

# 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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## EL COMUNISTA SE PUBLICA EN ESPAÑOL

Este mes el Congreso de Obreros (Marxista-Leninista) empieza la publicación en español de EL COMUNISTA/ THE COMMUNIST. Este hecho es un paso importante hacia adelante en la lucha por hacer de EL COMUNISTA un periódico de tipo-Iskra capaz de darle dirección a la tendencia leninista tanto como paso importante en nuestro esfuerzo para preparar las condiciones para un partido comunista nuevo.

Nuestra meta es la revolución proletaria. Ahorita nuestra tarea central es la de tomar el primer paso hacia esta meta—debemos ganar a la vanguardia al comunismo. Esto es nuestra tarea central. Pero para ganar a los elementos mejores o vanguardistas del poderoso proletariado multinacional de EU, debemos usar el idioma de la clase obrera. Esto tiene valor especialmente para el pueblo hispanohablante, que ha empeñado la lucha de la clase obrera en todas las regiones del país, en los campos y las fábricas, en los sindicatos y los talleres. La contribución del pueblo hispanohablante será decisivo por razón del gran número de hispanohablantes en el país y sus concentraciones profundas y por razón de la resolución y capacidad luchadora de este pueblo.

Ya hemos hablado sobre el tema de la fragmentación entre la clase obrera de EU. El capitalismo nos divide a base de sexo, nacionalidad, habilidad, oficio, etc. Esta es la base fundamental de nuestra desunión. Debemos eliminar estas divisiones primeramente para los más avanzados de los millones de obreros hispanohablantes en EU y para unirlos, junto con los primeros representantes de la clase entera, en un centro bolshevique. Comenzaremos a través de la eliminación de las diferencias de los idiomas. Contando con los avanzados podremos mobilizar la unión entre la gran masa de hispanohablantes y el proletariado multinacional entero.

Es nuestra responsabilidad de dirigir las luchas por los derechos democráticos que desarrollan las masas oprimidas en contra del imperialismo. En todas partes de EU el imperialismo y la reacción oprime a las masas hispanohablantes. La lucha contra la brutalidad chauvinista y la discriminación ocurre diariamente en todos los aspectos de la vida—empleos, educación, viviendas, etc. La represión y superexplotación que caracteriza la opresión de naciones imperialista ocurre hasta en el suroeste donde, en el valle del Rio Grande, poblaciones hispanohablantes han existido más tiempo que cualquier otro idioma europeo. Para que un vanguardia comunista le de dirección a las masas laborales del suroeste, de México, de Puerto Rico, y de otros países latinoamericanos debemos desarrollar propaganda y agitación en español que sea militante y viva y que se dirija a las condiciones de desigualdad y explotación de una manera valiente dándole rienda suelta a la poderosa ola de resistencia del pueblo hispanohablante. Al hacerlo debemos mostrar las relaciones entre las luchas por los derechos democráticos por parte de las nacionalidades oprimidas con

las luchas para realizar la revolución proletaria por parte de la clase obrera.

La burguesía desarrolla una política de supresión de idiomas minoritarios por fuerza para reforzar divisiones nacionales. La clase obrera aboga a la igualdad nacional y a la firme democracia. Estamos opuestos a privilegios de cualquier clase por razón de nacionalidad, inclusive privilegios por razón de idioma, y exigimos responsabilidades plenas por el derecho fundamental democrático de que cada persona use su propio idioma nacional. "Cualquiera que no reconozca idiomas..." escribió Lenin, "no es marxista; ni es demócrata."

Es evidente que en la práctica debemos de reflejar nuestro compromiso a la igualdad de naciones e idiomas, comenzando con nuestra prensa.

El fallo por parte del Congreso de Obreros de publicar a EL COMUNISTA en español no refleja falta de dedicación a los principios de igualdad nacional, sino refleja la estrechez en nuestro trabajo. Sin embargo, nuestra incapacidad de publicar este periódico en español ha comprometido nuestra habilidad de tratar correctamente con la cuestión nacional. Como la estrechez en cualquier área del trabajo, este límite es uno de los mayores obstáculos a la construcción de un nuevo partido de vanguardia y es obstáculo a la revolución. El plan de Iskra es nuestra táctica para superar estas barreras. Publicación de EL COMUNISTA/ THE COMMUNIST en español es un éxito en nuestra lucha que refleja la manera en la cual EL COMUNISTA ha podido concentrar los recursos de nuestro movimiento en un centro común.

Pero este éxito está limitado. Por ahora, solo publicaremos en español cada mes en lugar de dos veces por mes y no podremos publicar todos los artículos que aparezcan en la edición en inglés. Esto refleja la continuación de la estrechez que trataremos de superar con todas nuestras fuerzas. Nuestra habilidad de cumplir con estas tareas depende en el éxito que logre EL COMUNISTA en estirando una línea común alrededor la cual podamos uniros y su éxito como propagandista colectivo, agitador colectivo, y organizador colectivo.

También le presentamos este problema al movimiento entero. Existen los recursos para publicar a EL COMUNISTA en español. El hecho que no logramos de hacerlo refleja la fragmentación y desunión entre nuestro movimiento. Mas que nunca necesitamos juntar nuestros recursos. Hacemos una llamada a todas las organizaciones, colectivas, e individuos marxista-leninistas que tengan las habilidades necesarias para contribuir a esta tarea y a obreros progresistas y amigos que den su apoyo a este esfuerzo. Unanse con nosotros para construir un potente periódico comunista capaz de alcanzar y mobilizar a todos los camaradas en el movimiento! Fomentemos EL COMUNISTA/ THE COMMUNIST!

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## HUANG HUA SPEAKS AT UN

This issue of THE COMMUNIST includes the full text of the speech by the Chairman of the Chinese delegation to the UN on September 29, 1977.

The speech is an all around statement of China's role in world affairs and shows how China has played a leading role, providing orientation and direction to the international struggle and contributing to the development of the international situation in a direction favorable to the people of China and of the world.

The speech is an important continuation and development of Chairman Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line on world affairs and is an important restatement of Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis on the three worlds. The speech points out that we are in a new historic period — the period of struggle against superpower hegemonism. It is only Chairman Mao's great strategic concept of the three worlds, reflecting the development and changes of the basic contradictions and the division and realignment of the political forces in the world since the 1960's, that makes it possible to grasp the content and significance of this new period.

## BUILD THE SPANISH EDITION

This month the Workers' Congress (Marxist-Leninist) begins the publication of THE COMMUNIST/EL COMUNISTA. This is an important step forward in our struggle to make THE COMMUNIST an ISKRA type newspaper capable of leading the Leninist trend and an important step in our effort to prepare the conditions for a new communist party.

Our goal is proletarian revolution. At this time our main job is to take the first step toward that goal—we must win the vanguard to communism. This is our central task. But in order to win the best or vanguard elements of the mighty multi-national U.S. proletariat, we must speak the language of the class. Especially this is true of the Spanish speaking sector of the proletariat who have taken up the fight of the working class in every region of the country, in the fields and in the factories, in the trade unions and on the shop floor. In numbers and concentration, in determination and fighting capacity, their contribution will be decisive.

We have spoken before to the fragmentation of the U.S. working class. Capitalism divides us on the basis of sex, nationality, skill, trade, region, etc. This is the material basis of our disunity. We must overcome these divisions first of all for the most advanced elements of the millions of Spanish speaking workers in the U.S. and weld them, together with the foremost representatives of the entire class, into a Bolshevik core. We begin by overcoming differences in language.

By relying on the advanced, we can mobilize the unity of the great mass of Spanish speaking workers with the entire multi-national U.S. proletariat.

It is our task also to lead the democratic struggles of the oppressed masses against imperialism. Throughout the U.S. the masses of Spanish speaking people are oppressed by imperialism and reaction. The struggle against chauvinist brutality and discrimination goes on daily in every aspect of social life—jobs, education, housing, etc. The repression and superexploitation that characterize the imperialist oppression of nations goes on even in the Southwest where, along the Rio Grande valley, Spanish speaking settlements have existed longer than any other European language settlements in the U.S. In order for a communist vanguard to lead the struggles against oppression of the laboring masses from the Southwest, from Mexico, from Puerto Rico and from other Latin American countries, we must develop militant and lively propaganda and agitation in Spanish that speaks in a bold manner to the conditions of inequality and exploitation and unleashes the mighty reservoir of resistance of all Spanish speaking people. In so doing we must show the connection between the democratic struggles of the oppressed

nationalities with the struggle of the U.S. working class for proletarian revolution.

The bourgeoisie engages in a policy of forcible suppression of minority languages in order to reinforce national divisions. The stand of the working class is for thoroughgoing national equality and consistent democracy. We oppose privileges of any kind for any nationality, including privileges for any language, and demand full respect for the fundamental democratic right to use one's national language. "Whoever does not recognize and champion the equality of nations and languages...", Lenin wrote, "is not a Marxist; he is not even a democrat."

It is self-evident that we must reflect our commitment to the equality of nations and languages in our practice and beginning with our press.

For the Workers' Congress (M-L), our failure to publish a Spanish edition of THE COMMUNIST reflects the narrowness of our work, not a lack of commitment to the principle of national equality. Nonetheless, our inability to publish a Spanish edition has compromised our ability to deal correctly with the national question. As with narrowness in any area of work, this is one of the major obstacles to the construction of a new vanguard party and an obstacle to revolution. The Iskra plan is our tactic to surmount these barriers. Publication of a Spanish edition now shows an achievement in our struggle and reflects the way in which THE COMMUNIST has been used to gather the resources of our movement around a common center.

But our achievement is a limited one. For the time being we will be able to publish only monthly rather than bi-monthly and we will not be able to carry all the articles published in the English edition. This reflects a continuing narrowness that we will strive to overcome. Our ability to do so depends on the success of THE COMMUNIST/ EL COMUNISTA in stretching a common line around which we can unite and in its success as a collective propagandist, a collective agitator and a collective organizer.

We place this problem also before the movement as a whole. The resources to publish THE COMMUNIST/EL COMUNISTA bi-monthly in full in Spanish exist. That we are unable to do so reflects the fragmentation and disunity of our movement. More than ever we need to gather our resources. We call on every Marxist-Leninist organization, collective and individual with skills to contribute and every progressive worker and friend to give support to this effort. Unite with us to build a strong common newspaper capable of reaching and mobilizing every comrade in our movement!

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The world situation has not relaxed and the factors for war are visibly growing. The two superpowers in their scramble for world hegemony are bound to go to war. But the speech points out that if the people of all countries unite and form themselves into a mighty army against hegemonism, a united front against superpower hegemonism, they may be able to put off the war, and, in any case, if the war does break out, they will find themselves in a favorable position to abolish unjust war by means of a just war against aggression.

