

# MIM THEORY

Number 14  
2001 \$7.50

THE OFFICIAL THEORETICAL JOURNAL  
OF THE MAOIST INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT



# UNITED



# FRONT

*Plus: Historic Peking Review & Black Panther Documents, Reviews & More*

# MIM Theory

2001

Volume 6, Number 1

Maoist Internationalist Movement

Editor: MC12  
Production: MC12

MIM Theory is the official theoretical journal of the Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM). Subscriptions are \$16 per year (or two issues). Overseas air-mail subscriptions are \$32.

MIM Also publishes MIM Notes, the party's official voice on current news (\$20/24 issues per year, or \$1 each).

MIM Theory is not copyrighted. MIM grants explicit permission to copy all or part of this journal for any reason, as long as MIM is credited. Material in MIM Theory is the Party's position unless otherwise noted. MIM Theory accepts submissions and critiques from anyone. The editors reserve the right to edit copy unless permission is specifically denied by the author.

MIM is an underground party that does not publish the names of its comrades in order to avoid the state surveillance and repression that have historically been directed at communist parties and anti-imperialist movements. MCs, MIM comrades, are members of the Party. RCs are RAIL Comrades. The Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist League (RAIL) is an anti-imperialist mass organization led by MIM. MIM runs a books for prisoners program which provides Maoist and general political material to prisoners for free. Make checks or money orders payable to "Books for Prisoners, Inc." Federal EIN: 04-3475938. Send to: Books for Prisoners, Inc. c/o the address below. Donations and books can be sent to the address below. Send cash or check payable to "MIM Distributors."

## Contact

MIM  
P.O. Box 29670  
Los Angeles, CA 90029-0670  
eMail: <mim@mim.org>  
WWW: <<http://www.etext.org/Politics/MIM>>



## What is MIM?



The Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM) is the collection of existing or emerging Maoist internationalist parties in the English-speaking imperialist countries and their English-speaking internal semi-colonies, as well as the existing or emerging Maoist Internationalist parties in Belgium, France and Quebec and the existing or emerging Spanish-speaking Maoist Internationalist parties of Aztlan, Puerto Rico and other territories of the U.S. Empire. MIM Notes is the newspaper of MIM. Notas Rojas is the newspaper of the Spanish-speaking parties or emerging parties of MIM. MIM upholds the revolutionary communist ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and is an internationalist organization that works from the vantage point of the Third World proletariat. MIM struggles to end the oppression of all groups over other groups: classes, genders, nations. MIM knows this is only possibly by building public opinion to seize power through armed struggle. Revolution is a reality for North America as the military becomes over-extended in the government's attempts to maintain world hegemony. MIM differs from other communist parties on three main questions: (1) MIM holds that after the proletariat seizes power in socialist revolution, the potential exists for capitalist restoration under the leadership of a new bourgeoisie within the communist party itself. In the case of the USSR, the bourgeoisie seized power after the death of Stalin in 1953; in China, it was after Mao's death and the overthrow of the "Gang of Four" in 1976. (2) MIM upholds the Chinese Cultural Revolution as the farthest advance of communism in humyn history. (3) As Marx, Engels and Lenin formulated and MIM has reiterated through materialist analysis, imperialism extracts super-profits from the Third World and in part uses this wealth to buy off whole populations of oppressor nation so-called workers. These so-called workers bought off by imperialism form a new petty-bourgeoisie called the labor aristocracy. These classes are not the principal vehicles to advance Maoism within those countries because their standards of living depend on imperialism. At this time, imperialist super-profits create this situation in the Canada, Quebec, the United States, England, France, Belgium, Germany, Japan, Italy, Switzerland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Israel, Sweden and Denmark. MIM accepts people as members who agree on these basic principles and accept democratic centralism, the system of majority rule, on other questions of party line.

*"The theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is universally applicable. We should regard it not as dogma, but as a guide to action. Studying it is not merely a matter of learning terms and phrases, but of learning Marxism-Leninism as the science of revolution."*

- Mao Zedong, Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 208.

