

Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile

*To the Central Committee,
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA*

We have been overjoyed and moved to hear, little by little, of the huge May Day campaign waged by your Party and of its successful culmination in important marches of thousands of revolutionaries who unfurled the red banner in various cities in the U.S.

Your Party has been unfolding a great struggle against the U.S. bourgeoisie itself, right in the heart of one of the super-powers. With great courage and heroism, your Party has been defying repression and carrying on revolutionary combat.

In those memorable days of struggle for May Day 1980, Comrade Damian García, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA was viciously murdered. With this assassination the bourgeoisie wanted to intimidate your Party and the revolutionary forces, but this has backfired; the indestructible example of Comrade García is already being followed by many other revolutionaries who are joining the ranks of your Party to fill the tremendous gap left by Comrade Damian. An unbreakable fighter, Comrade Damian García was not only a hero of the U.S. proletariat and people, but also of the international proletariat.

In the face of this new repressive blow, in the face of this barbarous assassination of a member of our brother Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party of the U.S., our Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile dips its red banners in memory of Comrade Damian García, in full solidarity with your Party, swearing by his memory to continue advancing on the revolutionary road we have charted for ourselves.

Our own experience and international experience as well have shown us that savage repression by the people's enemies is a sign of their weakness, and they can never liquidate the

revolutionary forces which represent the future of humanity.

For our Party, which is struggling under difficult, clandestine conditions against the ferocious dictatorship headed by Pinochet and against Yankee imperialism, the activities developed by your Party in the heart of our main enemy are cause for sincere, revolutionary joy. The Chilean proletariat and people sincerely appreciate the solidarity given by the proletariat and people in the U.S., as well as that of your Party.

On this occasion we also want to salute your Party for the important contributions it has made in the defense of Marxism-Leninism and the thought and work of Comrade Mao Tsetung, both against the present Chinese revisionist leaders and against the dogmatism and mechanical thinking which have also appeared in the International Communist Movement.

Today the struggle against revisionism in all its forms and for the unity of Marxist-Leninists is an urgent task, one which your Party, along with other forces of the International Communist Movement, has firmly undertaken.

Comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the U.S.: Accept once again our revolutionary greetings, as well as all our support. We wish you continued victories in your revolutionary work.

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST
PARTY, USA!

GLORY TO COMRADE DAMIAN GARCIA, LET US
FOLLOW HIS REVOLUTIONARY EXAMPLE!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

Central Committee,
Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile
May 13, 1980

Nottingham Communist Group (Britain)

To the RCP (USA) on the occasion of May 1st 1980

The Nottingham Communist Group sends revolutionary greetings to the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and to the working class of America. We recall that it was the American working class who initiated May Day as an occasion for mass action and international working class solidarity. Now, under the leadership of the RCP, you are carrying forward and deepening the revolutionary significance of this great tradition.

For us in Britain, it is very encouraging to see the growth of a truly communist party right in the heart of the most powerful imperialist country in the world. Your example is an inspiration for us to intensify our efforts to rebuild the proletarian revolutionary party here in Britain.

You proclaim: "Our flag is red—not red, white and blue!"

We reply: "Our flag is also the red flag of the international working class—not the red, white and blue of British imperialism!"

May Day 1980

Dear Comrades,

In greeting the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and the whole U.S. working class on this May 1, 1980, the Communist Party of the Portuguese Workers cannot fail to recall that this date is inseparably linked to the heroic struggle of the workers in Chicago who on the 1st of May 1886, in magnificent combat in the streets, raised the banner of the demand for the eight-hour work day and struck a blow against their exploiters and oppressors. Even if there were no other reason, this alone would be enough to prove that the U. S. working class is a glorious and fighting class, whose example has more than once shown the way towards the emancipation of the proletariat of the whole world.

Despite the fact that Portugal has lived for many years under the yoke of U.S. imperialism, the Portuguese working class does not confuse the stinking crimes of the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie with the working class in the U.S., which is a victim of these same crimes.

The Portuguese proletariat celebrates May 1st this year under the conditions of a great sharpening of the class struggle. After overthrowing fascism and colonialism, after having prevented the establishment of a social-fascist dictatorship in 1975, after having unmasked the petty bourgeois democracy of the Socialist Party which was in power after the overthrow of the Portuguese revolution in 1974-75, the working class and people of Portugal today are struggling for the overthrow of the reactionary government of the so-called "Democratic" Alliance, a coalition made up of a group of reactionary and fascist parties which are flunkies for U.S. and European imperialism.

With the dedicated aid of the revisionists,

Communist Party of the Portuguese Workers (PCTP)

and under the cover of the illusions about bourgeois democracy spread by them, the Portuguese bourgeoisie threw 15% of the workers out of work and cut their real wages by about a third during the last five years. Once the opportunist and traitor parties had completed their work, the current government of the private monopoly capitalists and landowners strove to intensify exploitation and poverty even more, while at the same time attacking the revolutionary gains won by the workers, and preparing bloody repression against the working class, the peasantry and the whole people.

Our Communist Party of the Portuguese Workers is the only political force which consistently opposes the reactionary "Democratic" Alliance government and which shows the masses the road of the People's Democracy and Socialism, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Communism. But, at the same time our Party takes the lead in the struggle against the dictatorship of capital, it never ceases for a moment to fight the revisionist party of Cunhal, which constantly sabotages and derails the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat from its objective.

Comrades,

Since its founding in September 1970, the Communist Party of the Portuguese Workers has always defined itself as a Marxist party, that is, as a party guided by the scientific doctrine of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Therefore, we didn't have to think twice when the new Chinese and Albanian revisionists shamelessly unleashed an attack against Mao's teachings and the gains of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We remain unshakeably convinced that Maoism is a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism, that it is, fundamentally, the Marxism-Leninism of our time. As such, the new attacks launched by the Chinese and Albanian revisionists, following the Soviet revisionists, have the sole purpose of disarming the proletariat in the face of imperialism, social-imperialism and world reaction, of spreading political and ideological confusion among the vanguard workers and creating the conditions for the widespread slaughter of a new imperialist world war between the two superpowers, in which the peoples will be used as cannon fodder.

All this makes clear the need to intensify the internationalist struggle of the communists the world over against modern revisionism, whether it be the Soviet type, or the Chinese or Albanian type.

Let us unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, certain that in this way we will march towards new and greater victories!

LONG LIVE MAY 1st

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN
INTERNATIONALISM

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-
MAOISM

Mao Tsetung — Kredsen (Denmark)

20 April 1980

To the Central Committee of the
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

The May Day 1980 mobilizing of the working people's revolutionary forces inside the leading country of the imperialist gangsters now ruling the world is going to be an event of great practical significance, not only for the U.S. but in joining together revolutionary peoples inside and outside the imperialists' dominating centres.

These inside and outside revolutionary forces are equally needed to take history into the hands of the working people, and their success in doing so is inevitable when they join their common struggle and just hatred, organized, guided and steered by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Make this international workers' day 1980 further strengthen the vanguard party of the U.S. working class, the RCP, USA, and through this the international liberation movement!

Comrades,

On this glorious revolutionary May Day 1980 we express our militant internationalist solidarity with the Revolutionary Communist Party (USA), the vanguard of the great multinational working class of America. We hail your heroic efforts and the tremendous advances you have made in beating back the vicious repression unleashed on the party and Chairman, Comrade Avakian, by the war-mongering, parasitic and wholly decadent imperialist ruling class of America, and the tremendous efforts you are making to unite and lead the American working class on the correct revolutionary path.

We uphold the decisive contributions made to the International Communist Movement by the Revolutionary Communist Party, led by Comrade Avakian, in defending and advancing the cause of proletarian revolution, exposing the hideous reactionary nature of the Teng Hsiao Ping regime and holding high the banner of our beloved and immortal leader, Mao Tse Tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist revolutionary of our era.

We stand united with you today dedicated to exposing and fighting the greatest exploiters and murderers of all time—the two superpowers, and their many puppets everywhere. Today the two superpowers are desperately trying to sink their fangs deeper while they prepare to incinerate perhaps hundreds of millions of people in a Third World War, to redivide and rule the world. The U.S. imperialists and its allies have penetrated deep into the economy of our country and have begun to plunder our people and our resources in an unprecedented way. Our own comprador bourgeoisie, acting under the dictates of the World Bank, the IMF and other institutions of finance capital, have begun to escalate their exploitation and repression of the people so that we live under semi-fascist conditions. The shadow of Soviet social-imperialism with its threat of expansion, looms large over our country and the rest of Asia, particularly since its naked aggression in Afghanistan. All this is, however, nothing but the prelude to their final destruction.

World Imperialism has entered into a period of deepening economic crisis from which it can never hope to recoup. Before the international working class dawns the prospect of social revolution. Let us grasp this situation with both hands.

The 1980's is a decisive decade for us and for the whole world. The future holds many deadly challenges and great opportunities. Our party is determined to build the United Front of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces under the leadership of the working class and to carry out the New Democratic Revolution as a prelude to the establishment of Socialism.

As the vanguard of the working class of one of the two biggest Imperialist powers of the world, you have a tremendous responsibility for the success of the world revolution and we have every confidence that you will discharge this great responsibility with honor.

Let us together with all other Marxist/Leninist forces of the world, guided by proletarian internationalism, march forward until final victory.

**Down With The Two Super-Powers And Their War Preparations!
Victory to the World Revolution!**

Long Live Marxism/Leninism/Mao Tse Tung Thought!

