

# THE COMMUNIST

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

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



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

Mao Tsetung

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## CARTER IN EUROPE A SUMMIT WITHOUT SUBSTANCE

Jimmy Carter spent the second week in May in Europe in an effort to strengthen the economic, political and military alliance of the US with the countries of West Europe and Japan. Two major meetings were held. The first was an economic summit conference of the political leaders of the US, West Germany, France, Britain, Italy, Japan and Canada. The second was a meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The catalysts for these gatherings was, on the one hand, the continuing economic crisis of western imperialism and, on the other hand, sharpening contention between US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism for world hegemony.

European leaders have become more and more aware of the danger posed by Soviet social imperialism in Europe. Europe is the main focus of contention between the two superpowers, and the USSR, which has steadily continued to develop its offensive military capacity in Central Europe, represents the main danger of war. In the face of the threat of a Soviet blitzkrieg in Europe, the NATO strategy of a "flexible response"--based on US nuclear superiority and containment of a large scale war--has become a new Maginot line in Europe incapable of responding to Soviet aggression. In her recent trip to the People's Republic of China, Margaret Thatcher, the leader of the Conservative Party in Britain said: "It is entirely natural that the countries of Western Europe should feel anxiety when faced with the massive build-up of Soviet military strength near our borders."

All this has created somewhat favorable conditions for revitalizing the role of US imperialism in Europe and the Carter administration has moved in an effort to take advantage of that opportunity. At the recent NATO meeting, Carter committed the US to an increase in financial support of NATO and this was matched by defence ministers from other NATO countries. In an effort to consolidate the NATO alliance, the US agreed to new measures to standardize military equipment used by NATO forces. In connection with this the US pledged greater purchases of arms produced by other major NATO allies.

The economic summit, however, exposed the tensions and competition among imperialist powers that fundamentally undermine the alliance. However triumphant Carter pretended to be on his return from Europe, the aura of unity and success presented by the economic summit meeting could not hide the deep-rooted divisions and contradictions that these powers cannot resolve.

The symptoms of continuing economic decay are evident in all countries in the alliance. The unemployment rate in France in March of this year was over 1 million, the highest since the second world war. Unemployment in Britain was, at the same time, 1.4 million or 6% of its labor force, while the number of workers in Italy unable to find work was also over 1 million. Inflation is still rampant. In February, Italy had an annual inflation rate of 22% and Britain's consumer prices rose 16.2% over those in 1976. In France, prices in March rose at an annual rate of 10.8%. Industrial production was also off. In Britain, the industrial growth rate in January was still 7.7% lower than the pre-crisis peak. In February its steel production dropped 6% and its building production dropped even further.

In order to stimulate their economies to overcome these difficulties, they need to expand exports. This has led to protectionist pressures for higher tariffs. The seriousness of this threat of a trade war provoked an appeal at the conference to the memory of the pre-war collapse of the trading system in the 1930's and the trade war that followed. The summit would like to learn the lessons of history and took an official position against protectionism. But these imperialist leaders cannot change the laws of capitalism. The drive for higher tariffs is part of the general pattern of capitalist development in times of crisis and increasing competition. Each country wants to pass the burden of the crisis onto its neighbor. What has held back this wave of protectionism is the understanding on the part of the summit participants that a trade war would greatly weaken an already shaky alliance. The US is particularly concerned that this would dangerously weaken its position in Europe, Asia and throughout the world, making the US more vulnerable to its superpower rival, the Soviet Union. It is only the vulnerability of the western alliance in the face of Soviet contention that acts as a constraining force against the growing pressure towards an open trade war.

Thus the supposedly "far reaching decisions" that Carter claimed for the economic summit were actually more image than substance. The main claim at the conference was that agreements were reached by the countries involved to aim for specific levels of economic growth. The stronger countries, the US, Japan and West Germany, were to aim for greater stimulation of their economies in order to help the weaker countries out of their recessionary problems. However, the actual goals that were agreed upon -

expansion of production in the US by 5.8 to 6%, in West Germany by 5% and in Japan by 6 to 7% - were actually just the levels of economic development that were already being pursued anyway.

The fact is that there has been a general inability to stimulate economic growth without inflation and unemployment. This explains the meagre goals which the nations have set for their economic growth rates. The summit saw inflation, which eats into profit, as the key problem and, for all its supposed concern for unemployment, treated the problems of millions upon millions of jobless workers as negotiable. "Inflation does not reduce unemployment," the conference communiqué stated, "on the contrary, it is one of its major causes. We are particularly concerned with the problem of unemployment of young people." They have a good reason to be. In the Common Market countries at the beginning of 1976, unemployed young workers totalled 1.7 million, or about 30% of the total. In France, Holland and Belgium the unemployed under twenty-five years of age made up 40% and more of the total unemployed workers. In the US, where in 1976 unemployment among Black workers was 25%, for Black youths it was 60%, and in some cities reached as high as 75%.

Running scared, the summit participants have no answers and they know it.

The Carter administration has from the beginning understood that Europe is key in US imperialism's contention with the Soviet Union for world hegemony. There can be no doubt, therefore, that it will continue in its efforts to develop further its influence in Europe and to foster and consolidate the western alliance against the USSR.

But there is no salvation for the countries and peoples of Europe in this reassertion of US Atlantic leadership after years of allowing it to deteriorate because of US imperialism's preoccupation with the Indo-chinese war. Instead it is the establishment, expansion and development of European unity that is the strongest bulwark in opposition to the military and political threat posed by Soviet social imperialism. It is relying on their own efforts, strengthening their own unity and, on equal terms, strengthening their unity with the third world that the countries and peoples of Europe can establish a reliable and necessary defence against the hegemonism and aggression of both superpowers. In the face of the sharply growing danger of inter-imperialist world war with Europe as the focus of contention, this independent stand is all the more necessary.

### STUDENTS DENOUNCE USSR'S ROLE IN ZAIRE

Six African student organizations in Europe have issued a joint statement condemning the Soviet Union for using mercenaries to invade Zaire. The statement, issued April 26 in Paris and quoted in L'HUMANITE ROUGE, a French Marxist-Leninist daily, was made by organizations representing the countries of Central Africa, Gabon, Malagasy, Cameroon and Comoros.

The joint statement said: "The tactic of penetration adopted by social imperialism in the third world countries and particularly in Africa has been seen through," but "the social imperialists of Moscow, who play on the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of Africa and the world, try to cover up their penetration and aggression in the name of support for the liberation struggles of peoples' and 'proletarian internationalism!'"

"The Russian social imperialists used the horde of their well prepared mercenaries to invade Zaire," the statement continues. "All facts show that the conflict in Southern Zaire was instigated by Soviet social-imperialism."

"Russian social imperialism's policy of frantic expansion has enraged all peoples of Africa." The statement notes that the invasion of Zaire forms part of Russian imperialism's global strategy in its rivalry for world hegemony. Control of the African continent would greatly facilitate the domination of the European continent, the key area contended by the two superpowers.

The statement points out that the Soviet Union is internally a social-fascist state and internationally a social-imperialist state. "It is today the most dangerous enemy to the liberation movements of Africa and the rest of the world. The new tsars are taking actions more and more through the Cubans."

--from Hsinhua News Agency

### CHAUVINIST CAMPAIGN IN GARMENT UNIONS

A recent exposure in THE COMMUNIST described the chauvinist campaign carried out by the trade union bureaucrats in the electrical workers' unions around the trade conflict between the US and Japanese manufacturers of television sets. (see Volume III, no. 7) These campaigns are not isolated to just this industry, but are nation-wide. For example, recently the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union held a series of nation-wide rallies in which the bureaucrats tried to place the blame for rising unemployment in the US textile industry on foreign workers.

In Los Angeles the bureaucrats drew 3,000 workers out to listen to their tirades. Sharing the podium with the union heads were all the bourgeois politicians from the City Council, city aldermen and county officials to the mayor, Tom Bradley. The capitalists had given full support to this rally by letting the

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## VOLUME FIVE

On page three we reprint CONTINUE THE REVOLUTION UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT TO THE END, a study of VOLUME FIVE of the SELECTED WORKS OF MAO TSETUNG, written by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the Communist Party of China. For reasons of space, we have omitted three introductory paragraphs of Chairman Hua's article. In those paragraphs he writes: "History proves that the banner of Chairman Mao is a great banner under which the proletariat leads the people in united struggle to victory. . . . Since he passed away, loyalty to his banner has become a guarantee for the victory of our revolutionary cause."

# UPHOLD OUR INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP!

The campaign to expose and defeat the "gang of four" in China has provided a pretext for the political organs of the bourgeoisie and the opportunist forces within the working class movement to put forward their anti-China politics. These heavily anti-China political lines have in turn led to wavering, hesitation and doubt by honest Marxist-Leninist forces in their own support of China's leadership of the international proletarian revolution. We experienced this wavering within our own ranks.

However, the source of this "doubt" is not the political struggle in China. It is our own economism and still incomplete grasp and reliance on the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

As the imperialist crisis deepens, the struggle between modern revisionism and Marxism-Leninism will intensify throughout the world. This struggle is part of the class struggle. For example, modern revisionism denies the necessity of proletarian class struggle to both achieve state power and to consolidate socialism. It represents the interests of imperialism and social imperialism.

