Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions

Part I: Revolution in Colonial Countries

Introduction

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

"First, Mao Tsetung led the way in charting what was then an uncharted course, he led the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people to victory in the new democratic revolution, by applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete situation in China, in the context of the world revolution; and in so doing he enriched these principles.

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

This article, the first in a series on the contributions of Mao Tsetung, will focus on the basic questions of Marxist theory and strategy concerning revolution in colonial countries which Mao Tsetung applied and enriched in leading the Chinese people to victory in the new democratic revolution and advancing to socialism, in particular his development of the line of new democratic revolution. We do not, of course, claim that Mao's personal contributions to other fields, in particular with regard to war since Mao thought and developed the correct analysis from the beginning to the seizure of power, the main form of the Chinese revolution must be armed struggle. Other articles in this series will deal with these questions in some depth; this first article will concentrate on Mao's development of the general line of new democratic revolution and its relation to socialist revolution in countries like China.

To better understand Mao's contributions, first it is necessary to review the development of Marxism and Leninism on the question of national and colonial oppression and national revolution and revolution in colonial countries. Marx and Engels firmly supported the development of world revolution; and pointed to the reaction of this on conditions in Europe and to a basic relationship between revolution in the West and East, nor was he able to predict what specific form the revolution in such countries as China would take. He noted, for example, in a letter to Karl Kautsky earlier, in 1920, that "to say what social and political phases these countries will then have to pass through before they likewise arrive at socialist organization, I think we today can advance only rather false hypotheses."

Period of Rising Capitalism

In sum, then, Marx and Engels dealt with the colonial question during the first phase of the development of capitalism, pre-monopoly capitalism, before it had developed into imperialism. This was a period in which colonialism and the semi-colonial or colonial conditions of the capitalist countries held back the development of the bourgeoisie national liberation movements in Western Europe, where such movements were then focused. Marx and Engels, characterized the bourgeois national liberation movements as follows: "...the bourgeoisie was carried forward to the defeat of old China, the complete, if gradual, revolution of its entire economic foundation, including the abolition of the old nondemocratic agrarian regime, which held everything in the countryside by big industry, railways, etc., and that also the mass exodus of Chinese coolies to Europe; consequently, all that which the Central Committee of the party had been able to do on this front would have to be carried even further."

But at that time Engels was not able to foresee the actual relation between revolution in the West and Eastern Europe, nor was he able to predict the specific form the revolution in such countries as China would take. He noted, for example, in a letter to Karl Kautsky earlier, in 1920, that "...to say what social and political phases these countries will then have to pass through before they likewise arrive at socialist organization, I think we today can advance only rather false hypotheses."

Blasting the social-chauvinists who attempted to mislead these phases of Marx and Engels, Lenin sharply pointed out in the circumstances where
Mao...

Continued from page 3

Mark and Engels took the approach of determining which countries in Europe were mier or more. It was as possible to know precisely which countries in Europe would be more desirable, it was the case that "no other question could have been posed at the time except the following: the national bourgeoisie, the success of which combination of forces, the failure of which would allow, the role of the bourgeois revolution in Western Europe, which had that period, and capitalism had on the whole developed into imperialism. Lenin not only thoroughly analyzed imperialism, but also specifically analyzed the national question in the era of imperialism. In the famous "The Two Tactic of Socialism," Lenin categorized the types of countries with regard to the national question as follows:

1) First type: the advanced countries of Western Europe and America, where there was a thing of the present. Lenin wrote: "The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie" (Lenin, Vol. 23, p. 33).

2) Second type: semi-colonies and colonies, where it is a thing of the future." (Lenin, Vol. 23, p. 38)

Russia: An East-West Bridge

Russia itself was a kind of bridge between the West and East, that is, while capitalism had developed in the West, and had in fact, reached the stage of monopoly capitalism, on the other hand the countryside, where the majority of the people still lived, feudalisms were widespread and the dominant form. At the same time, Russia until 1917 continued to be the last bastion of the Tsarist autocracy. In this sense, the bourgeois democratic revolution had not been completed in Russia, even though Russia had developed to the stage of imperialism. In Russia, there were large numbers of oppressed nations whose struggle against Tsarist autocracy and against Great Russian domination was a part of the revolutionary struggle. Lenin and Stalin brought and brought to the right of self-determination of these nations as a crucial part of the Russian revolution.

Also, as early as 1905, during the period of the revolution and the uprising of 1905, Lenin set forth in his famous work "Two Tactic Of Socialism - Democracy In The Democratic Revolution" the need for the proletariat to create a broad mass of people to overthrow the Tsarist autocracy in the first step and the necessity of the bourgeois revolution following Russia at that time.