General Secretary
N. Sanmugathan

Ceylon Communist Party

Statement by a Revolutionary Worker from Turkey Living in New York City

Comrades and Friends:

At a time when the struggles of the working class in the capitalist-imperialist system and of the oppressed peoples of the world for national and social liberation have sharpened, the RCP, part of the American working class movement, has been preparing to celebrate May Day, a day of unity, solidarity, and struggle of the world proletariat. In spite of the revisionist, reformist, and opportunist maneuvers to strip May Day of its militant character, to put May Day into a form acceptable to the imperialist bourgeoisie by holding May Day celebrations behind closed doors and not carrying the message to the masses, the RCP has taken up May Day as a tool in the struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie. Especially with a new world war on the horizon, a militant celebration of May Day in the United States will add spirit to and supplement the struggles of the peoples of colonial and semi-colonial countries (from the point of view of international solidarity). The revolutionaries and working masses of our country will see that they are not alone in their struggles, that even in the heart of imperialism there is a struggle against the common enemy.

The proletariat and working masses of Turkey have declared war against the imperialist bourgeoisie. Thousands of workers, revolutionaries and peasants have given their lives to destroy fascist dictatorship and imperialism, but these attacks don't go unanswered. Today the objective conditions for revolution have ripened considerably. Collaborating monopoly bourgeoisie and feudal landlords are on the verge of collapse. Neither oppressors nor the oppressed want to live under the conditions they are used to. The proletariat and the working masses of Turkey are defending themselves against attacks by the imperialists and their lackeys, and preparing themselves for revolution. May Day of this year will be an historic turning point of the class struggle between fascists and anti-fascist revolutionary forces. The fascist Demirel government has banned May Day and also declared they would smash demonstrations by armed force. But the proletariat and working masses of Turkey will thwart their plans by raising the red banner of revolution.

Long Live May Day!

Long Live Internationalism!

**Long Live the Unity, Solidarity and
Struggle of the World Proletariat!**

Message from Jamaican Revolutionaries

When the Masses Unite, All Reactionaries Will Tremble

We came to the U.S. already hating the oppression of our people in Jamaica by U.S. imperialism. We came looking for genuine revolutionaries to unite with, in common struggle, to get rid of U.S. imperialism. We found the RCP and we found Revolutionary May Day. We were always told how strong the U.S. is supposed to be and how everybody in the U.S. loves this empire. But we have seen through building for May Day that thousands here in the U.S. are longing to do the system in. May Day 1980—millions of people around the world will march, taking history into their hands. And millions are watching to see if workers in the U.S. will now march side by side with workers of the rest of the world. We will be marching with you and we hope to see May Day in Jamaica.

The RCP has a weapon to fight this system and that is Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. We as members of the Youth Forces for National Liberation (YFNL) are preparing for revolution in Jamaica. To win our liberation the tentacles of imperialism must be chopped off in our country. We have fought first British and now U.S. imperialism. While people all over the Caribbean are fighting now against U.S. imperialism, Soviet imperialists are peeping through the back door. We cannot trade a black dog for a monkey. We strongly support the RCP in the battle for Revolutionary May Day. We believe May Day will be a sparkling light to shine the path to revolution in the U.S., which can only inspire further millions the world over in struggle for our liberation.

Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, New York City Branch

The Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, New York City Branch, is making a call to all people in the Puerto Rican community and Hispanic people in general, to unite with the battle cry of the working class in the May First Movement.

Comrades, raise your battle cry, and unite with this big march that will unite thousands and thousands of oppressed workers.

Puerto Rico is a territory of Central America that has suffered the most shameless colonialism and oppression since 1898, when the invaders, the enemy of freedom of all peoples—the capitalists and imperialists of North America—submitted the Puerto Ricans, through use of conventional arms, to slavery and exploitation. Even today, after 82 years, the Puerto Rican people still suffer after this empire imposed a citizenship that Puerto Ricans at no time asked for.

We are clear that the vicious intention of North American imperialism was not only to use Puerto Ricans as cannon fodder in wars which were provoked by the malignant Yankees, but also to use the workers of Puerto Rico for yearly immigration to the migrant agricultural farms of the U.S. where they live in the worst health conditions.

Brothers and sisters, workers of Puerto Rico, Thursday May 1st is your day. Show your strength for all those millions of workers who internationally raise the flag of struggle and freedom to overthrow the exploitative U.S.

Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, U.S.A. Organization

Because of your gracious invitation in your newspaper asking those of us from other countries for their opinion of May Day and what it means to them, we are happy to have the honor to share in commemorating this great day by sending you some thoughts from the Iraqi people commonly and the Kurdish people especially, hoping for solidarity in their struggle with the great people of the U.S. We hope the Kurds and the exploited and oppressed in your country can work together, struggle side by side together to achieve the victory in a great revolution against imperialism, Zionism and all reactionaries here, there and everywhere! We are depending on our revolutionary workers to knock down any kind of imperialistic regime under any cover they have cloaked themselves in.

COMRADES:

The 1st of May, International Workers Day all over the world is the symbol of the revolutionary activities in which revolutionary workers are leading the people against capitalism and worldwide imperialistic regimes—holding up the Red Flags of class struggle to bring about the socialist system all over the world.

The proletarian class everywhere is rising up and shouting loudly using revolutionary slogans demanding the end of imperialism, Zionism, all reactionaries. They are preparing a worldwide revolution to knock down imperialism and fascist regimes.

In 1886 the proletarian class rose up in a big demonstration against the U.S. capitalist regime in Chicago demanding that the daily work day should consist of 8 hours only. They were demanding a better life and more hope for the working people.

Today, the proletarian class in Iraq is facing and meeting many difficulties under the fascist regime of the Baath party which is in power presently. The necessities of life are almost impossible to obtain for the working person, because of the horrendous inflation in the country. Even when wages are high, it is very hard to make ends meet, especially for the lower class consisting of mostly workers, laborers and peasants. Many necessary items have disappeared from the markets.

The Iraqi regime keeps harassing the proletarian class; putting them in jail or firing them from their jobs. Right now there are thousands of Kurdish workers who have been laid off their jobs in Kirkuk from the Iraq Petroleum Company and in Kanaqin. Adding more cruelty to their treatment, the Iraqi regime deports people by the hundreds to the southern part of the country separating them from their friends and relatives.

The Iraqi regime courted the imperialistic capitalists to gain the use of their assets. The Iraqis signed different military and economic agreements with several imperialistic countries, like the U.S.A., Britain, West Germany and France. Meanwhile the Iraqi people are in need of food and clothes, but the regime needs weapons to kill—to kill especially the Kurdish people!

The proletarian class in Iraq has a bright background in their struggle against imperialism and the bourgeois who are building their castles and buying their expensive luxury cars on the laborers' shoulders.

The massacre of Gaworbaghi in 1946 was the best proof of revolutionary workers' struggle against the *above mentioned group*. The revolutionary workers prepared a demonstration in Kirkuk which is the richest city in Iraqi Kurdistan with its oil. They were demanding an increase of wages and better living conditions. The regime answered with guns and shot 80 workers to death; about 42 were wounded.

The Iraqi fascist regime kills, chases, arrests the best and most innocent and patriotic group of Iraqi people—both Arabs and Kurds and all national minorities. This regime has executed more than 300 Kurdish revolutionaries in *one day's time*! Most of these people were workers, peasants and students. At the same time they arrested some workers of the League of Toilers of Iraqi Kurdistan. Their president, Comrade Abdullah Hassan was included. He had been working in a Sulaimanyia cigarette factory. After torturing the patriots severely for three months they were executed without a trial. This wasn't the first execution! There were some other comrades including one of the L.T.I.K.'s leader by the name of Shehab Sheikh Noori who was one of the established members of the League of Toilers of Iraqi Kurdistan.

Twelve years ago, after all this, the Baath party took over the unions in the country including the Worker's Union. In spite of this, in May 1980 the Kurdistan revolutionary workers, along with the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan will join together in their support of the revolutionary workers in the U.S., the Revolutionary Communist Party and all the other foreign workers in the United States. These workers pledge to all that they will make May Day in 1980 a great advance for the class conscious proletariat in America, holding up the red banner in the streets singing revolutionary slogans, declaring the coming of the end of capitalism and imperialism.

Today, the revolutionary workers are reminding themselves of the incident in Chicago and Gaworbaghi's massacre, telling themselves that it was a very important matter and it is NOT to be forgotten ever! It is the proletariat's right to make revolution with the support of other progressive parties, to knock down the fascist and imperialistic regimes everywhere, until they achieve victory!

**LONG LIVE THE 1ST OF MAY: THE WORKERS' DAY!
LET THE WORKING CLASS GET UNITED AGAINST THE
IMPERIALISTIC REGIMES AND THEIR ALLIES!
DOWN WITH THE WIDE WORD "IMPERIALISM"
UNDER ANY COVER!!**



tion. The imperialists are united in defending their common interests and the plunder of the peoples of different countries. The workers of the world must also be united in the struggle against imperialism and capitalism and the defense of their common interests, and they must together smash the imperialists' plots and intrigues. May Day is the day of solidarity of workers around the world, and on this historic day the Iranian workers expect solidarity and backing from their comrades worldwide. The imperialists would like to pretend that our country and our revolution is alone in the world. But the workers and freedom-loving revolutionary people around the globe are our allies and backers of our revolution. May Day is a day of expressing this solidarity.