On the other hand, Marxism-Leninism demands the necessity for proletarian class struggle to both seize state power and consolidate socialism, especially against bourgeois forces within the dictatorship of the proletariat. It represents the interests of the international proletariat.

There are only two ways we can approach these struggles. We can rely on bourgeois interpretations, such as found in the Los Angeles Times and in opportunist papers like the Guardian and RCP's Revolution, or we can rely on the science of Marxism-Leninism.

## FALSIFICATION BY THE BOURGEOISIE

In interpreting events in China the bourgeoisie has attempted to confuse and divide the proletariat through its control of the mass media. There are two main falsifications being put forward by the bourgeois media. First, they say the present campaign against the "gang of four" is a reflection of developing revisionism. They say China now wants to drop the emphasis on revolution and concentrate on increasing production. Second, they say China wants to develop closer relations with the Soviet Union. These are both lies!

As for the first lie, Chairman Hua and the Chinese Communist Party have struggled to uphold Mao Tsetung's principle of "grasp revolution, promote production" as the only correct principle for developing China's socialist production at high speed. Modernized socialist industry and agriculture are the material foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat - on which China will carry the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts through to victory.

It was the "gang of four" who opposed this basic principle by claiming such things as "once a good job is done in revolution, production naturally will go up." There is nothing "natural" about class struggle, comrades. The idealistic and metaphysical formu-

lations of the "gang of four" only serve to disrupt production and aid their strivings for control of the party and state power.

In putting forward the second lie, the bourgeois media conjures all sorts of meaning and significance to formal diplomatic messages and greetings between China and the Soviet Union, such as acknowledgements and congratulations on the opening and closing of congresses and selections to leadership. But this has been the practice through all the years that China has led the international split with the Soviet Union's modern revisionism.

On the other hand, the bourgeois media dismisses as "obligatory rhetoric" the political line put forward by China's political organs. But, in fact, practically every issue of Peking Review since the campaign against the "gang of four" began continues to uphold and apply the general line of China toward increasingly aggressive Soviet social imperialism. For example, see "Soviet Social Imperialism -- The Third World's Most Dangerous Enemy" in Peking Review #44, October 29, 1976. A most current example is the developing exposure of the Soviet Union's meddling role in Zaire.

## OPPORTUNIST LINES

We must also guard against the opportunist forces, both "left" and right, who will use the current struggle in China and exploit the theoretical weaknesses of our movement to promote their bankrupt political lines. Examples of these are "left" opportunists like the Communist Workers Group (M-L) and the right opportunist forces around the Guardian and the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP).

The Communist Workers Group (ML) in its newspaper, Forward, uses its revolutionary-sounding formulations to write off the whole international communist movement, including the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and Albania, as revisionist! Their political line on the international situation puts them solidly in the camp of international Trotskyism!

The Guardian puts forward "independent analyses", taking "independent positions" on every twist and turn of the Chinese revolution, and attacks those who "blindly" follow China's line. By "independent" the Guardian means independent of the historically developed science of proletarian revolution, Marxism-Leninism. By independence, they mean the "freedom to criticize" orthodox Marxism-Leninism, much like the Bernsteinian revisionists that Lenin criticizes in What Is To Be Done (WITBD) (see Chapter 1). In this case, the Guardian has chosen not to uphold the general line of the international communist movement led by the Chinese Communist Party.

The Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) also refuses to uphold the line of the CCP on the "gang of four" by remaining silent. Their failure to oppose the counter-revolutionary attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat and uphold Marxism-Leninism is yet another exposure of their false claim to be the vanguard communist party of the proletariat.

In the history of the communist movement in this country, this right opportunism has appeared time and again as "American exceptionalism". "American exceptionalism" uses all kinds of "special circumstances" pertaining specifically to the most advanced industrialized country in the world to justify "independent positions" on major questions facing the international proletariat.

It was repeatedly put forward by right opportunist forces in the CPUSA to oppose the political line of the Communist International (COMINTERN). For example, there was continued struggle between the CPUSA and the COMINTERN over the COMINTERN's resolutions on Factory Nuclei and the Black National Question.

Then and now, what all this represents, is the opposition of the petty bourgeois trend in our movement to communist leadership and discipline. Then and now, this opposition only leads to capitulation to revisionism itself.

## INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP

In Foundations of Leninism, Stalin lays out that because imperialism is a world-wide system, we must now "speak of the world proletarian revolution." (FLP, p.29) With the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the first being the USSR in October, 1917, "the revolution spreads beyond the confines of one country; the epoch of world revolution has begun." (FLP, p.85) Furthermore, Stalin writes that the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes a "main force" in the proletarian struggle for state power in all countries.

Following this basic line the Bolshevik CPSU led in organizing the Third Communist International (1919 to 1944), known as the COMINTERN we mentioned earlier. The role of the COMINTERN was to give international disciplined leadership to the proletarian forces in every country in their struggle against imperialism and for socialism. The struggle to build the COMINTERN was also a struggle against the consolidated revisionism of the Second International. It was their support of the imperialists' war policies in World War I that thoroughly exposed the parties of the Second International as enemies of the international proletariat and all oppressed peoples of the world.

The CPSU (Bolshevik) earned the respect and leading authority of the international proletariat and oppressed peoples because of its long years of victorious revolutionary struggle against imperialism, against opportunism, for Leninism as the only orthodox Marxism in the era of imperialism and for the consolidation of socialism in the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR.

We no longer have the leadership of the COMINTERN, which was disbanded in 1944. Nor do we have the leadership of the CPSU and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR. Revisionists seized control of the party in the years following Stalin's death. They restored

capitalism, establishing a highly centralized fascist system of state monopoly capitalism.

However, Marxist-Leninists throughout the world recognize the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in the international communist movement. This leadership, this influence, has been won through the correctness of the CCP's line in revolutionary struggle worldwide - against US imperialism, against Soviet social imperialism, for orthodox Marxism-Leninism, and for class struggle throughout socialist construction in the several dictatorships of the proletariat. Especially significant is the CCP's general line for the international communist movement laid down in 1963 in opposition to the modern revisionism of the Soviet Union. (see A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement, 1963, FLP)

## GRASP FIRMLY THE LEADING LINE

We must deepen our grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and accept the leadership of the CCP on the basis of its established and continuing revolutionary political line. The main danger we must guard against is economism and right opportunism in general. These deviations allow the line of modern revisionism into our ranks to retard our struggle for the party and for proletarian revolution.

Within our organization our own petty bourgeois tendencies in matters of line and organization and our own lack of understanding of proletarian leadership have held us back from firmly grasping the general line of the international proletariat. We will say more about this in future articles, for we realize that these tendencies, this petty bourgeois trend, exists throughout the movement.

We cannot escape the long history of opportunism in this country. Nor can we escape the current state of our movement, which is dominated by economist tendencies, by a petty bourgeois trend. We can only transform these conditions by struggling against economism itself. It is this struggle, as it was for Lenin and the Bolsheviks, that prepares the conditions for the party.

Particularly on the question of international leadership of the CCP and the struggle against the "gang of four", we urge every Marxist-Leninist organization and collective to develop a division of labor which can lead all cadre and other advanced workers in the deeper study and application of the leading line of the CCP. For example, the weekly Peking Review must become basic reading in all groups.

We do not start from our "independent positions" but from the established leading line of the international proletariat. This line embodies the accumulated theory and practice of the proletarian class struggle throughout the world.

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSE TUNG THOUGHT!!

LONG LIVE THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY!!

## LETTER FROM SDOC (M-L)

Comrades, in an issue of THE COMMUNIST (V.3, #3, January 17, 1977) you printed our exposure of the KKK at Camp Pendleton. In your introduction to our article you correctly criticized us for separating the question of the right to self-determination from the general question of democratic rights. You also criticized us for stating that to "deal only with the question of democratic rights is to narrow down the question." You pointed out how that was misleading and we accept that criticism as well. We unite with your statement that the right to self-determination is the highest democratic right of a nation.

Our organization has been studying the question of the right to self-determination and the Black National Question for close to a year, and in our study we have

come to realize the importance of this question to the general question of proletarian revolution. We have also become aware of the forces in the communist movement who deny the existence of the Afro-American nation or who say they recognize the existence of the nation but deny it the right to self-determination.

Our error around this issue stems from our desire to expose and counter all those who liquidate the question of self-determination, and who address the struggle against the oppression of the Black masses as one which is unrelated to the question of nationhood. But in our article we took up the question in an undialectic manner. We welcome your criticisms - they have moved us forward.

One final point on our exposure

of the KKK. At the time we wrote that article there was much confusing and contradictory information available. The Urban League seemed to have the best source of information inside the base. They stated that the room in which the incident occurred was the wrong room, that is, that it did not belong to anyone in the KKK. At this point it is unclear as to whether that is true.

The Black marines who were charged with the assault are in the process of their legal proceedings. One marine has pleaded guilty and another was released from custody because he was not even on base the evening of November 13th. We will be sending in more information on this case in the future.



