

LONG LIVE RED OCTOBER!

Political Organ of the Revolutionary Wing

PALANTE

MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE AND WIN
THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM TO
BUILD THE U.S. BOLSHEVIK PARTY

25¢

Vol. 6 #10

October 1 - October 31

(FORWARD TO THE FIRST PARTY CONGRESS!)

ETERNAL GLORY TO



CHAIRMAN MAO

SPECIAL MEMORIAL EDITION

CONTENTS

Chairman Mao Will Live Forever In Our Hearts	...pg.2
Editorial	...pg.3
Long Live Red October Revolutionary Wing Statement	...pg.5
Revolutionary Wing Letter	...pg.6

2 CHAIRMAN MAO WILL LIVE FOREVER IN OUR HEARTS!

It is with profound proletarian feelings and deep grief that the Revolutionary Wing of the U.S. Anti-Revisionist Communist Movement pays tribute to the Great Proletarian Revolutionary, leader and teacher, Chairman Mao Tsetung. Chairman Mao's life was one of glorious struggle for the cause of Communism and one of continuing the revolution with perseverance. He dedicated his life to the emancipation of oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over. Chairman Mao Tsetung is truly a hero to the international proletariat, to the revolutionary people and the international communist movement, and only the proletariat gives birth to heroes like him.

Chairman Mao worked tirelessly for the liberation of the Chinese people in his posts as Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Honorary Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, he is a great example to all of proletarian internationalism.

Chairman Mao, the great teacher and leader of the international proletariat, founder of the Communist Party of China, inherited, enriched and further developed Marxism-Leninism. Mao Tsetung Thought is a great contribution to Marxism-Leninism in the era of Leninism, the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

"Mao Tsetung Thought can only emerge in the present era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. Chairman Mao has been able to develop Marxism-Leninism to a new stage mainly because modern China was the focus of the various contradictions in the East and Chairman Mao, in the great struggle led by him of carrying out the new-democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and socialist construction in China over the past half century and during the great struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of various countries, has summed up the rich and new experience of the proletariat and the revolutionary masses and integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the contemporary revolution. ("How Engels Criticized Duhring's Apriorism" Study Philosophy p.6)

China was the cradle of Mao Tsetung Thought and the universality of contradictions is contained in this particularity.

This is what Mao Tsetung Thought is but there are opportunists who seek to distort what it is. In the U.S. Anti-Revisionist Communist Movement the Sham Wing along with the revisionists either put forth Mao Tsetung Thought is for Chinese conditions and/or the Third World countries and does not apply internationally or that Mao Tsetung Thought represents a new era.

The line that Mao Tsetung Thought is applicable to Chinese conditions alone and/or the Third World and does not apply internationally has been the line of the August Twenty-Ninth Movement (ATM) since its inception and has come forth most recently from the October League (OL) who has been shamming as standing on Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought to the international proletariat and whose unity with ATM is clear. It is our duty to continue to expose the treachery of the Mensheviks. First, let's look at the treachery of the ATM. In their recent paper their attacks on Chairman Mao and the international proletariat come forward as it has historically. ATM says:

"Such was the revolution led by Chairman Mao. Today this revolution stands as a model for the entire Third World which is fighting for New Democracy from Colombia, to the Phillipines, to Zimbabwe...Mao Tsetung led the Chinese people in struggle against U.S. imperialism and its puppet Chiang Kai-chek. U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-chek were defeated. At last! At last the miserably poor Chinese masses had lifted the weight of centuries of oppression off their shoulders. And Mao led these poorly armed and poorly equipped people to these wonderful victories by simply relying on the Chinese workers and peasants.

Mao's life is a living confirmation that Marxism-Leninism belongs to the masses, means nothing without the masses. It does not belong to Communists alone..." (Revolutionary Cause, Vol. 1, no. 8, pg. 2)

ATM's contempt and treachery towards the international proletariat rings loud and clear as they come forward with Mao Tsetung Thought is for Chinese and/or third world countries only. ATM just like the other mensheviks, do not see Mao Tsetung Thought adding to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism. They see Mao Tsetung Thought as only a national, a purely Chinese, or Third World phenomenon. We know this is incorrect for China was the cradle of Mao Tsetung Thought but Mao Tsetung Thought is an international phenomenon rooted in the whole of international development. ATM's description of the Chinese comrades also reflect their treachery just like their buddies the October League

Now let's look at the treachery of the O.L. headed by the traitorous Michael Klonsky. In the OL's first public draft of the "Call" for their party, unity was to be based on acceptance of Marxism-Leninism. The OL dropped Mao Tsetung Thought from Marxism-Leninism as a basis of unity for the party they are calling. Why? The OL's real view that came out in their "Call" is that Mao Tsetung Thought only applies to the conditions of China. The OL only added Mao Tsetung Thought to their "Call" after their treachery was exposed by the Revolutionary Wing.

There have been more subtle attacks on the International Proletariat and the contributions of Chairman Mao made by the OL that are coming forth more and more. Further examples of their treachery can be seen in their articles on Chairman Mao.

"Chairman Mao now (emphasis-ours) takes his place alongside the glorious leaders of the working class - Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin and Joseph Stalin..." (Call, Sept. 20, 1976 p.1)

And

"All of these great teachers were internationalists above all and no one more than Mao Tsetung." (Call, Sept. 27, 1976 p.6)

OL, you are a bunch of treacherous dogs. One week you put Chairman Mao below all the great teachers, the next week you put him above the great teachers, all in an attack on Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao and the International Proletariat. Chairman Mao, the "greatest Marxist of the contemporary era," stood shoulder

Editorial Statement

The International Proletariat celebrates with great pride and glorious achievement - RED OCTOBER.

The history of the International Proletariat has within it three most glorious world shaking events. The October 1917, Russian Revolution where Bolshevism established its authority triumphant over capitalism, under the leadership of the great Lenin, the founder of Bolshevism and in the era of Leninism, the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the glorious CPSU(B) led the Russian Proletariat and the masses who rose up in armed insurrection smashing the bourgeoisie state and on its ruins set up the dictatorship of the proletariat vanguard advanced detachment of the International Proletariat.

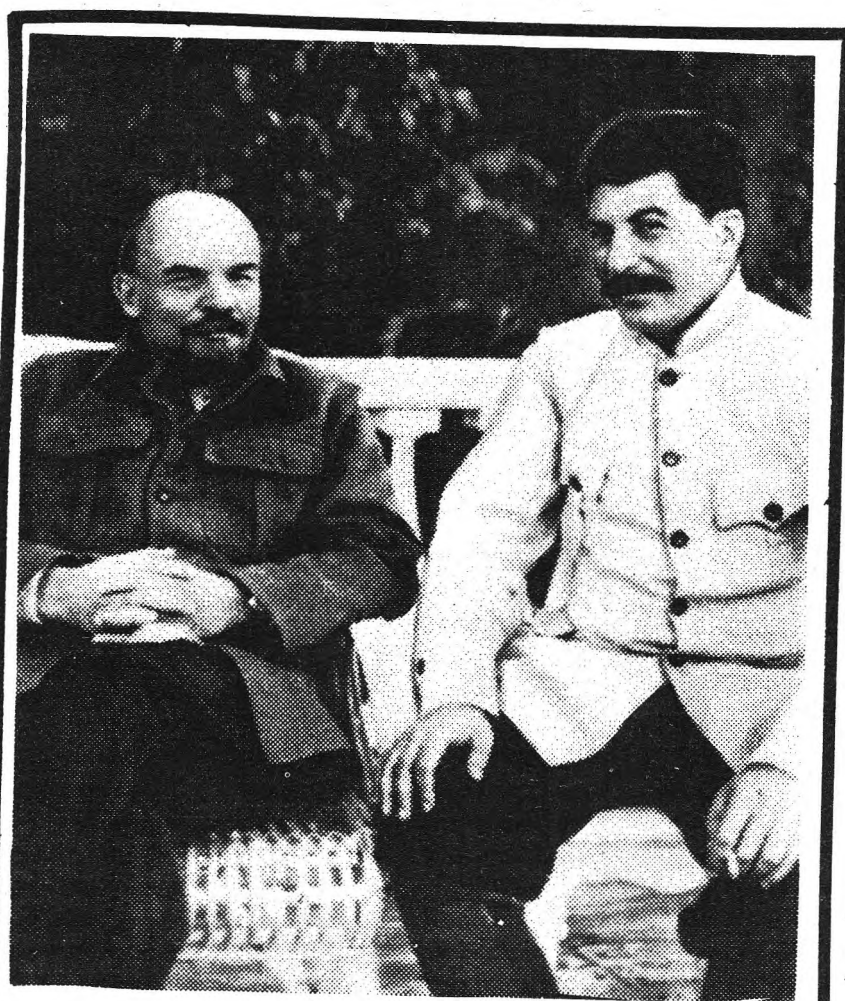
In October 1949, the world was shaken again to its very foundation, the Chinese Revolution led by our great leader and great teacher Comrade Mao Tsetung, chairman of the correct and glorious Communist Party of China, illuminating the path, which led to the liberation of 1/4 of the world's population from subjugation and misery, proclaiming on sound and heroic foundation the Peoples Republic of China, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, building and consolidation of socialism, glorious socialism, glorious socialist China a mighty stronghold in the interest of the International Proletariat and all oppressed masses throughout the world. It is as our Albanian comrades sum up:

"the triumph of the Chinese Revolution and the proclamation of the Peoples Republic of China was the most important event of our century after the October Revolution, one of those events which stand out forever in history and illuminate the peoples road to freedom, independence and social progress."

The significance of the Chinese Revolution stands out in that it marked a new stage in the era of Leninism, Modern China the focus of the contradictions in the world today, the cradle of Mao Tsetung Thought, Chairman Mao summing up new lessons, new experiences, adding to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism providing the International Proletariat and Revolutionary Peoples throughout the world with enormous revolutionary lessons. China is a fortress of Revolution and progress in the interest of the worlds people.

November 1944, the great Albanian Revolution led by the Party of Labor of Albania with Enver Hoxha as its great leader guiding it through the twist and turns, the Albanian Proletariat and oppressed masses smashing the external and internal enemies achieving victory, never capitulating to the threats and idle wolfing of the imperialists and modern revisionists, standing firm on Proletarian pride and principles with determined courage and never relaxing vigilance, 2 million strong, proving again that it is not the size of the population, the size of the proletariat, or the wealth of a country which is the determining point for revolution, but the correctness of the party's line guiding and making the masses conscious which is of essence.

All Three Revolutions standing out as the basic chapters in the history of the working class, written in blood and sacrifice pointing out the road forward, propelling the worlds' people into battle and guiding the way towards victory. The masses make revolution, the party makes them conscious, how true, how authentic, this concept has proven itself, again and again. Common to all three revolutions, vanguard Bolshevik Parties, the Political Parties of the workingclass, summing up the lessons, learning from its mistakes, purging themselves of the opportunist pollution. Parties based on the Revolutionary Theory of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, with correct ideological



V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin in Gorki. 1922

and political line, developing the Bolshevik principles of organization democratic centralism and criticism and self criticism, with iron discipline - unity of will, unity of action which is a necessary condition for the seizure of power and to maintain :

For the U. S. working class the October 1917 Revolution, the Chinese Revolution of 1949, the Albanian Revolution of 1944, undoubtedly gives us courage and determination to persevere in the struggle to build the U. S. Bolshevik Party; to continue, never letting up on the struggle against opportunism and revisionism resolutely and with determination to defeat Menshevism and rout out the conciliators, we stand on principle, the Party becomes strong by purging itself of opportunist elements.

As we draw closer and closer to calling the First Congress of the U. S. Bolshevik Party, the struggle between two lines, two classes, two roads, is intensified as we hammer out the Party's basic line and program of action, the key link to party building. As we draw firmer and more definite lines of demarcation we have been welding the Bolshevik core, and a leading center capable of guiding the Party cadres towards the Congress, towards the formation of the party, unifying and consolidating the party, around its line and program. With the birth of the U. S. Bolshevik Party the U. S. working class will at last after 25 years of groping in the dark, due to the treacherous,

betrayal of the "CP"USA(R), have its general staff and will settle accounts at a higher level with its enemies the "CP"USA(R) and "RC"P(R) will settle accounts with capitulation, with all the social props, the sham wing, the mensheviks, as we head towards the seizure of state power, towards our strategic objective the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We stand that the U.S. Proletariat and Russian Proletariat have a special responsibility to the worlds' people to bring down by force U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social imperialism, smash the super powers, the main enemies of the world people. We vow to turn the imperialist war into civil war; as Lenin taught us!

cont. on p. 4

We accept our responsibility with honour and determination, to pay tribute to the three great revolutions in the only way possible learning from them, and applying its lessons in making revolution. We vow to dedicate our entire lives to the fight for the mighty cause of communism; to hold high that mighty title of Bolshevism, to never depart from the interest of the masses, to stand always that our fundamental starting point is the struggle between the two lines, two roads, two classes.

Today as we grieve in eternal memory the passing away of our great teacher and great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung, we are more determined than ever to fight for the purity and authenticity of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought. Build the revolutionary party of a new type, the party of Lenin and Stalin; with the birth of the U.S. Bolshevik Party, a significant change will take place in the U.S. with world wide ramifications; that is why the forces of reaction are desperately trying to discredit Bolshevism, to wreck

and split the Leninist Core. Stand firm Bolshevik Party cadres, hold high the principles of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought, practice Marxism - Criticize Revisionism, Be Open and Above Board - don't intrigue and conspire, unite don't split - Forward Party Cadres, imbue the masses with the party spirit, with the spirit of revolution. The U.S. working class and oppressed masses will continue to fight, fail, fight again, fail again fight again till victory rising up, breaking the chains of subjugation, deprecation, and humiliation, and in locked arms of international solidarity with the worlds people will aid in laying to rest exploitation and oppression forever.

The Ruling Classes tremble at the rise of the Bolshevik Revolution throughout the world - "A better World is in Birth".

LONG LIVE RED OCTOBER!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!

FORWARD TOWARDS THE FIRST PARTY CONGRESS OF THE U.S. BOLSHEVIK PARTY - ON TOWARDS THE SEIZURE OF POWER.

LONG LIVE RED OCTOBER

This issue of the Party's Press is dedicated to the Great October, and to the eternal glory to Chairman Mao, the Great Teacher and Great Leader of the International Proletariat and Oppressed Masses of the World.

In this issue we will reprint excerpts from works by the teachers, Lenin, Stalin, Chairman Mao, Enver Hoxha, and the Communist Party of China, and the Party of Labor of Albania, on the significance of the Great October Revolutions.

