



## Anniversary of the Great Depression

# Fifty Years Later: The Long Road Down

In October of 1929 one of America's most treasured illusions leaped to its death from a Wall Street window. We have been haunted ever since with the fear that the nightmare called the Great Depression might recur. But the nightmare that today grips America is not the sudden fall from a 10th story securities exchange window, waking in the morning to the headline's scream that all is lost. No. Our nightmare is a slow sleepwalker's march down a slanted decline, a continuing depression. It has been said that the peculiar characteristic of the 1929 plunge was that it was unlike the previous "recessions", in that it went on and on that the worst became worse with each passing month. What looked like the end of disaster one day proved to be only the beginning the next.

Over the last twenty years there have been two constant choruses on the subject of the great disaster. The capitalist chorus is quick to assure the people of the US that the recessions we experience "are just a momentary

interruption of the never ending epic history of American progress." This chorus of liars boasts the ability to cure a system which is terminally ill. The other chorus is composed of those "leftists", who at every recession predict that another Great Depression is just around the corner. This chorus of doomsayers, followers of Chicken Little, underestimate the capitalists' ability to patch up their system, however temporarily and at however great a cost to the working class. This chorus, while anxiously awaiting for the straw that will break the camel's back, ignores the fact that the capitalist camel is slowly sinking to its knees that the system of monopoly capital has been fundamentally flawed from the beginning, and is inevitably heading for destruction.

### A Recession Out of Hand

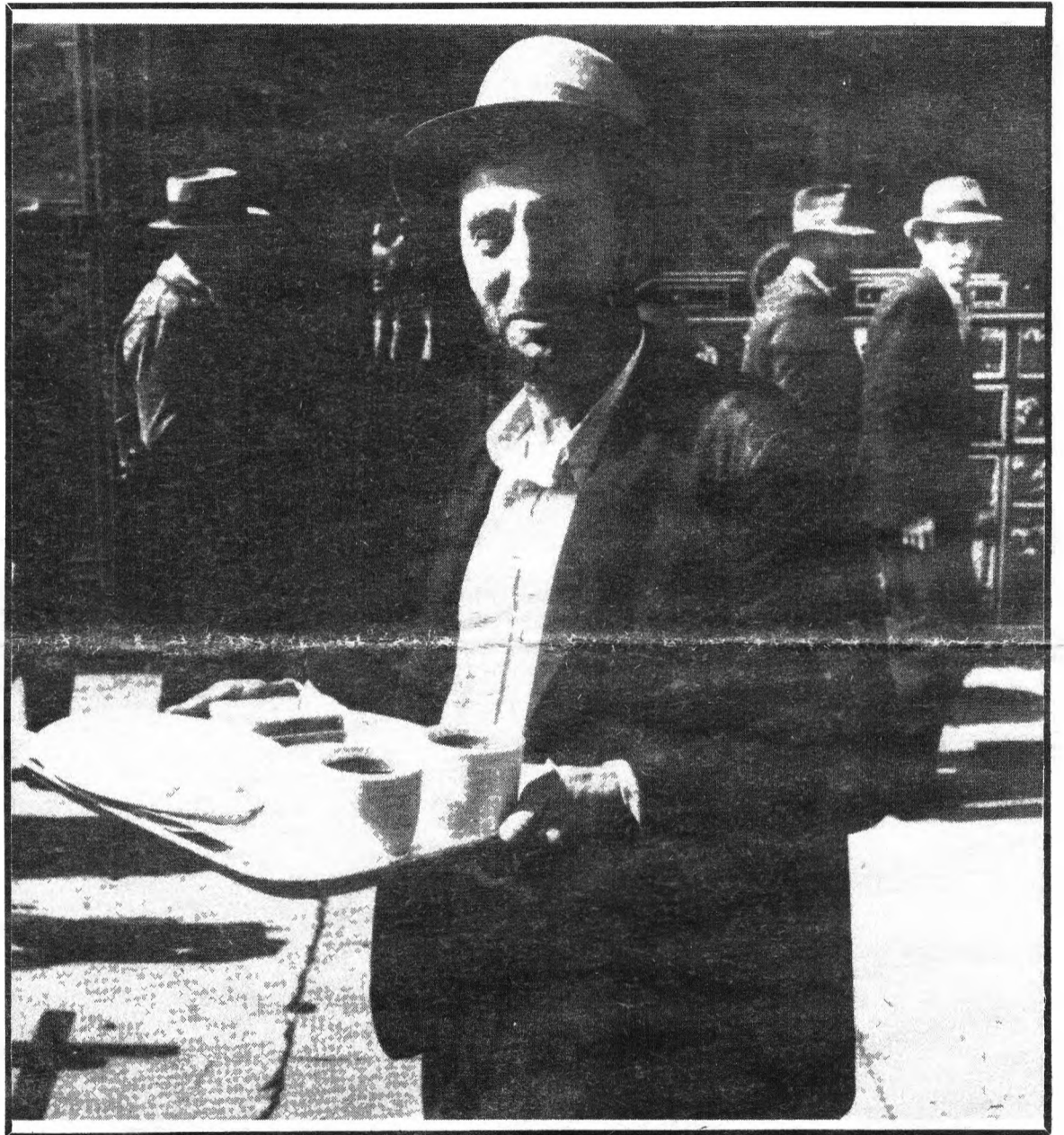
While the capitalist First National City Bank laments the toll the Great Depression took on its own class, crying that in 1929, "the phrase 'jumped off or fell' occurred with sickening regularity in the press", it maintains that the Great Depression was simply a recession "that was allowed to get out of hand." Indeed it did.

In the period of 1929-1939, the gross national product fell 30%, back to the 1909 level. Fully 25% of all wage earners were unemployed. One out of every five banks collapsed, taking with them the savings of millions of working people and small businessmen, the hopes and dreams of a nation looking for the promised "prosperity right around the corner." All over the capitalist world the fabric of society was torn apart. Families were ripped from their homelands and from each other while starvation stalked the old and young. A giant imprint of fear was pressed into the generation that lived through it.

The crisis of the credit institutions, the extreme cutbacks in production, and the rapid spread of economic paralysis in a world wide system of all too well integrated imperialism filled the streets with the hungry and the unemployed, the sidewalks with the belongings of those dispossessed from their homes, the roads with the desperately searching, and the statehouses with endless and fruitless debates on how to solve the problem.

### Getting the Recession in Hand

In the late thirties, with the help of economist Maynard Keynes, and on the ashes of the prosperity of the 1920's, in a fury of self preservation the cap-



The crisis filled the streets with the hungry and unemployed, the sidewalks with the belongings of the dispossessed, the roads with the desperately searching and the statehouses with endless and fruitless debates.



### Initial Views

## On the Role of Mao Tsetung

in the Rise of Revisionism in the Communist Party of China

"Internationally a great debate rages on the merit of Mao Tsetung and his role in the development and consolidation of revisionism within the Chinese Party and State.

It is the position of the CPUSA/ML that China was set on the revisionist course long before Mao's death. Chinese revisionism did not mysteriously spring forth one morning in late 1976."

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italists hit on a plan to get the "recessions in hand." But in spite of their "it can never happen again" slogan, the capitalists' plan was merely to change the character of the wild fluctuations in the capitalist business cycle. It was not to eliminate the downward trend, for this was impossible, but to spread the decline over a long period of time. Rather than the crises occurring every fifteen years with their steep declines and slow recoveries, the crises would occur every three to five years with shallower declines and shallower recoveries. The new character of the downward trend was what the capitalists needed in order to more methodically, step by step shift the devastating effects of the crisis away from their own class and on to the working class.

The capitalist program for changing the face, not the direction of its depression crises had three main strategies. First, to resolve the crisis in the financial institutions the capitalists insti-

tuted a series of federal regulatory agencies like the Federal Reserve Bank and Securities and Exchange Commission. But to resolve the problem of the tremendous fracture and cutbacks in production resulting from the unplanned character of capitalist production, more radical steps were needed.

The capitalists' new plan called for a massive militarization of the economy involving the large scale

production of military hardware which would not flood the market with unsold goods. This militarization also removed a significant portion of capitalism's chronically under employed workforce from the job market, placing them instead in the military.

Thirdly, the scheme included monumental federal spending, a policy of deficit spending, to prop up the capacity of the work-

(Continued on page 5)

## Land Struggle Against Anaconda Copper in the Chicano Nation

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# Workers Protest Another Oakland Police Murder

Oakland, California - Four shotgun blasts shattered the legs of Charles Briscoe. Not finished, police emptied six shots from a .357 magnum into Briscoe. Finally he was handcuffed and thrown "struggling" into the police car. Briscoe, an activist in the machinists union (IAM) at the Naval Air Station is now dead, another victim of police terror.

Preliminary police reports claim the officer fired in self defense. Briscoe, they say, "pointed a loaded rifle" at the police as he ran "unhurt" to his van. The rifle was never fired. With both legs shattered it is difficult to imagine a man crawling, let alone running, to his car as though he were unhurt! The police reports contradict one another because they are desperately trying to cover up an outright murder.