\*\*\*\*\* NOTICE \*\*\*\*\*

TO DENVER FROM SAN DIEGO....

To the comrade from Denver who wrote us and ordered a copy of our pamphlet on the danger of war-reprints from Peking Review. We misplaced your address! Please contact us again so we can send you the literature you requested. Our apologies for the sloppy work.

Your comrades,  
SDOC (M-L) POB 1332, San Diego,  
Ca 92112

# STUDY OF VOLUME V BY CHAIRMAN HUA

\* Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* is a record of victory and a scientific summing-up of the great struggles carried out in all fields by our Party under the leadership of Chairman Mao in the first eight years following the founding of the People's Republic of China. Chairman Mao at all times took a very serious and prudent attitude toward ideological and theoretical questions, and never allowed his *Selected Works* to be compiled until his writings had been tested in practice for a period of time. In 1969, Chairman Mao delegated Comrades Chou En-lai and Kang Sheng to take charge of the compilation of Volume V of the *Selected Works*. Interference and sabotage by the revisionist line, however, prevented this volume from being published. This interference and sabotage came first from Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta and later in the past few years from the anti-Party "gang of four" of Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan. Around the time of Chairman Mao's death, especially, the "gang of four" did their utmost to seize leadership over the compilation and publication of Chairman Mao's works, so as to hinder and sabotage the publication of Volume V and subsequent volumes. This was part of their scheme to tear down the great banner of Chairman Mao and to achieve their criminal aim of seizing Party and state leadership and restoring capitalism. The publication of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* is a victory won by our Party in smashing the anti-Party "gang of four."

The fundamental concept running through this volume is to uphold and develop the Marxist principle of continued revolution and, upon the seizure of political power by the proletariat, to switch over from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution and carry it on under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At the time of the victory of the democratic revolution China was extremely poor and backward in economy, with the proletariat accounting for only a tiny portion of the population and the peasants for more than 80 per cent. Was it possible for a big country in such circumstances to switch over immediately to the socialist revolution upon the victory of the democratic revolution? More than a few people, at home and abroad, inside our Party and outside, expressed their doubts or simply thought it impossible.

Marxism-Leninism holds that the completion of the democratic revolution opens the door to the socialist revolution. Applying this principle to the concrete conditions of China, Chairman Mao led our Party in successfully making this changeover of the revolution.

On the eve of nationwide victory, in his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee, Chairman Mao pointed out that the principal contradiction in the country after nationwide victory would be the "contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." That is to say, the revolution would pass on to the socialist revolution without interruption. This concept of Chairman Mao's meant that the leadership of the proletariat, upon the day of bringing the democratic revolution to victory, should without vacillating develop into the state power led by the proletariat. That in fact is what happened. The people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat thus established was in essence the dictatorship of the proletariat. By expropriating bureaucrat-capital in the democratic revolution, the people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat had from the very outset a state-owned economy which was in control of the lifelines of the national economy and was socialist in character.

After nationwide victory, under Chairman Mao's leadership, our Party rehabilitated the national economy in three years and at the same time mobilized the masses to carry out the three great movements of land reform, suppression of counter-revolutionaries and resistance to U.S. aggression and aid to Korea. In areas where land reform

had already been completed, immediate steps were taken to organize various forms of mutual aid and co-operation in production. Measures to introduce state capitalism started to be taken with regard to private capitalist industry and commerce. Chairman Mao led the struggle in 1952 against "the three evils" and "the five evils," which by virtue of the strength of the masses dealt crushing blows to illegal activities by the bourgeoisie in refusing to accept leadership by the socialist economic sector and frantically sabotaging the socialist economy. This victorious struggle gave great impetus to the transformation aimed at bringing private capitalist industry and commerce into the orbit of state capitalism.

Thanks to the state power under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading position of the socialist state-owned sector in the whole national economy, our Party began the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production on a national scale after the completion of land reform. This meant, as Chairman Mao said, "destroying capitalist ownership, transforming it into socialist ownership by the whole people and destroying individual ownership, transforming it into socialist collective ownership." The transformation of ownership was the central issue at that time for resolving the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Chairman Mao in good time formulated for our Party the general line for the transition period. That general line set the task of the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce while our country was being industrialized.

To implement this general line, Chairman Mao led the whole Party in waging a complex struggle against the bourgeoisie on the political and ideological fronts as well as the economic front. Criticism of idealism was an important aspect of this struggle against the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao led the whole Party in waging incessant struggles against bourgeois ideas that had infiltrated the Party and in overcoming the Right opportunism represented by Liu Shao-chi that departed from the general line. The chief manifestations of such opportunism were the advocacy of "firmly establishing the new-democratic social order," refusal to effect the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, abandoning leadership by the state economy, negating the necessity and possibility of unfolding the mutual aid and co-operation movement immediately after land reform and permitting class polarization in the countryside. The essence of this Right opportunism was to halt the revolution and lead China on to the road to capitalism.

With tremendous vigour, Chairman Mao led the socialist transformation of agriculture, swiftly guiding the 500 million peasants on to the socialist road — this is an event of enormous international significance. The socialist transformation of agriculture advanced the worker-peasant alliance based on land reform to one based on socialism, thereby providing the dictatorship of the proletariat with a most powerful base. The transformation of capitalist industry and commerce into socialist state economy was brought about through many transitional forms of state capitalism. Chairman Mao succinctly explained that the socialist transformation of agriculture and the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce were interrelated and promoted each other, and he combined these two transformations skilfully in practice. With socialism in the commanding position in the countryside, the state controlled the raw material and markets needed by the capitalists and isolated the bourgeoisie politically, thus making them submit to socialist transformation.

The socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was a very profound change which was brought about through sharp class struggle. Thanks to

Chairman Mao's correct leadership, this change was effected swiftly, and in the process, no damage was done to the productive forces, agricultural production increased every year, industry and commerce advanced continuously, and the socialist state economy grew steadily. That accounted for our great successes in national economic construction under the First Five-Year Plan, which started in 1953, at the time the transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main completed.

Chairman Mao led our Party in blazing a trail for establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and going on to the socialist revolution upon the victory of the democratic revolution in an economically backward agricultural country, and for simultaneously carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction. Much new experience was gained in the socialist transformation of agriculture and handicrafts and of capitalist industry and commerce. Chairman Mao's summing-up and generalization of all this experience are of important theoretical significance in the annals of the development of Marxism.

China completed in the main the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in 1956. From then on, a new question confronted the Chinese revolution — whether contradictions, classes and class struggle still exist in socialist society, whether it remains necessary to continue the socialist revolution and how this revolution is to be carried on. This was also a question for which no correct answer had been found in the international communist movement for a long time.

No ready answers to this question could be found in the Marxist-Leninist works of the past. Marx and Engels founded the doctrine of scientific socialism and the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but they had no experience of the victory of the proletarian revolution and therefore such a question had never been posed for them in a concrete way. Lenin developed the Marxist thesis on the dictatorship of the proletariat in both theory and practice, pointing out that after the proletariat seizes political power, acute and complicated class struggle still exists as does the danger of capitalist restoration, and that it remains necessary to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. But Lenin died too early to see with his own eyes the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production and it was impossible for him to answer the question clearly and definitely. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist. He inherited the cause of Lenin and led the Soviet people in achieving socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization and winning victory in the anti-fascist war. In practice, he waged resolute struggles against various counter-revolutionary bourgeois representatives who had wormed their way into the Party. Yet, theoretically he did not acknowledge that after the collectivization of agriculture, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road continued in the Soviet Union. For a long time, he did not look at socialist society from the materialist dialectical viewpoint of the unity of opposites, but saw it as an integrated whole where there is only identity, but no contradictions. Under the influence of this idea, there prevailed in the international communist movement for a long time the viewpoint which refused to recognize that class struggle continues between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie after the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, that such class struggle will manifest itself in the form of the struggle between two different lines within the Party, and that the danger of a capitalist restoration remains. The bitter lesson of the usurpation of the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party and state and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union by the Khrushchov renegade clique

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# CONTINUE THE REVOLUTION UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT TO THE END

placed a serious task before Marxist-Leninists, the task of conscientiously summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and reconsidering the related questions.

Taking advantage of the moment when the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was basically completed, Liu Shao-chi and Chen Po-ta, agents of the bourgeoisie inside our Party, again tried to halt the revolution. They said that the bourgeoisie had been eliminated and that the question of which would win out, socialism or capitalism, had already been settled. They spread the theory of the dying out of class struggle precisely for the purpose of writing off the socialist revolution. If the proletariat and its political party had accepted their viewpoint, the consequences could only have been the loss of the fruits of the revolution already reaped and China would have slid back on to the road of capitalism.

In view of the erroneous ideas that existed in China and the world, Chairman Mao, by applying Marxist dialectics in the dauntless spirit of a thoroughgoing materialist, summed up both the positive and negative experience at home and abroad, gave the first scientific answer in the history of the international communist movement to this question of cardinal importance relating to the historical destiny of the dictatorship of the proletariat and founded the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the basis of this theory, Chairman Mao formulated in 1962 the Party's basic line for the whole historical period of socialism. The practice of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which began in 1966 has augmented and enriched the theory. This theory is already advanced in Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, chiefly in the important writings of 1956 through 1957.

