

THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

"A communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against



all incorrect ideas and actions so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist." Mao Tsetung

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We Must Turn Our Grief Into Strength!

On September 9, the working class and all oppressed people in this country and throughout the world lost their greatest leader with the death of Comrade Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party. The best way to express our sorrow is to grasp the strength of his exemplary life and his teachings and to use these lessons in guiding our struggle to bring an end to the imperialist system which oppresses and exploits us, to social imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction and to create a society where there is no longer any exploitation of man by man.

Under the leadership of Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party, the world's largest country with its 800 million people stood up, throwing off centuries of reaction and imperialist oppression, and started on a path where miracles have become commonplace. Mountains are being moved, chains of oppression are being torn apart link by link and the masses of the Chinese people, who for centuries have been slandered by the colonialists and imperialists, are stepping forward with energy and might, and boundless creativity which has startled and scared the imperialists and social imperialists and serves as an inspiring beacon for the masses of the entire world. In looking into the life and development of the man who led this, we find no god, but a comrade who at each stage of his life, took up struggle against what was wrong, who came to guide his every action by the application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, who always placed the interests of the working masses first, never feared struggle and who forged the great Communist Party of China. As Mao said about himself,

"I am no genius. I read Confucian books for six years and capitalist books for seven. I did not read Marxist-Leninist books until 1918, so how can I be a genius? To be a genius is to be a bit more intelligent. But genius does not depend on one person or very few people. It depends on a party, the party which is the vanguard of the proletariat. Genius is dependent on the mass line, on collective wisdom."



CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG
GREATEST MARXIST OF OUR CONTEMPORARY ERA

EARLY LIFE - "IT IS RIGHT TO REBEL"

Mao Tsetung was born on December 26, 1893, in Hunan province in central China. He was born into a middle peasant family. At age six, he started to work in his family's fields, later to take up study so he would be able to handle his father's accounts. Early in life Mao learned the importance of rebellion in defending himself from attacks by his father who was aspiring to become a rich peasant and criticized Mao and threatened him for not following the proper mold. As Mao said,

"I cursed him and left the house. My mother ran after me

and tried to persuade me to return. My father also pursued me, cursing at the same time that he commanded me to come back. I reached the edge of a pond and threatened to jump in if he came any nearer. In this situation demands and counterdemands were presented for cessation of the civil war. My father insisted that I apologize and k'ou t'ou (kneel and touch your head to the floor) as a sign of submission. I agreed to give a one knee k'ou t'ou if he would promise not to beat me. Thus the war ended, and from it I learned that when I defended my rights by open rebellion my father relented, but when I remained weak and submissive he only

cursed and beat me more."

It was this spirit of struggle that developed and became more conscious with age, experience and increased contact with the world that was dominated by the rising struggle of the masses against imperialism. As a student he became immersed in the revolutionary nationalist movement and the struggle against reaction in China, and later joined the nationalist army for a short period of time. Mao intensified his own education, was active in study and writing, and in deepening his understanding of the masses of people. He investigated the living conditions of the masses by taking long journeys by foot into the rural areas and among the peasants. In doing so he began to link his revolutionary ideas with deep respect and admiration for the toiling masses. He summed up this process in 1942:

"I began life as a student and at school acquired the ways of a student; I then used to feel it undignified to do even a little manual labor, such as carrying my own luggage in the presence of my fellow students, who were incapable of carrying anything either on their shoulders or in their hands. At that time I felt that intellectuals were the only clean people in the world, while in comparison workers and peasants were dirty. I did not mind wearing the clothes of other intellectuals believing them clean, but I would not put on clothes belonging to a worker or peasant, believing them dirty. I became a revolutionary and lived with workers and peasants and with soldiers of the revolutionary army, I gradually came to know them all well....It was then, and only then, that I fundamentally changed the bourgeois and petty bourgeois feelings implanted in me in the bourgeois schools. I came to feel that compared with the workers and peasants the unremoulded intellectuals were not clean and that, in the last analysis, the workers and peasants were the cleanest people and, even though their hands were soiled and their feet smeared with cow dung, they were really cleaner than the bourgeois and petty bourgeois intellectuals."

In 1919 China and the world were still being shook by the salvos of the mighty October

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REVISIONIST PARTIES: "LIKE CRABS IN A BASKET"

Comrades and fellow workers: The unity of the communist international movement in the past was welded by firm adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in opposition to all forms of opportunism. The Communist and Worker Parties of the different countries were able to unite because they shared a common understanding of the scientific principles underlying the development of society and therefore a common view toward the correct path to socialist revolution. But opportunism historically has called into question these principles of Marxism-Leninism and therefore destroys the basis for unity. Historically whenever a developed opportunist trend has emerged, it has been necessary for the consistent Marxist-Leninists to break completely with the opportunists. The Communist International was regrouped only after all remnants of opportunism had been purged from its ranks.

Lenin and his teachings were the bane of all opportunists. In his attack on Bernstein and those opportunists who rejected what they called "dogmatism" and insisted on "freedom of criticism", he described positions that have historically characterized opportunism. Lenin said they were that:

"Social democracy must change from a party of the social revolution into a democratic party of social reforms. Bernstein has surrounded this political demand with a whole battery of symmetrically arranged "new" arguments and reasonings. The possibility of putting Socialism on a scientific basis and of proving from the point of view of the materialist conception of history that it was necessary and inevitable was denied, as was also the growing impoverishment, proletarianization and the intensification of capitalistic contradictions. The very concept of "ultimate aim" was declared unsound, and the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat was absolutely rejected. It was denied that there is any counter-distinction in principle between liberalism and socialism. The theory of class struggle was rejected on the grounds that it could not be applied to a strictly democratic society, governed according to the will of the majority, etc.

Thus the demand for a resolute turn from the revolutionary Social-Democracy to bourgeois social-reformism was accompanied by a no less resolute turn towards bourgeois criticism of all fundamental ideas of Marxism." (WHAT IS TO BE DONE?, pp7-8)

Bernstein and the other opportunists of Lenin's time are long since dead, but rising like the stink from their graves is the same rotten and corrupt bourgeois ideology. Modern revisionism, given birth by Krushchev and others in the Soviet renegade clique, is the most insidious and concentrated form of modern opportunism. Starting from an attack on the leadership and teachings of our great Marxist-Leninist leader, Stalin, raising the same old tired cries against "dogmatism" and attacking Marxism-Leninism with "creative developments of Marxism-Leninism", this social fascist clique has seized state power in the Soviet Union and transformed the first socialist state into a social-imperialist power. Many political parties, once

communist and waving the banner of the proletariat, have now turned revisionist and wave the banner of the bourgeoisie.

The degeneration of the revisionist parties and the present splitting in the revisionist camp is the inevitable consequence of the Soviet revisionist betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the proletariat. Lenin pointed that the opportunists attack the science of Marxism-Leninism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the significance of the proletariat as a class, and the necessity of class struggle. Krushchev and his cronies led the attack against these very same principles. Now the revisionist parties of the capitalist countries, following in their "fathers" footsteps, have even gone beyond the Soviet clique (which is still trying to fool the world) in publicly attacking and denouncing Marxism-Leninism. In this article we will first demonstrate the bankrupt views of the revisionist parties, concentrating on the revisionist party of France; and then we will expose the fascist and imperialist nature of the present Soviet state - which the revisionist parties point to as a model of so-called "socialism".

THE FRENCH REVISIONIST PARTY

The French revisionist party recently held its 22nd Congress. Here they revealed to the people of the world more clearly than ever before their completely bankrupt character.

First, they wiped the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" completely from their program. George Marchais, the Secretary-General, explained that "it does not respond to the reality of our policy, the reality of what we propose to the country". He goes even further and says that the term "dictatorship" "automatically reminds one of the fascist regimes of Hitler, Mussolini, Salazar and Franco." Comrades, this statement shows us clearly the world outlook of the bourgeoisie. It tries to take away from the word "dictatorship" its class content. It ignores the question - dictatorship of what class over what other class? It is the same anti-communist propaganda that raves against "monolithic communism" and its "totalitarian governments". It is only the bourgeoisie, the exploiting class that fears this dictatorship. For it is they, the small minority, who are oppressed by the laboring masses, the overwhelming majority. Under this dictatorship the great majority enjoys the fullest and most complete democracy. It is only because the bourgeoisie is suppressed with an iron hand that the working people can for the first time enjoy true democracy and move society forward to communism and the abolition of all classes. Lenin was absolutely clear on this. He said:

"Only he who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a Marxist.

"Either the dictatorship (that is the iron power) of the land-owners and capitalists, or the dictatorship of the working class. There is no middle road. The sons of the gentry, worthless intellectuals, petty proprietors

who have mislearned from bad books dream in vain of a middle road. There is not and cannot be a middle road in any country in the world. Either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie...or the dictatorship of the proletariat. He who has not learnt this from history is a hopeless idiot."

But the "hopeless idiot" Marchais doesn't want the bourgeoisie and their supporters to be suppressed. He wants them to remain in a "democratic state" with the proletariat. By sharply contrasting "democracy" with "dictatorship", Marchais is brushing aside the fundamental fact that a bourgeois "democracy" is in fact a state under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. There is no such thing as two antagonistic classes living in equality side by side. What Marchais is actually defending is the continuing exploitation of the working class by the bourgeoisie and the total rejection of proletarian revolution.

CONCEPT OF PROLETARIAT REJECTED BY REVISIONISTS

Connected with the denial of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the rejection of the concept of proletariat as a class. Instead, like the "new working class" theoreticians here in the US, the French revisionists counterpose the term "proletariat" with the term "working class". Revising Marxist-Leninist terms, they say:

"As for the 'proletariat', today it means 'the kernel, the heart of the working class; even though its role is essential, it does not represent the totality of those workers from which, as we envision, socialist power will emanate'. (Note the consistency in their opportunistic choice of words - power, they claim, will emanate from the workers, not through revolt or "seizure of state power", no, socialist power will "emanate" while the workers remain totally and completely passive.) But the main point is that once again this opportunist is tearing the revolutionary essence out of Marxism-Leninism. The terms "proletariat" and "working class" are interchangeable and refer to the only class that will make socialist revolution. We understand scientifically that the proletariat is the only truly revolutionary class because it has absolutely no stake whatsoever in the preservation of capitalism. It is composed of those laborers who are completely free from the land and from any ownership of the means of producing wealth - the propertyless workers who can only survive through the sale of their labor power.

They are exploited by the capitalist class and have no place in the bourgeois state apparatus or in the social organization of labor

that polices and maintains the system of wage-slavery and bourgeois rule. Marchais' rotten revisionism holds that these workers are merely the "kernel", "the heart" of the working class and then goes on to include the "other" members which are non-proletarian classes and strata. These include such elements as the intelligentsia, highly skilled technicians, the trade union bureaucrats, management personnel, and all kinds of petty officials who have a place in the bourgeois state apparatus or in capitalist production. By doing this

he guarantees the most corrupt forms of opportunism in the working class movement and foredooms any success in the revolutionary struggle.

Having defined these elements into the proletariat, they of course are also given a place in the "vanguard" by the French Revisionists. Their party is open to all sorts of ideologies, outlooks, beliefs. As they corrupt the make-up of the party, so too do they corrupt the historical role of the "vanguard of the proletariat". A new member of the Political Bureau of the French revisionist Party stated:

"To appreciate the role of the vanguard of the working class is fundamentally a very democratic notion. One often reasons on this point in qualitative terms, uniquely by reference to 'the revolutionary mission of the vanguard', but we can also very well reason in quantitative terms. By far the most numerous class in the country, the working class, by itself is almost a majority. It includes, if we take into account the evolution of the productive forces, a large number of wage earners; I'm thinking particularly of technicians, low-level management linked directly to production. Numerically the proletariat of 1976 is no longer the proletariat of the 19th century." (NEW FRANCE, March 29, 1976)

REVISIONIST ROAD TO REVOLUTION

These French renegades have redefined the proletariat of 1976 and go on therefore to redefine the road to revolution in 1976. With these new elements packed into the working class, the revisionist theory holds that socialism can be brought about through purely the electoral road, the "peaceful, democratic" road. This is straight-up bourgeois reformism and pacificism.

Comrades, the correct Marxist-Leninist understanding is of the necessity for the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie and destroy the bourgeois state apparatus through violent revolution; the proletariat uses its state power to suppress the bourgeoisie and its agents and to win over the majority of the working people and oppressed masses. This is the vital role the proletariat must play. But this is all swept down the drain by the French revisionists. Marchais stated that:

"Nothing, absolutely nothing in our epoch and in a country like ours can replace the popular will of the majority, which is expressed democratically through struggle and universal suffrage...we must be certain that in every stage the political majority and the arithmetic majority must coincide."

This is the same opportunist treachery that Lenin attributed to Bernstein and his cohorts, backed up with the same "new arguments and reasonings". Marchais is defending the bourgeois position that elections in capitalist societies actually represent the "popular will of the majority". You cannot violently overthrow bourgeois rule, he says, because it has been democratically chosen through universal suffrage. According to this perverse view, the task of the 'vanguard' as the

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arithmetical majority is to rely on elections to change society through reforms.

He defends this view by saying that "in the final account it is reaction and fascism that are retreating, while democracy is advancing". As communists we realize that as long as imperialism exists so does the danger of war and reaction. Bourgeois democracy and fascism are both forms of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. But Marchais rejects these views and spreads dangerous reformist illusions which will lead the working class right into the hands of fascism. Instead of combatting fascism by overthrowing imperialism through revolution, he would try to placate and woo imperialism with his rotten "peaceful and democratic road". The lessons of Chile are still fresh in our minds. Thousands gave up their lives due to the treacherous leadership of the revisionist party of Chile. Despite this lesson written in the blood of the oppressed masses, the French revisionists gladly join with Brezhnev in saying, "The tragedy of Chile does not in the least wipe out the conclusion of the communists on the possibility of the various roads of the revolution, among which is the peaceful road."

The French revisionist Party has completely renounced the path of proletarian revolution and instead are content to weasel themselves into positions of power in the bourgeois state. Rather than a party of struggle it has become a party of capitulation and class collaboration. As Marchais himself admits, "We are not the party of the clenched fist but the party of the outstretched hand."

This degeneration of the French party has its roots in the revisionism of Khrushchev. Its rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its "new working class" theories correspond directly to the ideas of "a party of the whole people" and the "state of the whole people". The Soviet clique's line on the "irreversibility of detente", peaceful transition to socialism and "peaceful coexistence as a principle guiding the relations among classes leads right into the French party's rejection of revolution and the bourgeois democratic and pacifist illusions they spread.

THE EUROPEAN REVISIONIST CONFERENCE

The French party does not have hegemony over this bankrupt rejection of Marxist-Leninist principles, but is taking the lead among the European revisionist parties in openly coming out with their formulations. At the recent conference of the European revisionist parties chaired by the Soviet czar Brezhnev, the opportunist and social-democratic nature of all these parties was clear. They all to varying degrees rejected the dictatorship of the proletariat, and called for the democratic, parliamentary road to social change. The leader of the revisionist party of Spain went so far as to deny the significance of the Great October Revolution in Russia and tried to sever all historical ties with the revolutionary heritage of Lenin:

"In former years Moscow, where our dreams began to take on reality, was our Rome. We talked of the Great Socialist October Revolution as the day of our birth. Those

were the days of our childhood. Today we have become adults....We have lost the traits characteristic of a church. The scientific contents of our theories will replace the previous beliefs and the mystique of predestination...We will not return to the structures and concepts of the internationalism that prevailed in the past."

