To quote from a recent national leaflet from the RSB: "The Bakke Decision is not for equality but for discrimination. It represents not neutrality but renewed *prejudice*. The *prejudice* that barred Black students in Montgomery. The *prejudice* that stalked the streets of South Boston. The *prejudice* built into every hiring hall and admissions office. *It's the prejudice and inequality that creates millions of second class citizens.* Second class citizenship to be legalized by nine robed justices in the Supreme Court. Robed in the white colors of the KKK." (emphasis added)

To use the word "prejudice" instead of "racism" changes little; if anything the word "prejudice" is more narrow than the NCOBD's "racism," because at least racism has come to stand for a whole system of ideas which uphold the oppression of minorities, while prejudice refers to individual "attitudes."

The point the RSB is making is that prejudice oppresses minorities. The capitalists aren't labelled as the source of this attack, only sweeping prejudice which we thought we had beaten down in Montgomery but, dammit, seems to be acting up again.

This line is an interesting flip from the line held early on by some of the Mensheviks while they were still in the RCP—that the Bakke Decision was mainly a question of a divide and conquer scheme. As the RCP leadership pointed out at that time, this position is wrong because while there is an aspect of the bourgeoisie trying to divide the masses around the issue of "reverse discrimination," the essence of the Bakke Decision is to take away basic political rights of minorities.

While apparently contradictory, both these reformist lines held by these Mensheviks have a common essence. Neither view sees the struggle against national oppression as a *revolutionary* question, which is both rooted in the basic class contradiction in society and is also a powerful revolutionary force in its own right, reacting in turn on the basic class conflict.

Contingent Hits Target

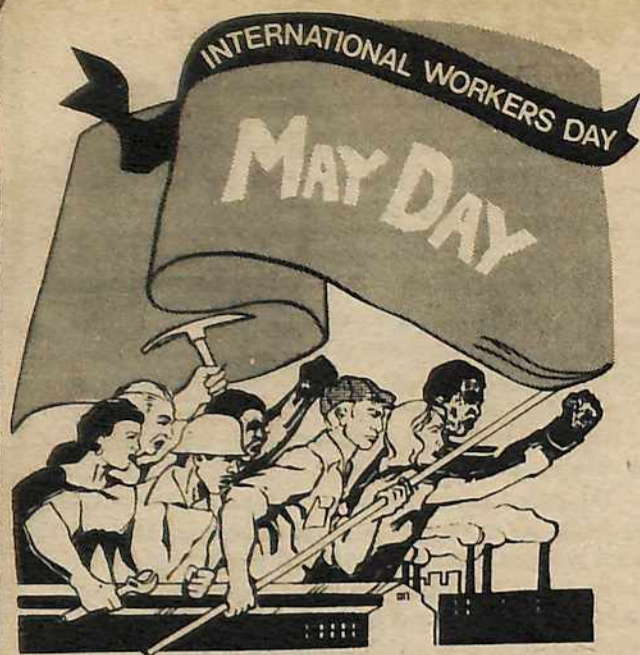
As already mentioned, there was a contingent within the April 15 demonstration marching under the banner "Fight Imperialism—The Source of All Oppression!" The purpose of the contingent was to unite with the overall positive thrust of the march, that is, fighting the Bakke Decision, while at the same time bringing out the crucial importance of targeting the real source of the Bakke Decision, the real enemy of the masses of oppressed nationalities in this country—the bloodsoaked capitalist ruling class.

Many of the students and high school youth in the contingent had participated in Armband Day sponsored by the RCYB on April 12 on campuses throughout the country. In all, thousands of armbands were distributed bearing the slogans "Minorities and Whites, Unite to Smash the Bakke Decision!" and "Fight All Attacks on Oppressed Nationalities!" This was a powerful statement in itself of the determination of students to fight the Bakke attack, and also contributed to raising the understanding of tens of thousands more students about the issues involved, as debates and discussions raged for hours in some places over the Bakke Case and national oppression.

At the demonstration in Washington, one chant in particular that the contingent raised, "Equality Yes, Discrimination No, Capitalist System Has Got to Go!" was extremely well received, as people lining the streets clapped in time and took up the chant themselves. It was clear that people were looking for far more answers to the problems posed by the Bakke Case, and a lot more militant actions than they were able to get from the leadership of the activities that day.

The U.S. Supreme Court has yet to make its decision on the Bakke Case public, but already the RCYB and others are making preparations for the ruling. It has been clear all along that the Bakke Decision is just the front line of advancing attacks on oppressed nationalities in the U.S., and that the movement being built against the decision is only part of the rising resistance to the capitalists' attacks on minorities.

The sizable number of people demonstrating in Washington April 15 speaks to the fact that there are broad and deep feelings against the Bakke Decision in this country. And the fact that the reformism of the leadership of the march couldn't hold back the militant spirit of the demonstrators shows that there is great potential for further developments in the struggle against the oppression of minority nationalities. ■



Sponsoring Organizations:

United May Day Committees, Revolutionary Communist Party, National United Workers Organization, Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee, Vietnam Veterans Against the War

MAYDAY '78

The celebration of May Day this year in major cities across the country comes at a time when increasing numbers of workers are raising their heads and getting a clearer view of the imperialist enemy and a better understanding of the revolutionary struggle that lies ahead.

This does not mean that millions or even tens of thousands of workers in this country now have a complete understanding of the revolutionary position of

their class in society, much less the need for revolution, proletarian dictatorship and finally communism. Nor can this understanding develop spontaneously.

But it does mean that the growing attacks of the bourgeoisie in all spheres of society and in every aspect of the people's lives are continually being met with resistance. And, through the work of communists in helping develop and build the struggles of the masses in a revolutionary way, the working class is beginning to take up and lead, politically and organizationally, the fight against all forms of capitalist oppression.

It is in this light that, of all the slogans we raise on May Day, we raise the slogan "Workers Unite to Lead the Fight Against All Oppression" as the key one in developing the workers' movement from one concentrated in the day to day, primarily economic, battles of the workers to one which clearly sees the capitalist system of exploitation as the source of every social evil and which leads all of the major battles against this enemy.

The past year has been one of struggle against attacks on the livelihood and well-being of the masses. It has been a year of struggle against a new wave of attacks on minority nationalities. And it has been a year highlighted by the heroic miners' strike, which represented an important advance for the whole working class.

May Day is an historic day, International Workers' Day. On May Day the class conscious workers, in unity with all those oppressed under this criminal system and shoulder to shoulder with workers and oppressed people in every country of the world, will sum up developments of the past year and chart a course for the year ahead. It must be a revolutionary course, fully conscious of the difficult struggles ahead, and opposed to the illusions of patching up and reforming the system of wage slavery.

In this sense, this year's May Day will particularly represent a further repudiation of the degenerate Menshevik clique which recently met with humiliating defeat in its attempt to destroy our Party, and is now crawling back into its reformist, Browderite womb, dropping any mention of the workers leading the fight against all oppression in its bogus May Day

propaganda. Opposed to this is the real May Day.

Organized by the United May Day Committees, the Revolutionary Communist Party, the National United Workers Organization, the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee, and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, this year's May Day celebrations will point to the bright future that lies ahead. The few thousands who celebrate May Day this year will be speaking not only for themselves, but for the whole working class, for its deeply felt sentiments, its real interests and its great potential to lead the masses of people in revolution. ■

**STAND UP AND FIGHT!
WE'RE TIRED OF BEING DRIVEN DOWN,
PUSHED AROUND AND SOLD OUT!
WORKERS UNITE TO LEAD THE FIGHT
AGAINST ALL OPPRESSION!**

**DOWN WITH THE SYSTEM
OF WAGE SLAVERY!**

On this historic day we proclaim our stand:

Down With U.S. and Soviet War Moves! From Palestine to Africa to Panama—U.S. Imperialists Out! Support the Just Struggles of the People of the World!

Jobs Or Income Now!

Fight Layoffs, Speedup and Wage Cuts!

Down With Discrimination, Inequality and All Attacks on Minority Nationalities!

Stop the Cuts on Healthcare, Education and Other Social Services!

May Day celebrations will be held in the following areas:

**Atlanta
Baltimore
Birmingham
Boston
Chicago/Gary
Cleveland
Denver
Detroit
El Paso
Florida
Hawaii
Houston**

**Los Angeles
Coalfield Area
New York/New Jersey
Upstate New York
North Carolina
Southwest Ohio/Louisville
Pittsburgh
Portland, Ore.
Pottstown/Reading
St. Louis
San Francisco Bay Area
Seattle**

Call Attacks Dictatorship of Proletariat

Mao's Line Offends CP(ML)

The so-called Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) has gone from a trot to a full gallop down an all too familiar revisionist road—the kind of modern revisionism first pioneered by Khrushchev more than twenty years ago. This is flagrantly displayed in an April 10, 1978 *Call* article which attacks the *Revolution* article, "The Paris Commune: First Proletarian Dictatorship" (March 1978).

One of Khrushchev's first and most infamous revisionist theses was "the state of the whole people." He argued that because most of the old capitalists who had been overthrown in the Soviet Union were dead or otherwise out of the picture, and because ownership in the Soviet Union was public, there was no longer any need for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR. In fact, in coming to power, Khrushchev had led in overthrowing working class rule—the dictatorship of the proletariat—and the "state of the whole people" that replaced it was really the dictatorship of *newborn* capitalist elements in the USSR who became a full-fledged capitalist ruling class.

Now the CP(ML) has joined Khrushchev and the whole historical rogue's gallery of revisionists in attacking the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This theoretical attack has real practical consequences as well, because those who don't recognize the revolutionary goal of the working class—the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the transformation of all of society until the elimination of classes—communism—certainly can never build the struggle of the working class today in a revolutionary direction. For the CP(ML), this attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat is an inspired discovery of a theoretical justification for its always essentially reformist practical work. Whatever the ideological source of this, it certainly isn't Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

Basically, the *Call* article does two things. First it denies that new capitalist elements are constantly born under socialism, due to the economic, social and ideological leftovers from the old society. Second, it denies that the task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to transform society, eliminating all these leftovers and all class distinctions, until the complete abolition of classes.

Seeds of Class Antagonism?

On this first point, the CP(ML) criticizes us for saying that the contradictions left over from previous class society "contain the seeds of the regeneration of antagonistic class contradictions even after the old bourgeoisie is defeated and weak." According to them, this "confuses the target of the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . confuse [s] contradictions among the people with contradictions between the people and the enemy." Then they go on to say that this formulation would mean dictatorship by the working class over the peasants, instead of alliance between the workers and peasants against the capitalists.

This is an extremely important point to which Mao Tsetung referred many times. Contradictions such as those between workers and peasants, between town and country, and between manual and mental labor certainly are contradictions among the people. This is also true of divisions among the people due to the continuing application of the principle of bourgeois right (including distribution according to work instead of according to need). But, as we said in the article the CP(ML) hates so much, "It is the existence of these contradictions and the fact that some people still enjoy privileges from them that means that those who push a revisionist line in the Communist Party, who use their influence to protect these survivals of class society rather than to move against them, can always gain some kind of audience and can mobilize a social base for the restoration of capitalism."

It was in reference to these leftovers from capitalism such as bourgeois right and the fact that "under the dictatorship of the proletariat, such things can only be restricted" that Mao Tsetung concluded that if revisionists like Lin Biao come to power, "it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." The antagonistic contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the principal contradiction under socialism, in its most important form centers on the struggle of the working class and its allies against "capitalist roaders"—Party members in authority who, through the line they push, protect and water the seeds of capitalism

and try to make them sprout.

The target of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not peasants, intellectuals, highly paid personnel, etc.—it is the bourgeoisie, whose core is the capitalist roaders within the Party who try to use these contradictions to restore capitalism. If the dictatorship of the proletariat is not enforced ruthlessly against them—if such people are not overthrown and cleared out whenever they arise—then they will overthrow socialism. And as long as these contradictions do exist, such people will arise again and again. It was exactly targeting such people that Mao initiated the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in which the working class defended and developed its dictatorship by overthrowing the capitalist roaders and making qualitative leaps in transforming the conditions that gave rise to them—further tearing out capitalist weeds by the roots, restricting bourgeois right, narrowing the differences between mental and manual workers, etc.

Did Mao "Confuse the Target"?

We'd like to remind the CP(ML) of Mao's statement that "Lenin said, 'Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." According to the CP(ML)'s stand, we should condemn Mao for "confusing the target of the dictatorship of the proletariat!" According to their logic Mao was calling for dictatorship over the workers! But Mao was quite right to call attention to the existence of such insects burrowing and eating away within the workers' ranks. We'll let the CP(ML) stand with whoever it wants to—we'll stand with Mao Tsetung.

On the CP(ML)'s second point, communism as the abolition of classes, they really go to ludicrous lengths with their revisionism. The CP(ML) not only criticizes us but basic principles of Marxism, whining that we were wrong to say that the task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to wipe out *all* class distinctions. Quoting Marx, who described the dictatorship of the proletariat as "the necessary transit point to the abolition of class distinctions generally," they have the almost completely unbelievable nerve (or more likely the cowardly desperation) to say that by "generally" Marx did not mean *all*.

This is absurd. Marx's next words speak of abolishing "all" production relations on which class distinctions rest, "all" social relations corresponding to these production relations and of revolutionizing "all" ideas resulting from these social relations. Elsewhere he says that the dictatorship of the proletariat "constitutes

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Fight Imperialism and National Oppression From the USA to the USA

African Liberation Day May 27, 1978
March in Detroit & Oakland



(top) Liberation forces in Mozambique. (bottom) Nashville: Thousands of people, including members of the RCYB demonstrate against the racist South African regime at the Davis Cup matches.



As the flames of revolutionary struggle continue to blaze in Africa, support for African liberation broadens and deepens in this country. From coast to coast momentum is building for African Liberation Day, May 27, when people will be marching in Detroit under the banner "Fight Imperialism and National Oppression from the USA (Union of South Africa) to the USA (United States of America)." A West Coast action will be held in Oakland, California on the same day.

The ALD action, spearheaded by the African Liberation Support Committee and joined in by many other organizations and individuals, will be a blow to the imperialist system which keeps the African peo-

ples in chains and is responsible for the inequality and oppression dealt out to Blacks and other minority nationalities in this country along with the exploitation of all working people. Already ALSC and the other sponsoring organizations have taken important steps in making ALD and the struggle in Africa even bigger questions among the American people.

ALSC, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade and others participated in the recent demonstrations against the Davis Cup tennis matches held in Nashville, Tennessee in which representatives of the racist South African regime competed. Several thousand people participated in the actions, mostly students

from local Black colleges in Nashville, but joined by many others from around the country as well.

In Detroit itself, between 50 to 60 people attended an ALSC program to commemorate the victims of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre in South Africa, as a part of the building activities for ALD. On the West Coast, a successful conference sponsored by ALSC was held to deal with important questions about the struggle in Africa and to build for ALD.

The Africa Liberation Day activities being initiated by ALSC are in sharp contrast to some other actions being planned that are sure to lead nowhere. Stokely Carmichael's All African Peoples Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) is going ahead with plans for a March in Washington on May 13. The self-declared purpose of their demonstration is to "March for Pan Africanism" and "Build the AAPRP." Such a line can in no way contribute to the struggle of Black people in this country (they make no pretext of supporting the struggle of the working class and the oppressed overall) which they declare must be for "an independent, united and socialist Africa." As for the struggles in Africa, they promote an equally poisonous line—calling the USSR and its Cuban puppet "socialist."

The Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO) is also holding an ALD action in Washington D.C., working through something called the National Coalition to Support African Liberation. Whereas last year WVO led a motley crew of dogmatists in wrecking and splitting the original ALSC (making it necessary to reorganize that group), this year WVO is singing a different opportunist tune. The three ALD slogans their coalition calls for are "Death to Apartheid—All U.S. Investments Out of South Africa;" "Cut the Arm Off the Racist Band—Ban the Krugerrand;" and "Drop a Dime—Shut Down South African Airlines" (the last slogan referring to a ludicrous scheme to shut down an airline company by tying up their telephone lines!). Thus WVO is promoting an ALD march with no mention of imperialism, no mention of national oppression in the U.S. and no call for the support for the liberation struggles in Africa.

Undoubtedly the self-serving antics of the WVO and the AAPRP will cause confusion among some honest people who want to aid the peoples' struggles in Africa and fight the ruling class here at home. But because the line of ALSC and others sponsoring African Liberation Day reflects the real needs of the struggle in Africa and here at home and because it speaks to the revolutionary sentiments of the masses, they are continuing to unite more and more people to build powerful African Liberation Day demonstrations.

**Victory to the African Peoples' Just Struggles!
Down With White Minority Rule!
U.S. Out of Africa—Superpowers Hands Off!
Detroit, Saturday, May 27, 12:30 PM, Grand Circus Park. ■**

2,000 March To Free Wilmington Ten

On Saturday, April 1, 2000 angry demonstrators marched in Raleigh, North Carolina demanding Freedom for the Wilmington 10 and Justice for the Charlotte 3. The demonstrators came from literally every corner of the state, from small towns and cities, representing many different groups and organizations—students, workers, churches and community organizations. While most of the demonstrators were Blacks, several hundred whites also participated in the march and rally, which was organized by the North Carolina Coalition to Free the Wilmington 10.

People came forward because of their righteous indignation that the state of North Carolina continues to imprison 9 of the 10 defendants who were framed and convicted on charges stemming from a battle around school desegregation in Wilmington, North Carolina in 1971. (See article in February 1978 *Revolution*) The

Charlotte 3 were draft resisters and convicted for allegedly burning a riding stable. Recently North Carolina Governor Hunt refused to pardon the Wilmington 10 after overwhelming proof had been uncovered that they were framed. This has outraged people across the state and the country.

Case Symbol of National Oppression

More than simply demanding freedom for the Wilmington 10, the demonstration was an act of resistance to the capitalists' attacks on minorities. Black people and many whites have come forward to support the Wilmington 10 because they are a symbol of national oppression. For many, the Wilmington 10 case drew the line and called for action.

The march was spirited and militant. Starting in a park in a Black community, it picked up hundreds along the way. As marchers passed the state women's prison they stopped and chanted support for the people inside and a brief speech was given by an ex-inmate. She talked about how the judicial system serves the oppression of minority nationalities—that only poor people and mainly Blacks populate the North Carolina jails. Hordes of guards were unable to block off the visible support for the march from large numbers of the women inside.

Another focal point of the march came when it arrived at Governor Hunt's mansion. A textile worker from the National United Workers Organization spoke about taking up the Wilmington 10 struggle as a fight for the whole working class. She stated that people couldn't rely on any politicians because they serve the same class of people who benefit from national oppression. Only through the struggle of thousands of people, she said, could the Wilmington 10 be free. When the march reached the statehouse for the rally there were

several hundred more people already there.

The rally itself was marked by heavy doses of reformism as various speakers ran out different ways to turn the peoples' hatred of oppression away from the system of capitalism and into praying, voting for "better" politicians, and so forth. Among the exceptions were speeches by a representative of the Revolutionary Communist Party and a member of the Miners Right to Strike Committee. The RCP speaker pointed to the source of all oppression, the capitalist class, and the necessity of overthrowing it and establishing the rule of the working class.

The miner said that the firm basis for Black-white unity is the common oppressor and exploiter of the masses of people—the capitalists. He went on to describe how many miners had brought out during the recent strike that they had learned a lot from Black peoples' struggles, drawing inspiration from their unity and struggle against discrimination and national oppression. He said that the miners' strike was a blow at the capitalist class and so was the demonstration here to free the Wilmington 10. And he noted how the capitalists shudder at the thought of the workers' movement and the Black peoples' movement getting together. And that's exactly what has to happen to achieve victory, he stated, because each struggle is only part of the bigger battle—and today's demonstration shows that it is actually beginning to happen.

To many of the demonstrators this speech vividly expressed their desire—and the growing reality—of multinational unity and gave a glimpse of the power of merging the working class struggle and the struggles of the oppressed nationalities on a revolutionary basis. The miner got a tremendously enthusiastic response from the crowd.

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Charleston, West VA, March 11: 450 workers, students and others, led by a contingent of over 100 miners and their wives, united in a demonstration called by the NUWO and the Miners Right To Strike Committee to support the miners' strike and their defiance of the Taft-Hartley injunction.

Contract Itself Stinks

Miners, All Workers Advance in Strike

It was one of the most militant, hard fought and important battles in the recent history of the U.S. working class. The miners came up against not only the coal companies, but the capitalist class as a whole and their government—and took them head on. They answered the owners' attacks with the longest contract strike in their history and cut deeply into company profits. For almost four months they took everything the capitalists threw at them and hurled it right back—with interest. They ran over the traitors in high union office who tried to sabotage the strike and keep them from taking the offensive against the companies.

The rank and file organized its forces for picketing, relief and mine shutdowns. They closed the nonunion mines and effectively choked off a large percentage of production. They fought pitched battles with cops, company thugs, national guard and state police. They scoffed at Jimmy Carter's attempts to wave the American flag in their face and his threats to force them back to work at bayonet point if their "patriotism" and "respect for law and order" wouldn't do the job. They spit on the government's Taft-Hartley injunction and made it clear it wasn't worth the paper it was written on. They withstood the barrage of media propaganda designed to slander the strike and isolate the miners from the rest of the working class and make them believe that they were facing this battle all alone—that the "public" was against them.

Twice the miners rejected sellout contracts sent down by the companies, Arnold Miller and his fellow traitors in the UMWA leadership. Finally, at the end of March, miners voted by a margin of 57% to 43% to accept the third contract proposal, even though it was worse than the '74 contract and substantially the same as the one they had rejected by a whopping three to one vote only ten days earlier.

But the miners were not starved back to work, nor did they return crushed and demoralized. They went back to the mines standing tall, proud of the battle they had waged. They returned to work with a greater strength and unity that can't be easily taken away. And already there was talk of the next contract battle, the lessons they had learned and the struggles that are ahead.

What this vote reflected was that many miners did not see the road forward to victory at that point, even though their strength remained firm and the companies were hurting. There was a certain amount of disgust and frustration that they did not seem able at that point to force Miller to come up with a proposal that embodied the rank and file demands. In fact, a lot of miners could not bring themselves to vote for this lousy contract. About 40% of the miners eligible to vote on the contract did not vote on it at all. That means that only about 34% of miners voted for the contract. In districts 17 and 29 in southern West Virginia, which have been centers of the most militant rank and file activity in recent years, and where the contract passed with a surprising two to one majority, only 1/3 of the eligible miners voted.

Another factor was that many miners did not think that they had sufficient rank and file unity and organization to push through to victory. This is not to say

that organization and leadership did not exist. In fact, one of the capitalists' and union hacks' main tactics in this strike was to try to isolate the most active and class conscious forces from the rank and file and to break up rank and file organization.

They launched a well-publicized red-baiting campaign before the strike even began at the Miners Right to Strike Committee, which has been the one rank and file organization that has consistently fought in the interests of the miners over the past four years. And they intensified this red-baiting again just before the vote on the third contract proposal.

Committee Work

The Committee, which is affiliated with the National United Workers Organization (NUWO), has played an influential role in sharpening and focusing rank and file struggle on the key issues and mobilizing strike action. The committee has worked to unite miners around the understanding that it is not just a battle between miners and the coal bosses, that the struggles they are waging are part of a bitter, ongoing struggle between the working class as a whole and the capitalist class of parasites. And in the course of this strike, the respect of miners for the committee and its influence grew.

In an ad run in the West Virginia newspapers urging a "no" vote on the third contract proposal the committee stated: "The Mellons, the Morgans, the Rockefellers and other super-rich own and control not only the mines but most of American finance and industry. For their class now is the time to whip miners into line."

"The lines are drawn," they continued. "On one side is the companies with their whole class of blood-

suckers and on the other is the miners—and our whole working class and people from other walks of life, farmers, students and more, that are fighting the same bunch we're up against." On the question of the role of the government, which is put forward as some "neutral" force, the ad stated: "Our whole experience as miners—as workers—tells us just the opposite. The government is there to protect the rich and the rich man's system. It's there to protect the few from the many."

In March of 1977 the Right to Strike Committee held a conference that brought together rank and file fighters from many parts of the coalfields and hammered out the rank and file demands for the contract: the right to strike; increased and equalized pensions; fully restored and guaranteed medical benefits; safety that the rank and file could enforce; stronger job rights; and a hefty wage increase.

During the course of the strike, at an open mike meeting of miners, one local official who at times played a good role said: "We can fight for these demands, they're reasonable." A little later a committee member took the mike and pointed out that "there's no question that these demands are reasonable for the rank and file and that they are supported by the working class. But they are not reasonable for the companies and their buddies in the capitalist class." He went on to explain that because of their crisis and the workings of their whole system they are forced to try to suck more profits out of the miners. And even more that it is not "reasonable" to the capitalists that the working class organize its strength to fight back against their attacks.