Today the U.S. military is threatening our country with military aggression, and confronting such an attack puts a heavy load on the shoulders of you American workers and communists. You made history when you defended the heroic Indochinese peoples and with great difficulty were able to wake up the American people to the righteousness of the demands of the Indochinese peoples and bring the American masses to their defense, and show that the people all over the world were in a united front against U.S. imperialism. Our people and our working class expect the same of you in these crucial moments, and they are certain that the American workers will not leave them alone in this great struggle. The U.S. ruling class has been trying to use the issue of the hostages to whip up national chauvinist sentiments among the American people and create a favorable atmosphere in accordance with its aims of attacking Iran as well as politically gearing up and preparing for another world war. They have told the American people that the Iranians are a bunch of criminal, bloodthirsty, wild animals whose animosity is not against U.S. imperialism, but against the American people. Please convey this solidarity message of the Iranians to the freedom-loving American people and tell them that the conscious Iranian workers, who for years experienced the plunders of U.S. imperialism and the workings of its puppet regime, understand the pain and agony of American workers and hope to someday celebrate the victory of the American workers over the capitalist regime and, hand in hand, work for a world free from exploitation and plunder. Please give the American people our warmest greetings and congratulations and tell them that we are certain that this national chauvinist propaganda will not weaken the strong solidarity between the Iranian and American peoples. U.S. imperialism is our common enemy, let's together struggle to finish it off.

The world situation has increasingly taken a turn for the worse, and the two superpowers, the U.S. and Soviet social-imperialism, are preparing for another devastating war. The Soviet Union, following this strategy, invaded our brother and neighboring country of Afghanistan a short time ago. Today the freedom-loving people of Afghanistan are engaged in a fierce struggle against this superpower for their freedom and independence. With its military aggression in Afghanistan and the barbaric slaughter of the defenseless

people of this country, the Soviet Union once again has shown its real fascist nature and has given a lesson to the workers around the world that, although this country speaks of "socialism," indeed it is nothing but a plundering imperialist power. These two superpowers are taking the world to another world war, and this race has been heightened to a new level with the invasion of Afghanistan and the military build-up in the Indian Ocean at the opening of the Persian Gulf. The people of the world must be ready and vigilant against this war and smash all superpower war moves. This war is a war among the capitalists and the imperialists. But they want to pit the people of the world against one another, and out of this genocide gain a bigger portion of the plunder of the people and divide the world according to their wishes. The people of our country who are being threatened from one side (the north) by the Soviet Union and have stood against the military attack of U.S. imperialism from the other side are determined to hold their fighting front strongly against these two superpowers and not let one replace the other. We know well that our country would be among the first to be preyed on by the superpowers in case world war breaks out, and we know well that we have a hard and arduous struggle ahead of us. We are determined not to submit to the rule of either of these two superpowers at whatever cost. In this struggle, along with the people and workers of the world, we are in one front against the imperialists, the superpowers and their war preparations. We believe in Comrade Mao Tsetung's teaching that "either revolution will prevent world war or world war will give rise to revolution." We believe that by relying on the revolutionary struggle of the masses we will be able to stand against the superpowers and will not allow the revisionist views of the newly risen Chinese traitors, who by betraying Mao Tsetung and his Thought propagate collusion with imperialism and its puppet regimes, get in our way. Let the imperialists and especially the two superpowers attack the people of the world. Revolution will teach them a lesson they will never forget.

Comrades:

As you know, the international communist movement today, after the historic betrayal of the new leaders in China, is in chaos, and its ranks are in disarray. History has put a great test in front of all the communists worldwide and has invited them into a great battle. Our ranks are being threatened from right and "left" deviations. Our principles have been betrayed in China and the Soviet Union, and the parties of these two countries have been usurped by the revisionists, each in a different way, plotting and intriguing against the workers and oppressed people of the world. A great ideological crisis has engulfed our international movement, and its historic achievements as a result of the struggles against opportunism and revisionism are being questioned and doubted. We must do our utmost to bring our ranks to order and eliminate this crisis, and by uniting the now disarrayed ranks of the Iranian communists, along with the unity of parties and organizations around the world, prepare ourselves for this historic test.

Honor Comrade Damian García Revolutionary Martyr

"Death comes to every man or woman—this is something that no one can avoid or change, but the content of people's lives, and their deaths, the cause to which they are dedicated and given, this is something which people cannot only affect but something which makes a profound difference, not just or even mainly for themselves, but for the masses of people and ultimately for mankind as a whole."

—Rev. Robert Guadalupe, Central Committee
of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA



DAMIAN GARCÍA

—Raising the Red Flag Over the Alamo, Thursday, March 20, 1980

—Raising the Red Flag Over the Alamo, Thursday, March 20, 1980

Beautiful 4-color poster depicts Comrade García raising the Red Flag over the Alamo, March 20, 1980. Inscription by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA reads:

"Death comes to every man or woman—this is something that no one can avoid or change, but the content of people's lives, and

their deaths, the cause to which they are dedicated and given, this is something which people cannot only affect but something which makes a profound difference, not just or even mainly for themselves, but for the masses of people and ultimately for mankind as a whole."

Four-color print, 18 in. x 24 in.

Five Dollars. Proceeds to the National May Day Committee.

**Order from: National May Day '80 Committee
Box 12039, Detroit, MI 48212**

The International Unity of the Proletariat: What It Is and How to Fight for It

Continued from page 8

capitulation; and it was Mao who led in criticizing the theory of the productive forces which in its fully developed form had become the theoretical foundation for Khrushchev's treason. Even more, it was Mao who led in summing up the overall experience of what had happened in the Soviet Union and unleashing the Cultural Revolution, a mass political movement without equal in breadth and depth in history, which in providing the answer to capitalist restoration brought Marxism to new heights and restored and expanded its prestige around the world in a way that hadn't happened since Lenin rescued Marxism from the opportunism that had all but suffocated it.

All this is what is under attack today. The revisionists who overthrew Mao's successors have overturned the verdicts on Mao's struggle against revisionism within China and have even rehabilitated "China's Khrushchev" (Liu Shiao-chi, the principal target of the Cultural Revolution); they are doing the same with Mao's international struggle and may very well end up in the clutches of Khrushchev's successors, with whom they are already flirting. In denouncing Mao's line and contributions, Enver Hoxha has also reversed the verdicts on the struggle against revisionism, although Hoxha, who has less to peddle than the Chinese revisionists, has so far done his best to maintain a "Marxist" cover and his leadership over whatever will follow him in various countries.

His criticisms of the current rulers in China—mainly based on the "three worlds" strategy—come down to the fact that they sold out to the U.S. and left him in the lurch. Such a shallow analysis is inevitable, since Hoxha attacks Mao's theory of the class struggle under socialism and specifically denies that a new bourgeoisie can arise within the party, which leaves Hoxha no basis to deal with the reversal in China. However, this quarrel may be patched up yet, since for the same reason Hoxha has no basis to deal with the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, which is why his criticism of the Soviet Union is confined to Khrushchevite capitulation to the U.S. and leaves the door wide open to coming to terms with present-day Soviet social-imperialism. Already several Hoxhaite parties (most notably in Italy and Britain) have become so openly pro-Soviet as to embarrass their reluctant comrades elsewhere, and others have thrown themselves into "united fronts against war and fascism" (most notably in West Germany) that have led to them tailing behind the pro-Soviet Communist Parties whose main object is that the imperialist bourgeoisies in these countries be pulled out of the U.S. war bloc. While not inevitable, it is certainly not inconceivable that Hoxha and Teng Hsiao-ping could end up reunited in form as well as content under the wing of Soviet revisionism (or even the U.S.), although their unity in capitulating to imperialism is not dependent on capitulating

to the same imperialist war bloc.

This brings out the fact that in addition to its similarities to the situation faced by communists in the early 1960s, the crossroads today also has great similarities to that of WWI and the collapse of the Second International, when as today the intensification of the world's contradictions with the advent of world war, which brought unprecedented revolutionary opportunities, also brought the two-line struggle within the forces that considered themselves Marxist to a head on a national and international level, and divided them into the two camps of those who supported their bourgeoisie in that war and those who took the war as an opportunity to overthrow them. In fact, under these conditions what to do in the face of world war is the main question that today divides Marxism from opportunism. This capitulation can be seen clearly in the line of the Chinese revisionists (their attempts to turn China into a "modern" neocolony and their whole international maneuvering to get the best price for this offer) and is the substance, in the final analysis, of Hoxha's as well. The particular content of the capitulation to imperialism embodied in the attacks on Mao can today *only* mean lining up with one imperialist war bloc or the other.

It is inevitable that political crisis and capitulation for some will develop out of crises in the objective situation. The question that faces the forces who remain—those for whom making revolution is still the question—is how to come from behind, to determine and carry out a political line that will enable them to play their full role in this situation and comply with the demands history is making, so that this moment of danger and desertions and also of opportunities can give birth to the tremendous historical advances which are in fact possible. As Comrade Avakian has pointed out, while this particular spiral of history that began with the end of World War 2 has so far included the terrible setbacks in the USSR and China, it is by no means impossible that it could end with even greater victories, including the possibility of revolutions in one or more of the advanced imperialist countries themselves.⁶ But no matter what happens, the advance of the world proletarian revolution is up to the line and actions of communist forces.

The following analysis made by Lenin in 1914 in many ways describes the way things stand in the international movement today:

"Let us frankly state the facts; in any case the war will *compel* us to do so, if not tomorrow, then the day after. Three currents exist in international socialism: 1) the chauvinists, who are consistently pursuing a policy of opportunism; 2) the consistent opponents of opportunism, who in all countries have already begun to make themselves heard (the opportunists have routed most of them, but 'defeated armies learn fast'), and are capable of conducting revolutionary work directed towards civil war; 3) confused and vacillating people, who at present are following in the wake of the opportunists and are causing the proletariat most harm by their hypocritical attempts to justify opportunism, something they do most scientifically and using the Marxist (sic!) method. Some of those who are engulfed in the latter current can be saved and restored to socialism, but only through a policy of a most decisive break and split with the former current. . . ."