Mr. Carillo continued:

"The fight for socialism in our countries will not take the form of dictatorship but will base itself on the respect for political and ideological pluralism, without the rule of one party, and in complete accordance, at all times, with the results of the general elections."

At this conference the Soviet clique made an attempt to solidify its hold over these parties. They were not afraid or concerned in the least that these parties were openly rejecting Marxism-Leninism, but were worried that the parties could not be relied upon to act as agents of Soviet social-imperialism in its bid for world hegemony. The Soviet's attempt had only minimal success. They were forced to go along with the final document of the conference which said the various parties agreed on (at least in words)

"adhering to the principles of equality and sovereign independence of each party, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for their free choice of different roads in the struggle for social change of a progressive nature..."

Among the various revisionist parties in the capitalist countries there are what our Albanian comrades call "centrifugal tendencies". This speaks to the tendency of these parties to move away from their old center in Moscow and to move towards more openly placing themselves at the service of their own bourgeoisie. The degree to which they do this or not is dependent on their own bourgeois self-interest. Generally, in countries where the power of Soviet social-imperialism is stronger and the bourgeoisie more under Soviet sway, the revisionist parties will act more openly as direct fifth column agents for their masters in Moscow. In the countries where the bourgeoisie is more independent from social-imperialism, the revisionist parties will more openly come out and criticize Soviet leadership, and speak more loudly about "the democratic and peaceful roads".

The unity that binds these parties is that they all use the present state-monopoly capitalist system as their model for "socialism". This points to why these parties are so dangerous. In the name of the working class they are trying to get in power, but if they succeed it will not represent the working class in power but the rule of the state monopoly capitalists. Fascist parties have traditionally used "socialism" as a cover for their sinister bourgeois nature: the modern revisionist parties are doing the same thing. They will exercise the open, terroristic dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and call it socialism, the state of the whole people. In the name of the working class they will betray the working class.

A BASKET OF CRABS

The splitting and degeneration of the revisionist camp is the inevitable consequence

of the Soviet revisionists' betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. These parties are now governed by bourgeois self-interest which governs their contention as well as their collusion. Revisionism has also meant a rise in national chauvinism as each party increasingly stands under the flag of its own country and bourgeoisie. As our Albanian comrades have said:

"The disintegration of the revisionist camp is an unceasing process which nobody can stop... Differences, quarrels and disintegration are inevitable for the various detachments of modern revisionism... They are like a basket of crabs and the more time passes, the more the contradictions increase and the more severe become the clashes." (ALBANIA TODAY, #2 (27) 1976)

SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM

What is the nature of the social-imperialist state that the revisionist parties hold as their "model socialism"? What is the future for the working masses if these parties succeed in gaining state power? The future is increased exploitation, fascist repression and national oppression as we can see by looking at the Soviet Union today.

About six months ago, with great pomp and demagogy, the Soviet social-fascist clique held their 25th Congress. For months before they had pushed a frantic public relations campaign which through obvious distortions, demagogy and juggling of statistics tried to paint a picture of progress and development in the five years since the 24th Congress in 1971. But reality cannot be hidden behind a wall of empty words. The state-monopoly capitalist rule in the Soviet Union has deepened the intensification of capitalist exploitation within the country and imperialist expansion abroad. There has been a highly concentrated militarization of the economy and an intensification in the program to spread Great-Russian national chauvinism. The flowery speeches and glowing promises of future abundance and permanent peace that surrounded the Congress are no different from the empty phrase-mongering that the bourgeois parties in the US are indulging in now that it is election year. The CPSU chieftains are even more insidious because they cloak themselves under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

The development of Soviet state-monopoly capitalism has led to increased exploitation and hardships for the masses. The basic targets of the national economy set in the 1971 five-year plan were never reached. In the five years, the national income only reached the level set for four years. The gross output value in the production of consumer goods only came to about 80% of the target and there is a serious shortage of many essential consumer goods on the market. Grain production showed a decrease in four of the five years in 1975 it was only two-thirds of the planned target. Loaves of bread are being made smaller to conserve the use of grain. Retail prices of major foodstuffs and other goods have been constantly rising while taxes and levies are also increasing. Even according to government statistics the Soviet people pay 87.4% more taxes in 1973 than they did in 1960 - 157.6 rubles compared to 84.1.

The economy and political structure of the Soviet Union has become increasingly centralized under the rule of the revisionist clique. Before under a genuine centralized socialist economy, the economy was planned on the basis of meeting the needs of the people. Now large bureaucratic state-monopoly combines, no different from the monopolies and trusts of the US system, have arisen. They are directed by the various ministries of the government. Each of these ministries represents a block of monopoly capitalists competing for more control and profits. Under the combines there has been an accelerated concentration of capital and production. The number of industrial enterprises has dropped from over 200,000 in the 1950's to around 48,000 in 1974. Since these monopolies were formed, the number of enterprises under the Ministry of Oil Industry has dropped from 1,600 to 1,000, under the Gas Industry Ministry from 560 to 357 and under the Coal Industry Ministry from 2,000 to 300.

From 1960 to 1973, the number of industrial enterprises with an output value of over 50 million rubles more than tripled, going from 0.8 of the industries to 3.2. Only 3% of the industrial industries accounted for 45.6% of the total production; 5.9% of the enterprises employed 96.3% of the workforce. In 1971 these enterprises consumed two-thirds of the electric power used by industry. Twenty-one combines under the Ministry of Oil Industry control 98% of the total oil output, while the all-Soviet combine organized by the Ministry of Chemical Industry exercises exclusive control over all establishments in the chemical industry. (data from Peking Review #8, 1976) This high concentration of capital and production represents the control exercised by a handful of Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists.

CONCENTRATION MEANS INCREASED PROFITS

The result of this concentration is to increase the exploitation of the working class and to increase the profits of the Soviet capitalist class. The Brezhnev clique has admitted that:

"One of the goals in establishing combines is to merge small factories together and raise rates of profit through specialization." With profit as the motive force in the Soviet economy, high priced, high profit commodities are produced at the expense of the goods needed by the laboring masses. Now production is centered around the industries that make the most profit and the head of the profitable enterprise usually gains power and becomes the manager of the industrial combine.

Another result of the establishment of state monopoly capitalism is the extreme militarization of the economy. This is necessary for the imperialist aims of the social fascist clique that is presently in power. The armaments industry and certain related heavy industries are the only areas where production has been increasing. It is estimated that about 60% of the Soviet industrial enterprises are directly or indirectly involved in arms production. This has contributed to the reduction in the people's consumption, the lack of

agricultural products and light industrial commodities and the general lopsided development of the national economy.

MATERIAL INCENTIVES

Increasingly in the Soviet Union is revealed the social contradiction between the working class and the laboring masses who produce all the material wealth and the new state monopoly class which appropriates the wealth created by the sweat and toil of the working people. The revisionist clique openly promotes material incentives and profit as a means to develop the economy but these merely aggravate and deepen the social contradictions. The living conditions of the masses worsen while the profits of the bureaucrats on top are increasing.

Unemployment is once again a problem in the Soviet Union though they try to mask it under the term "labor fluidity". "Employment service agencies" have been set up in many places in the Soviet Union. In the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and Kazakhstan alone, the applicants at these employment service bureaus totaled several million between 1969 and 1974. There is nothing the revisionists can do about this because just like here in the US unemployment is an inevitable outcome of the economic system. They can say:

"increase the role of remuneration for work to strengthen the labor discipline and reduce personnel fluidity at enterprises"

but in the same breath they advocate:

"wider application of progressive forms of material incentives for production increases with fewer workers." (Documents and Resolutions, 25th Congress of the CPSU, Novosti Press p. 104)

They are indeed caught up in their own contradictions!

Profit and the use of material incentives mean unemployment. Material incentives for the workers results in the intensification of their labor - more labor, more energy expended per hour of labor time by the worker, so more surplus value is created per hour of labor by the worker. Because it is more profitable when you have fewer workers working harder, this is just what is being promoted today in the Soviet Union. The documents of the 25th Congress are overflowing with the call to increased material incentives: "To increase the role of incentive pay, and the dependence of each worker's earnings on his own and his work-mates' contributions towards developing and raising the efficiency of social production" (Document p.33)

"To improve the techniques of management and economic incentive"... (Document p.41)
 "To gear the size of the incentive and bonus fund more closely to the fulfillment of delivery plans in accordance with contracts and orders..." (Documents p.41)
 "To provide for the further improvement in the training and professional advancement of managerial staff" (Document p. 1)

"Wider application of progressive forms of material incentives for production increases with fewer workers; of payment on a piecework basis, especially in construction and agriculture" (Document p. 104)

What Lenin said about the Taylor system used in the factories of the US applies equally to the Soviet incentive system:

"In capitalist society, progress in science and technology means progress in the art of sweating."

The full reliance of the Soviet revisionists on the incentive system is a clear indication of how thoroughly they have deserted even the faintest resemblance to the heritage of Lenin. There is a complete contradiction between their words and their deeds when they trumpet about the "dying out of class struggle" and their "state of the whole people" and yet are increasingly introducing inequalities in the wage system at all levels of the economy. The motion from socialism to communism, as our Chinese comrades consistently point out, is a motion to completely wipe out "all remnants of bourgeois right" that still remain under socialism. Lenin raised the example of the "subbotniks" - where workers freely donated their labor to socialist production - as real communist labor. It was a sign of moving from the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" which applies under socialism to the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" which applies to communism. However much the revisionists try to distort reality and claim that they are moving towards "communism", the reality embodied in their incentive system show they have moved completely in the opposite direction.

The degeneration of Soviet society under the new czars has resulted in widespread social manifestations: corruption in government, embezzling of funds, prostitution, drunkenness and a rise in juvenile delinquency. In response to the widespread resistance by the Soviet people, the social-fascist regime has instituted repressive police measures to maintain strict labor discipline in their war production and to guarantee the continuous flow of huge profits into their pockets.

NEW CZARS, NEW EMPIRE

The rule of the social-fascists has also brought increased national oppression in the USSR. Brezhnev claims that:

"The ideological and political unity of Soviet society and the community of peoples of our multi-national country have become still stronger." But the reality is that the new Soviet czars are exercising an increasing stranglehold over the various oppressed nations and nationalities. This is accompanied with a rise in Great Russian chauvinism. In Mongolia, for example, Russian is made a compulsory subject and in the colleges all courses are taught in Russian only. The leading posts in Mongolian schools are held by Russian "advisers". The new Russian czars distort history and paint the imperialist expansion of the old Tsars as having "brought an era of happiness" to the enslaved nations and claim, for example, that "the Balkan people regard the Russians as their liberators."

The new czars are promoting a chauvinist theory of "denationalization" whereby the national sovereignty of the non-Russian revisionist nations is denied. In its place the czars would like to build an empire, fully integrated politically and economically, and fully under their control. They are moving forward with this plan through fascist measures. One method they use is to forcibly disperse the national minorities and members of oppressed nations. Between 1960 and 1970 over 14.6% of the Moldavian people were moved out of the Moldavian Republic and 13.4% of the Ukrainian people were similarly dispersed. Whenever resistance develops in opposition to these policies of the new czars, they carry out a purge of the leadership and cadre of the Parties in the oppressed nations and install in their place lackeys who will obey orders.

The new Soviet czars also force unequal trade and economic relations on their "fraternal socialist countries". Through their so-called "international division of labor" they make these countries dependent on the Soviet Union. The new czars control the flow of certain resources such as oil and grain into these countries and force them to allow the Soviet Union to steal their natural resources at below-market prices. The countries within the Council of Mutual Economic Aid each put a certain amount of capital into a development fund - the great majority of this capital is used for investment in the Soviet Union. If any of the CMEA countries balk at this, the new czars use their control over oil, etc. to blackmail them into compliance.

Comrades, modern revisionism has led to the degeneration of the first socialist country into a country of social-imperialist expansion and exploitation. The rejection of the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism, rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the necessity for the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie has spread like poison in the veins of the communist movement until this vile opportunism has killed off every and any aspect of revolutionary potential in the revisionist parties throughout the world. It is our communist duty to thoroughly expose, isolate and smash these renegades and traitors who still dare to clothe themselves under the banner of Marx and Lenin. They have become the enemy of the proletariat and working masses and the oppressed peoples and countries throughout the world.

We are confident that the modern revisionists will end up in the dustbin of history as has been the fate of all opportunists. Already we see the emergence of genuine communist parties and organizations to which the proletariat is turning as they cast off the revisionist parties like so many dirty clothes. Here in the US the task of building a genuine communist party still lies before us.

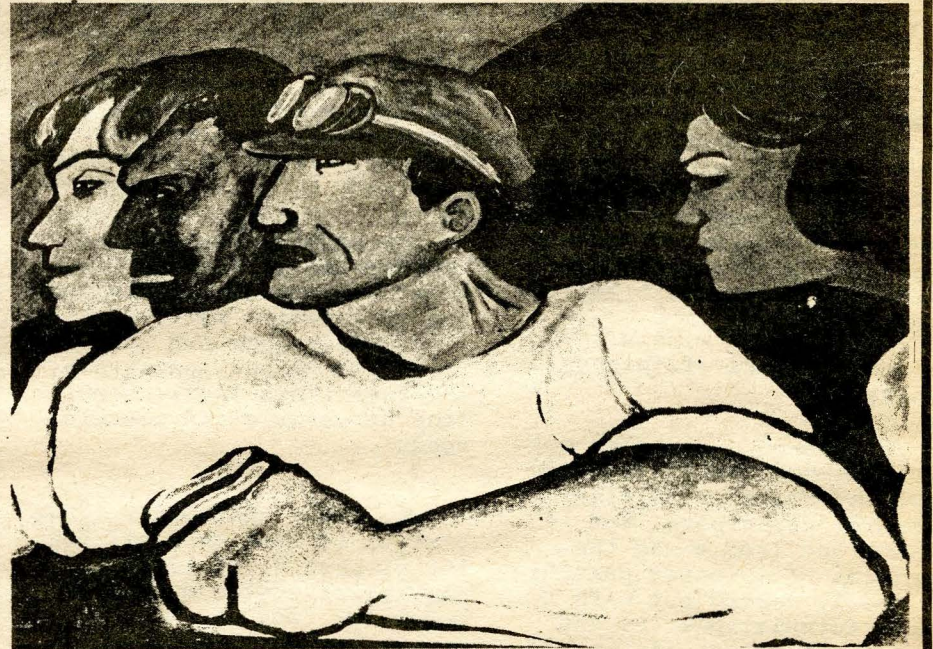
As we move to accomplish this task, we must be absolutely sure that a firm foundation for the party has been built. As long as we firmly adhere to the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism, and firmly drive from our ranks all forms of opportunism, that firm foundation will be built.

