

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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COOK COUNTY NURSES STRIKE

1000 registered nurses at Cook County and Oak Forest Hospitals in Chicago have been on strike for three weeks. The nurses are out because the Health and Hospital Governing Commission (HHGC), which is an appointed public board to run the hospitals, wants to strip them of their sick pay, as they have already done to other workers at the hospitals.

The strike represents a long history of attacks on employees at CCH and Oak Forest. The HHGC has taken away the first day sick pay from the 2000 workers covered by Local 46 of the SLU last December and has also taken away the first two sick days from non-union employees. Now they have told the nurses it will take all their sick time in exchange for a starvation 5% raise over two years. These attacks are part of an overall plan by the bourgeoisie in this country to strip away public services in order to direct funds to private investment. Specifically, for the health care industry, which, with the availability of federal money, is one of

the fastest growing and most profitable sectors of the economy, this means closing down public hospitals and the expansion of private ones. This is welfare for capitalist profit, not medical need. 10 out of 27 public hospitals and 1/2 the public clinics in New York City have been shut down in the last two years with thousands laid off. Two weeks ago the only public hos-

pital in Philadelphia closed down. In the last seven years since the HHGC came into existence, the size of CCH has gone from 3400 beds to 1400 beds with thousands of workers being laid off or lost by attrition. In each case the majority of those workers laid off have been workers of oppressed nationalities. The eventual plan at CCH is to cut back

to a 500 bed specialty care facility with nothing but intensive care units by the end of the decade. People who have nowhere else to get medical services would have to find their way at private hospitals that now refuse them. CCH is the only public hospital in Chicago for 7 million people. The people of Chicago have already seen 23 public schools closed down this

year and other public services such as transportation cut-back. We need to fight to keep CCH open and accessible to the people who need it.

The attack launched by the state against CCH has been coordinated by one of the leading capitalists in Chicago, Edwin Brashears, the Chairman of the HHGC since its



'No Sale' For Bi-Centennial Wolf Tickets

LOW U.S. VOTE TURNOUT

On November 2, various representatives of the capitalist political parties were elected to office. In office, whether it be the presidency, a governorship, the Senate or the House - these enemies of the people will continue to manage the affairs of the state for the capitalist class. The essence of their managerial responsibilities is to keep the rule of the bourgeoisie intact - to enable the mere handful of the rich continue their exploitation and repression of the vast majority of the working and oppressed people here in the US and throughout the world. This election represented no choice and no change for working people. Deteriorating living conditions, millions of workers unable to find jobs, inflation that lowers our real wages and rousing preparation for another imperialist world war will continue as before. The brand name might have changed, but the contents of the can not at all.

NOBODY VOTES

Only 53.3 per cent of the eligible voters actually voted for a presidential candidate, continuing a downward trend which began in 1960 when 62.8 per cent actually voted. In 1964 61.8 % voted, in 1968, 60.9 per cent, and in 1972, 55.6 per cent. This has caused great alarm among the multi-millionaire bankers and industrialists. They have

funded commissions both public and private for the purpose of finding out ways to get more people to vote. In the recent election campaign, one of the main themes was "Don't be apathetic. It doesn't matter who you vote for, just vote!" The television and radio bombarded us with editorials calling on everyone to do their patriotic duty and vote. A student movement was arranged to get out the vote. The capitalists literally spent millions advertising "the right to vote".

But on November 2, despite the millions spent, only 53.3 per cent voted - the smallest turn out since 1948. The bourgeois press tried to hide this fact with headlines like "HEAVY VOTER TURNOUT", but the fact remains that, despite a numerically large turn out of about 78.6 million, 46.7 per cent, or 68.8 million people did not vote. The majority of these were young, unemployed and had a minimal education.

This was particularly true in the cities. In New York only 39% of the eligible voters turned out.

Comrades and fellow workers, while the bourgeoisie depicts low voter turn out as a negative trend, as communists we view it much differently. First, we recognize that universal suffrage is an instrument of bourgeois rule... is the gauge of the maturity of the working class. It cannot and never

will be anything more in the present day state." (Lenin)

Using the spontaneous and passive boycott of the elections as a gauge - we see the low turn out as a positive motion among the masses. It shows the weakened hold of capitalism over the masses of working people. We know it reflects an increasing awareness of the bankruptcy of the political system of the bourgeoisie, an awareness that needs and aspirations of the masses are not realized, that their misery and hardships are not alleviated through the electoral process, an awareness that as Lenin says, elections are the right to decide which member of the ruling class will exploit you for four more years. We must nurture and develop this consciousness, this spark of political independence from the bourgeoisie.

We must continue to direct our propaganda and agitation to this most important task of taking this spontaneous and primitive understanding and developing it into revolutionary class consciousness.

As Lenin describes, "The reason why the omnipotence of 'wealth' is better secured in a democratic republic, is that it does not depend on the faulty political shell of capitalism. A democratic republic is the best possible political shell

for capitalism...."

But as the ability of parliamentary illusion to fool the masses is lessened, the bourgeoisie must either step up its effort to capture influence over the masses through reform or it must resort to open terror. However, at the present time, due to the depth of the crisis, capitalism is not able to use reform as freely as before. Thus while the low voter turn out reflects a positive motion among the masses, which provides a good basis for communist work, it's also a situation which fascist representatives of the bourgeoisie know they must exploit. To that end they attempt to foster cynicism and passivity not struggle. The recent election results show us an arena of battle, a battle we must win by educating and mobilizing the working class to revolutionary activity.

The basic illusion that the bourgeoisie tries to foster in the working class is that universal suffrage, the extension of the right to vote to the population as a whole, means political equality. "One man, one vote" the capitalists say, means that a wealthy capitalist has just as much political power as the average working person. But this is absurd. Political equality under

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fact is positive

beginning 7 years ago. Bra-shears is also owner of the Drake Hotel in the middle of Chicago's Gold Coast. He is vice president of a private hospital in the city, chairman of a bank and chairman of a realty company.

THE NURSES STRIKE!

The nurses strike began on November 3 with consistent, militant picketing, staunch solidarity and good morale. The spirit of the picket line has been inspiring to working people in the hospital and to patients, some of whom have joined the picketing. Some workers have also joined the picket line, refusing to be intimidated by supervisors, and secretly collected money for a strike fund, passed out leaflets inside the hospital, etc.

The bourgeoisie attacked by going to court for an injunction against the strike and a back to work order which prohibited the nurses as a union from picketing, striking, etc. The nurses responded by voting overwhelmingly to continue their strike. The next day the judge issued a \$1000 a day fine against the Illinois Nurses Association for each of the first 7 days of the strike and \$10,000 a day for each day the strike continued. The national leadership of the nurses association, the American Nurses Association, which had until that point supported the strike, withdrew their support, telling the striking nurses, "we morally support you, but we can't financially afford to continue our sponsorship of your strike." So much for the bureaucrats, intimidated by the buck, willing to sell out any struggle because some court says so.

The history of the nurses strike is one of the state bureaucrats continually compromising the militant and progressive stands of the local association. Instead of a strike they wanted fact finding and arbitration. When there was a 90% strike vote, instead of striking they wanted to release the figures to the press saying that this would force the HHGC to give in!

When the nurses refused to be intimidated by the court order and voted to continue the strike, the HHGC let out a rumor that all the nurses would be fired, that foreign born minorities would be deported for strike activity and tried to bribe nurses back to work by saying that they were going to give scabbing nurses and nurse supervisors a 4.5% raise immediately. Then they took action to force 300 workers off their jobs, primarily from Local 46, through forced vacations and over 150 layoffs in an effort to weaken all around support for the strike.

But the nurses have stood firm. Their association, which is a multinational organization of Filipinos, blacks, whites, Thais, Latins and other oppressed nationalities, are well organized on a ward to ward basis and have consistently had good attendance at meetings, even those held on a few hours notice. They have maintained a steady flow of strike bulletins to keep the membership almost daily informed of events and have limited scabbing to a minimum, usually less than 10%.

The weaknesses of the strike so far have been reflected in the lack of clear policy on the part of the strike leadership to mobilize the militancy of the rank and file and their readiness to struggle. Besides picketing and mass meetings, the leadership has not used this

strength to broaden the strike and increase the nurse's counterattack. Nor has it sought unity with the other workers in the hospital in a consistent way. For example, it opposed a resolution which said that no nurse would go back to work until all workers laid off were back on the job.

CPUSA NARROWS STRIKE ACTIVITY

The most important activity directed at undermining the nurses struggle has come from the opportunists of the CPUSA. Relying on their bureaucratic leaders inside the Nurses Association and the House-staff Association, which is the union of residents and interns at the hospital, at every step of the way they have tried to limit the militancy and progressive striving of the rank and file and have worked to prevent the unity of nurses with workers and doctors in the hospital, for example struggling against the proposal that nurses should not go back until all laid off workers were called back. They have tried to narrow activity as much as possible and their idea of broadening the strike is cutting in another opportunist, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, for a piece of the action. When the Housestaff representative council passed a resolution supporting a mass picket at the Drake Hotel owned by the Chairman of the Governing Commission, the CPUSA called an emergency meeting the next day and attempted to gather all the backward and reactionary forces to reverse this decision. They have also engaged in some open red-baiting, complaining about "leftists" and "people who wanted to broaden activity for their own purposes," or "people who want to go beyond what anyone here wants to do."