Calling attention to the advances made in the revolutionary struggles of the international proletariat, the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations, and the revolutionary mass movements in many countries, the speech affirms that "every victory in the revolutionary struggle of the people helps to weaken the superpowers." The basic contradictions of the world are all sharpening and they are sharpening in a direction favorable to the peoples of the world. The factors for revolution continue to grow. The world is advancing amidst turmoil, but as Huang Hua points out, "It is not the one or two superpowers, but the people of the world that decide the destiny of mankind. Victory unquestionably belongs to the people of the world."

# ONCE AGAIN ON QUALITY EDUCATION

The bourgeoisie has launched an all-round reactionary campaign to contain and suppress the struggle for national equality and democratic rights. Putting on a pious tone of high morality, one prong of this campaign complains that a 34 year old engineer, Alan Bakke, was subject to "racial" discrimination in being denied admission to University of California at Davis Medical School. He was subject to "reverse discrimination."

"Reverse discrimination" is supposed to mean that Bakke as a white person is discriminated against. This shows how bourgeois equality is used as a tool of national oppression. Opposing minority admissions programs, which was the basis for Bakke's claim, means to continue the present policy of preferential admissions in fact for white males to go to colleges, universities and professional schools. This is the reality behind the liberal rhetoric about "reverse discrimination."

The bourgeoisie is trying to reduce national equality to a question of individuals, ignoring their nationality. This is done to obscure the fact that imperialism means national inequality for the oppressed and privileges for the oppressor nation -- not national equality. They try to spread the concept of bourgeois equality as if there were no distinction between the oppressed and oppressor nations.

This exposes the formal character of bourgeois equality. Bourgeois equality is always a mask for real inequality. It is always a cover for exploitation and oppression of women, minority nationalities and the working class.

It is a chauvinist lie to say that Bakke, a white male, has been subject to discrimination. Any differentiation on any basis is a discrimination, but what does that elementary lesson of logic -- which the bourgeoisie pretends is the height of social wisdom -- have to do with overcoming economic and political oppression, the perpetuation of insults and social exclusion to which

minority nationalities are subject in United States?

In order to buttress this weak reed of "reverse discrimination", bourgeois hypocrisy has marshalled another high-minded goal -- "quality education."

We are familiar with "quality education" already -- it is the shibboleth of every racist reactionary force striving to perpetuate segregation by opposing school busing.

Having done good service, "quality education" is now trotted out as a necessary antidote to affirmative action.

## UC REGENTS UPHOLD "QUALITY EDUCATION"

On October 21, the governing body of the University of California system, the UC Regents, in effect confirmed that it had no intention from the beginning of putting up a substantial defense in favor of affirmative action or special admissions programs in the Bakke case. Moving to the offensive, the Board adopted a new admissions policy which gives greater weight to standardized test scores as a corrective to "a decline in the quality of preparation among incoming freshmen." This new plan for "quality education," according to one study, will exclude less than 2% of white freshmen, but almost 9% of black students and 9.5% Latino. This would be in addition to the effect of the Bakke decision which, according to one UCLA admissions officer, would disqualify 4 out of 5 applicants now accepted under special admissions programs.

What are these standardized tests so decisive to the bourgeoisie for measuring "quality"? It is well known that college and professional school entrance exams as well as employment tests used throughout the economy test the commonly accepted "middle" class values of the oppressor nation culture. An exam based on the underlying assumptions of great nation chauvinism is being legitimized as a means to screen minority nationality candidates for education and jobs. This kind of "quality education"

lends the same racist stench to the market for jobs and education that liberal handwringing about "property values" brought to the search for decent housing.

## THE DECEPTIVE LIBERAL GESTURE OF A SLY SLAVE OWNER

The Carter administration is second only to the UC Regents in two-faced defense of affirmative action. With the "deceptive liberal gesture of a sly slave owner," (CI Resolution on the Negro National Question, 1930), the Justice department filed a "friend of the court" argument in the Bakke case taking a position against quotas, but in favor of targets, and anyway suggesting that the case be sent back to California without decision because all the preliminary issues haven't been adequately resolved.

What does all this doubletalk amount to? Vagueness on this issue allows the bourgeoisie to deepen its attack on affirmative action programs in exactly the fashion the UC Regents have done. This offensive will unfold in all areas -- as it has begun to -- jobs, housing, etc. Under court order a white woman has already been admitted to UC Davis Medical School because she had better test scores than some of those admitted by special admissions. Yet as long as the question is not finally decided, reformists will still work to hold back militant opposition in hopes that the ruling class will finally have a "change of heart".

Reformism is a big enemy in the anti-Bakke campaign. From slick administrators who throw sops to "Third World" students for whom their contempt based on class and national arrogance is matched only by their shallow fear of an unruly individual or mass movement, to the student or community activist willing to use the campaign to grab a sop or so for himself, reformism seeks to contain the resistance of the masses within a framework acceptable to the bourgeoisie. We must unflinchingly show

the connection between the struggle against national oppression and the fight for proletarian revolution and demonstrate that these two struggles are closely allied in a common battle against the same enemy. What this means is that we must apply the fundamental tactical rule of THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO constantly in our work -- to connect the short term interests of the movement with its long term interests. We must demonstrate that the proletariat is a vanguard fighter for democracy and the only thoroughgoing and consistent fighter for democracy. Making no concessions to opportunism, it is our job to put forward a proletarian revolutionary line to lead the mounting resistance of the masses and to expose bourgeois or social democratic reformism.

## MOUNTING RESISTANCE TO THE BAKKE DECISION

Opposition to the Bakke decision in the recent period has been strong and is steadily growing in strength. Over 3000 people demonstrated against the decision on October 15 in the Bay Area in a rally called by the Anti-Bakke Decision Coalition. Well over 1000 demonstrators

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\*The term "third world" has considerable importance in our movement. In view of the present controversy over its use, comrades would do well to use it scientifically. Any capitulation to loose bourgeois usage of the term undermines the strategic significance of the concept and makes the drawing of lines of demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism more difficult. Students most directly affected by the liquidation of special admissions programs are not "third world" students, but minority nationality students of the first world subjected to great nation chauvinism and exploitation by US oppressor nation monopoly capital. A "third world" student is a foreign student.

# MASS SUPPORT WINS LENARD ACQUITTAL

The frame-up of Bennie Lenard and the successful campaign for his acquittal have important lessons for the current struggle. On the one hand, the case is an example of the growing intensification of attacks on the proletariat and oppressed nationalities by the bourgeoisie--with the collaboration of the trade union bureaucrats. On the other hand, it is an example of the power of mass resistance mobilized to fight these attacks.

## BEATEN AND LEFT FOR DEAD

Bennie Lenard is an Afro-American worker at the large International Harvester plant just west of Chicago. After leaving work on January 31, 1977, he was involved in a minor traffic accident. When the police arrived, they talked first to the young white woman who had hit Lenard's car. They then crossed the street to where he was waiting and immediately hand-cuffed him, saying the woman said he tried to attack her. Both in the back of the police car and at the station, the police viciously beat Lenard--leaving him for dead. Only the efforts of his family and fellow workers saved his life. After six weeks in the hospital and one operation, he permanently lost sight in one eye and still has only partial use of his left shoulder, arm and hand. After brutally beating Lenard, the police had the nerve to charge him with nine trumped up misdemeanors. (See THE COMMUNIST, v.3, n.7)

## RESISTANCE MOBILIZED

Bennie Lenard, his family, fellow workers and other supporters resisted this vicious attack with strong determination. Lenard filed a suit against the police for violation of his civil rights. His fellow workers organized a Bennie Lenard Defense Committee (BLDC) inside the plant and other supporters organized a Chicago area defense committee. They called for the charges against Lenard to be dropped, for the police to be indicted for the attempted murder, and for full compensation for the Lenard family. They mobilized as many as 300 supporters to come to the trial and packed the court room each day.

## THE RESPONSE OF THE STATE

Fearing this rallying of many workers of all nationalities, the state went all out to try to bolster their flimsy case against Lenard and to try to intimidate the masses. The State Attorney, Bernard Carey, assigned his assistant, usually reserved for big murder cases, to prosecute Lenard. He also sent investigators to International Harvester and to Lenard's hometown in Arkansas to find

out "what kind of person he is". And, he even flew a federal official in from Washington, D.C. to testify against Lenard. State troopers, positioned on roof tops, and fully equipped with riot gear, gas masks, long range sighted rifles and walkie talkies, confronted demonstrators at the first pre-trial hearing.

## THE POWER OF MASS RESISTANCE

Lenard and his supporters were not intimidated. Their mass mobilizations were effective in opposing the attack of the state. Lenard was found innocent of all but one minor charge--and that will be appealed. The defense committee will continue its efforts to get the police indicted for attempted murder. After the trial, Lenard explained that the innocent verdict was a victory for the working and poor man. He emphasized the importance of the support he received from working people in Chicago, across the country, in Canada and other parts of the world in winning this case.

## THE ROLE OF THE TRADE UNION BUREAUCRATS--AGENTS OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS

Throughout this struggle, the trade union bureaucrats played a traitorous role. First they tried to dismiss the political significance of the case, and later they attempted outright betrayal.

After the beating of Lenard, his fellow workers at International Harvester organized a defense committee which mobilized several hundred workers to attend the next union meeting. There, over the objections of the union bureaucrats, they forced the issue onto the agenda and passed a resolution calling for the BLDC to be recognized as an official union committee, controlled by the rank and file.

The bureaucrats hadn't been able to prevent the formation of this committee, but they quickly tried to make it ineffective. At first, the bureaucrats denied the political significance of the attack and instead promoted the idea that unions should not take up political issues. They denied the aspect of national oppression, which is crucial to understanding what happened to Lenard, and instead wanted workers to believe that this beating was just an isolated incident. They whined, "We don't want to turn this case into another Scottsboro case" and "all we are here for is to help Brother Bennie, not to talk about politics." Like all reformists, they don't really oppose politics in union activity, they oppose the politics of class struggle. When they say the trade unions

are neutral and above politics, what they are promoting is the politics of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

This promotion of trade union neutrality went hand in hand with the bureaucrats' attempts to sabotage efforts to broaden the defense mobilization. They were forced to agree with the union local supporting one of its members who had been arrested, but they refused to mobilize the workers to give more than token support. Moreover, they tried to prevent mobilizing support for the case outside of the union local because they knew such support would be based on the political significance of the case, exposing the state and national oppression.

Instead of relying on the masses, the bureaucrats relied on the state. They tried to justify this reliance by promoting bourgeois illusions that the state is neutral or above classes. The local president and one of his lackeys met with the state's attorney and reported to the workers that "Carey was doing everything he could to get to the bottom of this" and that they were sure justice would be served.

They were just repeating Carey's lies. Carey tried to present himself as a "fair liberal" who would investigate the police as well as Lenard. But the state obviously is not neutral. Only Lenard was prosecuted, while nothing has been done to the police bullies who tried to murder him.

The bureaucrats attempts to spread bourgeois illusions failed. Mass activity continued. When the local bureaucrats saw this, they changed their tactics. At the next union meeting they offered to "help" the case by absorbing the Defense Committee into their Fair Employee Practices Committee. Supporters were unprepared for this tactic so the BLDC inside the plant was co-opted into a do-nothing organization.