Lenin pointed out: "This was a period in which capitalism had not and would not carry through the democratic revolution and only the representatives of the workers and the masses of peasants, under the leadership of the proletariat and its Party, could accomplish this task. At the same time theLenin pointed out that the democratic revolution was, for the proletariat, not an end in itself, but a necessary step in order to be able to advance to the socialist revolution. In "Two Tactic," Lenin wrote:

"The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie (the latter, of course, not only the bourgeois revolution and the workers in the urban areas and sections of the bourgeoisie themselves, especially the patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie who, while unorganized and in many ways dependent on imperialism, were by the same reason oppressed and held back, and could under certain conditions be an ally against imperialism.)"

So with the development of capitalism into imperialism, it became clear that these political movements must be treated accordingly. In these imperialist countries there was, of course, no longer any progressive role for bourgeois democratic movements. But, of course, there were the conditions that the colonial and semi-colonial movements must be treated accordingly. In these imperialist countries there was, of course, no longer any progressive role for bourgeois democratic movements. Such were in every case of the past.

In the colonies of these imperialist powers, not only the masses were rising up, but also the bourgeois revolution played a tremendously progressive and revolutionary role, and not only were the masses rising in increasing numbers against the oppression and exploitation, but with the changes summarized earlier, there was the possibility for the proletariat to march at the head of these national liberation movements and to lead them not only to the immediate goal of defeating the imperialists and their domestic lackeys, especially the feudal landlord class, but of advancing beyond that to the socialist stage of revolution. There were, then, two different and fundamentally opposed situations in Western Europe on the one hand and the colonial countries of the East on the other with respect to the national question.

But there was at the same time a third situation in Eastern Europe. This was the question of overthrowing national oppression and feudal domination had not been thoroughly resolved, and the national movements could play for the proletariat a progressive role in Western Europe, where that period had passed and capitalism had on the whole developed into imperialism. Lenin not only thoroughly analyzed imperialism, but also specifically analyzed the national question in the era of imperialism. In the famous "The Two Tactic of Socialism," Lenin categorized the types of countries with regard to the national question as follows:

1) First type: the advanced countries of Western Europe and America, where the national question is a thing of the present. Lenin wrote: "The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie" (Lenin, Vol. 23, p. 33).

2) Second type: semi-colonies and colonies, where it is a thing of the future." (Lenin, Vol. 23, p. 38)

Russia: An East-West Bridge

Russia itself was a kind of bridge between the West and East, that is, while capitalism had developed in the West, and had in fact, reached the stage of monopoly capitalism, on the other hand the countryside, where the majority of the people still lived, feudalisms were widespread and the dominant form. At the same time, Russia until 1917 continued to be the last bastion of the Tsarist autocracy. In this sense, the bourgeois democratic revolution had not been completed in Russia, even though Russia had developed to the stage of imperialism. In Russia, there were large numbers of oppressed nations whose struggle against Tsarist autocracy and against Great Russian domination was a part of the revolutionary struggle. Lenin and Stalin brought and brought to the right of self-determination of these nations as a crucial part of the Russian revolution.

Also, as early as 1905, during the period of the revolution and the uprising of 1905, Lenin set forth in his famous work "Two Tactic Of Socialism - Democracy In The Democratic Revolution" the need for the proletariat to create a broad mass of people to overthrow the Tsarist autocracy in the first step and the necessity of the bourgeois revolution following Russia at that time.

Lenin pointed out: "This was a period in which capitalism had not and would not carry through the democratic revolution and only the representatives of the workers and the masses of peasants, under the leadership of the proletariat and its Party, could accomplish this task. At the same time the Lenin pointed out that the democratic revolution was, for the proletariat, not an end in itself, but a necessary step in order to be able to advance to the socialist revolution. In "Two Tactic," Lenin wrote:

"The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie (the latter, of course, not only the bourgeois revolution and the workers in the urban areas and sections of the bourgeoisie themselves, especially the patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie who, while unorganized and in many ways dependent on imperialism, were by the same reason oppressed and held back, and could under certain conditions be an ally against imperialism.)"

So with the development of capitalism into imperialism, it became clear that these political movements must be treated accordingly. In these imperialist countries there was, of course, no longer any progressive role for bourgeois democratic movements. Such were in every case of the past.