Chairman Mao clearly pointed out early in 1957 that class struggle by no means ended with the basic completion of the transformation of the ownership because there were still remnants of the landlord and comprador classes, there was still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie had just started. "The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the various political forces, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the ideological field will still be long and tortuous and at times even very sharp." Chairman Mao also said: "Basically, the socialist system has been established in our country. We have won basic victory in transforming the ownership of the means of production, but on the political and ideological fronts we are farther from complete victory." In the spring of 1957, the bourgeois Rightists took the opportunity of our Party's rectification campaign to launch wild attacks on socialism, in the hope of overwhelming the proletariat politically and ideologically. Chairman Mao led the whole Party and the people of the entire country in beating back their attacks and a great victory was won on the political and ideological fronts in the socialist revolution. This struggle proved to the hilt the correctness of Chairman Mao's thesis.

Chairman Mao persevered in applying the viewpoint of the unity of opposites of materialist dialectics to the study and analysis of socialist society. He pointed out: "Some say that contradictions can be 'found' in socialist society, but I think this is a wrong way of putting it. The point is not whether contradictions can be found but that it is full of contradictions." The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road is the principal contradiction in socialist society. Having grasped this principal contradiction, Chairman Mao set forth the laws governing the development of socialist society and provided a firm basis for the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao applied the Marxist tenets on the contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces, the contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base, to socialist society and thus fundamentally negated the metaphysical view that contradictions do not exist in socialist society and that there is no longer any need to make revolution. It often happens in socialist society that certain links in the relations of production do not keep up with the development of the productive forces and need to be changed; it also happens quite often that certain links in the superstructure not only fail to protect the socialist economic base but even harm it and need to be changed. In referring to the superiority of the socialist system, we do not mean that these fundamental contradictions universally present in human society have already disappeared; what we mean is that these contradictions can be resolved through continuous active intervention under the system of socialism.

These fundamental contradictions in socialist society are still class struggle in nature. The struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the struggle between the two roads, the socialist and the capitalist, exists in both the relations of production and the superstructure, therefore the danger of capitalist restoration exists. Chairman Mao said: "In China the struggle to consolidate the socialist system, the struggle to decide whether socialism or capitalism will prevail, will take a long historical period." In order to keep improving and developing the socialist system and to prevent the restoration of capitalism, "it is necessary not only to bring about the socialist industrialization of the country and persevere in the socialist revolution on the economic front, but also to carry on constant and arduous socialist revolutionary struggles and socialist education on the political and ideological fronts. Moreover, various complementary international conditions are required."

Chairman Mao said: "Everything in society is an instance of the unity of opposites. Socialist society is also a unity of opposites; the unity of opposites exists both within the ranks of the people and between ourselves and the enemy." Chairman Mao divided the contradictions in socialist society into two types of contradictions differing in nature, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people, and pointed out that they must be handled and resolved by different methods. This is a new Marxist-Leninist theoretical summing-up based on revolutionary practice both at home and abroad.

Both Marx and Lenin pointed out that throughout the transition period from capitalism to communism, there must be a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. Based on this principle, Chairman Mao repeatedly stressed the absolute necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of continuously strengthening it during the period of socialism. This is necessary because there are still contradictions between ourselves and the enemy inside the country, in addition to the need to defend the country from subversion and possible aggression by external enemies. Chairman Mao said: "In an era in which classes and class struggle still exist both at home and abroad, the working class and the masses who have seized state power must suppress the resistance to the revolution put up by all counter-revolutionary classes, groups and individuals, thwart their activities aimed at restoration and prohibit them from exploiting freedom of speech for counter-revolutionary purposes."

The dictatorship of the proletariat is dictatorship by the overwhelming majority of the people under the leadership of the proletariat over a very small handful of enemies, but this does not signify that there is only identity and no contradictions within the ranks of the people. Chairman Mao pointed out with ample evidence that there were many contradictions among the people. The contradiction between the socialist road and the capitalist road not only finds expression in the contradiction between our-

selves and the enemy but in large measure in contradictions among the people. We use the method of dictatorship to resolve the contradiction between ourselves and the enemy; as for contradictions among the people, we can only adopt the democratic method to resolve them, namely the method of persuasion, education, criticism and self-criticism. A correct method must be applied in handling contradictions among the people so as to ensure the daily strengthening of the unification and unity within the ranks of the people.

Chairman Mao's scientific analysis of the classes in Chinese society after the basic completion of the transformation of ownership is the basis for correctly distinguishing and handling contradictions among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy, as well as the basis for formulating the strategy and tactics in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao said: The socialist revolution "is a struggle waged by the working people under the leadership of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie." Basing himself on the experience of the anti-Rightist struggle in 1957, Chairman Mao pointed out that the people who favour socialism account for 90 per cent of the total population of the country while those who do not favour or oppose socialism make up 10 per cent, of whom 8 out of 10 may be won over through work so that the people who favour socialism may reach 98 per cent, and the diehards who are absolutely opposed to socialism make up only 2 per cent. The working class is the leading class. Chairman Mao said: "The proletariat in China is small in number, some 10 million only, and it must rely on the several hundred million poor peasants, lower-middle peasants, city poor, poor handicraftsmen and revolutionary intellectuals in order to exercise dictatorship — otherwise it cannot." Apart from uniting with these reliable allies, the working class should win over and unite with the majority of the upper petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals and with those members of the national bourgeoisie who are willing to accept socialist transformation, so as to isolate and hit at the tiny handful of diehards who are dead-set against socialism. Chairman Mao said: "Though small in number, the working class, and it alone, has a great future. The other classes are all classes in transition, through which they must go in the direction of the working class." The working class should transform in its own image the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, eliminate the bourgeoisie and transform the bourgeois elements and bourgeois intellectuals; while transforming the objective world, the working class should constantly remould its own subjective world. These are the important long-term tasks in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The "gang of four" negated outright Chairman Mao's scientific analysis of the classes in Chinese society, negated outright the class line for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and created confusion on the two different types of contradictions — those among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. They stood opposed to our Party's "wholeheartedly relying on the working class" and relying on the poor and lower-middle peasants and to our Party's uniting with revolutionary intellectuals and other sections of the masses to the maximum possible extent. The "advanced elements" they relied on were none other than landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements as well as old and new bourgeois elements. They stirred up bourgeois factionalism and created splits and provoked "all-round civil war" among the working class and the masses to serve their criminal aim of sabotaging the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and destroying the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are enemies of the people. The victory in the struggle to smash the "gang of four" proved once again the truth of Chairman Mao's words "Firmly believe in the majority of the people."

Applying dialectics to the new task of

continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and proceeding from the principle that only by exposing contradictions can they be resolved, Chairman Mao expounded the question of how to handle and resolve the various kinds of contradictions in socialist society and in socialist revolution and socialist construction. Like Marx, Engels and Lenin, Chairman Mao was a great teacher in applying dialectics to the practice of the proletarian revolution.

Since there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society and since it is imperative to persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat, a political party of the proletariat is indispensable. That the class struggle in society is reflected in the Communist Party has been true ever since the founding of a Communist Party; it becomes a matter of an especially serious nature after the seizure of state power by the Communist Party. How to deal with the contradictions and struggle inside the Party is a question of major importance in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the period of socialism, the enemy of the proletarian revolution exists not only outside the Party but also within it. In 1954, Chairman Mao led our Party in smashing the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih which was a bourgeois headquarters hidden in the Party. In summing up this struggle at that time, Chairman Mao said: "The emergence of the anti-Party alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih was by no means accidental, but was an acute manifestation of the intense class struggle in our country at the present stage. The criminal aim of this anti-Party alliance was to split our Party and seize supreme power in the Party and the state by conspiratorial means, thus paving the way for a counter-revolutionary comeback." In 1957, there were also some persons in the Party whose political features were identical with those of the Rightists outside the Party, and these two groups of people echoed each other and mounted an attack on the Party. That is why Chairman Mao said that this was a big struggle against the Rightists "with the battleground both inside and outside the Party." From then on, finding it increasingly difficult to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat from the outside, the bourgeoisie pinned their hopes of restoration more and more on their agents who had sneaked into the Communist Party. Of course, class struggle in society still goes on every day and every hour, and the two-line struggle in the Party remains a reflection, and a concentrated reflection at that, of the class struggle in society. The scientific concept of Party persons in power taking the capitalist road, put forward by Chairman Mao in 1965, clearly pointed out that the chief danger of capitalist restoration comes from the capitalist-roaders inside the Party. Generally speaking, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has been a struggle waged by the proletariat and the revolutionary masses against the capitalist-roaders inside the Party who were represented by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao "gang of four." This gang are typical representatives of the anti-communist, anti-socialist bourgeoisie inside the Party and they had a thousand and one links with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. Like the contradictions between our Party and Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, the contradiction between the "gang of four" and our Party is also a contradiction between the enemy and ourselves.