Workers from the Oakland area responded with anger. Over 1000 co-workers signed petitions demanding an independent investigation. Leaflets were issued by the union and the Charles Briscoe Committee for Justice (CBCJ). Over 300 supporters turned out

for the September 25th City Council meeting. The Mayor refused to allow anyone to speak. Trying to pacify the demonstrators and cool things down he promised that "the matter was being dealt with."

The CBCJ has called for all workers and residents of Oakland, the IAM local 735, the family and the NAACP to join in this struggle. However, the union bureaucrats have already shown that they are more interested in their ties to the city bosses than in fighting against police attacks. At the October 9th City Council meeting, the union president thanked the Mayor for his "cooperation!" He was the only speaker from the Committee allowed to speak. The President of the Alameda AFL-CIO Labor Council stated at a press conference that he is not against police and that "maybe Briscoe did point the rifle." These union traitors cannot be counted on for genuine support. They make deals with the Mayor and city politicians, selling out this struggle just as they sell out our demands on the job.

The reformist NAACP and IAM are now calling for a Police Review Commission, appointed by the City Council. The experience in other cities shows these boards to be agencies for an official whitewash. The IAM and NAACP promote the illusion that greater government regulation, more investigations and commissions can resolve the problems of police brutality. Police brutality is part and parcel of the capitalist system. You cannot expect the snake to watch the serpent. The police are a tool of repression for the capitalist state. Thus it can not be more "review boards" set up by another agency of the state, but the growth of the revolutionary movement independent of the treacherous reformist organizations, which will stop the police attacks and other fascist assaults upon the working and oppressed people.

For more information or to send financial contributions contact

Charles Briscoe Committee for Justice  
6122 Bromley Ave.,  
Oakland, CA 94521

## Letters

### The Effect of Chinese Revisionism on the Revolutionary National Movements

Comrades,

The past Labor Day weekend a friend and I attended a rally and march in East Los Angeles commemorating the 1970 Chicano Moratorium against the Vietnam War. This march was advertised as a Chicano event and organized by a huge coalition of Chicano organizations from throughout California and a few representatives from Arizona and Texas.

My friend and I both considered this a good opportunity to see first hand where, exactly, the Chicano movement is presently at, to try and gauge in what direction the movement is going and also to establish contact with progressive Chicanos from our area. My friend is a Chicano from San Diego and I was born and raised in South Texas, so between us we thought we'd be able to gauge the general stage of development of the struggle of our Raza for self determination.

The number of organizations that actively participated in the coalition was considerably less than the number sponsoring and endorsing the event. One organization was very dominant and visible in organizing and leading the event. This was the League for Revolutionary Struggle (LRS). As these people discovered that we didn't uphold the "three worlds theory", were not proponents of Chinese revisionist social imperialism and did not consider Mao Tsetung the "reddest sun", we were isolated from the other people on the bus and viewed with suspicion and thinly veiled hostility. The unprincipled union of this organization with bourgeois political and student organizations, plus their rigorous suppression of any authentic Marxist Leninist literature, further reveals their opportunist stand.

In all fairness we were provided with lodging for two nights and round trip transportation for \$10. We were permitted to participate in the march and rally and dance that night.

Approximately 1000 enthusiastic persons attended the event, about half of which were Chicanos, a quarter white, a quarter Asian and very few Blacks. There were many families and working class people but the overall majority were students.

It was a good feeling to march down Whittier Boulevard, chanting slogans against the Migra (INS) and against police abuse of our people.

On the minus side there was a glaring absence of local community participation with hardly any of the hundreds of spectators lining the streets joining us in the march. These people appeared, for the most part, Mexicanos and possibly feared reprisals from the authorities.

The LRS has in its leadership Chicanos who helped to organize and lead the Moratorium in 1970 and now consider the event "theirs". The domination of the coalition built for this march by the LRS is most unfortunate at

this point. Now when the Chicano movement most clearly needs principled Marxist-Leninist leadership to educate, advance and fight for the proletariat, our people instead get leaders who unite with others because of "Chicanismo" or "Progressivism" or because a certain Chicano organization is strong in the Chicano bourgeois hierarchy.

LRS supports China, upholding it as a true socialist state and Mao Tsetung as a true Marxist Leninist, even in the face of the restoration of capitalism in China and vacillating opportunist stands of the Chinese leadership. This revisionist stand by the LRS can only serve to weaken the unifying forces of Chicano nationalism and hinder the development of a true proletarian Marxist Leninist movement for the Chicano masses.

The resistance of our people to the capitalists is gathering strength. Soon we will be able to shatter the shackles of exploitation. We must strive to educate and prepare our brothers and sisters for this momentous event. The influences of modern revisionism and opportunism must be eradicated from the Chicano movement. There can be no co-existence with the capitalist bourgeois enslavers.

The Chicano proletariat will show the way for true democracy for our Raza and stand shoulder to shoulder with the multinational proletariat to smash once and for all the global disease of imperialism.

**Que Viva el Marxismo Leninismo!  
Que Viva el Revolucion!**

Dear Friend

Thank you for your letter. We think you pointed out an extremely important connection between Chinese revisionism and the activities and stand of the LRS. Chinese revisionism has long been an advocate of bourgeois nationalism. Pandering to the national ambitions of the bourgeois forces in the oppressed nations of the world, China advocated a new world economic order which would not be aligned with imperialism and not committed to the socialist road. Triampling on the interests of the working class and revolutionary national movements, China aligned itself with the likes of Mobutu and Pnochet under the guise of the common fight for independence in opposition to Soviet imperialism. China's own ambitions in building such an alliance on a world scale were to place itself at the head of this new third world.

The LRS panders to narrow nationalism because it too wishes to make a place for itself in the sun. Both have utilized a Marxist-Leninist cover and played on the revolutionary national sentiments of the masses with the aim of rallying the people to support a strategic alliance with the national bourgeoisie and the national reformists. These revisionists take this a step further by calling for an alliance with imperialism with the second world and US imperialism to oppose Soviet social imperialism.

Chinese revisionism also promotes the view that the storm of revolution is in the third world, thereby denying the role of the international proletariat. In the US, Chinese revisionist organizations advocate that third world workers will take the lead in the revolutionary struggle, thus denying the role of the white proletariat, without which there can be no revolution. These views replace class analysis and class unity with national and racial analysis and unity. Such opportunism greatly damages the struggle to build multinational unity within the ranks of the proletariat and the struggle to forge the alliance between the proletariat and revolutionary national movements. By doing so, these revisionists prove their worth to the bourgeoisie.

UNITE' Editor

\* For further discussion of Chinese revisionism, turn to page 6.

## Editorials

### The Convertible Castro



Down from the mountains of Cuba, from the historic assault on the Moncada, the hero of the Cuban revolution has come to the US. The general who long ago poked a threatening spear into American imperialism's Latin American underbelly and captured the hearts of millions struggling against the same beast, has arrived in New York to address the United Nations.

But is this a revolutionary, struggling against worldwide imperialism, for the liberation of the world's peoples? No. This is a reformist leader who politely and quietly has come to ask the US imperialists for a loan. Correctly but moralistically Castro rapped the knuckles of US imperialism for its despoilation of the world, the hunger and misery caused by US imperialism. But did Castro call for an end to this system? Did he call for the peoples of the world to rise up and throw off imperialism's chains in the revolutionary method which has proven to be the only viable course for oppressed peoples? No!

Castro called for the continued exploitation of the peoples, invit-

ing US imperialism to further domination through loans to these countries, at "reasonable" rates, of course.

Castro is indeed convertible. Fresh from the Conference of Non Aligned Countries, Castro was also proving that he can serve two masters at once. His speech reflected the fusion within the "non aligned" movement of Tito and Chinese revisionism, servants of US imperialism, and Khrushchevite revisionism, servant of Soviet social imperialism. While inviting the US to further exploit the peoples of the world, Castro whitewashed the crimes of Soviet imperialist exploitation in Angola, Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and Cuba.

This is the trend of reformism, the essence of opportunism, the soul of a man who has set himself against the struggling people of the world and in the service of imperialism. We reject this stand. We do not ask our oppressors for favors. We demand genuine revolutionary liberation and just reparations for the years of cruelty at the hands of the imperialist parasites.



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**Every Factory Our Fortress**

# TUAL Protests Death of 19-Year Old Indiana Steelworker

**Gary, Indiana** - Demanding the right to refuse unsafe work and chanting "No More Deaths at U S Steel!", members of the Gary chapter of the Trade Union Action League held a picket line at U S Steel Gary Works' main gate on October 8. The picket was called in a leaflet issued by the TUAL to protest against U S Steel for the death of Laurene Tomazewski.