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

...but become a component part of the world proletarian socialist revolution, an ally of the proletariat in the capitalist countries in its struggle against imperialism, and an ally of the oppressed peoples, colonies, and semi-colonies in the world struggle for socialism on a world scale. Writing in 1918, Stalin summed up this development: "The great world-wide significance of the October Revolution chiefly consists in the fact that: 1) It has widened the scope of the national question and converted it from the particular question of combating national oppression in Europe into the general question of emancipating the oppressed peoples, colonies, and semi-colonies from imperialist rule. 2) It has opened up wide possibilities for their emancipation and the right paths towards it, having thereby greatly facilitated the cause of the emancipation of the colonial masses of Europe from the grip of Western imperialism, extending from the proletarians of the Western countries to the oppressed peoples of the East. 3) "It has thereby erected a bridge between the socialist West and the enslaved East, having created a new front of the class struggle against world imperialism, from the proletarians of the West, through the Russian revolution, to the oppressed peoples of the East."

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

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

Further, the question was posed and answered by Lenin as to whether or not it would be possible for colonial movements in the colonial countries to go through the stage of capitalism. In his report "The Commission on the National and Colonial Question," Lenin wrote the following on this question:

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

Continued on page 17

Programme and Constitution of the RCP, USA

The Programme of the RCP summarizes the party's basic aims, strategy and tactics. The party was established in the aftermath of the October Revolution, which marked a new stage in the class struggle for world revolution as the world's first socialist democracy and the launching of the struggle to achieve world socialism. The Programme of the RCP sets out the party's key principles, goals and strategies, and provides a clear guide to the work of the party.

...but become a component part of the world proletarian socialist revolution, an ally of the proletariat in the capitalist countries in its struggle against imperialism, and an ally of the oppressed peoples, colonies, and semi-colonies in the world struggle for socialism on a world scale. Writing in 1918, Stalin summed up this development: "The great world-wide significance of the October Revolution chiefly consists in the fact that:

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

2) It has opened up wide possibilities for their emancipation and the right paths towards it, having thereby greatly facilitated the cause of the emancipation of the colonial masses of Europe from the grip of Western imperialism, extending from the proletarians of the Western countries to the oppressed peoples of the East.

3) "It has thereby erected a bridge between the socialist West and the enslaved East, having created a new front of the class struggle against world imperialism, from the proletarians of the West, through the Russian revolution, to the oppressed peoples of the East."

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

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

Further, the question was posed and answered by Lenin as to whether or not it would be possible for colonial movements in the colonial countries to go through the stage of capitalism. In his report "The Commission on the National and Colonial Question," Lenin wrote the following on this question:

The question posed as follows: are we to consider as correct the assertion that the capitalist stage...
Continued from page 16 of economic development is inevitable for backward nations now, and that the transition to socialism and among which a certain advance towards progress is to be seen since such a situation as this has resulted. If the revolu-
rionary proletariat conducts systematic propaganda
among them, and the Soviet governments come to
understand and with their own forces that this event
will be mistaken to assume that the backward
peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage
of development. Not only should we create indepen-
dent contingents of fighters and party organizations
in the colonies and the backward countries, not only at
once leaving the political party for the organization of peo-
ple's Soviets and strive to adapt them to the pre-capital-
ist conditions, but the Communist international should
soon advance, with the appropriate theoretical
grounding, that with the aid of the proletariat
of the advanced countries, backward countries can
overcome, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having
to pass through the capitalist stage.” (Lelin, “Report
Of The Commission On The National And The Coloni-
al Questions,” included in “The Second Congress Of
The Communist International,” Vol. 31, p. 241)

At the same time Lelin concluded that “The neces-
sary means for this cannot be indicated in advance.”
(Lelin, ibid)

After Lenin’s death, Stalin not only led in building
socialism in the Soviet Union, but in giving support to
and guiding the development of the revolutionary struggles throughout the world, including in the colonial
countries, China in particular. In several speeches and
articles during the period of the revolutionary upsurge in
China in the years 1924-27, Stalin helped to analyze
the specific features of the Chinese revolution: the fact
that it was an anti-imperialist struggle; the fact that
the feudal domination of the landlord class and the
feudal exploitation of the peasantry played a central
role in the Chinese economy, and therefore that the
agricultural revolution in China was at the heart of
the struggle and closely linked with the anti-imperialist
struggle of the Chinese proletariat. The Chinese proletariat
could and must lead the bourgeois democratic revolu-
tion and advance the movement through and beyond
that stage to the stage of socialist revolution. Further,
Stalin pointed out that from the beginning in China
the armed revolution was fighting the armed counter-
revolution, and that this was a specific feature and a
specific advantage in the Chinese revolution.

On An Investigation Of The Peasant Movement in
Hunan,” in which he stressed the central role of the
hundreds of millions of peasants in China in the revo-
lutionary movement. In that work he stated very
powerfully: “For the present upsurge of the peasant movement is a colossal event. In a very short time, in China’s cen-
tral, southern and northern provinces, several hundred
million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a
hurricane, a force so strong and violent that no power,
however great, will be able to hold it back. They will
smash all thetramlines that bind them and rush for
word along the road to freedom and victory. They will
sway away all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt offi-
cials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves. Every
revolutionary and all the revolutionary mass forces will
be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they
desire. There are three alternatives: To march at
their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesti-
culating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and
oppose them? Every revolutionist can make his choice, but
events will force you to make the choice quickly.”