Despite this latest betrayal by the union leadership, workers inside the plant continued to do support work and the Chicago area BLDC mobilized support outside the plant. The trial had started and the state's case was falling apart, clearly exposing it as a frame up. The trade union bureaucrats were then brought in and more openly revealed their collaboration with the state. They met with the State Attorney and worked out a deal (for Lenard to cop to some of the false charges and have others dropped). Of course, when the bureaucrats offered this deal to the Lenard family, they refused it, continuing to rely on mass support.

## LESSONS FOR THE PROLETARIAT

This case is an important lesson for the U.S. proletariat. It demonstrates once again that the state in all its forms only serves as the machinery to enforce the bourgeoisie's oppression of the proletariat and oppressed nationalities. This is its sole purpose, despite the illusions that the bourgeoisie and reformists try to put over on the masses.

The case shows the open collusion between the state apparatus and the trade union bureaucrats to crush the righteous resistance of Lenard's fellow workers and to destroy the multi-national unity developed throughout the case. The proletariat must come to recognize that the trade union bureaucrats are the main social props used by the monopoly capitalists to divert and disarm the anger of the masses.

The brutal beating of Lenard and the large scale mobilization of the state in the "legal" attack which followed are clear examples of the widespread intensification of national oppression. This is happening because the U.S. is deep in economic and political crisis and is preparing for imperialist war. U.S. imperialists must not only promote national chauvinism, but must also attack the democratic rights of all sectors of the toiling masses. Examples of these increased attacks are the rise of anti-union activity, court decisions stripping workers of unemployment and strike benefits, opposition to the ERA and the Bakke case.

The increase in attacks on democratic rights, as in the Bennie Lenard case, make it even more important that the proletariat and oppressed nationalities unite in the common struggle against the capitalist class, its state and the trade union bureaucrats. The main obstacles to the forging of this unity within the working class are the trade union bureaucrats. As long as the bureaucrats' line of trade union neutrality, bourgeois democratic illusions and narrowness of trade union activity continues, bourgeois ideology will remain rampant in the ranks of the working class. Only by countering this ideology can the working class win victories as it did in the case of Bennie Lenard.

**DROP THE REMAINING CHARGE AGAINST LENARD!!  
INDICT THE POLICE!!  
FULL COMPENSATION FOR THE LENARD FAMILY!!  
STOP POLICE BRUTALITY!!  
END NATIONAL OPPRESSION!!**

# UPHOLD THE BANNER OF CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

The 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China met in Peking from August 12th through the 18th. This was the first party congress to be held following the death of Mao Tsetung and the smashing of the "gang of four". The 11th Congress was a historic victory for the people of China and of great significance for the people of the world.

The Congress charted the path on which the Party and people of China will persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It summed-up the two-line struggle against the "gang of four" so that the Party's ranks could be completely cleansed of the counter-revolutionary lines and practices spread by these renegades and class traitors. Under the leadership of a strengthened and unified Party, firmly adhering to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, China will continue to play its leading role in international affairs, providing a revolutionary center in the present united front against the hegemonism of the two superpowers and move forward to become a great, powerful and modern socialist country by the end of the century.

## POLITICAL POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE MASSES

Over 1,510 delegates attended the Congress, representing 35 million party members. The delegates were made up of young, middle-aged and old people who had been tested in the various struggles which have unfolded since the founding of the Communist Party of China. The breakdown of the delegates was: 72.4% workers, peasants, soldiers and other working people; 20.9% were revolutionary cadres and 6.7% revolutionary intellectuals. Women made up 19% and minority nationalities made up 9.3%. These statistics show that the Communist Party of China is solidly based among the proletariat and people of China.

The Congress had a three item agenda: the political report of the Central Committee, the revision of the Constitution and the election of the Central Committee.

The central organs of the Party were elected at the Congress. Hua Kuo-feng was elected chairman of the Central Committee and Yeh Chien-ying, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing were elected as vice-chairmen.

## POLITICAL REPORT

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng presided over the Congress and delivered the political report of the Central Committee. He called on the Congress to fulfill its historic tasks to hold high the banner of Chairman Mao, to carry out his bequests and to sum-up the experiences in the eleventh major two-line struggle of the Chinese Communist Party against the "gang of four".

Chairman Hua emphasized that the major question in the struggle against the "gang of four" was whether to uphold or abandon the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## CHAIRMAN MAO'S GREATEST CONTRIBUTION

In the theory to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, Chairman Mao applied the dialectical materialist law of the unity of opposites to the study and analysis of socialist society. He pointed out that socialist society covers a historical period of considerable length and in this period classes and class contradictions and class struggle, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and the danger of capitalist restoration invariably continue to exist, and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism.

During the Cultural Revolution Chairman Mao incisively pointed out that under socialism the bourgeoisie is found right in the communist party--this pointed the way for the masses to struggle against the capitalist-roaders in the Party. But the "gang of four" distorted this lesson in order to undermine the leadership of the party and set themselves in command. They completely reversed the relationship between the people and the enemy. They claimed that every veteran cadre was a bourgeois element and that a bourgeois class had consolidated its position within the party. On this basis they planned to foment civil war against the party to reverse the revolution and leave China open to imperialist and social-imperialist attack. To fail to decisively smash the "gang of four" and its counter-revolutionary theories would have meant that the revolution under the

dictatorship of the proletariat would have been replaced by a social-fascist regime, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

The defeat of the "gang of four" and the consolidation of the Party in the 11th Congress was therefore a great historic victory. It marked a new period of development in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. The Central Committee has called on the Party to grasp the key link of class struggle and run the

"WE SHOULD ENHANCE OUR UNITY WITH THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND WITH THE PROLETARIAT AND THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE AND NATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, ENHANCE OUR UNITY WITH THE COUNTRIES OF THE THIRD WORLD, UNITE WITH ALL COUNTRIES SUBJECTED TO AGGRESSION, SUBVERSION, INTERFERENCE, CONTROL AND BULLYING BY IMPERIALISM AND SOCIAL IMPERIALISM AND FORM THE BROADEST UNITED FRONT AGAINST THE HEGEMONISM OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES."

country well and to achieve stability and unity.

## STABILITY AND UNITY DO NOT MEAN WRITING OFF CLASS STRUGGLE.

Chairman Hua declared that the smashing of the "gang of four" marked the conclusion of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. In this revolution vital lessons were learned by the revolutionary masses. First that class struggle continues under socialism--this was Chairman Mao's greatest legacy. Secondly, on the basis of the struggle against the idealism, metaphysics and subjectivism of the "gang of four", the masses have learned the correct manner in which to carry on this struggle. The "gang of four" confused the question of enemy and friends, refused to unite with the majority and ended up a reactionary clique. Chairman Hua pointed out the correct policy to pursue in contradiction to the policy of the "gang of four"--that is the policy of "mobilizing all positive forces to build socialism...the policy of overall consideration and all-round arrangement."

On the basis of this policy the overwhelming majority of the people of China can be mobilized in carrying on the class struggle and advancing the socialist revolution.

Chairman Hua emphasizes that the Party must strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and consolidate and expand the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the midst of acute conflict between the two classes and between the two roads, so as to bring about great order across the country. In order to do this the party must hold high the banner of Chairman Mao, and carry out the struggle to further expose and criticize the "gang of four", by mobilizing the broad masses. As Chairman Hua said, stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle. The party can mobilize the masses by uniting with all forces that can be united and pursuing a correct policy based on the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. This will lay the basis to isolate and identify the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the "gang of four", and to implement the proletarian banner of Chairman Mao in all the affairs of the country, as well as foreign affairs. Chairman Hua pointed out that if this is done, a solid foundation will be laid for making China a powerful and modern socialist country which can continue to make contributions to the world and to the world revolutionary movement.

Key to the success of this is the strengthening of the vanguard in the Chinese revolution--the strengthening of the Party. For the dictatorship of the proletariat to have a firm foundation, the vanguard of the proletariat must be unified and strong. Chairman Hua stated "In grasping the key link of class struggle and running the country well, we must first of all run the Party well. In line with Chairman Mao's theory on Party building and the basic principles of the "three do's and three don'ts" advanced by him, we must conscientiously try to solve the problem of the impurities in ideology, organization and style of work caused by the sabotage of the "gang of four". This is the central task in successfully consolidating and building our Party."

The revisions made to the Party constitution reflect this priority on Party building in this period of the socialist revolution, and are aimed

at destroying any remaining influence of the "gang of four's" counterrevolutionary line.

Most importantly, the revisions explicitly state the leading role of the Party: "The Communist Party of China is the political party of the proletariat, the highest form of its class organization". This counters the attempts by the "gang of four" to place mass organizations above the party, to pit the masses against the party. Because the "gang of four" also recruited all sorts of bad elements and degenerates into

the party, the adopted revision emphasized that the Party "is a vigorous vanguard organization composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat..."

The revisions also stress the leading role of theory in party building and emphasized that all Party members must gird themselves with the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Chairman Hua also called for a rigorous study campaign on the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to be carried out in the ranks of the Party.

Chairman Hua also emphasized that during the historical period of socialism classes will continue to exist, and so will class struggle, and the struggle to stay on the socialist road over the capitalist road. This is bound to be reflected in inner-Party struggle. In order that this struggle be carried on in a correct fashion, and so plotters and wreckers and opportunists like the "gang of four" be spotted, greater prominence is given to the question of upholding the basic principles of the three do's and three don'ts. These are "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire."

In general, special emphasis was also given to the questions of democratic centralism in the Party as well as to the quality and requirements of Party cadre. All these revisions contribute to strengthening the Communist Party of China so that it can play its vanguard role in the socialist construction in China and its leading role in the world.

## INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

In the words of Chairman Hua, the victory over the "gang of four" and the 11th Party Congress "has further strengthened and consolidated China as a revolutionary base area in the world. This is of immediate and far-reaching historic significance to the revolution in China and in the world". China is a socialist country leading the world revolutionary struggle.

Chairman Hua unequivocally states that "The international situation today is very good - it is very good, not just good or fairly good." This assessment is made on the basis that "the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat, the liberation struggles of the oppressed people and nations and the revolutionary mass movements in many countries have been forging ahead." On the same basis, "The main trend in the international situation is that countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution, and this no force can ever stem."

On one side are the countries, nations and people fighting for independence, liberation and revolution; on the other side is the contention of two superpowers for world hegemony.

"At the same time as the factors for revolution are growing, so obviously are the factors for war." Chairman Hua reminds us of the lesson of Chairman Mao that "as long as the social system in the imperialist and social-imperialist countries remains unchanged, war is inevitable - either a war between them or a revolution by the people, and there cannot be any lasting peace."