OL'S SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC STYLE

It is also important to speak to the role of the October League in the strike. The flipflopping, vacillating, sectarian character of their activity shows that they have not succeeded in breaking with the social democratic errors of our movement and developed the ability to guide the spontaneous struggle through planned and conscious activity. The activity required to support the nurses strike was to build the firm solidarity and the united action of all employees in the hospital directed toward broadening the strike activity and making more militant and decisive action possible, up to and including a general strike of all workers in the hospital. But while alternatively running from this solution to that, OL failed to take up the work that had to be done to give solid communist support to the strike.

To begin with OL completely misread the objective situation at the start of the strike. They proposed that the residents and interns do everything they could to transfer patients to other hospitals and discharge those who were well enough in order to close down the hospital. At best this was a call for a general strike, the only thing that could give closing down the hospital any meaning. But the conditions for a general strike had definitely not been prepared and in any case OL didn't even propose that. Instead they called only for a bare shut down supported by vague proposals about the community forcing the hospital to reopen. But they made no proposals to organize the workforce at County in the face of the seriousness of a total shut-down. This reflects a typical social democratic approach.

Without doing anything to prepare the conditions for action, they rely completely on the spontaneity of the moment and at that overestimate the level of development of the spontaneous struggle. That is easy to do if you've done nothing to investigate or prepare. Relying on doctors to shut down the hospitals by transferring patients without mobilizing the workforce does nothing but put people out of work.

In fact, the call to close down the hospital under those conditions would have played right into the hands of Haughton and the HHGC and would have been disastrous for the struggle of the nurses and for workers inside the hospital. The strong position of the nurses would have been swallowed in an irresponsible action that was poorly prepared. At that point what Haughton was looking for was any excuse to increase the contradictions between the nurses and other hospital workers through laying off members of Local 46 and Local 1111. The precondition for a general strike at the hospital -- which is definitely possible if the conditions are prepared -- or other activity to broaden the strike is the militant unity of the rank and file of Locals 46 and 1111 with the nurses and the housestaff. When the strike began, advanced forces throughout the hospital realized that this unity had not been built firmly enough and that it was our job to build it. But I did not show up consistently at meetings to fight for this line, and in particular did not challenge the line of the CPUSA to consistently narrow the struggle or their red-baiting tactics.

Tactically it was correct to strive to maintain the pre-strike patient census at County -- ie not to transfer or discharge patients -- so there would be no excuse for layoffs. Then our job was to take up the task of forging the unity necessary for coordinated job actions throughout the hospital. As we develop our mobilization and organization, this unity can be tested in struggle and built up through solidarity meetings, picket line support, demonstrations, work slowdowns in selected parts of the hospital, etc.

It was important also to direct our attention first to the nurses themselves to win the rank and file to the demand that the Nurses Association pledge their refusal to return to work unless all laid off workers are reinstated. Relying on the advanced in all sectors of the hospital community, this was a first thrust of our agitation.

Preparing the conditions for work actions of any sort, and sustaining them, requires organized forces to lead. Instead of consolidating the advanced and taking up the tasks of developing the day to day struggle as the strike progressed, OL relied on the social democratic method of calling in it's Worker Solidarity Committee which at a mass meeting called by the Housestaff Association showed up after the meeting started, moved in between the aisles in the middle of speeches passing out a leaflet and selling the CALL, waited around until a newscamera took a picture of their sign, then left, leaving a member behind to give a solidarity message. Isolated from the struggle by their failure to investigate or to work with the advanced, they had no solid footing from which to evaluate correct tactics proposed in

the course of the strike. When the Housestaff representative council and nurses united around the proposal of progressive forces in the struggle to broaden the action of the strike and conduct a picket at the hotel owned by the head of the HHGC to expose some of the forces who are really behind the attacks at County, these "proposers of the close down" from CL attacked the motion as "ultra-left", saying it would isolate forces from the majority of the people in the hospital and that no one would understand it.

That shows not only a failure to investigate and prepare the struggle, but an underestimation of the level of consciousness that has been developed out of the history of struggle at CCH. The picket line was carried out in spite of these faint hearted cries of "leftism" with solid support, especially from the nurses, and was a good exposure, showing dramatically the class confrontation involved at CCH.

DIRECTION OF THE STRIKE

Unless there is a sellout, the nurses are going to win this strike. Haughton and the HHGC's attempt to claim that the nurses have abused sick time is a fraud that can not stand the light of day. This has led to contradictions among the bourgeoisie. What started out as a common front has begun to crack. In the first place Mayor Daley's support for the HHGC position is lukewarm, because he wants to bring the HHGC under his wing. One result of this was that when Haughton and the HHGC went into court on November 15 thinking they would get contempt charges against the nurses the judge took a middle position which weakened the HHGC. Other contradictions were reflected within the HHGC itself as two of its members openly disputed charges that nurses were abusing sick time. In addition, the executive medical staff at the hospital demanded an emergency meeting with the HHGC where the hospital's leading physicians told the Commission that they did not believe the HHGC was negotiating with the nurses or interested in negotiating with the nurses. Even the bourgeois press, which initially attacked the nurses as sick time abusers and attacked their right to strike, has cooled off for the time being.

In this situation with morale still high among the rank and file behind their just demands, the nurses are in a favorable situation. It is only the sellout action of the revisionists of the CPUSA, tailed by the CLP, and opportunist forces on the negotiating team overwhelming honest forces in leadership who have shown a tendency to vacillate that could change this situation at the present time. There will be either victory or sellout.

When we know the enemy is in a weakened position we must hit harder and open new fronts. Every employee at County and Oak Forest must be won to the position that a victory for the nurses is the first step in building our counterattack against the capitalist plan to cut back these hospitals. On this basis we must build the active unity of all the workers and staff at the hospitals. We must work to maintain the momentum of the strike activity, organizing toward greater and even more decisive strike actions.

Illinois Nurses Assoc
Am. Nurses Assoc

Take care of
split among the
enemy

empt. of investigation
& preparation.

capitalism is a purely meaningless formality. The fact that the bourgeoisie owns the means of production and therefore expropriates for itself the surplus value created by the labor of the worker is the basis for the real inequality that exists. One man, one vote is pretense as long as one man has all the wealth and the other has none. In the recent election, for example, John D. Rockefeller IV spent 2 million of his own dollars to buy his way into the governorship of West Virginia. John Heinz III paid 2.2 million for his post as Senator from Pennsylvania. These are only a few examples out of many that happen each year.

not good example

In reality behind the veil of democracy and universal suffrage, a small handful of men exercise political control and ruthlessly use their power to further the exploitation of the majority of the people. In STATE AND REVOLUTION, Lenin quotes Engels on how this veil is exercised and how the bourgeoisie uses democracy as a tool of oppression:

"In a democratic republic, Engels continues, 'wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely, first, by means of the 'direct corruption of officials' (America); second, by means of an alliance between the government and Stock Exchange' (France and America)."

Lenin goes on to say: "At the present time, imperialism and the domination of the banks have 'developed' both these methods of upholding and giving effect to the omnipotence of wealth in democratic republics of all descriptions into an unusually fine art."

Working and oppressed people have a greater and greater awareness of these truths and that is a cause of the present apathy among the voters in the US. The corruption of politicians is well known to the American people. Under capitalism, everything, moral values, sex-love, integrity, becomes a commodity that can be bought and sold. The litany of corruption is endless -- Watergate, bribery of officials by corporations like Lockheed, the exploitation of secretaries as prostitutes by officials, the fascist regime in Korea under Park bribing Senators and Congressmen, etc.

The alliance between the Stock Exchange and the government, which is the alliance between finance capital and the government, is seen when capitalists like Rockefeller and Heinz personally assume political office. This alliance also takes place at all levels of the relationship between industry and government. Many politicians and military men and officials of all kinds are given nice figurehead posts in corporations with fat salaries after they retire from office. 80% of the commissioners of the Food and Drug Commission retired to executive positions in the major drug companies. This not only shows the connection between monopoly capital and government but is also a form of direct corruption.

Public debt by the government also welds more strongly the ties between the banks and government. This alliance between government and finance capital was starkly revealed in New York City when the bankers moved in to assume virtual open political control of the city government during the bankruptcy crisis.

Jimmy Carter, the so-called mystery man who is now the president-elect of the United States, had been portrayed as

a "man of the people," not tied to big business or the corruption in Washington. But in reality, the development of Carter's candidacy quite clearly reveals that same alliance between finance capital and the government, proving once again the summation of Lenin: "To decide every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament -- such is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarianism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics."