“Terrible,” this mass upsurge of the peasants, a
question of “good” or “bad,” is in fact a question
including a number of people within the Communist Party, whimpered and complained? No, it was fine, for as Mao reminded those people in combatting their Confucian outlook:
“a revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay,
and complaining? No, it was fine, for as Mao reminded
these people in combatting their Confucian outlook;

Mao in reality simply revisionism, just like Khrouchtchev
and his like have cooked up. It may be true that for the working class to overthrow the old bourgeoisie, but the workers must not go too
far and are especially forbidden to root out new capi-
talist domination or to replace it with petty bourgis-
nean domination—of petty bourgeois opportunists whose
aspirations run in the same direction.

The CPML quotes: “Lenin from State and Revolu-
tion says that the recognition of the dictatorship of the
proletariat” is the dividing line between Marxism and opportunism. But for the CPML it is simply calling attention to their own naked opportunism. In
the same work, Lenin denounces those opportunists who recognize no need for the dictatorship of the pro-
letariat “in general” while robbing the theory of the
dictatorship of the proletariat “in general” in the same way they want us to believe that Marx said the word “generally”—meaning sort of and really not at all.
All this makes clear why the CPML resists to attac-
ting our article as “long and tedious.” Their silly
weak and feeble attempts to show that for them, anything with substance is tedious. And as for length, even
one sentence of Marxism is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
one sentence of Marxism Is too much, while reams of
Reformism/Revisionism had by the 1930s already been decisively defeated within the Chinese Communist Party in early tendencies that failed to combine the universal truths together with the armed forces under its leadership, was the class forces he represented were still dependent on and lackeys of U.S. and British imperialism in China, but owing to the contradictions among the imperialists in China and particularly British and U.S. imperialism on the one side, and Japanese imperialism on the other, it was possible to build a united front with Chiang Kai-shek that was able to represent a broad forces. Further Mao made clear that it was necessary to build such a united front in order to concentrate the struggle of the Chinese people upon the Japanese aggressors, and was attempting to reduce China from the status of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal state.

For several years after the initial Japanese invasion in 1931, Chiang Kai-shek refused to enter into any united front with the communist forces made for a revolution against the Communist Party, attempting time and again to "isolate and suppress" them—in fact to wipe them out. During this period, beginning with the betrayal by Chiang Kai-shek and his mass murder of communists and other working people in 1927, the Chinese Communist Party was forced to and did wage a long civil war, in which to a large degree it was forced to break off its united front with the bourgeoisie, since mass movements of the peasants and other working people were not possible under Chiang Kai-shek and his reactionary policy within the Kuomintang and his reactionist role within Chinese society as a whole.

Nevertheless, within the Communist Party Mao led a struggle against various erroneous and opportunist lines that were adopted during the different phases of the Chinese revolution. For, as Mao went on to point out: "In the absence of political reforms all the production, in the countryside and in the cities, have buried themselves in their own work or studies in the belief that they could solve the country's problems with their knowledge, but this too has turned out to be a dream, a dream that has been shattered. Indeed this is a good sign, for the enlightenment of these children of the masses marks a starting point on China's road towards prosperity and strength. The Chinese people have learned many things in the war; they know that after the defeat of the Japanese aggressors they must build a new-democratic China enjoying independence, freedom, democracy, unity, prosperity and strength, all of which are interrelated and indispensable. If they do so, then a bright future lies before China. The productive forces of the Chinese people will be released and every possibility will be developed only when the political system of New Democracy obtains in all parts of China. Moreover and most importantly they will understand this point every day."

Continued on page 19
the reactionary forces, including between the two imperialist fronts. Thus their war is an imperialist war, their so-called aid to Poland being merely a betrayal of the interests of the proletariat. . . . Germany's invasion of Poland in 1939 brought a change in the overall character of World War II from an imperialist war to one whose main character and objective were the defence of capitalism and the socialism and the victory of those forces allied with the Soviet Union. In these circumstances Mao continued to oppose the line, which grew stronger during that period, of subordinating the Communist Party, and the armed forces and liberated areas under its leadership, to the Kueishinjing and its British and U.S. masters. He continued to fight for the policy of maintaining independence and initiative and to struggle for the leadership of the proletariat in the anti-war movement. Once again, in doing this Mao based himself on a class analysis of the various forces in China and on an international level. And once again, it is this correct method and this correct line which led to the victory of the Chinese people in the anti-war and anti-imperialist war and prevented Chiang Kai-shek and his imperialist masters from snatching victory from the Chinese people's hard struggle.