Chairman Mao taught us that we must look at the proletarian party from a dialectical viewpoint. The Communist Party of China is a great, glorious and correct Party and this must be affirmed. Still some counter-revolutionaries have disguised themselves and wormed their way into our Party, and some wavering elements inside the Party have been hit by the material and spiritual sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie and have degenerated into agents of the bourgeoisie. This shows that class struggle is protracted, tortuous and complicated. Chairman Mao once

said: "They are in the nature of things and will always happen." The enemy inside a fortress is most dangerous. History proves that our Party has always been able to mobilize the masses, expose such elements completely and expel them from the Party.

Chairman Mao also taught us that it was a metaphysical, rather than a dialectical, approach to think that every member of the Communist Party must be a 100 per cent Marxist incapable of any error or to think that we should "knock him down at one stroke" he should ever make a mistake. We must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings and carefully distinguish an erring revolutionary from a counter-revolutionary. That is to say, we must distinguish a contradiction among the people from a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy. The method for dealing with shortcomings and mistakes of our comrades must be different from that for handling contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. What attitude should be taken toward a comrade who has erred? On this question, Chairman Mao's starting point is: "For revolution, it is always better to have more people. Except for a few who cling to their mistakes and fail to mend their ways after repeated admonition, the majority of those who have erred can correct their mistakes." Learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient is a policy Chairman Mao laid down during the rectification movement in Yen-an, a policy which has long proved effective. In Volume V, Chairman Mao further elucidated this policy, pointing out that in regard to a comrade who had made mistakes we should not only observe, to see whether he wants to correct his mistakes, but should give him help, to help him correct his mistakes. Chairman Mao said: "It is passive just to observe; conditions must be created to help those who have erred to mend their ways. A clear distinction must be drawn between right and wrong, for inner-Party controversies over principle are a reflection inside the Party of the class struggle in society, and no equivocation is to be tolerated. It is normal, in accordance with the merits of the case, to mete out appropriate and well-grounded criticism to comrades who have erred, and even to conduct necessary struggle against them; this is to help them to correct mistakes. To deny them help and, what is worse, to gloat over their mistakes, is sectarianism."

Chairman Mao affirmed that the great majority of the cadres of our Party were good cadres whom the people needed. He said: "Our Party has millions of experienced cadres. Most of them are good cadres, born and brought up in our native land, linked to the masses and tested in the course of long struggles. We have a whole body of cadres — those who joined the revolution in the period of the founding of the Party, in the period of the Northern Expedition, during the War of the Agrarian Revolution, the War of Resistance Against Japan, the War of Liberation and those who joined after the nationwide liberation. They are all valuable assets to our country." Wielding the cudgel of "opposing empiricism," the "gang of four" tried to strike down all the cadres who had experienced long years of revolutionary struggles; they wanted to overthrow all the cadres, who had stood the test of the new-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, by labelling them "democrats" and "capitalist-roaders." The gang knew that, before they could smash the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people and destroy our Party, they must first of all eliminate this body of cadres of our Party, including those new cadres who had come to the fore during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and who had opposed the gang. Facts show that this body of Party cadres is indestructible and that they have proved to be an insurmountable barrier for the "gang of four" in carrying out their plot to usurp Party and state power and restore capitalism. Chairman Mao said: "With

such cadres as ours who have been tested in different periods of the revolution, we are able to 'sit tight in the fishing boat despite the rising wind and waves.'"

By practising revisionism, creating splits and resorting to intrigues and conspiracies, the "gang of four" exerted a great disruptive and damaging influence on our Party ideologically, organizationally and in its style of work. Nevertheless, it must be noted that our Party has a fine revolutionary tradition. This tradition, nurtured by Mao Tsetung Thought, was established under Chairman Mao's leadership in the long years of revolutionary struggles and in the course of combating various wrong tendencies. It has taken root in the mass of our Party members and cadres and can withstand storm and stress. The disruption and sabotage by the "gang of four" was another great storm that tempered our Party. A bad thing can be turned into a good thing — this is a truth of dialectics which Chairman Mao repeatedly stated. Through exposure and criticism of the "gang of four," and through Party consolidation and rectification, our Party can surely carry forward its tradition of combining theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practising criticism and self-criticism, its tradition of democratic centralism, and its tradition of plain living and hard work. It will surely enhance its fighting power, and play a still more effective role in leading the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Using the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to guide China's socialist construction, Chairman Mao in 1958 formulated the general line of going all out, aiming high, and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. The basic idea of this general line had been expounded in many of the writings that are included in the fifth volume, that is, in continuing the socialist revolution, to handle correctly all sorts of contradictions and relationships and fully mobilize all positive forces so that socialist construction can develop with greater, faster, better and more economical results. Chairman Mao said: "We must do our best to mobilize all positive factors, both inside and outside the Party, both at home and abroad, both direct and indirect, and build China into a powerful socialist country."

Revolution in both the superstructure and the relations of production is aimed at emancipating the productive forces and speeding up the development of production. We must build our economically and culturally backward country into a powerful one with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology in keeping with the orientation of socialism and communism. Capitalism enabled many countries to industrialize. But as Chairman Mao said in discussing the road agriculture should take, "the capitalist road can also lead to increased production, but the time required would be longer and the course painful." Socialism is far superior to capitalism. It enables us to go faster than capitalism in expanding production, industrialize the country in a comparatively short period and surpass capitalism in labour productivity step by step. We must expand production as quickly as possible under socialism, because this is the only way to satisfy the people's growing needs gradually, and keep broadening the material basis of the socialist system. The consolidation of socialism requires, among other conditions, a strong material basis. In order to safeguard the socialist system, it is imperative to have a powerful national defence and therefore a powerful economic force. Without a high degree of industrialization of the country, it is impossible for socialism to win final victory over capitalism. Chairman Mao further pointed out: "The productive forces are the most revolutionary factor. When the productive forces have developed, there is bound to be a revolution." This is a Marxist principle applicable to any

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society. Under socialism, too, the growth of the productive forces is bound to expose flaws in the economic and political systems and rouse people to make changes. Take agriculture for instance, Chairman Mao long ago pointed out: **"The social and technical transformation of the rural areas will proceed simultaneously."** The growth of agricultural co-operatives into people's communes opened a broad road for mechanizing farming. Agriculture is of vital importance in our country's economic construction. The development of our agriculture calls for carrying out the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture and popularize Tachai-type counties throughout the country, for carrying out education in the Party's basic line among the peasant masses, for criticizing revisionism and capitalism in a big way and for persisting in the socialist road while working energetically to mechanize farm work. The present three-level system of ownership of the means of production in the people's commune, with ownership by the production team as the basic form, will in the future gradually be raised to fully collective ownership by the people's commune and eventually ownership by the whole people. This is a process of constant transformation in the superstructure and in the relations of production, a process of achieving farm mechanization and industrializing the communes and the country, and a process of constantly raising the level of mechanization and industrialization. The "gang of four" styled themselves as being keen on the socialist system, but actually they gave support to the forces for capitalist restoration in town and country. Every day they sabotaged the material basis of the socialist system and opposed the four modernizations. They were political swindlers who tried deliberately to subvert the socialist system and stood opposed to the socialist revolution.

Chairman Mao asked the cadres in all trades and professions to **"strive to be proficient in technical and professional work, turn themselves into experts and become both red and expert."** Chairman Mao said: **"Politics and the professions form a unity of opposites, in which politics is predominant and primary, and we must fight against the tendency to ignore politics, but it won't do to confine oneself to politics and have no technical or professional knowledge. Whatever line our comrades are in, whether it is industry, agriculture, commerce, or culture and education, they should all acquire some technical and professional knowledge."**

Chairman Mao demanded that the comrades in charge of the central departments and of various levels in the localities should **"strive to become expert in political and economic work, for which the prerequisite is a higher level of Marxism-Leninism. They must do well both in political and ideological work and in economic construction. As for the latter, we must really get to know how to do it."** The "gang of four" were against our improving professional skills for socialism. They opposed our learning technical skill and vocational knowledge because they opposed socialism. Chairman Mao said: **"Some people are white, like the Rightists in the Party who are politically white and technically inexperienced."** The "gang of four" went even further than these Rightists, they were ultra-Rightists.

It is impossible to build socialism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat without mammoth contingents of working-class technical cadres and working-class intellectuals. Chairman Mao set the requirement for members of the Communist Party and the Youth League and the whole people that **"everybody should study hard. Wherever possible they should strive to acquire technical skill and vocational knowledge and study Marxist theory, so that a new army of working-class intellectuals will be formed (including all the intellectuals from the old society who take a firm working-class stand after having been genuinely remoulded)."** Chairman Mao added: **"This is a great task history sets us. The revolutionary cause of the working class will not be fully consolidated until this vast new army of working-class intellectuals comes into being."** We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and

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proceeding from the needs of the revolution, fully understand the great importance of this task and strive to fulfil it.