- 1) "The World-Wide Significance of the October Revolution", from the October Revolution and the National Question, Vol.4, p. 167, Stalin Selected Works. In this article Comrade Stalin draws out the importance of the October '17 Revolution in Russia, and the role that it played internationally, especially in transforming the national movements into reserves of Proletarian Revolution.
- 2) Section II & III of Left Wing Communism Lenin. In this work Comrade Lenin deals with the importance of an iron disciplined, Bolshevik Party in the seizure of state power, and with the development of that Party in Russia
- 3) In "Some Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism", Comrade Stalin polemicizes against holding a narrow view of the role played by the Russian proletariat and Bolsheviks, and speaks to the international duty that they fulfilled to the workers and communist movements.
- 4) In the excerpt from Chairman Mao's "On the Peoples' Democratic Dictatorship", written on the eve of seizure of power in China in '49, and in the twenty-eight year anniversary

of the founding of the C.P.C., Chairman Mao, draws out the importance of Bolshevizing the Party, the role of the Party in leading the army and the united front, and the importance of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the leadership of the party, in alliance with the peasantry

- 5) Again in 1971 on the 50th Anniversary of the Communist Party of China, the basic features of the development of the Party and the Chinese Revolution are laid out; of particular importance is the analysis of the two stages in China's revolution, and the tasks confronting the party and proletariat in each stage.
- 6) Comrade Enver Hoxha, in a speech shortly after the successful Albania Revolution, in a "Speech On the Opening Of The Party School", commends the Party cadre for the heroic disciplined struggle waged against the fascists, and criticizes the shortcomings of comrades in the study and grasp of Marxist-Leninist theory. He polemicizes against self-complacent optimism and brings out the leading role of the CPSU, headed by Stalin, in leading the international proletariat through the many complexities of the revolutionary path.
- 7) The last selection from Albania Today, deals with the historic development of the Albanian Revolution, and the historic importance of the October Revolution in Russia, and the traitorous betrayal of the Khrushchev and Brezhnev clique.

"A DEATH WEIGHTIER THAN MOUNT TAI!"

"All men must die, but death can vary in its significance. The ancient Chinese writer Chien said, "Though death befalls all men alike, it may be weightier than Mt. Tai, or lighter than a feather." To die for the people is weightier than Mt. Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather." ("Serve the People," Chairman Mao)

Comrade Mao Tsetung, the esteemed and beloved great leader of the Chinese Communist Party, the Peoples Liberation Army, and the people of all nationalities in the socialist Peoples Republic of China, the great teacher of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the honorary Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese Peoples Consultative Conference, passed away on September 9, 1976, in Peking as a result of the worsening of his illness and despite all treatment, although meticulous medical care was given him in every way after he fell ill.

Chairman Mao's death is indeed weightier than Mt. Tai. Eternal Glory to the great leader and great teacher, Chairman Mao.

"All across the Peoples Republic of China, solemn memorial rallies are being held today of representatives of the workers, peasants, soldiers, and other circles under the centralized leadership of the CC of the CPC." And across the United States, memorial services, like the one here, are being held under the leadership of the Revolutionary Wing of the US Anti-Revisionist Movement, bringing together workers, revolutionary youth and intellectuals, and other progressive people of all nationalities. These services are part of the international tribute to Chairman Mao.

In memorial services as in all things, our most fundamental starting point must be the two lines, two classes and two roads. A memorial service is not a time of class peace, of truce in the class war between our class, the working class, and the bourgeoisie the ruling class. There is no such time, there can be no such truce at any time. The struggle between the two lines on death, on memorials, reflects the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

TURN GRIEF INTO STRENGTH

In this struggle we stand with the CC of the CPC in their call to turn the grief from the passing away of that man of the most outstanding caliber, Chairman Mao, into strength and determination.

We stand with the CC of the CPC in their call to the whole Party, the whole army, and the whole people to persist in taking class struggle as the key link, in the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, and we draw great strength from the shining example of "never relaxing our vigilance" shown by the CPC in rejecting the sham telegrams of condolence sent by the revisionist parties around the world, those parties of the bourgeoisie in the working class hiding under the signboard of Marxism, masquerading as defenders of the working class, with the "CP" of the Soviet Union, the renegade ringleader in this band of thieves, traitors and con-men with the "CP"USA, a loyal player in this band.

Standing with the CC of the CPC, the Revolutionary Wing of the US Anti-Revisionist Communist Movement

calls on all genuine Marxists-Leninists, class conscious workers, and other advanced elements to unite and persist in the struggle to build the Party of the

US working class, the US Bolshevik Party, to continue to take firm hold of the key link, the hammering out of the party's basic line and program of action.

We call on the entire working class and all oppressed people to persevere in the struggle to smash the bourgeois state, and set up the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the proletariat's Bolshevik Party.

The Revolutionary Wing rejects the twoheaded call from the sham wing, from the Mensheviks and conciliators. The call to unite and form a party of Mensheviks and Bolsheviks, an opportunist party of reform, a lap dog for the ruling class, and the call to liquidate the Revolutionary struggle for the party, to abandon the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, to peacefully, legally co-exist with the bourgeoisie.

TWO LINE STRUGGLE, THE RULE

We reject the sham wing's line of class peace at memorial services, their line of prohibiting the active participation of everyone present in the service, of not allowing open polemics from the floor in an attempt to squash the ideological struggle. We call on everyone here tonight to actively participate in this service, to raise up your unities and disunities with the line of the Revolutionary Wing when polemics from the floor are called for, and to join in the struggle over polemics that come forward.

Learning from the CC of the CPC, we will never relax our vigilance. That's why tonight, as in all our work strict security precautions have been taken to insure the safety of the masses and the class conscious leaders of the masses from provocations and attacks from the bourgeoisie and its agents.

ETERNAL GLORY TO CHAIRMAN MAO
LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT
LONG LIVE THE GREAT, GLORIOUS AND CORRECT
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

"BOLSHEVISM HAS POPULARIZED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD THE IDEA OF THE "DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT", HAS TRANSLATED THESE WORDS FROM THE LATIN, FIRST INTO RUSSIAN, AND THEN INTO ALL THE LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD, AND HAS SHOWN BY THE EXAMPLE OF THE SOVIET POWER THAT THE WORKERS AND POOR PEASANTS, EVEN OF A BACKWARD COUNTRY, EVEN WITH THE LEAST EXPERIENCE, EDUCATION AND HABITS OF ORGANIZATION, HAVE BEEN ABLE FOR A WHOLE YEAR, AMIDST GIGANTIC DIFFICULTIES AND AMIDST A STRUGGLE AGAINST THE EXPLOITERS (WHO WERE SUPPORTED BY THE BOURGEOISIE OF THE WHOLE WORLD) TO MAINTAIN THE POWER OF THE TOILERS, TO CREATE A DEMOCRACY THAT IS IMMEASURABLY HIGHER AND BROADER THAN ALL PREVIOUS DEMOCRACIES IN THE WORLD, AND TO START THE CREATIVE WORK OF TENS OF MILLIONS OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS FOR THE PRACTICAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOCIALISM. BOLSHEVISM HAS ACTUALLY HELPED TO DEVELOP THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IN EUROPE AND AMERICA MORE POWERFULLY THAN ANY PARTY IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY HAS SO FAR SUCCEEDED IN DOING. WHILE THE WORKERS OF THE WHOLE WORLD ARE REALIZING MORE AND MORE CLEARLY EVERY DAY THAT THE TACTICS OF THE SCHEIDEMANN'S AND KAUTSKYS HAVE NOT DELIVERED THEM FROM THE IMPERIALIST WAR AND FROM WAGE-SLAVERY TO THE IMPERIALIST BOURGEOISIE, AND THAT THESE TACTICS CANNOT SERVE AS A MODEL FOR ALL COUNTRIES, THE MASSES OF THE PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES ARE REALIZING MORE AND MORE CLEARLY EVERY DAY THAT BOLSHEVISM HAS INDICATED THE RIGHT ROAD OF ESCAPE FROM THE HORRORS OF WAR AND IMPERIALISM, THAT BOLSHEVISM CAN SERVE AS A MODEL OF TACTICS FOR ALL.

(THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE RENEGADE KAUTSKY,
V.I. LENIN, p. 87-89)

6 MESSAGE TO THE C.P.C. FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY WING

Comrade Hua Kuo-feng,
First Vice-Chairman of the C.P.C. Central Committee
Premier of the State Council of the People's
Republic of China

Peking

Comrades,

The International Proletariat and oppressed masses the world over grieve in eternal memory the death of our great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung.

The loss of Chairman Mao is no ordinary loss for Chairman Mao was no ordinary man. Standing shoulder to shoulder to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, leaving the International Proletariat with the developments and enrichment to Marxism-Leninism, Chairman Mao indeed added immeasurably to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism, which alone belong to the revolutionary life work of Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao Tsetung was the greatest Marxist-Leninist of contemporary Marxism in the era of Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought illuminating for the proletariat its bright future along a torturous road

Chairman Mao contributed to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism in the fields of philosophy, political economy, further development of the theories of the dictatorship of the proletariat, leader of the struggle against modern revisionism, a genius in military strategy, the founder and leader of the glorious Communist Party of China. Mere words cannot express the gratitude and respect we have for Chairman Mao who dedicated his life to the Revolutionary struggle of the International Proletariat and oppressed peoples all over the world; we vow to Chairman Mao to fight to apply his revolutionary teachings and example, to "Serve the People wholeheartedly" to stand with what he taught us, "But we have the interest of the people and the suffering of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death."

Departing from us, Chairman Mao left us with the call to love the people, fight in the interest of the vast majority leaving us with the spirit of absolute selflessness, to fight in no other interest than to serve the working class and all the oppressed and suffering masses.

Departing from us, Chairman Mao directed that "We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing." We vow, Chairman Mao, never to depart from these principles, to have faith in the masses and to continue our fight for the U.S. Bolshevik Party, to found, consolidate, build and have faith in our Party as the vanguard advanced detachment of our class.

Departing from us, Chairman Mao left with us his profound revolutionary teachings that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." We vow to you, Chairman Mao, to continue to fight to hammer out our Party's basic line and program of action, to build a Bolshevized Party, to never relax our vigilance, to purge our ranks of the bourgeoisie inside the party, to imbue the masses with the Party spirit by standing with the method of Leninism, learning thru our own mistakes.

Departing from us, Chairman Mao taught us "The future is bright; the road is tortuous." We vow to you, Chairman Mao, to fight despicable self-complacent optimism which winds up believing in the theory of the dying out of class struggle and therefore peaceful transition to socialism or the flip side of overestimation of the strength of the enemy, pessimism when the revolution comes up against difficulties, which will occur without a doubt.

We stand, Chairman Mao, to fight both tendencies of blind optimism and pessimism by imbuing the masses with proletarian revolutionary optimism. Throughout his life Chairman Mao taught us, "Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless." We vow Chairman Mao to continue to disclose our errors, never fearing the pointing out of our shortcomings, struggling out every shade of difference, rejecting all that which goes against the interest of the proletariat while upholding everything which is in its interest.

Chairman Mao it is like you taught us - "Communists are like seeds, the people the soil; wherever we go we must blossom among them".

The Chinese revolution, the Chinese proletariat, the Communist Party of China is the advanced vanguard detachment of the international proletariat, China is the cradle of Mao Tsetung Thought, in this particularity the universality of the contradiction resides. Mao Tsetung Thought is a great contribution to Marxism-Leninism in the era of Leninism, the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

We vow Comrade Mao to stand by your teachings and apply "On Contradiction", "On Practice", "Where do Correct Ideas Come From", "Oppose Book Worship", "To Serve the People", "Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party", "Rectify the Party's Style of Work", "Combat Liberalism", "Methods of Work of Party Committees", "Introducing the Communist", "Preserve the Style of Plain Living and Hard Struggle", "Talks at Yen'an on Literature and Art", "A Single Spark Can Start A Prairie Fire", "On Protracted War", and all his military writings and all Chairman Mao's works.

It has been because of his life devotion and his death which is heavier than Mount Tai, that today the bourgeoisie, especially the superpowers, the United States and Soviet Social Imperialists, slander our beloved leader Comrade Mao, but it is as you pointed out Comrade Mao, "to be attacked by the enemy is a good thing, not a bad thing." In their slanders the bourgeoisie hope that they can cause waverings and pessimism in the ranks of the revolutionary international proletariat but we are not fooled, we can see thru the thin veiled mask of the paper tigers, we will not allow mud to be thrown on the name and glorious examples and work of Comrade Chairman Mao Tsetung. We vow Comrade Mao to raise up and smash the bourgeois state and through the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie set up the dictatorship of the proletariat - as you taught us, "Political Power Grows Out of the Barrel of a Gun."

We stand with the Call of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to turn our grief into strength and determination. No one can sum up the contributions of Chairman Mao better than the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China:

"Chairman Mao Tsetung summed up the revolutionary practice in the international communist movement, put forward a series of scientific theses, enriched the theoretical treasury of Marxism and indicated the orientation of struggle for the Chinese people and the revolutionary people throughout the world. With the great boldness and vision of a proletarian revolutionary, he initiated in the international communist movement the great struggle to criticize modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core, promoted the vigorous development of the cause of the world proletarian revolution and the cause of the people of all countries against imperialism and hegemonism and pushed the history of mankind forward."

Departing from us, Chairman Mao left us that task that Bolshevism must continuously carry out to train the successors of the revolution by the thousands upon thousands. With Chairman Mao as its great leader, the Communist Party of China has been victorious in training successors for the revolution, carrying out the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, grasping class struggle as the key link, standing at the helm of the struggle of the international proletariat and all oppressed masses, for the final aim - the total abolition of classes, that mighty cause, Communism.

IN ETERNAL GLORY,

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT
LONG LIVE THE GLORIOUS PARTY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA
LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL BOLSHEVISM AND PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

The Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization,
The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Workers League,
Chairman of the African Liberation Support Committee,
The Puerto Rican Student Union,
The February First Movement,
for
The Revolutionary Wing of the U. S. Anti-Revisionist Communist Movement

CHAIRMAN MAO

Cont'd from pg. 2

to shoulder with Comrades Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, not above or below them.

More of your treachery comes forward in your letter to the Chinese comrades. To punish you further by quoting you!

"Our grief sparks a greater determination to uphold Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought and intensify our study and work. We will persist in taking class struggle as the key link in making revolution." (emphasis-ours)

Come on OL. You cannot sham to the International Proletariat by saying key link in the U.S. is class struggle. The key link in the U.S. is hammering out the party's basic line and program of action, concrete analysis of concrete conditions. OL,

"We must, therefore, thoroughly repudiate the idealist line of cognition of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao by stressing the stand, viewpoints and methods of the proletariat in learning the actual conditions, carefully analyzing problems and drawing the correct conclusions. We should consciously follow the Marxist line of cognition and resolutely carry out the Party's basic line and policies in the light of the objective conditions of class struggles at home and abroad and the concrete conditions of the area and department or unit we are in." ("Great Benefits Derive from a Good Analysis, Study Philosophy, p. 34)

Besides the treachery of OL on Mao Tsetung Thought, there are also those who put forth Mao Tsetung Thought represents a new era and is not within the era of Leninism. This is an attack by the opportunists to distort history and is an attack on all the great teachers and the international proletariat. Those who uphold this view attempt to absolutize Mao Tsetung Thought in order to knock it, raising the red flag, to knock the red flag. Those who uphold this view first try to say Marxism-Leninism is absolute, cannot continuously develop and therefore Mao Tsetung Thought would not be the development of Marxism-Leninism but of a new era. Then they say that Mao Tsetung Thought is absolute. Today this line comes forth by saying Mao Tsetung Thought is a dead dogma and that Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought is nothing but dogmatism. Mao Tsetung Thought is not absolute, is not a dead dogma. It is a further development of Marxism-Leninism in the era of Leninism. People's practice is a process of continuous development, likewise people's knowledge continuously develops. Knowledge, at any given stage of development is relative truth; it contains factors of absolute truth.