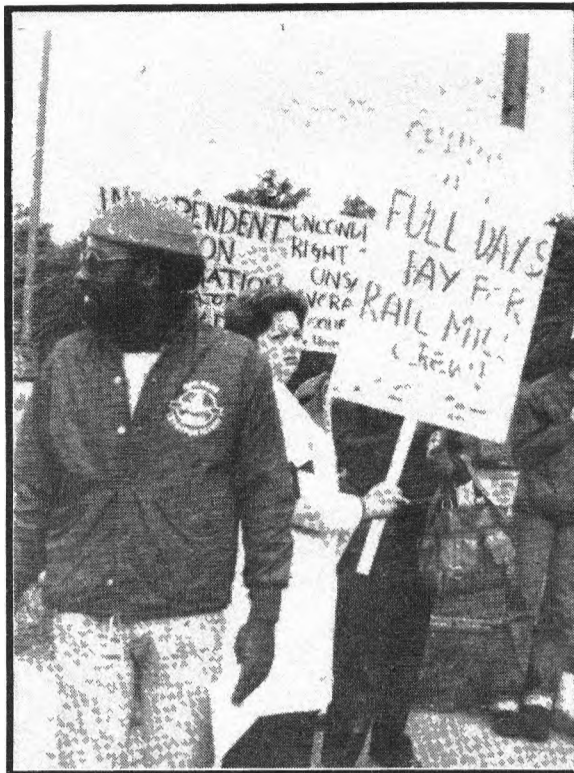
Tomazewski, a 19 year old steelworker from Merrillville, Indiana, was crushed by an ingot buggy while working the scaleman job in the rail mill. The job requires a worker to clean scale off the ingot buggy tracks while the buggy is in operation. There was no system for Laurene to notify the buggy operator when she was working on the track. Furthermore, the buggy's warning horn was broken the day she was crushed to death.

After Laurene's body was removed from the mill, company foremen told the workers to start the mill rolling again. But the workers, shaken and outraged by Tomazewski's brutal death, refused. The company threatened to fire the entire crew. Still unwilling to return to work, the crew was sent home.

The TUAL is demanding that rail mill workers receive a full days pay. Other demands include changing the working conditions that killed Laurene and the full and unconditional right to refuse unsafe work.

In an interview with the Gary Post Tribune, TUAL representatives said U S Steel was responsible, not only for Laurene's death, but also for the other injuries, maimings and deaths in the plant. "They preach safety but practice tonnage", said a TUAL organizer. Why does this happen? The TUAL targets as the cause the capitalist system of wage slavery which sacrifices workers for profits.

Tomazewski's brother echoed this stand in an interview on a Chicago TV news program. When asked if Laurene's death could have been prevented, he replied



Gary steelworkers protest U S Steel for the death of Laurene Tomazewski, who was crushed by an ingot buggy on September 29. UNITE! photo

"From what people told me at the wake, I think it could have been prevented. It is an example of the company being more concerned about production than safety."

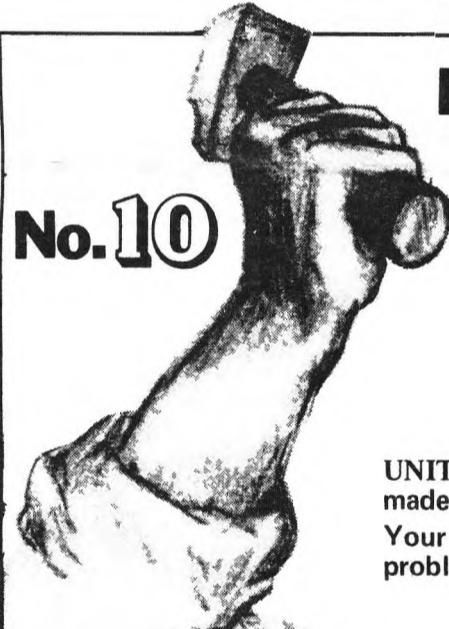
Discounting Laurene's death, USWA union officials took quite a different position. Local 1014 Vice president Bobby Demby told the Gary press that Laurene's death gives women the equal rights they have been demanding. "Men have been dying in the mill for years," Demby argued. "Now a woman gets killed and everyone gets all excited."

The TUAL fights, not for the equal right to be maimed and murdered, but for the right of workers to be free from the violence and brutality of the savage system of wage slavery.

Standing in opposition to the callous, sell out treachery of the USWA bureaucrats and fighting to build a new, revolutionary unionism, the TUAL enlisted the support of other workers coming off the midnight turn or heading

into work in the early hours Monday, October 8. Representatives of the U S Steel South

Works TUAL and the Steel City Organizer, shop newspaper of the Laurene Tomazewski by U S CPUSA/ML, also headed the call Steel.



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## Revolution is a problem taken up for solution.

### In the United States. Now.

UNITE! thanks all those who, over the last several months, made donations and pledged sustainers. Your contributions are a very real part of the solution to the problem of proletarian revolution in the U S today.

Building the financial base of the Party will remain, in the months and years ahead, a critical issue as the crisis of U S imperialism deepens.

We urge you today, to contribute to UNITE! Contribute to the cause of socialism in the U S.

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## First Woman Miner Killed in Cave-in

**Pennsylvania** - Her fellow workers removed the rocks that had buried her one by one. Running the bolting machine at Rushton Company's mine in Osceola Mills, Pennsylvania, Marilyn J McCusker, 35, became the victim of a long standing tradition in deep mine murder, a roof cave in.

Ms McCusker had worked at the mine for two years, had fought in the courts for the right to be a miner and now has won herself the miners' reward—a hard rock grave along with the distinction of being the first woman killed in the coal-black death traps that are the capitalist mining enterprises in the

U S today. Yes, in the system of wage slavery we often have to fight for jobs, for the right to work, especially women and minorities who have been systematically excluded from those jobs that pay a "living" wage. But that is not enough. We who, unlike Marilyn McCusker, still have more battles to fight, must take the Worker's Pledge over the rubble that covered miner McCusker's body to win the right to job safety, to win the battle to smash the hard rock wall of capitalism that stands between the senseless death of a wage slave and the long healthy life of a socialist worker.

## Every Factory Our Fortress

# TUAL Opens 1980 Steel Contract Campaign

### From a Worker Correspondent

**Gary, Indiana** - Close to three years have passed since the last basic steel contract was signed. The time is fast approaching when the steel barons and the USWA bureaucrats will again join hands at the bargaining table to determine wages and working conditions for 280,000 steelworkers.

Today, the fruits of the last negotiations still take their toll. Steelworkers' standard of living has slid steadily downward. Industrial injuries and deaths are on the rise. Thousands are on layoff or a short week.

The 1980 contract negotiation process will get underway in November at the USWA's Wage Policy Committee meetings, followed by the Basic Industry Conference in December. Then the bureaucrats will finally sit down with representatives of the steel barons in February.

The process comes at a time when the companies are whipping up an hysterical campaign about "foreign imports" and wringing their hands over a "falling rate of profit." Carter's wage guideline policy has resulted in a "far below inflation rate" precedent, silently accepted first by the OCAW chiefs, then the Teamster, UPS, electrical and rubberworker union bureaucrats, and most recently by the UAW's Doug Fraser. The heart is being eaten out of steelworker paychecks, like those of our class brothers and sisters, by inflation and taxation.

This situation does not hold the promise of improvement over the next three years. Rather, the entire steel industry is moving toward a major overhaul. Modernizing the mills lies ahead, bringing rationalization - more job slashing and greater job intensification

for the workers who remain. There is absolutely no sign that skyrocketing inflation will abate, or that tax relief is on the way. There is, however, every reason to believe the economic picture will get worse.

In the face of this attack on living and working conditions, the USWA has jumped to the steel industry's side, blaming the crisis on "foreign imports." As part of the AFL-CIO apparatus, McBride and Company have agreed to work with Carter on a "more equitable" set of wage guidelines. Yet as the 1978 USWA national convention revealed, there is no plan to fight for the demands of the rank and file. All in all, steelworkers face an uphill battle just defending their current living standard.

Looking this gloomy forecast square in the eye, the Gary chapter of the Trade Union Action League (TUAL) has initiated a campaign to fight for the demands of rank and file steelworkers in the upcoming 1980 contract struggle. Our campaign is guided by the slogan "Defend our Living Standard with the Right to Strike and the Right to Ratify!"

While the campaign will center on the national contract, it also extends to fighting for local demands, the right to ratify local agreements and the right to strike on the local level.