EXPOSE AND DEFEAT REVISIONISM

STUDY MARXISM-LENINISM, COMBAT REVISIONISM!

BOLSHEVIZE OUR RANKS!

Suscribe To THE COMMUNIST



The Workers Congress (Marxist-Leninist) is a multi-national communist organization which takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking. Our fundamental aim and program is the complete overthrow of the US monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes as part of a world wide united front against US imperialism and social-imperialism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the triumph of socialism over capitalism, and the ultimate realization of communism. We are striving to build THE COMMUNIST as an instrument for the Leninist trend, to be used as a weapon in the struggle for a single common Iskra-type organ and the eventual formation of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. While we discuss questions from our own definite point of view, we open our columns to polemics among comrades. We call on all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary workers to join with us in building THE COMMUNIST and call for reports and correspondence on factory and political exposures, etc.

Subscription rates are \$4.25 per year.	Send to: WCML POB 1297 Chicago, Ill. 60690	The WCML can also be contacted at: WCML POB 11713 L.A., Ca. 90011
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AGAINST THE CIRCLE SPIRIT

It is an elementary lesson of struggle that to declare a battle is not to win it. The WCML has won important victories over the last year in the battle initially launched against petty bourgeois democracy in the Black Workers Congress. But we have paid for the idealism with which we undertook the struggle and learned some hard lessons.

The significance of the split in the BWC was that it was the first struggle under the line that party building was the central task to really confront the responsibilities of a Bolshevik line on party building. Like other organizations in our movement, the BWC was deeply infected with the erroneous line of tailing the spontaneous movement. Local autonomy and the small circle spirit governed district activity and the centralization of the organization had by no means been accomplished. As we first began to take up the struggle against backwardness, amateurishness, the local circle spirit, liberalism and economism which holds back our movement, an attack was raised by those who sought to preserve the social democratic tendencies of the BWC. While calling party building the central task -- they no longer dared attack party building itself -- they sought to escape the responsibilities required to build a Leninist party and to make party building easy by continuing the social democratic habits of the past: no reporting, little discipline, no effort to develop our industrial work along nuclear lines, failure to make propaganda the chief form of activity, failure to take up the task of winning the advanced, etc.

These clear right opportunist attacks on party building came under the guise that "left" opportunism was the main danger in our organization and in the Marxist-Leninist movement, and it was in the struggle against these open attacks that the Workers Congress (M-L) was formed. The Unity Conference held by our organization in August of 1975 marked our victory over the anti-left line in the BWC and was a good step forward for our movement.

Unfortunately our grasp of the demands of the struggle around which we had consolidated was uneven.

First of all, a leading member of the BWC who had led the struggle within the BWC was obviously fighting for standards which he refused to apply to himself. We were immediately faced with the task of ridding our ranks of blatantly anti-proletarian practices on the Woman Question and of a liberalism on the question that had corroded collective life.

At the same time some persons who had been staunch and active in the struggle within the BWC resigned. Commitment to the organization was secondary to the commitment to their own personal or circle activity. The pattern in virtually each case was the same. There was no attack on the line of the organization, but these people left, withdrawing from struggle, pleasure seeking, at the most spreading rumors about differences. They did not fight for any views within the organization or carry out struggle within the organization. They did not fight for leadership and by resigning showed how little they valued the precious weapon of a national organization. When views were

written it was always long after they had left the organization when they were accountable to no one for the correctness or incorrectness of their views. Instead of taking up the hard task of fighting for the organization or professional revolutionaries we need, these forces took the easy and unproletarian path of resignation.

The errors against which the WCML had consolidated had raised their heads in our own ranks in a different form. Small circle autonomy which sought to continue affairs in the old way, liberalism which leads to passivity in the face of struggle, lack of discipline which leads to a shirking of responsibilities to the organization and the revolution -- all reflected a right opportunist tendency to demoralization and a capitulation before difficulty.

This is a very important party building lesson. Our leading bodies failed to grasp the depth of the struggle required around these questions in our own ranks and failed to move swiftly enough to accomplish the ideological and organizational steps necessary to consolidate our ranks -- above all establishing and insisting upon the fullest inner party publicity and providing clear leadership on the ideological, political and organizational tasks we had set. For example, while we had won a decisive victory over the line of whipping up or tailing the spontaneous movement and led the call to build factory nuclei, we did not give adequate guidance to the work and did not adequately mobilize cadres toward that goal. We must all recognize the importance of this task to our movement. If we are in fact to build our party on a solid factory basis and a nuclear style, we will have to give good guidance, drawing on the best experience of the past and summing up the lessons of comrades in their work.

What we did do was to continue to apply rigorously the principles and standards we had fought for and we persisted in our militant determination to continue on that path. On that basis we could learn from our mistakes and continue the struggle.

It was our insistence on those standards that led to the purge from our ranks of one former leader, Don Williams, for anti-proletarian practices and a consistent refusal to subordinate himself to the leadership and discipline of the organization.

The errors of liberalism, passivity and the autonomy of the circle against which we have fought over the last year have in every instance manifested themselves most importantly in violations of democratic centralism. Opportunism in matters of organization is opportunism on the question of democratic centralism.

The best example of how a perpetuation of local circle autonomy, the spirit of factionalism and the "stuck in a hole" attitude can corrode democratic centralism is shown by the struggle which led to the indefinite suspension of the entire New York district of the WCML from our organization this summer.

The New York district was suspended for their failure to carry out a directive from the organization's leading body to hold a workshop on the question of War

to commemorate May Day. In spite of the objections the district raised to the directive, it is an elementary principle of democratic centralism that it was their duty to carry it out and take up struggle in a disciplined fashion about those aspects which they felt were incorrect. There can be no compromise on this principle. A unanimous Central Committee called for a self-criticism from the district and from its leading member. However, this directive also met with refusal and defiance and, on that basis, the district was suspended from the organization.

Now New York justifies its action with the notions that they are upholding the true line of the organization and that a unanimous CC has set itself up as an autonomous faction above the organization and is distorting the line of the organization. On this basis they justify their refusal to carry out discipline. The question raised in this situation is what you do in a communist organization when an individual cadre or district holds one position and the CC holds another. That is how democratic centralism is presented in this situation. Obviously it is an ABC of Marxism that the line of the higher body prevails over the line of the lower body and that the individual and the district are subordinate to the Central Committee. No other solution is possible. This is the basic issue around the NY district's refusal to recognize the collective leadership and authority of the organization.

They also justified their action by saying that in fact the Central Committee was violating democratic centralism because it was putting out a line before it had been fully discussed in the organization. In other words, stuck in a hole, they insisted on the bankrupt line of "democratic centralism from below." Mao scorned this error: "No longer," he said, does anyone bring up such erroneous demands as that the Red Army should apply 'democratic centralism from the bottom to the top' or should 'let the lower levels discuss all problems first, and then let the higher levels decide.'" Unfortunately, one still hears such things in New York. For them an Iskra newspaper is a newspaper where they have a chance to debate out their views before higher bodies decide. For them centralized leadership is bureaucratic hegemonism by that hated "faction" in the organization -- the Central Committee.

The petty bourgeoisie's aversion to discipline has always played a wrecking role in proletarian organizations. Though we called for a resolute break with revisionist and petty bourgeois democratic tendencies on matters of organization, many in our ranks never broke with these Social Democratic errors. These persons have never broken with the factional, local circle spirit we have recently criticized in PRRWO and which plagues our movement as a whole in a variety of forms. One good example in NY is their consistent failure to report. Another is their failure to turn over the names of their contacts. Here again is an ABC of Marxism -- in LETTER TO A COMRADE Lenin makes clear that turning over the names of contacts to central bodies is a first responsibility of those involved in local work in their efforts to build a national organiz-

ation. These persons, however, insisted on preparing their contacts before national leadership could deal with them. This again is nothing but an attitude which sacrifices organization to local circle ambitions.

It is inevitable that errors of organizational opportunism are connected to ideological and political errors. In NY the most serious of these errors was a willingness to conciliate and compromise with neo-revisionist forces for short term advantage in the struggle against PRRWO in that city. Acting autonomously, though still as members of the WCML, this district contacted PSP and the CLPUSNA in an effort to form a bloc opposed to the physical attacks by PRRWO against Marxist-Leninists in New York last spring. We will not belittle the seriousness and significance of PRRWO's errors on this matter for which they are justly condemned by the entire communist movement. But the WCML repudiates the contact with PSP and CLP carried out in our name. It is important to recognize how this action is the direct product of local autonomy and defiance of discipline that corroded the NY district's relationship with our national organization. Without a doubt our movement as a whole has not grasped the truth that the struggle against modern revisionism and the struggle against the penetration of modern revisionism in our midst begins with the struggle against social democratic tendencies in our organizations.

The ideological errors of the former district also show the inherent instability of a line which places its primary emphasis on circle autonomy and the circle spirit. First they were advocating a proletarian line on the Equal Rights Amendment, but then came their defiance of the workshop directive, and with it, a change to an ultra-"leftist" position of opposition to the ERA based on reasoning that negates the sex oppression of women and narrows the struggle for democracy (including an attack on the Civil Rights Act as a "sham reform").

Ultimately their errors on the woman question have their source in belittling the significance of private property as the origin of the oppression of women. Furthermore in a chauvinist way, they oppose the ERA because: "ERA can and will be used to get more women into US imperialism's demoralized and ineffective army, as well as lay the basis for the introduction of large numbers of women into the factories for increased war production, as in WW2."

This backward view reinforces the petty household slavery of women.

The same instability and inconsistency of line is evident in their attack on the WCML's line on war. Under the superrevolutionary guise of upholding the growing trend of revolution, the former NY district attacks the line of the Chinese Communist Party that imperialist war between the US and the USSR is inevitable and that the conditions for that war now exist. Among other things their argument separates the factors for war and the factors for revolution and does not clearly see that they are interconnected -- that the growth of one necessarily means the growth of the other.

continued on page 15

WCML REMARKS AT MEMORIAL

In the spirit of building the widest possible unity among Marxist-Leninists to commemorate the life of Chairman Mao Tsetung, this presentation was given by the Workers Congress (M-L) at a memorial meeting in Chicago sponsored by the organizations associated with the Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party.

Comrades and friends,

In memory of Chairman Mao Tsetung, we would like to sum up one of his most important contributions--a contribution on which we must all rely if we are to take our place in the front ranks of the struggle to overthrow imperialism, social imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

In the first lines of the pamphlet COMBAT LIBERALISM, written in 1937, during China's war of resistance against Japanese imperialism, Chairman Mao wrote:

"We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight. Every communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon."

Throughout Chairman Mao's life as the teacher and helmsman of the Communist Party of China, he used the weapon of active ideological struggle to guide the Chinese Party and the Chinese people to successful victories in overthrowing the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, in founding the People's Republic of China and in establishing a socialist society. For the first time in the history of the development of Marxism, he pointed out that there are still classes and class struggle after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed. He led the struggle to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and he launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movements to criticize Lin Biao and Teng Hsiao-ping. In the international communist movement, Chairman Mao led the struggle against modern revisionism and the renegade clique that has seized power and restored capitalism in the USSR. He has fostered and strengthened the unity of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations all over the world.

Why did Mao emphasize ideological struggle and why is this lesson so important to us all? Mao says active ideological struggle is the weapon for ensuring unity within the party and the revolutionary organizations in the interests

of our fight. Bourgeois ideology is present in all communist parties and organizations. Through ideological struggle we root out bourgeois ideology from our ranks and move forward on the path of revolution with our proletarian unity strengthened. Inner party struggle is the lifeblood of our movement. Mao said:

"Opposition and struggle between ideas of different trends constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end."

Whether to persist in inner party struggles or not is a principal difference between Chairman Mao's line and the revisionist line in party building. Chairman Mao led his party through ten great two line struggles. He constantly upheld that struggle was a sign of a healthy party, a sign that the party was pursuing class struggle in a steadfast manner. Opportunists have always done their utmost to negate the class content of inner party struggle or try to call it a struggle between individuals or attack inner party struggle as "creating contradictions", but for Mao, struggle is the weapon to ensure our unity in the interests of our fight. For our revolutionary organizations struggle and unity are dialectical aspects of a single whole. They are a unity of opposites. Just as without democracy there can be no centralism, so too without struggle there can be no unity. Giving up the weapon of struggle means abandoning the fight for the unity of our party. Abandoning our unity means surrendering the interests of our fight. Opportunists hypocritically attack inner party struggle by denying the objective reality that struggle exists in the party because they are afraid of what the light of day might expose. At the same time they are usually busy undermining the unity of the party, maneuvering, wrecking, and plotting unprincipled power plays. This was certainly the case with the chieftains of the revisionist line in China - Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao, and Teng Hsiao-ping - who deceitfully tried to struggle into the party the theory of the dying out of class struggle.

On the other side are those who turn every distinction between right and wrong within our organizations into a battle between the camp of revolution and the camp of counter-revolution, what Mao called the difference between Yen-an and Sian. They therefore see every difference as a rea-

son to split or divide the party. Shades of difference within the party are important for if such contradictions are not resolved they become antagonistic. But Mao distinguishes between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions. Within the revolutionary ranks we use the formula "unity-criticism-unity" to resolve contradictions between right and wrong. This means both unity and struggle. As Mao says the essential thing is to start from the desire for unity, resolve contradictions through criticism and struggle and arrive at a new unity on a new basis. This lesson is the hard won experience of the Chinese party and the Chinese people in their long history of struggle.

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Those who don't recognize this method never see the possibility of erroneous views being given up and comrades transforming themselves onto a correct path. We must be good at uniting with those who disagree with us or who formerly opposed us. But some comrades consider that there should be no contradictions in the party and that the party should be absolutely pure. But purity is relative and impurity is absolute. Our party development does not take place in a vacuum, but exists in an environment of complex class struggle. Inner party criticism, as Mao said, is a weapon for strengthening the party organization and increasing its fighting capacity..." "The mistakes of the past," he went on, "must be exposed without sparing anyone's sensibilities, it is necessary to analyze and criticize what was bad in the past with a scientific attitude so that work in the future will be done more carefully and done better. This is what is meant by "learn from mistakes to avoid future ones". But our aim in exposing errors and criticizing shortcomings, like that of a doctor curing a sickness, is solely to save the patient and not to doctor him to death."

The masses of working and oppressed people in the US know two things -- they want to fight and they know they can't fight isolated or alone. As Lenin said, the only weapon the proletariat has is the strength of its organization. That is why party building means strengthening our ties with the best of the proletariat. The source of our failure to take up active ideological struggle to build the party or to fight for the unity of our organizations is our failure to wholeheartedly devote ourselves to serving the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people and to lead their struggles. Mao Tsetung's confidence in inner party struggle stemmed from his reliance on the masses. His every breath and every word was based on mobilizing and serving the

man Mao was the comrade in arms of every revolutionary struggling against exploitation and oppression. His thought is an inextinguishable beacon that will remain forever our firm guide through the twists and turns of revolution. His selfless life is our model. Truly, he dedicated all his energies to the liberation of the Chinese people, to the emancipation of oppressed people the world over and to the cause of communism.