The Miners Right to Strike Committee has worked to organize the rank and file and, as part of the NUWO, the rest of the working class to rely on their own strength to defeat their common enemy. At the rally of 450 workers in Charleston, West Virginia on March 11, called by the Committee and the NUWO to support the miners and their defiance of the Taft-Hartley injunction, a committee speaker pointed to the federal building behind him and said that when you look at what we're fighting here it seems pretty awesome at times—the coal companies and all their fellow bloodsuckers in the capitalist class with their government and huge media propaganda machine. But what we've got here, he said, is more powerful, because we've got our own class of people. The capitalists realize this and that's what scares them so much.

Committee members put forward their stand on the struggle time and again in the strike bulletins issued during the strike, in their *Rank and File Unity* newsletter, in organizing picket lines and actions to stop the scab production, in meetings to discuss tactics and the role of leadership, to cite a few examples.

Broader Support Work

Members of the Right to Strike Committee, as well as Party members, also worked to build this struggle more broadly than simply among the miners themselves. They were instrumental in the formation of the Miners Support Committee of Southern West Virginia, which united teachers, housewives, medical and legal personnel, students and other workers to support the strike and punch a hole in the bourgeoisie's lies that the miners stood all alone in this battle. The Support Committee launched petition drives, held educational forums, made responses to negative television and newspaper editorials, and set up the Miners Free Clinic in Beckley, West Virginia. In addition, the Right to Strike Committee established two strike centers in West Virginia, where miners gathered to discuss tactics as well as broader questions and to get out literature and where the hundreds of support telegrams from workers all over the country were posted.

A significant development in this strike was the sup-

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Striking farmers from the American Agricultural Movement distribute food to striking West Virginia miners.

AP Wirephoto

Panama Canal Treaties

New Face Lift For Colonialism

The Panama Canal treaties approved in April by the U.S. Senate contain no real concessions to the people of Panama. They put off "returning the canal to Panama" until the year 2000 and allow the 12,000 U.S. troops in the Canal Zone to stay until then. More importantly, even after the canal is legally transferred to Panama, the U.S. retains the right to send its ships through the Canal with no questions asked and to intervene militarily to "defend" the Canal under any pretext.

Much of the debate in recent weeks centered around the last-minute "DeConcini amendment" (finally accepted by the Carter administration to assure passage of the treaty as a whole), which gives the U.S. the unilateral right to use military force "to reopen the canal or restore the operations of the canal" after the year 2000. However, the big hullabaloo raised in the U.S. press over this amendment was not because the original treaties didn't already give the U.S. the right to intervene militarily. They were carefully worded to give "both" the U.S. and Panama the "right to act against any aggression or threat directed against the canal." Some ruling class political figures spoke against the amendment for being needlessly explicit—obviously worried about the expected protests of the Panamanian people to this naked expression of U.S. imperialism's real intentions around the canal treaties.

The Real Debate

For months, the U.S. press has presented the American people with running commentary on "fierce debates" within the U.S. ruling class over whether or not to return the canal to Panama, on whether or not the U.S. should retain the right to "intervene in Panama's internal affairs." But the very fact that the U.S. government has taken it on itself to decide the future of the Panama Canal—75 years after it originally stole the Canal Zone from the Panamanian people—is nothing but naked interference in the internal affairs of Panama. In reality, the U.S. bourgeoisie has been holding a different kind of debate—over what tactics to use to preserve their control over the Canal and the Panamanian people.

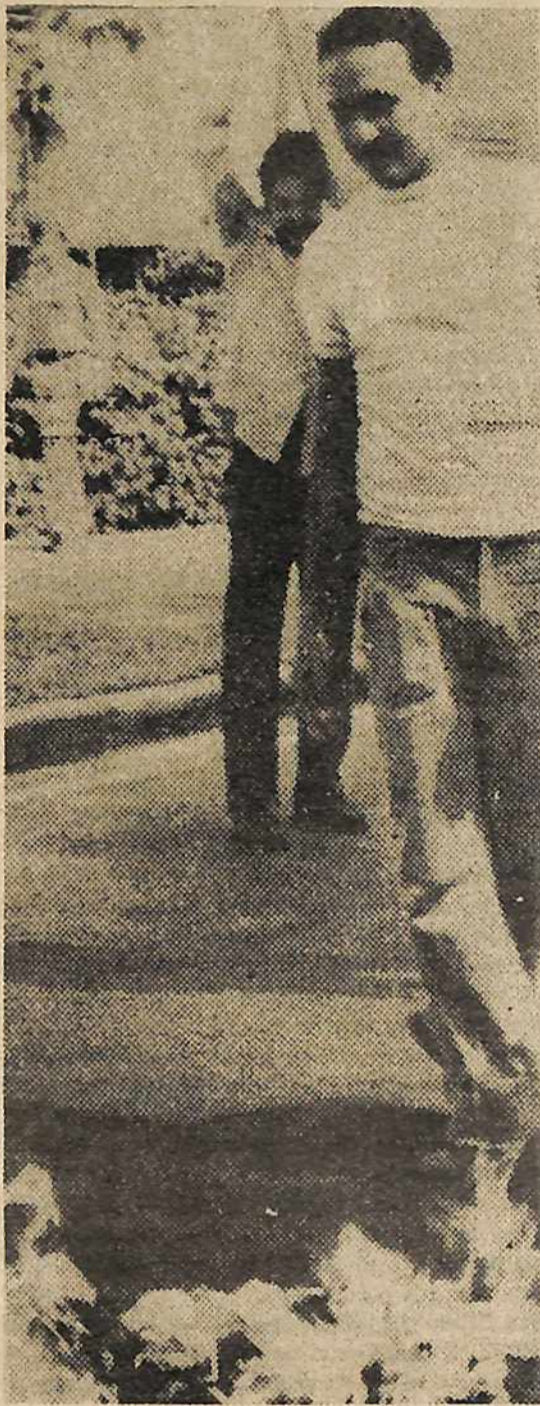
For years, the Canal Zone has been a strategic base for the launching of U.S. imperialism's operations in Latin America. In addition to the 12,000 U.S. troops currently stationed in the Canal Zone, it is a well-known training ground for the officers and armed forces of various Latin American countries—troops used to set up and protect puppet regimes tied closely to U.S. imperialism. The canal has become even more important to U.S. imperialism in their intensified scramble for world hegemony with their imperialist rivals in the USSR. In recent years, the Soviets have stuck their snouts into the situation, demanding that the Canal be "internationalized"—in other words that the U.S. be stripped of its control, but that the Canal would still not be given back to Panama.

This "great debate" in the Senate fit the U.S. ruling class' strategy of making the canal treaties seem "reasonable" and not at all imperialist. It also provided a golden opportunity for the bourgeoisie to whip up chauvinism and reactionary patriotism, hoping to build support for open U.S. military intervention in defense of their interests in Panama or anywhere else in the world people rise up against imperialism's blood-soaked rule.

This was the main value of the openly chauvinist line of capitalist spokesmen like Ronald Reagan, who proclaimed that "there is no Panamanian canal, only an American Canal in Panama," that "we" shouldn't let a little country push "us" around, and that "the U.S. has the right to protect its property." In fact the Canal Zone only became "U.S. property" in 1903 after the U.S. engineered a "rebellion" against the Colombian government on the sparsely populated site it was eyeing for the Canal. After sending in American gunboats to face off Colombian troops, the U.S. government set up the country of Panama; whose new "leaders" allowed the U.S. to draw up and sign a treaty itself, granting the 500 square mile Panama Canal Zone to the U.S. forever. The canal itself was built by tens of thousands of workers from all over the Caribbean, whose descendants now make up a large part of the population of Panama.

Disguise and Maintain Control

The fact that the U.S. imperialists were forced to a show of negotiations after so many years of



Panamanians burn copies of the new U.S.-Panama Canal treaty. There has been widespread opposition in Panama to this new chain of neo-colonial control.

naked colonial domination in Panama reflected their need to find a new way to disguise and maintain U.S. control over the canal in the face of the growing struggle of the people of Panama and worldwide. After the treaties were passed, the House Majority leader commented that if the vote had gone the other way, "we would have had to be fighting very hard to keep a mob, not the government of Panama, but an unruly mob, from storming the Canal Zone."

In different quarters, Panamanian General Omar Torrijos has been criticized for being a "dictator" or hailed for victoriously standing up for the interests of the people of Panama. To begin with, the U.S. has had its puppet dictators running Panama and other countries for decades. What bothers the U.S. imperialists is not whether Torrijos rules "democratically," but whether he jumps at exactly the moment when they say jump.

In spite of some secondary, big dog-little dog type contradictions Torrijos and the reactionary Panamanian ruling classes do have with U.S. imperialism—such as over the prices of their raw materials—Torrijos has been of great service to U.S. imperialism in Panama today. His specialty is posing as the courageous leader of the Panamanian people, "standing up to the Yankees," and occasionally making militant-sounding noises such as his revelation after the treaties passed the Senate that "we were going to take the route of violent" action, if they had not passed.

Struggle of Panamanian Masses

Torrijos himself came to power as a direct result of the mass upheavals of the early 1960s in Panama, which made necessary new adjustments in the form of U.S. rule—from old-style colonialism to neo-colonialism. That this was forced by the mass struggle, not Torrijos, is made even clearer by the fact that the Panamanian administration that preceded him was also forced to be-

gin negotiations for the return of the canal. Torrijos rode the backs of the people's struggle with proclamations that "Panama will not be another star on the U.S. flag." He now hopes to derail the struggle of the Panamanian people by claiming that "This treaty ends colonialism. I feel proud that I have accomplished our mission."

However, the "mission" that Torrijos and the ruling class of Panama he represents really mean is to guarantee U.S. imperialism's interests in Panama, with a little bigger share of the action—including canal revenues—for them—all at the expense of the real mission of the people of Panama, which will only be gained by their continuing revolutionary struggle against imperialism and Panamanian reactionaries like Torrijos.

CP(ML) Hails Treaties as an "Important Victory"

Just as the U.S. bourgeoisie has been trying to sow confusion among the masses with the "debate" over the treaties to hide their real imperialist intentions, the Communist Party (ML) has once again faithfully, if pathetically, risen to the occasion as an aspiring "left" defender of U.S. imperialism. After Carter and Torrijos first signed the treaties last fall, the *Call* ran a page 2 editorial that started off saying, "After 70 years of struggle against U.S. imperialist domination, the Panamanian people scored an important victory with the signing of a new Canal Treaty last week."

After half-heartedly criticizing the treaties for not being a "complete" victory, the *Call* goes on, "Nonetheless, the treaty overall represents a big blow to U.S. hegemony. It reflects the new situation in the world, where third world countries are standing up to the superpowers, and where U.S. imperialism is on the decline from its former pinnacle of power." This is quite a bold statement in the light of the crystal clear wording of the original treaties giving the U.S. the right to "defend" the canal by military force both before and after the year 2000.

In attacking the article put out in the Sept. issue of *Revolution* titled, "New Treaty Keeps U.S. Grip on Canal", the *Call* even sought to give us a "lesson in dialectical materialism." Elementary dialectics, we're told, exposes the line that the treaties are not a victory. Why are they a victory? A letter to the *Call* in their November 14, 1977 issue claims this is so because: "There are two aspects of a contradiction. U.S. imperialism is the older, declining aspect. The developing patriotic sentiments of the oppressed countries is the newer, rising aspect. Dialectically, this contradiction can only resolve itself in favor of the oppressed." So according to these idealist "dialectics," there can be nothing but victories for the "countries" fighting for liberation against poor old toothless U.S. imperialism. Everything, apparently, is for the best in this best of all possible worlds.

In the middle of the Congressional debate over the DeConcini amendment, the CP(ML) pulled a switch. Now their headlines no longer proclaim the treaty a great victory. My—what wonders the *Call* attributes to the DeConcini amendment! From their point of view it seems the U.S. Senate has the power to change the laws of dialectics.

But of course, throughout all this, the *Call* has faithfully stuck to one point of consistency—their support for the U.S.'s neo-colonial plans for Panama. In their March 27 editorial, the *Call* lets it all hang out, "Now through the Senate's machinations, the imperialists from both camps are trying to change some of the agreements already reached and develop new ways to keep their grip on Panama. Faced with this situation, we must demand that the treaties be passed as originally drafted." What a revolutionary demand! (We will give the *Call* the benefit of the doubt and presume they don't mean the original 1903 edition. Although...)

In its ongoing campaign against the amendments, but not the reactionary treaties themselves, the *Call* reported on April 17 that "General Omar Torrijos, head of the government of Panama, called the amendment unfair, unnecessary, and a threat to Panama's sovereignty." In fact, what Torrijos said was partially true—that the amendment was unnecessary for U.S. imperialism—except that it gave them an opportunity to stir up more patriotic propaganda, while simultaneously spreading the illusion that "some" ruling class representatives, like Carter, were nice guys and "less imperialist."

The original treaties and the neo-colonial hold on Panama they seek to strengthen are just fine according to the CP(ML)—if only the U.S. Senate would just take back that one bad amendment. This, of course, is especially so in the face of the "growing Soviet penetration of Panama and Latin America." (March 27 *Call*).

The demonstrations in Panama against the treaties after they were passed on April 18, like the massive demonstrations demanding the total return of the canal in preceding years, show that a great many of the Panamanian people are not fooled by these treaties and still more will see through them later. The American people must join with the people of Panama in denouncing the treaties, and in demanding that the U.S. get out of Panama, right now! ■

Uprisings Spiral in Iran

Masses Hit Shah, U.S. Imperialism



One of the 70 U.S. and foreign owned banks demolished in Iran during recent uprisings.

For over eight months, wave upon wave of demonstrations, strikes, and mass uprisings have swept Iran, shaking the reactionary regime of the Shah at its roots. More clearly and consciously than ever in the past 25 years, the Iranian masses have aimed their struggle directly against both the Shah's hated regime and the choking grip of imperialism on Iran, particularly U.S. imperialism.

This new revolutionary upsurge broke out in September 1977, when thousands of people, many ruined peasants forced to live in shanty towns on the outskirts of Tehran, fought back against troops sent to drive them from their settlements. During October and November, peaking during the Shah's trip to the U.S. on November 15-16, street rallies and demonstrations of over 10,000 in Tehran continued the struggle. The mass uprising in Quom followed in December, sparked by the regime's slander of a progressive exiled religious leader. After machinegunning the people of Quom for two hours, killing over 500, the regime added fuel to the fire by ordering that all corpses be removed by military trucks and dumped outside town to prevent

burial. The regime also demanded that anyone wanting to claim a body for burial had to pay for the bullets fired into it!

The Quom massacre set the stage for the nationwide demonstrations and rebellions 40 days later, capped by the mass uprising of over 200,000 in Tabriz on February 18-19. (see *Revolution*, March 1978 for details on Tabriz) And 40 days after Tabriz—a traditional Iranian mourning period which has been made into a form of political struggle today—hundreds of thousands in nearly fifty cities rose up against the fascist regime.

To make military suppression more difficult, the latest wave of demonstrations of March 30-31 began at midnight and lasted to the early morning hours. In Yazd, hundreds of people disarmed government troops who had been sent to suppress them, after having overturned a huge fire engine that was splashing water mixed with sand on the people. Thousands of workers in Abadan and Isfahan—major centers of oil, petrochemicals and steel production—went on strike to express their solidarity with the heroic people of Quom and Tabriz. In Abadan, oil workers and others set fire to the Shah's hated statue located in the downtown public square.

Important Political Advances Made

In the space of a few short months, the struggle of the Iranian masses has made some important gains. The political slogans raised in cities throughout the country have been revolutionary, clearly directed at the fascist regime of the Shah and at U.S. imperialism. This marks an important advance from the widespread demands for reforms from the regime that characterized the last major popular upsurge in Iran, in June 1963. This wave of uprisings has also drawn many classes and strata of the Iranian people into political activity—including workers, peasants, students, teachers, small shopkeepers, religious figures and businessmen who have been ruined by the regime's policies. In addition, intense contradictions have developed in the Iranian ruling class among different cliques fighting for larger shares of the dwindling loot among themselves.

Another important feature of the recent uprisings is the growing role played by revolutionary forces, in writing up leaflets for the widest possible distribution among the people, doing revolutionary agitation and organizing the people's hatred for the regime. The

NATO countries, the neutron bomb, the U.S. hopes, could blunt an armored attack by the Soviets while leaving the productive capacity of NATO countries virtually intact. This is an advantage which makes the neutron bomb much more desirable to the U.S. imperialists and their allies than their present nuclear warheads. Europe, with its vast productive forces and strategic importance, is the major focus of the superpowers' contention and their war preparations stemming from this contention. While the bourgeoisie of the NATO allies want the Soviets stopped cold and pushed back at all costs, even if it means using nuclear arms to do it, the loss of this productive wealth would be a somewhat hollow victory. The nature of the neutron bomb is itself an exposure of the aims and the source of the war the imperialists are preparing to wage.

The neutron bomb has been the focus of widespread protest, especially in Europe, as a step closer to war and toward making the use of nuclear arms more probable, since the imperialists consider it a "clean" and tidy weapon. Because of this protest and the controversy the issue has aroused, leaders of the NATO countries (while privately ecstatic about the bomb) would not speak openly in favor of it, preferring the U.S. to take the heat for its production. But behind the scenes lobbying by Carter has finally forced Britain's Prime Minister Callahan to come out in support of the bomb, and Carter's announced delay of production forced West German Chancellor Schmidt to more openly declare in favor of its production.

"The Soviets Made Us Do It"

In making his announcement Carter linked the ultimate go ahead on production to "the degree to which the Soviet Union shows restraint in its conventional nuclear arms progress and force deployment affecting the security of the United States and Western Europe." In addition to firming up support for the weapon, already described, this public relations play sets the stage for blaming the Soviets for "forcing" the U.S. imperia-

mass movement has moved far beyond peaceful protests to hit at the despised institutions of the Shah and imperialism with revolutionary violence, destroying key targets and moving on quickly to minimize the peoples' casualties.

New advances have also been made in arming the masses with weapons captured from the regime's increasingly demoralized army troops. At the height of the fighting in Tabriz a number of soldiers turned their guns on their own officers. The terrified regime called on U.S. military advisers to supervise the emergency transportation of "reinforcements" from Tehran to Tabriz.

News Blackout, Lies

After ignoring it almost totally for weeks, the U.S. press was finally forced to comment on this mighty upsurge shaking Iran. (This, we might add, is also what we have come to expect from the *Call*, newspaper of the CP (ML), which has so far devoted a scant two paragraphs to this revolutionary struggle. Doing its best to underplay the massive uprising in Tabriz, the March 6 *Call* reported that "hundreds of workers and students took to the streets to protest the repressive policies of the Shah's regime." Truly outdoing most of the U.S. bourgeois press, 200,000 people have shrunk to *hundreds*, and the powerful uprisings against the Shah's fascist regime and U.S. imperialism have turned into *protests* against the Shah's repressive *policies*! And this is only the latest chapter in the CP (ML)'s history of shameless backing for this lackey regime of the U.S. imperialists.)

The reports from Iran of the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, well known for running "all the news that's fit to print" (that is, in the eyes of U.S. imperialism), have been nothing more than parrot-like repetition of the revolting lies coming out of the Shah's controlled press. For example, in its report on the Tabriz uprising, in which dozens of foreign-owned banks and the headquarters of the Shah's fascist political party were attacked and burned, the *New York Times* explanation was "religious cultural conservatism and Moslem anger over the emancipation of women." (3-5-78)

In this imaginary world created by the mouthpieces of the Shah and U.S. imperialism a fascist despot is held up as a "benevolent monarch" bringing about "modernization," the daily torture of 100,000 unyielding political prisoners is hailed as "making progress in human rights," the tightening grip of foreign monopolies and finance capital on Iran is termed "independent economic development," and millions of oppressed people are said to be rising up *against* their own "emancipation" and are massacred for doing so!

In addition to slandering the revolutionary movement and whitewashing the bloody massacres in Tabriz, Quom, and other cities, the regime is desperately trying to cover up the severe economic and political crisis that has gripped Iran in the last few years. In fact, it is this sharp deterioration in the living conditions of the masses of Iranian people, coupled with intensified

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Neutron Bomb— A Phony Delay

To the U.S. imperialists, locked in contention for profits and domination of the world with their social imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union, the neutron bomb is a valuable weapon—a weapon they will not willingly give up. This is why Jimmy Carter's recent decision to delay production of it was not a step towards arms limitations, world peace, or even towards the eventual cancellation of the weapon. Quite the contrary. Despite some criticism and confusion over the move within the camp of the U.S. imperialists and its NATO allies, the decision was a maneuver to blunt criticism of the bomb, while creating public opinion and support for it within NATO and ultimately paving the way for its production and deployment in Western Europe.

In fact, since coming into office, the Carter administration has been pressuring its NATO allies to openly endorse production and deployment of the neutron bomb on their territory. As a counter to the numerical advantage in armored power and tanks the Soviets and their Warsaw pact allies have in comparison to the

lists to begin making neutron bombs. This was made clearer by the fact that Carter, at the same time, called for modernizing and adopting the missile and artillery systems necessary for neutron warheads. As one administration authority assured the press, this "puts us 90% down the road toward where we would have been with a complete green light."

In the coming months, the U.S. will no doubt offer to give up the neutron bomb at the SALT talks if the Soviets will reduce their concentration of tanks in Europe or abandon production of their new ICBM, the SS-20. The new czars of the USSR, nobody's fool at imperialist armament, will hardly agree to this, and the U.S. knows it. Then, with firmer commitments from its NATO allies, the U.S. and Carter will run out their line, "Well, we really didn't want to produce this, but..." Or the fact that France is on the way to making its own neutron bomb (they recently tested one) could make it unnecessary for the U.S. to produce the first batch.

In either case, the Soviets will respond with condemnations and denunciations. Of course, they will claim the U.S. "forced" them to produce their own, further escalating the arms race to a higher level. What this shows is that all their talk about disarmament and making another world war unthinkable through a stronger military deterrent are simply forms of their contention, steps toward war, as they jockey for position behind a thin smokescreen of words that they are moves toward world peace. Carter's side stepping maneuver to pave the way for the neutron bomb must be exposed and opposed as a vicious and hypocritical part of this deadly process.

However, Carter's move generated quite a controversy in the bourgeois press in this country, with "hardliners" of all stripes jumping on the decision as "a very serious mistake," appeasing the Soviets, and so on. Since the real issue is not whether or not to appease the Soviets but rather how best to contend under present conditions and how to prepare for the future, the objective role these "hardliners" play nicely covers for the "moderates'" moves toward war. ■

Rut...

Continued from page 2

as a right opportunist and economist line. This was the case with Mickey Jarvis.

Bergman

Leibel Bergman left the CP around the time of its complete betrayal, but had clung to the world outlook that had led to its demise. Bergman's history is characterized by clinging to the revisionism he picked up in the old CP, a stubborn unwillingness to change, a constant tendency to try to reconcile Marxism with revisionism and rampant individualism.

Although Bergman played a positive role in helping to found the Revolutionary Union in 1968, even in that period he was incapable of giving any leadership to the necessary process of separating out Marxism from the general petty bourgeois radicalism of the time. He tried to play a mediating and conciliating role in the struggle against Bruce Franklin's adventurism in 1970. In fact, while now joining those deriding the militant, revolutionary thrust of the '60s, Bergman has always expressed a fondness for petty bourgeois adventurism—as long, of course, as others besides himself were actually involved.

During the 1972 elections, Bergman tried to set up a "Mc Govern for President" headquarters within the RU, in a clear throwback to the old CP's line on Roosevelt and seeking the "lesser of two evils." He even tried to mask this opportunism as internationalism and play on emotionalism by saying it was a sacred duty to the Vietnamese people to support McGovern!

During the struggle against Bundism, which played an important part in laying the basis for founding the Party, Bergman not only vacillated, but even tried at a key point to reverse the RU's line and capitulate, spouting a lot of CP-style "white-liberal" reformism in the process.

During his years in the RU and the RCP, Bergman played little or no role in collective life. He saw himself as a "great mind" floating free while his body wandered about the country in his role as a Condescending Savior or a Confucian Sage. He preferred to lurk in the background and engage in Machiavellian maneuvering in hopes of getting his revisionist line across.

Bergman had learned some Marxist-Leninist theory in the CP and was able to play a somewhat useful role in the early period of the new communist movement. But as the revolutionary movement grew and developed Bergman refused to keep apace. Instead of studying Marxism-Leninism he boycotted study groups in the Party, preferring instead to coast along with his mishmash of Marxism, revisionism and the "wisdom" of openly bourgeois "authorities." Instead of playing an active role in helping the Party to grapple with new and difficult questions, he simply doled out "advice," and increasingly wrong advice at that. When the objective development of the class struggle, in this country and internationally, made it impossible for Bergman to straddle the fence between Marxism and revisionism any longer, Bergman, experiencing a slight revival and feeling a new lease on life, lurched to embrace the latter.

Today Jarvis and Bergman are thoroughly on the path of revisionism, determined to sink into the same rut pioneered for them by the old CP. Having repudiated the line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, they are venturing about to create a conglomerate, most likely with the CP(ML) and others. We will suggest an appropriate name for their "party"—the New Old Communist Party, or NO Communist Party for short.