Those who uphold Mao Tsetung Thought is of a new era, that it is absolute, like Liu Shao-chi who put forth the same view, are really trying to cover their own bourgeois pursuits--check out the opportunists, the career-seekers following in Liu Shao-chi's footsteps. These opportunists all seek to distort Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought and the contributions Chairman Mao made to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism. Recognition of and standing on Mao Tsetung Thought as the further development of Marxism-Leninism is further drawing sharp lines of demarcation with modern revisionism.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF CHAIRMAN MAO

Chairman Mao made immeasurable contributions to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism, in the era of Leninism in the fields of philosophy, political economy, military strategy, further development of theories of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and struggle against modern revisionism.

In the area of philosophy, Chairman Mao greatly added to the understanding of dialectical

and historical materialism, particularly the polemics, "On Contradiction," and "On Practice." Both polemics were aimed at dogmatists and empiricists in the Party. In "On Practice" Chairman Mao clearly distinguishes between the two lines on practice and puts forth: "Only social practice can be the criterion of truth. The standpoint of practice is the primary and basic standpoint in the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge." "Practice, knowledge, again practice and again knowledge."

In "On Contradiction" Chairman Mao, polemicalizing on the opposition between the two world outlooks, creatively added to the understanding of the law of unity of opposites through drawing out the theory of two points, dividing one into two,

The polemic

"profoundly explained the basic laws of materialist dialectics pointing out that the dogmatist and empiricist methods of thinking are subjectivist, superficial and one-sided and repeat the metaphysical mistake in history." (Study Philosophy p.10)

In learning from all Chairman Mao's contributions in the field of philosophy in general and "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" in particular, we must continue to point out and clearly focus our attention on the main philosophical deviation within the Revolutionary Wing of the U.S. Anti-Revisionist Communist Movement, empiricism. We must strike blows at empiricism that belittles theory, negates the interrelationship between direct and indirect experience, relying only on direct experience, regarding experience as absolute.

The Revolutionary Wing stands on the principle of one divides into two as seen in our line and specifically on our analysis of the history of the U.S. Anti-Revisionist Communist Movement that in 1972 a qualitative leap occurred and the Anti-Revisionist Communist Movement split into two--A Revolutionary Wing and a Sham Wing, with the key link being the hammering out of the party's basic line and program of action. We stand on the line of the International Communist Movement that Revolution is the Main Trend in the World Today. This is adhering to the theory of two points in analyzing the world situation.

The analysis of the Revolutionary Wing is based on the Marxist line of cognitions which "is the ideological foundation of the political line of the proletarian party. At the same time, it serves the political line. Without a correct line of cognition, therefore, it would be impossible to formulate and implement a correct political line." (Study Philosophy, "Great Benefits Derive From a Good Analysis" p. 34)

The metaphysical idealists of the Sham Wing who hold to the theory of one point view the world upside down, coming forward with the Anti-Revisionist Communist Movement did not divide into two, that revolution is not the main trend in the world today. They do not have correct knowledge of the world and are therefore unable, incapable and have no desire to change it. In fact, they want to preserve the present system. The Sham Wing's analysis is based on idealism and metaphysics, as reflected in their anti-Marxist line of cognition, their upside-down analysis of the Anti-Revisionist Communist Movement and the international situation. This is why they see political line as topical issues the ideological basis of which is the worship of spontaneity. Example, for them, political line means what is your position on ERA, on budget cuts, on any issue that comes up. Their analysis, as Chairman Mao draws out in "On Contradiction" is based on quantity, repetition; all changes represent simply increases or decreases in quantity. These metaphysicians,

(cont. on p. 8)

cont. from p. 7

"search in an over-simplified way outside a thing for the causes of its development, and they deny the theory of materialist dialectics which holds that development arises from the contradictions inside a thing. Consequently, they can explain neither the qualitative diversity of things, nor the phenomenon of one quality changing into another."
("On Contradiction", Selected Readings of Chairman Mao, page 87)

This is the metaphysical world outlook, the outlook of the sham wing, which is reflected in their upside down analysis of the world. Their world outlook, their line of cognition is fundamentally opposed to Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought while the Revolutionary Wing stands on and applies the world outlook of the proletariat, the world outlook of materialist dialectics.

CONCENTRATE A SUPERIOR FORCE TO DESTROY THE ENEMY ONE BY ONE

Chairman Mao further developed the military doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, the theory of armed uprising and elaborated the theory and practice of people's war. In his line on military affairs, Chairman Mao showed the relationship of politics to the area of military affairs, i.e., politics must be in command, must take precedence over military affairs.

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao the People's Liberation Army was created, trained and tempered in the struggle against feudalism, colonialism, bureaucrat capitalism and imperialism.

"It was Comrade Mao Tsetung who, integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, formulated the correct political and military lines for the Chinese revolution. Starting from the basic standpoint of a people's war and a people's army, he laid down the policies and principles for building such an army, created a whole range of strategy and tactics of people's war by which we were able to utilize our strong points to attack the enemy at his weak points. The kernel of Comrade Mao Tsetung's thinking on the strategy and tactics of a people's war is to concentrate a superior force to destroy the enemy one by one." ("Strategy: One Against Ten Tactics: Ten Against One", Li Tso-Peng p. 1-2)

Chairman Mao's military teachings are weapons against opportunist and revisionist lines on peaceful transition to socialism and "leftist" adventurism.

The line of peaceful transition to socialism is headed internationally by Communist Party of Soviet Union and in the U.S. by "CP"USA and R"CP" revisionists, calling upon "Make the Capitalists Pay, Get the Rich off our Backs". The line of peaceful transition to socialism is also propagated by the sham wing; as they push minimum program and build the mass movement to "peacefully" transform capitalism and in their call for the reconciliation of classes. As they attack the principles of Marxism-Leninism they attack the dictatorship of the proletariat all in their view of peaceful transition to socialism, raising economist CP"USA slogans, "Jobs or Income, Jobs not War Now".

The "leftist" adventurists, in their overestimation of the subjective factor and belittlement of the objective factors, see no need for a proletarian revolutionary party guided by Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought, see revolution being made by a few individuals in adventurist acts like coup d'etats,

denying the masses make revolution, the party makes them conscious. The "leftist" adventurists are a dangerous anti-Marxist trend and today the bourgeoisie is promoting adventurism in an attack against the proletariat and the coming into being of the U.S. Bolshevik Party. The bourgeoisie in an attempt to discredit Bolsheviks, try to promote the view that "leftist" adventurists are Bolsheviks.

Both the right opportunists and the adventurists have one common root, the worship of spontaneity, Comrade Lenin spoke to this in What Is To Be Done:

"At first sight, our assertion may appear paradoxical, so great is the difference between those who stress the "drab every day struggle" and those who call for the most self-sacrificing struggle of individuals. But this is no paradox. The economists and terrorists merely bow to different poles of spontaneity; the economists bow to the spontaneity of "the labour movement pure and simple", while the terrorists bow to the spontaneity of the passionate indignation of intellectuals, who lack the ability or opportunity to connect the revolutionary struggle and the working-class movement into an integral whole." (p. 74-75)

In fighting these anti-Marxist trends, and preparing for armed insurrection, we must study the military writings and teachings of Chairman Mao, "Political Power Grows Out The Barrel of a Gun", "On Protracted War", "Problems of Strategy In China's Revolutionary War". These works are being studied and implemented the world over to illuminate the proletariat and oppressed masses who are locked in a life-or-death struggle with the two superpowers and with the reactionary ruling classes in semi-colonial, semi-feudal and in advanced capitalist countries.



Chairman Mao inspecting a naval unit of the P.L.A., 1953.

GRASP REVOLUTION, PROMOTE PRODUCTION

Chairman Mao's contribution in the area of political economy can be summed up in his directive, "Grasp Revolution, Promote Production", the essence of the relation of superstructure to the base. Chairman Mao elaborated and developed a proletarian revolutionary line on the question of how politics must be put in command in the field of economics.

"It is obvious that the socialist economic base must have at its service a superstructure such as socialist politics."
("Political Work the Lifeline of All Work", Hongqi, Commentator)

The People's communes are manifestations of "political work being the lifeline of all economic work." After the founding of the People's Republic of China, a land reform movement was started to free
cont. on p. 9

CHAIRMAN MAO

Con't from pg. 8

the peasant masses from oppression and exploitation by feudal landlords. Shortly afterwards, Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party guided the peasants to organize for collective production, beginning with establishing mutual aid teams and moved progressively to elementary and then to advanced agricultural producers co-ops. The agricultural co-operatives were widespread throughout China by 1956.

The Great Leap Forward swept across China in 1958, peasants were set to work on large scale land improvements, and water control projects. It was a movement to reform farm tools and push production ahead. The Great Leap Forward was the impetus that gave rise to the development of people's communes. The people's communes were an inevitable outcome of the struggle of the Chinese masses to consolidate the economic base of China guided by the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao Tsetung.

"Born out of the merger of agricultural co-ops the people's communes at the present stage continues to be a form of socialist collective ownership, but a commune is larger than a co-op and collectivized to a greater extent. Larger size and a higher degree of public ownership - These are two distinguishing characteristics of the people's communes."
(Inside A People's Commune, Chu li, Tien Chieh -yun)



"Chairman Mao Is of One Heart with Us" (oil painting) by Chin Wen-mei.

The people's communes are not confined to agriculture alone as the co-ops. As Chairman Mao points out, "It is good to set up people's communes their advantage is that they combine industry, agriculture, commerce, education and military affairs, thus making the task of leadership easier." (Ibid)

The necessity to transform the superstructure is made clear in analyzing the contradiction and struggle between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. Socialist society emerges from capitalist society, economically and in the ideas of the superstructure. As Karl Marx points out in the "Critique of the Gotha Programme",

"But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after pro-

longed birth pangs from capitalist society. Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby." (p. 17)

Chairman Mao has pointed out that socialist society is still loaded down with baggage from capitalist society and that "the basic contradictions in socialist society are still those between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base." ("On the correct Handling of Contradictions Amongst the People")

Under the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, the Communist Party of China directed the proletariat and other working people of China to continuously transform those parts of the relations of production and the superstructure which are in contradiction with the productive forces and the economic base so as to consolidate the socialist relations of production and socialist superstructure, thus further consolidating socialist economic base.

The Chinese people are perserving in continuing the socialist revolution in the relations of production and the superstructure with the understanding that the economic base determines the character of the superstructure. The superstructure "plays a positive role in facilitating, the victory of socialist organization of labor, it is suited to the socialist economic base, that is to socialist relations of production." (Chairman Mao, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Amongst the People")

In continuously carrying out the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Great Leader and Teacher Chairman Mao also contributed greatly to the cause of socialism in China, to the international proletariat through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. As our Albanian comrades put forth:

"Comrade Mao Tsetung worked out at the proper time the ideas, the strategy and tactics of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, that revolution which overthrew from the state power all those who had taken the capitalist road, defended and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, and became a great school of class education for the broad masses of the Chinese people, especially the younger generation. In the stormy days of this great revolution, there once more shone the vital force of Mao Tsetung's thought and his historic role for the destinies of the Chinese people, and the cause of socialism in China. At his appeal, and under his direct leadership, the working class and the multimillion strong revolutionary masses rose to their feet, with unprecedented enthusiasm they threw themselves into the great class struggle against the treacherous Liu Shao-chi clique, and finally smashed it. The dream of the reactionaries and revisionists and their great plot to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and set China on the road back to capitalism failed." (Albania Today, Hysni Kapo, "The 80th Anniversary of Mao Tsetung's Birthday Celebrated in Albania," June 1973)

The lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution continue to point out that the proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

The May 7 cadre schools emerged during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as a new socialist form within the superstructure. The May 7th cadre schools stress the importance of the three great revolutionary movements - class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiments and only through participation in these can a revolutionary constantly clear his mind of erroneous ideas and increase his cognitive ability. In 1966, Chairman Mao issued the famous May 7 directive. He called upon people in all trades and professions to study and learn other areas of work while engaging mainly in activities in their own fields, i.e., to learn industrial and agricultural production and military affairs and criticize the bourgeoisie. Guided by Chair-

CHAIRMAN MAO

Con't from pg. 9

man Mao's directive, the Heilung-Kiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee in May 1968 established the first May 7 cadre school.

"In short, the May 7 cadre school is a new type of cadre school in the period of socialism with many communist features, it helps restrict bourgeois right to a certain extent and carries forward the glorious tradition of equality between comrades and hard struggles in the years of revolutionary war. Armed with Marxism and ready to work at a higher, or lower post and become an "official" or an ordinary citizen, a contingent of proletarian cadre is maturing under the guidance of May 7 directive."

The May 7 cadre schools combat the counter-revolutionary revisionist line which pit the education of cadre against productive labor, stress study and neglecting productive labor or vice-versa stressing only productive labor and neglecting the study of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought.

The Chinese comrades have continuously carried out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, always being vigilant against those capitalist roaders in power trying to take China to the capitalist road. The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union provided lessons by negative example of the need to intensify the struggle against the bourgeoisie after the seizure of state power.

"Comrade Mao Tsetung relying on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, summing up the historic experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, and analyzing the positive and negative experience of other countries especially of the Soviet Union, has elaborated a whole system of theoretical theses and political orientation for this cardinal question, which constitute a further valuable enrichment and development of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism."

("The 80th Anniversary of Mao Tsetung's Birthday Celebrated in Albania")

In carrying out the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and as part of cadre training, Chairman Mao called upon the whole people and the international proletariat to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The entire country armed theoretically on the teachings of the theory of dictatorship of the proletariat, to equip comrades in struggle between taking the socialist road and capitalist restoration. For under socialism, classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exists. Under socialism, as Chairman Mao clearly pointed out, the capitalist roaders are still represented in the Party and there must be a never ceasing struggle between the two roads, two classes, two lines.

The Communist Party of China and in particular its great leader Chairman Mao led the struggle internationally in exposing Soviet Social Imperialism and the renegade revisionist clique at the core. The struggle against modern revisionism being led internationally by the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party of Labor of Albania under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha, has served to train the international proletariat in waging relentless struggles against modern revisionism. This has led to the revisionists

receiving death blows. Even though death blows have been given to the treacherous line of the Soviet Revisionists, Chairman Mao and Comrade Enver Hoxha taught us to continue giving death blows to them for their treachery continues and they plunder, exploit and strive for hegemony over the world. They are imperialists who pursue a policy of political, economic and military expansion. They are a superpower who along with the other superpower, U.S. imperialism are in collusion and contention for hegemony over the worlds' people and resources.