# MIM Theory

Number 14, 2001

## United Front

### Contents

MIM Program .....	4	<i>Negro in the City</i> good introduction .....	105
Letters to MIM Theory .....	5	<i>Why We Can't Wait</i> — Still! .....	106
United Front .....	22	Nkrumah's last years .....	108
On utilizing contradictions in the bourgeoisie and the principal contradiction .....	22	Fanon in light of current debates .....	111
On science, spirituality, existentialism, sectarianism and leadership .....	23	Labor aristocracy crisis-mongers grasp at straws .....	113
Platform of the Maoist Internationalist Movement .....	25	Oink update: Workers World .....	114
Party issues self-criticism regarding agitational work, RAIL .....	26	PLP's liberal, integrationist political economy .....	114
Again on the subject of the 'masses' in the imperialist countries .....	29	U.\$. inequality grows; world inequality still much greater.....	116
What is militarism? .....	32	Internationalist bourgeoisie refutes protectionism.....	118
Resolution on international organizing situation and the subjective forces for progress .....	33	World Bank reform is a lost Cause .....	119
Repudiate sub-reformism; study lifestyle scientifically .....	33	Whose problems? .....	121
'Free speech' under the dictatorship of the proletariat .....	38	Martens's good book on Eastern Europe .....	122
The international united front and U.\$. party-building .....	41	MIM debates Russell Means, 17 years later .....	122
Puerto Rico's relationship to U.\$. imperialism and Puerto's Rico class structure .....	46	The voice of revolution can never be imprisoned .....	127
Congress resolution on Puerto Rico, 1998 .....	53	Parenti strikes another (limited) blow .....	128
On the internal class structure of the internal semi-colonies .....	54	Prison Connections: good information — and reformism.....	129
Maoists, Join MIM! Anti-imperialists, Join RAIL! .....	59	<i>Who Stole Feminism</i> proves useful.....	130
MIM policy on building the united front .....	61	Young Lords Party: take up their revolutionary legacy .....	131
How to build a united front .....	61	Third parties lose in England big-time .....	132
The united front and the spanish civil war .....	62	England: struggle for Maoist party continues .....	133
Independence and initiative within the united front .....	65	Pol Pot dies: imperialist propaganda marches on .....	133
Correcting the concept of the National Democratic Front .....	66	Marcy dies: revisionist leader of Workers World Party .....	135
Relationship of the Party with the NPA and the United Front .....	70	<b>The International Communist Movement .....</b>	<b>137</b>
Nation of Islam pushes metaphysics, crypto-pacifism .....	72	MIM cuts back International Ministry .....	137
The role of 'gangs' behind the walls .....	73	Overcome the Bend in the road, Developing the People's War .....	137
Islamic revolutionary opposes homosexuality .....	75	A balance of 4 years of struggle against opportunism.....	138
Moi and Kenya .....	76	El Diario Internacional on Gonzalo .....	141
Political prisoners in the US? .....	77	'The Rim coincides with the plans of imperialism' .....	143
Political prisoners debated .....	79	The programme of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) .....	147
<i>Peking Review</i> Reprints .....	81	Documents of the All-India Special Conference .....	151
Black Panther Party reprints .....	92	Indonesian Communist Party self-criticism .....	151
Struggle & Review .....	99	MIM statement in celebration of the 28th anniversary of the CPP's Reestablishment .....	159
Bodyguard account takes on little lies on Stalin .....	99	Joel Rocamora: from the Left (if he ever was there) to the very rabid right .....	159
<i>Secret Documents</i> from Russia helps research .....	101	MIM statement on the 29th Anniversary of the founding of the New People's Army .....	163
Anti-Semitism book attacks Stalin .....	101	Leningrad conference muddies the waters .....	164
<i>New Russia</i> illuminates petty bourgeois struggles .....	103	The second liberation struggle in Africa .....	165
Indian review of fascism fills in some blanks .....	103		
Hilliard book helps with BPP history .....	104		
Integrationist book on Malcolm .....	105		

# Program of the Maoist Internationalist Movement August 1996

---

## WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

---

### **1. We want communism.**

We believe that communism is the elimination of all oppression—the power of groups over other groups. This includes national oppression, class oppression, and gender oppression.

### **2. We want socialism.**

We believe that socialism is the path to communism. We believe that the current dictatorship of the bourgeoisie oppresses the world's majority. We believe that socialism—the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry—is a necessary step towards a world without inequality or dictatorship—a communist world. We uphold the USSR under Lenin and Stalin (1917-1953) and China under Mao (1949- 1976) as models in this regard.

### **3. We want revolutionary armed struggle.**

We believe that the oppressors will not give up their power without a fight. Ending oppression is only possible by building public opinion to seize power through armed struggle. We believe, however, that armed struggle in the imperialist countries is a serious strategic mistake until the bourgeoisie becomes really helpless. Revolution will become a reality for North America as the U.S. military becomes over-extended in the government's attempts to maintain world hegemony.

*“We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun.” —Mao Zedong*

### **4. We want organization.**

We believe that democratic-centralism, the system of unified application of majority decisions, is necessary to defeat the oppressors. This system includes organization, leadership, discipline and hierarchy. The oppressors use these weapons, and we should, too. By building a disciplined revolutionary communist vanguard party, we follow in the tradition of comrades Lenin, Mao and Huey Newton.

### **5. We want independent institutions of and for the oppressed.**

We believe that the oppressed need independent media to build public opinion for socialist revolution. We believe that the oppressed need independent institutions to provide land, bread, housing, education, medical care, clothing, justice and peace. We believe that the best independent institution of all is a self-reliant socialist government.

### **6. We want continuous revolution.**

We believe that class struggle continues under socialism. We believe that under socialism, the danger exists for a new bourgeoisie to arise within the communist party itself. We believe that these new oppressors will restore capitalism unless they are stopped. We believe that the bourgeoisie seized power in the USSR after the death of Stalin in 1953; in China it was after Mao's death and the overthrow of the “Gang of Four” in 1976. We believe that China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) is the farthest advance towards communism in human history, because it mobilized millions of people against the restoration of capitalism.

### **7. We want a united front against imperialism.**

We believe that the imperialists are currently waging a hot war—a World War III—against the world's oppressed nations, including the U.S. empire's internal colonies. We seek to unite all who can be united under proletarian and feminist leadership against imperialism, capitalism and patriarchy.

