



**Defend Mao's Theory of the Differentiation of the
Three Worlds Against Trotskyism and Revisionism**

**THE THIRD WORLD
AND U.S. by C.W. Li
PROLETARIAN
REVOLUTION
IN THE 80's**

INTRODUCTION

At the threshold of the 1980s, the events in Iran, Afghanistan and Zimbabwe have brought into sharp focus the world's division into three parts. In the third world, the powerful anti-imperialist revolution of the Iranian people led by a Moslem clergyman, Ayatollah Khomeini, has dealt a serious defeat to the crisis-ridden U.S. imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists of the first world. And in the second world countries of Europe and Japan — heavily dependent on Iranian oil — sharp struggle broke out with the U.S. over Chase Manhattan's and Morgan Guaranty Trust's seizure of Iranian assets in U.S. branch banks in Europe. This has fueled the already sharp contradictions between the first and second worlds.

Most important for the U.S. people, this historic trend of the world's division into three parts has profound effects on the prospects for proletarian seizure of state power in the U.S. You can't understand the unprecedented depth of the economic and political crisis in the U.S. and the tasks of the proletarian party, the Communist Workers Party, U.S.A. in preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the 1980s without understanding the Three Worlds. The U.S. bourgeoisie's avenues of exporting the crisis blocked and their source of bribery — imperialist superprofits — shrinking because of the struggle of the third and second worlds, means another chance for the proletariat to seize state power is coming up — the third in this century.

Wracked by internal crisis, the U.S. bourgeoisie has to go to war and impose fascism at home. Soviet social-imperialism is a latecomer and a more dangerous source of war. The 1980s ushers in the trend toward world war and fascism with the trend toward revolution contending fiercely at a higher level than the late 1940s and early 1950s and immediately after the capitalist destabilization after World War II.

Thus, to correctly and confidently prepare for the monumental struggles ahead, communists and all revolutionaries must tightly grasp Mao Tsetung's great strategic concept of the Three Worlds. We cannot fully appreciate the dangers and exploit the historic opportunities opening up in the U.S. as well as for the workers and oppressed the world over without a deep appreciation of the concrete alignment of the four fundamental contradictions and the balance of forces in favor of the world's peoples expressed in the developed trend of the Three Worlds.

This is still the era of imperialism. That's a crucial part of our class analysis in knowing who our friends and our enemies are. After World War II, there were two camps — the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and the camp of U.S. imperialism with Europe and Japan under its wing. To attack the socialist camp, the camp of imperialism had to attack a vast in-

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intermediate zone in-between — the vast area of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The pivotal factor that basically changed the world balance of forces aligned against imperialism after World War II was the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and its development as a social-imperialist country.

The 1960s were a time when the camp of imperialists headed by the U.S. began disintegrating. With countries like France and England increasingly splitting with the U.S. over the Suez Canal and other questions, the 1960s and 1970s marked the continuation of this trend as increasingly these smaller countries got on their feet economically and away from U.S. control. However, the 1970s saw an even greater split between the U.S. imperialists and the small countries as the effect of the defeat in Vietnam started to take its toll world-wide in the economic, political, and other spheres.

At the same time, the contradiction between the Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union also sharpened as their state monopoly capitalism ran into problems at home.

The third world rose in storm after World War II through national liberation struggles, fighting for independence from old colonial powers and against neo-colonialism. In the 1960s and 1970s, through organizations of raw material-producing countries such as OPEC, regional blocs like the Arab states and the front-line countries in Southern Africa, the objectively anti-imperialist non-aligned movement started to gain momentum. This became evident in the United Nations where the will of the majority — the third world countries — prevails for the first time ever in history. This has dealt the blackmail politics of the U.S. and USSR a severe and irreversible blow. The third world has emerged as a new factor for the first time in international relations, visibly marking an upside-down change since the colonial and neo-colonial eras and marking a vivid change since World War I and World War II. Thus with the differentiation of the three worlds in the 1950s, 1960s and especially the 1970s there seems at least in appearance to be a fragmented world, with a dynamic tendency of more and more parts differentiating.

Instead of the beginning but simmering national liberation struggles of the late 1800s and early 1920s and 1930s, today all fronts are moving simultaneously.

All fronts are in ferment. All four basic contradictions are interdependent as well as struggling with each other vigorously. It's an inflammable situation politically world-wide. Politically the movement of *countries want independence*, of the third and even second worlds (regardless of which class is in leadership), actually aid in isolating one or the other superpower — the mainstays of reaction and the main problem in the world. Thus independent of any individual's will, the movement of *countries want independence* aids national liberation and people's revolution, including the proletarian revolution in those very countries.

The victory of the proletariat in the real world of imperialism — with the uneven development of the economic bases of various countries — does not develop in a straight line in internal class forms alone. It takes manifold and varied forms of classes, nations, countries, regions, and economic and political blocs. This includes even the imperialists' fight for redivision in a world where the masses are increasingly rising up. There is today a greater danger of world war and reaction in various countries. However, from the standpoint of the world historical revolutionary process, even defeats and setbacks in individual class struggles (for instance, in China) pave the road for two steps forward and our eventual victory.