Carter is a capitalist who owns a peanut farm, a seed and fertilizer business, warehouses, a peanut shelling plant, a cotton gin and a farm-supply operation. His Carter Farms, Inc. owns or leases more than 3,100 acres and his declared assets in 1974 were \$999,689. Carter ran for the Georgia Senate in 1962 and won. Later, in his race for governor, he spoke out against federally imposed desegregation plans and school busing for integration. The recent revelations that this hypocrite who speaks so much about moral values has belonged to a church with a membership clause excluding "Blacks and civil rights agitators" is no surprise if you study his consistent chauvinist practices. A thorough-going opportunist, he has spoken highly of George Wallace and Lester Maddox and sought the support of segregationist editors during his campaign for governor.

But it was after becoming governor that Carter was recruited for the presidency. In 1972, Carter was asked to join the Tri-lateral Commission, a commission which shows very well the connection between government and finance capital. The leader of this group of Northeastern bankers and industrialists was David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and one of the most powerful capitalists in the world. Other members on the Commission were the president of Time, Inc., the president of the UAW, Leonard Woodcock, the Secretary of Commerce, and Walter Mondale, Carter's V.P. choice. The 180 member commission is made up of representatives from the capitalist circles of the United States and Canada, Western Europe and Japan.

The members of this Commission obviously view the demands of the oppressed masses of the world as a direct threat to their imperialist strivings. The monopoly capitalists saw in Carter a good candidate - he would definitely serve the bourgeoisie's interests and was a new face on the political scene, little connected in the public's eye with the corruption in Washington. And so the bourgeoisie promoted Carter, arranging his appointment in 1972 as chairman of the Democrats' Campaign '74 Committee. This enabled him to travel around the country and develop his contacts with the entire Democratic Party machinery as well as with the businessmen all over the country. He went on from there to declare for the presidency and was finally elected. So it was no mystery why Carter ran -- he was carefully selected and groomed for his position by the capitalist class. So what choice did the broad masses of the American people have in the recent election? Millions realized that it made no difference and so did not bother to vote.

Under Carter, as it would also have been under Ford, US imperialism will continue its cold-blooded exploitation of other nations and people

throughout the world in its pursuit of maximum profits. Carter has repeatedly stressed his support for the fascist Zionist state of Israel and the continuing criminal possession of the Panama Canal. In remarks to the American Legion on August 24th of this year, Carter said, "Our attention must turn to rebuilding the military, economic and spiritual foundations of a peaceful world order." Carter is saying that the hegemony of US imperialism is what needs rebuilding. The attempt by the imperialists to consolidate their declining power will continue as before. But the same obstacles will still remain in the way.

Under bourgeois democracy, the more things change the more they stay the same. Millions felt this way and did not bother to choose between Carter or Ford. But the trade union bureaucrats, a direct source of the contagion of bourgeois democratic illusions in the working class, tried to paint a different picture. They said Carter would move to end unemployment. George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO and one of the most loyal and most vicious servants of the capitalist class in the workers movement, made this profound remark in opening the AFL-CIO General Board meeting: "We are here to elect Governor Carter and Senator Mondale. They are determined to get America back to work." How ludicrous and utterly shameful that lie was revealed to be by no one else than Jimmy Carter himself, when only two weeks after being elected, when asked if the present murderous rate of almost 8% unemployment would continue throughout the next four years replied, "I would guess it would be a likely prospect." Even after this admission, George Hardy, president of the Service Employees International Union, could muster up enough nerve to say, "The Carter victory holds out the promise that the needs of working men and women, the poor and dispossessed will be addressed at last."

The bourgeoisie has got the trade union bureaucrats in their back pocket, through direct corruption like the Teamster leadership; through offering them high government posts -- Leonard Woodcock is slated to get a cabinet post as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare because of his early support for Carter through salaried positions in firms, etc. The state machine has become more and more involved in labor disputes and taken up the weapon of injunctions against strikes, using fines and compulsory arbitration. This continues to demonstrate the weakening of the democratic political shell of the bourgeois state. The trade union bureaucrats collude in this with the bourgeoisie by uniting with them in agreements like the infamous Experimental Negotiating Agreement in steel which shackles the struggles of the working class and by generally promoting the illusion that the state machinery can play a moderating, impartial role as umpire in class struggle. The increasing role of government bureaucracy in class conflicts of an economic nature also serves to prepare the conditions for the tightly controlled militaristic political shell that is vital in a period of approaching imperialist war. The many labor-government commissions, etc. that are set up, where the bureaucrats sit at the same table with the owners of industry, do absolutely nothing but legitimize the increasing

repression that is descending on the working class and represents the important role these labor lieutenants of the capitalist class have to play in the alliance between monopoly capital and government.

The CPUSA ran again in the elections -- again doing a better job spreading bourgeois democratic illusions than the capitalist parties themselves. Their slogans claimed "Vote 'yes' to detente and 5 million new jobs," "Vote for jobs, equality and free education," promoting the illusions that parliamentary elections can result in fundamental changes. With their clamor about detente they spread the illusion that the predatory and aggressive character of US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism is not leading to imperialist war. The CPUSA reveals the completely bankrupt character of their opportunism by promoting the parliamentary arena as the only legitimate arena for political activity among the masses. They have the same aversion to revolutionary mass action as the ruling class. Rather than having a correct communist view toward participation in the elections, which is to participate specifically for the purpose of winning over the backward strata of the workers still dominated by bourgeois parliamentary illusions so that the revolutionary mass movement of the working class can destroy these bourgeois institutions, the revisionists aim their election propaganda at workers for the express purpose of again instilling them with bourgeois parliamentary prejudices. In the words of Gus Hall, Chairman of the CPUSA, "we have to aim our campaign to the millions who are disillusioned and are alienated from the two old parties. We have to present a meaningful alternative to the millions who have withdrawn, as a protest or because of a sense of hopelessness about the electoral process." The CPUSA tailed the Democratic Party for years -- in fact a good indication of their bankruptcy is the fact that in 1972, even while running their own candidates, over 40% of the cadres of the CPUSA voted for McGovern on the Democratic ticket.

Comrades, the elections in November demonstrated a weakening of bourgeois democratic illusions among the masses. For the bourgeoisie, this necessitates tighter measures of control. For the Marxist-Leninist movement, it means we must increase our efforts to educate and mobilize the working class in their independent class interests. We must transform voter apathy in the same way that we must transform trade union apathy-- by mobilizing workers to increasingly active struggle.

The low turn-out in the elections was a spontaneous reaction to the increasingly worsened living conditions the masses face. With Marxist-Leninist propaganda as the chief form of our activity in this period we can have the tool for raising the spontaneous reaction to a conscious communist level. We must use our revolutionary press as a tribune for the people, exposing every injustice, every inequality, all instances of repression and exploitation. In this way, we can guarantee that the present decline in bourgeois parliamentary illusions will not be reversed by the ruling class and its agents in the working class, the trade union bureaucrats. The merger of communist politics and the working class movement will continue to move forward.

Communist Factory Work

The WC(ML) unites with the analysis of this article, which comes to us from a comrade on the East coast. We encourage all communists and advanced workers to sum up their work rigorously and generalize their experiences for the benefit of us all, so we can intensify our work of winning the vanguard of the proletariat to communism and weld together an invincible communist party.

For the last three years, I have been working in a medium sized plant in the consumer goods industry that is organized by the International Association of Machinists. I have been trying to integrate myself deeper into the working class and trying to develop work that reflects the advances that our movement has made in the struggle to combat economism and right opportunism that has characterized our work.

I have worked in the plants for several years and have seen countless teachers by negative example, who, although well-intentioned, could not break with the social democratic traditions that are so deeply ingrained in our communist movement. As the spontaneous movement in their plant would develop as it inevitably does, they would either stand apart from it, being so deeply involved in their own "support committee" or other kind of "intermediate workers organization" or leap into it in a frenzy and have successes as it succeeded and then fizzle as it fizzled, rather than reflecting their ability to consciously lead the movement step by step and to consolidate the best forces and bring them permanently into the ranks of our communist movement. In that way, to gradually but steadily develop the work in size and depth. In taking up work in my plant, I attempted to make a break with social democracy, taking up the tasks of building a factory nucleus and giving the struggle a planned and conscious character. But what I have found out in this last period is that the struggle to overcome our social democratic tendencies is much more than making a declaration about it.

During the first period of my work, I basically got to know my job and began to investigate the workers in the plant, trying to identify who was advanced, intermediate, and backward. I attended the union meetings regularly, putting in my two cents, but concentrating most of all on getting a better understanding of the forces that were present in the union, the history of struggle, the strengths and weaknesses of leadership, etc.

In the course of this investigation, I found out several things. Among the advanced workers in the plant there were several who had been exposed to or studied Marxism to some degree and some people who were independent Marxist Leninists and associated with a loose independent study circle. In addition I found workers who were open to the ideas of communism but who had never been

exposed to the science outside of seeing the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO in high school, if anything at all. The workers in this plant generally had a pretty militant history of struggle against the company. As it turned out, some of the older workers who have long since left the plant were communists. Since the '30s there had been several militant chapters in the struggle against the company and many of the old timers remain militant trade unionists. An interesting footnote was that one older worker who informed me that the original organizer of the union was a communist, made the point that this guy had been "a communist outside the plant but not inside", which is probably a good reflection on the tendency to economism that has dominated our movement for decades.