Volume V indicates that Chairman Mao always pondered deeply on the question of how to bring the superiority of socialism into full play so as to develop China's national construction at a faster pace and with better results. Chairman Mao said as early as 1954 that it would take roughly 50 years, or a period of 10 five-year plans, for China to achieve socialist industrialization and agricultural mechanization and become a great socialist state. Again, in 1956, Chairman Mao proposed to overtake the United States economically in 50 to 60 years. He said: **"This is an obligation. You have such a big population, such a vast territory and such rich resources, and what is more, it has been said that you are building socialism, which is supposed to be superior; if after much ado for 50 or 60 years you are still unable to overtake the United States, what a sorry figure you will cut! You should be read off the face of the earth. Therefore, to overtake the United States is not only possible, but absolutely necessary and obligatory. If we don't, we the Chinese nation will be letting the nations of the world down and we will not be making much of a contribution to mankind."** Could any Chinese remain unmoved and inactive when he or she reads these words of Chairman Mao's, except the "gang of four" and the handful of landlords and bourgeois elements they represent who stubbornly oppose socialism?

Following Chairman Mao's instructions, Comrade Chou En-lai submitted to the National People's Congress sessions held in 1964 and 1975 a magnificent plan envisaging the building of our country by the end of the present century into a powerful socialist country with all-round modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology so that our national economy can rank among the most advanced in the world. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party and our people took more than 20 years to build our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, and through self-reliance and hard struggle, into a socialist state with the beginnings of prosperity. We must work with stamina and diligence for another 20-odd years to fulfil that magnificent plan.

Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is a powerful weapon with which to fight anti-Marxist revisionism at home and abroad.

Holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, Chairman Mao fought against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at its centre and dealt it a smashing blow theoretically. This was one of the great exploits he performed. From the time of the writings in Volume V up to the present, a momentous change has taken place in the international communist movement, that is, the socialist camp no longer exists as a result of the degeneration of the Soviet Union into social-imperialism through the betrayal of the Khrushchov and Brezhnev cliques. As early as 1956 Chairman Mao sharply pointed out that Khrushchov and company, while having thrown away the "sword" of Stalin, had also thrown away the "sword" of Lenin by and large, thus discarding Leninism by and large. Confronted with the frenzied attack by modern revisionists, Chairman Mao resolutely defended Stalin and safeguarded Marxism-Leninism. We must carry out Chairman Mao's behests and carry the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism through to the end.

The Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao anti-Party "gang of four" are vicious enemies of Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They tampered with the Party's basic line and even lauded sabotaging activities against the socialist superstructure and relations of production and against socialist economic construction as "revolutionary." They rallied a group of secret agents, renegades, counter-revolutionaries, hooligans and bad elements of various kinds who seriously disturbed social order. They called themselves "Leftists" and "revolutionaries" but directed the spearhead of their attack at the leading cadres at various levels and the revolutionary masses who persisted in the so-

cialist road. They reversed the relationship between the enemy and the people, confused right and wrong and made trouble in order to usurp supreme Party and state power and replace the dictatorship of the proletariat with a fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In the deep-going struggle to expose and criticize the "gang of four," we must use Mao Tsetung Thought to strip off their "Leftist" mask and reveal their true features as ultra-Rightists.

Through revolutionary practice of more than 20 years and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in particular, Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has armed both our Party and the masses. With this powerful ideological weapon and the active support of the masses, our Party in good time smashed the plot of the "gang of four" to seize supreme Party and state power. As a result, the tragedy of a capitalist restoration that befell the Soviet Union after Stalin's death was not repeated in our country. The smashing of the "gang of four" by our Party is a great application of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and it is another great victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Chairman Mao formulated for our Party a clear-cut, well-defined and correct Marxist-Leninist line, i.e., the line for carrying the socialist revolution through to the end under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao taught us that we must never forget class struggle and that we should grasp class struggle as the key link and, step by step, do a good job of the socialist revolution and socialist construction and build China into a great socialist country and go on to accomplish the transition from socialist to communist society. Chairman Mao wanted us to act in this way, and we should firmly do so.

At present, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of various nationalities throughout the country must continue in a deep-going way this great political revolution to expose and criticize the "gang of four," continue to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and implement and carry out correctly and in an all-round way Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the political, economic and cultural spheres, so as to bring about great order across the land. We must accelerate the revolutionization and modernization of the People's Liberation Army, strengthen preparedness against war, maintain vigilance and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy who dares to intrude. Together with our compatriots in Taiwan, we must make efforts to accomplish the sacred cause of liberating Taiwan and reunifying the motherland. We must expand the revolutionary united front, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, which includes patriotic democratic parties and patriotic personages so as to mobilize all positive factors to serve the cause of socialism. We must adhere to proletarian internationalism, act according to Chairman Mao's scientific analysis on the division into three worlds, do a good job of foreign affairs, unite with all the forces in the world that can be united and oppose the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. In the course of struggle and work, we must make an earnest study of Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* and bring about a new upsurge in the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought so as to arm ourselves better ideologically.

Let us hold high the great banner of Chairman Mao and make further efforts to strengthen the great unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of various nationalities throughout the country and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, strive to overcome all hardships and difficulties on our way forward and win one new victory after another in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.



# Latin American Countries Resist Hegemony

The world situation has been in a state of great turmoil. All the political forces in the world have undergone drastic division and realignment as a result of prolonged contests of strength and struggle. On the one hand there is the rise of the third world, on the other hand there is the rivalry for hegemony between the two superpowers, the US and the USSR. Chairman Mao pointed out that the current international situation is characterized by great disorder under heaven, and this is excellent. This great disorder is a good thing and not a bad thing for the people. This throws the enemies into disarray and divides them, while awakening and tempering the people, thus pushing the international situation to develop further in a direction favorable to the people and unfavorable to imperialism and social imperialism.

Latin American countries and their people are pushing their struggle ahead against imperialism and hegemony as the contention between the two superpowers grows fiercer in that part of the world. While keeping up their opposition to the hegemonic policy of the superpower north of the Rio Grande, an increasing number of countries are taking stricter precautions to guard against the Soviet social-imperialist threat which is bent on military expansion and political and economic infiltration.

For years, Latin America has waged unflinching struggles to achieve and safeguard national independence and sovereignty, defend their natural resources and maritime rights and develop their national economies. The Latin American countries and people are getting united on an ever broader scale in their common struggle against imperialism, social imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. At the United Nations and other international forums a great number of Latin American countries have resolutely defended the principle of national self-determination and non-interference, firmly

opposed the hegemonism of big countries bullying the small and strong ones bullying the weak, and strongly condemned superpower economic monopoly, plunder and expansion. The Latin American countries and people have become an active force in the third world, playing an increasingly greater role in international affairs to gether with the Asian and African countries and people.

In recent years Latin American countries have greatly strengthened their political unity and economic mutual aid and cooperation, which have been a powerful impetus to economic development. Sub-regional organizations for economic cooperation and integration, including the Andean Pact Organization, the Caribbean Community and Common Market and the Central American Common Market, have demonstrated ever greater strength in developing regional cooperation.

Many Latin American countries have strengthened their unity with other third world developing countries in Asia and Africa by joining organizations of oil, coffee, copper, bauxite and banana producing countries, thereby enhancing their economic power in confronting the superpowers. They have also expanded economic contacts with second world countries, thus altering the situation of relying mainly on the United States for sources of funds, markets and supplies of equipment.

For a long time US monopoly capital groups engaged in the most primitive and naked plunder, in both form and substance, of Latin America's rich mineral resources. From the early 1930s on, some countries nationalized certain public utility and petroleum enterprises controlled by foreign capital. But US monopoly capital's interests in the mining industry were in the main untouched because of US intervention and pressure. Now this has changed under the impetus of the irresistible historical trend of independence, liberation and revolution. Many Latin American countries have tightened their con-

trol, restriction and management of foreign capital and have nationalized a number of foreign monopoly enterprises which manipulated their national economy and the people's livelihood and infringed upon their independence and sovereignty. The successful development of this nationalization movement has provided the Latin American countries with a source of revenue due them, promoted the development of their economies and consolidated political independence. In addition the nationalization movement has merged with the struggle to uphold the 200 mile zone in maritime law and with the struggle to uphold just prices for raw materials and establish a new economic order. All of this is developing a mighty current against the hegemonic ambitions of the great imperialist powers in the economic sphere.

The cooperation and mutual support among the Latin American countries and also with other countries of the third world will contribute not only to the economic development of each country, but will also help them to shake off dependence on the superpowers. This definitely will be conducive to the further development of the common anti-imperialist, anti-hegemonic struggle of the Latin American countries.

The Soviet Union in the international economic sphere has been obstinately opposed to the sovereign economic rights and interests of the countries of the third world. It has also refused to commit itself to a Latin America free of nuclear weapons. All this has opened the eyes of Latin America to the fact that the Soviet Union is no less a pursuer of hegemonic and expansionist policies than its rival and is more insidious in its tactics.

## THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT

In a note on November 14, 1972, the Chinese government stated that China would never use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the

Latin American nuclear weapon free zone, nor will China test, manufacture, produce, stockpile, install or deploy nuclear weapons in these countries or in this zone or send her means of transportation and delivery carrying nuclear weapons to traverse the territory, territorial sea and territorial air space of Latin American countries. Owing to the superpowers continued refusal to undertake not to use nuclear weapons against Latin American countries or to establish a nuclear weapon free zone or to dismantle its military bases in Latin America, Latin America is still not free from the threat of nuclear war. The Chinese government has consistently stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. The Chinese government has stated: "We are ready to work together with the people of Latin America for the attainment of this lofty goal."