We believe that the imperialist-country working classes are primarily a pro-imperialist labor aristocracy at this time. Likewise, we believe that the biological-wimmin of the imperialist countries are primarily a gender aristocracy. Thus, while we recruit individuals from these and other reactionary groups to work against their class, national and gender interests, we do not seek strategic unity with them. In fact, we believe that the imperialist-country working-classes and imperialist-country biological-wimmin, like the bourgeoisies and petit-bourgeoisies, owe reparations to the international proletariat and peasantry. As such, one of the first strategic steps MIM will take upon winning state power will be to open the borders.

We believe that socialism in the imperialist countries will require the dictatorship of the international proletariat and that the imperialist-country working-classes will need to be on the receiving end of this dictatorship.

### **8. We want New Democracy for the oppressed nations. We want power for the oppressed nations to determine their destinies.**

We believe that oppressed people will not be free until they are able to determine their destinies. We look forward to the day when oppressed people will live without imperialist police terror and will learn to speak their mind without fear of the consequences from the oppressor. When this day comes, meaningful plebiscites can be held in which the peoples will decide for themselves if they want their own separate nation-states or some other arrangement.

### **9. We want world revolution.**

We believe it is our duty to support Marxism-Leninism-Maoism everywhere, though our principal task is to build public opinion and independent institutions in preparation for Maoist revolution in North America. The imperialists think and act globally—we must do the same.

### **10. We want politics in command.**

We believe that correct tactics flow from correct strategies, which flow from a correct ideological and political line. We believe that the fight against imperialism, capitalism and patriarchy goes hand-in-hand with the fight against revisionism, chauvinism, and opportunism.

*“The correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything. When the Party's line is correct, then everything will come its way. If it has no followers, then it can have followers; if it has no guns, then it can have guns; if it has no political power, then it can have political power.” —Mao Zedong*

# Letters to MIM Theory

## Against MIM-ism

Comrades,

Here is Unity & Struggle's response to your "Deng-ist Baraka" piece, with apologies for the delay in sending it.  
—U&S Publications

We found a document on the Web Page of the Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM) titled "Dengist Baraka" which takes U&S to task on a number of questions.

First of all, we will not stand for the personal abuse that this scurrilous document heaps on our comrade and leader, Amiri Baraka. It is our view that Comrade Baraka has been the outstanding Communist thinker and activist in the United States for decades. Who is this MIM to abuse him like this? What have they ever done that makes them think they are entitled to talk to him like that? We will see that they have no such right.

U&S sent MIM a letter at the end of last year, together with a number of our other documents. The article referred to above makes no mention of any of these documents but raises many questions that are treated by them. It is possible that MIM never received the mailing that we sent them. We will give them the benefit of a doubt for the failure to respond to the arguments against their line that were raised. An attempt to contact them at the e-mail address given on their Web page, [mim@mim.org](mailto:mim@mim.org), was returned with the error message that the address could not be found. Further, there is no [mim.org](http://mim.org) Web address. We will continue in our efforts to reach them, but will not extensively repeat the arguments of our first letter. For those who wish to read that letter, it is available on our Web site at [uns.org](http://uns.org) on the "Polemics" page.

MIM, as its name implies, claims to be a "Maoist" organization. The question of whether or not there is a third stage of development of proletarian-revolutionary science in the form of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has been put forth in serious fashion by a number of Communists of different countries. Best known for this view is Chairman Abimael Guzman of the Communist Party of Peru. Comrade Charu Majumdar of the Communist Party of India (M-L) put forth similar views thirty years ago. On the other hand, the Khrushchev revisionists, in the face of Mao's scathing polemic against them, raised a straw-man figure of "Maoism" to mean some kind of left deviation from Marxism.

There is widespread discussion in world communism today on the question of Maoism. It is important that the discussion draw the distinction between the term as used by revolutionaries and the term as used by opportunists like Khrushchev. MIM, wittingly or unwittingly, fails to distinguish itself from the opportunists.

In its publications and on the Web, MIM refers to the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, which was led by Huey Newton, as a "Maoist" party. The BPP never was, or claimed to be, a Marxist party. It was a nationalist party that upheld a "revolutionary lumpenproletariat" line. (The lumpen is that declassed stratum of the oppressed which bears no fixed relation to the mode of production — petty criminals and the like, termed by Marx a "passively rotting stratum.") While the BPP was influenced by Marxist ideas,

it never consistently adopted Marxism as an ideology but took its principles from here or there as it pleased. Guzman and Majumdar say that Maoism is the further development of Marxism-Leninism. Khrushchev says it is not. The BPP said that they were not Marxist-Leninists, and they were not. MIM says the BPP was "Maoist." There they are, then, sitting next to Khrushchev on the definition of "Maoism." Let us see, then, of what MIM's "Maoism" consists.

MIM posits four "dividing line questions" on the distinction between revisionism and what they call Maoism. These are: 1) capitalist restoration in the USSR after Stalin and in China after Mao; 2) the continuation of class struggle under socialism and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China as the "closest a society has ever gotten to communism"; 3, MIM holds that something called the "white working class" is a "bought off labor aristocracy and not a revolutionary proletariat"; 4, the necessity for the Communist Party. Point three, the non-revolutionary character of the "white working class" (whatever that is — Marxists define classes by their relation to the mode of production and not by their nationality or ethnicity), is out, out, out. It is impossible to have a Marxist discussion with people who hold to such nonsensical and anti-Marxist views. As our letter to MIM said,

... the political impact of imperialist superprofits on the working class comes from without, from the bourgeoisie. This impact therefore plays some part in determining the conditions, that is, the external contradictions, under which the class struggle goes on. It has nothing to do with the basis of existence of the working class, however, or the internal contradictions of the working class. Hence the existence of superprofits has no bearing on the antagonism of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, no bearing on the need of the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie in order to abolish all of the contradictions that arise from that antagonism. This confusion of dialectics on your part leads to many errors in your analysis of the real content of the class struggle in the United States today.