More recently, say in the last 10 years, the leadership of the union has become passive in face of the increasing attacks on the working conditions by the company, and sought out more and more privileges for themselves. This has resulted in deepening distrust and cynicism by the rank and file, which has weakened the union in many respects. In addition, the composition of the workforce in the plant is rapidly changing with many younger workers being hired as the veteran workers retire. With this change in the workforce, with the degeneration of the union leadership, and as a result of the crisis of imperialism, the conditions in the plant are visibly deteriorating, with the company speeding up the work, reducing the pay, allowing the working conditions in general to deteriorate, and in an all around way stepping up their attack on the workforce and intensifying the exploitation.

FIRST STEPS

This situation presented favorable conditions for communist work. First I struggled to build a core of Marxist Leninist workers by pursuing those who had studied Marxism as well as those who were open to it, by utilizing propaganda, such as articles in THE COMMUNIST, as well as other material. I gradually pursued discussions with this handful of workers in order to determine how trustworthy they were as well as what their level of political development was. With some I was able to further consolidate our unity. With others, study went to a certain point and then dropped off, often because of objective factors like shift changes and family responsibility and contradictions, but also because of a lack of persistence on my part in not pursuing a deeper and more all around integration with them and simply persisting in the struggle with them to take up study and active revolutionary work.

As I engaged in this work, it was necessary to at the same time begin to take up the struggle on the floor and within the union. Relying on those I was struggling for political unity with as well as some active workers who were responding to the objective crisis in the plant, we began to bring forward the initiative of the rank-and-file within the union and against the company. This took

forms of a struggle against the union bureaucrats and their efforts to stifle democracy within the union, around the struggle for plant safety, and on the failure of the union bureaucrats to take up a militant fight for our interests. In taking up these struggles, we were relatively successful both in exposing the issues, mobilizing the rank and file through grievances and petitions, and in winning some small victories, which meant that various forces of both the young and veteran workers began to look to us as leadership in the day to day struggle. The small group of us began to try to meet regularly. First it began by getting together before the monthly local meeting and discussing what we were going to do in the meeting. As time went on we began to meet more regularly to take up the many issues that were required in dealing with the struggle.

STRUGGLE INTENSIFIES

All this was fine and reflected expected positive results to a basically correct approach to work. But as we learn from our study of dialectical materialism and Mao's writings like ON CONTRADICTION, there are always two aspects to a thing such as the positive and the negative and under certain external conditions, they can transform with the principal aspect changing from the positive to the negative or the negative to the positive.

As a result of the company's intensifying attacks on the working conditions and their flagrant violation of the contract, the union leadership became more and more exposed as they failed to respond to these attacks in a militant and organized way, and the workers in the plant became angrier and looked for some solution. Even though myself and a handful of advanced workers had started to take an active role in the struggle on the floor, the anger and motion of many of the workers has grown spontaneously and developed beyond the scope of our work, and workers began to advance ideas spontaneously on ways to deal with the particular crisis that was developing—ideas which basically called for an offensive against the bureaucrats. Excited by the quick escalation of events, our small "core" decided to try to stand at the head of this movement and to consolidate our leadership of it. At this time, elections for union officers of our local began to pursue the objective of running some of our members for positions, thinking that this would put us in a position to get all the inside information about the company and the union leadership as well as put us into a stronger situation in leading the struggle on the floor.

We immediately began to intensify our agitation focused at mobilizing workers to attend a key union meeting where many of the issues could come to a head and there would be nominations for office. We began to broaden our ranks, bringing in workers who responded to our agitation but who had not been consolidated politically, or who were even aware that some of us were communists. When the union meeting came, there were three times the number of people who normally attend, largely

as a result of our efforts. The debate sharpened and there was a wave of angry criticism of the union leadership, and we were able to win some victories on some proposals as well as to have some of our members nominated for office.

"A FALL IN THE PIT"

After the union meeting, my collective met to sum up what had happened. No matter how much we wanted to resist it, it became clear that we had fallen into the same fight errors of bowing to the spontaneous movement and failing to give it a planned conscious character that we had so sharply criticized in the work of others in our movement. Our plan to run for office at this point was incorrect. There was no doubt in our mind that we had to expose and expel the labor traitors from our ranks and replace them with revolutionary leadership, but we had simply not yet prepared the conditions for this advance in our struggle. We had not consolidated our strength on the floor, most clearly seen in our failure to consolidate a Marxist-Leninist core of advanced workers that could lead the struggle through its twists and turns and bring forward the intermediate and backward. In addition we had not firmly applied the dialectical materialist method, nor fully relied on collective guidance for the work. The errors had a secondary "left" aspect in that we advanced on a course of struggle that went beyond what was objectively possible, but in the main they reflected our failure to make a complete break with the tendency to worship the spontaneous movement, to overcome our own amateurishness and primitiveness, and to bring forward and rely fully on the advanced workers.

DIDN'T BUILD A CORE

The major error was our failure to consolidate a Marxist Leninist core of workers that could lead the struggle and keep it focused in a correct direction. I had made some good initial steps, particularly in investigating and finding workers who could be won to communism and to take up conscious study and had forged some basic unity with a few of them. But what had been built by the time the struggle started to advance was far from consolidated enough to lead an offensive against the bureaucrats and, in turn, the company. At a certain point the principal aspect of my activity became to build the mass movement rather than to further consolidate the core. This meant that when I faced some of the difficult problems you confront when trying to win workers to communism and study, I backed off them rather than persist in trying to resolve them. Rather than consolidating the core I began to inflate and objectively to liquidate the core, by bringing into it workers who had been mobilized in the mass movement yet who had not been won to our revolutionary tasks. When confronted with the limitations of my analysis and plans, I would simply intensify my mass activity, saying to myself, that I would come back to the problem later. On one hand, I have learned that you cannot build a core of Marxist Leninist workers, by divorcing your-

self from the day to day struggle. Advanced and conscious workers do not fall from the sky ready made. But on the other hand, by not consciously building and welding together a core of workers who have been won to our science and who will share the responsibility of guiding the struggle through all its twists and turns and who are willing to take up the hard work and to make the sacrifices that are required, there is no way that we can lead the struggle of the masses of workers to achieve even the short range victories, much less our long range objectives. We are dealing with powerful enemies at this point who can mobilize powerful resources and who will stop at nothing in order to maintain their control and power. We must apply very high standards to our work.

In general, I had not done the work that was necessary to prepare the conditions for our effort to take union leadership and had instead jumped into the spontaneous movement to be pulled by it. The intentions had been the best, some steps had been made in the right direction, yet as victory came closer and the struggle intensified, the weaknesses that come from having a petty bourgeois outlook and method popped out and caused trouble. Our second error was in failing to rigorously apply the dialectical materialist method in guiding our work.

The anger and motion of the workers in the plant that was directed at the union bureaucrats had two aspects. It was positive in that workers were daring to criticize what was wrong, insisting on struggle against the company, dismissing the false promises and generalities that the bureaucrats have relied on in the past to pacify the workers, etc. It was negative to the degree that anti-union sentiments and individual cynicism and passivity were reflected. In face of the treachery of the union bureaucrats it is common for workers these days to say "hell with the union, I'm going to just look out for myself" and to see the union in general on a par with the company. In taking this kind of stance, all kinds of cynicism and passivity emerge resulting in people trying to quit the unions, not attending the meetings, not investigating the issues, and in general failing to transform the anger into activity which can expose and expel the traitors from our ranks and allow the working class to make the unions into organizations of class struggle rather than class collaboration. In our activity, we were aware of these sentiments yet had not correctly analyzed the aspects of the contradiction between positive and negative and based our plans on that study. This would have enabled us to rely on the positive to overcome the negative.

Keeping this in mind, at this point in the struggle it is much more important to consolidate our core and focus the struggle on the floor rather than to rely on the spontaneous anger to put us into office. We had to work to make sure that the anger of the workers will be focused in militant and activity rather than cynicism and passivity. This development

would be reflected in our ability to consolidate a leading core of advanced workers who were leading the struggle in a conscious direction. To be a union officer without the ability to move the masses on the floor in a conscious direction would have set us up to be picked off by the company if we maintained our open militancy or to be forced into compromise which would result in losing the confidence of the base we have. Either result would strengthen the negative views of the workers that we referred to earlier.

This superficial approach to this contradiction between positive and negative is an example of the superficiality of our analysis of the many other contradictions we had to deal with in the struggle such as the contradiction between our unity and disunity with the advanced and intermediate workers in the plant; between us and the union leadership; the strengths and weaknesses within the core, etc.

INDIVIDUALISM

A third error was not fully relying on the leadership and collective struggle of the communist collective. I am a member of an independent collective which studies and strives to guide the work of each of its members. I had reported superficially on the character of my work in the plant and the development of events to my collective, not actively seeking out its guidance. Our movement must rely on collective communist discussion of work. This will enable us to put politics in command, to insure the application of the line and to test its results, and to insure the collective grasp of the line. All these things require collective struggle.