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

**New-Democratic Revolution**

It was during the anti-Japanese war in particular that Mao further developed the theory and strategy of new democracy and the new democratic revolution. In the concrete conditions in China at that time. "The Chinese Revolution And The Chinese Communist Party," written in December, 1935, and "On New Democracy," written in January, 1940, are both major works of this period in which Mao further developed and elaborated the line of new democracy. "The Chinese Revolution And The Chinese Communist Party," in particular, Mao further developed the class analysis he first made in "Analysis Of The Classes In China," in 1926 and specifically applied class analysis to the situation at that time and to the alignment of the various forces in China in the anti-Japanese war.

Further, in that same work, in setting forth the outline of the Chinese revolution, Mao thoroughly explained "What, indeed, is the character of the Chinese revolution at the present time?... Is it a democratic or a proletarian-socialist revolution? Obviously, it is not the latter but this former... However, in place of the bourgeois-democratic revolution is no longer of the old general type, which is now obsolete, but one of a new special type. With the end of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and its development in all other colonial and semi-colonial countries as well as in China. The new-democratic revolution is part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution; for it respectively opposes imperialism, i.e., international capitalism. Politically, it strives for the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary masses of the proletariat, bourgeoisie, tractors and reactionaries, and opposes the transformation of Chinese society into a society under bourgeois dictatorship. Economically, it aims at the nationalization of all the big enterprises and capital of the imperialists, tractors and reactionaries. Thus, the new type of democratic revolution clears the way for capitalism on the one hand and creates the preconditions for socialist revolution on the other. The anti-Japanese war is a stage of transition between the abolition of the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society and the establishment of a socialist society, i.e., it is a process of new-democratic revolution. This process began only after the First World War and the Russian October Revolution, started in 1917, 1918, and China with the May 4th Movement of 1919. A new-democratic revolutionary line and its anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution of the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat, Chinese society was able to advance to socialism only through the new-democratic revolution; there is no other way." "The Chinese Revolution And The Chinese Communist Party," Mao, Selected Works, Vol. 2, pp. 326-327. In concluding this work, Mao sums up the development of the China...
Continued from page 10

As revolution as follows: "To complete China's bourgeois-democratic revolution, the proletariat had to transform it into a socialist revolution when all the necessary conditions are ripe—such as the sum total of the grueling experience of the Chinese Communist Party... .The democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the latter is the logical conclusion of the former. The democratic revolution is the starting point for the socialist revolution. The ultimate aim for which all communists strive is to bring about a socialist and communist society... A clear understanding of both the differences and the interconnections between the democratic and the socialist revolutions is indispensable to us in our revolutionary work in China today..."


Proletarian Leadership Key

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

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

Again, as in other works, Mao said particular attention to analyzing the role of the bourgeoisie in the Chinese revolution and explained how it occupied a different place in the democratic revolution in Tsarist Russia. This constituted an important aspect in which the Chinese revolution differed from the Russian revolution, even though in the latter there was a stage of bourgeois democratic revolution preceding the proletarian-socialist revolution. At the same time, Mao analyzed the tendency of the Chinese bourgeoisie to collude with the enemy and the fact that it was not even as thoroughgoing a revolutionary class in China at that time as the working class of the capitalist countries of the West in the period of the rise of capitalism there, due to the stage of development of the Chinese proletariat (Mao's Selected Works, Vol. 2, p. 346 in particular).

Applying this to the situation in China at that time Mao explained that "Today, whatever we can do in order to lead the people in driving out Japanese imperialism and introducing democratic government will be the laudable end of the people. However, it is absolutely wrong to pretend that the Chinese bourgeoisie cannot fulfill this responsibility, which inevitably falls upon the shoulders of the proletariat."

(On New Democracy," Mao's Selected Works, Vol. 2, p. 350) Mao went on to point out that "In present-day China, the anti-Japanese united front represents the new-democratic form of state." ("On New Democracy," Mao's Selected Works, Vol. 2, p. 351) This was in accordance not only with the correct analysis of the necessary stage of new democracy in general but also with the particular substage at that time, represented by the struggle of the Chinese nation against Japan and also China's struggle against the Kuomintang. It was this line, this theory and strategy of new democracy, which was represented by the leadership of the Chinese and Chinese workers and people..." (Mao's Selected Works, Vol. 2, p. 351)

...and concluded: "The line of the Chinese Communist Party under Mao's leadership, during and with the victory of the anti-Japanese war, has been nothing but to organize and attack the Kuomintang and its government, to unite and intensify the struggle of the Chinese masses for new democracy. It was the basic form of rule that was exercised in liberated areas under the leadership of the Communist Party."