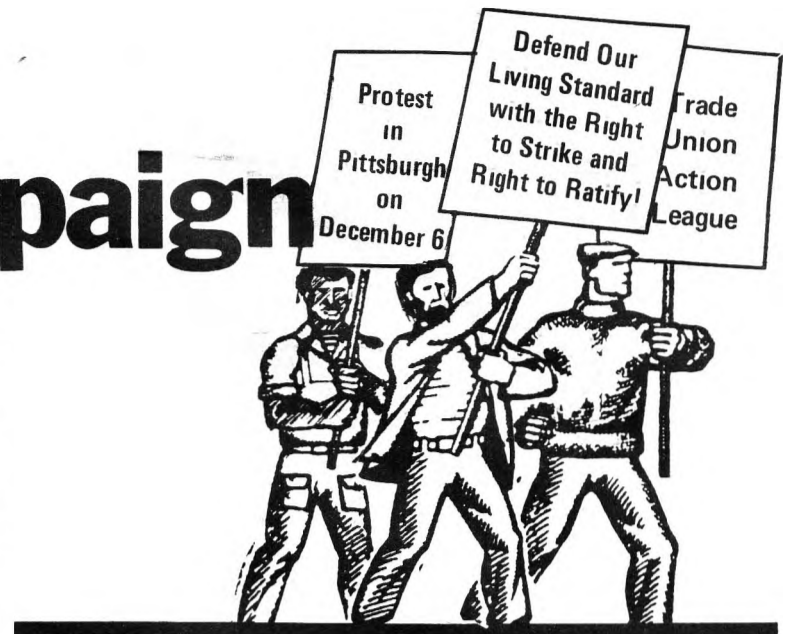
The TUAL is focusing the campaign on the right to strike and right to ratify because these demands are the backbone of the fight to defend our living standard. Given the treachery of the union apparatus, these rights are critical tools which, when won, will allow the rank and file to exercise a greater measure of control over contracts which directly affect our lives for three years.

Unlike the old Sadlowski machine and the reformism of Alice Peurala, which favor the right to ratify but abandon the right to strike at the drop of a hat, the revolutionary trade union opposition recognizes that the right to ratify and right to strike are inseparably linked. They must be fought for simultaneously. Winning only the right to strike without the right to ratify still leaves acceptance or rejection of the contract in the hands of the union apparatus. Such was the case during the 1959 national steel strike.

Without the right to strike, the right to ratify means workers can express their views, but lack an important weapon to back them up.

The right to ratify and strike are basic questions of union democracy, even though they are reforms which will not fundamentally alter the class collaborationist essence of the reformist trade unions. Both demands increase the rank and file's ability to oppose the attacks of the capitalist class and the treachery of the union apparatus.

Fighting for the right to strike



and ratify, the TUAL works to build the revolutionary trade union opposition, because only a revolutionary trade union organization will put these basic rights to use in the interests of the rank and file steelworker, and the working class as a whole. We aim to smash the hold of class traitors over our movement and end the system under which the union bureaucrats and capitalist owners collaborate to decide the terms of sale of our labor power. We fight not only for better conditions as wage slaves. We fight for the abolition of wage slavery itself.

The TUAL 1980 contract campaign is being kicked off with a petition drive, demanding the Basic Industry Conference take

up the right to ratify and fight to end the never strike ENA, by raising these demands in the national contract negotiations in February.

We plan a picket of the Basic Industry Conference in Pittsburgh on December 6. It will be at this conference that the local union presidents will decide the issue of ratification and other contract demands.

The TUAL calls on all militant steelworkers to join this campaign to "Defend Our Standard of Living with the Right to Strike and the Right to Ratify!" Protest in Pittsburgh on December 6! ■

*Petitions and buttons are available from the TUAL at PO Box 726 Gary Indiana 46402 or an organizer in your shop.*

## In Memory of Joe Hill

In the hearts and minds of American working people, he never died. Joe Hill, the troubador of the early working class movement, remains alive in song. His struggle for industrial unionism and international working class solidarity goes on. His frame up at the hands of the state has been echoed in repeat performances - from Sacco and Vanzetti to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to Imani Harris and Gary Tyler.

Joe Hill was framed for the murder of a grocer and his son in 1913 by a Utah court. Utah was one of several western states which witnessed mass strikes and "free speech" protests during the first two decades of the 20th century. He was railroaded as a part of the bourgeoisie's efforts to smash the rising working class movement.

Joe Hill was executed two years after his arrest. In those two years, millions learned of his story and hundreds of thousands mobilized to win his freedom in an international campaign organized by the Industrial Workers of the World.

President Woodrow Wilson was forced, twice, to intervene on Hill's behalf, and secure a stay of execution. The Swedish government intervened. The AFL delegates to its 35th convention unanimously adopted a resolution condemning Hill's trial and demanding that the state of Utah grant him a new trial. In a mass meeting, 30,000 Australian workers demanded Hill's freedom and threatened a boycott of U.S. made goods if he was not released. A member of the IWW, Joe

Hill was a poet, songwriter and class fighter in many of the early battles of the young American industrial proletariat. The Wobblies, as they were called, promoted one big industrial union and the one big strike as the means of seizing and exercising proletarian state power. IWW Lawrence textile strike organizer Arturo Giovannitti described the IWW's work as organizing the "mighty army of the working class of the world, which, out of the shadows and darkness of the past, is striving toward the destined goal, which is the emancipation of humankind, which is the establishment of love and brotherhood and justice for every man and woman on earth."

Though fighting a just cause, the IWW failed to develop a scientific program, strategy and tactics in the opening rounds of struggle against imperialism, just

arising as a world system. The US proletariat did, however, with the participation of many honest, militant and revolutionary members of the IWW, go on to form a Marxist Leninist party, the Communist Party USA, and join in the great class battles of the 1930's.

Today, a campaign to win Joe Hill a posthumous pardon is underway. Such a campaign has the potential of educating the US proletariat about its revolutionary traditions and the continuing frameup and police state tactics of the US government. Just as in 1913, such tactics are used today against revolutionaries, trade union organizers and the masses.

October marks the 100th anniversary of Joe Hill's birth. His last words on the night of November 15, 1915 are well worth remembering today: "Don't mourn for me - Organize!" ■

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### Newsman Killed by Scab in ARCO Strike

**Pittsburgh, Pa** - On Thursday, September 6, a news cameraman filming strike activity was crushed to death under the wheels of an 8000 gallon ARCO gasoline truck.

ARCO has begun using management personnel as scabs to deliver gasoline after drivers for Teamster Local 273 struck in a contract dispute. Repeated warnings by striking drivers of the dangers of using unqualified drivers have gone unheeded by the company.

The strike, still going on, is for wage and benefit increases. While ARCO, AMOCO and Gulf are reaping record profits, their "final offer" to date has been only 24 cents an hour. Rather than pay their workers a living wage, the oil companies choose instead to seriously endanger people on the streets by putting scabs at the wheels of 38,000 pound firebombs.

This cameraman's death occurred in a skirmish in the class war. Yet the media in Pittsburgh which has lost "one of their own", completely glossed over this point. Almost no mention was made of the danger warnings by striking drivers, nor of the inexperience of the scab who did the killing.

These types of deaths occur because the capitalists have only one concern: Profit. Though money is pouring into their pockets at record rates from over \$1.00 a gallon gasoline, corporate greed knows no end. They will not part with one penny. Furthermore, they will absolutely disregard the lives of workers and the public in general in this lust for profit. "Accidents" like these are simply calculated as part of the cost of production. ■

## For Democracy and Socialism!

# Chicanos Fight Uranium Mining in Continuing Land Struggle

From a Correspondent

**Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico** — A hundred year old tradition of revolutionary nationalism and class struggle continues in the heart of the Chicano Nation. The slogans, "Anaconda and Uranium Mining Out Of Rio Arriba!", "Health to the People, Death to Capitalism!" and "Self Determination for the Chicano Nation!" echoed through the hills of Carson National Forest on the week end of September 8 and 9.

In defiance of Anaconda Copper/Atlantic Richfield's scheme to get its bloody hands on more Chicano land, 400 people — Chicano, Anglo and Native American — camped out on the forest land of Rio Arriba to protest the plan to mine uranium from the Carson National Forest, and to expose the role of the U.S. National Forest Service as an agent of U.S. imperialism in this scheme.

In the last ten years, Chicano people of Rio Arriba have stopped other intrusions into their territory. Attempts to build a private airport for tourists, a tourist hotel and a ski run were derailed. Now a battle is being waged against Anaconda/ARCO for control of the land originally stolen from the Chicano Nation in the early 1900's and placed under the domain of the Bureau of Land Management and the National Forest Service.

The protest, called the Canjilon Action, was organized by La Colectiva, a coalition consisting of many local organizations including a chapter of La Raza Unida Party and El Comité en Defensa de Nuestras Comunidades, from Tierra Amarilla.

### National Reformism vs Revolutionary Nationalism

In opposition to the reformism which today predominates in the Chicano National movement, an emerging revolutionary nationalist stand and practice was clearly visible in the Rio Arriba protest. It is a stand which targets U.S. imperialist domination of the Chicano Nation and the capitalist system as the enemy of the oppressed Chicano people — the cause of their poverty, exploitation and denial of democratic rights. This viewpoint was reflected in opposition to the careerism and treachery of reformists within the Chicano national movement and to pacifist and legalist tactics. It was reflected in the demand for the right of self-determination, and promoted in agitation for socialism as the objective of the revolutionary national movement.

Two local speakers movingly expressed their deep ties to the land and the Nation, voicing a willingness to use all necessary forms of struggle to overcome the

exploitation and oppression of their people. This stand was a break with the pacifism of other anti nuclear demonstrations.