In our view, in the face of this situation the task is for the

most resolute and clear-headed of the communist forces—the genuine left internationally—to unite on the basis of the clear lines of demarcation that have emerged within the international movement. This will allow them to win over the vacillating elements and whatever can be still dragged out of the cesspool of counterrevolution, in the course of taking concrete steps—politically, ideologically and organizationally—which will lead to tremendous advances both overall and within the various countries. In regard to those who find themselves caught between the main trends—as represented by Mao, and by Teng, Hoxha... and the Soviets—we are guided by the advice of Lenin: “Whoever wants to *help* the waverers must first stop wavering himself.”⁸

III. UNITY OF MARXISTS, OR OF MARXISM AND OPPORTUNISM?

Lenin put it very succinctly: “Before uniting, and in order to unite, we must begin by demarcating clearly and resolutely. Otherwise our unity would only be fictitious and only serve to conceal the existing disorder and prevent us from putting an end to it.”

Some people, although perfectly capable of quoting Lenin, don't agree with this. They argue that the lines of demarcation we have listed have no basis in reality, and above all that to uphold or to denounce Mao does not represent a basic dividing line. For them, uniting the international communist movement does not mean a demarcation between trends but rather “struggling against the erroneous attitudes that oppose the necessity of the organized unity of *all* communists. It means both opposing the idea that each separate party must never be criticized or judged for its own programme and practice, and the sectarian thesis that organized unity must first begin with a certain fraction of the existing forces in the world movement.”⁹

This position—that of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE!—is that of an organization which, while arguing for its freedom to criticize Hoxha and those who follow him, even more strongly argues that they should be united with and nothing should be done to break with them or exclude them. We must go into this in some detail, both because in itself this represents an extremely harmful attitude which is shared to a greater or lesser degree by some others, and also because when examined it proves our point: that while upholding Mao and opposing the attacks against him is not the *only* dividing line in the international movement, it is the one without which all the others become meaningless.

In Struggle has sharply polemicized against “the development of a movement which is strongly opposed to the condemnation of Mao Tsetung and which seeks to make the defense of Mao Tsetung Thought the line of demarcation which separates opportunism from Marxism-Leninism.”¹⁰ According to In Struggle, this amounts to “reducing the struggle against revisionism to a declaration of unquestioned support for everything that this or that proletarian revolutionary has said or done”¹¹—and the implication here is that Mao and Hoxha (and by further implication, Stalin) all have their good and bad points, although as we will see their outlook is much closer to that of Hoxha. In calling for a conference of “all groups and parties which, to our knowledge, are genuinely struggling for socialism and communism and

working for the victory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat”—a proposal directly in opposition to the kind of unity of principles we have called for—they say explicitly, “Our intention with this conference is not to reproduce or create a new group of forces which mutually recognize one another and in doing so deny that other forces are part of the communist movement. On the contrary, our intention is to insure that this conference be a place where the differences as to the path which should be followed to attain unity be clearly put on the table and discussed collectively. It is not a scandal for Marxists-Leninists to have differences on this or that question. Truth does not fall like manna from heaven believe us! Revolutionary ideas stand out when all points of view are expressed and after open and frank debate.”¹²

It is not a scandal to disagree, comrades, but let's be honest about what we disagree about! The question certainly is not “this or that” individual—it is a matter of line, of clear and opposing trends, which as Plekhanov pointed out long ago are concentrated and represented by certain leaders, especially in periods of sharp line struggle. Nor is it a matter of everything “Mao ever said or did,” which is nothing but a caricature of the position we and others have taken. What Mao represents is the consistent fight against revisionism and the advances in Marxism-Leninism won in the course of that struggle—this objective fact is what obligates those who would be Marxists to choose between Mao and those who viciously attack him, and not because “this or that” fanatic is determined to force a choice upon people for purely subjective reasons.

It is hardly necessary to repeat here the extensive polemics we have already directed against Hoxha's attacks on Mao's line and against Hoxha's line in general.¹³ In fact, since In Struggle has labeled Hoxha's *Imperialism and the Revolution* “an important contribution in the struggle against revisionism,”¹⁴ and repeatedly implied that our stand on Hoxha is senseless, it is In Struggle's responsibility to stop trying to pretend that these polemics don't exist (which is why they've never mentioned them directly) but rather to address themselves to this analysis, which shows that not only Hoxha's attacks on Mao but also his line on every major question is nothing but revisionism.

It's worth pointing out once again that in attacking Mao's line, Hoxha ends up denying the objective basis for the restoration of capitalism in a socialist country (which forces him to deny that China was ever socialist—and leaves him a bit ambiguous about the Soviet Union). He denies that the crisis of imperialism is leading to a confrontation between two imperialist blocs headed by the superpowers. He speaks of the “grave neo-colonial consequences” of U.S. investment in the Soviet Union (perhaps he thinks they can wage a war of national liberation?); of the U.S. war industry thriving because “that is where the rate of profit is highest,” which is opposed to Lenin's thesis that imperialism means war and is nothing but modern-day Kautskyism; and of China's strategy to “incite” war between the U.S. and USSR—which is definitely an echo of the Soviets. He claims that the principal contradiction in today's world and the main content of the threat of war is the contradiction between capitalism and socialism. He even calls for Marxist-Leninists to take up “the defense of true independence” in the imperialist countries themselves.¹⁵ Isn't it fairly clear that what all this adds up to is a line little different in substance from that of the revi-

sionists in China, or the Soviet Union for that matter—that in order to preach capitulation Hoxha has launched an attack not only on “this or that proletarian revolutionary” but on all of Marxism? Doesn’t this make it clear that to attempt to combine the two trends represented by Hoxha and Mao means attempting to combine Marxism and revisionism? It’s about time In Struggle addressed itself to these matters if it is serious about “the struggle against revisionism.”

These points are examples of dividing line questions with profound practical implications in today’s world. They amount to revolution and counterrevolution. In other words, they involve questions posed for all communists by the development of the objective situation itself—the question, above all, of grasping the nature of imperialism and of the necessity and possibility to make proletarian revolution and continue it, that have been at the heart of Hoxha’s (and the Chinese revisionists’) attacks on Mao. This is why it is these same crucial and urgent questions that are addressed by the kind of principles of unity spoken to in the quote from Comrade Avakian. They are both at the heart of the two-line struggle that has broken out in this form and matters of life and death for the proletarian revolution.

In Struggle looks at this matter as if it had no class content—a way of looking at things that itself has class content. They would like to simply avoid it by taking the position that Mao wasn’t all bad, but that he made mistakes, so therefore nobody should make too big a deal about defending him: “Do we really have to choose between thinking that Mao made no fundamental errors, and the position that he was a revisionist? . . . Do we really have to ignore such nationalist deviations as the reduction of the struggle against imperialism to the struggle against ‘the main imperialist enemy’ or against the ‘two superpowers,’ simply because this thesis has been upheld for a long time in the international movement?”¹⁶ If In Struggle really wants to examine the question of whether Mao may have made some real errors around this question—or that Stalin also did before him, let them do so. We consider that a valid and important subject to be discussed, and have already said a few things about it based on a clear overall stand upholding Mao.¹⁷ But if they’re serious about it and not just looking for excuses, let them not defend Enver Hoxha, who has systematically concentrated these tendencies which have for so long plagued the international communist movement and has made them the basis of a clear-cut reactionary stand on today’s cardinal questions.

The argument that In Struggle is making here is that Mao Tsetung can’t be a dividing line, because some people who uphold Mao also uphold social-chauvinism, especially in the form of the “three worlds” strategy promulgated by Teng & Co. But this is a sleight-of-hand trick, and In Struggle is a poor magician. Our own Party and other Marxist-Leninists have thoroughly denounced such parties, and now the Chinese revisionists have assisted us in making even clearer the opposite lines involved here by moving to openly denounce Mao. While we have stated our disagreements with some aspects of Mao’s international line, particularly the formulation that the Soviet Union represents “the most dangerous source of war”—which in no way can be confused with the fact that as an overall strategy the “three worlds” theory is Teng’s counterrevolutionary product and opposed to Mao’s line and outlook—In Struggle is maliciously trying to use this to say that in fact there are no dividing lines.

As to the trick of pointing out that there are opportunists

who claim to uphold Mao—well, there have been plenty of opportunists who’ve done the same with Lenin, especially after he was dead also, but we don’t intend to throw Lenin out or to argue that the question of upholding him was never a fundamental question of principle. We can already anticipate what In Struggle will say when some social-chauvinist parties, such as the Canadian Communist League (M-L) which is already making telling noises, kick up a fuss about Mao and the “three worlds” theory in order to oppose the Chinese flirtation with the USSR and the open attacks on Mao (and dropping of the “three worlds” business, which was never essential anyway) that have accompanied this flirtation, not because they really like Mao or oppose capitulation, but because capitulating to their own bourgeoisie is what they’ve got their hearts set on, and they’ve already had some practice in trying to use Mao to justify it. Or what will In Struggle have to say when some pro-Soviet revisionists in the Western imperialist countries appeal to Lenin’s thesis about revolutionary defeatism in order to serve Soviet imperialist interests?

There are no magical phrases that will in and of themselves automatically divide the whole world into two neat categories, despite In Struggle’s search for such a thing (for instance, their claim that if only the international communist movement were to adopt a common programme, instead of worrying about Mao so much, that would somehow bring about a movement “freed of all traces of revisionism.”¹⁶) Obviously, things are getting complicated and those not guided by Marxism will get lost pretty quickly. This is what makes defending Mao so important—because in today’s world you can’t uphold Marxism-Leninism without upholding Mao. We think we have already shown that Enver Hoxha (and the attempts to defend him) are clear proof of this fact.