Philistines and Rightists

The Jarvis-Bergman headquarters within the RCP would have limited the Party's work to simply worshipping the present level of the workers movement. This was not out of any consistent commitment to economist principles but because those revisionists are only capable of seeing what is going on this morning and what they might be able to lead this afternoon. In the context of the U.S. class struggle today this could only mean a narrow, economist and philistine line—smug in its narrowness and contemptuous of real revolutionary theory guiding consistent revolutionary practice. Jarvis and Bergman took advantage of the fact that the Party was correctly paying particular attention to linking up with and leading the economic struggles of the workers as well as certain erroneous tendencies adopted at the Founding Congress to see the "center of gravity of the Party's work" in the economic struggle. However, for the great majority of members of the Party these were errors in the course of following a generally correct line established at the Congress, and the Party leadership was summing up these errors and providing guidance for correcting them.

But for the Jarvis-Bergman headquarters this economist tendency was not an error at all, but exactly the direction they were trying to push the whole Party. In Jarvis and Bergman's view of the class struggle, all that was necessary was for "the troops" to work hard, plug along and try to establish themselves as leaders of the economic struggle and somehow everything would be fine. Marxist theory was belittled, the Party's political and ideological tasks were derided as a diversion and a "retreat" from the "center of gravity" and any effort to educate the workers in the lofty goal of communism was called "left idealism."

A fine example of their rapid progress in revisionism since leaving the RCP is their decision to drop the slogan "Workers Unite to Lead the Fight Against All Oppression" from their May Day events this year. Even more revealing are the reasons they give for abandoning it. In an internal document of theirs from early this year they say the following:

"(1) It is an abstract call to fight all oppression divorces [sic] from the actual struggles that the workers are already waging and becomes a hollow exhortation to fight everything.

"(2) The unity of the working class is built through struggles and by fighting on the fronts of struggle as they exist, at any time the proletariat and its Party has the task of taking on the bourgeoisie on all three fronts and on this basis making the links to the need to fight the capitalist class and its system!

"(3) The goal of the struggle is not the 'fight against all oppression' but the overthrow of the ruling class and the dictatorship of the proletariat. the slogan is nothing but a reflection of the desires of the petty bourgeoisie to get the working class to fight [sic] its battles, short of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and the system of exploitation."

Under the cover of the "actual struggles" and of upholding the working class against the petty bourgeoisie, these revisionists have given us a present day shining example of the line of the economist reformers of Lenin's time who, as he put it, were gazing with awe on the posterior of the proletarian movement. It is another example of their thorough tailing after spontaneity and restricting the working class movement to the most narrow horizons and failing completely to raise the sights of the workers and broaden their viewpoint and their actual struggles.

They conclude this point with an inspiring appeal to democracy. "We think the struggle over using this slogan must be waged and the opinion of all brought to bear on the question. We encourage those who agree or disagree to 'let it rip'..." For our part we hope that anyone with a shred of revolutionary thinking left in them will not only "rip" this little gem, but the whole revisionist line of this gang.

Into A Well Worn Rut

Jarvis' and Bergman's line followed the rut well worn by the CP before them: the Party should put aside its revolutionary sweep, only using Marxism-Leninism as a "cookbook" to dish up gimmicks in relation to any immediate problem; dissolve its leading political role and instead be content with submerging itself beneath the level of the spontaneous struggle; allow the Party and its members to become so bogged down in and dulled by the current non-revolutionary situation that the Party would be completely unprepared for a rapid change in events and, given the proper external conditions, would lapse completely into revisionism. Their line was for non-revolutionary work in every situation and would be

sure to lead to capitulation in the case of a world war and/or a revolutionary situation.

It was exactly in opposition to this tried and true method of going revisionist, which has tremendously strong spontaneous pull in an advanced imperialist country, that the Party further deepened its understanding of the tasks of revolutionary work in today's non-revolutionary situation. It was the further development of this line at the Second Plenary of the First Central Committee in 1976 that was the first major test of strength with the developing Jarvis-Bergman headquarters.

1976 Central Committee Meeting

That Central Committee meeting warned specifically of the growing danger of rightist tendencies in the Party. It pointed to the importance of waging all three forms of the working class struggle—economic, political and theoretical—and not simply the first. It summed up errors arising in connection with the "center of gravity" formulation (though not criticizing the formulation itself at that time). The report of that Central Committee meeting gave further emphasis and more substance to the importance of work among all strata, in all social movements, and developing the working class movement into an all-around struggle against the ruling class as the leading force in a broad revolutionary united front.

Above all, the '76 Central Committee Report reaffirmed the principle set forth at the Founding Congress and went more deeply into its significance for all of our work:

"Even in ordinary times [non-revolutionary situations], when it is leading the masses in the day to day struggle, the proletarian party should ideologically, politically and organizationally prepare its own ranks and the masses for revolution and promote revolutionary struggles [mass struggles that attack and expose the system], so that it will not miss the opportunity to overthrow the reactionary regime and establish a new state power when conditions for revolution are ripe. Otherwise, when the objective conditions are ripe, the proletarian party will simply throw away the opportunity of seizing victory." (quote from the Chinese Communist Party polemic on the general line of the international communist movement, 1963.)

Clearly this political line was like a hated curse to the revisionist headquarters within the Party. It flew in the face of the pragmatism, economism and general revisionism of their line, especially their view that it is adequate to concentrate, and in the most narrow way, on the current spontaneous (economic) struggle of the workers. Because of this the revisionist clique jumped out in opposition to the '76 Central Committee Report at the Central Committee meeting itself. A number of them did so openly. Others, especially the top leaders of this gang, remained quiet or even mildly feigned agreement with the Report while sniping at it or raising secondary aspects to oppose its revolutionary thrust, still pretending to uphold and carry out the collective wisdom and will of the Party and its leading bodies.

The revisionist opposition to the '76 Central Committee Report was defeated and what came to be known as the "high road" Report was adopted. In the Party as a whole these advances in understanding were greeted enthusiastically, as the Report addressed the crucial question of how work that is done today relates to the revolutionary goal, and on that basis gave guidance for improving the Party's work in all spheres.

But the revisionists never reconciled themselves to the defeat they suffered at the '76 CC meeting and the

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Revolutionary 45 Released!

You've all heard the saying
There's two sides to every coin
Where there is oppression, there
Resistance will be born
With the people's struggle
United we will stand
The Krugerrand won't stop us
We'll stop the Krugerrand!

A new 45 rpm record has been released by One Spark Music and it's dynamite with a lit fuse. Recorded by Prairie Fire (who wrote the songs) and a large number of musicians who volunteered their time, the record is a great combination of musical sound and revolutionary content and spirit.

In "The Krugerrand" Prairie Fire rips into the blood-soaked gold coin of South Africa which has been the target of the people's wrath from coast to coast.

On the flip side, "Got To Fight It" hammers home the theme that the same system of imperialism which confronts workers and minorities in this country daily is responsible for the oppression of the people of southern Africa.

This new record fires its audience with the will to fight, and its form and content mark an exciting advance in creating a revolutionary culture that serves the interests of the oppressed in this country. ■



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Hold Nat'l Meeting in St. Louis

UWOC Reaffirms Fighting Stand

On the weekend of April 15-16, the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC) held a national conference in St. Louis attended by members of UWOC chapters across the country from Hawaii to Boston. The conference was characterized by sharp and vigorous discussion and struggle over fundamental questions of line in the fight against unemployment. What is the meaning of the slogan "Employed/Unemployed—Same Crisis, Same Fight," the slogan on the UWOC symbol? Why is Jobs or Income the most important demand of the working class around unemployment and how should the fight for it be built? These, and the question of UWOC's stand on the Bakke decision and how UWOC takes up the question of national oppression in the course of taking up the fight around unemployment were the agenda items at the conference.

Even holding a conference to address these questions was a product of the victory over the narrow pragmatist line of the reformist clique, part of the Jarvis/Bergman clique, who had tried to mislead UWOC (see *Revolution*, March 1978). To them, major questions of line were too "up in the air," "abstract" and "divorced from real life" (as defined by the bourgeoisie) to even bother talking about.

But rejecting this line and taking these questions up, in and of itself, is not enough. The discussion at the conference was characterized by struggle to break through the bourgeois line and the bourgeois outlook that spontaneously exercises a very strong pull on how Party members in UWOC and UWOC as a whole see unemployment and the fight against it.

On every question, people fought to break with this and approach building the fight against unemployment from the point of view of the interests of the working class as a whole and strengthen UWOC's ability to raise the banner of the working class in the fight against unemployment.

Gert Alexander's Fighting Principles

The conference was dedicated to the memory of Gert Alexander, who was a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Revolutionary Union (RU) before it, and who led the Party's work around unemployment until her death two years ago on April 17, 1976. As the RCP speaker said in a solidarity message to the conference, "Nothing could be further from the line and outlook of the revisionists who tried to mislead UWOC than the line of Gert Alexander." A life-long fighter for the working class, Gert had been active in unemployed struggles and the working class movement in the '30s.

She joined the CPUSA when it was a revolutionary party and refused to capitulate to revisionism but instead fought against it when that party divorced Marxism from the working class and became a tool of the

bourgeoisie. Within the RU Gert fought for unemployment work to be taken up, struggling against ideas of American exceptionalism that failed to grasp the inevitability of capitalist crisis and downplayed the importance of this work. She was instrumental in founding UWOC in the Bay Area in 1971 and in building and leading it as a fighting organization of unemployed workers.

Many UWOC members present at the conference remembered how consistently Gert struggled against tendencies to come up with blueprints, gimmicks or easy answers and insisted on approaching the fight from the point of view of the long range broad interests of the working class. This spirit which she had always brought to UWOC characterized the conference.

Guided by this, the UWOC members at the conference had lively and in depth discussions of the key questions facing their organization and the broad struggle around unemployment at this time.

Coming off this meeting, these points and the overall approach are being taken back for thorough discussions inside UWOC and for advances in action.

Same Crisis, Same Fight

The first discussion was around the real basis of unity between employed and unemployed workers pointed to in the slogan "Employed, Unemployed—Same Crisis, Same Fight." People summed up both the spontaneous tendency and the line pushed by opportunist former UWOC leaders to view employed and unemployed workers as separate interest groups who could only be appealed to and united on the most narrow tactical basis. UWOC resolved to bring forward in word and deed the common class interests of workers, employed and unemployed, and build the fight around unemployment guided by this view.

In light of this the conference summed up that UWOC had a number of broad and important tasks. The fight against unemployment and organizing unemployed workers should be UWOC's main focus and a big part of the fight against the capitalists and the effects of their crisis. UWOC also has to take the fight and the understanding of "Employed, Unemployed—Same Crisis, Same Fight" out to all workers. And beyond this UWOC should mobilize unemployed workers to take up key battles of the whole class on the basis of being workers up against the same system, hit by the same crisis and having the same interests.

Jobs or Income

There was also vigorous discussion and struggle over the demand for Jobs or Income—a demand which was effectively liquidated by the previous misleaders in UWOC as an abstract demand and too tall an order

to fight for our jobs is to unite the rank and file and fight *against* the companies." She pointed out that the interests of workers here were in unity with workers in other countries. The union leaders responded: "We don't need the rank and file, we've got the union."

Shortly afterwards ILGWU officials charged Tam was out to destroy the union and rigged up a phoney trial where they quickly expelled and fined her. They charged her with going against official union policy at a public event. They also attacked her membership in the National United Workers Organization, saying it was out to destroy unions and referred to the fact that the union constitution bans any rank and file organization. But this outrageous attempt to stifle the rank and file movement in the union backfired.

Garment Workers Organized (GWO), a rank and file organization affiliated with the National United Workers Organization, took up Tam's defense and got donations and petitions of support signed in every union shop in the San Francisco Bay Area. Over 150 letters demanding Tam's reinstatement were sent to the ILGWU's national office in New York.

The union leadership then launched an intimidation and red-baiting campaign against Tam's supporters. They tried to divide workers by race, telling Tam's Chinese supporters to "go back to China." They also brought charges against two other union members who defended Tam.

When Tam was barred from attending a union meeting, the workers present walked out in her support. Despite language problems and union Manager Mattie Jackson's attempts to shut everybody up at union meetings, workers stood up and angrily spoke out against the bureaucrats' campaign around Tam and the stopping imports smokescreen.

to fight for. But Jobs or Income is a real demand and a real fight—the main demand of the working class today on unemployment. The conference stood firm on this stand and resolved not to wipe out or curtail this fight—or narrow it down into an "interest group" question—but to build it as an important struggle of the whole working class. People discussed that with this approach it is possible to bring out that unemployment can't be fought on an individual basis, case by case; on the contrary, as one person said, "mobilizing the strength of our class is the strongest way we have to fight unemployment."

In this sense the struggle for Jobs or Income needs to be built as a broad social movement and UWOC resolved to use every possible means—agitation, raising hell and taking up abuses in the unemployment offices, taking this demand to employed workers, linking it up with particular battles, making use of the method of spreading single sparks of struggle—to spread this demand and this fight among the working class across the country. This resolution was unanimously passed to loud and enthusiastic applause.

The question was also raised, "Aren't we lying to people by telling them that we're fighting for jobs or income when we know that this system can never provide that?" Many members of UWOC have come to see that working class revolution is necessary to end unemployment and all the suffering the masses of people face under this system. The conference summed up that those who have this understanding should bring it out to their fellow workers although only the Party can give a complete and scientific understanding of the nature of this system, the inevitability of proletarian revolution and the historic mission of the working class. On the other hand the need for revolution is not and should not be the basis of unity of UWOC. UWOC is a fighting organization of unemployed workers. It should unite with all those who want to fight for the needs of the unemployed, while pointing out that this cannot be done on the basis of going along with this system and trying to make it work, but on the basis of militantly fighting it and exposing capitalism as the source of unemployment.

The meeting also took up the urgent need to take up the fight against discrimination as a part of UWOC's work around unemployment—focusing on just what are the interests of the working class on this question and why it must be taken up. It discussed how things like the Bakke decision are not only vicious attacks on oppressed minority nationalities, but are also aimed at weakening the overall fight of the working class against the capitalists and their crisis.

The conference resolved that UWOC "supports affirmative action and fights discrimination while building the overall fight for jobs or income for all. Further UWOC denounces the Bakke decision and the whole line of reverse discrimination and resolves to fight it as part of uniting the working class to fight both unemployment and discrimination."

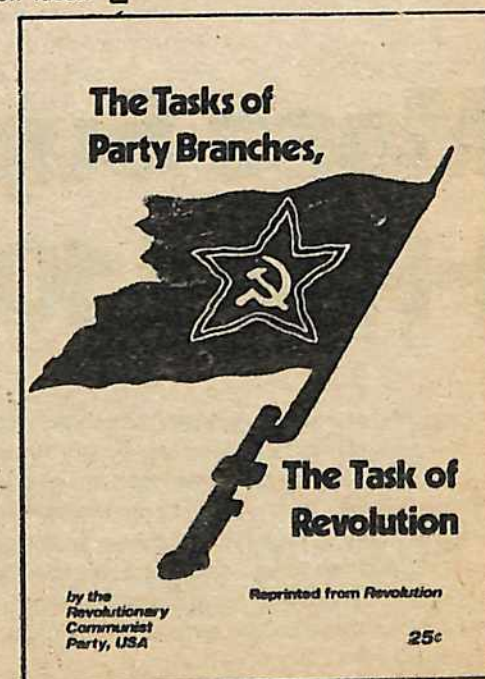
The conference also discussed the questions of illegal workers, workfare and setting up a new national structure for UWOC. In summing up at the end of the conference, people felt that a big advance had been made, that UWOC was much better armed to raise the banner of the working class in building the fight against unemployment and that the task now was to take this deeper understanding and use it as a weapon in building the fight for Jobs or Income as a part of the overall struggle of the working class. ■

The victory in this reinstatement fight was very important for the struggle ahead. It further exposed the union hacks and was also living refutation of the line that "we can't fight both the bosses and the union leadership." And the solidarity shown by men and women workers of different nationalities—Chinese, white, Black, Filipino—pointed the way to throwing the divisions and oppression of the capitalists back in their faces. ■

Hacks Fail To Oust R&F Leader

After a ten month long battle with the companies and their top union lackeys, the rank and file of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) successfully beat back another attack on its growing movement against sweatshop conditions. On January 28, the top union leadership was forced to reinstate a rank and file leader and seamstress, Bea Tam, to the union and the Executive Board of Local 101 (San Francisco). A \$500 fine was also dropped.

The ILGWU hacks have been notoriously active in trying to reconcile the interests of its membership with those of the bosses, particularly around the imports issue. They push "Buy America" and other reactionary schemes. Last April the hacks actively organized for a "Stop Imports—Save Our Jobs" rally. But, taking advantage of the fact these hacks showed up late at their own rally, and reflecting the workers' growing anger at piece rate cuts, layoffs, and runaway shops in the garment industry, Tam seized the occasion to speak and denounce the misleaders' line: "The way



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Remarks ...

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advancing, immediately upon achieving victory in this stage, to the socialist revolution. This he did by concretely applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete situation in China, in the context of the world revolution; and in so doing he enriched these principles.

The success of such a revolution, and the embarking of China, a large country with nearly one quarter of the world's population, on the socialist road—this radically changed the face of the world. It carried forward and represented a further advance in the new period of history mankind had entered with the victory of the October Revolution in Russia in 1917.

But beyond that, after the question of socializing ownership in China had in the main been settled, with the old exploiting classes largely expropriated and politically shattered, after this and with the experience at the same time of the revisionist takeover and in the face of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, Mao Tsetung made an even greater contribution to the struggle of the international proletariat. Summing up the experience of the Soviet Union, its positive and negative lessons, as well as the situation in China and the world with revolutionary sweep, and basing himself on the application of materialist dialectics to socialist society, Mao Tsetung developed the theory and basic line of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

And in particular he led and mobilized the masses in forging and utilizing the form of mass struggle to combat and prevent capitalist restoration—the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. . . .

This theory and basic line and the concrete practice of the Chinese masses guided by it, especially in the Cultural Revolution, was an inspiring beacon light and tremendous force for the international proletariat and revolutionary people everywhere, including in this country, who saw but did not fully understand the degeneration of the Soviet Union. It struck a hammer-blow at the bourgeoisie internationally who preached that it was impossible to continue on the revolutionary road. Through the darkness that had arisen around the betrayal by the Soviet revisionists and had been consciously cast by the bourgeoisie and reactionaries in every country; piercing the clouds that hung over the revolutionary movement, this theory and basic line developed by Mao Tsetung and the tremendous upsurge of the Chinese masses in carrying it out shot through like a lightning bolt.

All this occurred in the midst of a storm of revolutionary struggle worldwide. It brought clarity in a situation marked by great upheaval but also by great confusion, where masses were not only rising up in rebellion but also seeking fundamental answers to the basic problems of society. Just as the October Revolution had spread Marxism-Leninism throughout the world, so, too, the Cultural Revolution, carried out by the Chinese masses under Mao's leadership and guided by the theory and basic line he developed, spread Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought to all corners of the globe and pointed the way forward for revolutionary people everywhere, including in this country.

It is no exaggeration to say that without the theory and line developed by Mao and the practice of the Chinese masses in carrying it out, especially through the Cultural Revolution, our Party would not and could not have been founded when it was and on such a revolutionary basis. We, along with the people of the whole world, owe Mao Tsetung a profound debt, a debt we will make good by continuing the fight for the cause to which Mao dedicated his life until his last breath, the cause of communism.

Mao understood and constantly taught that one Cultural Revolution would not be enough to prevent capitalist restoration, and he constantly reminded the masses of the possibility of reversals and the danger of revisionist triumph and the rise to power of the bourgeoisie all throughout the socialist transition period. But he was no pessimist; in fact he was full of the unshakable revolutionary optimism characteristic of the proletariat. . . .

We must learn from Mao Tsetung, who always stood with the masses and grasped in the fullest, deepest sense, on the basis of a profound scientific understanding, that the masses are the makers of history. It was because Mao was a thoroughgoing materialist that he was fearless and forged a way forward repeatedly in the face of difficulties.

And, as Mao understood and practiced, to be a thoroughgoing materialist means you must also base yourself on dialectics. In this, in the consistent application of materialist dialectics, Mao is truly our great teacher. It was this that guided him in scaling the heights and ever reaching for greater heights, beckoning to us continually from those heights to join in the advance.

It was materialist dialectics that enabled Mao to see that it was impossible to stop the struggle part way and "rest." He saw that convention must be shattered, that the force of habit is against us and must be constantly and ever more consciously fought. He saw that change, upheaval, rebellion, revolution is the real order in society, in the world and the universe. Who else but such a great Marxist-Leninist would consistently and repeatedly stand firm in the swirl of the mass movement and in the face of vacillation in the revolutionary ranks and attacks from the reactionaries, inside and outside the Party! Who else but such a great Marxist-Leninist would say—and we can picture him now saying—when, for example, the revisionists jumped out to attack the Great Leap Forward because it was creating such disorder, "The chaos caused was on a grand scale and I take responsibility!"

Revolutionary sweep was always and ever present in Mao Tsetung. He projected always the need for revolution. Who else but such a great Marxist-Leninist would sum up and proclaim that there will always be a need for revolution, even 10,000 years from now! Mao gave us further insight even into what communist society would be like—not by fortune-telling, for as he said, Marxists are not fortune-tellers—but by applying materialist dialectics and drawing the crucial lessons from the experience of socialist society, the transition to communism. Even under communism, Mao taught us, although classes will be eliminated, there will still be struggle, there will still be contradiction, change will still be the order of the day. . . . The development of society will always be propelled by struggle, by leaps and changes, by upheaval and in this fundamental sense by revolution.

This is the legacy which Mao Tsetung has left us and revolutionary people everywhere. And if we want to be communists and if we are determined to carry out our responsibilities as vanguards of our class, we must learn from and take up this legacy as our own. We are bound to encounter difficulties, there will always be twists and turns and in an overall sense there are bound to be setbacks and reversals; this is an important part of the truth Mao taught. But the greater part is that despite such difficulties and setbacks, society is bound to move forward and none of these detours and reversals can prevent the forward march of mankind to communism. . . .

No one, that is no Marxist and least of all Mao Tsetung, ever told us that the struggle to achieve communism would be easy. But at the same time Mao Tsetung has told us—and taught us, in both word and deed—that nothing is hard in this world, *if we dare to scale the heights*. This is the strategic orientation we must stick to, basing ourselves on the understanding that Mao poetically and powerfully proclaimed, "Look you, the world is being turned upside down."

Our Party has continued to draw inspiration from

this and to learn from the legacy Mao left us. . . . and we have smashed the traitorous Menshevik clique in our own ranks, headed by Mickey Jarvis and Leibel Bergman, who would have . . . snatched away the victory for the working class that was achieved in the founding of our Party, who would have killed our Party as a revolutionary vanguard in its infancy.

We can proudly say that we have stood this test and emerged victorious, that we have strengthened ourselves to face even greater storm and stress ahead. We have deepened our understanding that it is through storm and stress that our Party will be further steeled as the vanguard Party of the working class in this country—and we do not fear but welcome storm and stress because we have learned more deeply that this is how things develop and the world is moved forward. . . .

In this way we have continued and deepened the victory for our class represented by the founding of our Party. We have strengthened our dedication in the most sweeping sense to make revolution, to achieve the historic mission of our class, in opposition to the petty and puny reformism and reaction of the Menshevik clique. We have deepened the determination that fired our Party at its very foundation, when we declared that this would be the second and last time that the Party of the working class in this country would have to be formed!

This was no idle statement, but a firm resolve to refuse to go revisionist, to fight the pull of spontaneity and the conscious efforts of opportunists to drag us into the rut. It was a declaration that this Party of ours would not go the way of the old CP, as our Mensheviks are determined to do; that ours is a Party that does not place momentary interest and immediate results above the general and long-term interests of our class; that does not give up the final goal for real or imagined short-term advantage which can only be illusory for the masses in the long run; that does not determine its conduct from case to case and adapt itself to the chops and changes of petty politics and barter away basic principle.

Instead ours is a Party that is determined to truly fulfill its role as the advanced detachment of our class, a Party that truly relies on the masses in the fullest sense, applying the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought to lead the proletariat and broad masses in making revolution.

This struggle against revisionism and revisionist betrayal . . . has revived and rekindled revolutionary enthusiasm and revolutionary vision in our Party. The spirit is prevailing, as Comrade Gert Alexander [a veteran comrade who died in April, 1976]—whom we also pay tribute to here—said, where people want to make revolution so bad that they are willing and determined to be scientific about it. On the foundation of the victories scored so far and with this militant and scientific spirit and approach, we must take up two tasks before us here at this Congress, as the highest body of our Party, in concentrating the understanding and will of the whole Party.