RECTIFICATION

Fortunately, I was in a situation that was not irreversible, so my collective was able to recognize the weakness of our situation, take a retreat and start to reconsolidate, on a correct line.

How will we rectify the situation? In the first place, our collective is working hard to provide collective discussion and guidance for the work, relying more on the dialectical method. We made the decision to write this article for THE COMMUNIST as an opportunity to further analyze our experience as well as to share them with other comrades in the Leninist trend.

In the plant, we backed off the move on the positions of union leadership that we had charted. We have been able to explain this move to the various workers who have looked to us as leadership, pointing out the visible contradictions that had emerged and the importance of developing our leadership on the floor and doing the groundwork that is necessary to overcome the mistakes and to prepare the conditions for expelling the bureaucrats and taking full leadership in the struggle. This effort to teach on the basis of our mistakes has further strengthened our ties in the plant and has been a way to consolidate some of the more advanced forces and to dispel some of the mistrust that did emerge.

Within the core of workers that we have been trying to develop, we have opened up a struggle to consolidate all of them on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. It is going to be a struggle as some workers, although militant in the trade union struggle and open to communism do have serious doubts because of the way bourgeois propaganda saturates the class. We have won them to take up regular study and to pursue these questions. In doing this our strongest argument was our own command over the day to day struggle and the importance we give to guiding this struggle by science—the science of Marxism-Leninism. To win this battle, we plan to combine our study of Marxist materials with our intensified investigation of the company, the industry in general, the union, etc., using these exposures as an additional means to winning and consolidating these workers. In taking up these tasks we have deepened our grasp of what it means to make propaganda the chief form of our activity. At this point, the material we write up may only be shared with a handful of workers but we will be preparing the conditions for doing widespread propaganda activity, armed with a core of workers who will join with us in advancing and defending these ideas. Our propaganda work must reflect our grasp of the importance of doing illegal work and on fully relying on the advanced.

In the core, we have worked to more carefully analyze our work, setting a timetable for building our leadership on a firm basis so that we will be prepared to lead the big struggle over the contract, when not only the conditions will be ripe, but we will have had time to consolidate ourselves prepare our resources, expand our ranks and at least have a chance to sustain what we

know has to be done. In the core, this approach both to propaganda and research, combined with study as well as more carefully and thoroughly planning out our strategy has had good results in bringing forward the enthusiasm of the workers.

SUMMARY

In our work in this plant we had made several advances and were in a situation where the spontaneous struggle was rising, particularly against the trade union bureaucrats. At this point in our work, we were faced with the contradiction between moving to expel these bureaucrats from the union and building a core of workers. In this situation the principle task was building a core. Faced with this, we made a basic error and capitulated to the very deeply ingrained social democratic tendencies in our movement. We took the path of building that mass movement through seeking positions in the union to increase our influence over the mass movement without having forged a stable and reliable core. The effect of this error, if we had pursued that course, would be that we would not build the mass movement but in fact isolate ourselves from it. Secondly, we would have been at the mercy of the spontaneous movement. When it was up, we would be up. When it fizzled, as it inevitably does, we would fizzle. There can be no steady stable growth that can persevere through the twists and turns of struggle, without building a conscious and reliable core of advanced workers that guide themselves on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

All in all, the experience has been a good negative teacher on the importance for us to persist in criticizing the powerful tendency in our movement to right opportunism in all its forms. We must persist in deepening our grasp of it and taking up the struggle against it as it inevitably appears. With each struggle, our grasp of Marxism-Leninism will advance and we will make headway in our work at transforming the factories into fortresses of communism.



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.

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SCWG: STATEMENT ON DEATH OF MAO

The following contribution is a statement of the Seattle Communist Workers Group distributed on the occasion of the death of Comrade Mao-Tsetung. In their statement the SCWG describes the universal Marxist-Leninist teachings of Chairman Mao that have profoundly influenced and advanced the world-wide revolutionary struggle against imperialism. As they correctly point out, Mao-Tsetung Thought is important not only for the people of China, but as a further development of Marxism-Leninism, this theory charts the path of liberation, independence and revolution for workers and oppressed people throughout the world and has vital revolutionary significance for our own struggle.

Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the Chinese and the entire world's peoples who are struggling against imperialism, social imperialism and all forms of oppression and exploitation, has passed away. Following the death of Stalin, Chairman Mao was the foremost leader of the international working class and the foremost leader of all oppressed peoples the world over struggling for liberation. Chairman Mao continued and further developed the theory and tactics of the world proletarian socialist revolution--the theory and tactics developed by K. Marx, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin. In its entirety Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought charts out the correct path, the only path to be followed by the working class and oppressed nations and people of the world in the overthrow of capitalism and the onward march to the socialist society. Mao Tsetung Thought, a further development of Marxism-Leninism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, is universally applicable and is the only theory which can guide the struggles of the American working class and oppressed people as well to complete victory over monopoly capitalism. In brief, what is Mao Tsetung Thought and why is it the only correct guide to action for revolution in this country and elsewhere?

It was the earth shaking thunder of the October 1917 socialist revolution in Russia led by Lenin which brought Marxism-Leninism to China. Various bourgeois political scientists have often maintained that Marxism-Leninism is only applicable to the conditions of an advanced capitalist country. How was China, an economically backward country dominated by various foreign imperialist powers and domestic big capitalists and big landlords, to apply a "European theory" to such conditions? It was Chairman Mao who applied the science of Marxism-Leninism concretely and turned it into a sharp weapon for solving all the basic problems of the Chinese revolution. Now various bourgeois political scientists say that Mao Tsetung Thought is "Chinese communism" applicable to only "peasant countries". All such distortions are meant to deny that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought forms one continuous theory, to deny that Mao Tsetung Thought is a further development precisely of Marxism-Leninism and thereby deny the universal applicability of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

For example, a basic teaching of Marxism-Leninism ever since the time of Marx and Engels is that if there is to be a revolution then there must be a revolutionary party. Chairman Mao took up this basic teaching and along with other Chinese communists founded the glorious Communist Party of China in 1921. It has been the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Mao which is solely responsible for all the victories of the Chinese people over imperialism and all reaction and for leading the Chinese masses in building socialism.

It is generally known that Marxism-Leninism identifies the working class, the proletariat, as the most advanced and most revolutionary class in history, the only class that can put an end to exploitation of man by man and build the socialist society. Applying this basic teaching of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of China, as far back as 1926 Chairman Mao likewise identified the Chinese working class as the leading force in the revolution. Although constituting less than 1% of the population, the Chinese proletariat was the most concentrated class tied to the key branches of the economy and was the most revolutionary class because it owned literally nothing except its labor power sold to the capitalists for wages. Numerically the largest class was the peasantry. Therefore, on the basis of class analysis, Chairman Mao elaborated the strategic concept of the alliance between the working class and peasantry as the great force in the Chinese revolution.

Chairman Mao divided the Chinese revolution into two distinct but continuous stages, the New Democratic stage which aims to establish an independent, democratic society free from foreign domination and domestic reaction, and the socialist stage which aims at completely building the socialist society as a transition to communist or classless society. The New Democratic stage lasted from 1919 to 1949 and the socialist stage began in 1949 and continues to this day and will continue to the complete realization of communism. Through the course of both stages Chairman Mao elaborated principles of revolution which have universal and ever-lasting significance.

For example, during the anti-imperialist New Democratic revolution Chairman Mao developed the famous strategy and tactics of protracted people's war. Protracted people's war is used by underdeveloped, colonized countries to fight an enemy of superior strength. It is not a war of "quick victory" but is drawn out and may last for decades. It is a people's war because it can only be waged by mobilizing the entire people. Chairman Mao developed such principles as establishing liberated base areas in the mountainous regions and countryside and encircling the large cities; concentrating a superior force at specific points to wipe out the enemy; combining regular warfare with guerilla warfare and building up the people's armed forces mainly from captured enemy weapons. Such are some of the main features of people's war. "Our strategy and tactics", Chairman Mao said, "are based on a people's war; no army opposed to the people can use our strategy and tactics." In the course of the revolutionary war the People's Liberation Army deve-

loped as the mainstay of the revolution. Chairman Mao said,

"Without a people's army the people have nothing." Using such basic principles the Chinese people were able to utterly rout first the Japanese fascist invaders and then the U.S.-backed Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries. Such principles were also used by the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples to defeat the savage U.S. imperialist aggressors. People's war is being employed all over the Third World today and its principles are being further enriched with stunning success. People's war has been proven to be invincible and can defeat any imperialist aggressor.

Another contribution of Chairman Mao's to the theory of the world proletarian revolution is his development of the strategic concept of the national united front. During China's War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) the Communist Party initiated and led the Anti-Japanese National United Front in cooperation with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang (KMT). Despite the fact that the KMT spent more time suppressing the communists and the people rather than fighting Japan, the united front was able to weld the nation together to smash the aggressors. The united front has also been used in Vietnam and Cambodia and in many other countries. From the Vietnamese and Cambodian examples it is easy to see the power of the united front.