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

Continued on page 22
Attica Brother Died in Shootout

At two o'clock on the morning of April 2, in the Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto of Brooklyn, Mariano (Dalou) Gonzalez, a political prisoner and a friend of James Thompson, was wounded in a shootout with police that left two cops dead. Both Dalou and Jomo had been actively involved in the Attica rebellion of 1971. Jomo was arrested near the scene of the shootout, and was violently beaten by the cops while en route to the hospital, where he died in a local New York hospital.

New York officials are trying desperately to use the death of the two cops to whip up mass sentiment in favor of reinstating the death penalty, and the bourgeois press is spurbing forth lies and sensationalistic headlines toward that end: “Cop Gets Death Threat,” “Attica Police Arrested,” “Assassin of the U.S.” They are even using the occasion to attack the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), since some pro-PLO literature was found in Jomo’s car: “Cop Killers Tied to PLO,” “New York Post.”

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

Not only did Mao elaborate the line of new democratic revolution, but also did he bring it to the masses of China. In this document Comrade Mao Tamtung was combatting such erroneous thinking. (This foot-note also explains that “This document was not made public at the time and was circulated only among some leading comrades of the Central Committee. It was distributed at the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in December 1947. Since the comrades of the Central Committee agreed with its contents, the full text was later included in “A Circular on the Decisions Made at the Central Committee Meeting of December 29th, 1947.” See Mao’s Selected Works, Vol. 4, pp. 87-88.)

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

On the eve of the complete victory of the new democratic revolution, in order to prepare the people for the next stage of the revolution, Mao summed up the crucial question of proletarian leadership. In his work, “The Chinese Proletariat and the Capitalist Stage,” Mao had looked to the West for China’s salvation and took up “the new learning” imported and adopted from there as a weapon against the old feudal racial prejudices.

For quite a long time,” Mao said, speaking especially of the period from the 1940s to the beginning of the 20th century, “those who had acquired the new learning felt confident that it would save China, and very few of them paid attention to the old learning. As a result, the old learning had nothing to do with the task of winning the revolution. Only modernization could save China, only learning from foreign countries could make China strong. Among the foreign countries, only the Western capitalists were in a progressive era, as they had successfully built modern bourgeois states. The Japanese had merely to imitate them.

Dalou knew that all the indications against the Attica brothers represented an attempt to whitewash the role of the U.S. government in the brutal assault condition and in the murderous assault which ended the rebellion, as well as toITO the lesson that “if you fight back, you are guilty.” With this upcharged charges arrived at by a Grand Jury that was 100% white and 90% relatives of Attica Prison guards and State Troopers, Dalou was charged with murder and was exac- tioned for all to see. Dalou chose not to stand trial, and instead jumped bail.

Political Activit)

Dalou and Jomo had both been politically active before the Attica rebellion, in particular, to organize the prison and to create a movement for ending the rebellion. Dalou had been involved in the Young Lords Party before his imprisonment in 1969. In the course of approaching the question of working the struggle in a more revolutionary way, Jomo initiated militant action from supporters in prisons to help the prisoners get outside on bail, worked with the movement at the risk of being sent back to jail. (For example, during a 1975 building of the political party of an ex-Partisan in support of the Attica Brothers, Dalou was there. He even had to jump out of a second story window to avoid arrest and was about to be arrested by the buildin-g)

Overall both men struggled to drive home the lesson of the U.S. that freedom is not free at all. It will not break the chains of oppression, no matter how difficult or painful the fight may be—as a popular slogan put it, “Attica means fight back!” For all these reasons the ruling class had a particularly venomous hatred for these two brothers.

Despite the label that was thrown at the bourgeoisie, dalou Gonzalez and Jomo Thompson represent the fighting spirit of Attica: “It’s right to rebel!” The 300 people who attended Jomo’s funeral indicated this. The words of L. D. Barkley, a leader of the Attica Rebellion who was murdered by State Troopers, stand as a fitting epitaph for the spirit of the Attica Brothers: “We are men. We are not beasts, and we do not intend to be beaten or driven as such. . . . What has happened here is only the beginning of the fury of those who are oppressed.”

Dalou and Jomo’s political activities are the expression of a universal human impulse: The principle of the fight back. This impulse is at the core of human nature. It is the mainspring of human progress.