The Latin American people are guarding against the tiger (social imperialism) while repelling the wolf (imperialism). This is an important indication that in the context of the current world situation the anti-imperialist, anti-hegemonic struggle of Latin American countries and their people has developed in depth. In their struggle against the two superpowers, the Latin American countries are becoming more and more aware of the irreconcilable contradictions opposing their interests to those of imperialism and social imperialism. To deal with hegemony, it is imperative for the Latin American countries to continue to strengthen solidarity among themselves and with other countries of the third world.



*Nationalization of resources*

## "DISCO COMMUNISM"

GULAYEM! -- "Let's Party!" -- is the new "party" line among the young scientific and intellectual elite in the Soviet Union these days, according to the recent report of an American correspondent living in Moscow.

In an article published in the Chicago Tribune on May 19 he writes that many educated young Muscovites spend 3, 4 or 5 nights a week partying to Western rock music and vodka. Here's how a young American woman living in Moscow described a party she was taken to by some Soviet graduate students:

"I couldn't believe it. Wall-to-wall bodies. They were all lying on the floor drinking and necking, to put it mildly. I went into the kitchen for a drink and had to walk on top of some of them to get there, and the men started grabbing at my legs. I stayed in the kitchen, talking to a couple of people who still were sober. When I left, I felt that something was different. Every-

one was still on the floor, and then I noticed what it was -- they'd all switched partners."

What kind of class consciousness is it that drives this young and privileged elite. Obviously it is the class consciousness of the bourgeoisie. Here, for example is the statement of a young scientist who prefers partying to his "career":

"I mean, I'm supposed to be a scientist, but I'm 26 and I haven't done any real work in my field in three years, since I got out of school. I don't know why. You know, the only important things in life are a good family life and doing a job you like. But I can't find a girl I'd trust -- and I'm bored by what I do."

The "only important things in life" notably do not include service to the people, the class struggle of the proletariat or the world wide socialist revolution!

unemployment. The fierce competition on the international market is a basic law under the system of imperialism. The US imperialists have millions invested in factories in Korea and Taiwan. It is the brutal exploitation of these imperialist corporations that keeps the wages of Korean and Taiwanese workers so low. Because of the tremendous amount of surplus value that these capitalists expropriate from the labor of the workers in these countries of the third world, they can under-sell the US-based businesses and still maintain a higher rate of profit than the US based businesses. This is why so many US companies have invested so heavily overseas.

The workers and oppressed masses in these third world countries are fighting the presence of the US imperialists in their countries and the US proletariat must support these struggles. For example, for years now the US government has agreed on paper that Taiwan is an integral part of China. But they still maintain their economic and military presence there in violation of this agreement. It will be a great step forward for the US proletariat and the entire

It is not as if this young and privileged Russian elite have forgotten about workers and peasants. Reflecting on a trip to Venezuela, a specialist in international trade complained "This is the Third World and they live much better than we do in Russia."

Who is this "they" he refers to? He continues:

"Sure, our workers and peasants live better than theirs, but the others, there's no comparison. I don't understand why my father, who is a professional man, has to live in a tiny apartment with hardly any conveniences when we're a big power."

To this rising member of the new Soviet bourgeoisie, being a great power means big privileges for a new monopoly capitalist class.

And communism? A picture of Lenin surrounded by rock album posters sums up the fate of communism at the hands of the new tsars. Fawning before Western decadence, the new Soviet elite defiles the tradition of Marxism-

international working class when Taiwan is united to China. The dictatorship of the proletariat that holds state power in China would then be extended to Taiwan, guaranteeing an end to the vicious exploitation that presently exists there. Similarly, despite certain statements by Carter, despite all his hypocritical "human rights" talk, US imperialism still remains in Korea. Through its military and economic presence it props up the fascist rule in the south, holds back the reunification of the country and delays the carrying out of the new democratic revolution and the establishment of socialism throughout all of Korea. It is our proletarian internationalist duty to demand a complete end to any and all involvement of the US in the internal life of these countries.

The fierce competition of imperialism and the resultant unemployment and deteriorating living conditions for the workers and oppressed masses will continue until imperialism is soundly defeated and overthrown. As long as imperialism remains so too does the danger of imperialist war. The present chauvinist campaigns are an integral part of the war

Leninism and the Bolshevik party. Decadent social morals so familiar to the US are an inevitable condition of capitalism and with the restoration of capitalism in the USSR they have inevitably penetrated Soviet society.

Just as the flow of the tide proves the influence of the moon's gravitational field, so too the restoration of depraved social conduct proves the return of capitalism to the USSR. Bribery, graft and extortion are common economic crimes. Prostitution is widespread and alcoholism is even worse than in the US -- the average consumption of alcohol in the USSR per person is twice as much as in the US. Drugs and drug addiction are rampant as well, especially among youth.

The Soviet people under the leadership of a new and reconstituted vanguard party will certainly sweep Soviet society clean of this bourgeois filth and seize once again state power reclaiming the revolutionary heritage they so proudly began.

CHAUVINIST CAMPAIGN from page 1 workers off from work with no reprisals. This is in sharp contrast to when workers walk out to defend their own interests. When they strike the capitalists then call on the same government officials that addressed the rally to issue injunctions against the workers and to use the police to bust the picket lines and jail the strikers.

Why then the unity between the politicians and the supposed leaders of the workers? Because the rally was a fraud and served the interests of the bourgeoisie, not the workers. The union bureaucrats who have never lead the workers in the fight against layoffs and runaway shops were not there to save jobs but merely to serve their capitalist masters to insure for them a higher rate of profit over their foreign competitors. They laid the blame for the loss of jobs on the workers in countries like Taiwan and Korea who are forced to work at starvation level wages.

The labor misleaders' job is to divert the attention on the workers from the truth - the truth that it is imperialism that is the cause of the high rate of

preparations of the US imperialists. The atmosphere of great nation chauvinism they are trying to create is the same as was used during the second World War, when thousands of Japanese Americans were cruelly rounded up and thrown into concentration camps throughout the US.

We must learn from history and thoroughly defeat the present attempts by the US imperialists and their bribed officials in the labor movement, the trade union bureaucrats, to create the conditions for support of imperialist war. We must take up this struggle in the factories to throw the bureaucrats out and establish genuine revolutionary leadership. As we wage this battle against the bureaucrats, we must recall the words of Lenin:

"But we wage the struggle against the "labor aristocracy" in the name of the masses of workers and in order to win them to our side. To forget this most elementary and most self-evident truth would be stupid." ("Left-Wing Communism - An Infantile Disorder", p.43)

## BATTLEFIELD FOR POLITICAL POWER

Filip Kota of the Party of Labor of Albania sums up the two opposing lines in the world trade union movement as follows:

"On the one hand there is the opportunist, reformist and revisionist line which accepts the existence of the capitalist order and class collaboration and endeavours to alienate the trade union movement from the general political movement of the proletariat for national liberation and social emancipation, to make it stand aloof from the solution of the major problems of the time, to turn it into a reformist social movement, confining its battle to that of securing immediate economic demands within the framework and legality of the bourgeois system, subjecting itself to the bourgeoisie and becoming an appendage of the capitalist order and an integral part of it.

"On the other hand there is the anti-imperialist revolutionary working class line which seeks to make the trade union movement a center of resistance and organization against capitalist exploitation, a lever for the ultimate liberation of the working class and a school of class struggle of the proletariat, part of the general revolutionary front and, as such, an important force in the struggle to wipe out the system of capitalist exploitation, to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish socialism."

He then shows how these opposing lines enter into conflict on the different battlefields on which trade union struggle is carried out.

## ECONOMIC STRUGGLE

The aim of the class collaborationist politics of reformists and revisionists throughout the world is to confine the trade union movement to demands relating to immediate economic needs of the working class. For example, the General Secretary of the Italian Confederation of Labor, a trade union controlled by the Italian revisionist party, says:

"We want to negotiate with you. We want to know if discussion in the factory is possible, what wages and working hours you are prepared to give us, and the like. All we want is the settlement of these problems. Once the contract is drawn up, our struggle will cease." !

The purpose of this bankrupt view is to abandon the political struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie and imperialism. This view seeks to isolate the trade union movement from the general political movement of the proletariat.

The economic demands of the working class, however, can never be separated from the political ones, "for the former can be achieved only by accompanying and combining them with persistent political struggle." (Kota)

Min said:

"In waging only the economic struggle, the working class loses its political independence, it becomes the tail of the other parties and betrays the great principle: The emancipation of the working classes must be the act of the working classes themselves."

URGENT TASKS OF OUR MOVEMENT (Selected Works, v. 1, p. 118).

We know that the monopoly capitalists hold political power as well as economic power. The state is controlled by them and their whole activity has the support of the capitalist state. Monopolies like GM, for instance, which has an annual production that exceeds the total national production of Sweden, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland combined directly serve the policies of US imperialism, have expansionist and hegemonic objectives, and have not only an economic character, but also a political and military one as well.

Therefore it is objectively impossible to separate the struggle of the proletariat for economic gains from the political struggle without capitulating to the bourgeoisie.