First, we must achieve the still more thoroughgoing repudiation of the Menshevik renegades and consolidation of our Party around its revolutionary line, and lay an even more powerful basis to carry forward Party rectification and strike at the roots of the revisionist influence of the Menshevik clique as well as the influence of bourgeois ideological and political line in our ranks generally.

And second, we must chart more of that uncharted course, laying the basis to forge further ahead on the high road.

In conclusion: in this way this Congress can truly be a Congress of unity and victory and enable our whole Party to take even greater strides in fulfilling our solemn obligations and lead our class in fulfilling its historic mission and achieving its lofty goal. With this firmly in mind let us vigorously take up our tasks and responsibilities at this Congress. ■

by getting exposed than to gain from pushing this case.

But the wretched conditions in Chinatown-Manilatown, where the I-Hotel is located, have been exposed along with the role the courts, cops and laws play in enforcing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In its nine-year history the I-Hotel struggle has united thousands to stand up to the rich real estate speculators and financiers like the Four Seas Investment Corp., the Hotel's owners, who in their plan to tear down the Hotel are out to destroy the community to make way for more profitable businesses. (Though the I-Hotel tenants were finally evicted last September, Four Seas has been legally blocked from completing demolition of the building due to counter-suits filed by tenants and the Workers Committee to Defend the I-Hotel and Victory Building in the wake of a massive fight against the evictions.)

The struggle around the I-Hotel has inspired others to take on the bosses through rent strikes and other struggles in the community. The International Hotel still stands as a roadblock against the plans of Big Business. The fight for the I-Hotel has helped to advance the fight for decent, low-rent housing and other social services for the people of San Francisco. ■

Mass Support Key in I-Hotel 10 Victory

The capitalists' attempt to railroad 10 people into prison turned around into a resounding victory for the 10 defendants and the International Hotel struggle in the San Francisco Bay Area. The city government had trumped up as many as four felony charges apiece on the I-Hotel 10, but was forced to make concession after concession until it had to back down altogether. On March 13 all charges on the remaining defendants were dropped by the DA's office.

After the announcement a spirited rally on the front steps of the Hall of Injustice hailed this victory. One speaker ridiculed the prosecutor's line, "In the interests

of justice, we ask the court to dismiss these charges'—Justice, hell, you know it was because of the struggle and they are still trying to cover themselves."

From the beginning with the eviction, clubbings and arrests of I-Hotel tenants and supporters, this case became the focus of the capitalists' message: "Dare to stand up to the profit system? You're going to pay the price!" But the struggle mounted to defend the I-Hotel 10 turned the tables around. The stand taken by the defendants was uncompromising: "It's right to fight for our homes and communities!" The government found itself in the position of having more to lose

Holocaust Promotes Zionism

Masses Blamed For Nazi Genocide

It was billed as a television masterpiece in the tradition of *Roots*. In a 9½-hour mini-series NBC brought to over 70 million viewers a night *Holocaust*, a "docu-drama" of the Nazi attempt to exterminate the Jews of Europe. Subtitled "The Story of the Family Weiss," *Holocaust* tried to unfold the monstrous atrocities of the fascists by tracing the lives of two fictional families, Dr. Karl Weiss, a Jewish Berlin physician and his wife and children, and the Dorfs, the family of a German lawyer turned SS officer.

It was a cheap, tinsel, soapbox drama. The last of the four-part series was scheduled to coincide with the 35th anniversary of the Uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto, April 19, 1943. It was much more a mockery than a memorial to the heroic and inspiring resistance battle waged for over a month by the Jews of Warsaw.

Despite superficial and unconvincing acting and a contrived, unbelievable screenplay, *Holocaust* did to an extent expose the magnitude and bestiality of the Nazi atrocities. But even here the artificial story line and, more importantly, the political outlook of the film producers, made for superficial treatment of the fascist terror against the 3½ million Jews who were executed in Poland and the over six million murdered throughout Europe.

In addition, the film failed to get across the fact that another three million more Poles, who were not Jews, were murdered by the Nazis, that 20 million Soviet citizens died in the fight against fascism and that millions more were murdered by the fascists in Spain, Italy, France, Hungary, Austria, Holland and in Germany itself.

Behind the Distortions

Behind the distortions of *Holocaust* is the fundamental, underlying theme that it was not just the Jews against the Nazis. It was the Jews against the world. Thus, when *Holocaust* does try to ask and answer the questions "why" and "how" this genocide could have happened, the Nazis themselves are explained away as madmen and political opportunists. The real reason put forward for the "why" and "how" is the anti-semitism of the masses of people of Europe and America. "Hatred of the Jews is the glue that will hold the German Reich together," an SS officer tells Lt. Dorf.

This theme is driven home again and again: the scenes of the Lithuanian and Ukrainian peasants gathered to enjoy the spectacle of naked Jews being mowed down by SS machine gunners; the statement by the Jewish partisan leader who discovers Rudi Weiss and his wife in hiding that "You are lucky we found you instead of the Ukrainian Resistance"; the implication that the fighters inside the Warsaw Ghetto had no support from the Poles in the rest of Warsaw.

Holocaust presents a false and distorted view of all this.

Anti-semitism did penetrate deeply among the masses of people of Europe and America. But never once does *Holocaust* point to the source of this disease: the ruling classes who spread anti-semitism as one means of keeping the masses of people divided and as a way of laying the blame for the crises and failure of their system on a section of the people. Historically anti-semitism was propagated with a vengeance by the institutions of feudal society, especially by the Catholic and later the Protestant churches, as part of the ideology of their "Christian Empires." This is barely alluded to in the film. And *Holocaust* does not expose today's garbage-ridden breeding ground of this disease: the capitalist economic system, based on exploitation and oppression.

Traditionally, Hitler is pictured as riding to power in Germany on a wave of mass anti-semitism. In fact, Hitler and his Nazis were financed and brought to power by the most powerful forces of German monopoly capitalism: Krupp the arms merchant and ship builder, Thyssen and other steel barons, Farban, the big bankers. His rise to power was looked on with approval and hope and given material support by the likes of Henry Ford and the heads of the giant General Electric Corporation in the U.S. "There should be no doubts about it: we recognize clearly that if Marxism wins, we shall be destroyed . . ." The actual words were those of Adolph Hitler, but they could have been uttered by any of the German capitalists—or their counterparts in any capitalist country.

Out to Crush Revolution

The German capitalists were increasingly fearful of the revolutionary upsurge of the German working class.

They looked to Hitler and his hoodlums as a force capable of wielding the apparatus of the German state against the masses of people. It was precisely to crush the revolutionary sections of the German working class and to deal severe blows to its communist leadership that the capitalists installed Hitler in power.

One of the most distorted aspects of *Holocaust* is the treatment given the revolutionary workers, both Jew and non-Jew, and the communists of Western and Eastern Europe. These workers, who were the most courageous fighters against anti-semitism and the Nazis, are given absolutely no place at all in this film, except a few scenes where they are derided and mocked.

Completely downplayed in the efforts to emphasize that the Jews stood alone in the ghetto uprising is the support given by the Polish Workers Party (a communist party) and the People's Guard. On April 20, for example, the day after the uprising began, a People's Guard squad attacked a large enemy machinegun nest on the perimeter of the ghetto, killing all the SS crew and their Polish police lackeys. On April 22, another People's Guard group destroyed the railroad tracks in a section of Warsaw which were used for military transport, disrupting railroad traffic in Warsaw for two days.

It was the newspaper of the Polish Workers Party that on April 28 denounced the so-called resistance groups that were nothing more than arms of the Polish ruling class (then in exile in London) for failing to come to the support of the Jews of Warsaw. "Every armed force in Warsaw is capable of carrying on such actions; unfortunately, however, most military leaders, even in the face of blatant German criminality would rather procrastinate, their weapons at their feet."

And who does *Holocaust* put forward as the leaders and heroes of the Jewish resistance? Certainly not the masses of Jews themselves in the concentration camps and ghettos. We are subjected to hours of *Holocaust's* portrayals of their passivity and resignation, being led like lambs to the slaughter—a portrayal that in an insidious sort of way even promotes anti-semitism and the lies of the Nazis.

Even the Warsaw Ghetto uprising is described as "about 400 men under arms, about 200 unarmed sympathizers and 50,000 terrified Jews." The visual description of the uprising presented is that of a handful of "stars" plugging away John Wayne style at Nazis in the streets below. Reports from the time make it clear that thousands of Jews actively participated in the glorious attacks on the fascists.

The leaders are not men like Pinya Kartin, a communist and the leader of the Anti-Fascist Bloc which was really the predecessor of the Jewish Fighters Organization (JFO) that organized and led the April 19 uprising. No, the clear implication of the film is that the real heroes and resisters not only of the Warsaw uprising but of all the Jewish resistance, were the Zionists. This is one of the major distortions perpetrated by *Holocaust* and reveals the underlying intent of the film itself.

Although the JFO did include some Zionists, it was opposed by the established Zionist leadership in the Warsaw Ghetto. And the stand of the JFO, which was that the Jewish resistance was part of the broad resistance of the people of Europe to fascism, was in sharp contrast to the Zionists who argued that the Jews were all alone.

Prettifies Role of Zionists

Even more outrageous, it was the Zionists who were



Women members of the Jewish Fighters Organization which led the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in April-May, 1943.

particularly active in opposing the resistance movement. The goal of the Zionists was not the defeat of fascism, but the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. To this end the Zionists did not promote resistance to the Nazis. They used the atrocities to appeal for sympathy and support from the various capitalist countries for Jewish migration to Palestine. And on numerous occasions the Zionists collaborated with the Nazis, making deals so that some Jews could be sent to Palestine.

Holocaust, like the TV series *Roots*, was an attempt to deal with the social issues and events of an historical period that still have tremendous significance and effect today.

The principal aspect of *Roots*, however, and what gave it its value and significance was that it shed light on a whole epoch in the history of the country and took on a whole series of well constructed lies and myths that have been carefully woven around the slave period—including the lie of "passive, happy slaves." This gave rise to broad discussion among the masses of people. What were secondary and negative aspects of *Roots*, failure to clearly target the system of exploitation and national oppression and a tendency to push the line of "each to his own national tent," are the principal aspects of *Holocaust*.

Behind the portrayals of the anti-semitism of the masses, the passivity of the Jews and the heroics of the Zionists is the message that the only salvation for the Jews is to withdraw to their own "national tent." The political implications of the message conveyed by the film are clear: Defend Israel, the Jews have a right to Israel. They were passive once in the face of the enemy. Never again. *Holocaust Part 2* is likely to take place in Israel, with the survivors of the Weiss family machine gunning Arabs and bombing Palestinian refugee camps. In fact, this is precisely what was put forward in newspaper ads run by the Zionists in many cities before and after the TV showing.

The atrocities of fascism must never be forgotten. It is important to expose what happened and to place the responsibility where it lies. While *Holocaust* did dramatize some of the atrocity, it did not put the responsibility where it belongs. It consciously set out to whitewash those who were behind the emergence of fascism and put the blame on the masses of people. For the capitalists that is not only desirable, it is a necessary objective. ■

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Rome: Italian strikers demonstrate. The severe economic crisis of the Italian bourgeoisie provides the background for the mass upsurge and political turmoil in that country.

Revisionists Fret For Class Brother

No Tears For Italy's Aldo Moro

In March, Aldo Moro, the head of Italy's ruling Christian Democrats (DC), was kidnapped in a spectacular raid by the Red Brigades. As we go to press, the Red Brigades have indicated that he had been tried by a "people's tribunal" and sentenced to death. Efforts by the Red Brigades to exchange Moro for 12 of their imprisoned members have thus far not been successful.

In the wake of the kidnapping the Italian ruling class mounted a massive wave of repression against all left organizations. They are being labelled as "terrorists," their members' houses searched, and harassed in other ways. Most despicable has been the role played by the revisionist Communist Party of Italy (PCI) which has leapt to the defence of Moro and the Italian ruling class with a zeal unmatched even by the Pope. The PCI has tried to use its considerable influence among Italy's workers to organize strikes and demonstrations on Moro's behalf, as well as lending its full support to the government's crackdown efforts.

Naturally, the capitalist press in this country and around the world has gleefully reported demonstrations of workers in support of the chief representative of the ruling class which exploits them. However, the PCI's disgusting class collaboration is not getting

over nearly as well as is being portrayed and they are meeting with repeated resistance from the workers, including many under their influence.

In spite of the intense pressure on the workers to join this holy crusade against "terrorism," (in Turin for example, electricity to the factories was cut off and workers were threatened with arrest if they didn't strike) in some large factories in Naples workers refused to strike. In other cities, workers have made clear through their banners and slogans carried in the PCI/DC sponsored marches their opposition to Moro and the Christian Democrats. PCI leaders have had to spend much time explaining to their own rank and file members how "times had changed" and it was now necessary for "communists" to come to the aid of the beleaguered bourgeois government. As one PCI leader put it, "Lenin might feel scandalized if he were to see how we are conducting the affairs of the Italian Communist Party."

Crisis in Italy

The backdrop of the Moro kidnapping is the deepening crisis which continues to grip Italy. Two million

Italians are unemployed, most being workers who came from the impoverished south to the industrial cities of the north in the 1960s boom or youth who, even if holding university degrees, have not yet held a job.

For people in either of these categories there is little hope of finding work. This massive unemployment is one of the biggest sources of discontent among the Italian masses, as is the lack of affordable housing and rising inflation.

In 1977 a massive campaign was initiated by the ruling class to dump even more of the burden of the crisis of their system onto the backs of the masses. The DC and the capitalist press raised the cry, "Everyone to work to get out of the crisis" and "today you are worse off so that you may be better off tomorrow."

Both the PCI and the trade union officials pushed this campaign forcefully as the only solution to Italy's problems, and therefore in the interest of the working class. But these attacks and this "unity of interests" theme was furiously denounced by the workers who went into the streets, declaring "No alla Stangata!" (meaning "No to the Hammerblows!").

Resistance has also been mounting among Italy's students and youth. Last year a mighty explosion took place on campuses across the country against the prospect of long-term unemployment. The PCI, as usual, took its place alongside the ruling Christian Democrats, thus making itself also a target of the students' wrath. In Rome, gun battles broke out.

Political Turmoil

As the economic crisis has deepened and the resistance of the masses has grown, the ruling class has also been beset by increasing political turmoil. The life expectancy of an Italian government is rivaled only by the mayfly in brevity. As one editor of a bourgeois Italian daily put it: "One bitter truth must be recognized: Italians have lost all faith in democracy."

While governments have come and gone in Italy, the Christian Democrats have managed to stay in power for thirty years. The PCI is deeply jealous of this fact and have increased their clamor for the "historic compromise"—their demand to be let in as equal partners with the DC in ruling over the Italian masses. While the PCI has joined with the DC in attacking the masses and is integrated into the state apparatus at many levels, their love affair with the DC is not being conducted on a bed of roses.

In the tumultuous and crisis-stricken Italy, it is not surprising that quite a few people have been attracted by the terrorism of the Red Brigades. This is especially true in view of the fact that the PCI still has a hammerhold on the bulk of the workers. In obvious dismay, the *Wall St. Journal* estimated that the Red Brigades have 800 members and 10,000 supporters who will perform such functions as carrying messages and lending them houses for protection.

But the road offered by the Red Brigades will not lead to revolution, for it substitutes the actions of a relative handful for the revolutionary struggle of the masses in their millions. Moro, of course, deserves what he has gotten, but it will take the revolution of the working class for the whole Italian bourgeoisie to be extinguished as a class. ■

Cleveland Schools On the Brink

The Cleveland school system is on the brink of collapse. Teachers and other employees have gone unpaid, some for five weeks in a row. Nothing is taught in many of the classrooms. Twenty-five schools are slated to be closed. Kids go door to door peddling candy to buy school supplies. A complete shutdown of the school system, at least for a while, is almost a certainty this spring or next fall. Meanwhile the anger of the people is mounting. Sporadic walkouts, demonstrations and job actions by school employees are becoming increasingly widespread and militant.

This incredible state of affairs has been brewing for a long time. Many cities around the country are following down the path of fiscal crisis and bankruptcy blazed by New York City and, in Cleveland, the school system is the first to bare the brunt of it.

In Cleveland, the schools are funded by local property taxes (58%) and state aid (42%). Of the property tax funds, 70% comes from business and industry, which is not about to fork over more for schools at a time when they are deeply worried about their profits. With housing in Cleveland, like most other big cities, deteriorating rapidly and almost no new housing being built, the amount that homeowners can be squeezed in property taxes is also less. And while the local tax base has been eroding, for two years in a row the state has slashed its budget.

The giant corporations in the city are also contributing to the bankruptcy of the school system, of course. First of all, many huge companies like Ohio National City Bank and the Sheraton Hotel are exempted from paying any school taxes at all. The bankrupt Penn Central Railway owes the school system \$8 million in back taxes but has been given till 1990 to pay it off (if they ever do at all.) Further, the major banks in Cleveland, to whom the school system pays \$9 million per year in interest, have refused any further loans.

Familiar Story

It all adds up to a familiar story. When things were going better overall for the capitalist system, the rulers were willing to divert some funds for education, a necessary part of the social system, while various capitalist concerns lined their pockets in the process. Now with the crisis deepening, unproductive expenditures are the first to be cut back on in the interest of boosting the rate of profit.

Some Cleveland school officials are making statements openly like, "maybe not everybody belongs in

school." With unemployment among Cleveland's youth at 35-40% and among Black youth 60%, the ruling class is looking at education as not only expensive but unnecessary. Why bother educating a new generation of workers if there is not work for them anyway? Such is their logic.

The Cleveland School Board, made up of bankers, businessmen, and political hacks, has offered two solutions to the school crisis. One is to increase taxes. The other is layoffs, program cutbacks and school closings. In reality they want the people to accept both, but people in Cleveland have vigorously rejected these "solutions."

Since 1970 both a state income tax and a state lottery were approved by the voters. Each was billed as the solution to funding the schools, but neither has alleviated the crisis. They tried to get people to approve a \$9.9 million tax levy in April but it was voted down by a large margin. Over and over, workers in Cleveland insisted that they were all for better schools but they were sick and tired of being blackmailed and paying more while the schools got steadily worse and the corporations get off scotfree.

After the levy was defeated, another payless payday for teachers was met by a massive student walkout in a dozen schools. At one school hundreds marched out, blocked traffic and fought the cops that tried to disperse them. At two others, parents came out to demonstrate their support for the teachers.

Teachers have been discouraged from striking by their union leadership, whose main activity has been to push the school levy and when that failed to de-

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Japanese Farmers, Workers, Students Unite Militant Struggle Halts New Airport

"They tore out our hearts by trying to destroy our land," said a farmer of Sanrizuka. "We had to resist." And resist they did. And their resistance—far from the individual actions of a few super-militants as it is pictured in the press—is part of a years-long struggle that has drawn mass support in Japan.

In a bold offensive on March 26, hundreds of farmers supported by thousands of students, workers and others stormed their way into the new Tokyo International Airport—built by the government against the wishes and interests of the local farmers of Sanrizuka and the Japanese people.

Although outnumbered two to one, the demonstrators heroically took on the 14,000 riot police mobilized by the government to protect capitalist investments in opening the airport complex. While one group of demonstrators fought the state's police from a 60-foot steel-and-concrete tower erected by the farmers and their supporters, another group held a mass rally on the runway. Brushfires were set nearby and demonstrators defended their fortifications by pelting the cops with rocks and hunks of metal hurled from homemade slingshots.

As the police, sporting asbestos coats and firing tear gas guns, scurried about the terminal, two steel-plated trucks carrying red-helmeted youths suddenly crashed through the gates. Tossing molotov cocktails and wielding metal rods, the demonstrators charged into police lines, taking the cops completely by surprise.

But this was just for openers, diversions to keep the cops too busy to notice a manhole cover being pushed aside. Twenty demonstrators emerged from a storm-drain sewer and in a running battle with police went for the airport's nerve center—its control tower. Ten managed to scale the tower and smashed through the plate-glass windows with sledgehammers. Seizing control of the tower, they succeeded in destroying everything in sight, including vital air-traffic-control equipment.

It took the authorities three hours to finally evict the protestors from the terminal, but by then it was too late. The government led by Prime Minister Fukuda, who just last year bragged to his Big Business bosses that he would do what four other prime ministers had failed to do—open the airport, suffered a humiliating defeat before the nation and the world. Two days later it was announced the opening of this \$2.9 billion facility would be postponed—again.

12-Year Long Struggle

The farmers and supporters had scored another victory in their 12-year long struggle. Ever since 1966, when the government arbitrarily chose Sanrizuka as the new airport site (without bothering to tell the farm-

ers who heard about it on TV!), the farmers and their families have organized themselves to defend their fields made fertile by generations of back-breaking labor. After a series of often violent clashes with government troops, leaving four policemen and one supporter killed and thousands more injured and arrested, the government confiscated the land for the "public good." The Japanese people responded with public indignation.

Support groups sprang up around the country and in other parts of Asia. Residents of neighboring towns also organized to oppose the noise and air pollution and other problems the airport would bring. When the Airport Corporation announced plans to transport jet fuel by pipeline, railway engineer workers vowed they'd strike and block any attempts to move the fuel by rail. Environmentalists, anti-nuclear power activists and the *buraku* ("outcasts" in Japan's caste system) joined the farmers. All around the country the cry went up, "Fight with Sanrizuka, like Sanrizuka!"

Students have been especially active in this fight, with many settling down to live and work with the farmers, who are more and more being squeezed off their lands to make way for more profitable enterprises. Meanwhile, agricultural production suffers as land is grabbed for such purposes. This irrational capitalist economic development has only increased the hardships for the Japanese people who already face outrageously high food prices and the prospect of rising dependence on costly food imports.

Re-Militarizing Japan

During the Vietnam War the farmers of Sanrizuka

were part of the broad antiwar movement that fought against the government's Security Treaty allowing the U.S. to use its military bases in Japan for maintaining its economic and political domination in Asia. In the late '60s the farmers issued a statement, "We will absolutely not allow the construction of a military airport that will attack Vietnam." Today the Sanrizuka leaders point out that the airport's value to the ruling class isn't purely commercial but also part of its need to re-militarize Japan to protect and expand its economic position in the area. (The U.S. has also asked for a military post office on the airfield for its forces in Japan.)

And this is why the ruling class cannot afford to continue losing the battle for Sanrizuka. To insure its opening now scheduled for May 20, they are constructing new fences around the airport—at a cost of \$13 million!

But the farmers and supporters have also learned much in the course of their long struggle. Faced by early betrayals of their struggle by Japan's "democratic" parties and by massive displays of force by the government, they never gave in. As one farmer put it, "the farmers' distrust of the government has turned to anger and grown into a will to struggle against state power."

They have fought head-on the power of the state in Brigades of Old People, Youths, Women, and Children; in iron towers, tents, trenches and underground tunnels; with firebombs, bamboo spears, sticks, scythes, snakes, stones and anything else their hands could carry.

But the real victory of Sanrizuka and why its battle lines have expanded is that the farmers have broken through seeing this fight for their self interest and land only, and have actively united with workers, students and other oppressed people.

"The Sanrizuka struggle is a class struggle being fought with the combined forces of farmers, workers and students," said a leader of the farmers. "While the imperial family relaxes in their palaces, Japanese farmers and workers struggle to survive. In a word, the Sanrizuka struggle is a direct defiance of Japanese imperialism, monopoly capitalism and the Emperor system."

There is no way \$13 million fences will be able to contain this spirit of struggle of Sanrizuka. ■



Sanrizuka, Japan, March 26: Thousands of farmers, students and workers in the latest stage of the mass struggle to prevent opening of a new airport on land seized from local farmers. They broke through police lines and demolished control tower, preventing the government from opening the \$2.9 billion facility.

On the Bakke Decision And the Struggle Against National Oppression

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Spanish CP Dumps Lenin

At a recent national conference, the first such conference permitted to be held in Spain in 46 years, the revisionist Communist Party of Spain (PCE) made it official—"Leninism" is no longer relevant to today's conditions.

As the leader of the PCE, Santiago Carrillo explained, his Party is now simply a "democratic Marxist" party. Gone forever is the burdensome facade of "Leninism" and all that it implies: proletarian revolution and, heaven forbid, the *dictatorship of the proletariat*. How crude and distasteful this label "Leninist"! One can almost hear Carrillo cry "Free at last! Free at last! Gracias a Dios, We're free at last!"

This latest development is simply the logical conclusion of a movement on the part of the revisionist parties of Western Europe to assure the European bourgeois governments that revolution is the last thing on their minds.

As we said in an article on Eurocommunism last August (see *Revolution*, Aug. 1977, p. 10) the tune

these revisionist parties are singing is that "socialism" can be achieved through the assimilation of these parties with the existing bourgeois regimes, leaving monopoly capital intact and maintaining national "independence" from both imperialist superpowers.

But as we also pointed out, despite Moscow's comical condemnation of these parties (and in particular the PCE) for forgetting that democracy has a class content (!) and abandoning the dictatorship of the proletariat (!!), the possibility of a Soviet advance into Western Europe in the next war could well lead to these parties taking the easy road to power as agents of social imperialism.