The overall trend is unmistakable — the various parts contradict and aid each other and as a whole result in the weakening of the two superpowers. And the victory is won through fight, fail, fight, fail again, fight again, each time gaining more experience, enriching the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and preparing the proletariat to gain strength until the point of no return, as Marx put it.

ASSORTED CENTRISTS LIKE GUARDIAN, "RC" P and PWOC BORROW THEIR THEORETICAL JUSTIFICATION FROM SOVIET REVISIONISTS

But the revisionists, like the New Tsars in the Soviet Union and the revisionists in power in China, attack the Three Worlds concept. The Soviet attack the line by saying the countries of the third world cannot achieve genuine independence through self-reliance

and have to rely on the Soviet-superpower—as Castro stated in his speech in Ethiopia in 1978. And they attack the Three Worlds by saying that Khomeini and the Afghan people battling the Soviet invaders are “reactionary feudalists”—making ideology the main criterion, not the concrete political effects of their struggles against the superpowers. This is exactly the same line that they used to pit liberation groups against each other in Angola, leading to the bloodiest civil war Angola had ever seen, with more casualties than the war for liberation against the Portuguese. With the same line they supported their agents, the Katanganese Gendarmes, in invading Zaire under the guise of overthrowing the “reactionary Mobutu.”

Picking up the line extended to them from the New Tsars, the centrists (some are increasingly siding with Soviet social-imperialism like the Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee, PWOC) and revisionists like the *Guardian* use the very same arguments. On issue after issue, from Khomeini's role in Iran to Angola and Zaire, the centrists attack the non-proletarian leaders and heads of state in third world countries, using the *ideology* as the basis to differentiate, and not using their concrete political actions in the context of imperialism. That's why, for instance, the *Guardian* pushes out the same line on Khomeini as the Soviet Union and the U.S. imperialists (allegedly CIA-associated) Gloria Steinem and Kate Millet. They call him a reactionary feudalism for denying women's rights in the abstract and for closing down newspapers run by Soviet agents like the Tudeh Party in Iran. On the question of the Three Worlds, then, the relation between the centrists and the revisionists is that by picking up the arguments of the revisionists, the centrists provide direct support to the revisionist position attacking the Three Worlds.

Trotskyites like the renegade Hoxha and the Albanian Party of Labor, and in this country the “Revolutionary Communist” Party — as the Progressive Labor Party before it — attack the Three Worlds under the signboard of “anti-revisionism.” Though the main danger comes from the revisionists on this question — the bankrupt lines of the Soviet Union and China — our article defends Mao Tsetung Thought mainly against these Trotskyites.

Why? Because the change of line by the revisionists of the Communist Party of China is abrupt and pretty clear-cut. In two years, the line has changed 180 degrees. So the change is clear and in that sense exposes the revisionist line to those who followed China's line in the 1960s and 1970s when Mao's line was in command. When the CPC revisionists say the U.S. should be relied on to fight the Soviets, negating the fact that the third world, and most importantly the people of the third world, are the main force against imperialism today, the CPC revisionists' line is obviously bankrupt to most honest revolutionaries and communists, especially those who followed and were sympathetic to the CPC before the Hua/Teng cliques' counter-