Our grief is our pledge to follow loyally and fearlessly Chairman Mao's path, taking our place in the ranks of the struggle to overthrow

masses of people. What he said was "Can 800 million people manage without struggle?!" In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he mobilized the Chinese people in their hundreds of millions against corruption and degeneration within his own party against those who had become fat and corrupt at the expense of the people and who tried to restore capitalism in China.

It is an important lesson for us in the US communist movement that Chairman Mao held organization of the proletariat so precious, but also held that the only way to ensure the unity and strength of this party was through active ideological struggle. Today the US proletariat is still without its vanguard party. It is our main task to build that party. We must not become disillusioned because the struggle within our movement is protracted and difficult. Proletarians are revolutionary optimists. We will only succeed in our party building efforts if we earnestly follow the teaching of Chairman Mao and take up the weapon of principled ideological struggle. This is the only way to ensure our unity in the interests of our fight. Comrades, we gird ourselves for struggle. Let no comrade show fatigue. This is not for tomorrow or for the next year but for a thousand years. How did Chairman Mao understand inner party struggle? He said:

"We have been singing the Internationale for fifty years and on ten occasions certain people in our Party tried to split it. As I see it this may happen another ten, twenty or thirty times. You don't believe it? You may not believe it. Anyway, I do. Will there be no more struggle when we get to communism? I just don't believe it. There will be struggles even then, but only between the new and the old, what is correct and what is incorrect. Tens of thousands of years from now, what is wrong still won't get by, it won't stand up."

Chairman Mao liked to say about the Chinese Communist Party that "This party of ours has a bright future."

Comrades and friends, the road is tortuous, but this Party of ours has also a bright future! In mourning Chairman Mao, let us have the confidence to seize this lesson of his teaching: ideological struggle is the means to build our party and ensure our unity. Class struggle is the key link!

ETERNAL GLORY TO CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG!!!

Telegram to CPC

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Peking, the People's Republic of China

Dear Comrades,

We mourn the loss of Chairman Mao Tsetung and with profound sorrow express our grief and deep condolences to you and to all the Chinese people. Chairman Mao was a good friend to the US people, full of confidence in the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed nationalities and national minorities, workers farmers and all other progressive people who make up

the overwhelming majority of the US population. His death is an enormous loss to working and oppressed people everywhere.

Chairman Mao led the Chinese people to tremendous victories. The lessons he forged in the rich experience of struggle for national liberation and socialist construction, in the struggle against the renegade clique of modern revisionists who have seized control of the party of Lenin and Stalin and restored capitalism in the USSR, and in the battle to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat are all our vast treasure. Chair-

imperialism, social imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. We renew our determination and our efforts to mould ourselves into worthy successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, practicing Marxism, not revisionism and working wholeheartedly in the interests of the people.

ETERNAL GLORY TO CHAIRMAN MAO TSE TUNG!!

The Central Committee of the Workers Congress (Marxist-Leninist)

From The Central Committee Of The CPC

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, the State Council of the People's Republic of China and the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China announce with deepest grief to the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country: Comrade Mao Tsetung, the esteemed and beloved great leader of our Party, our army and the people of all nationalities in our country, the great teacher of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Honorary Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, passed away at 00:10 hours on September 9, 1976 in Peking as a result of the worsening of his illness and despite all treatment, although meticulous medical care was given him in every way after he fell ill.

Chairman Mao Tsetung was the founder and wise leader of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the People's Republic of China. Chairman Mao led our Party in waging a protracted, acute and complex struggle against the Right and "Left" opportunist lines in the Party, defeating the opportunist lines pursued by Chen Tu-hsiu, Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san, Lo Chang-lung, Wang Ming, Chang Kuo-tao, Kao Kang-Jao Shu-shih and Peng Teh-huai and again, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, triumphing over the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and Teng Hsiao-ping, thus enabling our Party to develop and grow in strength steadily in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. Led by Chairman Mao, the Communist Party of China has developed through a tortuous path into a great, glorious and correct Marxist-Leninist Party which is today exercising leadership over the People's Republic of China.

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.

In the period of the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao comprehensively summed up the positive as well as the negative experience of the international communist movement, penetratingly analysed the class relations in socialist society and, for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism, unequivocally pointed out that there are still classes and class struggle after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed, drew the scientific conclusion that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party, put forth the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and laid down the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, our Party, our army and the people of our country have continued their triumphant advance and seized great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction; particularly in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius and in criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping and repulsing the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts. Upholding socialism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in the People's Republic of China, a country with a vast territory and a large population, is a great contribution of world historic significance which Chairman Mao Tsetung made to the present era; at the same time, it has provided fresh experience for the international communist movement in combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

All the victories of the Chinese people have been achieved under the leadership of Chairman Mao; they are all great victories for Mao Tsetung Thought. The radiance of Mao Tsetung Thought will for ever illuminate the road of advance of the Chinese people.

Chairman Mao Tsetung summed up the revolutionary practice in the international communist movement, put forward a series of scientific theses, enriched the theoretical treasury of Marxism and pointed out the orientation of struggle for the Chinese people and the revolutionary people throughout the world. With the great boldness and vision of a proletarian revolutionary, he initiated in the international communist movement the great struggle to criticize modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core, promoted the vigorous development of the cause of the world proletarian revolution and the cause of the people of all

countries against imperialism and hegemonism, and pushed the history of mankind forward.

Chairman Mao Tsetung was the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era. For more than half a century, basing himself on the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution, he inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the protracted struggle against the class enemies at home and abroad, both inside and outside the Party, and wrote a most brilliant chapter in the history of the movement of proletarian revolution. He dedicated all his energies throughout his life to the liberation of the Chinese people, to the emancipation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over, and to the cause of communism. With the great resolve of a proletarian revolutionary, he waged a tenacious struggle against his illness, continued to lead the work of the whole Party, the whole army and the whole nation during his illness and fought till he breathed his last. The magnificent contributions he made to the Chinese people, the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of the whole world are immortal. The Chinese people and the revolutionary people the world over love him from the bottom of their hearts and have boundless admiration and respect for him.

The passing away of Chairman Mao Tsetung is an incalculable loss to our Party, our army and the people of all nationalities in our country, to the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries and to the international communist movement. His passing away is bound to evoke immense grief in the hearts of the people of our country and the revolutionary people of all countries. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China calls on the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in the country to resolutely turn their grief into strength:

We must carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao and persist in taking class struggle as the key link, keep to the Party's basic line and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We must carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao and strengthen the centralized leadership of the Party, resolutely uphold the unity and unification of the Party and closely rally round the Party Central Committee. We must strengthen the building of the Party ideologically and organizationally in the course of the struggle between the two lines and resolutely implement the principle of the three-in-one combination of the old, middle-aged and young in accordance with the five requirements for bringing up successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

We must carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao and consolidate the great unity of the people of all nationalities under the leadership of the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping, continue the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts, consolidate and develop the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, enthusiastically support the socialist new things, restrict bourgeois right and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. We should continue to unfold the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, build our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift, and go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.

We must carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao and resolutely implement his line in army building, strengthen the building of the army, strengthen the building of the militia, strengthen preparedness against war, heighten our vigilance, and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares to intrude. We are determined to liberate Taiwan.

We must carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao and continue to resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs. We must adhere to proletarian internationalism, strengthen the unity between our Party and the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations all over the world, strengthen the unity between the people of our country and the people of all other countries, especially those of the third world countries, unite with all the forces in the world that can be united, and carry the struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and modern revisionism through to the end. We will never seek hegemony and will never be a superpower.

We must carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao and assiduously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, apply ourselves to the study of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and works by Chairman Mao, fight for the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and for the triumph of socialism over capitalism, and strive to build our country into a powerful socialist state, make still greater contributions to humanity and realize the ultimate goal of communism.

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Eternal glory to the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung!

Eternal Glory to

MAO'S LIFE FROM PAGE 1

Revolution in Russia. Mao's political involvement intensified with his activity in the May 4th Movement - an anti-imperialist student movement in China. In the twists and turns of struggle, Mao and others became "convinced that only mass political power secured through mass action could guarantee the realization of dynamic reforms." Mao turned to the working class and to Marxism. In an interview summing up his early involvement, Mao said,

"In the winter of 1920 I organized workers politically for the first time and began to be guided in this by the influence of Marxist theory and the history of the Russian revolution. During my second visit to Peking I had read much about the events in Russia, and had eagerly sought out what little Communist literature was then available in Chinese... (This) built up in me a faith in Marxism, from which, once I had accepted it as the correct interpretation of history, I did not afterwards waver."

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN CHINA

In May, 1921, Mao Tsetung attended the founding meeting of the Chinese Communist Party, as one of 12 delegates who represented 52 people. This small cell of a party, which today numbers 30 million people, set about the tasks of mobilizing the masses for the overthrow of imperialist rule and oppression. Mao was the secretary of the branch in Hunan which had organized some 20 unions among the workers by 1922. By 1925 Mao became active in the work among the peasantry, which introduced him to the tremendous potential for revolutionary action by the peasants. Based on his investigations of the concrete conditions of the peasantry and their movement, Mao was forced to wage struggle against the opportunist line that held sway in the Central Committee under the leadership of Chen Tu-hsiu, that belittled the revolutionary potential of the peasants. This struggle, which was the first of 10 major two-line struggles that Mao Tsetung led in the Chinese Communist Party affirmed not only the revolutionary role of the peasantry in China but took head-on the cynical and pessimistic view brought into the Party by vascillating petty-bourgeois elements. In the course of this struggle and many others he affirmed the revolutionary optimism of the oppressed masses. He reported on the response of many to the peasant revolt in Hunan:

"From the middle social strata upwards to the Kuomintang right-wingers, there was not a single person who did not sum up the whole business in the phrase, 'It's terrible!' Under the impact of the views of the 'It's terrible!' school then flooding the city, even quite revolutionary-minded people became down-hearted as they pictured the events in the country-side in the mind's eye, and they were unable to deny the word 'terrible'. Even quite revolutionary people said, 'Though, terrible, it is inevitable in the revolution...' No revolutionary comrade should echo this non-

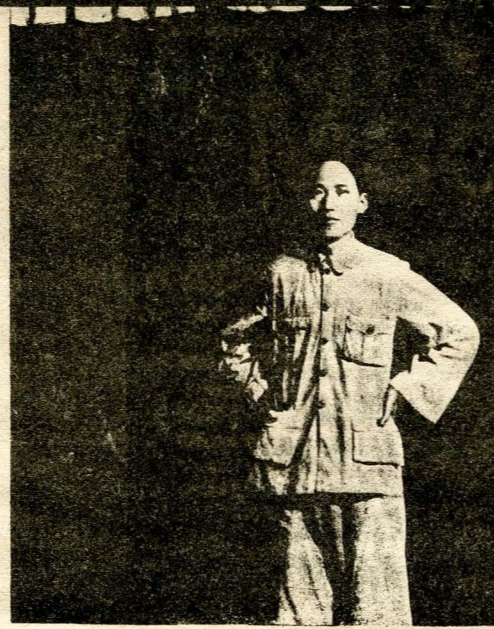
sense. If your revolutionary viewpoint is firmly established and if you have been to the villages and looked around you will undoubtedly feel thrilled as never before. Countless thousands of the enslaved--the peasants--are striking down the enemies who fattened on their flesh. What the peasants are doing is absolutely right; what they are doing is fine! 'It's fine!' is the theory of the peasants and of all other revolutionaries." (INVESTIGATION OF PEASANT MOVEMENT IN HUNAN)

In the course of the struggle for his correct views Mao returned to do work in forming what was to become the Red Army in Chingkangshan, and to sow the work that would culminate in the great Autumn Harvest Uprising. At this point the united front between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party which had been developed in 1923, was broken completely apart by Chiang Kai-shek's complete military turn on the communists and his efforts to annihilate them by military force. At this point in 1927, Mao said, "The long, open struggle for power... had begun. In the course of Mao's work as would be the case for the rest of his life, he was constantly in danger. At one point he was only a couple of hundred yards from where he was to be executed when he broke loose from his captors and fled for his life. In this same period, his wife and sister were executed.

Through the struggles that emerged from Chingkangshan, grew what was to become the Red Army which was personally led by Mao Tsetung, guided by his famous thesis "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and the strategy and tactics of peoples' war that he formulated. The slogans that guided this struggle-- "When the enemy advances, we retreat; when the enemy halts and encamps, we trouble them; when the enemy seeks to avoid a battle, we attack; when the enemy retreats, we pursue"--constituted a tremendous contribution by Chairman Mao Tsetung that continue to lead the revolutionary armed struggles of the peoples throughout the Third World.

With the formation of the Red Army, the efforts of the Kuomintang (KMT) to crush the communists further intensified with a series of "annihilation campaigns" and efforts to encircle what had become Red base areas, where there was a numerically weaker Red Army. At one point the KMT tried to build a ring of iron block houses to contain the revolutionaries. Mao, again advancing his supreme confidence in the masses, said:

"Comrades! Are they really iron bastions? Not in the least! Think of the palaces of the feudal emperors over thousands of years - were they not powerful within their walls and moats? Yet they crumbled one after another the moments the masses arose. The Tsar of Russia was one of the world's most ferocious rulers, but, when the proletariat and the peasantry rose in revolution, was there anything left of him? No nothing. His bastions of iron? They all crumbled. Comrades! What is a bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sin-



Mao at poor peasant conference, 1933



The Chairman among the masses with comrade in arms, Chou En-lai during Cultural Revolution



Comrades Chou En-lai, Mao Tsetung and Chu Teh, during anti Japanese War



CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG
1893 - 1976



Mao on horseback during second Civil War, 1946-49



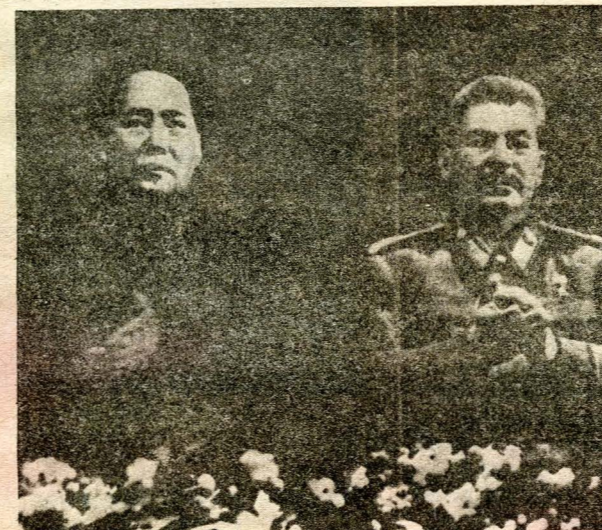
Joy in working with the masses



Visiting with workers in steel plant in Anwei in 1959



Writing in Yanan, 1937



Two Great Marxist Leninists, 1949

Chairman Mao Tse Tung

cerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion, which no force can smash, no force whatsoever. The counter-revolution cannot smash us; on the contrary, we shall smash it. Rallying millions upon millions of people, we shall wipe out all counter-revolution and take over the whole of China."