IV. CENTRISM CLINGS TO REVISIONISM

There is no better example of eclecticism than In Struggle’s attempted balancing act between Mao and Hoxha. In fact, this is their entire method—“we do not share the viewpoint of those who would reduce the struggle against revisionism to a storm of wild, fiery denunciations,”¹⁸ as if theirs was the voice of reason in a room full of madmen. Theirs is an appeal to bourgeois common sense, and not to Marxism. But eclecticism is more than an effort to mishmash together antagonistic opposites. It is an attempt to save revisionism by putting a more revolutionary-seeming face on it. Although In Struggle may not like the form that the international debate has taken, especially the aspect of having to choose, there is most definitely a Hoxhaite lean to their balance.

While politely remarking “we think that, generally speaking, Mao Zedong was in the camp of those fighting for socialism,”²⁰ In Struggle praises and promotes Hoxha’s all-out assault on Mao, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, as “an important contribution to the debates on fundamental issues which communists must today undertake and complete in order to drive out revisionism wherever it is to be found.”²¹ Such obsequiousness to Hoxha, and such bluster in regard to Mao’s alleged “revisionism”! This contradiction makes it pretty obvious what further investigation shows in a deeper way—that there is a basis for some strong doubt about exactly what In Struggle wants to drive out of the movement, revisionism or Mao’s line and contributions.

First, there is this innocent-sounding (but really very

shocking) statement: "the victory of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism is held back considerably by the disunity that has existed in the communist forces for over 25 years."²² Twenty-five terrible years—in In Struggle's view everything has been pretty dismal since the rise of Khrushchev and the final break-up of the Third International. This explicitly denies (or rejects) the advances of Marxism in theory and practice during this period, but there is another implication here as well: that unity is always the highest principle, the key to advance, and that Mao should have tried harder to keep together the parties that had together belonged to the Third International, when what was required was a split—exactly the kind of split Mao led—between the forces of Marxism and the forces of revisionism that were trying to keep them under their thumb, a split without which there could be no question of fighting for the unity of the international communist movement. Here we hear an echo of Khrushchev's favorite and hypocritical charge, that Mao was a "splitter." If In Struggle thinks that maybe Mao didn't go about this quite politely enough, we'd like to remind them of Lenin's attitude: "Socialist parties are not debating clubs, but organizations of the fighting proletariat; when a number of battalions have gone over to the enemy, they must be named and branded as traitors; we must not allow ourselves to be taken in by hypocritical assertions that 'not everybody understands imperialism in the same way' . . . or that the question has not been 'adequately discussed,' etc., etc."²³ Obviously this goes too far for the form in which those since Khrushchev have been dealt with, whose desertion has come in the form of attacking Mao.

But in condemning this "branding of traitors" and the rest of the political and ideological struggle over the past 25 years, In Struggle is not just criticizing the form—they are criticizing the content, the very struggle against revisionism itself. What else can be the meaning of the following: "The struggle against revisionism was then carried out in a way that many people seem to wish to continue it, that is by criticizing various parties and communist leaders one at a time and in isolation from one other. This has been done with Tito, Togliatti, Khrushchev, Liu Shiao-chi, Lin Biao, Deng Xiaoping . . . and now Mao Tsetung!" (Their ellipses)²⁴

We couldn't ask for a better example to prove the point that throwing out Mao means throwing out the struggle against revisionism. The only possible meaning of including Mao in this list of renegades is that they were all "communist leaders," none of them deserving of "wild and fiery denunciations"—and Mao, who committed this unpardonable sin, in In Struggle's eyes is now getting a posthumous taste of his own medicine. Think about it, In Struggle, you really are going over the edge here. In this criticism of the form the struggle against revisionism took over the past 25 years inside and outside China, a form imposed by the fact that there were real leaders who really went over to the real enemy, there is more than a whiff of the idea that nobody should have gotten so excited about it because the differences were exaggerated. This is what throwing out Mao as a dividing line leads to.

The following selection from one of In Struggle's main polemics, "To Unite the International Communist Movement," is a very clear exposure of how their even-handed and reasonable position in the face of "sectarianism" run rampant, as they like to picture it, really conceals an extremely philistine and rightist standpoint:

"We even feel that at the present time, the appraisal of the lives and works of certain leaders or parties cannot be a *starting point* for defeating revisionism. In fact, those who have used this method have rapidly strayed from a materialist and dialectical point of view in their examination of the communist movement's past and present.

"Since the starting point for this tendency is to defend the 'purity' of Marxist-Leninist principles—which some find in the support of this or that leader, while others find it in the criticism of those same leaders—congresses and conferences are held, studies and analyses are made, and uncalculable energy is spent in determining the merits of one, and the mistakes of another. This results in a very special understanding of the history of the movement. A few months ago, we learned that the Communist Party of China and Mao Zedong never based themselves on Marxism-Leninism. But they weren't alone, since French communists have informed us that the Communist Party of France was never worthy of the name. And more recently, U.S. communists announced that Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese Workers Party were nothing but nationalists from the start. And questions are being raised about the Party of Labour of Albania. . . . Why not, once you've got a good thing going for you? . . .

"The struggle against revisionism will be fruitless if it continues to be waged in this way. Why is it so terribly important for the French proletariat to reject Mao Zedong Thought (or to relentlessly defend it), when it has been bombarded by dozens upon dozens of communist organizations and groups telling it that it must reject or defend Stalin, or the three worlds theory, or Deng Xiaoping, or Mao Zedong Thought or Hoxha ever since the betrayal of the French Communist Party? None of these often short-lived organizations ever prevented the revisionists or social-democrats from imposing their line of class collaboration with the French bourgeoisie.

"How can U.S. communists justify the fact that they have tried to make the defence of Mao Zedong Thought the main political struggle in the U.S. working class movement in the past year? There as well, there are many disunited Marxist-Leninist groups. The only winners are the reactionary henchment of U.S. imperialism who dominate the working class and union movements and are preparing the masses to support their bourgeoisie in a new imperialist world war."²⁵

The first thing to note here is a rabid opposition to "driving out revisionism wherever it is found." They are uncomfortable when people say that Mao and the Chinese Party *never* based themselves on Marxism, that is going too far. They would rather have peaceful co-existence between trends calling themselves Marxist. But they absolutely forbid anyone to even raise deep questions about Hoxha—that is absolutely going over the limit. And although they like to counterpose what they slander as the method of "appraisal of the lives and works," a kind of study of the lives of saints, to the method of "a rigorous analysis of the line and practice of the communist movement historically, and particularly during the period of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, a period which has never been fully analyzed in the course of the struggle against modern revisionism,"²⁶ here, when actually confronted by sharp criticism of this period, they show that they consider it forbidden—in advance—to find any revisionism through this "rigorous analysis." All this is symptomatic of In Struggle's dilemma: they really would prefer not to have

any dividing lines and would prefer to have everybody swim in one big goulash together—but at the same time it's really Mao that makes them most uncomfortable.

The second thing about this quote is that it ascribes In Struggle's own philistine outlook to the workers—all these heady political and even ideological questions don't matter to *them*, so please don't bother *us* with it. They engage in demagogic and idealistic speculation on the not too surprising fact that in this overall non-revolutionary period a revolutionary line has not held "dominance" among the French proletariat—and go on to make the pragmatist assertion that political line doesn't matter, which is their real point here. Perhaps In Struggle thinks that instead of all this high-flown nonsense the French Marxist-Leninists should instead concentrate on competing with the revisionists and social-democrats in their own terms in the trade union movement? That too, as we'll see in a minute.

This selection comes to a resounding finale with what In Struggle must think are crushing blows against us. But what they crush with these remarks about "disunited groups" in the U.S. is their own feet, since this reveals all too well what kind of struggle they want to promote and what kind of international they want to build.

In case anybody is wondering who these "disunited groups" are in this country, so far they have favorably mentioned in their paper the Progressive Labor Party (a neo-Trotskyite sect which won wide notoriety for denouncing the Black liberation movement, the Vietnamese struggle and Mao Tsetung in the 1960s, before sinking from sight in a subsequent career of undistinguished economism), the Communist Workers Party (which loudly upholds the "three worlds" theory, which is about the only thing that In Struggle has taken a stand against besides the unity of Marxists), and the almost unnoticeable Communist Party USA Marxist-Leninist, a third sect, as rightist as anyone in the U.S. today, which seems to warrant inclusion here only because it is in the running for the official Albanian franchise (along with the so-called "Marxist-Leninist Party" formerly known as COUSML).

The only thing these groups have in common, besides a common bourgeois outlook, is that in one way or another they all worship at the altar of spontaneity and the economic struggle. This fits quite well with In Struggle's shrill objections to our three-month long campaign culminating in the September 1978 Mao Memorials, which brought the question of revolution to hundreds of thousands of workers and others, which we consider a sort of indispensable part of building "the working class movement," and did far more to prepare the masses for war than anything we could have done during that time in the "union movement."

At this point we are tempted to say, get serious—but that's exactly the point here. Either they are serious in their admiration for these groups, in which case this is a living example of the kind of rightist hodge-podge they are proposing for the international movement, or they are desperately searching for some forces in opposition to the RCP in the U.S. to put forward to their readers and members. Either way, this amounts to one more example of In Struggle's vendetta against the Left in the international movement carried out in the guise of humble, reasonable folks just seeking unity.