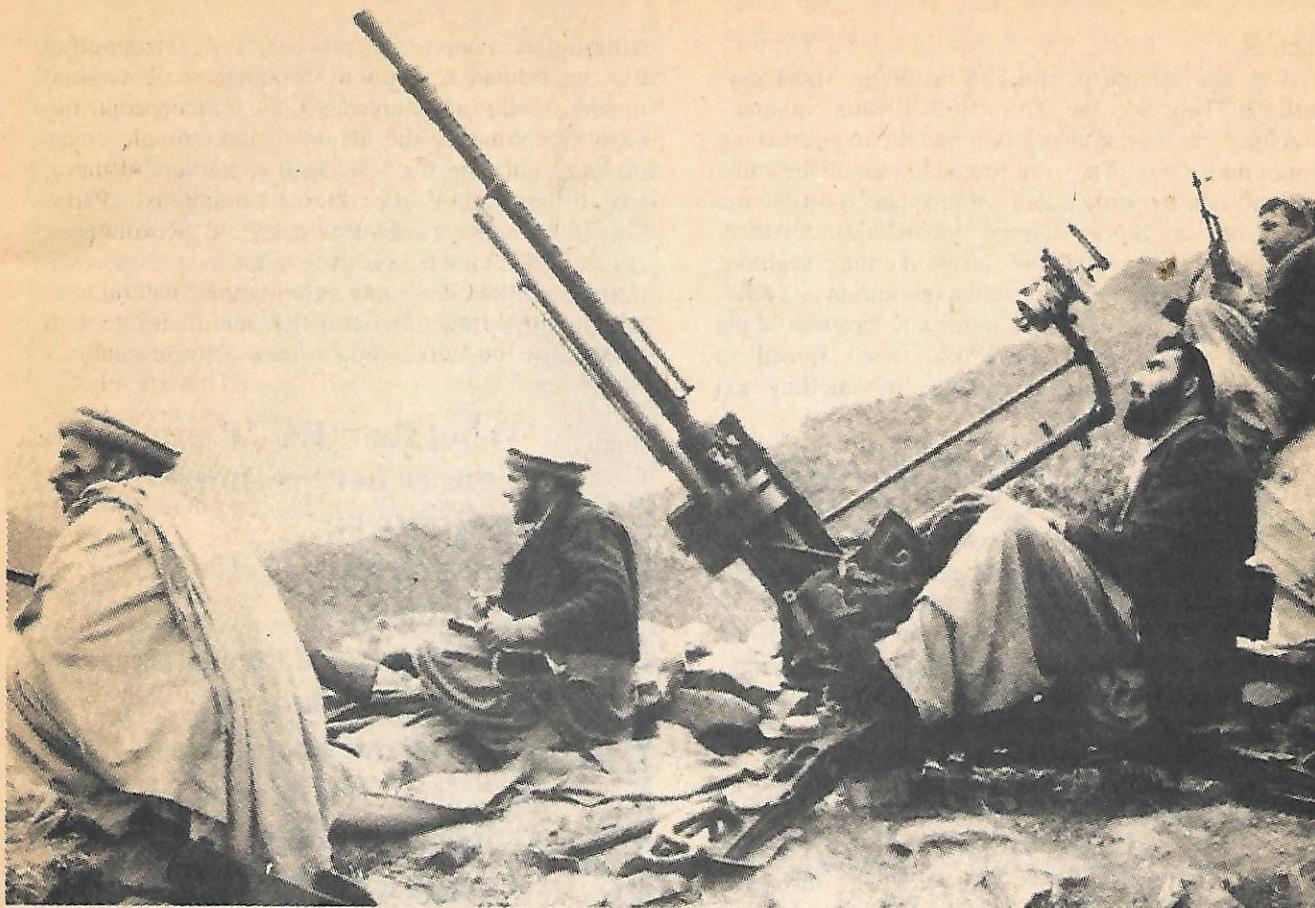
revolutionary *coup d'etat*. When Teng Hsiao-ping calls the Iranian revolution “troublesome” as Hua Kuo-feng walks on the corpses of the Iranian people by visiting the Shah at the height of the struggle — as Khomeini put it — even die-hard supporters of these revisionists scabs like the “Communist Party (Marxist-Leninists)” and the League of “Revolutionary” Struggle, choke on their words.

However, the Soviet line of being the “natural ally of the national liberation struggle” and their line that countries of the third world cannot achieve genuine independence through self-reliance and have to rely on the Soviet superpower is not nearly so exposed (although the trend is for it to be exposed also, especially since Afghanistan). This is where the Trotskyite line comes in, for it serves to prop up the Soviet Union's social-imperialist line, with Trots acting as agents for their line. By saying, for instance, that the U.S. “is on the offensive” as the renegade Hoxha says, or that the U.S. is “consolidating” as the “Communist” Labor Party did in 1974, the Trots help the Soviets' campaign for world hegemony as well as show their bourgeois pessimism.

And the Trots such as “R-R-Revolutionary Communist” Party and PLP aid the Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists when they attack representatives of the third world national bourgeoisie like Khomeini as a “reactionary feudalism,” copping the line from the Soviets that “ideology”, not politics, is the key factor. They end up praising the subversive Soviet and U.S. agents among the Kurds in Iran as “progressive.” Many times, the Soviets have used the demagogic trick of labeling those who fight the imperialists as either “progressive” or “reactionary” to split them up so the Soviets can take over — as in Angola. Thus although the *form* is Trotskyite, the line actually serves the main danger, the revisionist line of the Soviet Union.

Today, the Communist Workers Party, U.S.A. is one of the few communist parties that upholds and fights for Mao's great strategic concept of the Three Worlds *as well as* Mao's correct line on the dictatorship of the proletariat against the revisionist leadership of the CPC. These two questions show how one trend covers another. Under the cover of opposing revisionism in China, the Trots jumped out full bloom on the question of the Three Worlds, throwing practically every teaching of Lenin, Stalin and especially Mao out the window. Under this guise the Albanian Party of Labor jumped out and exposed themselves as the Trots they are, though they had a Trot line before Mao's death and their practice showed it. Their opportunism and demagoguery has done damage to the communist movement, pulling as it has the weaker and immature communists into the swamp of Trotskyism and revisionism, and giving theoretical ammunition for the opportunists to carry out their reactionary attacks.

Therefore, though unique, the correct line of the Communist Workers Party is the only correct position today. In this article we present one part of this line on



The Afghanistan people's struggle is exposing the lie that the Soviet Union is a "natural ally" of national liberation movements.

Mao's great strategic concept of the Three Worlds. And we do it the only way it can be done — through a comprehensive historical analysis showing the strategic significance of the question and the historic

implications the Three Worlds has for prospects for proletarian revolution in the U.S., other advanced capitalist countries and throughout the world.