Internally within the Chinese Communist Party, opportunist lines which belittled the revolutionary potential of the peasants in right and left forms and continued to result in setbacks for the party and army, such as the Li Li Hsan line which overestimated the strength of the Red Army, focusing attacks on the cities, etc. The correctness of Chairman Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line on strategy and tactics was proven correct and was affirmed as correct by the Party in the course of the Long March. This march was one of the most brilliant chapters in military history. This Long March was a strategic retreat that allowed the complete consolidation of the revolutionary forces. Mao Tsetung led this valiant march and summed up its effects as:

"...The army was almost constantly moving and the most energetic combat and fighting took place. Through many, many difficulties, across the longest and deepest and most dangerous rivers of China, across some of its highest and most hazardous mountain passes, through the country of fierce aborigines, through the empty grasslands, through cold and through intense heat, through wind and snow and rainstorm, pursued by half the White armies (KMT) of China, through all these natural barriers, and fighting its way past the local troops of Kwangtung, Hunan, Kwangsi, Kweichow, Yunnan, Sikang, Szechuan, Kansu and Shensi, the Red Army at last reached northern Shensi in October, 1935... The victorious march of the Red Army, and its triumphant arrival in Kansu and Shensi with its living forces still intact, was due first to the correct leadership of the Communist Party, and second to the great skill, courage, determination, and almost superhuman endurance and revolutionary ardor of the basic cadres..."

This march started with 90,000 people who marched an equivalent of 2 1/2 times across the United States.

Not only did the Long March serve as a decisive retreat which allowed consolidation - as Mao declared, it was also a "manifesto":

"It has proclaimed to the world that the Red Army is an army of heroes, while the imperialists and their running dogs, Chiang Kai-shek and his like, are impotent. It has proclaimed their utter failure to encircle, pursue, obstruct and intercept us. The Long March is also a propaganda force. It has announced to some 200 million people in eleven provinces that the road of the Red Army is their only road to liberation. Without the Long March, how could the broad masses have learned so quickly about the existence of the great truth which the Red Army embodies. The Long March is also a seeding machine. In eleven provinces it has sown many seeds which will sprout,

leaf, blossom and bear fruit, and will yield a harvest in the future. In a word, the Long March has ended with victory for us and defeat for the enemy."

From these seeds grew a mighty foundation for the revolutionary forces under the brilliant and correct leadership of Mao Tsetung. Under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao, more and more territory was liberated by the masses, crushing the control of the KMT and opening up fronts against the imperialist invasion by Japan which was developing in full force in the middle 1930's. During this period, Mao advanced the principles that guided the New Democratic Revolution and forged the United Front Against Japan which included the KMT.

Not only was the CPC able to consolidate and broaden the base areas, but under the guidance of Mao Tsetung, the Party was consolidated ideologically so it could keep command over the twists and turns that the struggle required in this period of united front with forces that carried out brutal massacres of communist cadres and militants from the workers and peasants. It also needed to weld together the various class forces in the course of the New Democratic Revolution. In 1937, Mao wrote ON PRACTICE and ON CONTRADICTION which made it possible to liquidate the wavering and opportunism which had caused such terrific setbacks during the late '20s. During this period, the base areas grew to be many millions strong and the Red Army expanded enormously. The rise of the revolutionary masses led by Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China was like a powerful wave which, along with the anti-fascist forces, defeated Japan, and proceeded to conclude the civil war and to send Chiang Kai-shek and his small defeated band of followers to hide on Taiwan. On October 1, 1949, Mao Tsetung declared the founding of the Peoples' Republic of China. He announced to the masses gathered in Tien An Men Square, and to the entire world: "THE CHINESE PEOPLE HAVE STOOD UP!"

SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION - THE MASSES ARE THE HEROES!

Mao Tsetung's statement on October 1, 1949, was sober and short. Mao was a dialectical materialist and knew that although 30 years of struggle had produced the greatest revolutionary victory to that point, the struggle had in fact just begun. He said,

"With victory, certain moods may grow within the Party - arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia, and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living. With victory, the people will be grateful to us and the bourgeoisie will come forward to flatter us. It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks. There may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

for standing up to those enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must guard against such a situation. To win a country-wide victory is just the first step in a long march of ten thousand li. Even if this step is worthy of pride, it is comparatively tiny; what will be more worthy of pride is yet to come. After several decades, the victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution, viewed in retrospect, will seem like only a brief prologue to a long drama. A drama begins with a prologue, but the prologue is not the climax. The Chinese revolution is great, but the road after revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous. This must be made clear now in the Party. The comrades must be taught to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be taught to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle. We have the Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism and self-criticism. We can get rid of a bad style and keep the good. We can learn what we did not know. We are not only good at destroying the old world, we are also good at building the new." (REPORT TO SECOND SESSION OF SEVENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE)

The world situation was rapidly changing, with a new imperialist power, which had demonstrated its bellicose and aggressive character with the devastation of cities with nuclear weapons, rising rapidly to replace the powers that had dominated the world up through World War II. The US imperialists were launching an offensive to grab what they could in the world, particularly in Asia, always holding out the threat of nuclear war. They gave support to the Kuomintang reactionaries with arms and money. In an interview with Anna Louise Strong, Mao Tsetung spoke to how he viewed the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons by the US against China. He said:

"The atom bomb is a paper tiger which the US reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Of course, the atom bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the outcome of a war is decided by the people not by one or two new types of weapons."

The US, still confident it could re-seize this country of 800 million in the course of seizing other parts of Asia, waged aggression against Korea, with McArthur taking his troops up to the Chinese border. Immediately the Peoples' Republic of China, affirming that people are the decisive factor and showing that they would not be cowed by this aggressor, sent volunteers into Korea to push back the US aggressors. Along with the heroic Korean masses, the people of China delivered US imperialism its first taste of defeat, helping set in motion the driving revolutionary force of the Third World countries and people and set US imperialism irreversibly on the path of decline.

Throughout the world in this period, aggressive US imperialism and its threats found weak spots in the international communist movement, where so-called communists sought a means of capitulating to US imperialism rather than fighting it. In the CPUSA, Earl Browder was scrambling around like a toad trying to

liquidate the party in order to get his share of the imperialist loot. In the once proud Soviet Communist Party, Khrushchov was feverishly renouncing Marxism-Leninism and rigging up the capitalist system, while using his fear of nuclear war as a justification for him to serve his own bourgeois interests. In his trip to Moscow in 1957, Mao reminded the fool that there was no need to fear nuclear war. Mao said,

"If the worse came to worst and half of mankind died, the other half would remain, while imperialism would be razed to the ground, and the whole world would become socialist: in a number of years there would be 2.7 billion people again..."

In 1956, Khrushchov seized control of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and initiated the process that was to bring about the full restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the complete degeneration of many communist parties throughout the world. As the October Revolution served as the beacon for revolutionaries in China to take up Marxism, to build their Parties and to advance in struggle, the rise of revisionism in the Soviet Union served as a teacher by negative example for Mao Tsetung. Fully confident in the masses of people and the lessons learned in the hundred years of proletarian struggle, Mao Tsetung took on the challenge.

For the first time in the history of Marxism, Mao Tsetung pointed out that there are still classes and class struggle after the seizure of power and the socialist transformation. He began to lay the basis for the class struggle which would guarantee that the Party would remain in the service of the proletariat and oppressed masses and not become the vehicle for the bourgeoisie to rig up a capitalist system and overthrow the advances that had been so dearly paid for. During this time in striving to bring forward the initiative of the masses in socialist construction and in taking control over all aspects of their lives, he said, "I have witnessed the tremendous energy of the masses. On this foundation it is possible to accomplish any task whatsoever."

Within the great Chinese Communist Party, revisionist forces--many of them veterans in the revolution--struggled to usurp power, and turn the revolution back. They first had begun to attack the correct ideological foundations that Mao Tsetung had laid with their revisionist garbage, claiming that under socialism, class struggle would die out, that material incentives were the best and only way to bring forward the initiative of the masses, that it didn't matter which way a job was done--it only mattered if it worked, etc. These bourgeois leaders cringed with each step of the Communist Party to restrict bourgeois right, to do away with all privileges and inequalities on all levels of society, and bring forward the conscious initiative of the masses. Each one of these bourgeois agents struggled to plant their supporters and friends in strategic positions within the superstructure in preparation for the time when they would come to power. And without exception, these new leaders of the bourgeoisie were discovered by the firm and searing correct line of Chairman Mao Tsetung. Mao personally led and initiated a bitter class struggle of

the masses to root out and expose these leaders and their bourgeois line, as well as the ideological soil that had nurtured their growth. The greatest of these struggles was the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which was initiated by Mao in 1965 with the call to the masses that shook the new bourgeoisie--"It is right to rebel against reactionaries!". With this call, he mobilized the masses of students, workers, peasants, and soldiers to root out the capitalist roaders initially in the superstructure of Chinese society and finally in all aspects of society.

In 1967, he summed it up this way. "In the past we waged struggles in the rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below." In this great movement, the masses of people were called on to boldly criticize the leaders within the Communist Party who were deviating from the correct path. The masses were encouraged in every way to take up the science of Marxism-Leninism so they would have the tools necessary to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism. They were personally led by Mao Tsetung in struggle as he had done before in all the glorious chapters of the Chinese revolution.

This struggle which began with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1965 was led by Mao to the moment he died. It resulted in the exposure and triumph over Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao, and Teng Hsiao-ping. It brought forth in every way the enthusiasm and initiative of the masses and armed them with Mao's contributions to Marxism-Leninism which will guide them and the world revolutionary movement forever. He affirmed "that class struggle is the key link" and warned the people "never to forget class struggle". Based on his study and summary of the period of socialism, he drew the scientific conclusion, "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road." He taught that, "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything" and continuously held and propagated the slogan, "It is right to rebel against reactionaries".

THE GREATEST MARXIST IN THE CONTEMPORARY ERA

Mao Tsetung's contributions to the exploited and oppressed masses of the world were enormous. He stood at the crest of the revolutionary tide that is sweeping our world. Not only did he lead the tremendous development of the People's Republic of China, but he launched the struggle in the international communist movement to criticize revisionism and exposed the plots and maneuvering of the revisionists to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union. He exposed the emergence of this new social-imperialist power and the path it has taken to plunder the world's people. He exposed the relationship between the two superpowers, pointing out that

the struggle between them is bound to lead to a new world war. He called on the people of the world to prepare for war and called for a united front against imperialism and social imperialism. As Comrade Hua Kuo-feng said:

"Mao Tsetung...brought about the vigorous development of the cause of the world proletarian revolution and the cause of the people of all countries against imperialism and hegemonism, and pushed the history of mankind forward. Basing himself on the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution, Chairman Mao summed up the experience of domestic and international revolutionary struggles, inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in all respects and enriched the treasure house of Marxist theory. Mao Tsetung Thought is a powerful ideological weapon for opposing the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and for opposing imperialism, social imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries."

Through his teachings, leadership, and example Mao did the work to guarantee that there will be successors--millions of them world-wide--to carry on his work. Not only are the revolutionary masses armed with his Thought, we also have the powerful and correct Communist Party of China and a growing international communist movement that has been led in the course of struggle by this great helmsman. And of course, when the struggle gets tough and in the middle of its many twists and turns we have the profound example of his revolutionary optimism, his unrestricted confidence in the limitless power of the masses of people, and his daring to struggle. With a leader and teacher like that we must take the time to mourn and sum-up yet with an irresistible force we are forced to turn our grief into strength and to transform our tears into battlecries as we rise to intensify our struggle against imperialism, social imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.



"We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven
And seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas;
We'll return amid triumphant song and laughter.
Nothing is hard in this world
If you dare to scale the heights."

ON THE LONG MARCH WITH CHAIRMAN MAO

On the solemn occasion of the death of Chairman Mao Tsetung, we must study the proletarian qualities of the life of Chairman Mao and make them a beacon that guides our own work and practice. The revolutionary example of comrade Mao Tsetung has inspired millions upon millions of the oppressed and downtrodden in China and throughout the entire world to stand up and fiercely fight for their own liberation.

Chen Chang-Feng was such a person. Born into a poor peasant family in 1915, Chen went on to become a veteran communist and revolutionary soldier and leader in the Red Army. He had the great fortune of working with Chairman Mao for many years and wrote a story about his experiences—ON THE LONG MARCH WITH CHAIRMAN MAO. Comrade Chen gives us a firsthand account of the revolutionary spirit of Mao, a spirit which remained steadfast even in times of setback for the Chinese revolution. We urge all communists, workers and progressive people to read this book and share the full feeling of joy and inspiration that comrade Chen describes.

The family and entire village of Chen Chang-Feng suffered cruelly at the hands of the local landlords. Because of this, the deeds and slogans of the Red Army, especially the slogan "Down with the rich! Up with the poor!" had burned themselves into the memory of young Chen. When he was thirteen he and a friend set out to join the Red Army. Due to their determination and courage they were both accepted into the revolutionary army despite their age. Chen was first posted as a bugler in a section under Chu Teh and later was transferred to serve as an orderly to then Commissar Mao Tsetung.

His first meeting with Chairman Mao came as a pleasant surprise. For this leader lived as plainly and as hard as all the other members of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Army. Chen described what Mao's personal possessions were: "only two blankets, one cotton sheet, two grey uniforms, just as we privates wore, a worn overcoat, and one grey woolen sweater. Then he had a broken umbrella, a bowl for eating and a knapsack with nine compartments for his maps, documents and books." When Chen was first introduced to Mao, Mao inquired into the young soldier's background, listening attentively to the comrade's description of the oppression his family had suffered and how he came to join the Red Army. Chen was so put at ease that he talked for a very long time. Commissar Mao also asked Chen if he could write—but Chen had never had the chance to go to school and so could not. But Mao directed that he be taught, pointing out how necessary it would be to carrying out his duties; but until Chen learned himself, Commissar Mao would write letters to Chen's family telling them how he was doing. These were typical examples of the way Chairman Mao Tsetung looked after and cared for his comrades on all levels, paying attention to their problems and needs and helping them work out solutions to them. This was Chairman Mao's communist attitude toward the comrades of the Party, army and masses.

THE LONG MARCH BEGINS

On October 18, 1934, the Long March of the Chinese

Red Army under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party began. Chen Chang-Feng was now a personal bodyguard to the Chairman. The cause of the Long March was to prevent encirclement and capture of the Red Army forces. Due to the attack by the Kuomintang in the South and the Japanese imperialists in the East, the Red Army was forced to make a tactical retreat 7,500 miles to the Red base area in Shensi which was northern province of China.



For over a year the comrades waged a courageous and brilliant struggle against all manner of deprivation and hardship. Chen recalls the vital leadership Chairman Mao gave during that difficult time. During the Long March the Chairman shared weal and woe with the other members of the army, sparing nothing for himself and giving all to his comrades.