MIM objects to our view of building the Communist Party but admits that it has not "reviewed" (has MIM read it?) our fundamental statement on Party building, "Revolutionaries Unite!" MIM also "forgets" to mention any views of their own as to how to build the Party — probably because they haven't a clue. They also admit that they have not seen references in our material to Lenin or Mao, whereas there are a great many. And so on. Since they toss Mao's name about so glibly, we remind them of that indubitable Maoist principle: "No investigation, no right to speak." If MIM has any principles at all it will withdraw this despicable piece from circulation and withhold their views until they have found out what U&S thinks.

Mao said that revolution is not a tea party. We add that neither is revolutionary ideology some kind of egotistical petty-bourgeois fashion show, in which one dons some fashionable phrase like a hat, admires oneself in a mirror, and parades before an audience. Actually, it's OK to do that with clothing, but in the realm of ideas,

MIM should grow up.

—Unity & Struggle

July 27, 1997

**MIM responds:** MIM has since published our review of the documents U&S sent us (see MIM Theory 13), and there we clarify our position that U&S should undoubtedly be labeled revisionist because they do claim Marxism and yet they do not have the right answers on the dividing line questions of the day. In particular, they are still stalling, more than 30 years after the start of the Cultural Revolution, on whether Maoism is even an advance. If you don't take that stand by now, and yet claim Marxism, that's revisionism in MIM's book. (On how to contact MIM, see the inside cover of this issue — U&S could have found MIM's web cite with a simple Internet search on any major search engine.)

U&S employs a very twisted logic in this passage: "Guzman and Majumdar say that Maoism is the further development of Marxism-Leninism. Khrushchev says it is not. The BPP said that they were not Marxist-Leninists, and they were not. MIM says the BPP was 'Maoist.' There they are, then, sitting next to Khrushchev on the definition of 'Maoism.'" Apparently we are like Khrushchev because we call the BPP Maoist even though they did not. Well, we have argued in MIM Theory 7 and elsewhere, that the BPP was the Maoist vanguard in practice. On our web site we have a collection of BPP newspaper articles that bring out this element of their line. We don't claim that they were always Maoist, or in all ways, but that there was a Maoist analysis at the heart of their line and practice, and that is what we bring out.

Note also that U&S in this letter still takes no position on Maoism, but criticizes us for not differentiating! We would say, much more importantly, that anyone who does not unequivocally support the GPCR and condemn state-capitalism and understand the labor aristocracy, supports revisionism pure and simple.

On the labor aristocracy, we refer U&S and other readers to MIM Theory 1 and 10, which cover all this. We have always said that we are using the term "white working class" as shorthand, and that they are defined by their relations to the means of production and location in the principal contradiction of imperialism, not by "race" or ethnicity. By U&S's bizarre economics, superprofits are external to the labor aristocracy, so they have no bearing on the contradiction between the labor aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. From this it appears that U&S does not accept that some superprofits end up in the hands of the labor aristocracy! This goes straight back to Lenin, and even Marx and Engels, as MIM has explained before. If the cash money is sitting right in the back pockets of the labor aristocracy, how is this external to the contradiction? This is a very forced attempt to separate the class from their real, measurable, material conditions. MIM has studied and published on these questions in depth — and we encourage U&S to do the same.

## MIM to Trots and back

Dear MIM,

I had contact with your group between 1992-93 but unfortunately, due to a lengthy period of emotional and financial problems, I was unable to get as involved as I would have liked. I went from the

YSA-SWP [Young Socialists of America and Socialist Workers Party —*ed.*] as a teenager, to the Spartacist League (briefly) during my fling with Trotskyism. After my experience with the Sparts, I became thoroughly disillusioned with Trotskyism, by this time convinced that it was an arrogant, elitist brand of intellectual radicalism that put way too much emphasis on the white working and academic unions as being "revolutionary." This, on top of the Trots' total disdain of the more downtrodden, "lumpen-proletariat" as being inherently reactionary. I began to totally disagree with the blatant condescension of the Trots (especially the Sparts) approach toward the "masses."

At this point I encountered the RCP. They sounded better than the Trots but I also found them to be somewhat petty bourgeois and I disagreed with their somewhat reactionary-sounding approach toward certain racial and sexual issues, and cultural issues in general. I then encountered MIM and I very much liked what I saw as compared to all of the above. I read *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat* and was very impressed by its reasoning. I came to consider MIM as representing the most accurate line in Maoist thought, on both political and cultural issues. My place of residence in this region has become more stable once again and I would like to receive more information on MIM and MIM events, as well as a reading list and how and where I can send for further Maoist/MIM literature.

Sincerely,

A friend in the east

## RAIL Comrade responds to environmental critique

Comrades,

In response to MC12's criticism of my draft "Towards a Revolutionary Environmentalism" I have to say that the MC raised many crucial and correct points. The majority rests on the vagueness of many of my statements. This is understandable, as I was not able to flesh out my ideas and clarify them as I had wanted, due to legal difficulties. I will attempt to do that now.