While genuine Marxist-Leninists welcome the fact that the PCE has chosen to quit dirtying the name of Leninism, and indeed hope that the other revisionist parties of Western Europe will follow suit, we suggest that they carry this further by dropping all references to "Marxism" as well, and declaring themselves for what they are—*bourgeois* parties. ■

Mao ...

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Marx and Engels took the approach of determining whose victory in a war between states in Europe would be more desirable, it was the case that "no other question could have been posed at the time except the following: the success of which bourgeoisie, the success of which combination of forces, the failure of which reactionary forces (the feudal-absolutist forces which were hampering the rise of the bourgeoisie) promised contemporary democracy more 'elbow room.'"

In other words, Lenin stressed, "the success of which side is more desirable" meant asking "the success of which bourgeoisie is more desirable." This was because, as noted before, bourgeois liberation movements in Western Europe still could play a progressive role at that time in certain conditions. But, Lenin hastened to add, "one cannot even imagine bourgeois progressive movements, whether modestly liberal or tempestuously democratic, in Britain, Germany, or France," for the era of such movements had passed with the development of these countries into imperialism. (see Lenin, "Under A False Flag," Vol. 21, pp. 148, 140, 142)

Again, Marx and Engels dealt with the national and colonial question and with the question of national liberation struggles in the period of rising capitalism, when liberation struggles against national oppression and feudal survivals could only lead, even if they were carried as far as possible, to the consolidation of bourgeois rule and capitalism. And in general while they analyzed and supported uprisings of the masses in the countries of the East, the attention of Marx and Engels on the national question was mainly concentrated on the bourgeois liberation movements in Western Europe, where such movements were then most developed and influential in determining world events.

Imperialism Changes Colonial Revolution

The development of capitalism into imperialism in a handful of capitalist countries brought tremendous changes not only in those countries themselves, but also internationally and specifically in their relations with their colonies and in the internal relations within the colonies themselves. While subjecting these colonies to even more savage oppression, and while overall retarding the development of their economies, the increased penetration and domination by imperialism in these colonies did lead to the further break-up of the more primitive forms of economic relations and to the transformation of feudal relations into semi-feudal relations of production especially in the countryside in many countries of the East, such as China and others.

This gave an impetus to the further development of the proletariat in these colonial countries while at the same time restricting the development of the national bourgeoisie there, which continued to be under the domination of the imperialists. At the same time the broad masses of people, in most cases the great majority of the population, were still peasants locked in the countryside in feudal or semi-feudal relations under the crushing oppression and exploitation of the landlords, who were the mainstay of the imperialist overlords in the country. Thus, just as in the capitalist countries capitalist development created the conditions for its own overthrow and brought into being its own gravedigger, the proletariat, so, too, with the development of capitalism into imperialism, imperialist domination brought into being in the colonial countries the conditions which would lead to its defeat there.

In these colonies, the immediate struggle had to be waged against imperialism and feudalism, and the forces that could be united in this struggle included not only the leading class, the proletariat, but also the broad masses of peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie in the urban areas and sections of the bourgeois themselves, especially the patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie who, while subordinate to and in many ways dependent on imperialism, were by the same reason oppressed and held back, and could under certain conditions be an ally in struggle against the imperialists.

So with the development of capitalism into imperialism in a handful of capitalist countries, the situation and the role of national liberation movements changed accordingly. In these imperialist countries themselves there was, of course, no longer any progressive role for bourgeois liberation movements. Such were in fact a thing of the past.

In the colonies of these imperialist powers, not only were the liberation movements capable of playing a tremendously progressive and revolutionary role, and not only were the masses rising increasingly in resistance to the imperialists, but, in addition, with the changes summarized earlier, there was the possibility for the proletariat to march at the head of these national liberation movements and to lead them not only to the immediate goal of defeating the imperialists and their domestic lackeys, especially the feudal landlord class, but of advancing through and beyond that to the socialist stage of revolution. There were, then, two

different and fundamentally opposed situations in Western Europe on the one hand and the colonial countries of the East on the other with regard to the national question.

But there was at the same time a third situation in Eastern Europe. There the question of overthrowing national oppression and feudal domination had not yet been thoroughly resolved, and the national movements could continue to play a progressive role, unlike Western Europe, where that period had passed and capitalism had on the whole developed into imperialism.

Lenin not only thoroughly analyzed imperialism but also specifically analyzed the national question in the era of imperialism. In "A Caricature Of Marxism" Lenin categorized the types of countries with regard to the national question as follows:

"First type: the advanced countries of Western Europe (and America), where the national movement is a thing of the past. Second type: Eastern Europe, where it is a thing of the present. Third type: semi-colonies and colonies, where it is largely a thing of the future." (Lenin, Vol. 23, p. 38)

Russia: An East-West Bridge

Russia itself was a kind of bridge between the West and East; that is, while capitalism had developed in Russia and had in fact reached the stage of monopoly capitalism, on the other hand in the countryside, where the great majority of the people still lived, feudal survivals were widespread and were the dominant form. At the same time, Russia until February 1917 continued to be ruled by the Tsarist autocracy. In short, the bourgeois democratic revolution had not been completed in Russia, even though Russia had developed to the stage of imperialism. In addition, in Russia there were large numbers of oppressed nations whose struggle against Tsarist autocracy and against Great Russian domination still played a progressive role and was an ally of the proletariat in its struggle. Lenin and Stalin raised and fought for the right of self-determination of these nations as a crucial part of the Russian revolution.

Also, as early as 1905, during the period of the revolutionary upsurge in Russia at that time, Lenin set forth in his famous work "Two Tactics Of Social-Democracy In The Democratic Revolution" the need for the proletariat to unite with the masses of peasantry to overthrow the Tsarist autocracy as the first step and necessary stage of the Russian revolution at that time. Lenin pointed out that the bourgeoisie in Russia could not and would not carry through the democratic revolution and only the united efforts of the workers and the masses of peasants, under the leadership of the proletariat and its Party, could accomplish this task. At the same time Lenin pointed out that the democratic revolution was, for the proletariat, not an end in itself, but a necessary step in order to be able to advance to the socialist revolution. In "Two Tactics," Lenin wrote:

"The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry is unquestionably only a transient, temporary socialist aim, but to ignore this aim in the period of a democratic revolution would be downright reactionary. . . . While recognizing the incontestably bourgeois nature of a revolution incapable of directly overstepping the bounds of a mere democratic revolution our slogan advances this particular revolution and strives to give it forms most advantageous to the proletariat; consequently, it strives to make the utmost of the democratic revolution in order to attain the greatest success in the proletariat's further struggle for socialism."

Lenin summed up the road to socialism in Russia in this formulation: the working class must fight to carry through the democratic revolution with the mass of peasantry as its reliable ally in this struggle; then it must advance the struggle, fighting to achieve the proletarian-socialist revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the mass of poor peasants and the semi-proletarian elements, in the countryside in particular, as its most reliable ally. (For the remarks by Lenin quoted and summarized in the paragraphs just above, see Lenin, Vol. 9, pp. 86, 87 and 100, in particular)

Although the 1905 Revolution was crushed in Russia, in February 1917 the Tsarist autocracy was overthrown through a mass upsurge. At that point Lenin summed up that the bourgeois democratic revolution had been carried as far as it could be in Russia and that the next immediate and necessary stage of struggle was the fight for proletarian dictatorship and the establishment of socialism. And in fact in that year in October the proletarian-socialist revolution did succeed in Russia.

This brought basic changes in the world; it marked the establishment of the first socialist state and, together with the changes brought by imperialism, made possible the transformation of the national liberation movements in the colonies. Speaking of its general character, the national liberation struggle in colonial countries was no longer part of the old bourgeois democratic movement, part of the old capitalist revolution leading to the rule of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of capitalism,

but became a component part of the world proletarian socialist revolution, an ally of the proletariat in the capitalist countries in its struggle against imperialism and for socialism on a world scale. Writing in 1918, Stalin summed up this development:

"The great world-wide significance of the October Revolution chiefly consists in the fact that:

"(1) It has widened the scope of the national question and converted it from the particular question of combating national oppression in Europe into the general question of emancipating the oppressed peoples, colonies and semi-colonies from imperialism;

"(2) It has opened up wide possibilities for their emancipation and the right paths towards it, has thereby greatly facilitated the cause of the emancipation of the oppressed peoples of the West and the East, and has drawn them into the common current of the victorious struggle against imperialism;

"(3) It has thereby erected a bridge between the socialist West and the enslaved East, having created a new front of revolutions against world imperialism, extending from the proletarians of the West, through the Russian revolution, to the oppressed peoples of the East." (Stalin, "The October Revolution And The National Question," Vol. 4, pp. 169-170)

Lenin and Stalin Analyze Developments

In the several years following the victory of the October Revolution in Russia in 1917, Lenin and Stalin not only analyzed the change in the general character of the colonial movements, but paid particular attention to the development of these movements and the forging of the correct policies of the communists in relation to them. Lenin gave direction to the Third International (the Communist International or Comintern) in its first years in developing its line on the national colonial question and in particular its line and work in relation to the colonial liberation movements of the East.


The victory of the October Revolution in Russia had spread Marxism-Leninism throughout the world and given impetus to the formation of communist parties built in the Marxist-Leninist style and with a Marxist-Leninist line, including in many of the colonial countries. This was also a factor of tremendous significance and strengthened the role of the proletariat in fighting for leadership of the national liberation struggle in the colonies and directing it through the completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution to the stage of socialism.

At the Second Congress of the Comintern Lenin led the commission on the national and colonial questions, and in a report on that subject he stressed on the one hand the need for communists to give full support to and strive to carry forward the national liberation movement in the colonies and on the other hand the need to maintain the independence of the communists and strengthen the revolutionary forces within these national liberation movements.

Further, the question was posed and answered by Lenin as to whether or not it would be possible for these countries to advance to socialism without having to go through the stage of capitalism. In his report of the commission on the national and colonial questions at this Congress of the Comintern Lenin wrote the following on this question:

"The question was posed as follows: are we to consider as correct the assertion that the capitalist stage

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Mao...

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of economic development is inevitable for backward nations now on the road to emancipation and among whom a certain advance towards progress is to be seen since the war? We replied in the negative. If the victorious revolutionary proletariat conducts systematic propaganda among them, and the Soviet governments come to their aid with all the means at their disposal—in that event it will be mistaken to assume that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development. Not only should we create independent contingents of fighters and party organizations in the colonies and the backward countries, not only at once launch propaganda for the organisation of peasants' Soviets and strive to adapt them to the pre-capitalist conditions, but the Communist International should advance the proposition, with the appropriate theoretical grounding, that with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage." (Lenin, "Report Of The Commission On The National And The Colonial Questions," included in "The Second Congress Of The Communist International," Vol. 31, p. 244)

At the same time Lenin concluded that "The necessary means for this cannot be indicated in advance." (Lenin, *ibid*)

After Lenin's death, Stalin not only led in building socialism in the Soviet Union, but in giving support to and helping to formulate the line for revolutionary struggles throughout the world, including in the colonial countries, China in particular. In several speeches and articles during the period of the revolutionary upsurge in China in the years 1924-27, Stalin helped to analyze

CP(ML)...

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the transition to the *abolition of all classes and to a classless society.*" (Marx's italics) Should we condemn Marx as well as Mao?

New Definition of Communism

By saying that the dictatorship of the proletariat should not "remove from society the basis of all class distinctions," as they do, the CP(ML) is either inventing a new definition of communism in which all class distinctions are *not* eliminated, or they are inventing a whole new stage in history previously undreamed of by anyone (at least any Marxist)—a stage *in between* socialism (class society under working class rule) and communism (the complete abolition of classes), thereby completely negating the historical role of the working class. In either case this "creative development" of Marxism is in reality simply revisionism, just like Khrushchev and his like have cooked up.

It may be alright for the working class to overthrow the old bourgeoisie, but the workers must not go too far and are especially forbidden to root out new capitalist elements and the soil from which they grow, says the CP(ML), singing a modern revisionist tune. This is certainly the point of view of the newborn bourgeoisie themselves—or of petty bourgeois opportunists whose aspirations run in the same direction.

The CP(ML) quotes Lenin from *State and Revolution*, saying that "the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat" is the dividing line between Marxism and opportunism. But with this the CP(ML) is simply calling attention to their own naked opportunism. In the same work, Lenin denounces those opportunists who recognize the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat "in general" while robbing the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat of its revolutionary content. The CP(ML) pays lip service to the dictatorship of the proletariat "in general" in the same way they want us to believe that Marx used the word "generally"—meaning sort of and really not at all.

All this makes clear why the CP(ML) resorts to attacking our article as "long and tedious." Their silly and superficial reply shows that for them, anything with substance is tedious. And as for length, even one sentence of Marxism is too much, while reams of revisionism is just fine with them.

It would be interesting and useful to explore why the CP(ML) feels compelled to jump out and attack this most basic point of Marxism right now, other than their general wallowing in the mud of a revisionist line. But such an analysis lies outside the scope of this article. Nevertheless, we're glad to see this revisionist garbage hang out, right where everybody can see it and it can be criticized by all. We welcome the occasion of their "criticism" to reaffirm our stand with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. ■

the specific features of the Chinese revolution: the fact that it was an anti-imperialist struggle; the fact that the feudal domination of the countryside and the feudal exploitation of the peasantry played a central role in the Chinese economy, and therefore that the agrarian revolution in China was at the heart of the struggle and closely linked with the anti-imperialist struggle of the Chinese nation; and that the proletariat could and must lead the bourgeois democratic revolution and advance the movement through and beyond that stage to the stage of socialist revolution. Further, Stalin pointed out that from the beginning in China the armed revolution was fighting the armed counter-revolution and that this was both a specific feature and a specific advantage in the Chinese revolution.

Mao on the Chinese Revolution

Thus Stalin helped to analyze some of the basic features of the Chinese revolution. But it was Mao Tsetung who, taking part in the Chinese revolution and applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to it, fully developed and elaborated the basic line, theory and strategy of the new democratic revolution.

From its earliest stages, Mao had recognized that the Chinese revolution would be characterized by the tremendously powerful and central role of the peasant uprising and the peasant agrarian revolution. This was in opposition to various opportunist and erroneous lines within the Chinese Communist Party which wrote off the Chinese peasantry as a revolutionary force and which attempted to center the struggle in the cities and/or to make it a one stage struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, thereby erroneously trying to bypass the stage of bourgeois democratic struggle under the leadership of the proletariat. Mao's line was also in opposition to right wing opportunists within the CCP who attempted to surrender leadership of the revolution to the bourgeois and landlord classes—and deny the need for the independence and initiative of the proletariat and its Communist Party, and for the Communist Party to arm the masses and lead them as the mainstay of the armed struggle and in defeating the counter-revolutionary violence of the reactionary forces with the revolutionary violence of the masses.

In 1927, Mao wrote a very important work, "Report On An Investigation Of The Peasant Movement in Hunan," in which he stressed the central role of the hundreds of millions of peasants in China in the revolutionary movement. In that work he stated very powerfully:

"For the present upsurge of the peasant movement is a colossal event. In a very short time, in China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep away all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves. Every revolutionary party and every revolutionary comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them? Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly."

"Terrible," this mass upsurge of the peasants, a question of "going too far," as some, including a number of people within the Communist Party, whimpered and complained? No, it was fine, for as Mao reminded these people in combatting their Confucian outlook: "a revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another. A rural revolution is a

revolution by which the peasantry overthrows the power of the feudal landlord class. Without using the greatest force, the peasants cannot possibly overthrow the deep-rooted authority of the landlords which has lasted for thousands of years. The rural areas need a mighty revolutionary upsurge, for it alone can rouse the people in their millions to become a powerful force. All the actions mentioned here which have been labelled as 'going too far' flow from the power of the peasants, which has been called forth by the mighty revolutionary upsurge in the countryside." (Mao, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 23-24, 28-29)

Correctly basing himself on the central role of the agrarian revolution and the upsurge of the peasants in China, as well as other specific features of Chinese society at that time which flowed from its semi-colonial, semi-feudal nature, Mao made the all-important strategic analysis that the road to the seizure of power through armed struggle lay not in insurrection in the cities followed by civil war but in establishing base areas in the countryside and, with the proletariat and its Party as the leading force, mobilizing the mass of peasants as the main force to wage a protracted people's war to encircle and finally seize the cities. This was, in fact, the road that Mao led the Chinese people in taking in winning nationwide victory, liberating China and advancing to socialism, through the course of more than 20 years. While, of course, this has all to do with the question of Mao's contributions in the area of military strategy—a subject which will be dealt with in a future article in this series—it was an indispensable part of Mao's development of the basic line for revolutions in countries like China and still has great relevancy and importance today.

As early as 1926, Mao had posed and answered a crucial question in any revolutionary movement: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution." Mao answered this by making an analysis of the classes in Chinese society which he concluded as follows:

"To sum up, it can be seen that our enemies are all those in league with imperialism—the warlords, the bureaucrats, the comprador class, the big landlord class and the reactionary section of the intelligentsia attached to them. The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat. Our closest friends are the entire semi-proletariat and petty bourgeoisie. As for the vacillating middle bourgeoisie, their right-wing may become our enemy and their left-wing may become our friend—but we must be constantly on our guard and not let them create confusion within our ranks." ("Analysis Of The Classes In Chinese Society," Mao, *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 13, 19)

Mao pointed out in particular, not only at this point, but in leading the Chinese revolution through the entire stage of new democracy, that the question of the role of the Chinese bourgeoisie in the Chinese revolution was of special importance. He noted for example that in Russia, while there was a stage of bourgeois democratic revolution, nevertheless even in that stage, the bourgeoisie in Russia was not an ally of the proletariat as it was in China. Mao stated some years later, during the period of the anti-Japanese war when the united front was extended and larger sections of the bourgeoisie were included in it in order to unite all who could be united against the Japanese, that "It is through this kind of complex relationship with the Chinese bourgeoisie that the Chinese revolution and the Communist Party of China have progressed in their development. This is a special historical feature, a feature peculiar to the revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries and not to be found in the revolutionary history of any capitalist country." ("Introducing The Communist," Mao, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 286-287)

Firmly Based on Class Analysis

Mao noted in the same work that the specific relationship...
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Red Army fighters in one of the counter-campaigns against the Kuomintang's "encirclement and suppression" efforts.

Mao...

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tion between the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese bourgeoisie in the Chinese revolution was such that at times the proletariat was able to establish a revolutionary united front with the bourgeoisie and at other times, owing to the actions of the imperialists and the Chinese bourgeoisie, it was forced to break off this united front. What characterized Mao's analysis and approach here and at all times was that it was firmly based on class analysis. Moreover, the various policies and lines that were adopted during the different phases of the new democratic revolution were always rooted in this method of class analysis and within the Party, and as far as possible among the masses, the class basis of the actions of various forces in Chinese society was thoroughly explained.

When, in the revolution of 1924-27, Chiang Kai-shek turned traitor to the Chinese people and turned his guns against the Chinese masses, murdering tens of thousands of communists and other working people, Mao explained that Chiang's usurpation of the reins of the Kuomintang, previously a revolutionary organization made up of different class forces and including the Communists, and the overall treachery on the part of Chiang Kai-shek was due to the fact that he represented the big bourgeoisie and landlords in China who were allied with imperialism, in particular U.S. and British imperialism. When later, after the Japanese had invaded the northern provinces of China and were preparing to invade southward throughout China as a whole, the Chinese Communist Party proposed a truce and then a united front with the Kuomintang and even with Chiang Kai-shek at a certain point, the class basis for this was further explained. Mao made clear that Chiang Kai-shek's nature had not changed, that he and the class forces he represented were still dependent on and lackeys of U.S. and British imperialism in China, but owing to the contradictions among the imperialists and in particular between British and U.S. imperialism on the one side, and Japanese imperialism on the other, it was possible to build a united front with Chiang Kai-shek and the forces he represented. Further Mao made clear that it was necessary to build such a united front in order to concentrate the struggle of the Chinese nation as a whole against Japan, which was attempting to reduce China from the status of a semi-colony to that of an outright colony of Japan.

For several years after the initial Japanese invasion in 1931, Chiang Kai-shek refused to enter into any united front and instead directed his main forces against the Communist Party, attempting time and again to "encircle and suppress" them—in fact to wipe them out. During this period, beginning with the betrayal by Chiang Kai-shek and his massacre of communists and other working people in 1927, the Chinese Communist Party was forced to and did wage a 10-year civil war, in which to a large degree it was forced to break off its united front with the bourgeoisie, since most sections of it followed and supported Chiang Kai-shek and his reactionary coup within the Kuomintang and his reactionary role within Chinese society as a whole.

Nevertheless, within the Communist Party Mao led a struggle against various erroneous and opportunist lines which, even after the initial Japanese invasion of 1931, refused to go along with the policy of developing the broadest possible united front to resist Japan and defeat its efforts to reduce China to its colony. Owing to these and other sectarian errors and "ultra left" mistakes, the Communist Party, which had under Mao's leadership established base areas in the countryside, was during the period of the 10-year civil war weakened in its resistance to the continuous attacks by Chiang Kai-shek's forces; it was at various times isolated from sections of the people, including masses of people in the countryside.

Because of this in 1934 the Communist Party, together with the armed forces under its leadership, was forced to abandon its base areas and to embark on what became, as Mao called it, a "historic monument," the Long March, which in its course of more than one year involved fighting on the average more than one battle a day and carving a path of thousands of miles through China. This became a crucial turning point in the Chinese revolution. Though large numbers of the Communist Party and the armed forces under its leadership were lost during the course of the Long March, it was nevertheless brought to a victorious conclusion. As a result, during the course of the Long March, the basic line of Mao Tsetung and his leadership was consolidated within the Chinese Communist Party in early 1935.

While this set the Chinese Party on the correct road, it was not until years later in the early 1940s, during a stage of stalemate in the war, that the opportunist lines were thoroughly uprooted in an all around way. Mao led a rectification campaign within the Party which was aimed against subjectivism and in particular tendencies that failed to combine the universal truths



Comrade Mao Tsetung talks with peasants in Yen-an in 1939.

of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. This campaign considerably raised the Marxist-Leninist level of the Party as a whole.

United Front Formed

It was on the basis of the triumph of Mao's line during the Long March that the Communist Party was able to formulate, struggle for and finally achieve the united front against Japan. Finally in late 1936, Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped and held by two of his own generals who supported the Communist Party's call for a united front and Chiang was forced to agree to this united front. Forming such a united front with the Kuomintang required certain adjustments in the struggle within China. In particular, in the countryside it required stepping back from the policy of confiscating the land of landlords and distributing this land among the peasants, replacing this policy with the more limited policy of rent and interest reductions.

Mao led a struggle within the Communist Party to unite the Party around this adjustment, while at the same time opposing the line of class capitulation, of subordinating the Communist Party and the armed forces under its leadership to the Kuomintang and the Kuomintang's armed forces, a line which would in fact have led to defeat in the War of Resistance against Japan and the slaughter and suppression of communists and the masses of working people, including the peasants in the liberated areas, at the hands of Chiang Kai-shek.

Mao pointed out that on the one hand the class struggle within China had to be adjusted in conformity with the anti-Japanese war of resistance, but on the other hand, as he stressed, the class struggle continued to exist independent of anyone's will. It could not be denied, still less could it be abolished, but it could and must be adjusted. And while it was absolutely necessary to form the broadest possible united front including sections of the big bourgeoisie and some landlords in order to defeat Japanese aggression, at the same time, within that united front, the Communist Party must continue to fight for and exercise its independence and initiative in every sphere, including the military sphere. It must in no way subordinate itself to the big bourgeoisie, the landlords or any other class forces, but must instead fight for leadership of the united front.

Throughout this period of the united front, right up until the defeat of the Japanese aggressors in 1945, Chiang Kai-shek and those following him continued to direct their fire against the Communist Party and the armed forces and liberated base areas under its leadership. The Kuomintang refused to even carry out the policy of rent and interest reduction, which represented, as noted before, a compromise, an adjustment, on the part of the Communist Party itself in the interests of the broad united front against Japan. The Kuomintang consistently attacked the Communist Party for carrying out such reforms in the countryside and for striving to establish the democratic rights of the masses of people throughout China as a whole.

In "On Coalition Government," the political report delivered by Mao to the 7th Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1945, on the eve of the victory of the anti-Japanese war, Mao summed up among other things the struggle around the question of reforms, particularly in the countryside. He noted that:

"In the absence of political reforms all the productive forces are being ruined, and this is true both of

agriculture and of industry. By and large, it will be impossible to develop industry unless China is independent, free, democratic and united."