The report also speaks to the relationship between the two superpowers. Using the dialectical method and the Leninist concept of uneven development

of imperialist countries, the report identifies US imperialism as on the defensive, while Soviet social-imperialism is on the offensive. In the words of Mao, "The United States wants to protect its interests in the world and the Soviet Union wants to expand." On the basis of this analysis both the superpowers are identified as the source of a new world war and Soviet social-imperialism presents the "greater danger."

Chairman Hua warns against the illusions that war can be prevented by compromises and concessions to the superpowers. He speaks directly to those "in the West who...even want to follow in Chamberlain's footsteps and try to divert the peril of the new tsars towards the East in order to preserve themselves at the expense of others." But rather than preventing war these appeasers "will merely abet the expansionist ambitions of the Soviet revisionists and hasten the outbreak of war, thus lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet."

Instead of capitulation to the superpowers, Chairman Hua calls on the people of the world to "heighten their vigilance, close their ranks, get prepared and wage unrelenting struggles". By increasing their struggle against superpower hegemonism, the people "may be able to put off the outbreak of war, or will find themselves in a favorable situation when war does break out." He concludes, "We are revolutionary optimists and have full confidence in the future of the world."

Chairman Hua points out that Chairman Mao's thesis on the three worlds provides the international proletariat the basis to form the broadest united front in class struggle against the two superpowers who are the chief enemy in the world arena. Quoting Lenin, he points out that those who fail to take advantage of "every antagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of various countries" or fail to take "advantage of every opportunity of gaining a mass ally... fail to understand even a particle of Marxism..." This lesson has enormous importance for the present day struggle.

Chairman Hua points out that China is a developing socialist country and part of the third world. Giving firm support to the just struggle of the countries of the third world against superpower hegemonism does not compromise China's defense of proletarian internationalism. Chairman Hua emphasizes "We support the Communist Parties of all countries, but not revisionism." In summing up how the Party continues to carry on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs, Chairman Hua's report states:

"We should enhance our unity with the socialist countries and with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations throughout the world, unite with all countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying by imperialism and social-imperialism and form the broadest united front against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. We should establish and develop our relations with other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We should strengthen our unity with all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations and carry through to the end the struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its center."

## OUR CONFIDENCE IS MULTIPLIED A HUNDREDFOLD

Chairman Hua concludes his report stating that based on an evaluation of the "prospects at home and abroad, our confidence in winning greater victories is multiplied a hundred-fold!"

The international proletariat must share this great enthusiasm. We rejoice that the Communist Party of China has emerged from bitter struggle holding aloft the banner of Chairman Mao Tsetung. We rejoice that the dictatorship of the proletariat is thriving and growing under the guidance of Chairman Hua and the Communist Party of China. The 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China is indeed a congress of victory for the people of China and the people of the world.

## LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!!

LONG LIVE THE GREAT, GLORIOUS AND CORRECT COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA!!  
UPHOLD OUR INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP!!

# CONTINUING CHAIRMAN MAO'S

I would like to begin my speech by congratulating Your Excellency Mr. Lazar Mojsov on your election as President of the current session of the General Assembly. I would also like to take this opportunity to extend warm congratulations to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which has made a major contribution to the anti-imperialist cause of the people of the world, and to the Republic of Djibouti, which has won independence after waging a protracted struggle, on their admission to membership in the United Nations, and sincerely wish them new successes along their road of advance.

Mr. President,

The Delegation of the People's Republic of China has come to attend this session of the General Assembly shortly after the successful 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China. Our country is now at an important juncture in history when we are carrying forward the revolutionary cause pioneered by our predecessors and forging ahead into the future. Here I would like first of all to speak on developments in China.

Nineteen seventy-six was no ordinary year for China. We lost our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung and his long-tested, close comrades-in-arms, our respected and beloved Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Chu Teh of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Their passing away was a loss beyond measure to our Party and country, and our entire people were plunged in immense grief. In the same year, our country was hit by earthquakes and other severe natural calamities. Just when our people were faced with these grave difficulties, the counter-revolutionary "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan frenziedly stepped up their conspiratorial activities in a vain attempt to usurp supreme leadership in our Party and state. For a time dark clouds hung heavily over China. The Chinese people were worried about the fate of our Party and country, about whether we could continue to advance along the course charted by Chairman Mao. Our friends abroad also felt anxiety for us. A handful of enemies at home and abroad, however, gloated over our difficulties and hoped that our country would henceforth be thrown into a state of chaos and division and that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies would no longer be followed. When Chairman Mao was still with us, he had been aware of the "gang of four" problem. He waged repeated struggles against them and personally chose Chairman Hua Kuo-feng to be his successor so as to forestall their usurpation of Party and state power. After he passed away and at the critical moment when the "gang of four" attempted to seize the chance to take action, the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua followed Chairman Mao's behest, acted on his directives and decisions and smashed this cabal at one blow, thus saving our country from a bloodbath and a major retrogression. The long-steered Communist Party and people of China stood the rigorous test and won a great victory. The Chinese people were rejoiced, and our foreign friends were happy for our sake.

At present, the situation in China is excellent. We again have a wise leader in Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. Our Party is more united, more unified and stronger than ever. People's democracy in China is being given full play. Our people's enthusiasm for socialism has never been so high. The dictatorship of the proletariat is more firmly consolidated. The mass movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" has speeded up the rehabilitation and expansion of industrial and agricultural production. A new leap forward is taking shape in the national economy.

The 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China was a great milestone in the history of our Party, and it was a congress of great, historic significance and far-reaching influence. The congress stressed that the banner of Chairman Mao is the banner of victory of the Chinese people's revolution. The Chinese people are determined to rally closely round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, for ever hold aloft the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhere to his theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and steadfastly implement his revolutionary line in domestic and external work. We are determined to work hard for the realization of the strategic decision of

grasping the key link of class struggle and bringing about great order across the land, turn China into a powerful modern socialist country by the end of the century and make a greater contribution to humanity. We are confident of surmounting all difficulties and obstacles on our road of advance. Our cause is just. Our line is correct. Our goal must be attained. Our goal can unquestionably be attained.

Mr. President,

We are happy to see that the international

"It is not the one or two superpowers but the people of the world that decide the destiny of mankind. Victory unquestionably belongs to the people of the world!"

situation is also excellent. All the basic contradictions in the world are sharpening, and the factors for revolution continue to grow. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution — this has become the irresistible historical trend. The international united front against hegemonism, against the superpower policies of aggression and war, is broadening.

Over the past year, the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat, the liberation struggles of the oppressed people and nations and the revolutionary mass movements in many countries have continued to surge forward. The Korean people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country has won more popular support. The people of Kampuchea, Viet Nam and Laos, after winning great victories in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, are actively consolidating their victorious gains and working hard for their countries' reconstruction. The people of the Southeast Asian and South Asian countries, upholding independence and sovereignty, have repeatedly frustrated superpower schemes of interference, control and expansion. The "Asian collective security system" so energetically hawked by a superpower has been rejected or opposed by virtually all Asian countries. The Arab and Palestinian people's struggle against Israeli Zionism and superpower hegemonism is deepening. The people in southern Africa have risen in a new upsurge of struggle against colonialism and racism. The people of Panama, with the support of the people in other Latin American countries, have achieved important results in their struggle for the recovery of the Panama Canal. The people of the Asian, African, Latin American and Oceanian countries have won a number of new victories in their struggle to win or safeguard national independence and defend state sovereignty. The numerous developing countries have carried on an unremitting struggle against the superpowers in order to establish a new international economic order and defend their national economic rights and interests and their maritime rights. The third world countries and people, who support and encourage one another and fight in unity and co-operation, have played an increasingly remarkable role as the main force in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. Faced with the growing superpower menace, the countries of the second world in Western Europe and other regions have shown a stronger tendency towards unity against hegemonism. The mass movement of the Japanese people for the recovery of the four northern islands is sweeping across the land. The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, which stand opposed to the people of the world, are beset with difficulties and crises at home and abroad. They find the going tougher and tougher. Social-imperialism, in particular, has suffered heavy blows one after another as its aggressive and expansionist features are further revealed. The international situation as a whole continues to develop in a direction favourable to the people of all countries and unfavourable to the superpowers.

The situation in the Middle East is a question of concern to the entire world. During the past year, the Arab and Palestinian people have more closely combined their struggle against Zionism with the struggle against superpower hegemonism. Social-imperialism's despicable practice of betrayal and control under the camouflage of support and aid has been opposed

by a growing number of Arab countries and people. The Egyptian Government and people have resolutely resisted social-imperialism's political blackmail and economic pressure and safeguarded their state sovereignty and national dignity. The Eighth Arab Summit Conference of last October reached agreement on ending the civil war in Lebanon and strengthening Arab unity, thus frustrating another attempt of the superpowers to sow discord and split the Arab ranks. While each superpower tries to out-

clamour the other for an overall settlement of the Middle East question, they are in fact still attempting to maintain the unsettled state of "no war, no peace" in the Middle East. They are afraid of the emergence of a strong and united Arab world, of a stable and prosperous Middle East. Driven by the needs of their respective global strategies, they both seek to control the Middle East. Using different ways and tactics, both of them are supporting and abetting the Israeli Zionists and bringing all kinds of pressure to bear on the Arab countries and the Palestinian people. That is why the Israeli Zionists are so obdurate and so insolent. The situation in the Middle East will remain tense and complicated, pregnant with the danger of new military conflicts. But no one can shake the resolve of the Arab and Palestinian people to recover their sacred territories and regain their national rights. Supported by the people of the whole world, their just struggle will be crowned with final victory.

The developments in Africa are particularly encouraging. New victories have been won steadily by the great African people in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and hegemonism. The government and people of the Sudan foiled the subversive plots engineered by social-imperialism and expelled its military experts, dealing a heavy blow at its ambition of aggression and expansion. The people of Zaire, who are united as one against the common enemy and supported by fraternal African peoples, crushed the invasion of mercenary troops instigated by social-imperialism and safeguarded the independence and territorial integrity of their country. This victory, which greatly raised the morale of the African people and deflated the arrogance of the aggressors, sets an example of mutual support and joint resistance of African peoples against superpower aggression. In southern Africa, the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia have persisted in armed struggle against racism and for national liberation under arduous and complex conditions. The people of Azania have fought resolutely against apartheid despite brutal repressing, and the mass movement there keeps surging forward. People across the African continent voice strong solidarity for their brothers in southern Africa, whose heroic struggle also enjoys support from the people of the world over. The reactionary Vorster and Smith regimes are besieged on all sides and completely isolated.

In their protracted struggle, the African countries and people have come to appreciate more and more the importance of unity against the enemy. Although there exist differences of one kind or another between African countries, yet confronted with the enemy they have sought common ground on major issues while putting aside their minor differences and directed the main thrust of their attack against imperialism, colonialism and racism, and against superpower hegemonism in particular. This has been and will continue to be an important guarantee for the victories of the African people. The First Afro-Arab Summit Conference and the 14th Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, which were held earlier in March and July, stressed mutual aid and co-operation and the need to oppose foreign interference. They were a significant testimony to the strengthened unity of the 61 African and Arab countries with their more than 400 million people in fighting the common enemy. They were a positive contribution to the struggle of

# REVOLUTIONARY LINE ON WORLD AFFAIRS

the African and Arab people and the entire third world against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

The struggle of the African people will yet be protracted and arduous. Colonialism and racism are still putting up a last-ditch struggle.