The statement that "without an environment for us to live in, everything is pointless" is an unfortunate example of this vagueness, which the MC correctly criticized. If I had been able to expand upon it, however, I would have been able to point out my intended meaning. This was that as revolutionary struggle increased in the Third World, there is a possibility of another "Socialist bloc" forming against the world imperialists. Learning from the mistakes and successes of the past, we know that these nations *must* be as self-reliant as possible. This is important, both to withstand pressure from the imperialists and to prevent a return to Soviet-style social-imperialism that co-opted the Cuban revolution. A major part of this self-reliance is arable land, clean water, etc., all of which is being destroyed in the Third World nations that would be expected to form the core of the future Socialist states. Nevertheless, the

statement as it stands is correctly criticized in MT12.

One final clarification is that when I made the statement, “The essential unity of the struggle for the International Proletariat and the environmental struggle,” I was not referring to any seeming connection between the legitimate forces of revolution and the reformist NIMBY organizations. My meaning is then stated in the final sentence of my draft: “the root cause of environmental destruction: international capital.”

These points made, I thank the MC for criticism and opportunity to struggle over correct line and revolutionary analysis.

—RAIL Comrade

August 16, 1997

## Is China Socialist?

I very much appreciate your answering my comments on *The Blue Kite*, since this issue goes to the heart of the matter: What is the yardstick for measuring if a country is socialist or not?

My further comments:

Socialism doesn't happen at once, even with a revolution. The process is easier to see if we study the lessons of the French Revolution as an example. The French initially wanted to establish a total change even to the extent of renaming the months of the year. (Some of this cultural revolutionary fervor was evident in the GPCR.) The Jacobins dealt with any opposition (counterrevolutionary, monarchist, etc.). The radical wing of the Jacobins had some socialist elements (Baboeuf was an early Communist) that were mightily objected to by the revolutionary anti-monarchist nascent bourgeoisie in the form of Danton's followers. The Jacobins went so far (they had to) that their very revolutionary fervor opened the way for counterrevolution in the form of Napoleon, who had them all beheaded or exiled and who “saved” the nation by practically reinstating the Monarchy. The Thermidoreans and the Consulat immediately moved in and took over. This process was not unfamiliar to Marx — it's called the negation of the negation. This new monarchist-type society was used as a stepping stone to firmly establish, with some democratic elements, a bourgeois capitalist regime in France. Thus the French Revolution was undeniably bourgeois in spite of the complexity of the Jacobins, Baboeuf, etc.

Thesis: Jacobins, Antithesis: Dantonites, Synthesis: marriage between the monarchy and the bourgeoisie — old enemies become allies with the new element (the bourgeoisie) in control.

This pat analysis is not possible for China because China is a revolution in progress, not a fait accompli. Obviously Mao is the Socialist thesis. Obviously some capitalist elements are being used to make the majority of the Chinese more prosperous. This is certainly the antithesis. (The unemployed are still relatively small, I think) What will happen in the long run is the question. It is very difficult to judge from afar. One has to speak Chinese and live in China to be able to make a credible assessment.

Maybe the question is; Is the “third negation” socialist or capitalist? Will China use capitalism as a stepping-stone toward socialism, thus transforming capitalism itself, or is bourgeois capitalism so overpowering that it will buy the revolution out and will the struggles in China since 1927 come to nothing? I find the second

option hard to believe because it is ahistorical.

—Internet reader

**MC12 responds:** No revolution has ever been a fait accompli because all societies up until now have still been based upon class and gender contradictions. The “pat” analysis you suggest for France is no better than such an analysis of China — it's just that France's is further in the past, and its outcome was favorable to capitalism, so the outlines can be agreed upon more readily in bourgeois-dominated history.

We do not agree with your easy characterizations of what's happening in China now. First, we do not have good evidence that the majority of Chinese are benefiting from the capitalist order. As William Hinton explained in *The Great Reversal*, most such claims are based on money income, which increased for many people as non-cash benefits (like food, housing, education and medicine) were taken away and the communes destroyed. Other measures, such as the increase in per capita meat consumption, which is often cited, may reflect increased inequality more than increased prosperity for a majority. And inasmuch as total agricultural production has increased in some areas, MIM offers two important cautions. First, one characteristic of the new capitalist era in China is the great increase in inequality between regions. Therefore, we want to look at regional variation in all aspects of economic development. Second, as we have discussed with regard to other Asian “Tiger” economies, the communists performed a great service for capitalism in those countries where revolutions dislodged the powerful landlord classes, which are a great impediment to capitalist development as well as socialist development (See MIM Theory 4). So to some extent the capitalist systems in formerly socialist economies have reaped some benefits from socialism after successful counterrevolution.

As for unemployment, even the CIA, which claims China has only 5.2% unemployment in urban areas, also says: “From 60 to 100 million surplus rural workers are adrift between the villages and the cities, many subsisting through part-time low-pay jobs.”(1) We suspect these numbers are underestimates as well.