In other words, everything then hinged on defeating the Japanese and carrying through the new democratic revolution. For, as Mao went on to point out:

"In semi-colonial, semi-feudal and divided China, many people have for years dreamed of developing industry, building up national defence, and bringing well-being to the people and prosperity and power to the nation, but all their dreams have been shattered. Many well-intentioned educators, scientists and students have buried themselves in their own work or studies and paid no attention to politics in the belief that they could serve the country with their knowledge, but this too has turned out to be a dream, a dream that has been shattered. This indeed is a good sign, for the shattering of these childish dreams marks a starting-point on China's road towards prosperity and strength. The Chinese people have learned many things in the war; they know that after the defeat of the Japanese aggressors they must build a new-democratic China enjoying independence, freedom, democracy, unity, prosperity and strength, all of which are interrelated and indispensable. If they do so, then a bright future lies before China. The productive forces of the Chinese people will be released and given every possibility to develop only when the political system of New Democracy obtains in all parts of China. More and more people are coming to understand this point every day." (Mao, *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 252-253)

The basic principle that revolution was the motive force in society and the basis for releasing the productive forces, that the liberation of the Chinese nation and the Chinese working people in particular and the building of a prosperous country meeting the needs of the masses of people all depended on "putting politics in command," as Mao said—this was a fundamental truth that Mao repeatedly emphasized, not only in carrying through the new democratic revolution to victory but in the period of socialist revolution that followed upon this victory.

Combat Capitulationism

As pointed out before, there were forces within the Communist Party itself, some of whom had originally opposed the formation of the united front against Japan, who once that united front was formed flipped over to an outright capitulationist policy and advocated the virtual or even actual submission of the Communist Party and the armed forces and even the liberated areas under its leadership to the control of the Kuomintang. In waging a very sharp struggle within the Communist Party to defeat these tendencies Mao pointed out the relationship between a line of class capitulation put forward within the Communist Party and a line of national capitulation to Japanese imperialism with regard to the struggle of the Chinese nation as a whole. Mao showed how these two capitulationist tendencies were linked together and mutually reinforced each other. (See, for example, "The Situation And Tasks In The Anti-Japanese War After The Fall Of Shanghai And Taiyuan," written November, 1937, in Mao's *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 61-70.)

Only the proletariat and its Communist Party, as Mao repeatedly stressed and struggled for, could lead a thorough-going resistance to Japan and could carry the struggle through to complete victory. Only the

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Mao ...

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proletariat and its Communist Party could, in the concrete historical conditions of China and the international situation, lead the bourgeois democratic revolution in China to victory, let alone lead it forward to the stage of socialist revolution.

Throughout the period of the Anti-Japanese United Front and the war of resistance to Japan, as throughout the Chinese revolution as a whole, Mao not only based the line and policy of the Communist Party on the analysis of the class forces within China and the situation in the country as a whole but on an analysis of the international situation at each of its different stages and of the class forces involved in the struggle in the international arena. When, in September 1939, World War 2 broke out, Mao immediately analyzed its imperialist character on both sides and stressed that:

"On whichever side, the Anglo-French or the German, the war that has just broken out is an unjust, predatory and imperialist war. The Communist Parties and the people of all countries should rise up against it and expose the imperialist character of both belligerents, for this imperialist war brings only harm and no benefit whatever to the people of the world, and they should expose the criminal acts of the social-democratic parties in supporting the imperialist war and betraying the interests of the proletariat. . . . Germany started the war in order to plunder the Polish people and smash one flank of the Anglo-French imperialist front. By its nature, Germany's war is imperialist and should be opposed, not approved. As for Britain and France, they have regarded Poland as an object of plunder for their finance capital, exploited her to thwart the German imperialist attempt at a world re-division of the spoils, and made her a flank of their own imperialist front. Thus their war is an imperialist war, their so-called aid to Poland being merely for the purpose of contending with Germany for the domination of Poland, and this war, too, should be opposed, not approved." ("The Identity Of Interests Between The Soviet Union And All Mankind," Mao *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 277, 279)

On the other hand Mao continued to correctly apply the policy of making use of contradictions among the reactionary forces, including between the two imperialist blocs engaged in the imperialist war at that time. This made it possible to continue the united front with Chiang Kai-shek, the lackey of U.S. and British imperialism, and on the basis of the broadest possible unity to wage resistance to Japanese aggression in China without falling into the policy of siding with one imperialist bloc against the other. The fact that

the overall character of the world war then was imperialist did not negate the revolutionary role of the Chinese nation's war of resistance against Japan and vice versa.

Independence and Initiative in United Front

Crucial to maintaining a revolutionary line in this situation and correctly grasping and handling the relationship between the struggle in China and the international struggle was the question of maintaining the independence and initiative of the Communist Party and the armed forces and liberated areas under its leadership. Without this the Communist Party would have, in fact, led masses of Chinese people into joining with and depending upon one imperialist bloc in the situation of inter-imperialist war. Exactly by maintaining and fighting for initiative and independence was it possible for the Communist Party to continue to correctly maintain the united front and wage the war of resistance against Japan.

Later, the German attack on the Soviet Union in 1941 brought a change in the overall character of World War 2 from an inter-imperialist war to one whose main character and objective overall was the defense of socialism and the victory of those forces allied with the Soviet Union. In these circumstances Mao continued to oppose the line, which grew stronger during that period, of subordinating the Communist Party, and the armed forces and liberated areas under its leadership, to the Kuomintang and its British and U.S. masters. He continued to fight for the policy of maintaining independence and initiative and to struggle for the leadership of the proletariat in the anti-Japanese war. Once again, in doing this Mao based himself on a class analysis of the various forces in China and on an international level. And once again, it is this correct method and this correct line which led to the victory of the Chinese people in the anti-Japanese war and prevented Chiang Kai-shek and his imperialist masters from seizing the fruits of victory of the Chinese people's heroic struggle.

As an important part of revolutionary strategy Mao knew how to take account of and utilize contradictions in the reactionary camp in order to advance the revolution at each point. But he also knew and armed people with an understanding of the difference between such contradictions and the basic contradiction between the people and the reactionaries. This was decisive both for carrying through the revolution at the particular stage and for building up the revolutionary forces of the masses and preparing to carry the revolution forward to the next stage and ultimately to complete victory.

New-Democratic Revolution

It was during the anti-Japanese war in particular

that Mao further developed the theory and strategy of new democracy and its application to the concrete conditions in China at that time. "The Chinese Revolution And The Chinese Communist Party," written in December, 1939, and "On New Democracy," written in January, 1940, are both major works of this period in which Mao further developed and elaborated the line of new democratic revolution. In "The Chinese Revolution And The Chinese Communist Party," in particular, Mao further developed the class analysis he first made in "Analysis Of The Classes in Chinese Society," in 1926 and specifically applied class analysis to the situation at that time and to the alignment of the various forces in China in the anti-Japanese war.

Further, in that same work, in setting forth the character of the Chinese revolution, Mao thoroughly explained:

"What, indeed, is the character of the Chinese revolution at the present stage? Is it a bourgeois-democratic or a proletarian-socialist revolution? Obviously, it is not the latter but the former. . . .

"However, in present-day China the bourgeois-democratic revolution is no longer of the old general type, which is now obsolete, but one of a new special type. We call this type the new-democratic revolution and it is developing in all other colonial and semi-colonial countries as well as in China. The new-democratic revolution is part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution, for it resolutely opposes imperialism, *i.e.*, international capitalism. Politically, it strives for the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes over the imperialists, traitors and reactionaries, and opposes the transformation of Chinese society into a society under bourgeois dictatorship. Economically, it aims at the nationalization of all the big enterprises and capital of the imperialists, traitors and reactionaries, and the distribution among the peasants of the land held by the landlords, while preserving private capitalist enterprise in general and not eliminating the rich-peasant economy. Thus, the new type of democratic revolution clears the way for capitalism on the one hand and creates the prerequisites for socialism on the other. The present stage of the Chinese revolution is a stage of transition between the abolition of the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society and the establishment of a socialist society, *i.e.*, it is a process of new-democratic revolution. This process, begun only after the First World War and the Russian October Revolution, started in China with the May 4th Movement of 1919. A new-democratic revolution is an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution of the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat. Chinese society can advance to socialism only through such a revolution; there is no other way." ("The Chinese Revolution And The Chinese Communist Party," Mao, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 326-327) In concluding this work, Mao sums up the development of the Chin-

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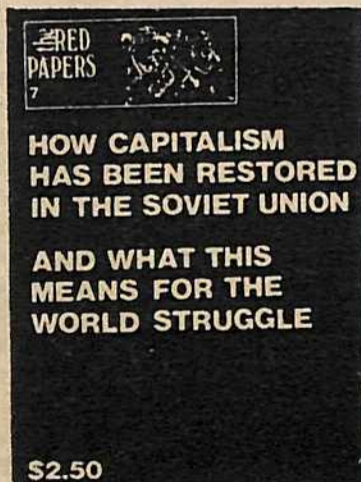
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Mao...

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ese Revolution as follows:

"To complete China's bourgeois-democratic revolution (the new-democratic revolution) and to transform it into a socialist revolution when all the necessary conditions are ripe—such is the sum total of the great and glorious revolutionary task of the Chinese Communist Party. . . . The democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the democratic revolution. The ultimate aim for which all communists strive is to bring about a socialist and communist society. A clear understanding of both the differences and the interconnections between the democratic and the socialist revolutions is indispensable to correct leadership in the Chinese revolution." ("The Chinese Revolution And The Chinese Communist Party," Mao's *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 330-331)

Proletarian Leadership Key

The link between the two revolutions and the necessary condition both for victory in the democratic revolution and the advance to the socialist revolution was the leadership of the proletariat. This is something which Mao consistently fought for and gave leadership in achieving. It was a basic point he explained over and over again, including in this work, and a condition he repeatedly and resolutely struggled inside and outside the Communist Party to realize and develop.

In "On New Democracy" Mao analyzed again the development of the bourgeois democratic revolution in China and the line of new democracy. He explained that new democracy would be the stage of the Chinese revolution for a considerable period and that "In the course of its progress, there may be a number of further sub-stages, because of changes on the enemy's side and within the ranks of our allies, but the fundamental character of the revolution remains unchanged." ("On New Democracy," Mao's *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 344)

Again, in this work, Mao paid particular attention to analyzing the role of the bourgeoisie in the Chinese revolution and explained how it occupied a different place in the struggle than the bourgeoisie in Tsarist Russia. This constituted an important aspect in which the Chinese revolution differed from the Russian revolution, even though in the latter there was a stage of bourgeois democratic revolution preceding the proletarian-socialist revolution. At the same time Mao analyzed the tendency of the Chinese bourgeoisie to conciliate with the enemy and the fact that it was not even as thoroughgoing a revolutionary class in China at that time as were the bourgeoisies of the capitalist countries of the West in the period of the rise of capitalism there. (See "On New Democracy," Mao's *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 349 in particular)

Applying this to the situation in China at that time Mao summed up that "Today, whoever can lead the people in driving out Japanese imperialism and introducing democratic government will be the saviours of the people. History has proved that the Chinese bourgeoisie cannot fulfil this responsibility, which inevitably falls upon the shoulders of the proletariat." ("On New Democracy," Mao's *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 350)

Mao went on to point out that "In present-day China, the anti-Japanese united front represents the new-democratic form of state." ("On New Democracy," Mao's *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 351) This was in accordance not only with the correct analysis of the necessary stage of new democracy in general but also with the particular sub-stage at that time, represented by the struggle of the Chinese nation against Japan and those Chinese traitors who collaborated with it. But, again, not only in this specific sub-stage, but throughout the bourgeois democratic stage of the Chinese revolution, what gave the united front its revolutionary character and what defined this stage of struggle as *new* democracy was, as Mao insisted, the leadership of the proletariat and its Communist Party.

It was this line, this theory and strategy of new democracy, which guided the Chinese proletariat and masses of people and the Chinese nation as a whole in winning victory in the war of resistance against Japan. This victory represented the end of the particular sub-stage within the general stage of new democracy. The defeat of the Japanese could not and did not mean an end to the new democratic revolution in China because it did not yet represent the complete victory of the Chinese people over imperialism and its domestic lackeys, in particular the feudal landlord class and the big bourgeoisie (specifically the bureaucrat capitalists whose accumulation of capital was merged with their ruling position in the state and the one-party dictatorship of the Kuomintang).

Civil War Against KMT

Naturally, with the defeat of Japanese imperialism,

Funds Needed For Party's New Tasks

The defeat of the Jarvis-Bergman headquarters and the success of the Second Congress are truly great victories for the Party and the revolutionary struggle. The Congress not only consolidated a correct line, which is the surest guarantee of continued advance, but mapped out particular areas where the Party can and must make greater strides forward in the coming period.

The Party's ability to fulfill its revolutionary responsibilities to the working class and masses requires the support of revolutionary-minded people; not only political support, which is, of course, most vital, but financial support as well. This is particularly true now, in the wake of the revisionists' wrecking efforts which included appropriating as their private property a sizeable chunk of the Party's resources.

One key way to support the Party is to support its press. The Congress made important decisions concerning the *Worker* newspapers, put out under the Party's leadership in most major cities in the country. These decisions, which will be spelled out more fully in next

month's issue of *Revolution*, include the local *Worker* newspapers in many areas coming out at more frequent intervals. *Revolution* will also be continuing to make advances, including going over beginning next month to a new format which includes typesetting.

All of this will, obviously, increase the expenses of the Party press, which can only be met by donations of the hard-earned money of Party members and supporters. In this light we are making a special appeal for donations of any amount and, particularly, for more of our readers to join the *Revolution* Sustainer Program, which includes a subscription to the *Communist*, the Party's theoretical journal, as well as *Revolution* and all new publications of the Party as released.

The revisionist headquarters tried to prevent the revolutionary voice of the Party from reaching the masses of people. Help us to further deepen our defeat of them and their revisionist obstruction and make the Party's press and the Party as a whole an ever more powerful weapon in the class struggle.

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the U.S. imperialists, together with and through their lackey Chiang Kai-shek, attempted to seize the fruits of this victory. Mao led the Chinese Communist Party in skillfully negotiating with the Kuomintang, even making certain concessions while refusing to compromise basic principles, refusing to give up arms and disband its armed forces and refusing to capitulate to and subordinate itself to U.S. imperialism and its lackeys represented by Chiang Kai-shek.

The line of the Chinese Communist Party under Mao's leadership, during and with the victory of the anti-Japanese war, had been to bring about the dismantling of Chiang Kai-shek's one-party dictatorship, representing the interests of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and replace it with the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes in China, led by the proletariat. This was the form of state power corresponding to the stage of new democracy. And it was the basic form of rule that was exercised in the

liberated areas under the leadership of the Communist Party.

But Chiang Kai-shek, with his imperialist backers, especially in the U.S., refused to accept this. Not only did they continue to attack the Communist Party and the armed forces and liberated areas under its leadership all during the anti-Japanese war, but right after the victory in that war they made preparations for and launched an all-out assault, attempting to impose their reactionary rule throughout China. But the result was exactly the opposite. Because of the correct line and leadership of Mao Tsetung, when Chiang Kai-shek did unleash civil war the Chinese Communist Party was able to expose and increasingly isolate and defeat Chiang Kai-shek's forces, to expand the liberated areas and, through a battle of three years, drive Chiang Kai-shek from the mainland and liberate almost all of China, bringing the new democratic revolution to a triumphant

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New Outrage In Torres Case

Another despicable outrage has come down in the Joe Torres case. Torres was the 23 year old Chicano veteran who was brutally beaten and drowned by three Houston cops last year. The dogs who murdered him were convicted of manslaughter last year and given a \$1.00 fine each and a year's probation. The people of Houston were furious, and hundreds marched to demand that the killers be jailed for life. Only then did the federal courts step in and indict the cops in an effort to cool out the mass struggle. And the result of the trial? Ten years *probation* for civil rights violations, one year in jail for assault.

The people who jammed the halls of the Federal Building erupted in anger and streamed out to join the picket lines organized by People United to Fight Police Brutality. This continued the year-long campaign against the murderers of Joe Torres.

From beginning to end, the Torres case has been

a real eye-opener for the people of Houston. Through it a great many people have come to see more clearly the nature of the capitalist state, in all its component parts, as an instrument to suppress the masses of people and protect the rule of the rich. In addition, Houston's Chicano community has seen first hand the treachery of certain reformist "leaders" who have done nothing but sabotage the struggle against those responsible for Joe Torres' murder.

These forces, such as LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens) and State Senator Ben Reyes have fronted for the interests of the capitalists in this struggle from the beginning. After the infamous \$1.00 fine came down, these forces launched a full scale attack complete with newspaper ads and leaflets. But it was not an attack on the killers of Torres or those that whitewashed them, but an attack on those like People United to Fight Police Brutality and other forces who organized struggle against this vindication of murder. (See *Revolution*, November 1977) They called on the people to "keep cool!" and assured them that the federal government would step in and set everything straight.

And what have these forces done now that the federal government has acted and also vindicated the killer cops? They held a silent march to City Hall to demand "more Mexican-Americans being appointed to federal positions." This was the final straw for many of the activists in Houston who had been fighting for justice for Joe Torres. They weren't about to let these creeps who had done nothing but sabotage the struggle ride it for some fat, fancy jobs.

People United led dozens of people right to where these "community leaders" were assembled, and chanted "We Don't Want High Positions, We Want Justice Now!" With their ranks swelled to over 100, People United marched to the steps of the police station and resolved to continue the struggle to the end—uniting all nationalities against police brutality and against the capitalists' vicious oppression of minority people. ■

Rut...

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adoption of what they considered a "left idealist" Report. Not only did they not unite in implementing the Report, they tried to undermine and sabotage it at every turn.

Eclecticism Vs. Dialectical Materialism

In opposing the Party's correct line, they relied heavily on eclecticism, one of the hallmarks of the Jarvis-Bergman headquarters. This method, again, was to seize upon a clearly secondary aspect of a thing and put it on a par (and in reality, above) the principal aspect. In place of the dialectical method of dividing one into two, they applied the revisionist method of combining two into one. On the one hand this, and on the other hand that, became a convenient way for the Jarvis-Bergman headquarters to oppose the line of the Party under the guise of being "all-sided."

For example the '76 Central Committee Report put great emphasis on the fact that the non-revolutionary situation of today is a period of quantitative buildup for the qualitative change that takes place with the development of a revolutionary situation. At the same time the Report noted that there was quality within quantity and that, relative to the whole period of quantitative buildup, it is possible to make qualitative advances. This latter point was, of course, secondary to the main point made in the Report—that our work today must be done with the orientation of preparing for a qualitatively different situation, a revolutionary situation, developing in the future. And the whole Report was completely opposed to the revisionist view of a simple straight line development without disorder or qualitative leaps. The Jarvis-Bergman headquarters emphasized, predictably, simply the point of making qualitative advances in today's situation to negate the whole point of conducting *revolutionary* work in a non-revolutionary situation. For example, they seized upon the correct formulation in the CC Report of the importance of "leading big battles with small forces" and tried to make this the most essential task put forward for today's period. Even this they distorted so it had nothing to do with the "single spark" strategy put forward in the Party *Programme*, but was simply a recipe for staging occasional public relations fanfares plus being involved in and narrowly promoting trade union struggles.

They tried to derail and sabotage the study of the CC Report by starting, in parts of the Party under their control, their own campaign of the "general resides in the particular." This was, once again, an example of seizing on a correct point and distorting and perverting it to defeat the correct line. They promoted the empiricist view that since the "universal resides in the particular" the whole universal truth of Marxism could be drawn out of any *one* (or a few) single particulars.

Actually, they made no efforts to draw any Marxism whatsoever out of particular contradictions. Instead, they were using this formulation to oppose the correct emphasis the Party was giving to the importance of arming the workers with an understanding of the laws of capitalism and class struggle underlying every event in society. They were completely incapable of understanding Lenin's admonition that the communist ideal is to be "tribunes of the people" and not trade union secretaries.

Since they opposed the Party taking up its political tasks among the masses, they saw no reason to train the Party members in Marxism-Leninism to be able to carry out the kind of "strictly Marxist work" the Party was calling for. They opposed making education in the Party's general line the lifeblood of Party branches and instead sought to turn them into clubs for working out tactics for common reforms.

Factional Activity

Increasingly the revisionist opposition to the Party's correct line grew further organized into a tight-knit faction opposed to the Party's principles of democratic centralism and its organized structure. While only sometimes bringing their disagreements with the Party's line out openly in leadership meetings, and then backing down and pretending agreement where they could not get over, the revisionist leaders tried to consolidate those sections of the Party under their command around their own anti-Party line. This was coupled with flagrant factional activity such as secret faction meetings before official Party bodies met, going around Party channels constantly and launching vicious rumor campaigns directed at leading comrades the revisionists felt stood in their way.

All of this type of activity goes to illustrate the truth that of Mao Tsetung's instructions—"Practice Marxism, not revisionism. Unite, don't split. Be open and above-board, don't intrigue and conspire"—the first

is the key principle on which the others depend. Since they do not have a Marxist line, Jarvis and Bergman were unable to have any hope of winning the Party to it through open and aboveboard struggle. Since they put their own careers and their own "stake" as "big-shots" above the interests of the masses and the revolution, they did not seek unity but took a splitting course.

The opportunist opposition became a consolidated revisionist line and headquarters and could no longer exist in the same organization with the Party's revolutionary line and its further deepening of that line. The Party faced a crossroads: either continue and deepen the victory won with the founding of the Party, as represented by the unity around its correct line; or be dragged down, degenerate and die in infancy as a revolutionary party, split into impotent factions or transformed into a lifeless reformist plaything.

Late 1977 Central Committee

All of this came to a head at the Third Plenary of the First Central Committee in late 1977. The Central Committee met to discuss vitally important developments which served to concentrate the two lines within the Party. And the resolution of this at the Central Committee was that the revisionist line and splitting and wrecking activities of these opportunists were rejected and repudiated and a revolutionary line was upheld in firm opposition to revisionism. In future issues of *Revolution* we will further explore and analyze some of these questions.

In the face of their crushing defeat at the CC, the Jarvis and Bergman headquarters voted for a Party rectification campaign aimed at eclecticism, pragmatism and factionalism. The CC voted unanimously that there had been an attempt to institute a revisionist line and, failing that, to split the Party. Organizational changes were made and these, too, were approved by unanimous vote, with a few scattered abstentions on some votes. At the same time the CC left open the door to Jarvis, Bergman and others of their clique to unite around the Party's line and remould their outlook in the course of carrying out revolutionary work, in almost all cases in leading positions in the Party, as members of the revisionist headquarters had pledged to do.

However, no sooner had the CC been adjourned than the Jarvis and Bergman clique embarked on a desperate last ditch assault on the Party. They realized that the thorough carrying out of the rectification campaign would mean the end of their factional apparatus and that comrades who had previously been under their influence would overwhelmingly be won to unity around the correct line of the Party. Therefore they made a desperate gamble to pull as many people out of the Party as possible before the questions could be addressed.

They also used some leading positions in various mass organizations including the National United Workers Organization, Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee and Vietnam Veterans Against the War in an attempt to drive a wedge between these groups and the Party, which works in them. They also tried to break off the Party's youth group, the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB).

The revisionist headquarters made a mad scramble to usurp Party resources. Leibel Bergman, especially, was to cap his history in the Party by degenerating into a common criminal. Up to that time he had increasingly pimped off the Party to lead a dissolute lifestyle and, like his revisionism generally, his crimes went from quantity to quality. He ended up grabbing for himself what never belonged to him. This has met with and continues to arouse deep indignation and class hatred throughout the Party toward Bergman and others who committed similar despicable acts.

Puffed Up Claims

The result of all this was that they dragged out somewhat less than one third of the membership of the Party according to an actual count based on official Party records before and after their exit. This is of course far less than they had hoped and less than the inflated claims that they have spread through their own publications as well as the *Call* and other means. The only places they achieved any real "success" were in those areas long under their command and where their factional apparatus was well entrenched. In other areas of the country where they lacked a factional apparatus the overwhelming majority united around the Party's Central Committee and was won to even firmer unity as papers were circulated and the terms of the struggle became clear to all.

In the mass organizations the Jarvis-Bergman clique also fared badly. One after another these groups denounced the attempts of a handful of careerists trying to use them as factional weapons against the Party and divert these groups from their tasks in the class struggle. The attempt to seize the RCYB also met with a humiliating and crushing defeat for the revisionists who were forced to retreat and call their student organization the Revolutionary Student Brigade (an organization which had played an impor-

tant role prior to and in laying the basis for the formation of the RCYB, but had gone out of existence with the formation of the latter).

Of course the Jarvis-Bergman headquarters did cause considerable harm to the Party's work, both in the period when they were still in the Party and were trying to poison it through revisionism and in their frantic splitting and wrecking efforts. Their defeat is an excellent thing indeed and provides the basis for further advances in the Party's revolutionary work and the class struggle overall.

To those whom these revisionists did manage to drag off from the Party with their huffed up whirlwind, it should be obvious, now that the dust has cleared, where these opportunist "rebels" are leading you. The bankruptcy of their line both in regard to this country and internationally should be daily demonstrated in an ever deeper way to all for whom revolutionary spirit and understanding has not been entirely extinguished. One after another in rapid succession, the basic principles upon which the Revolutionary Communist Party was founded are being repudiated by these Menshevik leaders and replaced with deadening revisionism. We call on those misled by these opportunists but who still want to make revolution to wake up, reclaim the revolutionary vigor that moved them to join the Party in the first place and reunite themselves with the forward motion of the proletariat and its Revolutionary Communist Party.