Mao...
The fo inking of 'Leftists' outstrip a given stage of to advance with changing objective circumstances and carry out intelligence work, there are now over 30,000 their knowledge has stopped at the old stage. This is characteristic of the thinking of all die-hards. Their

use of these highly sophisticated weapons, as well as to mission firms such as Lockheed, McDonnell-Douglas, West-

have already pushed the objective process forward while has manifested itself historically as Right opportunism. Iran,

since 1972, Iran has become the No. 1 customer for U.S. arms manufacturers and construc-

rury and the beginning of the socialist revolution. Mao sets forth the philosophical
determination of a thing and the essence of the process

Continued from page 22

The Shah's regime has opened the doors of Iran to imperialist capital investments, including whole steel and petrochemical complexes built in the U.S., Japan, and Western Europe and Japan, who depend on it for 60% and 90%
of their energy needs respectively. As President Carter told the Shah last November in Washington D.C., "We look on Iran's strength as an extension of our own strength, and Iran looks upon us as an extension of ours.

Since November, all universities in Tehran have been closed down under the slogan "Workers, Peasants, Students, Unite!"

It, too, has several distinct stages. In particular, the agrarian revolution in China and the advance

In "On Practice" Mao sets forth the philosophical

30-40% of its food needs, a cost of $1 bil-

no money spent in build-

In this connection, "Leftists" outstrip a given stage of development of the objective process; some regard their fantasies as truth, while others, constrained by the present ideal which can only be realized in the future. They alienate themselves from the current pro-

ness to the revolution against imperialism and feudalism, creates the conditions for a new phase of
democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, and so on. None of these was possible in the period when the revolution was still undeveloped. But despite the many heavy blows that have been inflicted on the bourgeois regime and the tremendous
titious of the majority of the people and from the reali-


Further, Mao analyzed from a philosophical stand-

process has passed through several stages of development in the course of more than twenty years...

Mao... Continued from page 22
to deny that the Shah is a fascist, in the face of the tra-

ductive of the people and from the reality of the day, and the transforming adventurism in their actions."

Continued from page 26
continued from page 23

During the period of the new-democratic revolution, in accordance with the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and by combining it with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, creativity was shown. However, in general, the new-democratic revolution, founded the Chinese people's Liberation Army and pointed out that the seizure of political power, should be achieved only by following the road of building rural base areas, using the countryside to encircle the cities and finally seizing control and not by any other road. He led our Party, our army and the people of our coun-
try in using people's war to overthrow the reactionary rule. He led the Chinese people to carry on the heroic national liberation struggle, winning the great victory of the new-democratic revolu-
tion 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.

Peking Review, Number 38, 1976, pp. 7-8

Uphealing Proletarian Internationalism

As a socialist country, the People's Republic of China, as well as the Chinese Communist Party, under the leadership of Mao Tsetung continued to support the revolutionary movements of the people of the world, including the struggle for national liberation of the peo-
dles of the colonial countries. Having just achieved national liberation, the newly liberated Korean people in the struggle against U.S. aggression in the early 1950s. At the same time China supported the struggles of other countries. It clearly pointed out that the imperialist and colonialists and repudiate and op-
pose the national liberation movement in every possi-
bility. "Like the disappearance of colonialism," the theory of "Neo-Colonialism" was a major article written by the Chinese Communist Party in its struggle against the So-

viet revisionists on this decisive question. This article was written in 1963, when the Soviet revisionists were striving to prevent the process of carrying out the all-around restoration of capitalism in the USSR and their overall relationship with U.S. imperialism were more and more separated from the socialist seeking to become the main target of the national liberation movements of all kinds, including the struggle for national liberation of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Chinese Party correctly pointed out that the imperialists' political and economic expansionism aimed at using the "peaceful coexistence" to evade the national liberation movement of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Marxist-Leninists firmly side with the oppressed nations and actively support the national liberation movement. The modern revisionists in fact side with the imperialists in support of the imperialist's national liberation policy in order to "cast" the oppressed nations and peoples as "pathetic but brave". And the revisionist leaders have not only "played" the role of "apologists" and "lackeys". This struggle is still being waged fiercely in all the countries of the world, including the capitalist countries. The imperialists headed by the United States enslave the people of these countries by "peaceful" means, using "the peaceful coexistence" to "cast" them as "pathetic but brave" while they retain these countries as markets for their goods, sources of raw material and outlets for their export of capital, plunder the riches and suck the blood of the people of these countries. Moreover, they use the United Nations as an important tool for interfering in the internal affairs of such countries and for substi-
tuting them to military, economic and cultural aggression. When they are unable to continue their rule over these countries by "peaceful" means, they engineer military coups d'etat, carry out subversion, or even resort to armed intervention and aggression. "Neo-colonialism is a more pernicious and sinister form of colonialism." ("Apologists Of Neo-Colonialism," pp. 4-5)

The Chinese Communist Party has always been an active ally of the oppressed nations and peoples. In China, the paramount principle of the link between the national liberation struggles in the colonial countries and the struggle of the proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries, their common unity against imperial-
ism and for the ultimate goal of socialism and finally communism.