In 1949 Chairman Mao summed up China's New Democratic revolution as follows: "A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party--these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy." In 1949 the New Democratic revolution was brought to a successful completion with the complete overthrow of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. On October 1, 1949, the People's Republic of China was proclaimed and thereupon began the socialist revolution.

The socialist revolution is the great class struggle of the proletariat and all the exploited masses against the bourgeoisie and all exploiters. Its principal mainstay is the seizure and consolidation of state power by the proletariat, the dictatorship of the proletariat. But once the proletariat seizes power it cannot rest content--it must continuously consolidate that power because the overthrown exploiters whose resistance grows a hundred-fold, repeatedly try to make a comeback and to restore the capitalist order. This is what Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tsetung Thought teaches us. The economic aim of socialist revolution is to release the productive forces, to develop agriculture, industry and science and technology for the benefit of the masses. But how is production to be developed? Chairman Mao teaches, "grasp revolution, promote production". This meant that (For further information contact SCWG, P.O. Box 3193, Seattle Washington, 98104.) proletarian politics must always be in command. He also said, "never forget class

struggle". Chairman Mao emphasized the primacy of revolutionary politics over economics because if the working class becomes pre-occupied with economic development and forgets politics it would pave the way for capitalist restoration. The overthrown bourgeoisie and new bourgeois elements spontaneously generated under socialism want the working class to forget politics and forget class struggle so as to enable a capitalist restoration. Such is what the renegades and capitalist roaders Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao, and Teng Hsiao-ping advocated. Teng Hsiao-ping moaned that there was too much emphasis on class struggle at the expense of economic development. His intention was to divert the attention of the working class away from class struggle so that the bourgeoisie of which he was a representative could restore capitalism. That is why Chairman Mao constantly stressed, "class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it."

Summing up the lessons of the capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union led by Krushchev and now carried further by the Brezhnev clique, Chairman Mao personally initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as the form for further consolidating the proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and preventing capitalist restoration. The Cultural Revolution began in 1966 and continues to this day and will continue for many years to come. It is a great revolution in the realm of the superstructure for consolidating the socialist economic base and preventing capitalist restoration. Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the class struggle under the conditions of socialism by means of the Cultural Revolution is a further development and his greatest contribution to the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism and with it the problem of capitalist restoration has been fundamentally solved.

Such are some of the main features of Mao Tsetung Thought. Following the death of Stalin and the historic betrayal of Krushchev, Chairman Mao, along with Comrade Enver Hoxha of the Party of Labor of Albania, led the international communist movement back onto the right path of Marxism-Leninism. From the impact of the great international struggle against Soviet revisionism many Marxist-Leninist organizations and Parties have emerged the world over based on Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought. Today while the factors for both war between the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and the factors for world revolution are on the rise and whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case revolution remains the main trend in the world and the future is bright. For us in the U.S. it is the imperative duty of all Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary minded people to follow the path of Chairman Mao and re-establish the Marxist-Leninist Party as the central task. If we maintain undeviating allegiance to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought we can surely accomplish this task and lead the American working class in its historic mission of overthrowing the U.S. imperialist ruling class.

(For further information contact SCWG, P.O. Box 3193, Seattle Washington, 98104.)

MAO'S LINE ON WORLD AFFAIRS

Chiao Kuan-hua's United Nations speech is a very important document summing up Chairman Mao's conclusions on the international situation and the full text should be closely studied by every comrade.

The speech reaffirms a number of points which are decisive for Marxist-Leninists and on which we build our unity:

1. It reaffirms that the principal contradiction in the world today is the contradiction which opposes the oppres-

sed nations of the third world to superpower rivalry for hegemony. The development of this contradiction is favorable to the people of the world. While the factors for both war and revolution are increasing, the trend of liberation, independence and revolution is irresistible.

2. It reaffirms the great strategic concept of the three worlds which sums up the basic contradictions of our time and provides orientation for our fight in the realm of international class struggle. The main force opposing imperialism

and superpower hegemonism is the third world.

3. It reaffirms the position that superpower contention, which is the source of a new world war, is bound to lead to war. Imperialist war is inevitable and the people of the world must get prepared. The Soviet Union, which is carrying out expansion everywhere, is the most dangerous source of war today.

4. It reaffirms the need for the broadest possible united front against imperialism, and particularly against the hegemonism of the two superpowers. This united

front is based on the unity of China and the international proletariat, the oppressed nations and oppressed people of the world, the people of third world countries and all countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying by imperialism and social imperialism.

5. It reaffirms that amid great disorder, the situation is excellent, the path tortuous, but the future bright.

The 31st Session of the United Nations General Assembly opened on September 21 in New York. Chiao Kuan-hua, Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China and Minister of Foreign Affairs, made a speech at the plenary meeting on the morning of October 5. Following is the full text of the speech.

Mr. President,

We, the Delegation of the People's Republic of China, have come to attend the present session of the United Nations General Assembly today at a time of immense grief for the people of all nationalities in China. Chairman Mao Tsetung, the most esteemed and beloved great leader and teacher of the Chinese people, passed away on September 9. The passing of Chairman Mao Tsetung is a loss beyond measure to the 800 million Chinese people. But for Chairman Mao, there would have been no victory of the Chinese revolution. But for Chairman Mao, there would have been no New China of today. Without the victory of the Chinese revolution under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the world would not have changed so vastly as it has. The extremely sorrow-stricken Chinese people are determined to turn grief into strength, carry out Chairman Mao's behests and carry through to the end the cause of the proletarian revolution in China which Chairman Mao pioneered. The Chinese people's revolutionary cause has worthy successors. Chairman Mao Tsetung has left us for ever, but the magnificent contributions he made in revolutionary theory and practice are immortal. The radiance of Mao Tsetung Thought will always illuminate our road of advance.

Here I wish to express once again on behalf of the Chinese Government and people our deep gratitude to the representatives of many countries who have tendered condolences on the passing away of Chairman Mao Tsetung at various meetings of the United Nations.

Chairman Mao Tsetung drew a whole series of profound conclusions on the contemporary international situation. The complete correctness of these conclusions is being more and more corroborated by the developing situation.

A RISING STORM IN THE MOUNTAINS

Back in the early 60s, Chairman Mao Tsetung vividly portrayed the contemporary world situation in these verses:

"The Four Seas are rising, clouds and waters raging.

The Five Continents are rocking, wind and thunder roaring."

The world situation has been in a state of great turmoil. All the political forces in the world have undergone drastic division and realignment as a result of prolonged contests of strength and struggles. On the one hand, there is the rise of the third world; on the other hand, there is the rivalry for hegemony between the two superpowers — the Soviet Union and the United States. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this has become an irresistible trend of history. Looking around the globe, one cannot find a single place of tranquillity. "The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains." The factors for both revolution and war are increasing. As Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out, the current international situation is characterized by great disorder under heaven, and it is excellent. This great disorder is a good thing and not a bad thing for the people. It throws the enemies into disarray and divides them, while awakening and tempering the people, thus pushing the international situation to develop further in a direction favourable to the people and unfavourable to imperialism and social-imperialism.

A GREAT STRATEGIC CONCEPT

Making a penetrating analysis of all the basic contradictions of our time and the division and realignment of all the political forces in the world, Chairman Mao Tsetung advanced his great strategic concept of the three worlds. He pointed out: The United States and the Soviet Union make up the first world; the developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere constitute the third world; and in between the two is the second world composed of Europe, Japan, Canada and other countries. Lenin once said: Imperialism is the progressing oppression of the nations of the world by a handful of great powers; it is an epoch of wars among these powers for the extension and consolidation of national oppression. At present, the Soviet Union and the United States, the two superpowers constituting the first world, are the biggest international oppressors and exploiters of our time and they are the sources of a new world war. While the developed countries of the second world oppress and exploit third world countries, they themselves are at the same time subjected to superpower oppression, exploitation, control or threat. The numerous third world countries are most heavily oppressed and exploited by colonialism and imperialism; they are the main force in the fight against imperialism, and particularly against superpower hegemonism.

Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution." Chairman Mao's concept of the three worlds provides orientation for the workers and oppressed nations and oppressed peoples of the world in their fight in the realm of international class struggle.

In the past year, the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism waged by the people of the third world countries has made great progress, though it suffered temporary setbacks in individual places. They have further awakened and have strengthened their unity in struggle. The heroic people of Egypt, unable to bear social-imperialist bullying and oppression any longer, resolutely abrogated the Egyptian-Soviet treaty. The Fifth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries withstood outside pressure and maintained the position of opposing imperialism, and particularly superpower hegemonism. The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have come to see more and more clearly the true colours of social-imperialism. The great African people are now launching an offensive on barbarous racism, and the handful of colonialists have been cornered in southern Africa. The situation there is complicated owing to the meddling of the two superpowers. But the long-tempered African people are clear-headed. They do not believe the nice words of imperialism and social-imperialism nor are they intimidated by their bluster. They will surely win their liberation by relying on their own armed struggle, strengthening their unity and persisting in this course. Chairman Mao Tsetung said: "The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people." The future of Africa is infinitely bright.