Because the Party is the vanguard of the working class in its revolutionary struggle, it is inevitable that major questions of the class struggle will be concentrated in its ranks. It is as these contradictions emerge and the Party resolves them in the favor of the proletariat and the revolution that the Party makes its greatest advances.

In 1970 a major split occurred in the Revolutionary Union in which a greater section of that organization left under the influence of Bruce Franklin than left the Party in the current two line struggle. Despite those who at the time declared the RU dead as a result, it was precisely the advance made in rupturing with the petty bourgeois infantile "left" line of the Franklins that laid the basis for the RU to grow ideologically, politically and organizationally and play a leading role in the class struggle.

Similarly, in 1974 a major split took place between the RU and forces inside and outside of its ranks over the question of Bundism, the adaptation of Marxism to nationalism. This struggle, too, caused significant temporary losses but resulted in great advances; in fact, it provided an important part of the basis for the formation of the RCP shortly afterwards.

The demise of the Jarvis-Bergman clique is indeed a great victory for the Party and the working class, a victory capped by the Second Congress. On the basis of repudiating the eclecticism, pragmatism and factionalism of the Jarvis-Bergman headquarters the whole Party will grow stronger and be better able to fulfill its revolutionary responsibilities to the masses in this country and worldwide. ■

Cleveland...

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mand that the schools be closed so that teachers could collect unemployment benefits. But the teachers have been finding ways to fight back—refusing to teach class, not taking attendance, calling in sick on a wide scale. Sentiment for a strike has also grown.

The situation in the Cleveland schools is further complicated by the massive busing plan the authorities have in the works. For example many of the 25 schools slated to be closed, most of which are predominantly Black, are the same schools the NAACP went to court to try to have closed in the interests of "integration"! The ruling class is hoping that the busing plan will succeed in pitting Black against white and letting themselves off the hot seat.

The whole mess in the schools has brought one fact into sharp focus: the capitalist system is less and less capable of meeting even the basic needs of the people such as the education of children and the paychecks of school employees. The turmoil around the schools also highlights the importance of the working class taking up and leading this fight, for a working class line alone can keep the struggle on target.

The *Worker* for Northeast Ohio, put out under the leadership of the RCP, has been consistently putting forward a communist view of the situation in the schools through a series of articles and editorials, and is now preparing a pamphlet to be distributed in large numbers. Party members are also linking up with activists among the school employees and the teachers as well as forces in the community. The NUWO has been discussing the schools situation and plans to take it up in a big way following May Day. ■

Attica Brother Dead In Shootout

At two o'clock on the morning of April 2, in the Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto of Brooklyn, Mariano (Dalou) Gonzalez was murdered and Eric "Jomo" Thompson was wounded in a shootout with police that left two cops dead. Both Dalou and Jomo had been actively involved in the Attica prison rebellion of 1971. Jomo was arrested near the scene of the shootout, and was viciously beaten by the cops while en route to the hospital, where he was admitted in critical condition.

New York officials are trying desperately to use the death of the two cops to whip up mass sentiment in favor of reinstating the death penalty, and the bourgeois press is spewing forth lies and sensationalist headlines toward that end: "Cop Hero Gets Death Threat," "5000 Police Attend Funeral," etc. They are even using the occasion to attack the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), since some pro-PLO literature was found in Jomo's car: "Cop Killers Tied to PLO," (New York Post).

But even more, they are resorting to every sort of slander to characterize Dalou and Jomo as ruthless murderers and to draw the conclusion that the Attica rebellion, of which they were a part, was a riot of incorrigible killers who deserved nothing better than the electric chair.

This is a shameless insult to Dalou and Jomo, to all the Attica Brothers who rebelled, and to the masses of people both inside and outside of prison who supported and drew inspiration from the heroic struggle at Attica.

Dalou and Jomo were among the 62 brothers indicted for their roles in the 1971 rebellion. When New York's Governor Carey was forced to grant clemency to most of the brothers in 1976, he was specifically

asked by the State Attorney General to deny clemency to Jomo. As for Dalou, who faced murder charges, his case was set to be the state's last attempt to salvage some "honor" in the legal arena after the other cases fell apart.

Dalou knew that all the indictments against the Attica brothers represented an attempt to whitewash the role of the State in its enforcement of brutal prison conditions and in the murderous assault which ended the rebellion, as well as to teach the lesson that "if you fight back, you'll be crushed." With trumped up charges arrived at by a Grand Jury that was 100% white and 90% relatives of Attica Prison guards and State Troopers, the bourgeoisie's stacked deck was exposed for all to see. Dalou chose not to stand trial, and instead jumped bail.

Politically Active

Dalou and Jomo had both been politically active before the Attica rebellion, in particular helping to organize the prisoners' ranks in the tense months preceding the rebellion. Dalou had been involved in the Young Lords Party before his imprisonment in 1969. In the course of the trials both men made contributions to waging the struggle in a more revolutionary way. Jomo encouraged militant action from supporters in the courtroom during his trials, and Dalou, while on bail, worked within the support movement at the risk of being sent back to jail. (For example, during a 1975 building takeover at the University of Buffalo in support of the Attica Brothers, Dalou was there. He even had to jump out of a second story window to avoid arrest when cops charged into the building.)

Overall both men struggled to drive home the real lesson of Attica: that the oppressed will rise up and break the chains of their oppression, no matter how difficult or painful the fight may be—as a popular slogan put it, "Attica means fight back!" For all these reasons the ruling class had a particularly venomous hatred for these two brothers.

Despite the lies and slander of the bourgeoisie, Dalou Gonzalez and Jomo Thompson represent the fighting spirit of Attica: "It's right to rebel!" The 300 people who attended Dalou's funeral indicated this. The words of L. D. Barkley, a leader of the Attica Rebellion who was murdered by State Troopers, stand as a fitting epitaph for Dalou and all of the slain Attica Brothers: "We are men. We are not beasts, and we do not intend to be beaten or driven as such. . . . What has happened here is but the sound before the fury of those who are oppressed." ■

Mao...

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conclusion and ushering in the socialist era in China.

But again, in the period between the defeat of Japan and the beginning of this final battle for the completion of the new democratic revolution, there was considerable and intense struggle within the Chinese Communist Party over the question of whether or not it was possible to wage struggle against and defeat Chiang Kai-shek, backed as he was by U.S. imperialism. Mao led this struggle within the Chinese Communist Party against those who overestimated the strength of U.S. imperialism, who put too much stock in the atom bomb and believed it to be all-powerful and decisive and who doubted the ability of the Chinese people and the Chinese revolutionary forces to wage a successful war of liberation against U.S. imperialism and its lackey Chiang Kai-shek.

Struggle For Revolutionary Victory

As part of this important and decisive inner-Party struggle Mao wrote an article, "Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation," in April of 1946, in which he stressed that while the Soviet Union would correctly come to certain agreements and compromises with the victorious imperialist states, specifically Britain, France and the United States, nevertheless "Such compromise does not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at home. The people in those countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions."

There is no doubt that here Mao had in mind not only the struggle in the capitalist countries themselves, such as Britain, France and the United States, but also in those areas where these imperialist powers, and the U.S. in particular, were striving to maintain colonial domination in one form or another. As a footnote to this article by Mao Tsetung explained, this document was written "since some comrades overestimated the strength of imperialism, underestimated the strength of the people, feared U.S. imperialism and feared the outbreak of a new world war," and therefore "showed weakness in the face of the armed attacks of the U.S.-

Chiang Kai-shek reactionary gang and dared not resolutely oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war. In this document Comrade Mao Tsetung was combatting such erroneous thinking." (This footnote also explains that "This document was not made public at the time and was circulated only among some leading comrades of the Central Committee. It was distributed at the meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in December 1947. Since the comrades present unanimously agreed with its contents, the full text was later included in 'A Circular on the Decisions Made at the Central Committee Meeting of December 1947,' issued by the Central Committee in January 1948." See Mao's *Selected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 87-88)

This ideological struggle within the Chinese Communist Party was crucial in laying the basis for successfully leading the masses in waging the war of liberation and bringing to a victorious conclusion the new democratic revolution in China. On October 1, 1949 Mao proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese revolution had thus entered the socialist stage through the road of the new democratic revolution. The question of how to advance from a colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal society to a socialist society had in fact been answered. And it was Mao Tsetung who, by taking part in the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to it, had developed the theory and strategy of this historic revolutionary advance.

On the eve of the complete victory of the new democratic revolution, in reviewing its triumphant course and preparing for the next stage of the revolution, Mao summed up the crucial question of proletarian leadership. He recalled how earlier Chinese progressives had looked to the West for China's salvation and took up "the new learning" imported and adopted from there as a weapon against the old feudal culture in China.

"For quite a long time," Mao said, speaking especially of the period from the 1840s to the beginning of the 20th century, "those who had acquired the new learning felt confident that it would save China, and very few of them had any doubts on this score, as the adherents of the old learning had. Only modernization could save China, only learning from foreign countries could modernize China. Among the foreign countries, only the Western capitalist countries were then progressive, as they had successfully built modern bourgeois states. The Japanese had been successful in learning

Iran...

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fascist repression, that has fed this powerful revolutionary upsurge in Iran.

Imperialist Domination and Economic Crisis in Iran

Iran is a sharp and clear example of a formally independent country under neo-colonial domination. Iran is dependent economically, politically and militarily on the imperialist bloc headed up by the U.S. In spite of a rapid growth of oil revenues in the early 1970s that were supposedly going to be used for "national development," Iran today has all the hideous, distorted features of a neo-colony of U.S. imperialism—massive military expenditures eating up over 50% of the national income, policies systematically favoring foreign investors and imports at the expense of national industries and small producers, speculation in nonproductive areas such as real estate, and the flight of capital abroad.

The result: the wholesale destruction of agriculture, stagnation in industry, a 30% inflation rate, endless new taxes, severe shortages of basic necessities, and spreading famine, disease, and illiteracy. These are the grim realities in Iran today, one of U.S. imperialism's favorite "showcases of economic development," along with South Korea, Taiwan, Brazil, etc. As the national economy faces increased bankruptcy, the workings of the imperialist system of robbery and plunder have set into motion hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants, small producers and other oppressed strata against the Shah's regime and imperialism's stranglehold on Iran.

Iran's road to "independent development" is clearly exposed as a fraud in looking at how the regime uses revenue from oil which constitutes 95% of Iran's exports, and on which the Iranian economy is totally dependent. The central newspaper of the regime's Rastakhiz Party stated in mid-1976 that of the \$23.6 billion yearly oil revenue, "\$19 billion serve for payments for imports, nearly \$3 billion are used for investments abroad. . . and \$1.7 billion serve for repayment of foreign loans and loan interests." In other words, the entire oil revenues and more revert to the foreign corporations and financial interests, who in turn pour military hardware and other goods into Iran—a textbook neo-colonial setup.

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from the West, and the Chinese also wished to learn from the Japanese. . . .

"Imperialist aggression shattered the fond dreams of the Chinese about learning from the West. It was very odd—why were the teachers always committing aggression against their pupil? The Chinese learned a good deal from the West, but they could not make it work and were never able to realize their ideals. Their repeated struggles, including such a country-wide movement as the Revolution of 1911, all ended in failure. Day by day, conditions in the country got worse, and life was made impossible. Doubts arose, increased and deepened. World War I shook the whole globe. The Russians made the October Revolution and created the world's first socialist state. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the revolutionary energy of the great proletariat and labouring people of Russia, hitherto latent and unseen by foreigners, suddenly erupted like a volcano, and the Chinese and all mankind began to see the Russians in a new light. Then, and only then, did the Chinese enter an entirely new era in their thinking and their life. They found Marxism-Leninism, the universally applicable truth, and the face of China began to change."

In this way, Mao concluded, China was able to embark on the revolutionary road of new democracy. In this way it was able to advance to "a people's republic led by the working class," to socialism, the real salvation of the Chinese people. (For the remarks from Mao cited above, see "On The People's Democratic Dictatorship," Mao's *Selected Works*, Vol. 4, pp. 413, 414)

Philosophical Contributions

Not only did Mao elaborate the line of new democracy in terms of the political struggle and lead the battle on all fronts to establish the leadership of the proletariat in order to carry through the new democratic revolution and advance to the socialist stage, but he also made important contributions in the sphere of Marxist philosophy as a necessary part of developing, defending and applying the line of new democratic revolution.

In 1937, in the early period of the united front against Japan and the anti-Japanese war, Mao wrote two profound philosophical works, "On Practice" and "On Contradiction." These works made a tremendous contribution to Marxist philosophy in general. But more specifically they were aimed at combatting erroneous tendencies within the Chinese Communist Party at that time regarding the current struggle: both the tendency

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Remnants of the Tabriz headquarters of the Shah's Rastekhez Party after it was sacked and burned by Iranian demonstrators.

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The military buildup in Iran is the direct result of U.S. imperialism's post-Vietnam strategy of setting up regional gendarmes to "share" the "responsibilities" of suppressing the peoples' revolutionary struggles, and of consolidating the position of the U.S.-led imperialist bloc in strategic areas of the world in the face of stepped up contention by its rival imperialist superpower, the USSR. The Shah's regime has been chosen to "defend" the Persian Gulf Region, which holds 2/3 of the world's known oil reserves. It has become the "jugular vein" of the imperialist countries of Western Europe and Japan, who depend on it for 60% and 90% of their energy needs respectively. As President Carter told the Shah last November in Washington D.C., "We look upon Iran's strength as an extension of our own strength, and Iran looks upon our strength as an extension of theirs."

Since 1972, Iran has become the No. 1 customer for U.S. arms, buying over 50% of all U.S. arms sold abroad at the rate of \$4 billion a year. At its present rate of military expansion, by 1982 Iran would have ground and naval forces equivalent in number to those of West Germany and an air force nearly twice as big. To set up and train the Iranian armed forces in the use of these highly sophisticated weapons, as well as to carry out intelligence work, there are now over 30,000 U.S. personnel stationed in Iran at a cost of \$80,000 each per year to the Shah's regime.

Add on astronomical sums of money spent in building new roads, naval and air facilities, military housing, as well as millions in graft and corruption, and you end up with \$9.4 billion devoted to the military in Iran's 1976-77 budget.

While famine stalks the Iranian countryside and workers slave away in the oil refineries for \$2-3 a day, over half the national budget is spent on arming Iran to the teeth and turning it into a military outpost for U.S. imperialism.

This rapid military buildup has also been a profit bonanza for U.S. arms manufacturers and construction firms such as Lockheed, McDonnell-Douglas, Westinghouse, and Morris-Knudsen, whose fortunes have been rocky since the crushing U.S. defeat in Indochina.

These massive arms purchases have been mutually beneficial to the Shah's reactionary regime and U.S. imperialism in still another sense, by helping to offset the balance-of-payments deficit currently plaguing U.S. imperialism—due to the general sharpening of the economic crisis in the capitalist world and swollen by the quadrupling of oil prices by OPEC in 1973-74.

Far from financing any "Iranian economic miracle," additional oil revenues have been invested in sagging capitalist monopolies, such as Pan Am and Grumman Aircraft in the U.S. and in buying a 25% share of West Germany's infamous Krupp Industries.

The Shah's regime has opened the doors of Iran to imperialist capital investments, including whole steel and petrochemical complexes built in the U.S., Japan, and Western Europe. It has also removed customs from a wide range of imported goods—from rice and wheat to prefab housing. The government's open-door policy has turned Iran into the biggest market in the Middle East for the Western imperialists with the share of the USSR also growing rapidly. Iran's national economy has been severely stunted, ruining 100,000 small businessmen in the last two years alone. And it has especially bankrupted agriculture, upon which over 60% of the Iranian people depend for their livelihood.

Iran was self-sufficient in agriculture only ten years ago, and exported many products like rice. Today, it imports 30-40% of its food needs at a cost of \$1 billion per year. Such basic products as wheat, onions, rice, and meat have been so scarce that rationing coupons have had to be issued, leading to sharply higher prices. Alongside these massive food imports, Iranian capitalists and U.S. agribusiness corporations have jointly set up large-scale mechanized farms, producing mainly for export, on the most fertile land. Artichokes, for example, which are unknown among the Iranian masses, are produced on these capitalist farms today. Agriculture as a whole remains mired in semi-feudal conditions.

Millions of peasants have been ruined and driven off the land. They cannot get loans or credit—since the Iranian bourgeoisie is putting its capital elsewhere, in luxury housing, real estate speculation or overseas. The peasants are forced to buy fertilizer and water at inflated prices from the government and must often sell their crops at a loss to the government-controlled "cooperatives," which were set up during the phony land reform of the Shah's "White Revolution" in the 1960s.

With Iran's agriculture and indigenous industry in ruins, speculation in land is rampant in the major cities like Tehran. This has created acute housing shortages. According to *Newsweek* (April 19, 1976), the average family-size apartment in Tehran costs over \$1000 a month, squeezing government employees and the urban petty bourgeoisie to the bone. The regime's solution has been twofold: First, sign a new series of contracts with U.S. construction firms for building luxury homes and apartments for the rich. Second, send troops and bulldozers to remove the growing "eyesores" of shanty towns built around major cities like Tehran by poverty-stricken workers and unem-

ployed ex-peasants.

During the last few years, the Iranian government has put less money than ever into education. The regime's media itself admitted that 72% of all children seven and above are illiterate, and there is a shortage of at least 180,000 teachers. Yet, millions of dollars have been paid to over 50 universities in the U.S. to train the regime's military and government personnel, as well as technicians and engineers to run the imported industrial complexes.

As a result of this distorted neo-colonial development, the regime has consistently squandered its oil revenues (which have levelled off in the last few years), to the point of building up a \$4 billion deficit in 1976!

New Upsurge Among Iranian Workers

In order to bail the regime out of its deepening crisis, Iranian workers are facing brutal speed-up, with their already depressed wages tied directly to "productivity." Factories resemble labor camps complete with SAVAK cells and retired army officers posing as "inspectors." Independent unions are outlawed. A recent law states that workers who instigate strikes will be executed and those who participate in strikes will be imprisoned.

In spite of such unbridled repression, tens of thousands of Iranian workers have closed down their factories raising political demands in solidarity with the uprisings in Quom and Tabriz. Nothing terrifies the fascist regime more than the growth of the revolutionary movement among Iranian workers, especially in the key oil refining and industrial centers.

Iranian students, both in Iran and abroad, have had a long and militant history of opposing the Shah's regime and imperialist domination of their country. Hundreds of progressive students have been killed and thousands more imprisoned and tortured in bloody clashes with SAVAK agents and army troops on many campuses. Since November, all universities in Tehran have been shut down and placed under martial law. But these repressive measures have not stopped the revolutionary student movement from organizing and agitating in the workers' districts and bazaars, under the slogan "Workers, Peasants, Students, Unite!"

Thus, as the Shah's fascist regime is engulfed in deeper and deeper crisis, and the mighty mass movement of Iran's 35 million people grows in strength and political consciousness of its revolutionary goal, the Shah's regime is in more trouble than at any time since the U.S. originally put the Shah in power in 1953. And his dependent relation with imperialism—U.S. imperialism in particular—is both more nakedly exposed to the people and more desperately clung to by him and his masters than ever before.

There is no doubt that support for the Iranian people and their revolutionary struggle is the proletarian internationalist duty of all revolutionaries and communists around the world, especially in the U.S.—the main imperialist backer of the reactionary Iranian regime. ■

Mao...

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to deny the need for the united front and the failure to recognize the current stage of struggle characterized by the war of resistance to Japan, on the one hand; and, on the other hand, the tendency to deny the need for the leading role of the proletariat in the united front, to subordinate the proletariat and the Communist Party to the Kuomintang and the class forces it represented and therefore to fail to make preparations in the current stage of struggle for the future advance to the completion of the new democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution.

In "On Practice" Mao sets forth the philosophical basis, in particular with regard to the theory of knowledge, for both these right and "left" errors:

"It often happens, however, that thinking lags behind reality; this is because man's cognition is limited by numerous social conditions. We are opposed to die-hards in the revolutionary ranks whose thinking fails to advance with changing objective circumstances and has manifested itself historically as Right opportunism. These people fail to see that the struggle of opposites has already pushed the objective process forward while their knowledge has stopped at the old stage. This is characteristic of the thinking of all die-hards. Their thinking is divorced from social practice, and they cannot march ahead to guide the chariot of society; they simply trail behind, grumbling that it goes too fast and trying to drag it back or turn it in the opposite direction.

"We are also opposed to 'Left' phrase-mongering. The thinking of 'Leftists' outstrips a given stage of development of the objective process; some regard their fantasies as truth, while others strain to realize in the present an ideal which can only be realized in the future. They alienate themselves from the current prac-

tice of the majority of the people and from the realities of the day, and show themselves adventurist in their actions." ("On Practice," Mao's *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 306-307)

Process of Development

Further, Mao analyzed from a philosophical standpoint the basis for the change in China's bourgeois democratic revolution from the old democratic to the new democratic revolution, the basis for the sub-stages within the new democratic revolution, as well as the basis for the advance through the new democratic to the socialist revolution:

"The fundamental contradiction in the process of development of a thing and the essence of the process determined by this fundamental contradiction will not disappear until the process is completed; but in a lengthy process the conditions usually differ at each stage. The reason is that, although the nature of the fundamental contradiction in the process of development of a thing and the essence of the process remain unchanged, the fundamental contradiction becomes more and more intensified as it passes from one stage to another in the lengthy process. In addition, among the numerous major and minor contradictions which are determined or influenced by the fundamental contradiction, some become intensified, some are temporarily or partially resolved or mitigated, and some new ones emerge; hence the process is marked by stages. If people do not pay attention to the stages in the process of development of a thing, they cannot deal with its contradictions properly. . . .

"Take the process of China's bourgeois-democratic revolution, which began with the Revolution of 1911; it, too, has several distinct stages. In particular, the revolution in its period of bourgeois leadership and the revolution in its period of proletarian leadership represent two vastly different historical stages. In other words, proletarian leadership has fundamentally changed the whole face of the revolution, has brought about a new alignment of classes, given rise to a tremendous upsurge in the peasant revolution, imparted thorough-

ness to the revolution against imperialism and feudalism, created the possibility of the transition from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, and so on. None of these was possible in the period when the revolution was under bourgeois leadership. Although no change has taken place in the nature of the fundamental contradiction in the process as a whole, i.e., in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic-revolutionary nature of the process (the opposite of which is its semi-colonial and semi-feudal nature), nonetheless this process has passed through several stages of development in the course of more than twenty years; . . . These stages are marked by particular features such as the intensification of certain contradictions (e.g., the Agrarian Revolutionary War and the Japanese invasion of the four northeastern provinces), the partial or temporary resolution of other contradictions (e.g., the destruction of the Northern warlords and our confiscation of the land of the landlords), and the emergence of yet other contradictions (e.g., the conflicts among the new warlords, and the landlords' recapture of the land after the loss of our revolutionary base areas in the south)." ("On Contradiction," Mao's *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 325-326)

While, as noted before, these two works have enduring and general application and have greatly enriched Marxist philosophy, they were of specific and crucial importance in the Chinese revolution at that particular stage and in laying the basis for the advance through the anti-Japanese war to the completion of the democratic revolution in China on a new basis and the advance in this way to socialism. The victory of the new democratic revolution in China and the advance of China to socialism represented a great leap forward not only for the people of China but for the people of the whole world in their struggle against imperialism and reaction and for socialism and ultimately communism. It brought profound changes not only in China but in the entire international situation and in the class struggle internationally. As the statement from the leading bodies of the Chinese Party and state on the death of Mao Tsetung summed up:

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Miners ...

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port miners received from striking farmers. On several occasions farmers brought truckloads of meat and other food to the strikers. Members of the Right to Strike Committee traveled to Georgia to speak at a statewide meeting of striking farmers. And towards the end of the strike two farmers from South Dakota came to West Virginia to meet with the Right to Strike Committee. They brought with them a donation from their branch of the American Agricultural Movement and gave it to the committee on the basis of a discussion that clearly laid out the composition of the committee, i.e., the fact that there were members of the Revolutionary Communist Party on the committee, and what the committee stood for. Part of this donation was used to take a contingent of miners to Nebraska a couple weeks later to a demonstration in support of striking meat packers at Iowa Beef that had been called by some of the striking farmers.

The Women's Committee of the Miners Right to Strike Committee also played an active role in the strike, uniting with widows and pensioners in actions against threatened cutoffs in food stamps and utility service.

So it is not surprising that the Right to Strike Committee came under heavy attack from the bourgeoisie and their agents. Just before the strike began the newspapers and TV were full of their "big scoop"—that the miners who are members of the RCP belong to the Right to Strike Committee—which was no big news to miners, since the committee had been open about the membership of miners from the RCP and the coal companies and the union had been red-baiting the committee for years.