Standing on the teachings of Chairman Mao we must continue to consistently wage a relentless battle against revisionism. We vow Chairman Mao, to stand on and apply Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought in our struggle to fight for consolidate and build the U.S. Bolshevik Party as the vanguard advanced detachment of our class and in our relentless struggle against all forms of opportunism and revisionism. We vow to wage relentless struggles against the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social

Imperialism. We vow Chairman Mao to stand on and apply the timely polemics, that serve as cadre training to the international proletariat such as "Party Building Must Be Closely Linked to Political Line," "Build The Party In the Course of Struggle", "Inner Party Struggle and Party Development", "On Attempts at Reversing Correct Verdict", "Proletarians Are Revolutionary Optimists." The timeliness of the polemics, giving concrete guidance and assistance to the struggle to build the U.S. Bolshevik Party clearly showing the universality of contradictions resides in the particularity.

Chairman Mao waged protracted struggles against various opportunist lines in the Party. We vow Chairman Mao to continue inner party struggle. We vow

Chairman Mao to continue waging resolute struggle against opportunism and revisionism and continue to purge our ranks of opportunists. We vow Chairman Mao to stand on and apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought and inside our ranks to deliver blows at the main philosophical deviation, empiricism, at the same time, fighting the other deviation of rationalism.

Chairman Mao led struggles in criticizing Lin Biao, Confucius, Teng Hsiao-ping and repulsing the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts.

Chairman Mao struggled for the leading role of the working class in all spheres of work. "The whole history of the revolution," he wrote, "proves that the revolution fails without the leadership of the working class, while under its leadership, it triumphs." (Albania Today)

We vow Chairman Mao to continue standing on and applying "only the proletariat" as the truly revolutionary class, to continue struggling for the violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, smash the bourgeois state machine and bring about the dictatorship of the proletariat.

LONG LIVE INVINCIBLE MARXISM-LENINISM MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!

LONG LIVE THE GREAT, GLORIOUS AND CORRECT COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA!

ETERNAL GLORY TO THE GREAT LEADER AND TEACHER
CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG!

THE BOLSHEVIKS' TACTICS WERE CORRECT: THEY WERE THE ONLY INTERNATIONALIST TACTICS, BECAUSE THEY WERE BASED, NOT ON THE COWARDLY FEAR OF A WORLD REVOLUTION, NOT ON A PHILISTINE "LACK OF FAITH" IN IT, NOT ON THE NARROW NATIONALIST DESIRE TO PROTECT ONE'S "OWN" FATHERLAND (THE FATHERLAND OF ONE'S OWN BOURGEOISIE), WHILE NOT "CARING A HANG" ABOUT ALL THE REST, BUT ON A CORRECT (AND, BEFORE THE WAR AND BEFORE THE APOSTASY OF THE SOCIAL-CHAUVINISTS AND SOCIAL-PACIFISTS, A UNIVERSALLY ADMITTED) ESTIMATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN EUROPE. THESE TACTICS WERE THE ONLY INTERNATIONALIST TACTICS, BECAUSE THEY DID THE UTMOST POSSIBLE IN ONE COUNTRY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT, SUPPORT AND AWAKENING OF THE REVOLUTION IN ALL COUNTRIES. THESE TACTICS HAVE BEEN JUSTIFIED BY THEIR ENORMOUS SUCCESS, FOR BOLSHEVISM (NOT BY ANY MEANS BECAUSE OF THE MERITS OF THE RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIKS, BUT BECAUSE OF THE MOST PROFOUND SYMPATHY OF THE MASSES EVERYWHERE FOR TACTICS THAT ARE REVOLUTIONARY IN PRACTICE) HAS BECOME WORLD BOLSHEVISM, HAS PRODUCED AN IDEA, A THEORY, A PROGRAM AND TACTICS, WHICH DIFFER CONCRETELY AND IN PRACTICE FROM THOSE OF SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM AND SOCIAL-PACIFISM. BOLSHEVISM HAS GIVEN A COUP DE GRACE TO THE OLD, DECAYED INTERNATIONAL OF THE SCHEIDEMANN AND KAUTSKYS, RENAUELS AND LONGUETS, HENDERSONS AND MACDONALDS, WHO HENCEFORTH WILL BE TREADING ON EACH OTHER'S HEELS, DREAMING ABOUT "UNITY" AND TRYING TO REVIVE A CORPSE. BOLSHEVISM HAS CREATED THE IDEOLOGICAL AND TACTICAL FOUNDATIONS OF A THIRD INTERNATIONAL, OF A REALLY PROLETARIAN AND COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, WHICH WILL TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION BOTH THE GAINS OF THE EPOCH OF PEACE AND THE EXPERIENCE OF THE EPOCH OF REVOLUTIONS, WHICH HAS BEGUN.

(THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE RENEGADE KAUTSKY,
V.I. LENIN, p. 87-89)

RED OCTOBER

Con't from pg. 4

WORLD-WIDE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Having triumphed in the centre of Russia and embraced a number of the border regions, the October Revolution could not stop short at the territorial borders of Russia. In the atmosphere of the imperialist world war and the general discontent among the masses, it could not but spread to neighbouring countries. Russia's break with imperialism and its escape from the predatory war; the publication of the secret treaties and the solemn renunciation of the policy of annexations; the proclamation of the national freedom and recognition of the independence of Finland; the declaring of Russia a "federation of Soviet national republics" and the battle cry of a determined struggle against imperialism issued to the world by the Soviet Government- all this could not but deeply affect the enslaved East and the bleeding West.

And, indeed, the October Revolution is the first revolution in world history to break the age-long sleep of the labouring masses of the oppressed peoples of the East and to draw them into the fight against world imperialism. The formation of workers' and peasants Soviets in Persia, China and India, modelled on the Soviets in Russia, is sufficiently convincing evidence of this.

The October Revolution is the first revolution in world history to provide the workers and soldiers of the West with a living, salvation-bringing example and to impel them on to the path of real emancipation from the yoke of war and imperialism. The uprising of the workers and soldiers in Austria-Hungary and Germany, the formation of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the revolutionary struggle of the subject peoples of Austria-Hungary against national oppression is sufficiently eloquent evidence of this.

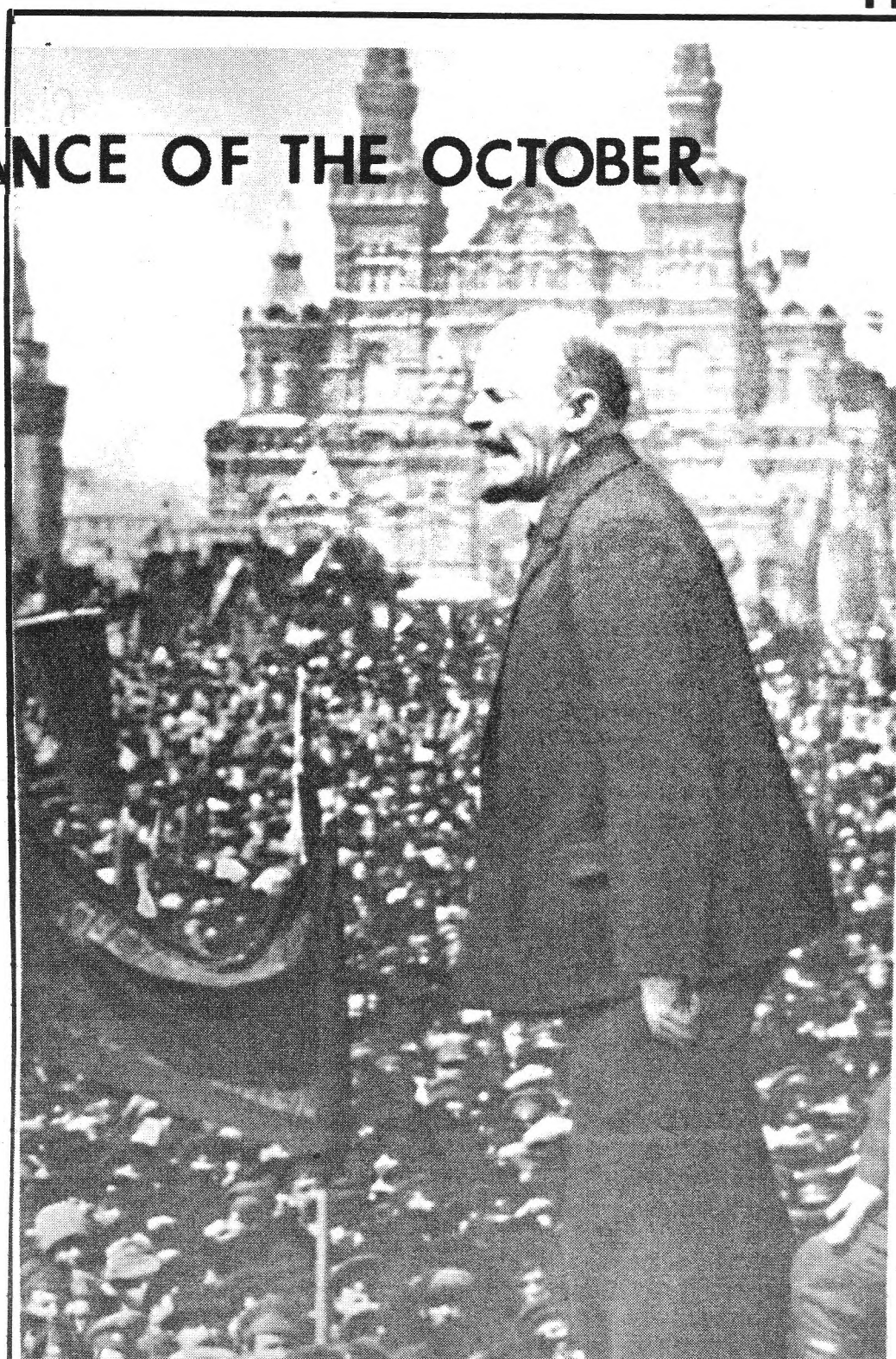
The chief point is not at all that the struggle in the East and even in the West has not yet succeeded in shedding its bourgeois-nationalist features; the point is that the struggle against imperialism has begun, that it is continuing and is inevitably bound to arrive at its logical goal.

Foreign intervention and the occupation policy of the "external" imperialists merely sharpen the revolutionary crisis, by drawing new peoples into the struggle and extending the area of the revolutionary battles with imperialism.

Thus, the October Revolution, by establishing a tie between the peoples of the backward East and of the advanced West, is ranging them in a common camp of struggle against imperialism.

Thus from the particular question of combating national oppression, the national question is evolving into the general question of emancipating the nations, colonies, and semi-colonies from imperialism.

The mortal sin of the Second International and its leader, Kautsky, consists, incidentally, in the fact that they have always gone over to the bourgeois conception of national self-determination, that they have never understood the revolutionary meaning of the latter, that they were unable or unwilling to put the national question on the revolutionary footing of an open fight against imperialism, that they were unable or unwilling to link the national question with the question of the emancipation of the colonies.



V.I. LENIN on RED SQUARE delivering a speech at inauguration of the temporary movement to Stepan Kazin, Moscow, May 1, 1919

The obtuseness of the Austrian Social-Democrats of the type of Bauer and Renner consists in the fact that they have not understood the inseparable connection between the national question and the question of power, that they tried to separate the national question from politics and to confine it to cultural and educational questions, forgetting the existence of such "trifles" as imperialism and the colonies enslaved by imperialism.

It is asserted that the principles of self-determination and "defence of the fatherland" have been abrogated by the very course of events under the conditions of a rising socialist revolution. Actually, it is not the principles of self-determination and "defence of the fatherland" that have been abrogated, but the bourgeois interpretation of these principles. One has only to glance at the occupied regions, which are languishing under the yoke of imperialism and are yearning for liberation; one has only to glance at Russia, which is waging a revolutionary war for the defence of the socialist fatherland from the imperialist robbers; one has only to reflect on the present events in Austria-Hungary; one has only to glance at the enslaved colonies and semi-colonies, which have already organized their own Soviets (India, Persia, China)- one has only to glance at all this to realize the whole revolutionary significance of the principle of self-determination in its socialist interpretation.

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

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

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

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

This in fact explains the indescribable enthusiasm which is now being displayed for the Russian proletariat by the toiling and exploited masses of the East and the West.

And this mainly explains the frenzy with which the imperialist robbers of the whole world have now flung themselves upon Soviet Russia.

("The October Revolution and the National Question" J. Stalin Works, Vol. 4, pgs. 167-170)

ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL CONDITIONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE BOLSHEVIKS

Certainly, almost everyone now realizes that the Bolsheviks could not have maintained themselves in power for two and a half months, let alone two and a half years, unless the strictest, truly iron discipline had prevailed in our Party, and unless the latter had been rendered the fullest and unreserved support of the whole mass of the working class, that is, of all its thinking, honest, self-sacrificing and influential elements who are capable of leading or of carrying with them the backward strata.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. For unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate war of life and death, a war demanding perseverance, discipline, firmness, indomitableness and unity of will.

I repeat, the experience of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia has clearly shown even to those who are unable to think, or who have not had occasion to ponder over this question, that absolute centralization and the strictest discipline of the proletariat constitute one of the fundamental conditions for victory over the bourgeoisie.

This is often discussed. But not nearly enough thought is given to what it means, and under what conditions it is possible. Would it not be better if greetings in honour of Soviet power and the Bolsheviks were more frequently attended by a profound analysis of the reasons why the Bolsheviks were able to build up the discipline the revolutionary proletariat needs?

As a trend of political thought and as a political party, Bolshevism exists since 1903. Only the history of Bolshevism during the whole period of its existence can satisfactorily explain why it was able to build up and to maintain under most difficult conditions the iron discipline needed for the victory of the proletariat.

And first of all the question arises: how is the discipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat maintained? How is it tested? How is it reinforced? First, by the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its perseverance, self-sacrifice and heroism. Secondly, by its ability to link itself with, to keep in close touch with, and to a certain extent, if you like, to merge with the broadest masses of the toilers—primarily with the proletariat, but also with the non-proletarian toiling masses. Thirdly, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard, by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided that the broadest masses have been convinced by their own experience that they are correct. Without these conditions, discipline in a revolutionary party that is really capable of being the party of the advanced class, whose mission it is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and transform the whole of society, cannot be achieved. Without these conditions, all attempts to establish discipline inevitably fall flat and end in phrase-mongering and grimacing. On the other hand, these conditions cannot arise all at once. They are created only by prolonged effort and hard-won experience. Their creation is facilitated by correct revolutionary theory, which, in its turn, is not a dogma, but assumes final shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a truly mass and truly revolutionary movement.

That Bolshevism was able, in 1917-20, under unprecedentedly difficult conditions, to build up and successfully maintain the strictest centralization and iron discipline was simply due to a number of historical peculiarities of Russia.