We may further expect more unemployment in the near future, as President and party chairperson Jiang Zemin has recently declared: “All workers should change their ideas about employment and improve their own quality to meet the new requirements of reform and development.” And the government is going to sell off the state-capitalist industries under the name of a new “public” ownership — which means outright stock ownership by the people who are currently capitalists in form but often not in name.(2)

The *Washington Post* reports that “managers and economists estimate that about 30% of China's 113 million industrial workers no longer are needed.” So that would be another 34 million unemployed. In the cities, the Chinese government says they expect 72 million “new job seekers” plus 40 million newly arriving workers displaced from agriculture in the countryside. The official press has called this a “grave employment situation.” Experiments in “reform” involved laying off 2 million workers in cities in 1996, according to the World Bank. The government says urban unemployment is 3%, “most economists” think its 7-8%, and that doesn't count underemployment.(3)

It is indeed hard to say what's going on without good information. We look for what evidence we can. The government reports that complaints to labor arbitrators more than doubled from 1995

to 1996.

Then, there are open protests that are reported. To choose a few recent examples: “In March, in the Sichuan Province town of Nanchong, about 20,000 workers held a textile plant manager hostage until the government ordered a local bank branch to pay months’ worth of back wages. In July, paramilitary troops were summoned to Mianyang, also in Sichuan, to put down protests that started when the town’s mayor failed to show up at a meeting where about 700 anxious workers from the Mianyang Silk Printing & Dyeing Factory were waiting to hear how the company’s impending bankruptcy would affect them.irate workers set up roadblocks and other angry citizens joined them in smashing bus windows around Mianyang, which had been part of a 56-city enterprise reform experiment. As many as 100 people were injured, human rights groups said.

“Trouble broke out again last week in Sichuan, this time in Dujiangyan. State enterprise workers forced into early retirement on meager pensions had gone to work as porters pedaling flatbed tricycles. When local authorities confiscated some unlicensed tricycles, hundreds of the workers staged a sit-in outside the city government buildings. When city officials failed to show up for a meeting on Sept. 3, clashes broke out between protesters and about 100 anti-riot policemen, exiled human rights groups said.”(3).

These are but the latest such outbreaks against the state’s capitalist system. The state and anti-communist party have been very careful in the past to try not to inspire political trouble among the industrial proletariat, but the demands of the capitalist economy they are creating continuously push against the these workers, even as the displacement and dispossession of the peasants threatens from the countryside.

With regard to your “third negation,” it is the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory that capitalism is an inevitable “stepping stone” to socialism, but that there is no steady linear development from one to the other. In practice, Third World countries with socialist revolutions have moved toward socialism before developing full-blown capitalism, because their capitalist development itself was stifled by imperialism. The counterrevolutions in China and elsewhere have brought in a new capitalism, but we see no reason that this capitalism will not, through the process of proletarian revolution, be transformed into socialism.

It is a historical impossibility for “the struggles in China since 1927 come to nothing,” because they have already come to so much, including most formidably the liberation of China from imperialist colonization, the lifting up of living standards for hundreds of millions of people, and the advancement of social relations further in the direction of communism than has been accomplished anywhere else.

From where we stand, MIM cannot say what is the next step for China, but we are certain that the laws of dialectical and historical materialism still apply, that no oppressive system is stable, and that the contradictions inherent to class and gender systems inevitably lead to revolutions.

Notes:

1. 1996 *CIA World Factbook*.
2. *Washington Post* 18 Sept. 1997.
3. *Washington Post* 11 Sept. 1997.

# Contesting Soviet State-Capitalist Theory

Dear MIM,

[With regard to “How the Soviet Revisionists Carry Out All-Round Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR.”] Its documentation of what is called “socialism-imperialism” by the Soviet government is equally lacking in credibility and serious scholarship. The first country they allege to have been the victim of this is Mongolia. They point to the large number of cattle and sheep raised in that country and claim that this disproportionate use of land for grazing indicates that the country is being used as a livestock ranch to provide meat for the Soviet Union. Of course, the real reason that cattle and sheep outnumber people in Mongolia is that the land is suited for little else besides grazing. Mongolia is a very dry country, and in most places there is not sufficient water for crop agriculture that is common in eastern China and the western Soviet Union. It is only sensible that Mongolia should trade beef and mutton for foodstuffs that can’t be grown domestically and industrial goods as well.

The text did not provide evidence that there was exploitation in such trade. No accounting was made of how much dead Mongolian labour flowed one way and how much dead Soviet labour flowed the other. ...

The case that Mongolia was exploited at least has a difference in living standards to buttress it, but with the countries of Eastern Europe, even this falls flat, and the Sakai hypothesis that inequality equals exploitation fails us. During the Cold War, living standards and economic output of the Eastern Bloc consistently averaged approximately that of the Soviet Union. In Romania and Bulgaria, economic output and living standards were lower, in Poland and Hungary, they were about the same, and in Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic they were higher. Indeed, the German Democratic Republic consistently maintained living standards and economic output per capita that were more than twice the Soviet level. In 1989, the last full year of that country’s existence, the German Democratic Republic earned the distinction of being the first country in the history of the world to completely solve the housing problem. Every adult in the GDR who wanted separate living quarters had separate living quarters. What a final glory for state-capitalism! If anything, this would indicate that Germany engaged in imperialist exploitation of the Soviet Union, not the reverse. Still, the Chinese text nonsensically claims that Eastern Europe was exploited, quoting an official of the GDR government as having estimated that trade with the Soviet Union cost his country \$2 billion per year. ...