And in general the red-baiters helped draw the lines even more sharply. For example, the committee organized numerous car caravans through the coal towns, urging a "no" vote on the contract. In the town of

Bim in Boone County, West Virginia, they were greeted by a giant canvas banner some company sucks had strung across the road, proclaiming: "Vote No on Communism! Vote Yes on the Contract!" and "Down with Communism! Vote Yes on the Contract!"

The red-baiting led many workers to ask how come the companies and union officials brand everyone who stands up to them and for the workers as communist. "Just what is this communism that the companies hate so bad?" And in fact, the red-baiting contributed to the Party members raising the broader issues behind the strike and helping miners to see that what was at stake here was much more far reaching—and what the road forward for their struggle actually is.

Contract Battle Results

There is no question that the miners suffered a defeat around their demands. In the final contract, the companies were able to get a foot in the door with most of the major takeaways and restrictions on the miners they had wanted. Miners did not win the right to strike. Pensions remain unequal and not guaranteed beyond the three years of the contract. Health benefits have a big deductible and the free, comprehensive health care system miners won through years of struggle will be dismantled. The companies were also able to include a form of their vicious stability clause, although not in the open, blatant way it had been in the earlier proposals. Instead, Miller and the companies included an agreement to abide by all previous federal Arbitration Review Board decisions. While they didn't specify it, they particularly meant ARB ruling No. 108, issued in October of 1977, that gave the companies broad power to fire anyone for picketing; fire anyone they claim was in any way responsible for a wildcat; fire anyone for passing out any information anywhere which they claim "induces a work stoppage."

Yet, objectively, this strike has to be seen as an important advance for the miners struggle and for the whole working class. To explain what seems to be a contradiction, the fact that miners suffered a setback around their immediate demands, but at the same time

made advances, it is necessary to remember what the real stakes in the strike were.

Simply put, the coal companies and the rest of the capitalist class were out to break the miners' militancy and put an end to the wildcat strike movement. The capitalists were determined to insure the most favorable conditions for achieving their dreams of big new profits from expanded coal production. This means being able to ride roughshod over the job rights, safety conditions and benefits of the miners and eliminate their ability to fight back—or as they put it, to achieve "labor stability." But they wanted even more. They wanted to prevent the spark of the miners struggle from igniting other battles throughout the working class. More than anything, they wanted to hold up the picture of miners forced into submission and say to other workers, "See what happens when you fight back?!"

Not only were the capitalists unable to hold up their cherished picture, the miners presented their own, a picture of strength and militancy that was truly inspiring to millions of other workers. And workers rallied to support them in a way that has rarely been seen in the U.S. for a long time. They won the active support of tens of thousands of workers, farmers, students and others. They had the respect and sympathy of millions more. This class-wide unity, as well as support from other class forces was itself an important advance for the working class.

The capitalists made a big deal out of the claim that other workers wouldn't support a struggle that was cutting into their own bread and butter. But it is not just the miners who are coming up against the two-headed monster of the companies and their lackeys in the union leadership. Workers everywhere feel the lash of the capitalists, driven by the laws of their system and the deepening economic crisis. And 350 workers at the Noranda Aluminum plant near St. Louis, whom the company laid off citing strike-caused coal shortages, gave a good example of the solidarity and stand of the working class. "Let 'em strike," said one maintenance mechanic. "That's the only bargaining power

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Wilmington

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Building for the Demonstration

The North Carolina chapter of the new African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) and the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade played an active role in building for the demonstration. Earlier, they held a rally to free the Wilmington 10 at North Carolina A&T University in Greensboro (a Black college). 150 to 200 students came out and heard speakers from the RCYB, ALSC and the NUWO. All the speeches linked up the struggle of the 10 with other struggles going on in the U.S. and around the world, and the need to fight every manifestation of the oppression and exploitation of capitalist rule. The African Liberation Support Committee speaker pointed out how the imperialist system was responsible for national oppression, jailing the 10, as well as for the system of apartheid and the super-exploitation of black workers in southern Africa. He went on to say that at that very moment a representative of the government of South Africa was speaking in town at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, and that it was necessary to give this racist dog the welcome he deserved.

Several carloads of students went to the campus chanting: "UNC—G is an imperialist tool—parading around this racist fool," and "racists have no right to speak—national oppression is what they preach."

The Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO) had also leafleted against the South African speaker, as the old ALSC. They appealed to students to "ask embarrassing questions" at the appropriate time. WVO's line was that the speaker, whose name was Vorster (just like the Prime Minister of South Africa), should be allowed to speak. They, along with Vorster and the campus officials, were visibly irritated when the A&T students and others marched into the auditorium and caused a disruption in an attempt to stop this racist from mouthing off.

The NUWO also built for the demonstration at several plants and mills, with plant gate rallies, leafletting and selling buttons. By taking this very controversial issue to the workers in a way that linked national oppression to the source of all misery, the capitalist system, the NUWO was able to draw out the real links between the struggles of workers and the oppressed nationalities. Large numbers of workers signed their names to the NUWO banner that was carried in the demonstration.

WVO's Right Opportunism

Workers Viewpoint Organization, self-proclaimed "communists," played a particularly reactionary role in their attempt to use the Wilmington 10 case to turn

the rising resistance of the Black masses into so much capital to build their reformist party.

From the beginning WVO's line was to rope people in by putting out straight up reformism. WVO has learned that their "left" dogmatism has no currency with the masses, so now they have jumped to being rightist in form as well as essence. They used to call for their "Party of a Bolshevik type" on their leaflets ("fight against speed-up, build the party!"). Now they are making every effort to drag the struggle of Black people back 15 years to the "good old days" of the civil rights movement, trying to obscure the developments and advances in the struggle of the Black people over the past decade and more. They printed up a poster in the name of the Coalition with a huge picture of Martin Luther King and smaller pictures of the Wilmington 10, without letting the steering committee of the Coalition vote on the poster and even though it had been rejected by one of the Coalition work teams.

Their line throughout was to build the demonstration by putting out the lowest level of politics in order to "get people out." Calling for "respectability," they opposed the words "fight" or "down with" in any slogans and pushed as one of the main chants for the demonstration "Hunt, You Dunces, Free the 10 at Once." Very catchy—especially if you intend to take the heat off the ruling class and put it on one "nasty" politician (the North Carolina governor). Their proposals were readily united with by reformists of all stripes.

At a summation meeting in late April, WVO defended the Martin Luther King poster and their reformist line. A WVO leader flatly stated that King was progressive, he just used different tactics, and besides the masses respected him and rioted in 1968 when he was shot. RCP members and people from the African Liberation Support Committee pointed out that while it was true that King was respected, he opposed revolution and his non-violence was a principle and not just a tactic. They also reminded WVO that the rebellion of the Black masses in 1968 was out of outrage over King's murder, but the riots were themselves a repudiation of King's non-violence. Like King, WVO's line fails to point to the source of the oppression of Black people in the U.S.

At the sum up meeting WVO claimed that the next step to free the Wilmington 10 was to support their reformist African Liberation Day demonstration in Washington D.C. in May. There was sharp struggle over this, with WVO claiming that by going to Washington the people would put "pressure on Hunt from below" and Carter would put pressure on him from "above" to free the 10. In fact, WVO must have had their dates for their Washington march mixed up. The revisionist Communist Party already held such a march just recently. Then again, it is probably a case of WVO trying to outshine the CP on the road these more established revisionists have blazed in trying to sink the struggle to free the Wilmington 10 into the swamp of bourgeois politics.

One thing WVO has had some success at is turning the Coalition into their lifeless plaything, as many pro-

gressive individuals are turning away from it in disgust. Yet despite setbacks in building the Coalition caused by WVO's rancid line and their efforts to use it to build themselves as the new leaders of the old civil rights movement, the situation is excellent among the masses to continue the battle to free the Wilmington 10 and the Charlotte 3, and to build it as a battle aimed squarely at the capitalist class. ■

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Miners...

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a working man's got." The *St. Louis Post Dispatch* reported that the workers said they did not want their own jobs back enough to wish that the miners would accept an inferior settlement. "They're in the same boat we are," said a crane operator. "All they have is their labor to sell."

As the Right to Strike Committee put it in one of their strike bulletins, commenting on the capitalists' threats that the strike would cause shortages and layoffs, "it would be a worse blow to workers everywhere if the companies succeeded in driving the miners down. Our fight helps other workers, not our surrender..."

Across the country, from every major industry, many workers united behind them, not out of pity for "starving miners" but out of solidarity in a common fight against a common enemy. The controversy among workers about the strike was a fertile ground for advancing class consciousness. The NUWO organized and worked to answer workers' questions, to build support for the strike, to concentrate the forces of the working class to throw the heaviest blow possible at the coal companies and their fellow capitalists. Tens of thousands of signatures in support of the miners were collected. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets were distributed throughout the country and thousands of dollars were collected and sent to the Miners Right to Strike Committee. These funds were used for radio and newspaper ads, leaflets and other actions to build the strike.

The rank and file support that developed for the miners' strike even forced some of the top International union hacks, like the UAW's Doug Fraser, to make a show of support—both to cover themselves and as part of their efforts to shortcircuit rank and file actions in solidarity with the miners and to promote the opportunist misleadership within the UMWA itself. Over 4½ million dollars was contributed to the UMWA during the strike from the treasuries of other unions, but the UMWA leadership sat on these funds and did not distribute them for strike relief or strike actions.

Important Progress

This strike was a significant advance for the miners and for the struggle of the working class because miners, in certain important ways, upped the ante in the class struggle in this country. They did things workers are not supposed to do. They refused to fight the strike on the terms set out by the capitalists and the government. To a great degree they shoved aside the traitors in high union office who tried to undermine the strike. For every worker who is on strike in the coming year and more, who faces government injunctions, who faces cops and sellout union hacks—the example of the miners is there to learn from.

The rank and file struggle of miners, which reached new levels in this strike, reflects in certain ways the progress workers have been making in their strike battles—progress in the sense that they have increasingly confronted and challenged many of the bonds the capitalists and their agents have placed on the fight around the economic struggles of the working class.

But while the economic struggles are of great importance for the working class, battles that must be fought to keep from being driven under and weakened for the ongoing battle, they are not enough. It is not sufficient to build a working class movement that tackles workers' grievances one after the other, since capitalism has a limitless capacity to create new oppression and outrages. The problems confronted by the working class and the masses of people who suffer under the workings of this system are not solved by one piecemeal reform after another. As Marx put it, "The working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate workings of these every-day struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with the effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady. They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively absorbed in these unavoidable guerilla fights incessantly springing up from the never-ceasing encroachments of capitals or changes of the market." (*Wages, Price and Profit*, FLP, p. 78)

The miners have come flush up against these "encroachments" of the capitalist system and have felt the frustrations of the never-ending "unavoidable guerilla fights." And in coming up against the forces of capitalism that are far larger than just the coal companies, their struggle has raised a lot of questions about the road forward. During the strike and now that they are back to work, there has been continuing discussion and questions about the nature of the enemy, the kind



An important advance of the miners' strike was the fact that a lot of workers took up this battle as their own, against a common enemy and in the common interests of the whole working class. This was overall what characterized the sentiments of the many workers who came to the Charleston rally called by the NUWO and the Miners Right to Strike Committee on March 11.

of fight that must be waged in the future, what this strike means for what comes next. And there is a lot of controversy. Of course the questions are not always clear or completely formulated. And the bourgeoisie and their agents are always right there to spread lies and phony answers. But this discussion, questioning and controversy is itself another potentially important contribution of the miners' struggle, especially as increasing numbers of miners, along with other workers take up a class conscious and revolutionary view of their fight.

At the center of much of the controversy and responsible for sharpening many of these questions, has been the Miners Right to Strike Committee and the members of it from the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Storm Center of Controversy

The Committee has been at the storm center of controversy on practically every major issue in the coalfields and in virtually every struggle precisely because it has been out there with its line and stand and because it does put forward and fight for the interests of not just rank and file coal miners, but of all workers. And this is an excellent thing. Miners all over the coalfields know of the Right to Strike Committee. When big struggles and questions come up, many miners look to see what the Committee is saying and doing. This situation gives even more freedom and ability for the Committee to clearly target the enemy miners are up against, point to their allies and friends in the struggle and speak to a lot of the big questions miners have come up against.

For example, in working to build broad support for the strike as part of the NUWO the Miners Committee members came to see more clearly themselves and put forward to other miners that this was an important fight of the whole working class and why it was not just a question of "getting other workers to support our struggle." At the March 11 demonstration in Charleston, sponsored by the NUWO and the Committee, a number of miners saw that workers from many different industries and parts of the country viewed the strike as their battle also, a battle against the same common enemy.

In the work the Committee did with the striking farmers during and since the strike, it has been clear to many miners that there is a lot of respect among some of these farmers for the militancy and organization of the miners, some understanding of the "common enemy" and a desire to infuse some of the strength and unity that miners showed into their own struggle. These contacts have also helped develop among some miners a deeper understanding of the slogan used by the NUWO "Workers Unite to Lead the Fight Against All Oppression." It has led to discussions of the strengths and weaknesses of the farmers strike, and why it is that the working class must lead in all the battles against the exploitation and oppression people suffer at the hands of the capitalists.

Opportunists of all stripes blanch at all this, especially those pseudo-revolutionaries and "communists" who devote all their efforts to keeping the workers struggles firmly tied to the limitations and restrictions the bourgeoisie tries to put on them.

A particularly clear and grotesque example of this was given at a meeting of miners to plan for a demonstration during the strike. The Committee played a

leading role in pulling the plans for the demonstration together and had a speaker at the rally and a Committee member was one of the press spokesmen. But one guy, who hangs around something called the "Communist Labor Party," argued that to have the Committee be one of the groups officially calling the rally would "cut down on attendance." We are not interested in why people come out, he said. "All we want is as many warm bodies there as possible."

In some ways boldly putting forward the stand and interests of the working class does make unity with some people more difficult at times and can even limit the size of some actions. But there is no question that it lays the basis for stronger unity with increasingly large numbers of people as the capitalists' crisis deepens and their attacks intensify. And the fact remains that these various opportunists and all their "warm bodies" don't have a tenth the influence that the Miners Right to Strike Committee has had. They are generally to be found pimping off what various union officials do.

In reality, the Committee has grown in size as well as influence during the course of the strike and many more miners now look to it for leadership in action, which doesn't mean it has become any less a center of controversy and the object of very strong opinions for and against.

Party Expands Work

And Party members continue to play an active and leading role in the Committee and have taken the opportunity in part created by the attacks of the bourgeoisie to put forward the critical importance of the working class having its own Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party. During the strike the Party's newspaper, *The Worker*, had its best sales to date and in meetings summing up the strike, Party members have discussed in depth the questions rank and file miners have about communism in general and the role of the Party in particular—not only in the coalfields' struggles, but even more in society overall.

One of the concrete results of the struggle and controversy around the Committee and the role of the Party members is that this year, for the first time, the Miners Right to Strike Committee voted to endorse and build for May Day. Members of the Committee are passing out a leaflet of the United May Day Committee along with *Rank and File Unity* (the Committee's newsletter) and participating in the building rallies that are being held during the weeks before May Day with trucks, loudspeakers and banners.

So now the miners are back at work. But nobody, not the companies, not the rest of the capitalists, not the government, not the union hacks, and least of all not the miners themselves think that the battles are over.

And the advances made during the course of this strike have contributed to building a workers movement that recognizes the real face of its enemy, that comes to see the thousand and one ways that capitalist society exploits and oppresses the masses of people and which struggles against all forms of oppression.

The working class must build on the advances made in this battle and the other struggles it is forced to wage against the capitalists every day. It must continue to advance to the day when workers will go over from individual strikes to the struggle of the entire working class for the emancipation of all who labor. ■

Mao...

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"During the period of the new-democratic revolution, Chairman Mao, in accordance with the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and by combining it with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, creatively laid down the general line and general policy of the new-democratic revolution, founded the Chinese People's Liberation Army and pointed out that the seizure of political power by armed force in China could be achieved only by following the road of building rural base areas, using the countryside to encircle the cities and finally seizing the cities, and not by any other road. He led our Party, our army and the people of our country in using people's war to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, winning the great victory of the new-democratic revolution and founding the People's Republic of China. The victory of the Chinese people's revolution led by Chairman Mao changed the situation in the East and the world and blazed a new trail for the cause of liberation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people." (see *Peking Review*, Number 38, 1976, pp. 7-8)

Upholding Proletarian Internationalism

As a socialist country, the People's Republic of China, as well as the Chinese Communist Party, under the leadership of Mao Tsetung continued to support the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world, including the struggle for national liberation of the peoples of the colonial countries. Having only just achieved its own liberation, China united with the Korean people in the struggle against U.S. aggression in the early 1950s. At the same time China supported the struggles of the peoples of Indochina and peoples of other areas against imperialism and reaction. Further, in the mid and late 1950s and afterward, with the degeneration of the Soviet party into revisionism, the betrayal by Khrushchev, Brezhnev and others, and the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, the Chinese Communist Party led by Mao Tsetung waged decisive struggle against the Soviet bourgeois ruling class, including an active ideological struggle to expose and combat the sham Marxism and counter-revolutionary treachery of these Soviet revisionists.

A most important issue in this struggle was the question of whether or not to support the revolutionary movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which had swelled into a mighty anti-imperialist torrent following World War II. "Apologists Of Neo-Colonialism" was a major article written by the Chinese Communist Party as a polemic against the Soviet revisionists on this decisive question.

This article was written in 1963, when the Soviet revisionists were only in the process of carrying out the all-around restoration of capitalism in the USSR and their overall relationship with U.S. imperialism then was characterized by capitulation to and collaboration with it. Still, "Apologists Of Neo-Colonialism" sets forth basic analysis and basic principles which retain great importance and validity today in the situation where there have been significant changes in the world, where contention has clearly replaced collusion as the principal aspect of the relationship between the USSR and the U.S. and where U.S. imperialism is no longer alone the chief world exploiter and oppressor and bulwark of colonialism, but the two superpowers are the main enemies of the people of the world and must be the main target of the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In this article the Chinese Communist Party sharply pointed out that with regard to the struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America "An important line of demarcation between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists is the attitude taken towards this extremely sharp issue of contemporary world politics. The Marxist-Leninists firmly side with the oppressed nations and actively support the national liberation movement. The modern revisionists in fact side with the imperialists and colonialists and repudiate and oppose the national liberation movement in every possible way." ("Apologists Of Neo-Colonialism," Peking Foreign Language Press, 1963, p. 2)

Attitude Toward Revolutionary Movements

The Soviet revisionists attempted to subvert and actually suppress the revolutionary movements of the people in the colonial countries because they feared, and rightly so, that these movements would interfere with their collaboration with U.S. imperialism and their attempts to emerge as a superpower. Khrushchev and Co. claimed that the colonial system was on the verge of extinction in Asia, Africa and Latin America and that there was no longer any significant revolutionary mass struggle to be waged for national liberation in these areas. In fact Khrushchev regarded such struggles as extremely dangerous.

In answer to this the Chinese Communist Party pointed out that:



Pathet Lao militia women during the Indochina war.

"The facts are clear. After World War II the imperialists have certainly not given up colonialism, but have merely adopted a new form, neo-colonialism. An important characteristic of such neo-colonialism is that the imperialists have been forced to change their old style of direct colonial rule in some areas and to adopt a new style of colonial rule and exploitation by relying on the agents they have selected and trained. The imperialists headed by the United States enslave or control the colonial countries and countries which have already declared their independence by organizing military blocs, setting up military bases, establishing 'federations' or 'communities,' and fostering puppet regimes. By means of economic 'aid' or other forms, they retain these countries as markets for their goods, sources of raw material and outlets for their export of capital, plunder the rich and suck the blood of the people of these countries. Moreover, they use the United Nations as an important tool for interfering in the internal affairs of such countries and for subjecting them to military, economic and cultural aggression. When they are unable to continue their rule over these countries by 'peaceful' means, they engineer military coups d'etat, carry out subversion, or even resort to direct armed intervention and aggression. . . .

"This neo-colonialism is a more pernicious and sinister form of colonialism." ("Apologists Of Neo-Colonialism," pp. 4-5)

The Chinese Communist Party thoroughly exposed the bankruptcy of the revisionist leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) on these vital questions. It pointed out that:

"The leaders of the CPSU have also created the theory that the national liberation movement has entered upon a 'new stage' having economic tasks as its core. Their argument is that, whereas 'formerly, the struggle was carried on mainly in the political sphere,' today the economic question has become the 'central task' and 'the basic link in the further development of the revolution.' . . .

"The primary and most urgent task facing these countries is still the further development of the struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys. This struggle is still being waged fiercely in the political, economic, military, cultural, ideological and other spheres. And the struggles in all these spheres still find their most concentrated expression in political struggle, which often unavoidably develops into armed struggle when the imperialists resort to direct or indirect armed suppression. It is important for the newly independent countries to develop their independent economy. But this task must never be separated from the struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys.

"Like 'the disappearance of colonialism,' this theory of a 'new stage' advocated by the leaders of the CPSU is clearly intended to whitewash the aggression against and plunder of Asia, Africa and Latin America by neo-colonialism, as represented by the United States, to cover up the sharp contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and to paralyze the revolutionary struggle of the people of these continents.

"According to this theory of theirs, the fight against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and their lackeys is, of course, no longer necessary, for colonialism is disappearing and economic development has become the central task of the national liberation movement. Does it not follow that the national liberation movement can be done away with altogether? . . .

"The wrong line of the leaders of the CPSU completely abandons the task of fighting imperialism and colonialism and opposes wars of national liberation; this means that it wants the proletariat and the Com-

munist Parties of the oppressed nations and countries to roll up their patriotic banner of opposing imperialism and struggling for national independence and surrender it to others. In that case, how could one even talk about an anti-imperialist united front or of proletarian leadership?

"Another idea often propagated by the leaders of the CPSU is that a country can build socialism under no matter what leadership, including even that of a reactionary nationalist like Nehru. This is still farther removed from the idea of proletarian leadership." ("Apologists Of Neo-Colonialism," pp. 6-7, 21-22)

Continued Need for Proletarian Leadership

This did not mean, of course, that China did not support countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, even those under the leadership of types like Nehru and others, in resisting imperialist domination. China assisted them in this resistance in many ways and encouraged them to strengthen such resistance. But the point being stressed was that such resistance could not substitute for nor certainly be raised above the revolutionary struggle of the masses and the need for the proletariat and its Communist Party to lead the national liberation movement to complete victory and then lead the masses in building socialism.

And the Chinese Communist Party reaffirmed the all-important principle of the link between the national liberation struggles in the colonial countries and the struggle of the proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries, their common unity in the fight against imperialism and for the ultimate goal of socialism and finally communism:

"No one can deny that an extremely favourable revolutionary situation now exists in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Today the national liberation revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America are the most important forces dealing imperialism direct blows. The contradictions of the world are concentrated in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

"The centre of world contradictions, of world political struggles, is not fixed but shifts with changes in the international struggles and the revolutionary situation. We believe that, with the development of the contradiction and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in Western Europe and North America, the momentous day of battle will arrive in these homes of capitalism and heartlands of imperialism. When that day comes, Western Europe and North America will undoubtedly become the centre of world political struggles, of world contradictions." ("Apologists Of Neo-Colonialism," pp. 18-19)

Adhering to and firmly upholding proletarian internationalism, the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China under the leadership of Mao Tsetung opposed this to the stand of the revisionist rulers of the Soviet Union, pointing to the duties and responsibilities of the proletariat and its Communist Party in power, of the socialist countries:

"According to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, every socialist country which has achieved victory in its revolution must actively support and assist the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations. The socialist countries must become base areas for supporting and developing the revolution of the oppressed nations and peoples throughout the world, form the closest alliance with them and carry the proletarian world revolution through to completion.

"But the leaders of the CPSU virtually regard the victory of socialism in one country or several countries as the end of the proletarian world revolution. They want to subordinate the national liberation revolution to their general line of peaceful coexistence and to the national interests of their own country." ("Apologists Of Neo-Colonialism," p. 24)

A Great Internationalist

Regardless of specific changes in the situation, Mao Tsetung continued to fight for the basic stand and line of support for the revolutionary struggle of the people in all countries, including the vital national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and to combat revisionism and revisionist subversion of this struggle down to his last breath. From all this we can see that Mao Tsetung's great role in relation to revolution in colonial countries lay first in developing the basic theory and strategy for advancing through the bourgeois democratic revolution to the socialist revolution in such countries, and then in continuing to champion support for the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world, including, as a decisive part of this, assistance to the struggle of the people in the colonial countries, ideologically, politically and practically.

Today, although the situation in the various countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America varies and although the concrete conditions may differ in some ways from those during China's new democratic revolution, nevertheless the basic theory, strategy, line and leadership provided by Mao Tsetung for revolutions in these countries stands as one of Mao's truly great and immortal contributions to Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary struggle toward the ultimate goal of communism world-wide. ■