One compañero rose to expose Rejis Tejerina of the Alianza, who refused to take a position on uranium exploitation, instead preferring to make deals with the New Mexican governor in exchange for favors. Tejerina was condemned for his unwillingness to stand against the imperialists like Anaconda/ARCO, instead fighting a very small number of Anglo tenants in the area. Tejerina was refused the speaker's platform. He was heckled for wanting to reinstate a Patron system, with himself as the Patron.

### Anaconda — Imperialist Octopus

A member of El Comité en Defensa de Nuestras Comunidades of Tierra Amarilla addressed the protesters saying that the problems of health and uranium mining were directly linked to the system of capitalist wage slavery. Anaconda/ARCO was exposed for its imperialist exploitation, not only in New Mexico, but in Butte, Montana, where over 1,500 workers lost their homes so that Anaconda could mine copper. Anaconda's role in the exploitation of workers in Brazil and Mexico, and the instigating part it played in the fascist coup in Chile in 1973 were all exposed.

The impact of the Canjilon



Chicanos, Anglos and Native Americans gather in the Canjilon Action to protest Anaconda/ARCO's plan to steal more Chicano land and exploit uranium miners. UNITE! photo

Action at Rio Arriba was immediate as La Colectiva was contacted by Anaconda executives by phone and letter only two days after the action. The luke warm promises to give up the scheme to mine Carson Forest uranium and poison Chicano miners were taken with a grain of salt by the people of Rio Arriba who have

over a hundred years of experience with U.S. imperialism. La lucha continua — the struggle continues, beginning to take up the fight on two fronts, against imperialism and against the national reformists whose defense of U.S. imperialism only prolongs the oppression of the Chicano Nation.

## The Great Depression...



"The Depression sends a fearful population into the streets" — October 1929

(Continued from page 1)

ing class to consume goods and to try to pacify the revolutionary struggle with reforms. This resulted in the previously unheard-of development of Unemployment Compensation, Welfare, Social Security, and federal supports to the blossoming debtor economy like the Federal Housing Authority.

Although the capitalists, by 1940, had changed the appearance of the system's decline, they had merely jumped from the frying pan of the Great Depression into a slow burning pressure cooker with its own deadly contradictions.

### The Long Road Down

The pressurized conditions of the new state supported economy became obvious immediately following World War II. The capitalist crisis no longer took its old form of bank failures, instead assuming its now all too familiar form of unemployment and infla-

tion. Unable to demobilize after the War, the capitalists discovered that the militarization that pulled them out of the Great Depression of the 1930's was not a temporary but a permanent, costly and inflationary feature of their "cure" for the crisis, and they plunged headlong into the Korean War. They also discovered that with their ability to place more of the effects of the crisis on the working class came the necessity for federal spending based on taxation to maintain productive and consumptive capacity. And, they discovered that the necessity for this spending increased rather than decreased with the passage of time.

After a brief breathing space afforded by the recolonization of Europe and Japan through the Marshall Plan, the deadly weaknesses of capitalism began again to make themselves felt in terms of recession. Newly built up imperialist countries like Germany and Japan began to put competitive pressure on U.S. imperialism. The massive spending for the "War On Poverty", the "New Frontier" and the Vietnam War brought a spiraling inflation rate. By 1965, the honeymoon was over. Since that time the direction of the capitalist crisis, an extended and deepening depression, has been clear: slow, continuous, unrestrainable.

### The Crisis Is Now

Like gamblers betting on a visibly three legged horse, the question arises: "Can the depression happen again?" The answer is double edged. First, the decline of capitalism and in our living standards has **already reached an alarming rate with no end in sight**. Second, when the capitalists cannot patch up their system any longer, the economic paralysis that will beset a world integrated into the imperialist system as never before will be of a

depth unplumbed by any earlier Great Depression. The situation is severe even judging by the most understated figures.

Since 1967 average real disposable income has fallen 10%. Inflation in the last decade is twice what it was in the years 1927 to 1967. Real unemployment is close to half of what it was in the Great Depression and if it were not for the meager (and presently being cut back) programs of federal relief, more than 25% of Americans would be living on a starvation level.

One by one the cities, not the banks are facing bankruptcy, unable to meet the demands of a populace increasingly impoverished by the capitalists. Last year's federal budget included a 10% portion just to pay the service on its debt, an efficient way to redistribute the wealth toward the already rich.

Consumer debt is up 15% since 1968, now consuming up to \$72 for every dollar of disposable income. Repossessions are reputed to be rising at an annual rate of 10%. Savings are presently at an all time low of 5% of personal income. In their rush to partake of the profitable loan market, banks have steadily reduced their assets-to-loan ratios from 7% to 5% in recent years.

This year has seen the default of the third largest automaker in the country following on the heels of the Lockheed default in the early 1970's. From Bert Lance's banking speculation to the Big Mac bailing out of New York City, we see rift after rift in the capitalists' financial system, only to be patched up under the coordinating guidance of the capitalist state at the expense of the working class.

This week as the prime lending rate was raised to over 14% the finance capitalists quietly announced that with the required down payments of up to 25%, the American dream of home ownership is rapidly drawing to a close. Yes, we are in a crisis. The pressure is building. The direction is

down. But we have not seen the bottom yet.

### How Far Is the Bottom?

We are in a crisis, a continuing depression which is managed, which "has not been allowed to get out of (the capitalists') control", but whose downward motion is unrestrainable. In the face of the compelling downward motion of monopoly capitalism, the capitalists' drive for self-preservation is as strong as it was in the 1930's. They have several possibilities open to them. There is the seemingly endless tinkering with the economic machine, the adjustments of interest rates, wages, prices, price supports and subsidies — a tinkering which in the end creates as many problems as it solves. There is the possibility of total military mobilization in the form of world war, as in 1940. And there is the possibility of fascism, of the open, terroristic and unrestrained despoliation of an American people caught in the grips of the conditions of the Great Depression. These were the same solutions available in the 1930's, resolutions which do not resolve the crisis of capitalism but only prolong the agony.

There are two strategies called forth by capitalism's inherent terminal contradiction, that between the productive forces — the people, machines and skills of production, and the social structure — the relations of production, which limit the growth of the productive forces. The strategy of the capitalists is to destroy the productive forces through the downward slide of depression and war.

The strategy of the proletariat is to destroy those class relations, establish a new socialist structure of society and reverse the downward slide to an upward climb out of the pressure cooker. ■

In our next issue, UNITE! will take up the lessons of the 1930's; the struggles of the proletariat to free itself of the capitalist system.

# Initial Views *On the Role of Mao Tsetung...*

Since the death of Mao Tsetung in 1976 revisionism has emerged full blown within the Communist Party of China. China has emerged internationally as a contender for world power. The alliance with US imperialism has been consolidated and agents of US imperialism are welcomed in Peking with open arms. Parading under a socialist cover, Chinese revisionism attacks and subverts the world revolution, giving imperialism a temporary new lease on life.

Internationally a great debate rages on the merit of Mao Tsetung and his role in the development and consolidation of revisionism within the Chinese Party and State. It is the position of the CPUSA/ML that China was set on the revisionist course long before Mao's death. Chinese revisionism did not mysteriously spring forth one morning in late 1976. There is a close connection between the political line and policies advocated by Mao and the CPC prior to his death, and those pursued to day by the revisionist leadership of the CPC. Recognition of the past revisionist seeds and the present revisionist weeds have led

our Party and the entire international communist movement to delve more deeply into the history of China and take up more vigorously the struggle against Chinese revisionism and Mao Tsetung Thought.

The Political Report adopted by the Founding Congress of the CPUSA/ML in December of 1978 concluded that Mao Tsetung Thought elaborated as a system, was opposed to Leninism. Although the Party was founded on this correct stand, the importance of completing an all round investigation of Mao Tsetung Thought and advancing a scientific position with all due speed was not well grasped.

The shortcomings in the Party's work on this question have been pointed out in criticisms. One example is the following letter.

"Overall I think your publication is very good. I have read it fairly consistently for the last three years. Further, I agree with your current position condemning Chinese revisionism."

"In sum UNITE' has mistakenly in the past supported China in general and the theory of the



"three worlds" in particular (prior to September 1977) and mistakenly elevated Mao Tsetung to a status not warranted. Further UNITE' has actively praised and promoted Imperialism and the Revolution in which Hoxha states that Mao Tsetung's revisionism is long standing without putting forth its own analysis of Mao Tsetung or even indicating that it intends to do so.

Such criticisms correctly point out the leading role of the vanguard Party must play in the struggle against revisionism. By not carrying out the struggle against Chinese revisionism in the fullest pos-

## in the Rise of Revisionism in the Communist Party of China

sible way, the Party has not adequately armed the proletariat and revolutionary masses to combat revisionism.

The analysis which will be the basis for a correct and consistent struggle against Mao Tsetung Thought must proceed rapidly but at the same time with the care needed to develop a sound Marxist-Leninist position. Only in this way will Marxism-Leninism be defended and the ranks of the international communist and workers movement be further unified.