On the one hand, Bolshevism arose in 1903 on the very firm foundation of the theory of Marxism. And the correctness of this—and only this—revolutionary theory has been proved not only by world experience throughout the nineteenth century, but particularly by the experience of the wanderings and vacillations, the mistakes and disappointments of revolutionary thought in Russia. For nearly half a century—approximately from the forties to the nineties—advanced thought in Russia, oppressed by an unparalleled, savage and reactionary tsardom, eagerly sought for a correct revolutionary theory and followed with astonishing diligence and thoroughness each and every "last word" in this realm in Europe and America. Russia achieved Marxism, the only correct revolutionary theory, through veritable suffering,

RED OCTOBER

Con't from pg. 12

through half a century of unprecedented torment and sacrifice, of unprecedented revolutionary heroism, incredible energy, devoted searching, study, practical trial, disappointment, verification and comparison with European experience. Thanks to the enforced emigration caused by tsardom, revolutionary Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century possessed such a wealth of international connections and such excellent information on world forms and theories of the revolutionary movement as no other country in the world.

On the other hand, having arisen on this granite theoretical foundation, Bolshevism passed through fifteen years (1903-17) of practical history which in wealth of experience has no equal anywhere else in the world. For

THE PRINCIPAL STAGES IN THE HISTORY OF BOLSHEVISM

The years of preparation of the revolution (1903-05). The approach of a great storm is felt everywhere. All classes are in a state of ferment and preparation. Abroad, the press of the political exiles discusses the theoretical aspects of all the fundamental problems of the revolution. The representatives of the three main classes, of the three principal political trends, the liberal-bourgeois, the petty bourgeois - democratic (concealed under the labels "social-democratic" and "social-revolutionary"), and the proletarian-revolutionary trends, anticipate and prepare the approaching open class struggle by a most bitter battle on programmatic and tactical views. All the issues on which the masses waged an armed struggle in 1905-07 and 1917-20 can (and should) be studied in their embryonic form in the press of that time. Between these three main trends, there were, of course, a host of intermediate, transitional, halfway forms. Or, more correctly, in the struggle of the press, parties, factions and groups, there were crystallizing those political and ideological trends which are actually class trends; the classes were forging the requisite political and ideological weapons for the impending battles.

The years of revolution (1905-07). All classes come out into the open. All programmatic and tactical views are tested by the action of the masses. The strike struggle is unparalleled anywhere in the world for its extent and acuteness. The economic strike grows into a political strike, and the latter into insurrection. The relations between the proletariat, as the leader, and the vacillating, unstable peasantry, as the led, are tested in practice. The Soviet form of organization is born in the spontaneous development of the struggle. The controversies of that time over the significance of the Soviets anticipate the great struggle of 1917-20. The alternation of parliamentary and non-parliamentary forms of struggle, of tactics of boycotting parliament and tactics of participating in parliament, of legal and illegal forms of struggle, and likewise their interrelations and connections - all of this is distinguished by an astonishing richness of content. As far as teaching the fundamentals of political science - to masses and leaders, to classes and parties - was concerned, one month of this period was equivalent to a whole year of "peaceful," "constitutional" development. Without the "dress rehearsal" of 1905, the victory of the

October Revolution in 1917 would have been impossible.

The years of reaction (1907-10). Tsardom scored victory. All the revolutionary and opposition parties have been defeated. Depression, demoralization, splits, discord, renegacy, por-

no other country during these fifteen years had anything even approximating to this revolutionary experience, this rapid and varied succession of different forms of the movement - legal and illegal, peaceful and stormy, underground and open, circles and mass movements, parliamentary and terrorist. In no other country was there concentrated during so short a time such a wealth of forms, shades, and methods of struggle of all classes of modern society, and moreover, a struggle which, owing to the backwardness of the country and the severity of the tsarist yoke, matured with exceptional rapidity and assimilated most eagerly and successfully the appropriate "last word" of American and European political experience.

nography take the place of politics. There is an increased drift toward philosophical idealism; mysticism becomes the shell of counter-revolutionary sentiments. But at the same time, it is precisely this great defeat that gives the revolutionary parties and the revolutionary class a real and very valuable lesson, a lesson in historical dialectics, a lesson in the understanding of the political struggle and in the skill and art of waging it. One gets to know one's friends in times of misfortune. Defeated armies learn well.

Victorious tsardom is compelled to accelerate the destruction of the remnants of the pre-bourgeois, patriarchal mode of life in Russia. The country's development along bourgeois lines proceeds with remarkable speed. Extra-class and above-class illusions, illusions concerning the possibility of avoiding capitalism, are scattered to the winds. The class struggle manifests itself in quite a new and more distinct form.

The revolutionary parties must complete their education. They have learned to attack. Now they have to realize that this knowledge must be supplemented with the knowledge how to retreat properly. They have to realize - and the revolutionary class is taught to realize it by its own bitter experience - that victory is impossible unless they have learned both how to attack and how to retreat properly. Of all the defeated opposition and revolutionary parties, the Bolsheviks effected the most orderly retreat, with the least loss to their "army", with its core best preserved, with the least (in respect to profundity and irremediability) splits, with the least demoralization, and in the best condition to resume the work on the broadest scale and in the most correct and energetic manner. The Bolsheviks achieved this only because they ruthlessly exposed and expelled the revolutionary phrase-mongers, who refused to understand that one had to retreat, that one had to know how to retreat, and that one had absolutely to learn how to work legally in the most reactionary parliaments, in the most reactionary trade unions, cooperative societies, insurance societies and similar organizations.

The years of rise (1910-14). At first the rise was incredibly slow; then, following the Lena events of 1912, it became somewhat more rapid. Overcoming unprecedented difficulties, the Bolsheviks pushed aside the Mensheviks, whose role as agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement was perfectly understood by the whole bourgeoisie after 1905, and who were therefore supported in a thousand ways by the whole bourgeoisie against the Bolsheviks. But the Bolsheviks would never have succeeded in doing this

had they not carried out a correct tactic of combining illegal work with the obligatory utilization of "legal possibilities." The Bolsheviks won all the labour seats in the arch-reactionary Duma.

The first imperialist world war (1914-17). Legal parliamentarism, with an extremely reactionary "parliament," is of very useful service to the party of the revolutionary proletariat, the Bolsheviks. The Bolshevik deputies are exiled to Siberia. In the exile press abroad all shades of social-imperialism, social-chauvinism, social-patriotism, inconsistent and consistent internationalism, pacifism, and the revolutionary repudiation of pacifist illusions find full expression. The learned fools and old women of the Second International, who had arrogantly and contemptuously turned up their noses at the abundance of "factions" in the Russian socialist movement and at the bitter struggle they waged among themselves, were unable - when the war deprived them of their vaunted "legality" in all the advanced countries - to organize anything even approximating such a free (illegal) interchange of views and such a free (illegal) working out of correct views as the Russian revolutionaries did in Switzerland and in a number of other countries. It was precisely because of this that both the avowed social-patriots and the "Kautskyites" of all countries proved to be the worst traitors to the proletariat. And one of the principal reasons why Bolshevism was able to score victory in 1917-20 was that ever since the end of 1914 it had been ruthlessly exposing the baseness, loathsomeness and vileness of social-chauvinism and "Kautskyism" (to which Longuetism in France, the views of the leaders of the Independent Labour Party and the Fabians in England, of Turati in Italy, etc., correspond), and the masses later became more and more convinced by their own experience of the correctness of the Bolshevik views.

The second revolution in Russia (February to October 1917). The incredible senility and obsolescence of tsardom had created (with the aid of the blows and hardships of a most agonizing war) an incredibly destructive power directed against tsardom. Within a few days Russia was transformed into a democratic bourgeois republic, more free - under war conditions - than any other country in the world. The leaders of the opposition and revolutionary parties began to set up a government, just as is done in the most "strictly parliamentary" republics; and the fact that a man had been a leader of an opposition party in parliament, even in a most reactionary parliament, assisted him in his subsequent role in the revolution.

In a few weeks the Mensheviks and "Socialist-Revolutionaries" thoroughly imbibed all the methods and manners, arguments and sophistries of the European heroes of the Second International, of the ministerialists

and other opportunist scum. All that we now read about the Scheidemanns and Noskes, about Kautsky and Hilferding, Renner and Austerlitz, Otto Bauer and Fritz Adler, Turati and Longuet, about the Fabians and the leaders of the Independent Labour Party of England - all this seems to us (and really is) a dreary repetition, a reiteration of an old and familiar refrain. We have already seen all this in the case of the Mensheviks. History played a joke and made the opportunists of a backward country anticipate the opportunists of a number of advanced countries.

If the heroes of the Second International have all suffered bankruptcy and have disgraced themselves over the question of the significance and role of the Soviets and Soviet power; if the leaders of the three very important parties which have now left the Second International (namely, the German Independent Social-Democratic Party, the French Longuetites and the British Independent Labour Party) have disgraced and entangled themselves over this question in a most "striking" way; if they have all turned out to be slaves to the prejudices of petty-bourgeois democracy (quite in the spirit of the petty bourgeois of 1848 who called themselves "Social-Democrats") - we have already seen all this in the case of the Mensheviks. History played a joke: in Russia, in 1905, the Soviets were born, from February to October 1917 they were turned to a false use by the Mensheviks, who went bankrupt because of their inability to understand the role and significance of the Soviets; and now the idea of Soviet power has arisen all over the world and is spreading among the proletariat of all countries with extraordinary speed. And the old heroes of the Second International are also going bankrupt everywhere, like our Mensheviks, because they are not capable of understanding the role and significance of the Soviets. Experience has proved that on certain very essential questions of the proletarian revolution, all countries will

inevitably have to perform what Russia has performed.

Contrary to the views that are today not infrequently met with in Europe and America, the Bolsheviks began their victorious struggle against the parliamentary (factually) bourgeois republic and against the Mensheviks very cautiously, and the preparations they made for it were by no means simple. We did not call for the overthrow of the government at the beginning of the period mentioned, but explained that it was impossible to overthrow it without first changing the composition and the sentiments of the Soviets. We did not proclaim a boycott of the bourgeois parliament, the Constituent Assembly, but said - and from the April (1917) Conference of our Party onwards began to say officially in the name of the Party - that a bourgeois republic with a Constituent Assembly is better than a bourgeois republic without a Constituent Assembly, but that a "workers' and peasants" republic, a Soviet republic, is better than any bourgeois-democratic, parliamentary, republic. Without such careful, thorough, circumspect and prolonged preparations we could not have obtained victory in October 1917, nor have maintained that victory.

("From Left Wing Communism, Section III, Lenin)

SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE HISTORY OF BOLSHEVISM

Yes, the Russian Bolsheviks did put in the forefront the fundamental questions of the Russian revolution, such questions as those of the Party, of the attitude of Marxists towards the bourgeois-democratic revolution, of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, of the hegemony of the proletariat, of the struggle inside and outside parliament, of the general strike, of the growing over of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of imperialism, of the self-determination of nations, of the liberation movement of the oppressed nations and colonies, of the policy of support for this movement, etc. They advanced these questions as the touchstone by which they tested the revolutionary stamina of the Left Social-Democrats in the West. Had they the right to do so? Yes, they had. They not

only had the right, but it was their duty to do so. It was their duty to do so because all these questions were also fundamental questions of the world revolution, to whose aims the Bolsheviks subordinated their policy and their tactics. It was their duty to do so because only through such questions could they really test the revolutionary character of the various groups in the Second International. The question arises: Where is there here any "factionalism" of the Russian Bolsheviks and what have "factional" considerations to do with this?

As far back as 1902 Lenin wrote in his pamphlet What Is To Be Done? that "history has now confronted

RED OCTOBER

Con't from pg. 14

us with an immediate task which is the most revolutionary of all the immediate tasks that confront the proletariat of any country," that "the fulfillment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark, not only of European, but also (it may now be said) of Asiatic reaction, would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat." Thirty years have elapsed since that pamphlet, What Is To Be Done?, appeared. No one will dare deny that the events during this period have brilliantly confirmed Lenin's words. But does it not follow from this that the Russian revolution was

(and remains) the nodal point of the world revolution, that the fundamental questions of the Russian revolution were at the same time (and are now) the fundamental questions of the world revolution?

Is it not obvious that only through these fundamental questions was it possible to make a real test of the revolutionary character of the Left Social-Democrats in the West?

("Some Questions Concerning The History of Bolshevism," J. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, pag. 96-98)

ON THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP

Our twenty-eight years have been quite different. We have had much valuable experience. A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party - these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy. They distinguish us from our predecessors. Relying on them, we have won basic victory. We have travelled a tortuous road. We have struggled against opportunist deviations in our Party, both Right and "Left". Whenever we made serious mistakes on these three matters, the revolution suffered setbacks. Taught by mistakes and setbacks, we have become wiser and handle our affairs better. It is hard for any political party or person to avoid mistakes, but we should make as few as possible. Once a mistake is made, we should correct it and the more quickly and thoroughly the better.

To sum up our experience and concentrate it into one point, it is: the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class (through the Communist Party) and based upon the alliance of workers and peasants. This dictatorship must unite as one with the international revolutionary forces. This is our formula, our principal experience, our main programme.

Twenty-eight years of our Party are a long period, in which we have accomplished only one thing- we have won basic victory in the revolutionary war. This calls for celebration, because it is the people's victory, because it is a victory in a country as large as China. But we still have much work to do; to use the analogy of a journey, our past

work is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li. Remnants of the enemy have yet to be wiped out. The serious task of economic construction lies before us. We shall soon put aside some of the things we know well and be compelled to do things we don't know well. This means difficulties. The imperialists reckon that we will not be able to manage our economy; they are standing by and looking on, awaiting our failure.

We must overcome difficulties, we must learn what we do not know. We must learn to do economic work from all who know how, no matter who they are. We must esteem them as teachers, learning from them respectfully, and conscientiously. We must not pretend to know when we do not know. We must not put on bureaucratic airs. If we dig into a subject for several months, for a year or two, for three or five years, we shall eventually master it. At first some of the Soviet Communists also were not very good at handling economic matters and the imperialists awaited their failure too. But the Communist Party of the Soviet Union emerged victorious and, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, it learned not only how to make the revolution but also how to carry on construction. It has built a great and splendid socialist state. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is our best teacher and we must learn from it. The situation both at home and abroad is in our favour, we can rely fully on the weapon of the people's democratic dictatorship, unite the people throughout the country, the reactionaries excepted, and advance steadily to our goal.

("On The People's Democratic Dictatorship," Selected Works of Chairman Mao, Vol. IV, pgs. 422-423)

COMMEMORATE THE 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE C.P.C.

Fully fifty years have elapsed since the Communist Party of China held its First National Congress in Shanghai on July 1, 1921.