The text goes on to claim that these countries were forced to buy Soviet machinery at four times the cost of machinery available from western imperialist powers. This is quite obviously false. In the early 1980s Romania purchased Canadian nuclear reactors, and the Soviet Union did not protest this in any way. These countries were free to purchase equipment from whomever they chose. The text also gives no documentation indicating the source for this figure that shows Soviet machinery as being so much more expensive



than that of the West.

—A reader from the Western USA

May 1997

**A comrade responds:** Your defense of the Soviet Union via Mongolia etc. reminds me of the Economic Report of the President, 1997 and the World Bank which say, gosh we are not exploiting the Third World, because more capital flows to it than comes back! Lenin did not say imperialism was a system of NET export of capital that brought about stability! There is no reason to refute Lenin as if he said that.

Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism with monopoly organization. It is not a system that is guaranteed to make a profit on every deal! Capitalism is not a lifestyle of businesspeople making profits all the time or handing down property to their children as many anti-Maoist and pro-Soviet revisionists contend.

In the late capitalist system there is in fact an intense crisis of profitability. The above is a crude, social-democratic, economic caricature of Lenin that says proof of socialism is that the capitalists in the Soviet Union made some bad deals and didn't make enough profit, so they could not be capitalists, as if that could indicate anything for the compulsion of the Soviet system of economic organization! Ask the Japanese monopoly capitalists how they make profits! They are on record as willing to take losses 10, 20 or 30 years before showing profit: are you like Lech Walesa and going to say that Japan is socialist? The whole Japanese economy has shown negative profits many times in recent years. The labor aristocracy of Japan funds the government to sustain imperialist competitive position abroad by subsidizing corporations making losses. That does not mean they are socialist! In fact, if the capitalist governments did not regularly bail out corporations and banks both commercial and otherwise, capitalism would have collapsed long ago.

Soviet revisionism has polluted Marxism, by claiming that state intervention is automatically socialist. Socialism is the dictatorship of the proletariat. That means politics, administration and ownership in proletarian hands. While most people these days are beginning to be willing to admit Mao's theses by the fact that Gorbachev and Yeltsin were bourgeoisie in the party, it is they who had power in the period the letter-writer is defending. So how can we call this a dictatorship of the proletariat?

Expecting a citation for the East German official who spoke with the Chinese is like wishing execution or prison on someone for upholding proletarian politics. In other discussions with this letter writer it has turned out to be impossible to prove the Soviet Union wrong about anything, because the writer will not accept anything except Soviet sources, and even when we show Soviet sources that show Khrushchev made the society into a profit-run economy and in his own words and commands, the letter writer just cannot draw correct conclusions. What we are dealing with here is the tenacity of a class. It is the petty-bourgeoisie hoping for some kind of "laid-back socialism" that does not involve too much sacrifice and struggle.

# To Blacks, from a Michigan prisoner

The Black womyn/man in Amerikkka has been, and is, suffering from a disease. A disease called 'historical' and political amnesia.' This disease has robbed us of our identity, names, purpose, culture, family, sense of community concerns, love, respect, honor, pride and hope. We can see the manifestations of this historical and political amnesia by the actions of our people. By the things we do; what we say; by the manner in which we live, by the importance we place on the gathering of material things. You can see the effects of this historical and political amnesia by the way we address ourselves as 'niggers.' We can see the disease of historical and political amnesia by the way we MURDER one another, treat our wimmin and children and our elderly, whom we've lost all respect for. You can see the effects of historical and political amnesia and the grip it has over us because we no longer fight with purpose, aim, direction, and desire. We have given up on any prospects for the future for we live for today only.

The conditions in which we (Black people) live will not change unless and until WE change the way we think, act and feel. Right now, this disease have gotten so far into our system that our very souls are affected with this cancer that we even deny our heritage by not learning of it. But not respecting it. By not appreciating it. And there can be no future that has any meaning if we do not have knowledge of our history. (i'm not speaking about ALL Black people so please do not take this commentary out of context.)

The Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM) helps to restore some of this historical and political amnesia via education. Education on events that have take place and which have caused so much hopelessness within our communities today. MIM tries to educate ones mind and get them to become consciously aware of the conditions in which they live, and that these conditions came about through very deliberate and methodical means. MIM encourages the Black womyn and man to recognize the zeitgeist of the times and awaken their minds to the political struggles that other people's of color and First Nations have/are waging for freedom and a new way of governing our lives. While at then same time recognizing the past mistakes that have been made from other groups and movements that were infiltrated by the government's COINTELPRO. MIM offers to show us how to build a People's Party by the examples used by Chairman Mao during the Chinese Revolution. A party that could be successful and useful for us TODAY, TOMORROW and in our FUTURE! But you have to be willing and open-minded enough to want to rid yourself of this historical and political amnesia. YOU, have to be willing to give MIM a chance. Support MIM and support yourselves by your support to MIM.

Let us come from up under this long dreaded sleep of historical and political amnesia.

In the trenches...