Strategically, Europe is the focus of contention between the Soviet Union and the United States for world hegemony. The so-called "European security conference" was in fact a "European insecurity conference." There are always some people in the West who want to urge social-imperialism eastward and divert this peril towards China, thinking it best if all is quiet in the West. The "European security conference" reflected such a Munich line of thinking. After the conference concluded last year, these people thought that henceforth there would be peace and tranquillity in Europe. But since that conference the military threat posed by the Soviet Union against Western Europe and its political subversion there have been on the increase, and Europe is not more secure but in greater danger. The desire of the European people for peace is understandable. But the Soviet Union has played up the "European security conference" with ulterior motives. It attempts thereby to put Western Europe off guard, divide and crush it piecemeal and ultimately seize the whole of Western Europe. The fact that strategically Europe is the focus of contention between the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, is determined by their fundamental interests. Some people take the lead in appeasing and making concessions to the expansionists, attempting to shift this strategic focus by recognizing their sphere of influence and giving them small favours. But such an attempt cannot be realized. The continued pursuit of such a policy will result in lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet. Forces opposing appeasement are now rising in the West. The unity of the West European countries has made new progress. We support the unity of Western Europe and wish to see Western Europe grow strong.

SUPERPOWER RIVALRY THE SOURCE OF WAR

The rivalry between the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, extends to all parts of the globe. The United States has vested interests to protect around the world, and the Soviet Union seeks expansion. This state of affairs is unalterable. In this worldwide rivalry, the expansionist activities of the Soviet Union are all-pervasive. A Soviet leader has openly declared that there is no corner of the earth that is not taken into account by them. Now more and more people have come to realize that the so-called "irreversible process of detente" constantly peddled by Soviet social-imperialism is but a fraudulent and hollow phrase. Every day it talks "peace" but practises expansion; every day it talks "disarmament" but practises arms expansion. Soviet social-imperialism is the biggest peace swindler and the most dangerous source of war today. The continued fierce rivalry between the two superpowers is bound to lead to war some day. This is independent of man's will. The so-called "balance of power" is only a temporary, superficial and even deceptive thing. It cannot be relied upon to maintain peace. As Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out, in an era when classes exist, war is a phenomenon between two periods of peace. The danger of a new world war is visibly growing, and the people of all countries must get prepared.

There is now a strange phenomenon in the world. Some people are terrified at the mention of the Soviet Union, thinking that it cannot be touched. This is superstition. Soviet social-imperialism is nothing to be afraid of. It is outwardly strong but inwardly weak. Alienated from the people, it is essentially feeble. It faces economic difficulties and ever sharpening class contradictions and contradictions among its nationalities. Carrying out expansion everywhere and committing all sorts of evils, it has affronted the people of the East European countries and of the world. Its offensive posture bears the seed of defeat. Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out long ago: "All reactionaries are paper tigers." "The revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too." All the countries that are subjected to superpower aggression, subversion, interference, control or threat should unite and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it. "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force

in the making of world history." The destiny of mankind is definitely not to be decided by any superpower. "People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed."

Mr. President,

Following Chairman Mao Tsetung's teachings, the Chinese Government and people firmly and unswervingly support the just struggles of all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples. Now, I would like to state our consistent position on some of the issues to be considered by the current session of the General Assembly.

We firmly support the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their just struggle against white racism and for national liberation. We warmly support the relevant resolutions adopted by the recent Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the Fifth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries. We firmly support the people of Zimbabwe in their armed struggle against the Smith white minority regime. We firmly support the people of Namibia in their armed struggle against forcible occupation by the reactionary authorities of South Africa and for national independence. We warmly hail the powerful mass movements of the people of Azania against racial discrimination and apartheid. We strongly condemn the Soviet Union for disrupting the unity of the Angolan national-liberation movements and carrying out armed intervention in Angola. We are firmly opposed to the rivalry between the two superpowers in southern Africa, and especially to social-imperialist attempts to seize the opportunity to sow discord and carry out armed intervention while pretending to support the national-liberation movements.

We firmly support the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their just struggle for the restoration of their national rights and the recovery of their lost territories and against the rivalry between the superpowers for hegemony in the Middle East. We sincerely hope that the various political forces in Lebanon, together with the Arab states concerned and the Palestinian people, will set store by the national interests of Lebanon and the militant unity of the Arab countries and find a reasonable solution to their temporary differences through peaceful consultations free from superpower interference.

We firmly maintain that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus should be respected. We earnestly hope that the Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus and the countries directly concerned will guard against superpower meddling and gradually eliminate their differences through patient consultations on the basis of equality and in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation.

We firmly support the Korean people in their just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. U.S. aggression and interference in Korea are the main cause for recurrent tensions in Korea and for the failure to achieve an independent and peaceful reunification. The United Nations command must be dissolved, and the U.S. armed forces must be withdrawn from south Korea. The division of Korea must end, and the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea must be realized. This is not to be hindered by any force on earth.

We firmly support the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations. The U.S. threat to use the veto is utterly unjustifiable. We firmly support the just struggle carried on by the people of East Timor under the leadership of the Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor (FRETILIN) in defence of the independence and territorial integrity of their country against foreign aggression. We hold that the position of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) for the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality free from interference by foreign powers should be respected.

We firmly support the proposal of the Government of Sri Lanka to declare the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. We firmly support the proposal of the Government of Pakistan to establish a nuclear-free zone in South Asia. We firmly support the solemn statement of the King of Nepal declaring Nepal a zone of peace. We firmly support the reasonable position taken by Bangladesh on the question of sharing the water of the Ganges River.

We firmly support the just struggle of the third world countries for the establishment of the new international economic order. To attain this aim, the third world countries have, since the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly, made many efforts at various international conferences. But owing to obstruction by the superpowers, these efforts have so far not achieved the progress they ought to have. Facts prove that the superpowers will never lightly give up their prerogative of exploiting and plundering the developing countries. We approve of dialogue, but first of all one must be strong. The developing countries can wrest back step by step positions on the economic front occupied by the superpowers only if they maintain independence and self-reliance, fully exercise their state

sovereignty, take firm hold of their national resources, develop and expand their national economies, consolidate and expand the associations of raw material-producing countries and strengthen their mutual help and co-operation.

As for the question of disarmament, our consistent position and views are known to all. The Soviet representative puts forward at this forum every year a sham disarmament proposal of one description or another to achieve a demagogic effect. It is not worthwhile here to comment on such old stuff in new concoctions.

Mr. President,

The Chinese Government and people are determined to carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao, adhere to the basic line of our Party and keep to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs — this has been solemnly declared in the Message to the Whole Party, the Whole Army and the People of All Nationalities Throughout the Country by 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 C.P.C. and in the memorial speech by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, First Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Premier of the State Council, at the mass memorial meeting for the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung. The revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs laid down for us by Chairman Mao personally are a beacon that has illuminated and will for ever illuminate the successful advance of our external work. The Chinese Government will continue unswervingly to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, keep the people in mind, place hopes on them, uphold proletarian internationalism, and will never seek hegemony or be a superpower. We will strengthen our unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over, our unity with the people of the third world countries and our unity with all the countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying by imperialism or social-imperialism so as to form the broadest possible united front against imperialism, and particularly against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. We consistently maintain that all countries, big and small, should be equal. The affairs of any country should be managed by its own people; world affairs should be managed by all countries in the world. As in the past, we will establish or develop relations with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Chairman Mao Tsetung taught us that "in our international relations, we Chinese people should get rid of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely." We will follow this instruction of Chairman Mao in handling all our foreign relations. China is still a developing socialist country. However great our future achievements in national construction, we will keep firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teaching always to be modest and never become arrogant, not even after a hundred years, and never become cocky, not even after the 21st century.

China is a vast and richly endowed country with a population of 800 million. Chairman Mao Tsetung taught us: "China ought to make a greater contribution to humanity." At present, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese people are taking class struggle as the key link, keeping to the Party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, persevering in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidating the great unity of the people of all nationalities under the leadership of the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, deepening the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, consolidating and developing the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, working hard to build China into a powerful socialist country independently and self-reliantly and striving to make a greater contribution to humanity. Following the consistent teachings of Chairman Mao, we are determined to strengthen our preparedness against war, heighten our vigilance and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dare to invade China. We are determined to liberate Taiwan. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, we Chinese people are fully confident that we will triumph over domestic and foreign enemies, overcome all difficulties and achieve our objectives.

Surveying the whole world, we see that there is great disorder under heaven and that the situation is excellent. The way ahead is tortuous, but the future of mankind is bright. The people of China are ready to join hands with the people of all other countries in our common endeavour.

(From PEKING REVIEW #42, Oct. 15, 1976.)

NEW DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION PART 3

The following is the third in our series studying Mao Tsetung's great work, ON NEW DEMOCRACY.

The primary contradiction in the world today is the contradiction that opposes the rise of the third world with superpower rivalry for hegemony-- Lenin once said: Imperialism is the progressing oppression of the nations of the world by a handful of great powers; it is an epoch of wars among these powers for the extension and consolidation of national oppression The numerous third world countries are the most heavily oppressed and exploited by colonialism and imperialism; they are the main force in the fight against imperialism, and particularly against superpower hegemony." (Speech by the Chairman of the Chinese delegation to the UN, Chiao Kuan hua, on October 5, 1976; Peking Review, #42, 1976.)