Recently, In Struggle has taken to writing articles about how they are not centrists.²⁷ But what else can you call an organization whose newest "contribution" to the interna-

tional movement, a publication called *International Forum*—"For the Unity of the Marxist-Leninist Movement," is dedicated to putting together ("to let the reader know") under one set of covers both Hoxhaite attacks on Mao and some selections in defense of him? Isn't this a glossy version of their unreal dream of uniting Marxism and revisionism? In Struggle tries to hide under "objectivity" "without any preconceptions," "without censorship or discrimination,"²⁸ but in fact their journal has a line just as they do: a line that "discussion and debate must be stepped up among the forces that are resolutely working to break with modern revisionism (be it the Titoite, Russian, Chinese, Euro-communism or Trotskyist variant)"—in other words, Hoxha's revisionism for them isn't even a question and please don't bring up Mao again! This journal of theirs is actually insidious, since what it discriminates against and seeks to blur is any truthful statement of what the terms of debate really are in the international movement—of what the question of Mao is really about—as well as containing lots of half truths, distortions and significant omissions in their extended gossip column.

Of course these people for whom the two trends in the world today are reasonable types like themselves on the one hand and "extremists" of all kinds on the other do not worship everything Enver Hoxha ever "said or did," since they're more into the "I'm OK, you're OK" style and obviously don't feel at home with the "orthodox," suit-and-tie aspect of Hoxha's dogmato-revisionism. In fact, far from being the official Albania franchise operation in Canada, instead Hoxha's slimey kiss of approval has gone to the so-called Communist Party of Canada (M-L), and In Struggle complains bitterly that the fully dogmatized Hoxhaite parties all officially recognize what In Struggle has labeled a gang of police provocateurs (with more than a little justice) as the only communist party in Canada and they all refuse to even speak to In Struggle.

In Struggle presents itself as very principled to continue to uphold Hoxha despite the shabby way they've been treated. But there's another possible explanation for their conduct. They don't like Mao. Like Hoxha, they think the past was much better than the present and want to go back to the way things were 25 years ago, before all this rude struggle against revisionism broke out. They don't seem to like Stalin too much either and have implied what seem to be correct criticisms against his tendency to combine Marxism with nationalism (as indicated earlier), although they never criticize him directly. But without taking up Mao's Marxist criticisms of Stalin, as, for instance, Stalin's failure to see that a new bourgeoisie continually arises within the Party under socialism, or his mechanical materialist deviations on the question of dialectics, what In Struggle is left with is the worst of both worlds, an adherence to Stalin's errors along with a vague and formless tone of general opposition to Stalin that runs dangerously close to falling into social democracy.

In Struggle's attempts to deal with some of the theoretical questions involved show how throwing out Mao's contributions can only lead one way, no matter which way anyone wants to go. For instance there is their two-part analysis of the temporary triumph of revisionism in China: the first, "The leaders of the Communist Party of China are taking China down the capitalist road," deals only with the question of the relations of production in China and never even once mentions the word superstructure; it is a wooden replay of Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism in the*

USSR, which, as Mao pointed out, only mentions things and not people.²⁹ The second, "Some theoretical points about Marxist political economy," has a point in it about the necessity for revolution in the superstructure, but neglects to apply this to socialism. In fact, they don't get it at all—they end up talking about China going imperialist and miss the whole point about Teng & Co.'s capitulation to imperialism.³⁰

As for their criticisms of Mao, consider the following, which is the most concentrated of their attempts to do so: "we think that certain errors were made after liberation in the attitude which was taken towards the bourgeoisie; we think that democratic centralism was violated in many respects, illustrated, for instance, by the lengthy intervals of time between Congresses. The analysis and understanding of the precise reasons for the recent evolution [sic!] of the CPC, whatever these reasons may be, is an important task that remains to be accomplished."³¹ Two thirds of this is without content (including the criticism of the formal question of time between party congresses—if you're going to focus on that, why not criticize the equally guilty Albanian Party?), and the other third idealist: the bourgeoisie won, therefore we must "single out those errors which led to the defeats,"³² as though there could ever be a real class struggle in which there was no possibility of defeat for the proletariat. All of this is sadly identical to Hoxha, not because they are following him, but because they are following the same road.

The problem is that they want everyone to follow them, trying to appeal to the confusion and unclarity on the part of a few forces here and there to get them to go along with what on In Struggle's part is not uncertainty, but a line of agnosticism in regard to ideological questions and of rightism in regard to political ones. For In Struggle, the problem is not that they haven't made up their mind about all the crucial questions facing the international movement, but that they've already decided that nobody should come to any decisions—except to decide that Mao Tsetung shouldn't be defended, which, as we've shown, is a decision that most definitely carries with it an all-around line on these questions. In Struggle's proposals in the international arena for an extended debate among all trends (and classes), in *opposition* to uniting the Left as firmly and rapidly as possible—amounts to calling on the Left to halt its advance, to calling for an extended recess, until Marxism can be reconciled with opportunism—which would take forever. What else does this serve but the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois forces of every country?

In fact, the bottom line of In Struggle's appeal to the international communist movement is that it is an appeal to Marxist-Leninists *not* to unite on anything resembling Marxism. Ever eager to appear practical-minded, In Struggle argues against what they slander as "a 'general line,' which is limited to an analysis of the current world situation, declarations of support for one or more socialist countries and communist leaders, and lists of the kinds of organized opportunism to be opposed," and opposes this with their own view that "such a vanguard [the international proletarian vanguard] must be united on the basis of its *communist programme*, just as must be the case with Marxist-Leninist parties in individual countries, just as was the case with the Communist International in the past."³³ But this question of "general line" versus "programme" as a basis for unity of the international communist movement can't be considered in the abstract—it is clear in the context of In Struggle's own

general line that their proposal about a programme has no other purpose than to oppose unity around principles and key living lines of demarcation. Pitting programme against key dividing principles would result in a very sorry programme indeed! What they oppose most is not the form of a "general line" type document, which is today within the reach of the international communist movement in a way that a fully developed programme—such as the Communist International developed for the whole world and all the key countries—is not. What they oppose is the content of a general line that embodies the principles we listed earlier. It is not really that Mao's line has nothing to do with international communist unity, but rather that they oppose the political and ideological line that he represents and fought for and they don't want that to be in any way, shape or form a cutting edge question in that movement.

No matter what the *form* around which international communist unity develops, this quote from Lenin speaks exactly to its content and puts to shame all this mumble-mouthing:

"The purpose of a real programme of action can be served only by a *Marxist* programme which gives the masses a full and clear explanation of what has taken place, explains what imperialism is and how it should be combatted, declares openly that the collapse of the Second International was brought about by opportunism, and openly calls for a Marxist International to be built up without and *against* the opportunists. Only a programme that shows that we have faith in ourselves and in Marxism and that we have proclaimed a life-and-death struggle against opportunism will sooner or later win us the sympathy of the genuinely proletarian masses."³⁴

V. CONCLUSION

Many of Lenin's polemics during the years 1914-1918, when he was struggling to bring about the conditions to form the Third International, are directed not only against the Right, which had been widely discredited among revolutionary-minded people, but also against the Centrists "who write of 'Mr.' Hyndman with contempt, while speaking—or saying nothing—of 'Comrade' Kautsky with deference (or obsequiousness)."³⁵ (Hyndman, like the Chinese revisionists, openly preached that the workers had to renounce the class struggle because of the world war, and Kautsky, like Hoxha, tried to combine general phrases about class struggle with essentially the same position of capitulation). Counterattacking against those who argued that the two opposing lines represented by Lenin and people like Kautsky represented different legitimate "shades of opinion," Lenin wrote, "Undisguised opportunism, which immediately repels the working masses, is not so frightful and injurious as this theory of the golden mean."³⁶ Lenin himself was quite an "extremist" in defending Marxism from such "reasonable" people!

In Struggle makes a big deal about what they consider the lack of desire for unity among people like ourselves, whom they consider sectarian, and exclaim, as if they had said something profound, "To progress along the path of unity, we must want unity. Unity must clearly be posed as an objective to attain and we must put into place the means for truly uniting the communist forces that want to do so."³⁷ But in the face of the same kind of hypocritical nonsense in the service of the Right in his time, Lenin had the following unsentimental words: "Unity is a great thing and a great slogan.

But what the workers' cause needs is the *unity of Marxists*, not unity between Marxists, and opponents and distorters of Marxism. And we must ask everyone who talks about unity: unity with whom?"³⁸ And on another occasion, "An adherent of internationalism who is not at the same time a most consistent and determined adversary of opportunism is a phantom, nothing more. Perhaps certain individuals of this type will honestly consider themselves 'internationalists.' However, people are judged not by what they think of themselves but by their political behavior."³⁹

For Lenin, as for all Marxists, the avoiding of splits was not the highest of all questions, either within the international movement (where he definitely argued that a split was necessary in order to bring about unity based on the revolutionary interests of the proletariat), nor even—horror of horrors—within the existing parties and organizations, where Lenin argued that the genuine revolutionaries had to one way or another free themselves from the clutches of the honey-tongued traitors. You see, Lenin had a very high standard of "political behavior." This is what he believed that Marxists were called on to accomplish with the founding of a new international:

"An International does not mean sitting at the same table and having hypocritical and pettifogging resolutions. . . . The International consists in the coming together (first ideologically, then in due time organisationally as well) of people who, in these grave days, are capable of defending socialist internationalism in deed, i.e., of mustering their forces and 'being the next to shoot' at the governments and the ruling classes of their *own respective* 'fatherlands'. This is no easy task; it calls for much preparation and great sacrifices and will be accompanied by reverses. However, for the very reason that it is no easy task, it must be accomplished only together with those who *wish* to perform it and are not afraid of a complete break with the chauvinists and with the defenders of social-chauvinism."⁴⁰

The truth is that In Struggle does not see itself in this way. Yet this is exactly what gives the international communist movement its particular urgency and importance at this hour.