What is more serious, both superpowers have intensified their interference in African affairs. Owing to the importance of Africa's strategic location and its rich natural resources, each of them regards the control of this continent as an important part of its global strategy of gaining sway in Europe and dominating the world. Their rivalry in Africa is becoming fiercer. One superpower seeks to preserve and expand its vested interests and influence in Africa. It obdurately supports the forces of colonialism and racism in southern Africa and tries to undermine the liberation struggles of the people there. The other superpower, flaunting the banner of opposing imperialism and colonialism and supporting the national-liberation movement to fool people, has stepped up its infiltration and expansion in Africa. It is exploiting some differences between African countries and between liberation organizations and utilizing some problems left over from the days of colonial rule to sow discord, incite trouble and fish in muddied waters. Against those African countries which dare to resist and oppose its hegemonic behaviour, this superpower has resorted to brazen and unscrupulous subversion and interference and gone so far as to organize and send mercenary troops for outright military invasion, which poses a grave threat to the security and independence of these countries. Many African countries are worried lest what happened in Angola and Zaire yesterday may befall themselves tomorrow. Facts eloquently show that the rivalry between the superpowers is the main source of unrest and turbulence in Africa, and that the superpower which styles itself a "natural ally" of the African people has become their most sinister and ferocious enemy. The African countries and people are indeed faced with the trying task of "rebuffing the tiger at the back door while repelling the wolf at the front gate." However, a great change has taken place in Africa. The great African people have stood up, they will never tolerate any foreign force of aggression lordling it over them again. It is our conviction that the African people, persisting in unity and struggle against the common enemy, will frustrate all superpower schemes and demolish the last bastions of colonialism and racism in Africa, thereby winning complete independence and liberation for the whole of Africa.

Mr. President,

A question the people of the world are interested in and think about today is whether the world situation is more tense or more relaxed, whether the danger of war is greater or less. A superpower claims that the danger of war has "considerably reduced." This is sheer deceptive talk. The stark reality is that the world situation has not relaxed, and that the factors for war are visibly growing. In their scramble for hegemony, both superpowers are intensifying their arms expansion and war preparations. Their rivalry extends to every corner of the world. They are carrying out aggression and expansion far and wide, each cutting ground from under the other's feet and striving to weaken and gain advantage over the other. Because of its political, economic and strategic importance, Europe is strategically the focus of rivalry between the two hegemonic powers, where they are locked in acute military confrontation. The two antagonistic military blocs keep increasing their troops and armaments and redeploying their forces and are frequently conducting large-scale military exercises. The war machine of each superpower has expanded to unprecedented proportions. The superpowers are the source of a new world war. This is an iron-clad fact which no one can cover up.

It must be pointed out in particular that social-imperialism presents the greater danger. Judging from the current overall picture of the rivalry between the two hegemonic powers, the United States is on the defensive, while the Soviet Union is on the offensive. Social-imperialism is exerting its utmost to carry out all-round arms expansion. It surpassed the United States in conventional armed forces long ago and is striving for overall supremacy in nuclear weapons as well. It has expanded its navy on a massive scale, and its fleets are active on all seas. It wants to grab the whole of Europe,

Asia and Africa. It not only maintains a posture of readiness to break through at the centre in Europe, but strives to create a situation in which it can outflank Europe from the north and the south. It is accelerating its plunder of strategic resources and control of strategic areas in Africa and the Middle East and seeks to seize the Persian Gulf in the east, block the strategic routes of the Atlantic Ocean in the west and thrust round the Cape of Good Hope in the south. The ambitions of the new tsars far exceed those of the old tsars.

There are profound political and economic reasons why social-imperialism has become the most dangerous source of war. Being a late-comer among the imperialist powers, it is more aggressive and adventurous. Owing to its relatively inadequate economic strength, it cannot but rely to a greater extent on military strength and threats of war in pursuing expansion. Its highly concentrated state-monopoly capitalist economy and its political regime of fascist dictatorship make it easier to militarize its national economy and state apparatus. Besides, it flaunts the banner of "socialism," which can deceive people to a certain extent, and this also makes it more dangerous.

Lenin said, "An essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between several Great Powers in the striving for hegemony." Chairman Mao said, "The United States wants to protect its interests in the world and the Soviet Union wants to expand; this can in no way be changed. In the era in which classes exist, war is an interval between one peace and another. War is a continuation of politics, that is to say, a continuation of peace. Peace itself is politics." The continuation of fierce contention between the two superpowers is bound to lead to a world war some day. This is independent of man's will.

"We are now in a new historical period — a period of struggle against superpower hegemonism."

More and more people have recognized that the factors for war are visibly growing and that social-imperialism is the most dangerous source of war. They advocate the strengthening of unity, of defence capabilities and of preparedness against war. But it must not be overlooked that there is still a strong trend towards appeasement in the West. Some people hope that temporary ease can be gained by making compromises and concessions. They imagine that they can restrain social-imperialism by signing agreements and expanding economic exchanges with it and by giving it loans. Some even seek to divert this peril towards the East in order to preserve themselves at the expense of others. Historical experience tells us that all aggressors bully the soft and fear the tough and always reach out for a yard after taking an inch. Like rearing a tiger to one's ultimate detriment, a policy of appeasement will simply encourage aggression and hasten the outbreak of war. To follow in Neville Chamberlain's footsteps means courting self-destruction. We must not forget the tragic lesson of Munich.

It is understandable that people are interested in the question of disarmament when the superpowers are stepping up their rivalry and their arms expansion and war preparations and when the danger of a world war is growing. But the superpowers are playing up disarmament as something miraculous. In particular, the superpower that most vociferously preaches "peace" dishes up some sort of disarmament proposal every year and describes disarmament virtually as a panacea which will dispel the danger of war, ensure a lasting peace and rid the world of poverty. This is sheer deception. Since the superpowers are bent on aggression and expansion and are scrambling for world hegemony, they are bound to expand their armaments and go to war. They will never lay down their knives, nor beat the swords into ploughshares. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva has been going on for 16 years, yet neither superpower has reduced its armaments by a single gun. The strategic arms limitation talks have been going

on for eight years, yet strategic arms have kept growing in number. The conference on mutual reduction of forces in Central Europe has entered its fourth year, yet the armaments deployed by the superpowers in Central Europe have continued to increase, and there are endless wrangling and differences even over the exact number of troops maintained by the Warsaw Pact countries in this region. It is very clear that the superpowers are prating about disarmament and peace only to cover up their arms expansion and war preparations. They are just using people's desire for peace to lull the people with false hopes so that it may be easier for them to launch a war some day and realize their wild ambition of conquering the world.

Our attitude with regard to a world war is, "First, we are against it; second, we are not afraid of it." The people of the world want peace, and the Chinese people also want a peaceful international environment in which they may better build up their country. It is the superpowers and not the Chinese people and the people of the world who want war. Some people say that in repeatedly stressing the danger of a world war, China is raising a false alarm and that it is warlike and wants to provoke a world war. This is vile slander. All we have done is to call a spade a spade so that the people will be on the alert and oppose the unleashing of a new world war by the superpowers. And when we say we are not afraid of war, it means still less that we like it, but because to be afraid gets us nowhere. The superpowers are bent on fighting a war. What is the use of being afraid? Actually, the superpowers are not so terrifying. They look strong like real tigers. But, as Chairman Mao pointed out, "Imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are — paper tigers." Social-imperialism has wild ambitions. But it finds little political support, and its economy is lopsided. There is a sharpening contradiction between its ruling clique and the broad masses as well as mounting discontent among the oppressed minority nationalities at home. Its "community," which is a colonial setup, is very unstable and shows a growing centrifugal tendency. Pursuing aggression and expansion everywhere, social-imperialism has set itself against the people of all countries, and this in itself dooms it to defeat. So long as the people of all countries unite and form themselves into a mighty army against hegemonism, heighten their vigilance, get prepared and persevere in struggle, they may be able to put off the war; and in case it does break out, they will find themselves in a favourable position to abolish unjust war by means of a just war against aggression and win genuine peace. We are revolutionary optimists. We are convinced that the human race will abolish war and not be destroyed by it.

Mr. President,

Developments on the international scene have proved that Chairman Mao's thesis differentiating the three worlds, which he set forth in 1974, conforms to the political realities of the contemporary world and is in the fundamental interests of the people of the world over. Back in 1926 he stressed, "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution." Chairman Mao advanced his thesis differentiating the three worlds after he had observed and studied for years the development and changes of the basic contradictions and the division and realignment of the political forces in the world since the 1960s, as well as the political and economic position of each country internationally. The great significance of this thesis lies in the fact that it provides the people of the world with a powerful ideological instrument with which to identify the main revolutionary forces, the chief enemies, and the middle forces that can be won over and united with in the international struggle of today. It thus enables the people of all countries to better mobilize all positive factors, unite with all the forces that can be united and isolate the main common enemy to the maximum and deal them the heaviest blows. At present, the steady reinforcement of unity and co-operation of the third world, the growing tendency in the second world to unity against hegemonism and the broadening of the international united front against superpower hegemonism, in which the third world is the main force — all this testifies to the validity of Chairman Mao's thesis. Obviously, the broader the international united front against hegemon-

ism and the more isolated the superpowers, the more favourable will it be to the struggle of the oppressed people and nations for liberation and to that of the people of all countries, particularly the third world countries, to win or safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty and develop their national economy. On the other hand, every victory in the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries helps to weaken the superpowers, thwart their aggressive and expansionist ambitions, upset their war plans and deployments, and put off the outbreak of a new world war.

Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds is diametrically opposed to the superpowers' views on international relations. One superpower spreads the view that there is only one world, a so-called "interdependent" world. But in fact the different parts of the world are mutually contradictory as well as interrelated. The "interdependence" this superpower emphasizes has nothing in common with the international co-operation on an equal footing demanded by the many small and medium-sized countries. It wants to obliterate the actual contradiction between exploiter and exploited, between oppressor and oppressed and between aggressor and victim of aggression. It attempts thereby to preserve the outdated world order and wants all countries to be "dependent" on it. The other superpower ignores the fact that the socialist camp ceased to exist and the imperialist camp disintegrated long ago and asserts that the two camps still exist. Evidently, it wants even more to obliterate its acute contradiction with the people of the world, and with the people of the third world countries, in particular. By continuing to use the signboard "the socialist camp," it attempts to disguise its true nature of social-imperialism, enforce the doctrines of "limited sovereignty" and "international dictatorship" in its "community" so as to preserve its neocolonial setup, and at the same time hoodwink the people and push its policies of aggression and expansion in the whole world. There is an essential similarity between the two views advanced by the two superpowers. Both want to prevent us the people of the world from distinguishing between our enemies, our friends and ourselves, so as to strengthen their positions in the rivalry for world hegemony and undermine the struggle of the world people against hegemonism.