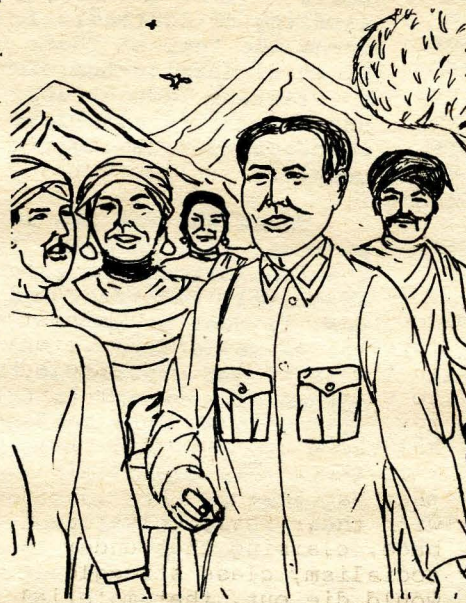
For example, at one time Chen Chang-Feng and another comrade had arranged a fairly comfortable house as living quarters for the Chairman. But the enemy's troops were in pursuit. Putting politics in command, Chairman Mao's only concern was saving his comrades and continuing the march. After eating only a small bowl of rice, the Chairman ignored the comforts of the house and continued to work until dawn. At four a.m. that morning, after learning that main body of the army had reached the Wu River, which had to be crossed to escape the enemy, Mao woke Chen and his comrade and they set out once again.

Another time, while the Red Army was in the middle of crossing the Golden Sand River, Chen set up Mao's camp-site. Because the Chairman had not rested for several nights, Chen first prepared Mao's bed (a piece of oilcloth and blanket on the ground) and heated some water. When the Chairman arrived he criticized Chen for this, saying, "You've been with me several years now. How is it that you still don't understand what comes first? The first thing that you have to do when we make a stop is to find some place for me to work. Food and rest are quite secondary to that. You must realize that to us work is and will be the most important thing under all circumstances." Even though greatly tired, Chairman Mao spared no sacrifice and refused to have either sleep or food until all the soldiers had safely crossed.

As the Long March progressed many soldiers were hurt or became ill. Chairman Mao, because he seldom slept much and ate very little, lost a lot of weight and became sick. His comrades naturally became concerned and wanted a doctor assigned

to take care of him. But the Chairman refused, explaining to his comrades that he was not as ill as many of the soldiers and it would be wrong for him to monopolize a doctor just for himself when they were so scarce. He would only accept the services of a medical orderly.

Even when the Chinese Revolution was in its earliest stages, the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao sought to weld the firmest unity between the different nationalities in China. As a united force they would be capable of overthrowing the imperialist and feudal forces, but divided it would have been impossible for the revolution to succeed. When the Long March took place, the majority of soldiers were of the Han nationality which was the dominant nationality numerically and in all aspects of social life. For centuries the national minorities had been ruthlessly persecuted by the Han emperors and landlord class. The policy of the Kuomintang army under Chiang Kai-shek was the same—they even spread rumors to try to stir up hatred between the national minorities and the Han's. Due to their ignorance, some of the Red Army soldiers were vulnerable to these lies and rumors. When an old man told Chen and his friend that the people in the region they were passing through on the March, the Yi people, were "very fierce" and "they especially hate us Han people", the comrades were worried and confused. But the Chairman carefully explained that "We respect them and look on them as our brothers. We unite with them and fight together with them against oppression by the White Army (the Kuomintang). The Yis will be glad when they know that the Red Army has come to them. So what's there to be afraid of?"



Another time when a group of people of the Miao nationality, armed with rifles, came to visit Chairman Mao, Chen expressed surprise, "We have comrades among the Miao people too?" Comrade Mao answered with a twinkle in his eyes, "We have comrades everywhere and there are Communists everywhere. Do you think that we monopolize the revolution?" Chairman Mao led the way for comradely relations among the people of different nationalities. He insisted that comrades of the Red Army did not in the slightest way violate the customs or property of the national minority people and constantly educated the comrades in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Comrade Chen, in his book, with both simplicity and yet

great perception, demonstrates the invaluable qualities of leadership that Chairman Mao demonstrated throughout the Long March, finally leading it to a victorious conclusion. He shows how Mao Tsetung was a leader from whom comrades could always get moral and spiritual support. Comrade Mao always pointed out that while the road was full of twists and turns the future ahead was bright; that the setbacks were only a temporary side current in the mighty stream of people's revolution; that only by daring to struggle could they be triumphant.

Upon the arrival into the base area in northern Shensi in 1936, Chairman Mao with the Director of the Political Department of the Red Army academy, set up a program where veteran revolutionaries, many of whom had been on the Long March of 7,500 miles, could get training and education. They would study the problems facing the Chinese revolution from a Marxist-Leninist perspective and at the same time develop the basic skills of reading, writing and mathematics. Through this program the revolutionary youth would become better cadre and more able to serve the Party and the interests of the masses.

Chen Chang-Feng was among those comrades who, through their dedication to the revolution and steadfastness in the face of adversity, had been chosen for this program. This was not a "reward" but a move by the Party to strengthen its ranks by further consolidating the most advanced comrades to steel them further ideologically and politically. Chen was at first reluctant to leave because he was worried that there were none who could take care of the Chairman as well as he had learned to over the many years. But Mao patiently explained that the Party and the revolution needed hard-working, dedicated comrades like Chen and that his own welfare did not come before the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people. These are the words he wrote to Chen on the day they were leaving:

"Work hard. Be loyal to the Party and to the people! I wish you every success."

Comrades, the triumphant Long March is an everlasting tribute to the courage, resoluteness and trust in the masses shown by the Red Army and Chairman Mao. As a turning point in the history of the Chinese Revolution, it proved the correctness of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This line did not fall from the sky but developed through struggle, where Chairman Mao always put politics in command. He always put his comrades interests, the interests of the revolution before his own. This was the core of his steadfast selfless character that was such a brilliant example of communist dedication to all those around him. His example has inspired millions of comrades like Chen Chang-Feng to take up ever more intensely the cause of the proletariat and oppressed masses around the world, the cause of revolution, socialism and communism.

ETERNAL GLORY TO MAO TSETUNG!

SCWG: Correctly Carrying Out Ideological Struggle

One of the policies of THE COMMUNIST is to open our columns to comrades outside of our organization in order to facilitate the exchange of views and experiences that is required in order to create the conditions necessary for the forging of a genuine communist party. In this way the experiences of an individual, a collective, or a regional organization can be subject to criticism and its lessons be shared on a national scale. In this spirit we are printing a contribution from the Seattle Communist Workers Group which sums up a struggle in their own ranks in their effort to bolshevize and to rigorously apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought.

The lesson from Mao Tsetung that "Active ideological struggle is the weapon for ensuring unity" has had profound importance for the communist movement in our country in the struggle of Marxist-Leninists to build a new party. In the struggle against the right and social-democratic tendencies, which belittle and fear the cleansing and unifying role of ideological struggle, many comrades in our movement have taken up this powerful weapon. Sometimes it has been used effectively and sometimes incorrectly, but without a doubt our application and use of this weapon has vastly improved in the last 2-3 years as a Leninist trend has begun to emerge.

In this light we find the sum-up by the SCWG very useful as an example of how we are strengthened in correctly applying Marxist-Leninist principles in ideological struggle and in taking up criticism-self-criticism, as well as stating some of the difficulties we face in its application. The experience of the SCWG was consistent with our own in taking up inner-organizational struggle, particularly in affirming the principle that communist leaders and cadre are forged in the process of recognizing, correcting and teaching from their own mistakes. This article, correctly summing up and concretely applying Chairman Mao's teachings on inner-Party struggle, is particularly fitting at this time.

The statement of the Seattle Communist Workers Group on party-building was printed in the Vol. II, no. 9 issue of THE COMMUNIST. They can be contacted at: SCWG, P.O. Box 3193, Seattle, Washington 98104.

Chairman Mao teaches us that communists "stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight. Every communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon." Of course active ideological struggle is necessary for revolutionary organizations. Here we are in the midst of moribund capitalist society and the bourgeoisie bombards everyone with decadent bourgeois ideology in the hope of corroding our revolutionary organizations and dulling the revolutionary spirit of the masses. Bourgeois ideology and revisionist distortions of Marxism certainly have their influence

within our revolutionary organizations and that is precisely why such influence must be struggled against. "The communists are not divested of the hangovers from alien ideologies, just as they are not guaranteed immunity from the danger of bourgeois and revisionist infection." (Enver Hoxha) Not to struggle against alien influences within our proletarian organizations is to pave the way for the domination of bourgeois ideology, leading to a weakening of our cohesion and discipline and preventing us from playing a vanguard role. We must actively combat any liberal tendencies which reject ideological struggle. This is the first point.

The second point is that the ideological struggle must be waged correctly in a Marxist-Leninist manner for otherwise it may get out of hand and lead to disunity rather than unity. Chairman Mao provides us with some important guidelines for conducting the ideological struggle and all communists should grasp his words well. He states, "The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature... is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education..." He explains the well-known formula "unity, criticism, unity" to mean "starting from the desire for unity, resolving contradictions through criticism or struggle and arriving at a new unity on a new basis." To be more explicit he emphasizes that "Ideological struggle is not like other forms of struggle. The only method to be used is that of painstaking reasoning and not crude coercion." And further, "It is not only futile but very harmful to use summary methods in dealing with ideological questions among the people, with questions concerned with man's mental world." (from On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People) These precepts of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought apply universally in all areas of contradictions among the people.

These are the two points we would like to make: first, the ideological struggle is absolutely necessary and second, it must be waged correctly. We would like to offer some of our experience to the communist movement in this regard as we have noticed some rightist and "leftist" deviations among some organizations on this question. Some organizations apparently do not wage internal ideological struggle or do not wage it vigorously enough and allow bourgeois and revisionist ideas and practices to run rampant (e.g. liberal attitudes toward religion, bourgeois culture, violations of proletarian morality, use of drugs, etc.) Some other organizations go to the opposite extreme with, for example, frequent expulsions (expulsion being an extreme organizational punishment) and providing little convincing proof of their former comrade's errors, their explanations often resembling bourgeois mud-slinging rather than a communist critique. Both deviations are harmful and must be opposed. Communists must unwaveringly adhere to Mao Tsetung Thought as their guide to action in conducting ideological struggle.

Our organization, Seattle Communist Workers' Group (SCWG), is new and although we are wholly committed to Party-building and proletarian revolution we are not fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally. Our organization wants to make a contribution to Party-building, we want to contribute to uniting Marxist-Leninists on the basis of correct political line, and we want to win the advanced to communism. But something has been holding us back to a certain degree and that has been bourgeois influence within the organization. This influence was particularly (but not exclusively) concentrated in a leading comrade and manifested itself as putting personal interests before the interests of revolution and the organization. Another comrade saw this problem and out of deep comradely concern began a process of sharpening the ideological struggle so as to help the comrade and the organization move forward. The comrade making the criticism, guided by the dictum "cure the sickness to save the patient", made repeated criticisms over a period of months realizing all along the main problem was one of putting self before politics. It was pointed out, for example, from the experience of the Party of Labor of Albania that "For the party member there are not two sets of interests, party interests and personal interests." Whenever a problem of putting self above politics manifested itself it was criticized. The comrade being criticized sometimes "agreed" with the criticisms and other times said he wanted to think about it longer. He often tried to avoid going into the criticisms deeper. He himself never initiated ideological struggle and this was a manifestation of liberalism. Over a period of months there was little transformation and forward motion. Finally it became obvious that small quantitative criticisms were not leading to qualitative transformation and there could not be synthesis (proletarian ideology overpowering bourgeois ideology) without a very sharp ideological struggle. The comrade making the criticism got prepared and raised the struggle in a principled manner at an organizational meeting.

The comrade making the criticism first set the proper revolutionary atmosphere by reading pertinent quotes from the works of Chairman Mao and the Party of Labor of Albania on the importance of ideological struggle and how it should be waged. He then summed up the practice of the comrade being criticized over the last 6 months or more and clearly identified the key problem as being one of putting personal interests before proletarian politics. Many examples were given to substantiate this claim the most general being failure to attend certain public meetings where there were large numbers of advanced elements in order to do propaganda work, failure to implement decisions regarding the development of relations with certain contacts and organizations, failure to change his place of work when it was fully clear as to this necessity, arriving late and leaving ear-

ly at a key inter-organizational meeting, and other examples. In all these cases "personal matters" took precedence over political work.

The comrade making the criticism was not one-sided and metaphysical in his criticism but tried to accurately characterize the actual practice of the comrade being criticized. Using the dialectical weapon on "one divides into two" he pointed out that the comrade being criticized had also made some positive advances and had implemented some features of our practical program. But in all, convincing proof was advanced to substantiate the charge of putting self before politics and that this was bourgeois influence hampering our organization. The comrade was then asked to voluntarily step down from his leading position as his level of revolutionary commitment was not in correspondence with his position.

The comrade criticized then answered the charges. Being a Marxist-Leninist and aware of his own shortcomings he fully agreed with the criticisms and developed even more the basic criticism of putting self before politics. He gave more examples of his erroneous outlook and practice, did not shirk the criticism but went into the matter deeper. He stated that he had realized for months that he had been practicing liberalism towards himself and took an idealist stance for resolving contradictions in a vacuum (in his head) rather than putting them before the organization for discussion and criticism. He emphasized that problems should be "placed on the table" rather than concealed and not to do so reveals distrust for the organization (and in the final analysis of the masses) and has the effect of undermining the organization rather than strengthening it. He further stated that he wanted his case to be propagated so that others could learn from his negative example. He then agreed to step down from his leading position and assume a new position. Such is proletarian self-criticism for which we are proud of this comrade.

What lessons can be learned from this experience? First ideological struggle or criticism is absolutely necessary for overcoming shortcomings and strengthening unity and must be waged correctly in a Marxist-Leninist manner. Second, in making criticism one must be precise, trying to "hit the nail on the head" as to the ideological basis of problems and provide convincing proof and argument to substantiate any charges. Third, real self-criticism cannot be superficial, a mere admittance of errors, but must be thorough in attempting to get to the ideological roots of problems.

The ideological struggle within SCWG is by no means over. We will always pay attention to our experience and the experience embodied in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as our guide. We hope that our experience may be of some value to other communists in correctly handling contradictions within their organizations and generally in handling contradictions among the people.

ANOTHER WOODCOCK SELL-OUT

On September 15, 165,000 workers at the Ford Company were called out on strike with the so-called breakdown of negotiations between the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the Ford Motor Company. It is clear from the nature of the strike, and the capitulationist stance taken by Woodcock and the UAW leadership in spite of the terrible conditions of work and exploitation of the workers at Ford, that the working class is witnessing a far more serious "breakdown" than just the negotiations.

On Tuesday, October 5, a tentative agreement had been reached between the U.A.W. and Ford, which still must be ratified by the rank and file. As reported in the bourgeois press, the settlement includes 13 more paid days off a year--probably with strings attached requiring a certain attendance record; a 3% wage increase, some improvement in the S.U.B. plan, and a bonus to retirees to help them survive with their inadequate pensions.