Compare *this* understanding of urgency and importance with In Struggle's view: "To say that the international communist movement is on the sidelines of revolution in the world is to admit reality. It means realizing that, under current conditions, it offers no real alternative to the masses, to the Islamic movements in Iran and Afghanistan, to the revisionists in Italy, France and Spain, to Arab nationalism, or the chauvinism of the German, Canadian or U.S. social-democrats."⁴¹

Is this true? It has an aspect of truth, but overall it is false and very harmful. In the vast majority of the countries mentioned, as well as in many others, there are revolutionary communists—and it is certain that the development of the world itself will pose the question of proletarian revolution before the masses. If in some cases these communist forces are small and scattered, and in some countries there is not yet a communist organization, that is something that can and will change rapidly—and especially with the help of a new communist international. For as we have stressed and stressed again, the proletarian revolutionary movement is a worldwide movement and not one that develops only country by country. The very examples In Struggle gives of countries

where aspects of a revolutionary situation are already developing and there is either no or not a sufficiently strong revolutionary party should show the genuine communists the tremendous urgency of our efforts in the international movement. Here too the words of Lenin, responding to the situation of the "internationalists in deed" in April 1917 are very relevant: "If socialists of *that type* are few, let every Russian worker ask himself whether there were many really class-conscious revolutionaries in Russia *on the eve* of the February-March revolution of 1917."⁴² It is the very contradictions which make the situation so difficult which also bring such unprecedented opportunities—opportunities we will surely throw away if we pursue the wisp of painless progress.

What we seek is not just some international coordinating committee of what already exists, an international organization which could do little more than rally international support for the struggle in "tiny El Salvador," to cite the example given by In Struggle: "the revolutionary organizations in tiny El Salvador had to take on themselves for the most part, with their own very limited resources, the task of organizing an international campaign to rally support for their revolution."⁴³ Really what is being described here—and this is the only example given—is an international anti-imperialist solidarity committee, and not an international communist organization. Compare this concept with that put forward by the RCP of Chile:

"We believe that the development of world Marxist-Leninist forces must not be seen as linked solely to the need to amass and coordinate our forces but as also linked to a qualitative leap forward in the comprehension and application of Marxism-Leninism, especially in its merger with the mass movement in each country. We therefore see unity not only as unity between limited groups of the vanguard, but as the fighting unity of our proletariat and people against their common enemy."⁴⁴

In Struggle stands aghast at what it considers the incomprehensible "disunity" in the international movement. But Engels long ago explained such things in his famous letter to Bebel:

"One must not allow oneself to be misled by the cry for 'unity'. Those who have this word most often on their lips are the ones who sow the most dissension. . . . These unity fanatics are either people of limited intelligence who want to stir everything into one nondescript brew, which, the moment it is left to settle, throws up the differences again but in much sharper contrast. . . . or else they are people who unconsciously (like Muhlberger, for instance) or consciously want to adulterate the movement. For this reason the biggest sectarians and the biggest brawlers and rogues at times shout loudest for unity. Nobody in our lifetime has given us more trouble and been more treacherous than the shouters for unity. . . .

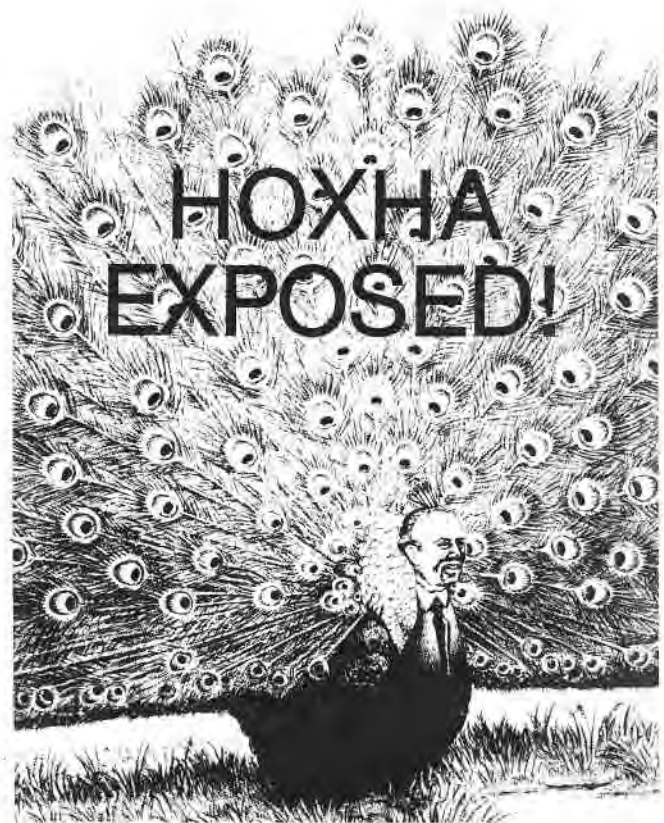
" . . . A party proves itself victorious by *splitting* and being able to stand the split. The movement of the proletariat necessarily passes through different stages of development; at every stage part of the people get stuck and do not join in the further advance; and this alone explains why it is that actually the 'solidarity of the proletariat' is everywhere being realised in different party groupings, which carry on life-and-death feuds with one another, as the Christian sects in the Roman Empire did amidst the worst persecutions."⁴⁵

No Marxist should be surprised by the apparent paradox of a ripening objective situation and a widening rift between forces that were once more united—it is inevitable that some will “get stuck” in certain attitudes and approaches and refuse to give them up when war time approaches. The fundamental question here is not why this has happened, but what attitude to take towards it: whether to make a petty bourgeois “fear of sharp turns and a disbelief in them”⁴⁶ into a political and ideological line, whether to oppose a “sharp turn” in the movement—a break with forces that have deserted it, which is absolutely necessary so that the revolutionary forces can take advantage of the sharp turn in the objective situation—while timidly and idly dreaming of things somehow going backwards to more peaceful times both in the objective conditions and within the political movement, or to *welcome* this turn, this opportunity to make revolution, and, putting revolutionary considerations ahead of everything, welcome too this harsh light of revolutionary circumstances which throws into sharp relief all that is rotten and outmoded in politics.

Footnotes

1. *New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (Drafts for Discussion)*, (Chicago, 1980), p. 57.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
3. The article “Lenin’s Struggle Against International Opportunism: 1914-1917” (*Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 10-11, Oct./Nov. 1979) deals with the struggle to prepare for the founding of the Comintern in some detail. For the question of the relationship between the defense of a socialist country and the world revolution, see “The Prospects for Revolution and the Urgent Tasks in the Decade Ahead—Documents from the Third Plenary Session of the Second Central Committee of the RCP, USA” (*ibid.*), especially point six, “On the Historical Process of the Proletarian Revolution,” pp. 15-19. The article, “Slipping Into Darkness: ‘Left’ Economism, the CPUSA and the Trade Union Unity League (1929-1935)”, throws light on the question of economism as it was carried out by the Comintern’s U.S. section. (*Revolution*, Vol. 5, No. 2-3, February/March 1980.)
- We have also published a three-part series in *The Communist*—Vol. 1, No. 1 (October 1976); Vol. 2, No. 1 (Fall/Winter 1977); and Vol. 2, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 1978)—dealing with the origins, nature and effects of World War 2 and the role of both the Comintern and several communist parties in relation to it. These articles represented a beginning contribution to an understanding of this period, and do not represent our present thinking in all aspects. In particular, it should be noted that the first two of these articles were written before the split with the revisionist and social-chauvinist Menshevik clique formerly in our Party.
4. For the previously published sections, see “The Prospects for Revolution”, *Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 10-11, especially p. 11.
5. For a recently published excerpt from this paper, see “The Question of Democracy and the Communist Movement,” *Revolutionary Worker*, #56, p. 11. The quote from Lenin is from “The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution,” *CW*, Vol. 24, p. 75.
6. “The Prospects for Revolution”, *Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 10-11, p. 15.
7. Lenin, “Dead Chauvinism and Living Socialism (How the International Can Be Restored),” *Collected Works (CW)*, Vol. 21, pp. 99-100.
8. Lenin, “The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution,” *CW*, Vol. 24, p. 84.
9. *IN STRUGGLE!* (Central Organ of the MLOC IN STRUGGLE!), June 3, 1980, p. 15.
10. *International Forum* (Published by MLOC IN STRUGGLE!), April 1980, p. 34.
11. *IN STRUGGLE!*, January 22, 1980, p. 12.
12. *Ibid.*

Continued on page 60



“Hoxha’s tactic reminds one of a peacock. General phrases about the ‘purity’ of Marxism-Leninism are displayed with great pomposity and fanfare. He hopes the display will mask the reality of his revisionism.”

Two important articles expose and critique Enver Hoxha’s revisionism:

Beat Back the Dogmato-Revisionist Attack on Mao Tsetung Thought—comments on Enver Hoxha’s *Imperialism and the Revolution*. Published in *The Communist*, May 1979. This article is a thorough refutation of the main aspects of Enver Hoxha’s repugnant attack on Mao Tsetung’s contributions to the international and Chinese communist movement.

Enver Hoxha’s *Imperialism and the Revolution*—an “Error” from Beginning to End. Published in *Revolution*, September 1979. This article examines Hoxha’s “two worlds” theory and addresses Hoxha’s views on the question of inter-imperialist war, on the revolutionary struggle in the oppressed nations, the tasks of communists in the imperialist countries, and other questions.