Chairman Mao's strategic concept differentiating the three worlds explodes the fallacies spread by the superpowers and gives a correct orientation to the contemporary international struggle. This brilliant concept will demonstrate greater vitality with the passage of time.

Mr. President,

The revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs which were formulated by the Chinese people's great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung and creatively implemented by our esteemed and beloved Premier Chou En-lai have been and will continue to be the guideline for China's external work. At the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng solemnly declared that we will hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao, adhere to proletarian internationalism and continue to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. We will strengthen our unity with the other socialist countries and with the proletariat and the oppressed people and nations throughout the world, strengthen our unity with the other third world countries and ally with all countries subjected to the aggression, interference or threats of superpower hegemonism so as to form the broadest possible united front against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. We will establish and develop relations with other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We will strengthen our unity with all other genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations and carry through to the end the struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre.

We have always held that all countries, big and small, should be equal. We are resolutely against big nations bullying small ones and strong nations oppressing weak ones. The affairs of a country should be managed by its own people; the affairs of a region should be managed by the countries in that region; the affairs of the whole world should be managed jointly by all countries.

China is a socialist country. China and the other third world countries share a common experience and face common fighting tasks. China belongs to the third world. We stand

firmly together with the other developing countries and people in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions. We firmly support them in their struggle to combat imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism and to win or safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty and develop their national economy. The non-aligned movement, an important force, has developed steadily and become stronger, and together with the other third world countries,

thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. As the first step, all nuclear countries, and particularly the two nuclear superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, must first of all undertake the unequivocal obligation that they will not be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and in any circumstances, and in particular will not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones, and that they must dismantle all their nuclear bases on the territories of other countries and withdraw from abroad all their nuclear armed

**"every victory in the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries helps to weaken the superpowers..."**

it is playing a role of growing importance in international affairs. We firmly support the non-aligned countries in pursuing their non-aligned policy of independence, peace and neutrality and support them in opposing all foreign aggression and interference.

We firmly support the Korean people in their just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country. The United Nations command must be dissolved. The armed forces of the United States and their equipment must be withdrawn immediately and totally from south Korea. The Pak Jung Hi clique in south Korea must stop all its provocations which create tensions. The Korean question should be resolved by the Korean people themselves free from any outside interference. Any act to delay and obstruct the reunification of Korea in the hope of perpetuating the division of Korea and creating "two Koreas" runs counter to the aspirations of the entire Korean people and will not be tolerated. The resolution for promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its 30th session should be implemented in earnest.

We firmly support the Arab and Palestinian people in their just struggle to recover their lost territories and regain their national rights. We are firmly opposed to the rivalry for hegemony between the two superpowers in the Middle East and to Israel's policy of aggression. The provocative action of the present administration of Israel in establishing settlements on the West Bank of the Jordan River with a view to permanently occupying Arab territories must be strongly condemned. We reaffirm that we will have no dealings whatsoever with the Israeli Zionists.

We firmly support the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their just struggle against white racism and for national independence and liberation. We reaffirm that we will have no dealings whatsoever with the South African and Rhodesian racist regimes.

We firmly support the Latin American countries in their struggle to strengthen unity and co-operation and combat superpower hegemonism. We firmly support the Panamanian people in their valiant and protracted struggle for the recovery of the Panama Canal.

We firmly support the third world countries and people in their struggle against imperialist or social-imperialist exploitation and plunder, for the establishment of a new international economic order and in defence of their national economic rights and interests. The correct principles in the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Programme of Action adopted at the Sixth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly must be carried out. We support the series of reasonable proposals advanced by the developing countries, such as the establishment of an integrated programme for commodities and its common fund, the demand for a moratorium on and the reduction or cancellation of debt burdens, etc.

We support the second world countries and people in their struggle to oppose superpower control, intimidation and bullying and defend their security and national independence. We support their efforts to improve relations with third world countries on the basis of equality. We appreciate the efforts of the West European countries for unity against hegemonism. We firmly support the Japanese people in their struggle for the recovery of the four northern islands.

We are for genuine disarmament and against sham disarmament. We have consistently stood for the complete prohibition and

forces and nuclear weapons. We support the demands of the countries and people in the regions of the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea and in Southeast Asia, South Asia and Latin America for the establishment of peace zones, security zones and nuclear-free zones. We are strongly opposed to the superpowers' policies of nuclear blackmail and nuclear monopoly and to their disarmament fraud.

The Shanghai communique of 1972 is the basis for the relations between China and the United States at present. According to the spirit of the communique, if relations between the two countries are to be normalized, the United States must sever its so-called diplomatic relations with the Chiang clique, withdraw all its armed forces and military installations from Taiwan and the Taiwan Strait area and abrogate its so-called "mutual defence treaty" with the Chiang clique. Taiwan is China's sacred territory. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan and accomplish the great undertaking of unifying our motherland. When and how to liberate Taiwan is entirely China's internal affair, which brooks no foreign interference whatsoever. The above is the unalterable stand of the Chinese Government.

Our controversy with the Soviet leading clique on matters of principle will go on for a long time. We will persevere in our tit-for-tat struggle against its hegemonism. At the same time, we have always held that China and the Soviet Union should maintain normal state relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. It is none other than the Soviet leading clique that has worsened the state relations between China and the Soviet Union. If the Soviet leaders really want to improve the state relations between the two countries, they should prove this by deeds.

We will always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching, "**Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony,**" and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares to invade China. Our policy is, "**We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack.**"

We will always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching that in our external work we should "**get rid of great-nation chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.**" We will never seek hegemony or be a superpower. We will always stand by the oppressed people and nations throughout the world. On behalf of the Chinese Government, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping solemnly declared from this rostrum in April 1974 that if one day China should change her political colour and turn into a superpower, if she too should play the tyrant in the world, and everywhere subject others to her bullying, aggression and exploitation, the people of the world should identify her as social-imperialism, expose it, oppose it and work together with the Chinese people to overthrow it. Here, we the Chinese Delegation would like to reaffirm this stand.

Mr. President,

The world is advancing amidst turmoil; the people are awakening in the course of struggle. We are now in a new historical period — a period of struggle against superpower hegemonism. The struggle will be hard and the road tortuous, but the future is bright. "**The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.**" The people of the world have been tempered in great storms of struggle. They have gained experience, strengthened their unity and grown stronger. It is not the one or two superpowers but the people of the world that decide the destiny of mankind. Victory unquestionably belongs to the people of the world!

Thank you, Mr. President.

# HISTORY'S MOST RADICAL TURN

Sixty years ago, in October of 1917, the Russian working class led by its Bolshevik Party seized state power from their bourgeoisie. They established the first dictatorship of the proletariat.

Born in the midst of World War I, the first proletarian state took control of the banks, factories, and mines. It attacked the roots of the economic and political domination of the bourgeoisie and began the socialist transformation of the capitalist economy.

This mighty proletarian state expropriated the land of the landlords and gave it to the toiling masses. It destroyed the oppression of the landlords, put an end to feudalism and thereby won over the masses of peasants to the side of the proletariat as basic allies in the struggle for socialism. The Soviet state established full democratic rights for all nations oppressed by Czarist imperialism. It recognized their right to self-determination -- the freedom to decide their fate as nations. The first October Revolution destroyed the shameful oppression and domestic slavery of the masses of women and established a basis for achieving full equality between men and women and thereby set free a tremendous force for the building of socialism.

## A RADICAL TURN FOR MANKIND

From a historical world-wide perspective the October Revolution was a radical turn for mankind, a turn from the old, the capitalist world, to the new, the socialist world.

Writing on this topic ("The International Character of The October Revolution", J.V. Stalin, Works, Vol. 10, p. 244-255) Stalin points to four fundamental aspects of this radical turn. First, by overthrowing the imperialist bourgeoisie in a major capitalist country and putting the working class in power the October Revolution broke the world-wide front of imperialism. The October Revolution ushered in the era of proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries. It shattered forever the social-democratic lie that there are still more "stages" to go through, in particular, the stage of peaceful transition to so-

cialism through bourgeois parliamentarianism.

Furthermore, by successfully building socialism in the years that followed despite the imperialist encirclement, the October Revolution was living proof that the working class could successfully govern, build industry, and direct the whole economy without and against the bourgeoisie.

Secondly, the October Revolution demonstrated that the working class cannot emancipate itself unless it emancipates the oppressed peoples. The October Revolution, in overthrowing the landlords and the capitalists and in doing away with exploitative relations of production, had to necessarily break the chains of national and colonial oppression that held together the "prison-house of nations" that was Czarist Russia. For this reason the October Revolution ushered in the era of colonial revolutions that are carried out in the oppressed countries of the world in alliance with the proletariat and under the leadership of the proletariat.

The third aspect of international significance to the October Revolution is that it for the first time created a powerful and open base that the world revolutionary movement could rely on for support. Stalin writes, "Now the laboring masses of the world can no longer be regarded as a 'blind mob' groping in the dark and devoid of prospects; for the October Revolution has created a beacon which illumines their path and opens up prospects for them."

The final aspect of international significance to the October Revolution is that it marked the victory of Leninism over Social-Democracy in the realm of ideology. Until the October Revolution both Marxism and social-democracy could lay claim to striving for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The October Revolution, by demonstrating what it means to wage a revolutionary struggle against one's own bourgeoisie and to create the conditions for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one's own country, laid down concretely the only correct road, "the October Road", for all revolutionaries in capitalist countries.

This accomplishment, however, did not just abstractly draw lines of demarcation with social-democracy. Born in the crucible of imperialist war the October Revolution succeeded, and could only have succeeded, by turning the imperialist war into a civil war and raising the slogan of defeat for one's own bourgeoisie. Social-democracy's opposition, whether openly or objectively, to taking up the task of turning imperialist war into civil war exposed the ultimate aim of all opportunism -- defense of imperialism. The October Revolution confirmed the revolutionary validity of Lenin's warning that "... the fight against imperialism is a sham and a humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism."

## RESTORATION OF CAPITALISM IN THE USSR

Today capitalism has been restored in the first land of socialism. The Soviet Union has become a social-imperialist superpower contending with U.S. imperialism for world hegemony. Bourgeois revisionist elements within the party and the state usurped leadership and control. They subverted the dictatorship of the proletariat and restored the rule of the bourgeoisie in a highly centralized system of state monopoly capitalism under fascist control.

Nevertheless, the international significance of the October Revolution for the international proletariat, including the ongoing struggle of the Russian proletariat to regain state power, remains crucial. Most importantly, from an international perspective, although the socialist camp ceased to exist with the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the base for the world-wide revolutionary movement has not been shattered. Today, the Peoples' Republic of China, whose revolutionary founding was a direct continuation of the "October Road", is a socialist country and holds the position of international leadership.