Despite some improvements, you can be sure that when the dust settles, the real winner of the strike will be the Ford Company, who will have given a bit in one area of the contract in order to get back much more in another area, and who will have hoped to divert and quiet the rising anger of the auto workers. Despite some small gains, this strike overall serves as a lesson by negative example for the working class in that it exposes the true alliance that exists between the labor bureaucrats and the imperialists and points to the need of workers to drive

these traitors from their ranks in the course of transforming the unions into weapons of class struggle rather than class collaboration and conciliation. As Lenin said, these traitors are part of a caste which "...right even be called the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie...every imperialist great power can and does bribe the upper crust of the working class and particularly trade union bureaucrats..."

As pointed out in several articles that have appeared in THE COMMUNIST, workers in auto face rotten working conditions with tremendous speed-up on the assembly line, long brutal hours that are guaranteed by the mandatory overtime clause in the contracts, unsafe conditions of work, lack of job security as seen in the massive lay-offs over the last year, etc.. These conditions are only part and parcel of the tremendous exploitation of the workers by the Ford Motor Co. which is making record profits. In the last quarter of the year, they made 440 million dollars, which is about 147 million dollars a month in profit and a new record for Ford.

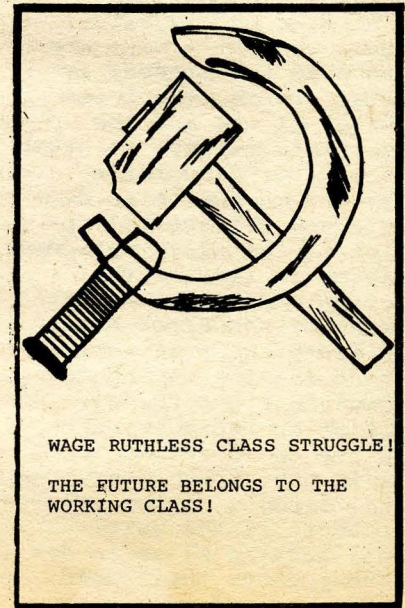
What has been the role of Woodcock and the other union bureaucrats in preparation for this year's contract negotiations when the working class must militantly rise up against the present increasing attacks by the capitalists? In the first place they set the stage for open conciliation by insisting on the submission of the workers and the narrowing of their demands in order to not "hurt the recovery in business being led by auto...There certainly will be a burden on both sides to try to work things out without the necessity of a stoppage

and impact on the economy." (Woodcock) He continued, "There's no issues for our members to raise hell about." "We're not going in with guns blazing." Leonard and Henry Jr. appeared as all in the same family with their endorsement of Jimmy Carter. Both made announcements that a new contract could be negotiated without a strike.

Well, to everyone's supposed surprise, negotiations, according to NEWSWEEK, were "marked by serious miscalculations on both sides and a breakdown in communications rare in an industry long noted for sophistication at the negotiating table." So a strike ended up being called. Around the country the strike has been characterized by a lack of militancy and organization that must be required in a battle against the representatives of the capitalist class. In fact, the whole tone of the strike, as expected by the auto workers who by now are very familiar with Woodcock and Co., is quiet and being consciously kept that way by the bureaucrats. Even the 14,000 workers in Canada who work for Ford were kept consciously divided from participating in the common struggle with their brothers and sisters in the US. In the meantime the negotiators further whittle away the demands of the angry rank and file, the small savings the workers have are used up in the course of the strike, the company sells its inventories - all this reflects the hopes of the bureaucrats and the company of deflating the militant spirit of the workers and their potential to initiate militant local and wildcat strikes and actions over their just demands, and assisting the company in intensifying its brutal ex-

ploitation of the workers.

On one hand we must never diminish the importance of the struggle for the day to day improvement of the wages and working conditions. But communists and advanced workers, in addition to always standing at the lead of this struggle, must seize on the character of this strike and utilize it as an opportunity to deepen the exposure of the treacherous role of these labor traitors and set the stage for purging them permanently from our ranks. We must do this as we build a movement that will not only improve the conditions for the sale of our labor power, but will lead to the overthrow of the entire capitalist system.



WAGE RUTHLESS CLASS STRUGGLE!
THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE
WORKING CLASS!

Circle Spirit - continued from page 5

But then they also put forward the bankrupt view that it is too soon to call for preparations to turn imperialist war into a civil war against our own bourgeoisie because the US imperialists might give up their striving for hegemony and subordinate their imperialist interests to fight in a just war. This view reduces imperialism to a policy pursued by the US bourgeoisie.

As we have said, given an attack on the socialist countries by Soviet social imperialism, the first duty of communists everywhere would be to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this

case there are conceivable circumstances under which the call for Civil War would change. Not, however, because US imperialism had subordinated its interests or given up striving for hegemony. But the more important point is, we base our preparation for war now on the system of political relations that exists now and the necessity for a united front against both superpowers. The source of war today is the fierce contention between the US and the USSR -- interimperialist contradictions -- and therefore we prepare for an interimperialist war. Our task in an interimperialist war is to turn that war into a civil war against our own bourgeoisie.

Although there are definite

particularities to the struggle in the WCML over the past year, the source of those struggles - the persistence of social democratic habits and economist tendencies in our ranks, menshevik and petty bourgeois democratic attitudes toward organization and organizational responsibilities, amateurishness, liberalism and the circle spirit -- all these exist throughout our movement and cripple our ability to overcome our backwardness, our fragmentation and our disunity; all are the basis for the penetration into our movement of the influence of modern revisionism, ideologically, politically and organizationally; all are the basis for the penetration of our organizations by wreckers, agents and spies.

It is a success for our organization that we have persisted in the struggle on this front for it is only by taking up the struggle that the problem will clearly appear in the forms which we must confront in the course of US revolution. As long as we conciliate with these tendencies they will live with us as silent partners sapping our strength. Ignore the struggle against these tendencies and we build our party on sand. But if we persist in these struggles throughout our movement, remaining staunch and firm, we will certainly overcome our fragmentation and disunity and build a party that will be invincible.

BOISHEVIZE THE RANKS!!

Support The Democratic Rights of Women

Recent Labor Department statistics spell out clearly the reasons behind the bourgeoisie's stepped up attempts to block passage of the ERA. Over the past few years, women have been entering the labor market at what the President's Chairman of the Council of Economic advisors calls an "extraordinary" pace. During the last five months, and since we published our Supplement on Women in March, over 1.1 million women have entered the labor force or begun to look for work. During the last 24 months, 2.8 million women have entered the labor force. This amounts to 2/3 of the increase of the nation's work force in this period. With 38.8 million women now working, women com-

prise 40.7% of the workforce.

It is a good thing for the bourgeoisie when women enter the workforce in large numbers if they enter in a second class status - as "supplementary" wage earners in subordinate jobs at lower rates of pay. What is of sharp and troubling concern to the bourgeoisie is that women should enter the workforce on equal terms with men and at equal rates of pay. This is why efforts to block passage of the ERA have been increased.

Unless women get equal pay for equal work, their large scale entry into the workforce will drag down the wages of the entire working

class. This is the other side of the coin. Therefore it is of direct and immediate interest to the entire working class to energetically take up the struggle for the equal rights of women.

The Equal Rights Amendment is an additional means to fight for these democratic rights for women. Communists must not allow this amendment to fall casualty to the capitalist crisis and the bourgeoisie's stepped up attack on the women's movement. This attack by the bourgeoisie is an integral part of their effort to preserve the dying system of private property and monopoly capitalism.

But it is economic necessity that drives women in ever greater numbers into the workforce. This in turn gives rise to the popular democratic movement for women's rights. And this movement is a vital and indivisible part of the struggle that will bring monopoly capitalism to its knees and overthrow the system of private property in the means of production once and for all. It is the duty of communists to give the progressive democratic struggles of women our every support.

Black People Attacked In Marquette Park

A good example of the campaign of reactionary national chauvinism that the capitalist class in this country is promoting can be clearly seen in the context of recent events on Chicago's south-west side, in the area surrounding Marquette Park. Here, the bourgeoisie, through their state apparatus of city government, the courts and police, through the media, and through the small, utterly corrupt and cowardly fascist gangs like the Klan and the Nazis who falsely and ridiculously claim leadership of the white population under the banner of "white power", launched vicious attacks on Afro-American families living in the area.

BEHIND RACIST ATTACKS

Comrades, in analyzing these attacks and in explaining them, we must always connect them to the present imperialist crisis, the impending danger of war and the bourgeoisie's attempt to smash completely our democratic rights, and we must also demonstrate how the special oppression of the Black national minorities is tied to the continuing oppression and enslavement of the Black Nation in the south. We must never fail to raise the demand for the complete right to self-determination including secession for the Black Nation for it is one of the most fundamental aspects of the overall struggle of the multinational working class to defend and promote their democratic rights and to overthrow the rule of US imperialism.

The chains of imperialist oppression continue to fetter Black people even when they have left their historical homeland. This is certainly true in Chicago where in the Black communities we find worse housing, higher prices, more unemployment and generally worse conditions than any where else in the city. One of the results of this oppression, of course, is that there has been heroic resistance and struggle by the Black masses against the bourgeoisie's attacks. In the summer of 1966, there were many civil rights demonstrations led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. including one into Marquette Park, a city park in the Chicago-Lawn community. This area is predominantly white working class, though people from the petty-bourgeoisie also make up a significant sector. There is a great number of city employees living in this area and it has the highest concentration of Chicago police and their families in the city. The marches supported the democratic right of Black people to live where they please and was opposed to the bourgeoisie's policy of discrimination in housing. At that time the marchers were attacked by some backward elements from the community who were under the influence of the bourgeois agents of the chauvinist and fascist American Nazi Party which had been organizing in the community.

CRIMINAL HISTORY OF CITY GOVERNMENT IN CHICAGO

What was the response of the s...? Mayor Daley, the chief spokesman for the bour-

geoisie in Chicago, publicly defended the police who had stood by and not only did not stop the fascist attacks, but joined in and beat up some of the demonstrators. He openly supported the gangsterism by labelling the marchers as "trouble-makers", and "disrupters of the peace", and calling on the demonstrations to end. On the event of King's death, when the Black masses rose up in righteous rebellion, the mayor gave the police an order "shoot to kill". His sheriff "six-gun" Joe Woods, was at the same time going around trying to form vigilante "posses" that would go into the Black communities to terrorize and kill. Later in 1968, when the anti-war demonstrations were taking place during the Democratic Convention in Chicago, small gangs of youth roamed through Grant Park beating up demonstrators. These youth had been organized into fascist, para-military organizations for the purpose of "defending" white neighborhoods that were bordered by Black neighborhoods and to prevent Black people from moving in. But it is easy to see how these groups, originally organized against the democratic rights of Black people, quickly moved against the democratic rights of all progressive people. These are just a few burning examples of the "democratic" rule of the bourgeoisie as seen by the working class and oppressed minorities living in Chicago. The present day events in Marquette Park show unequivocally that the criminal rule of the bourgeoisie and their lackeys in political office set no limits on their brutality and will continue on their decadent path until forcefully and finally overthrown.

ATTACKS ON BLACK FAMILIES INTENSIFY

During the years 1975 and 1976, Black families began to buy homes in the Marquette Park area. This was accompanied by the usual "panic peddling" and spreading of fear and hysteria that the capitalists involved in real estate have developed into a fine art. With the typical lies and distortions about "Black invasion" and a "decline in property values", these dogs tried to play on the fears of the white homeowners in the area who already felt insecure due to the inflationary economy, unemployment and high tax rate in order to get them to sell cheaply the homes they had worked so hard to buy. The bourgeoisie also utilized their hired thugs, the Klan and the Nazis, to whip up an atmosphere of intimidation, confusion and mob violence.

As a consequence of the bourgeoisie's demagoguery, the Black families were viciously attacked. In February of 1975, an attempt was made by racist thugs to burn to death an Afro-American family by pouring gasoline around the house and set it ablaze. Fortunately a neighbor came to the families aid and it was put out before any major damage was done. The windows in this house were repeatedly broken by rocks and later that year an attempted fire-bombing caused extensive damage to the roof of the house. On May, 12, 1975, at 2:45 am, while the father was at work, racists fired six shots through the front window of

another family's home narrowly missing the mother of the family. Another family lost a father and son, who were both auto mechanics, in a highly suspicious case of carbon monoxide poisoning in their garage. There have been many other attacks of this nature on the families living in the area, as well as on Black people who happened to be passing through the area (like Robert Ellington who was dragged from his car and repeatedly stabbed, see THE COMMUNIST vol.II no.9) and several attacks on school children. As always, oppression breeds resistance, and the Afro-American families began to organize resistance to these fascist attacks. The home owners organized CB patrols and have now declared that they would defend themselves from attack by any means necessary. We fully support these acts of just defense by the Black families.

On June 6, 1976 scores of policemen in their plain-clothes led a large mob in attacking the marchers. It was a clear case of open collaboration with their brethren the Klan and the Nazis. No matter how much the state attempts to disclaim these fascist groups, their integral ties have been proven. The police would also sit back with folded arms while thugs attacked Black families, and only acted when the Blacks defended themselves. On August 21, after being chased by a crowd into their home, some Black men came out with guns and fired over the head of the crowd in order to disperse them. Police who had been standing by, then walked through the crowds and arrested the men defending their lives for attempted murder! Again we see that we must defeat any illusions people have that the state is not promoting and defending the most bankrupt and corrupt national chauvinism and racist violence.

The bourgeoisie is using a more subtle method also to attack the Black homeowners. It is having the city inspectors try to nail the homeowners for violations of the housing codes. These violations had existed for years before and had been overlooked. As a matter of fact these homes had been sold at below minimum standards with full knowledge of government agencies like HUD and FHA and only now are these hypocrites "investigating" the conditions of these homes.

THE MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. MOVEMENT

The Martin Luther King Jr. Movement (MLK) began organizing marches in the area to protest the attacks and demand an end to forced segregation. The leadership of the MLK mainly consists of petty-bourgeois elements (Ministers) who have consistently preached the doctrine of non-violence: passive resistance to the violent attacks. As a strategy this has led to some serious consequences today as in the past. This practice has led to leading unarmed and unprepared people into potential and sometimes real slaughter at the hands of mob violence. It has led them into open collaboration with the state apparatus of violence, the police and has stifled the initiative of the masses. One such example was during the August 21, 1976 march where these leaders put

forth a line that the marchers should go out of their way to be peaceful, non-violent even if they were to face the most vicious and ferocious attacks. They even went so far as to invite the police to tell the marchers how to, "not block the sidewalk" and observe the "laws" of walking two by two on the sidewalk alone, never in the street. Then they led the march into an enclosed lot, with the police surrounding it and ready to strike. Those police were the same police who were viciously attacking the marchers and their families, who were openly collaborating with the Nazis and other fascists. This was the same police department that has in recent years murdered more people on "duty", especially national minorities, than any other department in this country.

This stifling of the initiative of the masses was clearly seen all during the march as many of the masses came up to the marchers with bricks and other weapons to defend themselves, saying "don't go in there unprepared, or I'd be with you if we could defend ourselves."

The opportunist leadership of the MLK Movement has been isolated from the community because of its line of submission to the physical attacks of the reactionary elements, the state and the police. While seeing the marches as an expression of the fight for the democratic rights of Black people, the masses have no wish to remain unarmed and defenseless in the face of frenzied counter-revolutionary attacks from any quarter.