The birth of the Communist Party of China ushered in a new epoch in the development of Chinese history. For more than seventy years from the Opium War of 1840 to the May 4th Movement of 1919, the long-suffering Chinese people had waged heroic struggles to resist oppression by imperialism and feudalism. But all these struggles, including the large-scale revolutionary movements led by Hung Hsiu-chuan and Sun Yat-sen, had failed. Let us thank the great Lenin - the 1917 Russian October Socialist Revolution led by him brought the Chinese people Marxism-Leninism. The integration of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese rev-

olutionary movement gave birth to the Communist Party of China, the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat. As Chairman Mao said, "In China, the Communist Party was born, an epoch-making event."

At the time of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party there were only a few dozen members organized in a few communist groups. But they represented a new force, and new forces are always invincible by nature. Nothing could wipe out the Chinese Communist Party, neither the aircraft and guns of the imperialists and the Kuomintang, nor White terror and the tyranny of secret agents, nor the machinations and sabotage of renegades and hidden traitors. On the

Con't on pg. 16

contrary, in half a century's arduous struggle it has grown into the Party leading the People's Republic of China. Semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China has been transformed into socialist New China with its first steps on the road of prosperity.

The fifty-year history of the Chinese Communist Party proves that the success or failure of a political party depends on whether its line is correct or not. A wrong line will lead to the loss of political power even if it has been seized. A correct line will enable a party which has not attained political power to achieve it. However, a correct line does not drop from the skies or emerge and develop spontaneously and peacefully; it exists in contrast to erroneous lines and develops through struggle against them.

Chairman Mao reviewing tank units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in Hsiyuan on the outskirts of Peking, 1949.



Chairman Mao teaches us: "We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance."

In celebrating the 50th birthday of the Chinese Communist Party, the whole Party faces the task of following Chairman Mao's teachings, carrying out the line laid down by the Ninth National Congress of the Party, Unite to win still greater victories, and fulfilling the fighting tasks set by the Congress and the First and Second Plenary Sessions of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party. At present, it is particularly necessary for the whole Party to launch the movement of criticizing revisionism and rectifying the style of work, carry out education in ideology and political line, conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, and study and sum up the historical experience of inner-Party struggle between the two lines. This is the fundamental guarantee of further great victories for the cause of our Party.

PERSISTENTLY FOLLOW THE ROAD OF SEIZING POLITICAL POWER BY ARMED FORCE

Marxism-Leninism holds that the fundamental question of revolution is political power and that the seizure of power by armed force is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This is the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. Whoever denies this or admits it in words but denies it in deeds is not a genuine Marxist-Leninist. But specific conditions vary in different countries. And in what way could this task be carried out in China? On the basis of the great practice of the October Revolution, Lenin, in his Address to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East in November 1919, told the Communists of the Eastern peoples that they must see the characteristics of their own areas and that, relying upon the general theory and practice of communism, they must adapt themselves to peculiar conditions which do not exist in the European countries. Lenin stressed that this was "a task which until now did not confront the Communists anywhere in the world". Obviously, the seizure of political power and the victory of the revolution are out of the question if the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism is not integrated with the concrete revolutionary practice of a specific country.

On the basis of the unity of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao analysed the history of China, its existing conditions and the main contradictions in contemporary Chinese society and gave correct answers as to the targets, tasks, motive forces and character of the Chinese revolution and its perspectives and transition. Chairman Mao pointed out: The Chinese revolution is a continuation of the October Revolution and part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution. The Chinese revolution must take two steps. First the new-democratic revolution and then the socialist revolution. These are two essentially different revolutionary processes which are at once distinct and interrelated. The second process, or the socialist revolution, can be carried through only after the first process, or the revolution of a bourgeois-democratic character, has been completed. The democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the democratic revolution. Chairman Mao pointed out: A Communist Party built on Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party - these are the three main weapons with which we can seize political power and consolidate it. It is precisely along this course that the Chinese revolution has advanced.

The new-democratic revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party went through four Historical periods - the First Revolutionary Civil War, the Agrarian Revolutionary War, the War of Resistance Against Japan and the People's War of Liberation. It took twenty-eight years in all, from 1921 to 1949, to solve the problem of seizing political power by armed force.

(Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Communist Party of China, pgs. 1-5)

PERSIST IN CONTINUING THE REVOLUTION UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 marked the basic conclusion of the stage of the new-democratic revolution and the beginning of the stage of the socialist revolution. Back at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party on the eve of countrywide victory, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out that the principle internal contradiction after the liberation of our country was "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie". The focus of the contradiction was on the socialist road versus the capitalist road and on the dictatorship of the proletariat versus the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Both the title of our Party and our Marxist-Leninist world outlook unequivocally demonstrate that the basic programme of our Party is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the bourgeois dictatorship and the triumph of socialism over capitalism, and that the ultimate aim of the Party is the realization of communism. Our twenty-eight years of heroic struggle represented only the first step in the long march of ten thou-

sand "li" towards this ultimate goal. The seizure of political power by the proletariat was not the end of the revolution but the beginning of the second step.

The vast territory of our country was liberated gradually. The several million troops of the People's Liberation Army served both as a fighting force and as a working force. Our Party relied on its own army which aroused the masses while fighting battles and, together with the masses, resolutely carried out the Party's line and policies, smashed the state machinery of the dictatorship of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie and established the people's regime, which confiscated all bureaucrat-capital comprising 80 per cent of modern industry and transformed it into socialist state enterprises. And boldly arousing the masses, we launched on a large scale the land reform movement, the movement for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. In a space of three years, we rehabilitated the national economy and strengthened the people's democratic dictatorship, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In 1953, after the frantic attacks of the bourgeoisie had been repelled in the movement against the "three evils" (corruption, waste and bureaucracy) and the movement against the "five evils" (bribery of government workers, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts, and stealing economic information from government sources for private speculation), Chairman Mao, in accordance with Lenin's theory on the transition period and our own practice, set forth the Party's general line for the transition period: "Bring about, step by step and over a fairly long period, the socialist industrialization of China and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce by the state."

The essence of the Party's general line for the transition period was to solve the problem of the ownership of the means of production, making socialist ownership, that is, ownership by the state and collective ownership by the working masses our country's sole economic base. This was an important step in further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. We tackled this problem firmly, yet gradually. In agriculture, this was done by proceeding through mutual-aid teams, which contained some embryonic elements of socialism, and the elementary co-operatives of a semi-socialist character, to the fully socialist advanced co-operatives. In capitalist industry and commerce, it was done first by the state placing orders with private enterprises to process and manufacture goods, purchasing and marketing all their products and using private enterprises as commission agents to purchase and sell goods for the state, and then by transforming private enterprises into joint state-private enterprises and paying a fixed rate of interest on the basis of an appraisal of the assets in accordance with the policy of redemption. Some people afflicted with impetuosity found this process not to their satisfaction and thought the transition period far too long; they wanted the problem to be solved overnight. This "Left" deviation was overcome relatively quickly through education.

The socialist revolution is a struggle to bury capitalism; it has been acclaimed by the laboring people throughout the country but has met with reckless sabotage by Liu Shao-chi and company. Peng Teh-huai, Kao Kang, Jao Shu-shih and others formed an anti-Party bloc in a vain attempt to split the Central Committee and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their scheme was smashed by the Central Committee of the Party in good time. Liu Shao-chi all along opposed socialist transformation. As early as 1949, wherever he went he preached the fallacy "exploitation is a merit" behind the Central Committee's back and in violation of the Resolution of the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee. At the beginning of the 50s, he put forward the slogan "consolidate the new-democratic system." This meant "consolidating" and developing the forces

of capitalism and taking the capitalist road instead of carrying out the socialist revolution. Chairman Mao promptly criticized this slogan, pointing out that it was an error in the nature of a bourgeois programme. He published "On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation" and other brilliant works to criticize the Right-deviationist error committed by Liu Shao-chi and his gang of slashing the number of co-operatives and criticize their fallacies of realizing "mechanization before co-operation" and of expanding the rich-peasant economy. This immensely inspired the masses of the poor and lower-middle peasants with socialist enthusiasm for co-operation. In the year or so from the second half of 1955, the 500 million peasants of our country were all jubilantly taking the broad road of socialism. Because the proletariat had captured the position in the vast rural areas, the bourgeoisie, now under cross-fire from the workers and peasants, was isolated and compelled to accept transformation. By 1956, the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and of handicrafts had in the main been completed in our country with respect to the system of ownership. Instead of suffering any damage, industrial and agricultural production progressed in the course of this great change and the Party's general line for the transition period was crowned with great victory.

With the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, China's socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat were confronted with a new problem. What was the principal internal contradiction? Were there still classes, class contradictions and class struggle? What were the future tasks of the Chinese revolution? Liu Shao-chi and his gang replied: "In China, the question of which wins out, socialism or capitalism, is already settled," "the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has been basically resolved," and the principal internal contradiction "is the contradiction between the advanced socialist system and the backward social productive forces." This was a refurbished version in new circumstances of the "theory of productive forces" advocated by Bernstein and Kautsky. And it was a means by which the bourgeoisie waged class struggle against the proletariat. In the period of the democratic revolution they said that the proletariat could not seize political power until capitalism was highly developed; at the approach of socialist transformation, they wanted to "consolidate the new-democratic system"; and after the three great transformations of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce were completed in the main, they again dished up the above-mentioned fallacies, trying to stop the proletariat from continuing the revolution. In their opinion, class struggle died out when the question of ownership was settled, and there was no need to consolidate the socialist system, and all that was necessary was to grasp production; the socialist system was too "advanced" to suit the needs of China today and it was necessary to turn back and develop capitalism. Moreover, behind Chairman Mao's back, Liu Shao-chi and his gang inserted this sinister trash into the Resolution of the Eighth National Congress of the Party in their attempt to impose on the whole Party the line of taking the capitalist road.

Chairman Mao at that time pointed out that the words Liu Shao-chi and his gang had stuffed into the Resolution were wrong and anti-Marxist. Shortly afterwards, Chairman Mao made public his brilliant work "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and, for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism, systematically answered the question of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society after basic victory in the socialist transformation of the system of ownership. He pointed out: "In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership ... there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class

struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute...the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled. He said: "The present social system of our country is far superior to that of the old days. If it were not so, the old system would not have been overthrown and the new system could not have been established." He pointed out: "To sum up, socialist relations of production have been established and are in harmony with the growth of the productive forces, but they are still far from perfect, and this imperfection stands in contradiction to the growth of the productive forces. Apart from harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the developing productive forces, there is harmony as well as contradiction between the superstructure and the economic base." Therefore, "Time is needed for our socialist system to become established and consolidated." "We must continue to resolve all such contradictions in the light of our specific conditions. Of course, new problems will emerge as these contradictions are resolved. And further efforts will be required to resolve the new contradictions." With the invincible theory of dialectical materialism, Chairman Mao thoroughly refuted Liu Shao-chi's revisionist fallacies and armed our Party with the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The development of class struggle at home and abroad constantly provides fresh facts to prove the correctness of Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The wild attacks of the bourgeois Rightists in 1957 and, particularly, the gravity of the

capitalist restoration in Lenin's homeland by the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique which occurred after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have taught us a very profound lesson - the socialist system will not be consolidated if there is only a socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production without a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Just look at history to see how capitalism rises, grows and heads for its doom, and you will understand that the capitalist system, too, was not established at one stroke. Since the proletarian revolution is a revolution for the complete elimination of all exploiting classes, it necessarily involves more acute and tortuous class struggle than the previous revolutions that replaced one system of exploitation by another. Taking the proletariat of the Soviet Union and the world unawares, the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique restored the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is a bad thing, but a bad thing can be turned into a good thing. It has educated the Soviet people and the proletariat of the world. In the development of history as a whole, the restoration of the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union is only a temporary phenomenon. The proletariat and the people of all nationalities of the Soviet Union are sure to vanquish the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique, re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and continue to take the road of the October Revolution charted by Lenin and Stalin. Socialism is sure to triumph throughout the world. This is an objective law independent of man's will.

(Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Communist Party of China, pgs.17-23)

SPEECH ON OPENING THE PARTY SCHOOL



May 25, 1945

Dear comrade functionaries and leaders of the Party,

No doubt you understand the great importance of the Party School which we are opening today. Our cadres, who during the war knew how to fight heroically and work selflessly, will emerge from this school armed with Marxist-Leninist culture, to light their

way in solving problems and carrying out the great tasks confronting them in this new stage. The stage is new, but the tasks are just as important, even more important than those of the stage of the war against fascism.

Our young Party, with its young cadres, with cadres as yet inexperienced, took on a task which was as difficult as it was majestic. During three and a half years of war, at the head of the people, in the front line of battle, our Party did its duty honourably and gloriously, accomplishing the tasks the people had entrusted it with, and the tasks the Comintern had laid down. Our Party mobilized the people and launched them into a general uprising, organized the army, and steeled it in fierce battles against the occupier; it established the democratic state power and won the war, and now it is in the positions of command. This is not a lucky miracle, but the result of the hard work and bloodshed of the party comrades. It was their great revolutionary drive, their incontainable enthusiasm, their great love for the people and hatred of fascism, it was their great faith in the Party, their great and unshakable faith in the Soviet Union and our great Comrade Stalin, that made our communists raise our Party's banner high. Our Party emerged triumphant, because it never lost its bearings. At every moment our compass was the Soviet Union, it was the Bolshevik Party of Lenin, it was Stalin. We followed in their unerring footsteps which took us to victory.

Our party members went through a great school, the school of the war; they learned many things, but we cannot say, and we would be greatly mistaken if we did say, that they are in a position to cope properly with the important work they will be doing. Our comrades, in general, lack the important weapons which, together with an invincible will, enthusiasm and steel-like discipline, will make them advance; I mean that

they lack Marxist-Leninist knowledge. Therefore, the aim of this school is to arm the party comrades with this powerful weapon.

You should be well aware of one thing: it is not enough for the Party to hold the reins of power; it must know how to keep them and consolidate its hold so as to advance for the maximum fulfilment of our program. We cannot fulfil this program and make our ideals a reality through bluff, through arbitrary decisions, through superficial Marxist culture, or through amateurish work. If the party members imagine for a moment that the complicated problems which they will meet can be solved in rough and ready fashion, in a way which might "a la rigueur" have been appropriate in time of war, if the party members imagine that, in order to conceal their ignorance, laziness, and lack of discipline, they can solve problems, incorrectly, of course, by abusing the prestige and authority of the Party - if we think and work in this manner, we will not be able to hold the commanding positions we have won. And in this case, we would be committing a grave crime against the Party and the people.

The comrades should understand well the importance of the moment and their great responsibilities. Today we are guiding a nation, we are guiding a state; our Party has taken the destiny of the country in its hands. No one is allowed to make concessions, neglect the work, or be satisfied with the little he knows, and thus stop learning. Those who act like this are not communists of the new type; they harm the Party. No one is allowed to violate the iron discipline of the Party, without which we cannot forge ahead, to sacrifice the task he has been entrusted with, and leave it unaccomplished in order to pursue his own comfort and pleasure. The communist of the new type feels rested and relaxed only when he has done the work he has been charged with even better than was expected. The party member should be in the forefront everywhere, in every field of activity; he should lead the masses in every respect, he should stand out, above all, for his will power, knowledge, determination, patience, modesty, and justice. Every party member should realize at every moment that his correct and untiring work strengthens the Party, enhances its prestige, and arouses the people's admiration for it. There should be no party member who thinks otherwise, because he would not deserve to stay in the party ranks.