## TRADE UNION NEUTRALITY

In those cases where trade union activity is limited to economic struggles, it is invariably justified politically by an appeal to the doctrine of trade union neutrality. This is the view that the trade unions should

be above ideology or politics and confine themselves to economic struggle. To pretend that the trade unions should be "apolitical" is a cover for keeping the trade union movement within the bounds of bourgeois ideological and legal limitations. Kota emphasizes that no social movement can be above ideology and politics and every movement or social organization has ideological and political positions which guide its practical activity. The question is what ideology and politics predominate -- those of the proletariat or those of the bourgeoisie.

In fact it is obvious that so-called trade union neutrality or autonomy is everywhere a demagogic fraud. How can fat trade union bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO, for example, living lavishly in Miami Beach and inviting Carter's Secretary of Labor down for a weekend chat, be neutral? Where is the neutrality in the AFL-CIO's anti-communism? in its support for US imperialism's war of aggression in Indochina? in its longstanding and continuing support of the foreign policies of US imperialism? in its close collaboration with the FBI and the CIA? What is neutral in an official of the AFL-CIO becoming a justice of the US Supreme Court and then UN Ambassador (Goldberg) or in the President of the UAW, Woodcock, who could have had any position in Carter's cabinet "for the asking" becoming US imperialism's diplomatic representative in Peking?

What is neutral in the AFL-CIO's role as a conduit for millions of dollars of US State Department funds spent to train hundreds of thousands of trade unionists inside and outside the US in order to win trade union support for US foreign policy and split the trade union movement around the world? What is neutral in the well-financed and powerful political arms of the trade unions in the US and in other countries.

The answer, of course, is that there is nothing neutral in the policies of the revisionist and reformist trade union leaders. And the bourgeoisie is far from confused on that score. George Lodge, the son of Henry Cabot Lodge, wrote:

"the US Government, American management and the American Labor are simply three factors in our foreign policy."

Trade union "neutrality" is hypocrisy which betrays the interests of the proletariat, its leadership and its independent political life. It reduces the trade unions to a mere appendage of the bourgeoisie.

## OTHER REFORMIST AND REVISIONIST VIEWS

In a hundred different ways the revisionist and reformist trade union leaders seek to foster class collaboration, not class struggle, and to provide ideological rationalizations for class collaboration.

## Structural Reform

One justification spread by the revisionist and reformist trade union leadership is the idea that monopoly capitalism is changing its character and losing its exploitive class nature. The theory of "structural reform" says that the structure of capitalist society as well as the ratio of force between classes can gradually change within the conditions of bourgeois society.

This viewpoint holds that as a result of one reform following another, power can pass gradually from the monopolies to the public. Socialism is supposed to come without class struggle and without smashing the state apparatus by force as a result of "nationalization," "economic planning," "public control," "worker participation," etc.

This view is wrong. Reforms such as nationalization are put forward by revisionist and reformist leaders as a substitute for class struggle. The revisionist CPUSA, for example, gives a good illustration of the view that reforms can gradually cause power to pass from the monopolies to the public. In "The Crisis of US Capitalism and the Fight Back" revisionist leader Gus Hall writes:

"The program for nationalization must have a sharp and clear anti-monopoly objective. That is one of the reasons why the idea of nationalizing the energy complex, the biggest of all rip-offs, receives such wide support. That is also the reason why we

must work out and emphasize the methods of nationalization and domestic control of such nationalized facilities."

In putting forward reforms like nationalization, what Gus Hall and the CPUSA "ignore" is the nature of the class in power. Under conditions of bourgeois dictatorship nationalization is a tool of the bourgeoisie which does not in any way change the basic character of capitalist society or capitalist exploitation. Often, for example, it is used to allow private capital to abandon branches of production that are no longer profitable in favor of more profitable branches. Its effect, therefore, is to intensify exploitation, not to relieve it. It is not a form of "socialism" under the conditions of capitalism, but a way to divert the working class from the seizure of the means of production and of state power. That is the key point.

Reforms, Kota emphasizes, are important if they improve the conditions of the laboring masses and are used to further class struggle. But they are not decisive and cannot change the basic character of capitalist society nor the basic relationship of classes in capitalist society. Reforms do not replace revolutionary struggle, but serve it.

As a complement to the view that monopoly capitalism is changing its character through structural reform, the apologists for reformism and revisionism put forward that capitalist society is on the verge of deproletarianization. According to this view the proletariat is no longer interested in the revolutionary transformation of society and can no longer lead. Instead the working class is supposed to be integrated into capitalism.

This view, as Kota shows, flies in the face of the facts. Imperialism has made capitalism more ruthless, aggressive and oppressive. The exploitation and impoverishment of the working class has become more intense, not less intense, and the gap which divides capitalists from the broad masses of workers has deepened. Class differentiation is not narrowing, but sharpening and it is only the petty bourgeoisie -- seeking to harmonize differences between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie -- which sees differently. Whereas at the beginning of the 20th century the proletariat numbered about 30 million, now in developed capitalist countries there are over 220 million workers in production. In 1969, the US monopoly bourgeoisie, making up at most 7.4% of the population, owned 65.4% of the national wealth. In 3 years from 1973 to 1976, the number of millionaires in the US increased by 1/3 from 100,000 to 240,000. At the same time real wages of workers fell by 20-25%. The swollen ranks of those living in poverty as well as the deterioration of the conditions of life in the city and the country all demonstrate that the ever increasing pauperization of the masses is a condition for the production of wealth in capitalist society. This is a general law of capitalism.

In an effort to obscure class differentiation and class oppression, bourgeois ideologues attempt to characterize capitalist society as a "consumer society". They do this because in buying and selling everyone appears to stand on an equal footing. The exploitation that takes place in the process of production is not evident in the exchange of commodities. To the seller of a gallon of milk, everyone with \$1.50 is the same. But individual consumption in capitalist society aims at the regeneration of labor power. And it is the inequality between the seller of labor power and the purchaser of labor power that capitalist exploitation is based on.

The Trotskyites and anarchists also say that the working class can no longer lead or is no longer interested in revolution. They say that students and intellectuals are the vanguard. They see the betrayal of the trade union leaders in the class struggle of the proletariat not as the result of their revisionist and opportunist line, but as a consequence of trade union organization itself. Because of the betrayal of the revisionists and the influx of petty bourgeois elements into the ranks of the proletariat, these views are on the rise throughout the capitalist world. It is

important to recognize that whatever their apparent differences, such positions are fundamentally united with the politics of the reformists and revisionists in opposing the leadership of a vanguard party of the proletariat and the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution.

## Technical Scientific Revolution

Part and parcel of these theories which attack the leading role of the proletariat is the theory that the technical-scientific revolution eliminates class differences and transforms capitalism. Listen to the statement of Bonnaures, a reformist trade union leader in France:

"We live in a world of technology and science in which there is no room for ideology. In the eyes of the young who have grown up in this environment, it is not ideas that transform the world, but science. Thus, if they are interested in anything, it is the atom, not socialism."

Progress in science and technology does not change the exploiting nature of capitalism, nor is it the decisive factor in social development. Under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie the rapid development of science and technology means greater wealth for the capitalist class, but not for the proletariat. For the working class it means only stepped up exploitation and an increase in unemployment. Technological advances replace workers, speed up work for those that are left, causing more and more injuries on the job -- and more profit for the bourgeoisie. We do not oppose technological advances like automation--that should be clear--but the revolutionary proletariat does oppose the social conditions that make automation a means to further enslave us.

It is not the progress of science and technology that is the key factor in social development, but class struggle.

## Social Partnership

Another bourgeois view peddled by opportunists in the trade union movement is the theory of social partnership or the "co-management of industry." These ideas claim that today workers can take part in the direct administration and ownership of capitalist enterprises.

This is social demagoguery pure and simple. These factory councils, labor-management teams, joint production teams to boost production and the like are all designed to give legitimacy to more and more ruthless exploitation. A capitalist corporation depends on exploitation as a source of profit and the most intense exploitation as the source of maximum profit. No amount of participation or joint administration under capitalism can change that law.

Other forms of social partnership are the so-called profit-sharing or stock purchase plans that are supposed to make every worker a little capitalist so that it is really the working or common man who "owns" Mobil Oil or Greyhound or the Bank of America. This is ridiculous. Such petty ownership of stock does not give any control whatsoever over business and does not in the slightest degree change the character of capitalist ownership, capitalist relations of production or capitalist exploitation and oppression.

The structural changes of capitalism, deproletarianization, technical and scientific revolutions, social partnership -- all these ideas are based on one basic principle: class collaboration instead of class struggle. They all obscure class differences and pretend that exploitation and oppression under capitalism are gradually lessening because of the influence of these factors.

These, however, are the ideological views of the petty bourgeoisie who seek class harmony, not class struggle. As the Chinese Communist Party says class struggle is the key link. Only class struggle leading to the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie by force can change the structure of capitalist society, release the forces of scientific progress and change in fact the relationship of forces between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

This is the third part in our series reviewing TWO OPPOSING LINES IN THE WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT by Filip Kota, a comrade in the Party of Labor of Albania.