In addition the international significance of the October Revolution holds a particular importance for our own movement. The conditions for imperialist world war exist again today. As our Chi-

nese comrades say, "Two world wars were started by latecoming imperialist countries for a redivision of the world and world hegemony. Today, Soviet social-imperialism's serious challenge to the U.S. dominant position in the world is a continuation of the history of imperialist rivalry. War will inevitably break out as a result of the increasingly bitter rivalry between the two hegemonic powers." (Peking Review #29, July 15, 1977)

What this means for us is that the character of our political work must be judged in light of superpower preparations for war. In similar conditions the Bolshevik party launched a call to turn imperialist war into civil war. This call which brought about the October Revolution is also correct for our time. In addition the Bolshevik slogan of defeat -- the call for the defeat of our own bourgeoisie in imperialist war -- which alone gives substance to the call to turn imperialist war into civil war is also correct for us now. We must counter every step the bourgeoisie takes to prepare for war with a step to defeat U.S. imperialism through civil war.

A party such as the Bolshevik party, capable of raising the defeat slogan and winning the masses to its side, can only be forged by a relentless struggle against revisionism, social democracy, and all other forms of opportunism in the workers' movement. If we are to follow the "October Road" ourselves we must build a party of the Bolshevik type. This requires drawing firm lines of demarcation with opportunism in our theoretical, political, and organizational work.

For this task we need a single common newspaper for the whole revolutionary trend of our movement which is staunch and consistent in principle. It was in order to build that newspaper, and set ourselves firmly on the October Road, that we launched THE COMMUNIST/EL COMUNISTA as an Iskra type newspaper. The Iskra type newspaper is the main tactical link in the struggle to build the party. We urge every communist and class conscious worker to join us in that struggle.

## Andres Cordero is Free!

After 23 years of illegal confinement in U.S. prisons Andres Figuero Cordero, revolutionary Puerto Rican nationalist, has been freed.

Cordero is a member of the Puerto Rican working class who joined Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irvin Flores, and Lolita Lebron in an armed attack on the U.S. Congress on March 1, 1954. This heroic action was taken in order to draw attention to the enslavement of the Puerto Rican people under the rule of U.S. imperialism. At that time the U.S. government was consolidating the enforced "Commonwealth" status of Puerto Rico.

For nearly two and a half decades these political prisoners have been locked up in U.S. prisons, subjected to cruel treatment aimed at breaking their revolutionary will.

But the courage of the five Puerto Rican nationalists held strong. Throughout the years they have firmly upheld the principled position that they would neither accept a pardon nor accept parole because to do so would recognize the right of the U.S. to imprison them and their homeland, Puerto Rico. They view themselves as prisoners of war for the national liberation of Puerto Rico and would not stoop to beg from their oppressors.

While in prison Andres Cordero developed cancer. For seven years he spoke of the pain he was enduring, but the officials of the prison and the government maintained that he was not ill. Finally, in October, prison doctors conceded that Andres Cordero had terminal cancer and gave him four to eight weeks to live.

Because of the strong support that had always been shown for the five Puerto Rican prisoners and the recent upsurge in the Puerto Rican independence movement, the government feared the consequences of Andres Cordero dying in prison. They tried to intimidate him into signing release papers which would recognize their jurisdiction over him. But, even in the face of death, Andres Cordero refused. Finally, after 23 years, the government was forced to unconditionally release this revolutionary patriot from prison.

Though terribly weakened physically by his cruel ordeal in prison Andres Cordero stopped off in Chicago to greet his supporters and fellow revolutionaries before flying home to his beloved Puerto Rico. The mighty weight of the life of this man was felt in the terminal where hundreds of supporters gathered to greet him.

As he entered, sitting in a wheel chair draped with a Puerto Rican flag,

it was evident that physical weakness due to his imprisonment and long illness had not decreased his powerful revolutionary spirit. Both fists clenched, hands raised high in the air, a triumphant smile on his face, Andres Cordero greeted the people. He first spoke of the fact that his victory was in fact a victory for the Puerto Rican people, for the people of the United States, and



for the entire multinational working class.

Once people gain political consciousness, to their right to self-determination, Cordero stated that no imperialist force, no repression or assassination can stop them. He also stated that the imperialists will not listen to the cry for independence, that, "we will have to open their ears with bullets." His words were greeted with tremendous applause as people clapped enthusiastically for several minutes to demonstrate their great admiration for his revolutionary spirit.

Comrades, Andres Cordero is a simple man, but a man who has devoted the whole of his life to the revolutionary cause. From his example we can learn uncompromising hostility to all forms of oppression and an unbowed commitment to struggle in the face of the most savage repression. Most importantly we must make the fight to which he has dedicated his life -- the fight for Puerto Rican independence from all imperialist or social-imperialist domination -- our fight as well. Andres, seguro, a la yankee dale duro!

## SAVAK Provocation Prepares Shah's Visit

In preparation for the visit of the Shah of Iran to the US on November 15 and 16, US police agencies and the Shah's reactionary secret police, the SAVAK, have engaged in a double campaign of bribery and intimidation in order to ensure a public relations success for this trip.

SAVAK has attempted to "buy off" Iranian students with an all-expense paid "holiday weekend" in Washington, including round trip airfare, hotel lodging and meals, plus \$100 in cash.

This effort to buy support for the Shah's visit reveals clearly the lack of support the Shah's regime has among the democratic and patriotic forces of Iran.

In addition to bribery, SAVAK has attempted to intimidate Iranian Student Association members preparing counter demonstrations to expose the Shah's trip. In Chicago, on October 25, an armed gang of approximately 20 SAVAK provocators entered the YMCA college to provoke a fight. Three days later 3 students were suspended for their resistance to this attack after testimony by a student functioning as a secret police agent for SAVAK. In the protest which followed 17 persons were arrested and charged with offenses of "mob action" and interfering with police. In reality police provoked violence in order to "rescue" their agent.

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## BAKKE

marched in Washington D.C. the night prior to Supreme Court arguments in the case. Other meetings have been held in Los Angeles, Boston, New York, Atlanta, Denver, Chicago and other cities. During the week of September 11, a march was held from San Jose to Sacramento, California, a distance of 150 miles, to call attention to the Bakke decision and emphasize its impact on the day to day lives of working and oppressed peoples.

## THE PROLETARIAT AS A VANGUARD FIGHTER FOR DEMOCRACY

How can forces in our movement who have held the struggle for democracy up to such scorn with their struggle against the ERA, busing, etc. measure up to the task of leading the resistance to an all around attack on national equality and to a general campaign designed to suppress hard won democratic gains of the working and oppressed masses?

How can forces which bow to the motion of the spontaneous movement, to what exists, and who fail to connect the

It is a common practice of imperialism to attempt to intimidate and bribe whole sectors of a nation in order to suppress the genuinely patriotic and revolutionary democratic struggles of the popular masses. The Carter administration, which finds itself in an embarrassing situation with its so-called "human rights" campaign has a big interest in full collaboration with SAVAK activities in the US in order to pretend that the Shah is well liked and cover the gross violations of human rights which exist in Iran.

The US bourgeoisie's attempts to suppress the revolutionary activity of Iranian students in the US is a component part of its efforts to suppress all activity of 3rd world liberation forces taking up the struggle against superpower hegemony.

Despite police terror, bribery and conspiracy, we are confident that Iranian patriots will lead massive demonstrations against superpower hegemony and against the Shah's reactionary policies toward the people of Iran during the Shah's visit. There is not enough money in the world to buy off the revolutionary determination of the Iranian movement for national liberation, independence and revolution. We have a common struggle against imperialism and owe it our full support.

struggle for partial demands as in the Bakke campaign to the fundamental long term interests of the proletariat provide proletarian leadership for the democratic struggle?

We oppose every effort to narrow the political significance of the Bakke decision in a way that isolates the democratic struggles of the oppressed nationalities from the revolutionary struggle of the working class. The democratic struggle of the oppressed nationalities for liberation is a firm ally of proletarian revolution and it is the duty of every class conscious worker to come to its support. We need to demonstrate this connection in our work.

We also oppose every effort to narrow the scope of activity to one region or area such as the South or Southwest. Bakke is the concern of working and oppressed people in every corner of the country. Our campaign must reach every community and every factory and utilize the unyielding resistance of the masses as our only reliable support!

Only the PLO Represents Palestine

# Zionist Aggression Exposes Superpower 'Peace' Efforts

In the past few weeks Israel, under the government of the Zionist butcher, Menachem Begin, has launched an attack into Lebanon, has moved to consolidate its occupation of Arab lands on the West Bank and stepped-up its drive for a Middle East "peace" settlement that would once and for all recognize Israel's right to exist and therefore deny the Palestinian people their national rights. Both superpowers, particularly U.S. imperialism, have joined in and aided Israel's maneuvering in order to promote their own hegemonic plans in the valuable Middle East. To further its illegal and expansionist aims, Israel has made ample use of both guns and backroom diplomacy.

## ZIONIST AGGRESSION IN LEBANON

For six months a war has been fought in southern Lebanon. In one aspect this war is a continuation of the civil war being fought between the forces of the Lebanese left and Palestinians on one side and the right-wing Phalangists on the other. But recently another aspect has taken dominance in the fighting in southern Lebanon. This is the intensified and more open aggression of the Israeli Zionists along the border.

Zionist interference and aggression in Lebanon is not new. Israel has long been aiding the right-wing forces with arms and with artillery shelling of Palestinian outposts. Israel has long ignored the Lebanese borders. What is new is the open manner in which Israel carries out its invasion and aggression. It is no secret that it intends to use whatever force necessary to create a buffer zone along its northern border by trying to annihilate the Palestinian strongholds in southern Lebanon. Israel will use this zone to further its expansionist aims against the Arab people.

A UN observation outpost reported that artillery rounds from Israel into southern Lebanon increased from 51 rounds on September 17 to 987 on September 18. This marked the beginning of the Israeli offensive. In the following days Israeli troops, armored personnel carriers, and tanks crossed over into Lebanon and attacked Palestinian outposts, primarily around the towns of Khiam, Nabatiye, Ibl es Saqi, and Kaukaba. At the same time Israeli jet fighters bombarded these towns and Israel sent warships to blockade the Lebanese port of Tyre. These actions show that despite Israel's latest attempts to paint itself as a dove, a lover of peace, its true nature is that of a vulture, a force of fascist aggression. These actions were in complete violation of the state sovereignty of Lebanon, and represent fresh severe provocations against the entire Arab and Palestinian people.

The Palestinian forces in southern Lebanon valiantly combatted these Israeli attacks. Because of their staunch resistance no new ground was gained by the Israeli/rightist forces. Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), warmly congratulated the brave fighters when he personally visited their outposts. Arafat stated unequivocally that, "We tell Begin and those that stand behind him that the revolution will not bow. ... This region will remain Arab, and the decision is that of our Arab liberals, of our Arab nation, and of the revolutionary rifle carried by our Palestinian revolutionaries." He urged all the fighters to "hold tight their guns."