"As long as we can deny that an extremely favourable re-
solution situation now exists in Asia, Africa and Latin America, that the national liberation movement continues and the bourgeois ruling classes in those countries are not defeated, it is extremely dangerous." ("Apologists Of Neo-Colonialism," pp. 67, 21-22)

Continued Need for Proletarian Leadership

This did not mean, of course, that China did not support countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, even those under the leadership of the revisionists or others, in resisting imperialist domination. China sided with them in the struggle against imperialism in every possible way. This greatly encouraged them to strengthen such resistance. But the point being stressed was that such resistance could not be built on an anti-communist front or on a re-

olutionary struggle of the masses and the need for the pro-
letariat and its Communist Party to lead the national liberation movement to victory and then the masses in building socialism.

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

"No one can deny that an extremely favourable re-
solution situation now exists in Asia, Africa and Latin America, that the national liberation movement continues and the bourgeois ruling classes in those countries are not defeated, it is extremely dangerous." ("Apologists Of Neo-Colonialism," pp. 67, 21-22)

Continued Need for Proletarian Leadership

This did not mean, of course, that China did not support countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, even those under the leadership of the revisionists or others, in resisting imperialist domination. China sided with them in the struggle against imperialism in every possible way. This greatly encouraged them to strengthen such resistance. But the point being stressed was that such resistance could not be built on an anti-communist front or on a re-

olutionary struggle of the masses and the need for the pro-
letariat and its Communist Party to lead the national liberation movement to victory and then the masses in building socialism.

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

"No one can deny that an extremely favourable re-
solution situation now exists in Asia, Africa and Latin America, that the national liberation movement continues and the bourgeois ruling classes in those countries are not defeated, it is extremely dangerous." ("Apologists Of Neo-Colonialism," pp. 67, 21-22)

Continued Need for Proletarian Leadership

This did not mean, of course, that China did not support countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, even those under the leadership of the revisionists or others, in resisting imperialist domination. China sided with them in the struggle against imperialism in every possible way. This greatly encouraged them to strengthen such resistance. But the point being stressed was that such resistance could not be built on an anti-communist front or on a re-

olutionary struggle of the masses and the need for the pro-
letariat and its Communist Party to lead the national liberation movement to victory and then the masses in building socialism.

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

"No one can deny that an extremely favourable re-
solution situation now exists in Asia, Africa and Latin America, that the national liberation movement continues and the bourgeois ruling classes in those countries are not defeated, it is extremely dangerous." ("Apologists Of Neo-Colonialism," pp. 67, 21-22)

Continued Need for Proletarian Leadership

This did not mean, of course, that China did not support countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, even those under the leadership of the revisionists or others, in resisting imperialist domination. China sided with them in the struggle against imperialism in every possible way. This greatly encouraged them to strengthen such resistance. But the point being stressed was that such resistance could not be built on an anti-communist front or on a re-

olutionary struggle of the masses and the need for the pro-
letariat and its Communist Party to lead the national liberation movement to victory and then the masses in building socialism.

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

"No one can deny that an extremely favourable re-
solution situation now exists in Asia, Africa and Latin America, that the national liberation movement continues and the bourgeois ruling classes in those countries are not defeated, it is extremely dangerous." ("Apologists Of Neo-Colonialism," pp. 67, 21-22)

Continued Need for Proletarian Leadership

This did not mean, of course, that China did not support countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, even those under the leadership of the revisionists or others, in resisting imperialist domination. China sided with them in the struggle against imperialism in every possible way. This greatly encouraged them to strengthen such resistance. But the point being stressed was that such resistance could not be built on an anti-communist front or on a re-

olutionary struggle of the masses and the need for the pro-
letariat and its Communist Party to lead the national liberation movement to victory and then the masses in building socialism.

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

"No one can deny that an extremely favourable re-
solution situation now exists in Asia, Africa and Latin America, that the national liberation movement continues and the bourgeois ruling classes in those countries are not defeated, it is extremely dangerous." ("Apologists Of Neo-Colonialism," pp. 67, 21-22)

Continued Need for Proletarian Leadership

This did not mean, of course, that China did not support countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, even those under the leadership of the revisionists or others, in resisting imperialist domination. China sided with them in the struggle against imperialism in every possible way. This greatly encouraged them to strengthen such resistance. But the point being stressed was that such resistance could not be built on an anti-communist front or on a re-

olutionary struggle of the masses and the need for the pro-
letariat and its Communist Party to lead the national liberation movement to victory and then the masses in building socialism.