In the following article all the manifestations of the revisionist nature of Mao Tsetung Thought are not discussed. Nor are many essential questions such as the revisionist philosophical tenets of Mao Tsetung Thought elaborated. These must be in-

cluded in an overall assessment of the merits of Mao Tsetung Thought as an eclectic body of thought, which borrowed some aspects of Marxist-Leninist theory, some from Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionism and some from other bourgeois and metaphysical, idealist theories.

The following article takes up several fundamental principles of Leninism and shows how Mao deviated over a number of years on these strategic questions. It is a necessary step in the careful examination and sharpened class struggle against Mao Tsetung Thought which has sown confusion in the ranks of the revolutionary movements, in order to clear away the confusion and root out its treacherous effects. ■

### Mao Revised Leninism

On fundamental questions of Leninism, whether the analysis of imperialism or the role and building of the Marxist-Leninist party, Mao Tsetung elaborated revisionist views and led the Communist Party of China to practice revisionist theses. For all genuine Marxist-Leninists a basic starting point for the elaboration of strategy and tactics in the proletarian socialist revolution or the revolutionary national liberation movements is the Leninist analysis of world imperialism. Mao Tsetung's analysis of imperialism, developed step by step over the years, went against the Leninist stand towards imperialism.

In 1946, Mao advanced the view that between the Soviet Union and the United States there existed a vast zone of countries which prevented the US from attacking then socialist Russia (1). This analysis made no distinction between the socialist countries and capitalist countries in this "zone" nor any distinction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat of those countries. Rather, Mao's theory promoted the view that geographic divisions safeguard socialist countries, not the revolutionary movements of the world. As in the theory of the "three worlds" which was to follow, Mao in 1946 rejected the class analysis and replaced the struggle against imperialism by the revolutionary national and workers' movements and the socialist countries with geographical concepts, a geopolitical theory of international class struggle.

In 1956, Mao advanced the view that "the whole world, Britain included, dislikes the United States" (2). In this article as in others, Mao's presentation makes no distinction between the inter-imperialist "dislike" the

bourgeoisie of Britain, Japan and elsewhere have for the US, and the hatred the working and oppressed people of these countries have for US imperialism. Again, Mao rejected the class analysis and denied the collusion which exists between the imperialist bourgeoisie and their common interests in exploiting the working class. He denied the imperialist nature of countries such as Japan and Britain, instead placing them in the anti-imperialist camp together with the proletariat of these countries.

There can be little doubt that such views are predecessors to the thesis later developed which called upon the working and oppressed people of the "second" and "third worlds" to unite with their bourgeoisie against the two superpowers.

Following the same line of reasoning in 1965 the CPC delegation to Africa advocated the theory of a "new economic order" in countries which had recently won their political independence (3). Because of the worldwide nature of imperialism, Leninism teaches that genuine economic independence from imperialism can only come about through socialism. In contrast, the view of the CPC was that newly independent countries could chart a course of economic independence, tied to neither the capitalist nor the socialist systems. This is the "non-aligned" theory promoted by Tito in an attempt to hide alignment with imperialism.

In 1957, Mao's view of the forces at work in the world again went against Leninism. Speaking of the situation in the Middle East, he pointed out two kinds of contradictions - one between the US and other imperialist countries, and the second between the imperialist countries and the oppressed nations. The forces at work, he said, were "one, the US, the biggest imperialist power, two, Britain and France, second rate imperialist powers and three,

the oppressed nations" (4). No where in this presentation did Mao discuss the proletariat as a force in the revolutionary struggle in contradiction with the domestic and international bourgeoisie. Instead, his analysis was a furthering of the developing "three worlds" theory - the first world, represented by the US, the second world, represented by Britain and France, and the third world of the oppressed nations.

Finally, in 1974, the pieces of the theory of "three worlds" were put together and elaborated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing in his speech to the United Nations, as the position of the CPC. Mao was, at that time, Chairman of the Party.

Taken together, the examples pointed out do not simply reflect a few mistaken ideas. Mao's denial of the distinction between socialist and capitalist countries, his obscuring of the common interests of all imperialist countries, his obliteration of the antagonistic contradictions between socialism and capitalism and between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, emerge as a body hostile to Leninism. They emerge as a body of thought promoting a "third road." Taken together and viewed in light of recent developments in China, the obvious objectives of Mao Tsetung Thought were to consolidate a "third camp", a social and political force in opposition to Soviet social imperialism and US imperialism at the head of which China could place itself, and ride the wave to superpower status.

The promotion of the "road of independent economic development", not aligned with the socialist camp and the elimination of the distinction between the revolutionary national movements and the bourgeois ambitions of the often times reactionary bourgeois leaders in the oppressed nations, appealed to the ruling cliques in these nations and co-

lonies. The contradiction between socialism and capitalism and between the proletariat and bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries were denied in order to forge an alliance with the lesser imperialist countries. All were aimed toward creating and stabilizing this new "third world" under China's hegemony.

These same bourgeois ambitions led the CPC in 1970, under Mao's leadership, to declare the Soviet Union the main danger to the world's people. In part such a declaration stemmed from an opportunist stand regarding the direct military threat the Soviet Union presented to China, obviously without regard to the situation in the world as a whole. But it also provided a justification for the rapprochement with US imperialism.

Only one year later, amid the Vietnam War, Mao reached out and clasped the bloody hand of Richard Nixon. The US-China alliance had become a necessary component of the plan to bring China to a position of world power, a bourgeois world power, not a developed, industrial socialist society.

Thus, Mao Tsetung's vision of a Chinese superpower trampled on the interests of the international proletariat, the revolutionary national movements and the entire socialist camp. To justify such treachery, Mao developed an analysis of imperialism which stood in opposition to the Leninist analysis of imperialism, the national and colonial question and the proletarian revolution. Mao's views, in fact, provided the basis for the full elaboration of the theory of "three worlds" and the development of the US-China alliance.

#### The Proletariat, The Leading Class

In the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the proletariat plays the leading role in the fight against imperialism

and in the construction of socialism. On an international level, Mao replaced the Leninist class analysis of the role of the proletariat with a revisionist, geopolitical theory.

Within China, the leading role of the proletariat was usurped by a variety of classes and strata at different times. In the struggle for state power, Mao, in theory and practice, advocated that the peasantry take the leading role.

Mao held that in China in the 1930s, the cities were strongholds of reaction and the proletarian movement had been crushed. He therefore advocated that the Party concentrate upon organizing the peasant uprisings and abandon open and secret work among the proletariat. When the countryside had been organized, it would be the catalyst to activate the proletariat again. This view was a theoretical justification for displacing the leading role of the proletariat. His theory that the countryside should encircle the city has long been incorrectly extolled as an example of his military genius (5).

It is revealing of Mao's attitude toward the working class that in all of his writings there is nothing about the significance of the trade unions to the working class, the role of the revolutionary trade union movement or the role of trade unions under socialism. In fact, just as during the liberation struggle, the CPC dissolved the trade unions during the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." It was also during the Cultural Revolution that Mao promoted students to the position of the vanguard. Thus, through his political stand and practice, Mao went against the central thesis of Leninism on the leading role of the proletariat in both the national liberation and proletarian socialist revolutions.

Connected to Mao's views toward the proletariat is his view of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This question has been a funda-

(Continued on back page)

## International

# Lessons from the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in Spain

by Dave Brand

The trade union movement in Spain is in a great turmoil. While the monarchy rushes to establish a revisionist trade union center to divert the revolutionary workers' struggle, the political and economic crisis gripping Spain slowly unmasks both the monarchy and the revisionists. A pattern is emerging in the Spanish workers' movement. Membership cards in the old reformist unions are being turned in and militant workers are administering beatings as payment for the yellow bureaucrats' sell out treachery. Militant workers are calling on the Association of Workers Assemblies (AOA), the revolutionary trade union, to defend their interests, swelling its ranks, already numbering in the tens of thousands.

During our stay in Spain for the Third International Conference of Anti Fascist and Anti Imperialist Youth, we met with militants of the AOA. It was not hard to find them. From their offices in downtown Madrid to the street festivals in the workers' districts to the hundreds of representatives from all around Spain who attended the Conference, the militants of the AOA were anxious to learn about the trade union struggles in the U.S. and willing to share the experience gained in building their

Final Report from the 3rd International Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Fascist Youth Camp



The young trade union militants of the AOA sponsored a two week conference for anti fascist and anti imperialist youth the world over. Organization and mobilization of the revolutionary trade union opposition was a widely discussed topic.

organization

### Lessons From the AOA

We had the good fortune to interview the secretariat of the AOA in Madrid and discuss problems we face in the U.S. The AOA can understand the problems of building a revolutionary trade union opposition from the ground up amid a reformist trade union apparatus well integrated with the capitalists and the state. They also understood the problems associated with a skeptical working class deprived of

revolutionary leadership for 30 years.

The AOA militants spoke very clearly about the tactics of building a small revolutionary organization into a very large one. They recounted the history of the AOA, focussing particularly on the 'left' errors common to a small organization.