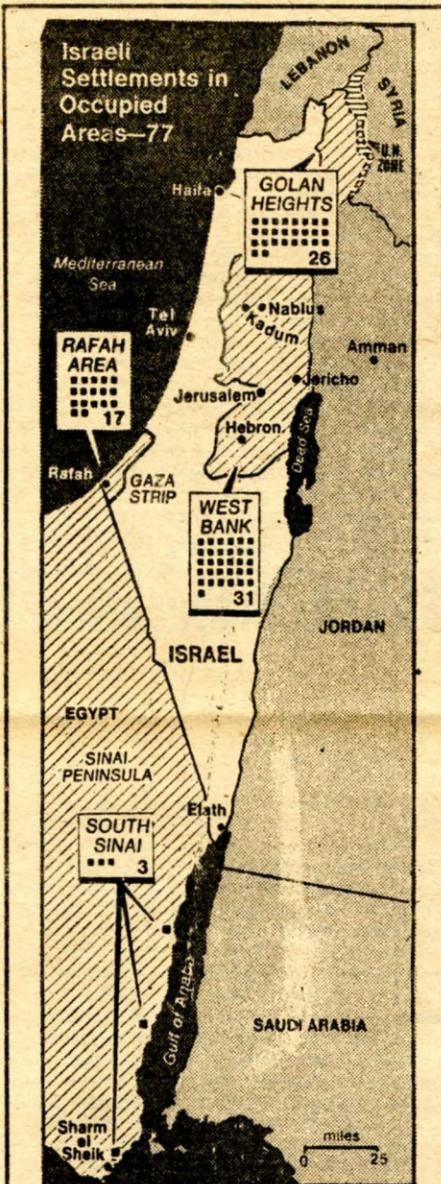
Due to outside pressure, a cease-fire was declared September 26th. According to the Israelis the key point to the cease-fire agreement was that the Palestinians pull-back from the border. However the PLO stated that "We won't pull out and leave a vacuum for the Israelis and fascists to take over." They will remain until the regular Lebanese army has firmly established itself in the area. But as Israel has openly stated it will continue to "defend" the reactionary forces in southern Lebanon, this cease-fire is no guarantee of peace. Peace in Lebanon, as it is all throughout the Middle East, is tied to the question of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, to full democratic rights. Until this is attained, the Palestinian people will resolutely continue to wage their just war of national liberation against the Israeli Zionist aggressors. Israel's attempts to wipe out the PLO will meet complete failure.

## WEST BANK SETTLEMENTS

While Israel attempts to shore up its northern borders through its aggression in Lebanon, it also has moved to consolidate its hold over territory gained from its aggression during the 1967 war. Israel occupied over 65,000 square kilo-

meters of Arab land during its third war of aggression in 1967 -- and since then has established 80 Jewish settlements there. Nearly 30 of these settlements are on the West bank of the Jordan River. The West Bank area covers over 200 square miles and is the home of over 600,000 Palestinians.

Since Menachem Begin, head of the conservative, arch-reactionary Likud bloc came into power in Israel, they have flagrantly declared their intentions to hang onto the land seized during the 1967 war. Begin refers to this land on the West Bank as "Judea and Samaria," and claims that it is part of Israel because of an ancient biblical link. This is the same reactionary Zionist argument which led to the forcible expulsion of the Palestinian people from their homeland and the establishment of the Jewish state of Israel on this homeland. The present development of settlements on the West Bank and other occupied territories follows the old pattern. Israel seeks to legalize and perpetuate its occupation by changing the demographic composition of these occupied Arab lands.



The UN strongly condemned Israel's establishment of new settlements in occupied Arab territories, October 28, 1977, by an overwhelming vote of 131-1. This vote was a strong demonstration of world wide unity in support of Palestinian self-determination and the struggle against Zionism. Only Israel voted against the resolution. The U.S. abstained, still claiming to be a "peace" negotiator in the Mid East and trying to play both sides of the fence.

Begin's claim that this territory is "Israel's liberated land," has been followed up with Israel's establishing three more settlements there in August. In order to legitimize its expansion, Israel has given these settlements "legal status" and further solidified its ties by extending public services to these areas -- supposedly giving themselves the right to extend their legal rule there. This is not the limit of Israel's aggressive plans. On the Zionist drawing boards are plans to create 186 new communities by 1992 -- 49 of which will be on occupied Arab territories. These include 15 planned for the West Bank, 20 for the Gaza area, 10 for the Golan Heights and 4 in the Sinai Peninsula. These blueprints demonstrate Israel's intransigent position and total opposition to the legitimate demands of the Arab countries for a return of the land stolen from them, and complete denial of the Palestinian's right to self-determination. It has been met by the unified opposition of all Arab countries. They unite with the stand of

Yasser Arafat and the PLO which stated that "The West Bank and all of Palestine belong to those who fight in it and die as martyrs for its sake."

## SUPERPOWER INTERFERENCE

While Israel launched a military offensive in Lebanon and bolstered up its illegal settlements on Arab land, US imperialism continued its diplomatic offensive. From August 1 to 11, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance toured the Middle East, with the stated objective of presenting proposals for the convening of a Geneva Conference on the Middle East problem. In reality the US seeks to strengthen its position in its contention with the Soviet social-imperialists for control of the region. It is attempting to take advantage of the present decline of Soviet influence to bolster its own. At the same time, the US has joined with the USSR in issuing a joint statement on Mideast "peace" efforts. The superpowers are both colluding to push for a settlement that will allow the formal recognition of the state of Israel -- thereby continuing the "no war--no peace" situation in the area. This is in the interests of both superpowers who use the situation to peddle arms and maneuver for influence.

Any discussion of a peaceful settlement of the Middle East situation is sheer hypocrisy if it does not guarantee the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people. The question of Palestine is at the heart of the problem. The Palestinian people must be guaranteed the right to return to their homeland, to have their complete national rights restored, including the right to establish their own independent state. Recognition of the Zionist state of Israel contradicts this legitimate demand. Secondly, all the Arab land seized through Israeli aggression must unreservedly be returned.

The joint statement of the superpowers does not meet these criteria. It speaks generally to "ensuring the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people." But this can be interpreted in many ways. Because the statement goes on to speak about "ensuring the borders between Israel and the neighboring Arab states" it clearly recognizes the state of Israel as legitimate. This therefore undercuts any actual recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. This is consistent with the positions of both superpowers, who clearly recognize Israel. The language in this joint statement concerning "legitimate rights," while representing a concession from previous stands taken by the US imperialists, does not represent any fundamental change.

The hypocrisy of the US, which had attempted to pass itself off as a friend of the Arab and Palestinian people on the basis of this statement was quickly revealed. After meeting with Moshe Dayan, Carter announced that the US and Israel were in essential accord on the basis for convening a Geneva conference. This demonstrates how the US is trying to play both sides of the fence. As details of the basis for the conference are revealed, this slippery diplomacy of the US becomes even clearer.

A fundamental roadblock to the calling of the conference has been the question of recognizing the PLO as the legal representative of the Palestinian people in any negotiations. For a long of time Israel would not allow any Palestinians to be present in negotiations. In the face of worldwide pressure they have qualified this stand. The US and Israel would allow West Bank Palestinians to be present, as long as they are not known as members of the PLO and as long as they are present as part of the Jordanian delegation. The US continues to state that it will not deal directly with the PLO unless the PLO recognizes the state of Israel -- which is tantamount to asking the Palestinians to commit national suicide. In actuality this demand remains part of the proposed basis for the Geneva conference. The superpowers and Israel are making recognition of the UN Security Council Resolution 242 a precondition for participation. But this resolution calls for the recognition of the borders of all involved countries -- including Israel.

Another roadblock to the conference had been the question of the Arab countries negotiating as a bloc. Israel had opposed this -- but now it agrees to an initial meeting where the Arab countries as a unit would face Israel. However, Israel still insists that after the general summit meeting, when the talks break down into substantive negotiating, that it be done on a geographic basis, with each country negotiating separately with Israel over the border issues, etc. Here the Palestinians would only be present within the Jordanian delegation. This is obviously a divide-and-conquer tactic, and is based on the continuing attempts by the imperialist and

Israel to qualify the question of withdrawal from Arab territory and to sell-out the Palestinians. While the US, for example, has stated that Israel "clearly should withdraw from occupied territories" -- that is from Sinai, Golan and the West Bank Gaza which were seized in the 1967 war, it still vacillates saying that the "exact borders must be agreed on in negotiations" and that "security arrangements on all fronts satisfactory to all parties" must be made. This gives credence to Israel's stand that some control over this territory must be kept for "defense" purposes.

So while looking at these two main issues, which remain at the core of the conflict in the Middle East, it is clear that there is still a complete chasm separating the positions of Israel and the imperialists from the legitimate and just positions of the Arab countries and the Palestinians.

This chasm is revealed in the staunch opposition taken by the Arab and Palestinians to the plans of the Zionists. Around the question of the PLO the Arab countries have unanimously declared that the PLO is the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and must be included in the negotiations. The mayors in occupied Palestine rejected the invitation by Israel that they represent the Palestinians in place of the PLO. The Mayor of Nablus said "The PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and has the last say internationally on questions concerning our future. We, under occupation, are not prepared for any negotiations deciding our future." The Mayor of Jericho added, "Any attempt to by-pass the PLO about representation will be of no avail."

Secondly, the Arab countries reject Israel's attempts to qualify the question of withdrawal from the occupied territories. They reject Israel's attempts to individually negotiate "peace treaties" which in actuality could be an aggressor's attempt to have its aggression legalized by its victims.

The people of the US must not be fooled by the "peace" talk of Israel and the two superpowers. Underlying the smooth words of diplomacy remain the open aggression of Zionist Israel, the continuing military support of Israel by the US imperialists and the continuing flow of manpower from the Soviet Union to Israel. As in all negotiations with the imperialists, in the end they rely on force to get their way. It is no different in the Middle East.

Particularly here in the US, whose ruling class remains the primary support of the Zionist clique in Israel, it is our responsibility to unequivocally support the just struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination, the return to their homeland and the establishment of their own sovereign and independent state. The rights of the Arab countries for the full return of their territory must also be supported.

In a news conference on September 29, Carter stated that "...perhaps pre-eminent in my own mind is that we're not an idle observer or bystander; we're not just an intermediary or mediator. We have a vital national interest in the ultimate peace in the Middle East." This superpower reasoning, this legitimizing of interference and bullying in the Middle East must be soundly rejected by the US people. US interference in the Middle East does nothing to promote principled peace in the Middle East -- only peace based on the denial of the national rights the Palestinian and Arab people. And this "peace" will never be realized -- for the revolutionary will and determination of the Arab and Palestinian people will not permit it; their united struggle will overcome all Zionist aggression and all interference by the two superpowers.

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