29 YEARS OF SOCIALIST ALBANIA

THE HISTORY OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE IS FILLED WITH GLORIOUS AND HEROIC EVENTS. THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE HAVE WRITTEN THEIR HISTORY WITH BLOOD AND MADE COUNTLESS SACRIFICES IN THEIR CENTURIES OF STRUGGLE AGAINST MANY ENEMIES. BUT THE ENTIRE LONG ROAD THEY HAVE TRAVELLED, MARKED BY UNPRECEDENTED EFFORTS TO GAIN THEIR FREEDOM AND RIGHTS, FREE THEIR LAND, ACHIEVE SOCIAL EMANCIPATION AND BRING PROGRESS, AGAINST THE FOREIGN ARMIES WHICH HAVE OVERRUN OUR LAND THROUGH THE CENTURIES, AND AGAINST THE ANTIPOPULAR AND ANTI-NATIONAL REGIMES OF THE LOCAL EXPLOITING CLASSES, IS SUMMED UP IN THE GREATEST VICTORIES OF NOVEMBER 28 AND 29.

The proclamation of independence on November 28, 1912, was the greatest historic victory since the time of the legendary battles of our national hero, Gjergj Kastrioti-Scanderbeg, against the Ottoman hordes. The hoisting of the flag in Vlora crowned the long efforts of our valiant and freedom-loving people, who never reconciled themselves to their slavery, who never bent their backs, but fought with sword and rifle, and with unmatched heroism and kept their honor and dignity intact. With the proclamation of independence, Albania, for the first time in five hundred years, emerged on the international scene as an independent and sovereign state. Our people recollect with honour and deep respect the many heroes that have arisen in the struggles for freedom, among whom a special place is held by the patriots of National Revival,

Comrades, this school is being opened at a favourable moment for us, judging from both the internal and the external circumstances. Nazi Germany has been vanquished, the Soviet Union is at the height of its power and glory, and in many countries, especially here and in Yugoslavia, the Communist Party is in command. However, we should never for a single minute forget that international reaction has not been conquered but on the contrary, is endeavouring to regain its position and to restore the pro-fascist cliques to power, to our detriment. Therefore, we should be more wide awake than ever, always on the attack to eliminate every fascist remnant and exerting all our energies in the work and struggle to reconstruct the country. And, if we are to do this, we must make our Party stronger than ever, we must educate and steel our cadres. We should always be wide awake in our internal and foreign policy, and never for a single minute turn our eyes away from the experience of the great Soviet Union, and our beloved comrade Stalin; as Dimitrov says, we should "learn and fight - fight and learn. We should know how to integrate the great lessons of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin with Stalinist consistency at work and in struggle, with the principle of Stalinist irreconcilability with the class enemy and the renegades to the Bolshevik line, with Stalinist fearlessness in the face of difficulties, and with Stalinist revolutionary realism."

Dear comrades, I have nothing else to say but to wish you, on behalf of the Political Bureau and Central Committee of the Party, success in your work, and advise you to pay the greatest attention during the courses so that you profit as much as possible, in your own interest and in the great interest of our beloved Party.

Long live our Communist Party!

Long live the heroic Bolshevik Party of the USSR!

Long live our beloved comrade Stalin!

(Speech on Opening Party School, Enver Hoxha, Selected Works, 1)

who fought with both rifle and pen for the national awakening and the independence of our homeland.

But the victory achieved in 1912, despite the continuous wars and the blood shed by the people, was not stable. It was trampled on by the bargainings of the great powers, and was exploited at the people's expense by the feudals and bourgeoisie, who betrayed the lofty ideals of the fighters for National Revival. They left the country in poverty and misery, in darkness and ignorance, and sold it out once more to foreigners. Our people had to rise again and take up arms against the objectives and attempts of the imperialist powers and of the neighbouring chauvinists, to dismember and enslave Albania, as well as against the barbarous oppression and the traitorous policy of the local ruling classes, closely allied with the external enemies of the Fatherland. The heroic epic of Vlora in 1920, and the democratic-bourgeois revolution of 1924, are two of the memorable events clearly testifying to the unceasing efforts of the Albanian people in this period of their history.

The founding of the Communist Party of Albania on November 8, 1941 marked the decisive turning-point in the historic destiny of the Albanian people. From that time on, they would have leaders who had issued from the bosom of the working people and were connected with them like flesh to bone; they would have a mili-

Con't from pg. 19

tant headquarters enlightened by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, with clear immediate and future objectives, with a political line, strategy and tactics scientifically worked out. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the age-old heroism of our people, inspired by new motives and with a deep social content, burst forth with unprecedented vigour.

Our party, founded, organized and led with ability and wisdom by the beloved leader of our party and people, comrade Enver Hoxha, has worked out and applied, at all stages and in all situations, a clear and correct Marxist-Leninist line in the interests of the people, the Fatherland and socialism.

From the time of its founding, the party, firmly guided by comrade Enver Hoxha, raised high the banner of the liberation struggle, gave form to the political unity of the people around the National Liberation Antifascist Front, organized the national liberation army, unleashed and led the general armed uprising and, exploiting the favourable external situation, created by the great antifascist war of the Soviet peoples and Stalin's Red Army, led the Albanian people to the historical victory of November 29, 1944. Under the leadership of the party, for the first time in their history, our people were able to secure through struggle the complete, final liberation of their country from foreign domination and also to destroy utterly the power of the exploiting classes, and on its ruins to raise the people's power.

Our national liberation struggle is a classic confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that even a people small in number, fighting for a just cause, if led by a revolutionary vanguard, as our Party of Labor is, are able, through their struggle and relying mainly on their own forces, to win complete victory over their enemies, however mighty or powerful they may be.

On these memorable days we commemorate with respect and express our most profound gratitude to the 28,000 martyrs of the national liberation struggle who spilt their pure blood throughout our land, and we are mindful of their behest to make Albania flourish. Their lives and actions are a neverending source of inspiration to us and to future generations, and spur us on to new heroic feats in the struggle for the complete construction of the socialist society and the defence of the victories we have achieved.

The victory of the people's revolution on November 29, 1944 marked the beginning of our unceasing march toward a better life, and the building of socialism in our country.

On the basis of the correct line of the party, and under its determined leadership, after the triumph of the people's revolution, great political, social and economic transformations were realized on the road to socialism. The people's power, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was consolidated throughout the country, all the efforts of internal and external enemies against our people were smashed and the victories achieved and the independence of the Fatherland were defended with determination. Within a short period, and in a revolutionary way, the remnants of feudalism were eliminated, the way was barred to foreign capital, the old capitalist relations of production were toppled, and socialist relations of production were established in all fields. The way was thus cleared for the vigorous development of the economy and culture and for the construction of the socialist society.

Total industrial production in 1973 as compared with 1960, has grown 3.4 times, total agricultural production 2.1 times, the volume of investment 3.6 times, turnover of goods 2.2 times, and volume of transport 2.6 times. Magnificent new projects such as the big metallurgical combine in Elbasan, the powerful hydropower station at Fierza, the plant for the deep processing of oil in Ballsh, etc., will be added to our socialist industry in the years to come. Relying on our own forces, a whole army of highly trained and medium-trained personnel for all branches have been trained quickly; in 1972 there were four times as many as in 1960. The wellbeing of the masses has risen steadily. The development of a mass health service and free medical care for all the working people, the abolition of every form of taxes and levies on the population, the electrification of all the villages, the increase of average life expectancy from 38 years before the war to about 69 years now: these are some significant indications. During

the 1960-1972 period alone, the per capita consumption of some principal mass consumer goods and foodstuffs has increased by an average of 80%.

The whole of our life refutes the hackneyed propaganda claims of the Soviet revisionists that allegedly the economy of our country without their so-called aid, is marking time. On the contrary, facts show that their hostile blockade on little but resolute socialist Albania, suffered a shameful defeat, faced with the iron determination of the Albanian people and of their glorious Party of Labour to build the complete socialist society according to the great principle of self-reliance, and with the internationalist aid and support of the fraternal Chinese people. The facts prove that it is not little Albania but the Soviet revisionist renegades who, in order to overcome economic difficulties and failures, have opened the doors of their country to American, Japanese, West German, French, Italian, British and other capitalist credits and investments.

The victories realized by our patriotic and industrious people are linked with the correct line and leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, which cherishes the cause of the people and of socialism. The Party and comrade Enver Hoxha are concerned in the entire glorious road we have traversed so far, and the great successes we have achieved. The powerful unity of the party and people makes our Fatherland invincible, and guarantees still greater victories in the future.

Many historic victories were achieved in our country after the liberation of the Fatherland and the triumph of the people's revolution, but the greatest victory we have won is the formation of the new man endowed with noble qualities and revolutionary concepts.

But we should not forget for a single moment that the formation of the new socialist man is a protracted and continuous process, which takes place through a fierce and uninterrupted class struggle against various remnants and influences of the ideologies of exploiting societies, be they the patriarchal, feudal or petty-bourgeois orders of the past, or the bourgeois and revisionist societies of the present.

Our successes in constructing socialism, protecting the socialist order and defending our Fatherland and in the uninterrupted development of our revolution, depend, in the final account, on our success in this struggle.

The fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party attached special importance to the problem of the struggle against alien influences. Its decisions constitute a great, militant programme for the further ideological tempering and practical revolutionary activity of the party and the people, and are another powerful weapon to prevent the penetration of bourgeois and revisionist ideology in our country.



•PROCLAMATION OF THE REPUBLIC, a picture by the known painter Fatmir Haxhiu devoted to January 11, 1946, the day of the proclamation of the Republic

RED OCTOBER

Con't from pg. 20.

Our Party and people have always clearly realized that our external and internal enemies consider us to be a thorn in their flesh and that they cannot reconcile themselves with the existence of the People's Republic of Albania and the Marxist-Leninist policy of our heroic party which, with courage and an undaunted spirit of principle, has never hesitated to tell the truth and incessantly expose their diabolical policy and activity against our country, as well as against the peoples and progressive men and women throughout the world. This is why they never cease their hostile activity against our country. Today, ideological diversion is one of the principle methods the imperialist and revisionist enemies use against us.

We have responded and will respond to these efforts and tactics of our enemies by strengthening and steeling the unity of the entire people around the party, consolidating and improving the dictatorship of the proletariat, increasing our defense preparedness, working even harder on economic construction, according to the great principle of self-reliance, deepening our ideological struggle against alien manifestations and liberal stands towards them, sharpening our vigilance and Marxist-Leninist ideological partisanship in every sphere of mental life, and implementing, with the utmost consistency and without the least concession, the principled proletarian policy of the party at home and in the international arena.

Our entire people have wholeheartedly embraced these vital precepts of the party and comrade Enver Hoxha, and they have risen in a fierce struggle against liberal and conservative manifestations, attitudes and actions, against the concepts and remnants of alien ideologies, which hinder development and leave a loophole open for the penetration of bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

The correct and principled stand adopted by our country towards international events, have greatly increased the authority of the People's Republic of Albania in the eyes of the world's peoples. These stands have at the same time confirmed the correctness of the line and foreign policy consistently pursued by our Party and Government, which serves to strengthen the freedom and independence of our fatherland, the successful construction of socialism and the cause of the revolution and liberation of the peoples all over the world.

The international situation, in spite of its zig-zags, is characterized overall by the growth in the forces of the revolution and the peoples fighting for national liberation, and the increasing weight of all those who stand for democracy and progress.

For the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, the outgoing year has been one of heavy and successive defeats both at home and abroad, in the political, ideological and economic fields.

But despite the defeats they have suffered, the imperialists and social imperialists have not given up their efforts to interfere in the internal affairs of other states, to use blackmail, and to threaten the peoples. The collaboration and rivalry of the two superpowers constitute today the greatest danger and threat to the freedom and independence of the peoples and to international security. The overt and secret agreements, not only economic and cultural, but also political and military, which have been reached between them, today pose the greatest danger, and are directed against the vital interests of the peoples. The expansionist and aggressive actions of the two superpowers can be seen everywhere.

An increasingly more important role in the international arena is being played by the People's Republic of China, whose authority and prestige are growing with every passing day. It is a reliable bulwark for the peaceloving forces of the world, and the peoples fighting for their national liberation, and provides a powerful backing for the revolution.

We are linked with great people's China by an unbreakable friendship, based on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This friendship has been forged by our two great leaders, comrades Enver Hoxha and Mao Tse Tung, in the crucible of our common struggle against our common enemies, the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social imperialists and their lackeys. Just like the fraternal collaboration and internationalist unity between our two peoples and parties, this friendship will be preserved and increasingly steeled by our party and people.

We rejoice over the victories achieved by the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and its great Marxist-Leninist Chairman, Mao Tse Tung which we consider as our own victories. The 10th Congress of the Communist Party of China opened to the people and the People's Republic of China brilliant prospects of development on the road of socialism; it smashed the traitorous Lin Piao clique and strengthened still more the party and the People's Republic of China.

The Albanian people and the Chinese people will continue to march together, and will fight shoulder to shoulder for the same ideals and against the same enemies, certain that in this way they serve not only the cause of the successful construction of socialism in their countries, but also the cause of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples throughout the world.

In these joyous, festive days, when we look back over the glorious road traversed by our people, we take pride in the victories achieved, we take pride in our Fatherland, which stands firm like a rock of granite, we take pride in our heroic party and our beloved leader comrade Enver Hoxha, who have led and continue to lead us, with ability and forethought, from victory to victory. Let the precepts of the party and of comrade Enver Hoxha, inspire us always to accomplish our tasks to the best of our ability!

("29 Years of Socialist Albania," Albania Today, Nov. - Dec., 1973)

AT PRESENT, WE MUST CONCENTRATE ON CRITICIZING TENG HSIAO-PING AND DEEPEN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE RIGHT DEVIATIONIST ATTEMPT TO REVERSE CORRECT VERDICTS. THE ESSENTIAL POLITICAL CHARACTERISTIC OF THE CAPITALIST-ROADERS IS THAT THEY PURSUE THE REVISIONIST LINE. IN OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST THEM, THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION TO SOLVE IS THAT OF POLITICAL LINE, I.E., TO USE THE MARXIST LINE TO DEFEAT THEIR COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY REVISIONIST LINE, COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS, PARTICULARLY LEADING CADRES, MUST TAKE A FIRM AND CLEAR-CUT STAND, MARCH IN THE VAN OF THE STRUGGLE, AND GO THROUGH TESTS AND TEMPER THEMSELVES. THEY MUST ENERGETICALLY LEAD THE MASSES IN COMBATING TENG HSIAO-PING'S REVISIONIST LINE IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONCRETE CLASS STRUGGLE AND TWO-LINE STRUGGLE ON THE VARIOUS FRONTS. (BUILD THE PARTY IN THE COURSE OF STRUGGLE, PEKING REVIEW, JULY 2, 1976, #27)

BOLSHEVIK PARTY PRESS

BOLSHEVIK is the theoretical journal of the Revolutionary Wing. It is in striving to uphold the revolutionary tradition of the great Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin that we dedicate the publication of BOLSHEVIK.