The history of the AOA breaks down into two periods. Before the death of the fascist dictator Franco in 1975, the workers' organizations in Spain suffered great repression. Collective bargaining rights were non-existent and "unions" were only another facade for state control of the workers. In this period the revolutionary front, FRAP, was waging the struggle against Franco. FRAP included a trade union opposition, OSO. Under fascism, membership in OSO was punishable by long jail terms. For this reason the opposition operated secretly, leading some strikes and demonstrations and putting out leaflets.

After Franco's death these tactics had to change, although, as the AOA militants pointed out, they are still not a full step away from Francoist fascism. The new government, a constitutional monarchy, is trying to maintain a democratic facade. Certain democratic reforms have been won which have greatly changed the trade union movement. The government has legalized trade unions to help establish the hold of their reformist and revisionist bureaucratic errand boys over the union movement. At the same time Franco's death was followed by a great spontaneous upsurge of workers' assemblies, workers fighting for their rights in the great factories. While the revisionist and reformist puppets tried to cool down this upsurge, the militants of the OSO sprang to the head of this movement. As a result of this kind of work, the Association of Workers' Assemblies was formed, in 1976, with 1700 delegates attending its first congress.

### Changing Tactics

The leadership of the AOA faced an immediate problem. The militants of the OSO, although very dedicated and combative, had worked for years under se-

cret conditions. "The methods of the OSO militants who joined the AOA were inappropriate to the new conditions", explained one member of the AOA secretariat. "These comrades had to become public and we had to train them."

The tasks of the revolutionary trade union movement had assumed a new character. The AOA would now have to become an organization of hundreds of thousands, said the AOA leader, of millions, and for this it needed to "make a great diffusion of propaganda." The AOA "had to put itself in the forefront of the major political battles facing the workers in Spain", the battle against fascism and against the monarchy, the battle for trade union rights and for national collective bargaining, the battle against imperialism and for the workers' demands in the great factories in Spain.

"The role of the AOA is to be situated in the main political events of history", the AOA leader continued, and for this reason the militants had to assume a more open style of work to build an organization which could accommodate the masses wanting to join the legal organization.

But in training the OSO militants to organize in this way the leadership of the AOA encountered a trend of "left" errors, of inappropriate 'left' tactics which crippled the building of the AOA in this legal period.

"The 'left' line of little organizations is a disease, an infantile disease", the AOA leader explained. "Although it appears 'left' it is really Right because while it adheres to 'pure revolutionary principles', the comrades are often not linked to the masses. They are often doing nothing and at other times are only making pamphlets. It is necessary to educate these comrades. These comrades, some of them, were excellent comrades, but were not good trade unionists. They did not understand that it is not enough just to have a political line, but it must be applied."

The AOA leadership set out four tasks for the organization: constantly revolutionize the political line, elevate the political level of the organization, denounce the yellow reformist and revisionist trade union leaders,

and organize the movement. The leaders of the AOA further observed that a manifestation of the 'left' line was to denounce the yellow bureaucrats but to neglect to organize the movement.

In describing the trade union work they pointed out that the PCE/ML "is not only the ideological leader of the struggle but in the struggle the party trade union militant must be a leader of a great number of workers, capable of fighting the revisionists, aiming to politicize and influence the honest workers. They need to adopt a policy of being on the offensive against the reformists, the capitalists and the government."

### Lessons of Experience

Strong links to the masses are gained from organizing the movement, from wading hip deep into the class struggle. To be seen as serious and responsible leaders of the movement requires knowing such things as when to strike and when not, and how to fight maximalism, the 'left' tendency to call for everything at all times in a "pure revolutionary" way. "It is important to fight for objectives that the workers understand, unmasking the revisionists and giving political perspectives of concrete battles." Maximalism gives room for the reformists to operate.

Because of the years of experience in the revolutionary struggle the Communist Party of Spain/ Marxist Leninist and the AOA were able to correct this problem, train the militants and advance on a road of steady growth. The observations of the Spanish militants on their own experiences helped us to assess our own work in building the revolutionary trade union opposition.

Our Party does not presently have at its command the decades and decades of revolutionary experience available to the Spanish Party. Consequently such exchanges of views offer invaluable lessons of experience and are the tangible seeds of a new Red International of Labor Unions. One of the products of these years of experience is the sense of tactics which enables militants to unmask the false leaders of the struggle, to win workers to the influence of genuine leadership and to keep the revolutionary principles and strategy firm, clear and open. This is done in the context of "putting the masses in motion."

The masses have been so put into motion in Spain that on the lower levels of the reformist unions, a slow defection to the revolutionary cause has begun. As we visited a street carnival in a workers' district of Madrid, we noticed the booths of both the AOA and one of the reformist trade union organizations. Over a toast to the militant struggles of the U.S. workers, the head of the AOA contingent told us that he expected in the next few hours to complete the recruitment of the militants in the reformists' booth to the revolutionary tactics of the Red Trade Union of Spain, the AOA. ■

### Enver Hoxha's

## Reflections on China

Monday - May 22, 1967

"In order to triumph, the revolution needs the party of the proletariat at its head, needs iron discipline, clarity of line and great determination in action.

"The Chinese comrades talk a great deal about the class struggle in the party, but in fact they are not purging the party, which is the fortress of the revolution, from within, but are encircling it from outside with people who are not organized in a party of the vanguard. Perhaps the Chinese comrades are acting to create a new party out of the revolution, but we can see no clear signs of this organization. Are they experimenting, are they gaining experience? However, the working class and the peasantry do not appear anywhere in this experiment. The revisionists are using some of them against the revolution, because they themselves claim to be fighting in the name of the party." p 366

Wednesday - February 17, 1971

"When and how will this great disorder in China come to an end - this, naturally, is very worrying to us, because China has great importance for the world proletarian revolution and for communism. Will disguised opportunism, or Marxism Leninism win?"

"I think that under the cover of Mao Tsetung thought, powerful groups which sometimes conform, sometimes come out separately, sometimes attack and sometimes are attacked, are clashing fiercely, a struggle is being waged for power, for the consolidation of positions, over who will praise the name of Mao and proclaim his ideas more extravagantly, while on the other hand, struggling to do their own work with great mastery, to place their own men, to occupy key positions, to become absolutely 'necessary', 'untouchable', and 'beyond criticism'.

"Any objective criticism against the main faction is immediately cast as hostile work, a hostile stand 'against Chairman Mao', every gesture, every word, is analyzed in this light, and the old account books, which are complete on almost all of them, are opened up, because during all the fifty years of its existence, the Communist Party of China has gone through an unceasing factional struggle in which the cadres have been implicated and compromised, corrected or condemned." p 526



# Pope Blesses Crusade of U.S. Imperialism

The whirlwind is over - The millions who thronged for a glimpse or perhaps a blessing from Pope John Paul II are now back at work, at school or at home. The extravaganza has ended and it is time to reflect upon the Pope's sermon and its effect on the people of the US. John Paul came with two major goals, one directed internationally and the other towards the internal situation in the US.

At the United Nations, John Paul spoke of the inequality which exists between rich and poor, the uneven distribution of goods among the countries of the world, the danger of war and the problems of peace. He pleaded human rights and national sovereignty.

The day before the UN address he advanced the Catholic Church's solution. On the doorstep of the US, John Paul laid the role of savior of humanity and the healer of a strife-torn world. He said he hoped the US would take up this destined role in today's modern world, for as a nation of plenty, it must help those without. These words he spoke following the singing of *America the Beautiful*.

What is the destiny John Paul hailed? It is the destiny of the Monroe Doctrine in Latin and Central America, the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan in Europe, the Nixon Doctrine in China and Asia - doctrines justifying US imperialism's wars of aggression, plunder of the world's wealth, and suppression of the movements for liberation and

socialism.

Like the Pope in the days of the Crusades, John Paul II gave his blessing to reaction and plunder, saying, "Go forth and fulfill your destiny."

Like Carter, John Paul knows this "manifest destiny" cannot be carried out in the nakedness of years gone by. Today, US imperialism needs a fine new garb to cover its transparently aggressive designs. This clothing is the "human rights campaign." And like Carter, when John Paul speaks of "human rights violations" he refers only to Eastern Europe, the sphere of Soviet imperialism. When in Mexico or El Salvador, the Pope had little to say about the ravages of US imperialism upon these nations. Thus, the Pope's human rights Crusade cleanses the soul of US imperialism.

John Paul congratulated Jimmy Carter for his efforts on disarmament and the promotion of world peace, absolving the US for its role as the largest arms dealer in the world, ignoring its massive arsenal, military bases the world over and its reactionary military alliances.