There were some other opportunists working along with the MLK, the revisionist CPUSA and their counter-revolutionary brothers, the Trotskyites. The CPUSA snuck in its representative Jack Spiegel, a labor bureaucrat in the Shoe-makers Union. Not once did he mention that the imperialist system was the cause of the attacks, not once did he mention or support the right of Black people to armed self-defense. Not once did he mention that only socialist revolution could solve the question of democratic rights for the national minorities. Following the line of the CPUSA which has liquidated and denied the reality of the Black Nation, he never raised the right to self-determination of the Black Nation in the south.

THE INCORRECT STAND OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY

In their paper, THE WORKER, of September 1976, the RCP equates the Martin Luther King Movement with the Nazis. Clearly the MLK Movement does not have proletarian leadership and it is important to expose the opportunist tactics and strategy that its

ARMED STRUGGLE CONTINUES IN ZIMBABWE

All Africa is standing up, countries are taking stands to resist the striving for hegemony of the two super-powers. And it is in the light of the uprising of the Zimbabwean people, who through their liberation forces have liberated over 50,000 square miles of territory in Zimbabwe, while the uprising of the masses of Azanian people grows stronger with enthusiasm daily, that the U.S. imperialists have moved to protect its vast economic and political interests in Southern Africa. It is in this light that they have drawn up a plan for a sham majority ruled government in Zimbabwe, which would protect and maintain their interests and that of the white racists, while staving off the popular liberation forces who are waging armed struggle and whose victory is not far off.

Late in September, Ian Smith, prime minister of the Rhodesian regime agreed to the US-British plan for majority rule in two years. Henry Kissinger, representative of US imperialism went to Southern Africa to try to rally imperialist sympathizers such as John Vorster, prime minister of the South African regime, to put added pressure on the Smith regime. South Africa is the main source of supplies to Rhodesia. Kissinger also tried to gain the support of African leaders whose countries border Rhodesia and South Africa. These were the leaders of Botswana, Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, and Angola. Kissinger wanted these leaders to support the US-British plan and rally forces around it, particularly in Zimbabwe.

After weeks of secret negotiations, Smith agreed to the plan, which is somewhat similar to the plan for majority rule that his government broke with the British over, eleven years ago. The basic four point plan proposed by the US imperialists goes like this:

1. Rhodesia agrees to majority rule within two years.
2. Representatives of the

Rhodesian government must meet immediately with African leaders to form a bi-racial temporary government, forming a council of ministers with an African chair, and a Supreme body being the Council of State with half African and half white with a white serving as chairman. The ministries of defense and law and order are to be headed by whites during the two year transition.

3. Economic sanctions against Rhodesia are to be lifted and the armed guerilla action is to be stopped.
4. The establishment of an internationally financed trust fund, to stabilize Rhodesia during the two year transition.

What the four point plan basically does is to maintain the current racist regime until a new hand-picked government can take over after two years to continue to protect US imperialist interests. The plan also represents an attempt to break the momentum of the revolutionary forces--whose advances have forced the US imperialists and its allies to develop a quick majority rule scheme to protect its huge financial interests. None of the armed national liberation fighters are to participate in this new transitional government. Instead the US has agreed to sign their death warrant in order to crush these forces who have the Smith regime in a frenzy.

The plan for the representation of Blacks in the new transitional government is a sham, for whites would continue to control the leading and law enforcing bodies. The plan has many unforeseen loopholes that would allow Smith to maintain his power, such as being appointed to head the Supreme Body.

Finally the internationally funded trust would buy out Rhodesians who want to leave and provide insurance for those who want to stay. Imagine paying the oppressors as the injured party rather than the Zimbabwean people, who have suffered and died

as a result of the brutal racist regime. The trust fund would also seek to expand industrial and mineral production, increase agricultural potential and finance training and education programs. All this is done in the name of buying time to strengthen the racist regime.

The total amount for this fund will be around two billion dollars (\$10,000 for each white Rhodesian man, woman, and child) with the US putting in 500 million, to buy off the oppressors of the Zimbabwean people.

Tanzania President Julius Nyerere, representing the five presidents which border southern Africa said in a statement on the four point plan: "If you accept this, you are not really transferring power at all, you are merely entrenching that power and legalizing it." Also he noted that accepting the proposal would be "tantamount to legalizing the colonialist and racist structure of power".

The US plan is a sham in that it basically maintains the status quo in Zimbabwe. The same forces would be in control of the state apparatus and military. There would be no elections, for the transitional government would be picked according to the degree they would represent the interests of the racists and the US imperialists. People should not be deceived by the US imperialist's plan for "Black Majority Rule". The pressures of armed struggle and the threat of the USSR imperialists intervening in the struggle under the signboard of being the "natural ally" of the Zimbabwean people, has forced US imperialism to move with haste to protect its interests in southern Africa.

The threat of Soviet intervention was the driving force that brought imperialist lackey John Vorster, into negotiations with Smith. Vorster has no interest in majority

rule. Vorster leads the country where over 300 people have been murdered since June by the police who are trying to crush the national aspirations of the Azanian people in their struggle against apartheid. Vorster is the man who said publically that blacks will never get majority rule in South Africa. Vorster is the man who refuses to abide by U.N. directives around the liberation of South West Africa or Namibia. He has continually violated those directives to remove South African troops, and cut all ties to that country. So why is Vorster trying to persuade Smith to majority rule? Vorster has been called to do his master's bidding--to protect US imperialist interests in southern Africa by any means.

US imperialism and its lackeys cannot hide their real aim to turn back the tide of revolution and national liberation to maintain its stealing of super profits from the labor of the Azanian, Zimbabwean, and Namibian people. This plan failed to divide Black African leaders who see it as "tantamount to legalizing the colonialist and racist structures of power". These leaders, in rejecting the plan, stood in unity with the Zimbabwean people in their armed struggle for national liberation against the illegal Smith regime. This shows the growing unity of Third World peoples and countries in their struggle against imperialism. With each day it becomes harder and harder for either of the superpowers to enter into Africa under the pretext of defending the African peoples and countries from the other superpower.

It will be through the twists and turns of struggle, by taking up arms against their oppressors, and through self-reliance that the masses of people in southern Africa will not only kick the tiger out of the front door, but will lock the back door before the wolf gets in, and achieve full national liberation.

MARQUETTE PARK FROM PAGE 14

present leadership puts forward. But it is incorrect to attack the broad movement and the marches. This is especially important as it is a case of supporting the rights of the oppressed national minorities in the face of national chauvinist attacks. The RCP's failure to support the right of Afro-American and all progressive people to march in support of their democratic rights but instead to claim that the MLKM as well as the Nazis is used to whip up divisions between Blacks and Whites is blatant national chauvinism.

This attack has been consistent with the line of the RCP (then RU) over the last few years - as for example in their formulation that the narrow nationalism of the oppressed nation rather than the great nation chauvinism of the oppressor nation was the main danger in the communist movement. In their opposition to busing and now their position towards the Marquette Park struggle, they have refused to militantly take up the struggle for democratic rights. They claim that these movements split the working

class. Comrades and fellow workers, it is our task to build and solidify the multi-national unity of the working class, but this will never be done as long as we call the struggles of the national minorities "divisive" - this is exactly the same stand that the bourgeois politician Daley has taken when he has called demonstrations "disruptive". In overcoming the divisions within the class and building a genuine multi-national communist party, we must consistently support and lead the struggle for democratic rights and rely on the advanced workers to win the great majority to support that struggle.

To place the MLK on the same footing with the Nazis is to totally capitulate to the imperialists and to the continuing divisions in the working class. In this time of sharpening contradictions, as the factors for war and revolution are on the rise, it is vital that we break with even the slightest remnants of bourgeois great nation chauvinism. The proletariat is a true and consistent fighter for the democratic rights of the oppressed masses and stands diametrical-

ly opposed to privileges for any nation. The RCP continues to fail to take up this struggle and for this reason continues to fail to unite the class.

OUR TASKS

Comrades and friends, what are some of the tasks that we must take up in light of these events? We must point to the connection between the oppression of the Black national minority in the North and the continuing imperialist exploitation and control of the Black Nation in the black-belt south. This means that it is the duty of the entire multi-national working class as part of the struggle for the final overthrow of US imperialism to defend the right of the oppressed nations to self-determination. It is only as we defend the democratic struggles of the oppressed nations, nationalities, women, etc. that the unity of our class can be forged in a conscious manner. We must bring to white workers in particular that to support the imperialist and chauvinist strivings of their own bourgeoisie is to condemn themselves to continuing wage-slavery. As Marx said, no nation can be free while it oppresses another. We must also take up struggle against

the bourgeois nationalist reactions by Black people against white people in general and show that it is the united multinational proletariat which is the staunchest ally of the Black masses in the struggle for national liberation and equal rights.

Comrades, we must bring this fight and the spirit of proletarian internationalism to our workplaces, to our comrades in the factories, mines, hospitals, etc. We must win the great majority to militantly support the struggles of the national minorities for their democratic rights. The present attack by the bourgeoisie on these rights is merely the spearhead of their attempt to completely smash all our democratic rights. We must support the right of the national minorities to live anywhere, go to school anywhere, march or assemble anywhere, to use any means necessary to defend themselves and their families. Their struggles are the struggles of the entire multi-national working class! The Marxist-Leninist party we are building will staunchly oppose and resolutely smash all bourgeois reaction and national chauvinism!

PART TWO: NEW DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

In our last issue we began a series on Chairman Mao's pamphlet ON NEW DEMOCRACY, stressing the applicability of this work to understanding the international situation today. With the death of Chairman Mao we call on every comrade to take up the renewed study of his works. We continue this series in that spirit.

We pointed out last time how the imperialist strivings for hegemonism divide the world into oppressed and oppressor nations and how struggles for national liberation in the oppressed nations were no longer part of the old bourgeois category of national revolutions, like the French revolution of 1789, but are part of a new category of democratic revolutions -- New Democratic Revolutions -- that are part of world proletarian socialist revolution.

In this article we discuss the politics and economics of New Democracy. The politics of New Democracy means a joint dictatorship of all revolutionary classes. The economics of New Democracy, which is above all a matter of abolishing feudal relations in the countryside, depends on a national policy of self-reliance which mobilizes the energy and initiative of those revolutionary classes.

Comrades, the political tasks that lie before the New Democratic Revolution are the political tasks of national independence and democracy. The New Democratic Revolution is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. Its present tasks are to combat the chief obstacles to democracy and national independence in the Third World -- imperialism, and social imperialism and domestic reaction in the countryside. Of the two tasks of the New Democratic Revolution it is the anti-imperialist task which is the main one, because in every oppressed nation the principal contradiction is between imperialism and social imperialism and the nation. It is the defeat of imperialism and social imperialism that will lead inevitably to the downfall of every form of reaction in the oppressed nations of the Third World. And it is the collective power and unity of the Third World in the struggle against imperialism and social imperialism in the face of this contradiction that makes the Third World the main force moving the wheel of world history forward.

The battle for democracy and national independence can be won only by establishing a democratic state system which is a joint dictatorship of all the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes. This is a dictatorship of the basic forces of the NDR -- the proletariat, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and other progressive sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie, with the proletariat as the leading force. These are the basic allies of the proletariat. Mao writes:

"The main criterion in judging whether an area is new democratic in character is whether its representatives

of the broad masses of the people participate in the political power there and whether this political power is led by the Communist Party." (CONCLUSIONS ON THE REPULSE, SW v.2, p.467).

Above all the proletariat and the peasantry, the population whose interests drive them to carry through on the tasks of national independence and democracy, and the worker-peasant alliance is a stable foundation for the united front of all who can be united against imperialism, social imperialism and feudalism. Even sections of the bourgeoisie are patriotic and can stand with the masses in struggle to a certain degree and to a certain extent.



Mao points out that this dictatorship of the several revolutionary classes is no accident peculiar to China. It is a transitional form which is neither a bourgeois dictatorship or a socialist dictatorship, but follows necessarily from the fact that the new democratic revolution is a bourgeois democratic revolution in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. It is a transitional form of state appropriate to the oppressed nations of the Third World:

"Each of these revolutions will necessarily have specific characteristics of its own, but these will be minor variations on a general theme. So long as they are revolutions in colonial or semi-colonial countries, their state and governmental structure will of necessity be basically the same, i.e., a new-democratic state under the joint dictatorship of the several anti-imperialist classes."

Since the Second World War most of the oppressed nations of the Third World are no longer under colonial rule, but have obtained political independence. This is an important step forward. However many are far from having liquidated the influence of imperialism, social imperialism and feudalism in their countries and far from being secure in the defense of their independence from subversion or aggression by the two superpowers.

Continuing the task of fighting imperialism and social imperialism, safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty, developing the national economy and cul-

ture are all part of the protracted tasks of consolidating political independence and carrying the national democratic revolution through to the end.

THE ECONOMICS OF NEW DEMOCRACY

While political independence is the basic prerequisite for economic independence, political independence can only be consolidated through establishing complete economic independence. These two are inseparable. Yet international economic relations built up under colonialism and now imperialism, dominated by the two superpowers bind the Third World economically in innumerable ways. In the economic sphere it is the task of the

form of loans. Loans to Bangladesh, for example, have been at 4% interest. In this way Bangladesh pays for Soviet economic development. To pay these debts, Third World countries are forced to rely on traditional exports which are the heritage of colonialism and cannot divert resources to all-round economic development. Thus the cycle of established international economic relationships is reinforced.

The economics of New Democracy means breaking this stranglehold of imperialism and social imperialism and with it the collusion of imperialism with feudalism and domestic reaction in the countryside. This in turn means (1) gaining control over the economic lifelines of the country, and (2) abolishing feudal relations in the countryside.

Taking control of the economic lifelines of society is a question of gaining control of raw materials and natural resources of a country. It is also a question of taking control over the large banks and financial institutions as well as the larger industrial and commercial enterprises -- as Mao explains, anything under foreign or domestic ownership that is either monopolistic in character or too big for private management. The purpose of this is not the general confiscation of private property, but the regulation of capital:

"so that private capital cannot dominate the livelihood of the people."

Nationalization is therefore an important weapon in the hands of Third World countries to gain control over decisive sectors of their economies.

Secondly, abolishing feudal relations in the countryside means confiscating the large estates and turning the land over to those who work it. "LAND TO THE TILLER" is the slogan of the New Democratic Revolution and the politics of New Democracy means giving the peasants their rights. But this cannot be done without directing the main blow against imperialism and social imperialism.

Just as it is impossible to accomplish the political tasks of new democracy without a state system consisting of a joint dictatorship of the several revolutionary classes of an oppressed nation, it is impossible to accomplish the economic tasks without relying on the basic energy and initiative of these same classes in the economic sphere. This is the significance of the Chinese policy of self-reliance. Consolidating economic independence and abolishing feudal relations in the countryside depends essentially on mobilizing the ability and initiative of the popular masses. Self-reliance and a people's revolutionary democratic dictatorship are inseparably connected and the means to accomplish the political and economic tasks of the new democratic revolution.

NEW DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION WILL BE CONTINUED IN THE NEXT ISSUE