BOLSHEVIK is an organ directed to forging the U.S. Bolshevik Party through hammering out the party's basic line and program - the key link we must grasp in this period to unite the genuine Marxist-Leninists and win the advanced to Communism. BOLSHEVIK is dedicated to upholding the purity of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought by waging ruthless struggle against all forms of opportunism, particularly the dangerous Menshevik line of the opportunist wing in the U.S. Communist movement.

We plan to publish BOLSHEVIK four times a year. Our propaganda, aimed at Bolshevik Party cadre, Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers, will be focused on drawing sharp and clear lines of demarcation; and we will introduce the struggle over the Party's program into the polemics.

(This theoretical journal will soon be translated and available in Spanish)

BOLSHEVIK

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Please send me _____ copies of BOLSHEVIK at \$1.50, plus \$.25 postage.

Make checks or money-order payable to Bolshevik
Mail to: RWL
P.O. Box 551
Brooklyn, New York 11237

PALANTE

POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WING



Party Building is the central and only task of all genuine Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers. The two main tactical principles which must be conducted simultaneously to achieve unity in the form of a new party are:

Uniting all Marxist-Leninists and Winning Advanced Workers to Communism. Hammering out the Party's basic line and program of action is the key link in this period to build the U.S. Bolshevik Party.

\$3.60 for 1 year subscription to Palante
\$1.80 for 6 month subscription to Palante

I wish to contribute ___\$6, ___\$8, ___\$10, or more to Palante; this includes a subscription for 1 year___, or 6 months___.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please make checks or money orders payable to:
Palante

Send to: PALANTE DISTRIBUTION & CIRCULATION
C/O P.O. BOX 351, BRONX, NEW YORK 10452

Party Building In The Heat Of The Class Struggle

Now available \$2.50

- REVISIONISM IN THE U.S.
- POSITION ON THE TRADE UNION WORK
- ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT
- FOR THE LENINIST POSITION ON THE ADVANCED ELEMENTS
- OUR URGENT TASK - THE FUSING OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS MOVEMENTS
- WHAT PERIOD WE ARE IN
- KEY LINK TO PARTY BUILDING
- PRESENT SITUATION AND OUR TASKS

Pamphlet by
The Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization

(This pamphlet will soon be translated and available in Spanish)

RED OCTOBER CELEBRATIONS

COMRADES, IN KEEPING WITH OUR CENTRAL AND ONLY TASK OF BUILDING THE U. S. BOLSHEVIK PARTY AND IN KEEPING WITH OUR PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALIST DUTY, WE ARE ORGANIZING DAYS OF SOLIDARITY FOR RED OCTOBER AROUND THE COUNTRY. COMRADES, SHOULD LOOK FOR MATERIALS FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY WING THAT SPEAK TO THE ACTIVITIES IN YOUR AREA.

CAMARADAS, EN LLEVANDO A CABO NUESTRA TAREA CENTRAL Y UNICA DE CONSTRUIR EL PARTIDO BOLCHEVIQUE DE LOS E.E.U.U. Y EN LLEVANDO A CABO NUESTROS DEBERES DE INTERNACIONALISMO PROLETARIO, ESTAMOS ORGANIZANDO DIAS DE SOLIDARIDAD CON OCTUBRE ROJO POR TODO EL PAIS. CAMARADAS DEBEN DE BUSCAR LOS MATERIALES DEL ALA REVOLUCIONARIA QUE HABLA DE LAS ACTIVIDADES.

CELEBRACIONES DE OCTUBRE ROJO

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WING

THE REVOLUTIONARY WING OF THE U.S. ANTI-REVISIONIST COMMUNIST MOVEMENT STANDS ON AND FIGHTS FOR THE APPLICATION OF THE UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT .

WE STAND ON THE ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM, WE REJECT BUREAUCRATIC CENTRALISM AND ULTRA-DEMOCRACY, WE RESOLVE CONTRADICTIONS INTERNALLY THROUGH THE METHOD OF CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM, THE PARTY BECOMES STRONG BY PURGING ITS RANKS OF OPPORTUNISM.

THE STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE OF THE REVOLUTION IS THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM, TOWARDS THE ABOLITION OF CLASSES THE FINAL AIM OF COMMUNISTS.

WE FIGHT FOR THE VIOLENT, ARMED OVERTHROW OF THE BOURGEOISIE, TO SMASH THE BOURGEOIS STATE, IN ORDER TO FIRMLY ESTABLISH AND CONSOLIDATE THE RULE OF THE PROLETARIAT, THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

WE STAND THAT THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM IS A SHAM AND A HUMBAG WITHOUT A RELENTLESS, UNCOMPROMISING STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL FORMS OF OPPORTUNISM AND REVISIONISM, TROTSKYISM, MENSHEVISM AND CONCILIATIONISM. WE BELIEVE THAT THE MAIN DANGER IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS MOVEMENT IS RIGHT OPPORTUNISM AND REVISIONISM REPRESENTED INTERNATIONALLY BY ALL THE REVISIONIST PARTIES AND LED BY THE CPSU AND IN THE U.S. BY THE "CP"USA AND THE R"CP" REVISIONISTS. RIGHT OPPORTUNISM REPRESENTED BY THE MENSHEVIKS AND CONCILIATORS OF THE SHAM WING OF THE U.S. ANTI-REVISIONIST COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. WE STAND ON THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL BOLSHEVISM: PRACTICE MARXISM NOT REVISIONISM; UNITE, DON'T SPLIT; BE OPEN AND ABOVE BOARD; DON'T INTRIGUE AND CONSPIRE.

WE STAND, THAT THE BUILDING OF THE U.S. BOLSHEVIK PARTY IS THE CENTRAL TASK OF ALL COMMUNISTS AND CLASS CONSCIOUS WORKERS, AND HAS BEEN SINCE THE REVISIONIST BETRAYAL OF THE "CP"USA. THE PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT MUST BE FOUNDED ON THE WORLD VIEW OF THE PROLETARIAT, DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM. THE PARTY MUST BE A UNION OF THE MOST CLASS CONSCIOUS PROLETARIANS. WE STAND ON THE STRATEGIC PRINCIPLE OF BOLSHEVIZATION BY CARRYING OUT THE IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL TASKS OF PARTY BUILDING. IN THIS PERIOD THE TACTICAL PRINCIPLES ARE UNITING MARXIST-LENINISTS AND WINNING THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM, IN ORDER TO BUILD OUR PARTY, THE PARTY OF THE U.S. MULTI-NATIONAL PROLETARIAT, THE U.S. BOLSHEVIK PARTY. WE HOLD THAT THE HAMMERING OUT OF THE PARTY'S BASIC LINE AND PROGRAM OF ACTION IS THE KEY LINK IN THIS PERIOD.

WE STAND ON THE METHOD OF LENINISM, HARMONY BETWEEN WORD AND DEED, TRAINING THE PARTY, CLASS AND MASSES BY LEARNING THROUGH

OUR OWN MISTAKES. WITHOUT CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM, THERE IS NO BOLSHEVISM. WE FIGHT HEGEMONISM OF ALL TYPES - SMALL CIRCLE SPIRIT AND BIG ORGANIZATION HEGEMONISM, BY IMBUING THE MASSES WITH THE PARTY SPIRIT. WE FIGHT SELF-COMPLACENT OPTIMISM AND PESSIMISM THROUGH PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARY OPTIMISM. WE UPHOLD THE STRATEGIC PRINCIPLES FOR REVOLUTION, THE MASSES MAKE REVOLUTION, THE PARTY MAKES THEM CONSCIOUS.

REVOLUTION INDEED IS THE MAIN TREND IN THE WORLD TODAY. THE THIRD WORLD, ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA IS THE MAIN FORCE, THE STORMCENTER OF REVOLUTION. WE STAND WITH THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT AND WILL RENDER DIRECT AND RESOLUTE SUPPORT TO THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES AND NATIONS AGAINST IMPERIALISM MOST ESPECIALLY U.S. IMPERIALISM AND SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM. WE FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO SELF DETERMINATION UP TO AND INCLUDING POLITICAL SECESSION.

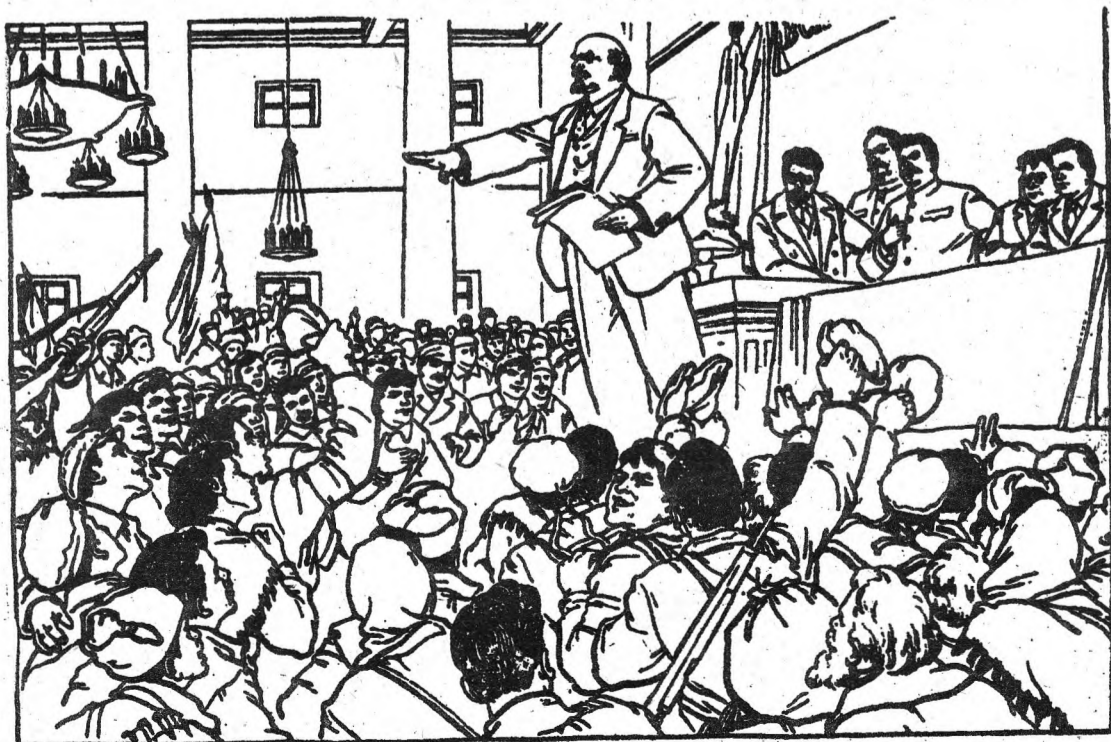
WE FIGHT FOR THE VOLUNTARY UNION OF THE PROLETARIAT OF THE OPPRESSED NATIONS WITH THE OPPRESSOR NATIONS. "THE WORKINGMEN HAVE NO COUNTRY." THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT IS LEADING THE MASSES OUT OF POVERTY, HUMILIATION AND OPPRESSION IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM, NEO-COLONIALISM AND SUPERPOWER HEGEMONISM. NO NATION CAN BE FREE WHILE IT OPPRESSES ANOTHER NATION.

WE STAND WITH THE PEACE LOVING PEOPLES OF THE WORLD IN PREPARING AGAINST THE DANGER OF A THIRD IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR INSTIGATED THE TWO SUPERPOWERS WITH THE MAIN SOURCE BEING THE SOVIET UNION. EITHER WAR WILL GIVE RISE TO REVOLUTION OR REVOLUTION WILL PREVENT WAR. REVOLUTIONARY WAR IS THE ONLY ROAD TO PEACE. THE RESPONSIBILITY OF COMMUNISTS IN THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES IS TO TURN AN IMPERIALIST WAR INTO A CIVIL WAR.

WE STAND WITH THE ADVANCED DETACHMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AND THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA AND WE AS PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT TAKE GREAT PRIDE IN LEARNING FROM THE LEADING REVOLUTIONARY EXAMPLES OF CHINA, ALBANIA, KOREA, LAOS, CAMBODIA, VIETNAM AND ROMANIA. WE COMMIT OUR LIVES TO THE FIGHT AND FULFILLMENT OF THESE PRINCIPLES, WHICH WE OPENLY PROPAGATE AND WILL NEVER BE COMPROMISED.

WE STAND ON THE INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLE OF MARXISM-LENINISM MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT - WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!

BOLSHEVISM ON THE RISE!
FORWARD TO THE FIRST PARTY CONGRESS!



"It would be naive to wait for a formal majority for the Bolsheviks. No revolution ever waits for that. Kerensky and co. are not waiting either, and are preparing to surrender Petrograd. It is the wretched waverings of the Democratic conference that are bound to exhaust the patience of the workers of Petrograd and Moscow! History will not forgive us if we do not assume power now. There is no apparatus? There is an apparatus, the Soviets and the democratic organizations. The international situation right now on the eve of the conclusion of a separate peace between the British and the Germans is in our favor. To propose peace to the nations right now means to win."

Lenin

ETERNAL GLORY TO OUR GREAT LEADER



Chairman Mao delivering the report 'On Protracted War' at the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College in May 1938.



Chairman Mao making a report at the Lu Hsun Arts Institute in Yen-an in May 1938.



Chairman Mao chatting with peasants of Yangchialing in Yen-an in 1939.



Chairman Mao at work in the cave dwelling in Date Orchard, Yen-an, 1946.

REASCENDING CHINGKANGSHAN

-to the tune of Shui Tiao Keh Tou

May 1965

I have long aspired to reach for the clouds
And I again ascend Ching kangshan.
Coming from afar to view our old haunt,
I find new scenes replacing the old.
Everywhere orioles sing, swallows dart,
Streams babble
And the road mounts skyward.
Once Huangyangchieh is passed
No other perilous place calls for a glance.

Wind and thunder are stirring,
Flags and banners are flying
Wherever men live.
Thirty-eight years are fled
With a mere snap of the fingers.

We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven
And seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas:
We'll return amid triumphant song and laughter.
Nothing is hard in this world
If you dare to scale the heights.



Chairman Mao during the fighting in northern Shensi in 1947.

AND TEACHER CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG



Chairman Mao declaring on Tienanmen the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949.



Chairman Mao at the rally held by the people of all walks of life in Peking in 1965 in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.



Comrades Mao Tsetung, Chou En-lai and Wang Hung-wen on the rostrum at the 10th Party Congress.



On September 11, Peking workers, with boundless profound proletarian feelings, paying respects to the remains of the most esteemed and beloved leader Chairman Mao.