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13. See "Beat Back the Dogmato-Revisionist Attack on Mao Tsetung Thought," *The Communist* #5, May 1979; and "Enver Hoxha's Imperialism and the Revolution—An 'Error' from Beginning to End," *Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 9 (September 1979).
14. *IN STRUGGLE!*, April 17, 1979, p. 12.
15. All cited in the *Revolution* article, "Enver Hoxha's Imperialism and the Revolution—An 'Error' From Beginning to End."
16. *IN STRUGGLE!*, June 3, 1980, p. 15.
17. See Bob Avakian, *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions* (Chicago, 1979), pp. 320-22; "A Critical Appraisal of the Chinese Communist Party's 'Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement' (1963)," *Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 6 (June 1979), pp. 30-32; and "The Prospects for Revolution . . .," *Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 10-11, pp. 16-17.
18. *International Forum*, p. 37.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
21. *IN STRUGGLE!*, April 17, 1969, p. 12.
22. "For the Political and Organizational Unity of the International Communist Movement," Appeal from the Third Congress of MLOC IN STRUGGLE! (March 1979), p. 3.
23. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," *CW*, Vol. 21, p. 212.
24. *International Forum*, p. 38.
25. *IN STRUGGLE.*, January 22, 1980, pp. 12-13. The first set of ellipses are *IN STRUGGLE's*; the second set are ours.
26. "For the Political and Organizational Unity of the International Communist Movement," p. 16.
27. *IN STRUGGLE!*, June 3, 1980, p. 15.
28. *International Forum*, pp. 2-3.
29. Mao Tsetung, "Critique of Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*," *Critique of Soviet Economics*, p. 135.
30. These two articles appeared in *Proletarian Unity* #15, Feb.-March 1979 (theoretical journal of MLOC IN STRUGGLE!).
31. *International Forum*, pp. 38-39. For more on In Struggle's views on what led to the revisionist takeover in China, see "The Communist Party of China: Slowly Strangled by Factionalism," *IN STRUGGLE!*, July 3, 1979, p. 14; "On Enver Hoxha's *Imperialism and the Revolution: The Criticism of Modern Revisionism Must Be Carried Through to the End*," *Proletarian Unity*, No. 16, April-May 1979, especially pp. 32-34; and "The Stakes of the Mao-Stalin Debate," *IN STRUGGLE!*, April 8, 1980, p. 13. For example, in the latter article, which addresses the question of Mao's line on the existence of two lines in the party (which Mao correctly recognized as an inevitable product of class-divided society and drew attention to this precisely in order to wage struggle against the bourgeois line and those who champion it), In Struggle uses the PLA's formulation that Mao "accepted the continued existence of two lines" [our italics] and then goes on to conclude that "there is no doubt that real errors were committed by the CPC on this matter which helped pave the way for the growth and even the victory of bourgeois opportunism within the party . . ."
32. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
33. *IN STRUGGLE!*, June 3, 1980, p. 15.
34. Lenin, "Socialism and War," *CW*, Vol. 21, p. 329.
35. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," *CW*, Vol. 21, p. 209.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 257.
37. *International Forum*, p. 37.
38. Lenin, "Unity," *CW*, Vol. 20, p. 232.
39. Lenin, "Under a False Flag," *CW*, Vol. 21, p. 156.
40. Lenin, "Dead Chauvinism and Living Socialism," *CW*, Vol. 21, p. 99.
41. *IN STRUGGLE!*, January 22, 1980, p. 13.
42. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution," *CW*, Vol. 24, p. 82.
43. *IN STRUGGLE!*, May 6, 1980, p. 5.
44. Quoted in *International Forum*, p. 24.
45. "Engels to A. Bebel, June 20, 1873," *Marx and Engels, Selected Works in One Volume*, (International Publishers, 1968), p. 685, pp. 686-7.
46. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," *CW*, Vol. 21, p. 243.

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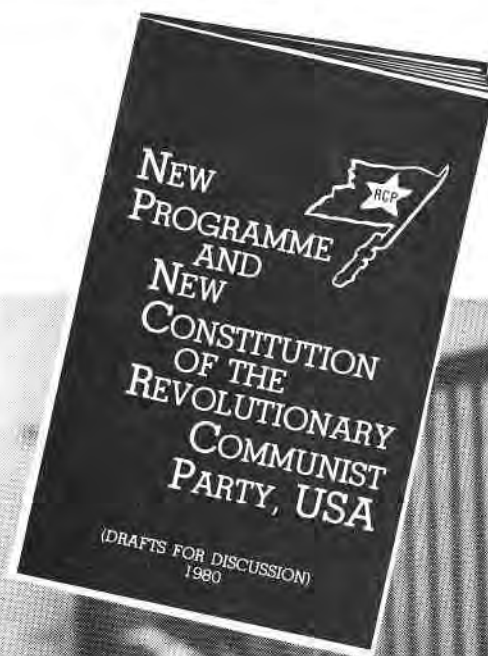
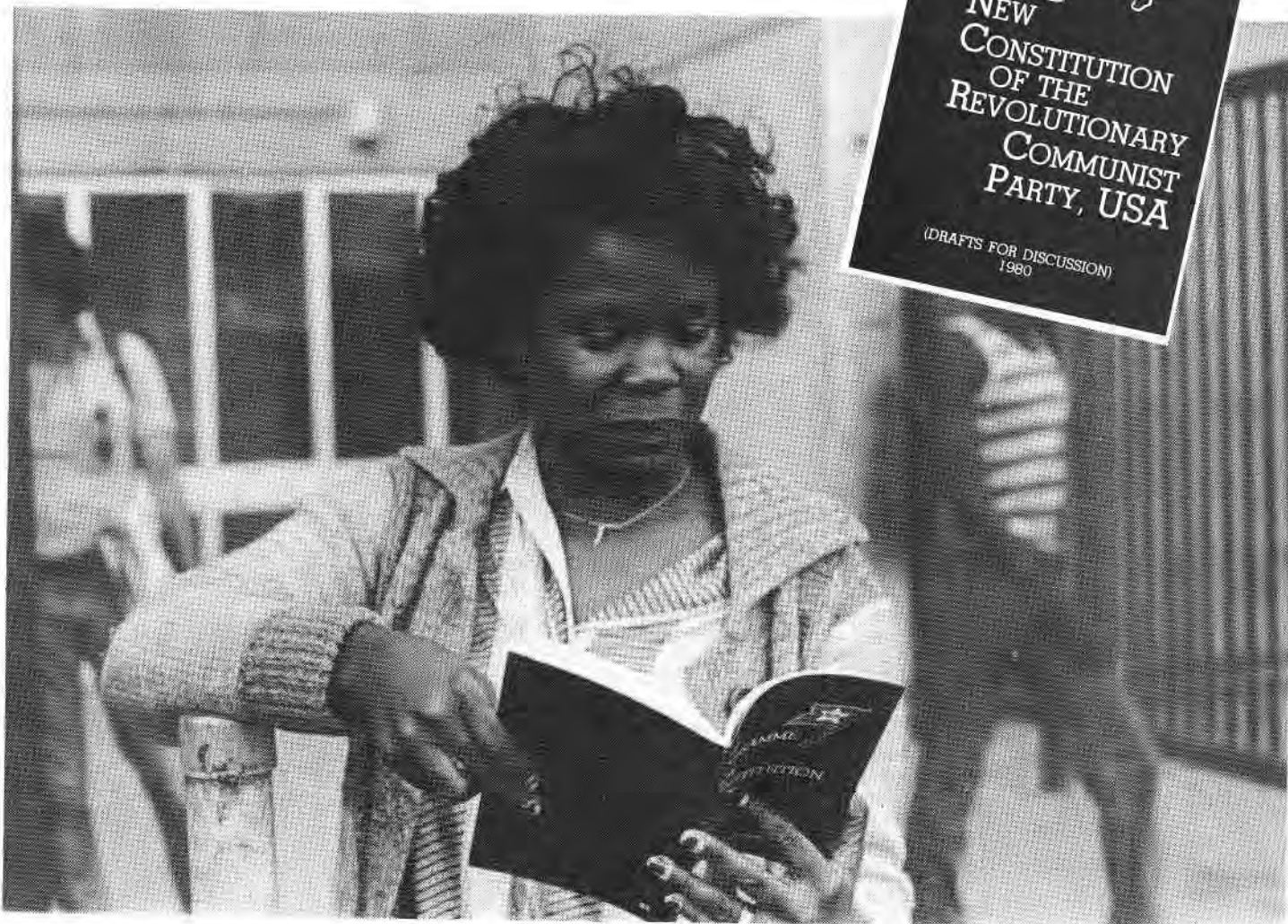
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Errata:

In the article "The International Unity of the Proletariat: What It Is and How to Fight for It," the quote from the RCP of Chile on page 58 was taken from the translation into English by In Struggle in their journal, *International Forum*. Since then we have received the original in Spanish, and feel that the paragraph, especially the last sentence, should read:

"We believe that the development of the forces of the world's Marxist-Leninists must not be seen as simply linked to the need to amass and coordinate our forces, but rather to a qualitative leap in the comprehension and application of Marxism-Leninism, especially in fusing it with the mass movement in each country. In this sense, our goal is not just the unity of small vanguard groups, but rather the fighting unity of our proletariats and peoples against their common enemies."

Also, please note: The volume and issue number on the cover of *Revolution* is wrong. The volume and issue number on the table of contents is correct. There was no April-May issue of *Revolution*.