UNITE IN COMMON STRUGGLE

Whatever differences exist among the peoples and countries of the third world, these are secondary to their common interests in opposing superpower exploitation and aggression.

The line put forward by the Chinese Communist Party last year on the struggle in Africa is a guide for the third world as a whole:

"The African countries and people are confronted with the common task of fighting imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, winning and safeguarding national independence, defending state sovereignty and national resources and developing national economy and culture. They have the same objectives and identical interests, which are the principal aspect. True, there are some contradictions and differences between African countries, but these are only secondary in importance, often a legacy of colonial rule (like the territory and border questions), or questions created by the social-imperialists and imperialists through deliberate provocation, estrangement and intervention (like the present conflicts in Angola). How can these issues be settled well in the interest of consolidating and developing African unity? . . . it is imperative to seek common ground on major issues while reserving minor differences, to solve disputes by patient discussions and consultations, to make every effort to eliminate differences and unite against the enemy." (PR #35, 1975)

There are two very important principles here which we can summarize: the first is the materialist proposition that the common tasks and identical interests of third world countries are the result of the objective contradictions of imperialism. "The numerous third world countries are the most heavily oppressed and exploited by colonialism and imperialism; they are the main force in the fight against imperialism, and particularly against superpower hegemonism." (Speech by Chiao Kuan hua.)

The second principle is the dialectical proposition that in all things we refuse to raise the secondary contradiction or the secondary aspect of a contradiction to defeat the primary. While there are definitely contradictions among third world countries, these are secondary to the identical interests and common tasks of these countries in fighting imperialism and social imperialism.

A GREAT STRATEGIC CONCEPT

The application of these principles accounts for the decisive significance of Chairman Mao's great strategic concept of the three worlds. Summing up the division and realignment of political forces, this concept is based on a penetrating analysis of the basic contradictions of our era and establishes what is primary and what is secondary. "Chairman Mao's concept of the three worlds provides orientation for the workers and oppressed nations and oppressed peoples of the world in their fight in the realm of international class struggle." (Speech of Chiao Kuan hua.)

A good example of an effort to obscure the basic contradictions of our era and to raise secondary contradictions to defeat primary contradictions is the revisionist thesis that divides third world countries into 'progressive' and 'reactionary'. In this way the revisionists attempt to undermine the unity of the third world, establish spheres of influence and obscure the common interest of oppressed peoples in opposing superpower hegemonism.

The same method applies not only to dealing with contradictions among oppressed nations, but to dealing with contradictions within these nations as well. This means first of all an objective grasp of the forces within the nation that stand in opposition to the great powers, however temporarily and to whatever degree. As Mao says in ON NEW DEMOCRACY: "No matter what classes, parties or individuals in an oppressed nation join the revolution and no matter whether they themselves are conscious of the point or understand it, so long as they oppose imperialism, their revolution becomes part of the proletarian socialist world revolution and they become its allies."

Secondly, resolving contradictions within an oppressed nation is based on grasping firmly the primary contradiction between the oppressed nation and imperialism and social imperialism. Mao's CONCLUSIONS ON THE REPULSE is a good text which deals with this situation. After an anti-communist attack by the Kuomintang, Mao insisted on a tit for tat struggle against Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary policies. But at the same time, in response to comrades who wanted to make class contradictions primary, Mao insisted on the necessity not to be diverted from the line that the contradiction between China and Japanese imperialism was the primary one. The point is that without mobilizing the broad masses of the people of an oppressed nation for national independence and liberation, there is no way of resolving contradictions within the nation. If people are not mobilized against the struggle of the great powers for hegemonism, there will remain vacillation and confusion in the face of superpower intrigue and efforts at control which can only lead to subordination and capitulation to superpower domination.

The Khymer Rouge gave a good example of resolutely applying this policy during the Indochina War. In the face of bloody campaigns launched against them in the 1960s by domestic reactionaries they stood firm and traded blow for blow. But they never allowed these struggles to divert them from the main struggle against U.S. imperialism. As a result, in the end they were able to mobilize

the whole nation with the exception of a handful of reactionaries against U.S. imperialism and its puppets in a mighty revolutionary torrent. No third world nation can be dominated by either imperialism or social imperialism if the broad masses are mobilized in a firm desire for national liberation and independence.

On the other hand, Angola is a good lesson by negative example. There the mobilization of the broad masses against social imperialism as well as old line imperialism has still to be won. The intermeddling and provocation by social imperialism succeeded in creating a situation where contradictions among the three liberation organizations were taken as primary and the struggle for full national liberation and independence against both imperialism and social imperialism was subordinated to that. Instead of serving to unite the people in their common struggle against foreign domination, this served to exacerbate tribal and ethnic contradictions. The correct position, and a standpoint which would serve to unite the nation, is to take the struggle against the superpowers as primary and to subordinate the struggle among liberation organizations to the need for national independence and liberation.

THE ROLE OF THE BOURGEOISIE

Because the New Democratic Revolution is a bourgeois democratic revolution of a new type, the bourgeoisie of an oppressed nation cannot lead that revolution. It is tied to imperialism and to domestic reaction in the countryside and can lead the people neither against imperialism and social imperialism, nor against the remnants of feudalism. Nonetheless, the policy of communists in the New Democratic Revolution is to make use of contradictions and included in this are the contradictions which bring the bourgeoisie of an oppressed nation into objective conflict with imperialism and social imperialism.

As for the national bourgeoisie, which is mainly the middle bourgeoisie, it is oppressed by imperialism and fettered by the perpetuation of feudalism and consequently in contradiction with both of them. It cannot establish industrial enterprises because of the domination of foreign monopolies and foreign goods; it cannot get financing for domestic investment because it must compete with foreign monopolies, etc. For these reasons it has a tendency to take part in the struggle for liberation and independence. On the other hand, it is flabby economically and politically and tied to imperialism and feudalism. As a result, as Mao describes the national bourgeoisie in China in ON NEW DEMOCRACY,

"even when it takes part in the revolution, it is unwilling to break with imperialism completely, and, moreover, it is closely associated with the exploitation of the rural areas through land rent; thus it is neither willing nor able to overthrow imperialism and much less the feudal forces, in a thorough way. So neither of the two basic problems or tasks of China's bourgeois democratic revolution can be solved or accomplished by the national bourgeoisie."

Thus because of the dual character of the national bourgeoisie the New Democratic Revolution adopts a dual policy toward solving contradictions with them: on

the one hand unity, on the other hand struggle. As a middle force, the national bourgeoisie can be won over as an ally against imperialism, but it is not a basic ally like the peasantry or the urban petty bourgeoisie.

The role of the comprador big bourgeoisie differs fundamentally from that of the national bourgeoisie. Its task is to serve the interests of imperialism and social imperialism. It is therefore a target of the revolution. As Mao says in THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY, "never in the history of the revolution has it been a motive force." The big landlords and big bourgeoisie follow a policy of anti-communism and of suppressing the progressive forces. In order to protect the progressive forces and enable them to keep on growing it is essential to combat the reactionary policies of the big bourgeoisie and carry out determined struggle against it. The Chinese Party document, A PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE GENERAL LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT (1963) states: "As internal social contradictions and the international class struggle sharpen, the bourgeoisie, and particularly the big bourgeoisie, in some newly independent countries increasingly tend to become retainers of imperialism and to pursue anti-popular, anti-Communist and counter-revolutionary policies. It is necessary for the proletarian party resolutely to oppose these reactionary policies."

But even in the case of the anti-popular big bourgeoisie, communists make use of contradictions and pursue a revolutionary dual policy. Mao wrote in ON POLICY: "In so far as they are pro-Japanese, our policy is to struggle against them and isolate them, but in so far as they vacillate, our policy is to draw them nearer to us and win them over." Thus we support the actions of the big bourgeoisie of the third world countries that objectively conflict with superpower rivalry for hegemony, while at the same time resolutely oppose reactionary policies designed to suppress the progressive forces. For example, we support the Shah of Iran's actions in so far as they conflict with superpower interests, as his action on oil in unity with other OPEC nations, but at the same time we oppose his aggression in Oman or his policies of domestic repression and terror which stifle the development of the popular forces of Iranian liberation.

In our policy regarding the comprador big bourgeoisie, however, it is of the utmost importance to distinguish the policy of making use of contradictions from the tendency to capitulate or conciliate with either superpower by relaying on one superpower against the other. In ON NEW DEMOCRACY Mao refuted those who argued that because there was a difference between Western and Eastern imperialism, that one should ally oneself with Western imperialism to attack the East. Mao insisted that this method will lead not to revolution, but, in the end, to counterrevolution. It is the lesson of Angola that to let the tiger in to repulse the wolf is a false liberation. As Enver Hoxa said to the 7th Party Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania: "One can never rely on one imperialism to fight or escape from the other."