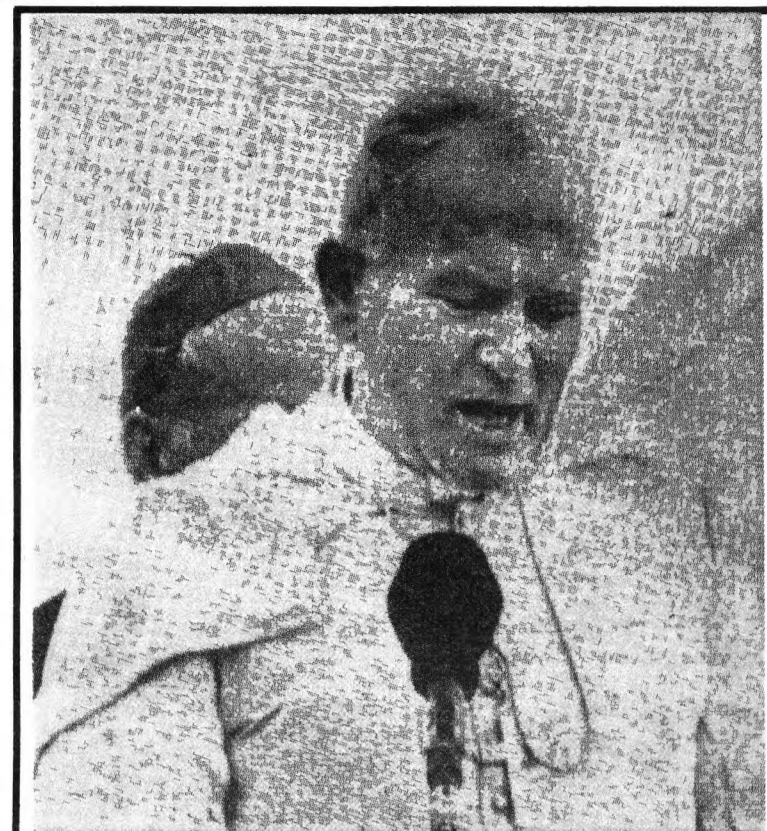
While the Catholic Church has always served imperialism as a world system, at particular times in its history, it hitches its wagon to the star of a particular imperialist power. During World War II, the Church openly collaborated with the Mussolini fascists' drive to redivide the world, which was in the interests of both Italian imperialism and the Vatican. John Paul II fails to mention

this sordid history when he speaks of the horrors of Nazism in Poland. With the rise of US imperialism to its height, the Church became its spiritual ambassador.

As spiritual advisor to US imperialism, the Church has adopted a new stance, a more modern pose. John Paul's advocacy of national sovereignty is such a pose, for he has made it quite clear, as in Ireland, that this call does not mean support for the just struggle to achieve national liberation from British imperialism. The Church's stand toward the Palestinian struggle against Israeli Zionism is the same. This pose, like that of Jesse Jackson, allows the agents of imperialism to worm their way into the ranks of the oppressed, carrying out the work of US imperialism.

Within the US, the Pope's mission was to obscure the horrors of capitalist exploitation and oppression, in a momentary cloud of euphoria. He appealed to the despair, anger, frustration and broken dreams of the American people, offering pious idealism as a balm to heal the wounds of national and racial hatred, class antagonisms, poverty and moral degeneracy. In Philadelphia the Pope said the strife of the inner city must be resolved. But kneeling before him as he spoke was Mayor Frank Rizzo, arch white supremacist and leader of rampages of police terror in that city.

In Chicago, the Pope spoke of the dreams of immigrants merging into the great American melting pot. But standing behind his pulpit were the racist, national chau-



Pope John Paul II marveled over the symbolism of the Statue of Liberty, led the crowds in singing *America the Beautiful* and blessed the fervent crusade of US imperialism in a week long whirlwind tour.

vinist politicians and corporate heads with smiles upon their faces, pleased with the vast profits they had reaped from the national strife in this industrial town.

For all he met, he prayed for a return to spiritual life. Across America during these days of pageantry and festivity, a great sigh of relief went up. These were days for people to forget their everyday lives, if even for a moment. Marx long ago described this as the "deep sigh of the oppressed." As this sigh escaped, the entire capitalist class smiled, pleased that the American people still swallow the opiate of religion, a drug which muddles the mind, turns eyes towards heaven, and keeps thoughts away from the exploitation and oppression of

capitalism, away from a real solution to everyday misery.

As the capitalist system continues to sink deeper into crisis, as the revolutionary movement gains strength and pious idealism is replaced by a scientific world view, the sigh of discontent will be transformed into a roar of militant confidence and unity. Then the real destiny of America will unfold. It will not be the destiny Pope John Paul II advocates, or the capitalist class prays for. It will be the historic destiny of the working class to destroy capitalism and build socialism. No longer will the people have to look away from their everyday lives for relief. Their everyday lives will become their source of joy and inspiration, their "heaven on earth."

## On Mao Tsetung ...

(Continued from page 6)

mental dividing line between Leninism and opportunism. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the political weapon of the proletariat in state power. It is a means of ensuring the complete suppression of the formerly exploiting classes and carrying through the complete construction of socialism.

Mao justified a "Chinese variety" of the dictatorship of the proletariat because of particular conditions in China. In 1937, under his leadership the Soviet form of government was changed to a coalition government in the liberated areas, removing power from the hands of the workers and peasants and creating a shared power with the bourgeoisie (6).

When the proletariat came to power, and even at the stage where Mao declared socialism existed in China, the bourgeoisie was not suppressed as a class. Mao became an advocate of the rights of the bourgeoisie - politically, economically and ideologically. Interest was paid to the bourgeoisie on their former economic holdings. They were allowed to organize political parties. In fact, in 1957, Mao stated that bourgeois political parties should supervise the activities of the CPC

for years to come.

The "one hundred flowers campaign" (7) allowed the bourgeoisie to promote its reactionary ideology. Overall, Mao believed that the bourgeoisie presented no danger to the cause of the proletariat as they were few in number and would eventually cast off their bourgeois ambitions and work for the cause of socialism.

With such conciliation to the bourgeoisie in new China, it is not surprising that the "resurrection" of political associations and resumption of full capitalist control of the factories has met with little opposition these past few years.

### The Vanguard Party

Integrally tied to the struggle for liberation and the construction of socialism is the role of the Marxist-Leninist party. Mao's views on the Party were essentially social-democratic. He advanced the view that there were "three magic weapons" in the class struggle - the united front, the armed struggle and the party (8). All were equal, in Mao's estimation, despite the Leninist stand that the united front is a question of tactics, while the leading role of the proletarian party is a strategic

question. Mao's view liquidated building a party of a new type and undercut the leading role of the party in the class struggle. As well, Mao's formulation of the three magic weapons elevated the Chinese united front with the national bourgeoisie to a strategic concept, which no doubt was a factor in his promotion of "shared power" following liberation.

Mao abandoned the Leninist concept of the party of a new type as a democratic centralist organization typified by unity of will and action. He allowed the CPC to be torn apart by factional infighting. In fact, Mao hailed as an asset the "ten major two line struggles" in the CPC which developed many factions within the party.

Mao advanced leaders of opposing factions to leading positions within the CPC and defended their right to maintain these positions. He declared that representatives of other classes were within the Party and opposed their removal because this would look bad internationally, and cause other classes to "sleep uneasily" (9).

Eventually, Mao ended up promoting the view that the party was the main enemy of the prole-

tarial. His "lesson" from the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union was that the bourgeoisie existed right inside the Central Committee of the Party. Thus Mao's tactics in the Cultural Revolution turned all attention away from the bourgeoisie by "going against the tide", leading the spontaneous Cultural Revolution against the CPC, waging factional warfare.

Again, taken together, the examples cited reflect more than a few mistaken ideas. They reflect an anti-Leninist stand on the leading role of the proletariat and the role and nature of the proletarian party. Mao's views were those of a social democrat. Such social-democratic views prevent a party from carrying out its leading role in the revolution and play right into the hands of every Trotskyite, anarchist, wrecking and splitter.

Taken altogether, Mao's views toward the proletariat, the bourgeoisie and the Marxist-Leninist party stem from his basic stand of building China into a society where all "democratic classes" would mutually coexist. He elevated the tactical alliance with the Chinese national bourgeoisie during the liberation war to a strategic alliance which, in his view, would last through the construc-

tion of socialism. Thus, the suppression of the bourgeoisie as a class went against this "democratic" view and the position that the bourgeoisie would somehow reform or "transform" itself and come to support the cause of socialism was promoted. The "long-term mutual supervision" of the CPC and bourgeois political parties was a part of this overall social-democratic stand which conciliated with the bourgeoisie and denied the hegemonic role of the proletariat in the fight for and construction of socialism.

1 SW Vol IV, "Talk with an American Correspondent, Anna Louise Strong" page 99

2 SW Vol V, "U.S. Imperialism is a Paper Tiger", page 308

3 "Resolutely Struggle Against Imperialism and Neo-Colonialism for Economic Emancipation" (FLP pamphlet)

4 SW Vol V, "Talks at a Conference of Party Committee Secretaries", page 363

5 SW Vol II, "Problems of War and Strategy", page 219-223

6 SW Vol II, "On Coalition Government", page 205

7 SW Vol V, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" page 408

8 SW Vol II, "Introducing the Communists", page 288

9 SW Vol V "Party Unity and Party Traditions", page 322