

# Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions

## Part I: Revolution in Colonial Countries

### Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Period of Rising Capitalism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## Revolution

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# Mao ...

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

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

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

## Imperialism Changes Colonial Revolution

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Russia: An East-West Bridge

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Lenin and Stalin Analyze Developments

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

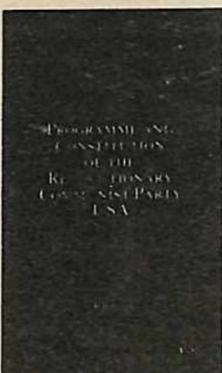
The victory of the October Revolution in Russia had spread Marxism-Leninism throughout the world and given impetus to the formation of communist parties built in the Marxist-Leninist style and with a Marxist-Leninist line, including in many of the colonial countries. This was also a factor of tremendous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

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

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

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

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# Mao...

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

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

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

# CP(ML)...

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

## New Definition of Communism

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Mao on the Chinese Revolution

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Firmly Based on Class Analysis

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

## United Front Formed

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Combat Capitulationism

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

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

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# Mao ...

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

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

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

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

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

## Independence and Initiative in United Front

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

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

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

## New-Democratic Revolution

It was during the anti-Japanese war in particular

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

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

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

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

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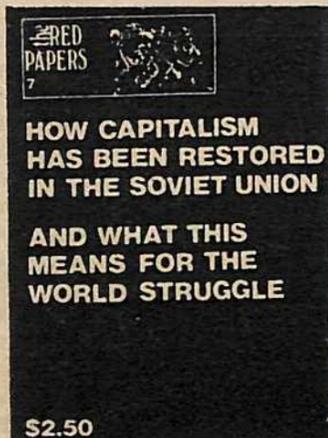
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## Mao...

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ese Revolution as follows:

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

### Proletarian Leadership Key

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Civil War Against KMT

Naturally, with the defeat of Japanese imperialism,

## Funds Needed For Party's New Tasks

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

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

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

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

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

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

I would like to contribute \_\_\_\_\_ to aid the Party Press.

I would like to enroll in the *Revolution* Sustainer Program. I will contribute \_\_\_\$5, \_\_\_\$10 or \_\_\_\_\_ \$\_\_\_\_\_ each month.

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

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

liberated areas under the leadership of the Communist Party.

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

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## New Outrage In Torres Case

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

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

From beginning to end, the Torres case has been

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

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

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

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

# Attica Brother Dead In Shootout

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Politically Active

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

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

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

# Mao...

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conclusion and ushering in the socialist era in China.

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

## Struggle For Revolutionary Victory

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

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

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

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

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

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

# Iran...

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

## Imperialist Domination and Economic Crisis in Iran

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Philosophical Contributions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ployed ex-peasants.

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

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

#### New Upsurge Among Iranian Workers

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

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

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

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

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

## Mao...

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

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

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

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

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

#### Process of Development

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Upholding Proletarian Internationalism

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

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

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

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

## Attitude Toward Revolutionary Movements

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

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



*Pathet Lao militia women during the Indochina war.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Continued Need for Proletarian Leadership

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## A Great Internationalist

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

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