—a Michigan prisoner

December 26, 1997

# For A New Africa

By RC777

*RC777 is the author of this document. RCAVP whole-headedly and whole-heartedly agrees with it. RCAVP can be credited with providing RC777 with a summary of Leroi Jones' Blues People, which is included along with this article. RCAVP suggests that Blues People be added to the MIM literature list as a vital weapon for the continuing development of communist revolutionary culture. In unity, struggle, solidarity, and love, goddamnit anyway — RCAVP*

In MIM Theory 11, 1996 there is an analysis entitled “Notice on Language,” which explains that changing “parts of the English language to meet proletarian purposes ... advance proletarian struggles by drawing attention to the line behind them.” (Line is decisive — *Mao*). The changes used by MIM do advance proletarian struggles by raising consciousness and understanding. In order to raise mass consciousness of national liberation for the internal colonies — from a proletarian view— we propose that MIM drop the term “Black” by replacing it with “New African.”

MIM is correct when asserting that Blacks are neither African nor American. We also have unity when you say that “Black” is less than perfect because it “implies that we are talking about a group because of Skin color.” However, we disagree with the last part of the sentence, which says that “but it is the best definition of the nation within Amerika.” This is misleading because it implies precisely that skin color defines a nation.

What constitutes a nation? If we answer skin color, then all Black people from Azania to Amerika are of one nation. But that would leave out all other aspects which make up a nation, such as: Common historical experience, common language, common culture, and common territory

Although it's true that African is not a correct description, it is true in describing the origin of the of the Nation. MIM sometimes uses the term “Amerikan” when describing “whites.” Actually, it is a better and more accurate term than “white.” When we use the term New African, we are describing the origin of the Nation (“Blacks” in Amerika), and a common historical experience. That is, the act of being forcibly transported from the land of origin (Africa) and all the other common experience that follows: the Middle Passage, slavery, uprisings, etc.

In a historical sense, the Nation's existence on this continent is “new,” thus the term New African. It is of utmost importance for a nation to know who they are. It then follows that the Nation knows where it's going. The slave-masters didn't want slaves to remember Africa. They forbade them to speak their native tongues, practice their religions, and took them away from their way of life and most importantly — took them away from their *land* (“revolution is about land” — *Malcolm X*). Why do we take away this Nation's origin by not using their place of origin when describing them? Once again, in a historical sense, African consciousness, and New Africans' discovery of their roots is also “new,” in that it is a post-slavery consciousness for the most part.

During slavery and being forbidding to speak their native tongues, Africans began to share a common language, the slave-masters' English.(1) So in what is now called the united snakes, New Africans shared: A common historical experience (and geographical origin: land), a common language, a common culture, a common

territory (the land they worked and lived on).

New African culture developed as a culture reflecting the Nation's struggles. Music, art, and literature developed as a result of people transplanted from Africa to Amerika — a Euro-colonial settler state. *Blues People* by LeRoi Jones is an excellent book on the origins and development of New African music. At the time the book was written the author called “Black” music “American” music, yet the content of his writing defined a distinct New African music (African origins — developed in Amerika).

“The first years after the Civil War saw the Negro as far away from the whole of American society as it was ever possible for him to be. Such a separation was never possible again. To the idea of the meta-society is opposed the concept of integration, two concepts that must always be present in any discussion of Negro life in America. ... The emergence of classic blues indicated that many changes had taken place in the Negro. His sense of place, or status, within the superstructure of American society had changed since the days of the field holler.”(2)

The above description reflects the social and historical march of New Africans in the music. This becomes more evident with the emergence of the “Black middle class” and demographic change.

“Negro music and Negro life in America were always the result of a reaction to, and an adaptation of, whatever America Negroes were given or could secure for themselves. The idea of ever becoming ‘Americans’ in the complete social sense of the word would never have been understood by Negro slaves. Even after emancipation ... the very term America must have meant ‘a place they don't want you...’ and so there has been since slavery, two Americas: a white America and a black America, both responsible to and for the other. One oppressed, the other the oppressor ... the Negro's adaptation to American life has been based since the emancipation on his growing knowledge of America and his increasing acquaintance with the workings of the white man's mind. The Negro American has always sought to adapt himself to the other America and to exist as a casual product of this adaptation: but this central concept of Afro-American culture was discarded by the middle class... it was assimilation the middle class desired: not only to disappear within the confines of a completely white America but to erase forever any aspect of a black America that had ever existed.”(3)

The author tells how the most “impressive acquisitions from Afro-American musical tradition,” was co-opted by swing, big-band jazz (more precisely, Jones/Baraka is referring to bands such as the Glenn Miller Orchestra, Stan Kenton, the Benny Goodman Orchestra, not so much the originators of big-band jazz: Count Basie, Fletcher Henderson. Duke Ellington, in my opinion, stands ambiguously between the two trends. —*RCAVP*)

“when the moderns, the beboppers, showed up to restore jazz, in some sense, to its original separateness, to drag it outside the mainstream of American culture again, most middle-class Negroes (as most Americans) were stuck: they had passed, for the most part, completely into the Platonic citizenship. The

willfully harsh, anti-assimilationist sound of bebop fell on deaf or horrified ears, just as it did in white America... but the Negro middle class had wandered completely away from the blues tradition, becoming trapped in the sinister vapidness of mainline American culture.”(4)

Use of the term New African is waging ideological struggle to establish a national identity. The beboppers broke away from assimilation in music — this reflected the desire to resist being swallowed up by mainstream America. Instead of nationality being defined by mere skin color, it is defined by social development and ideology. This enables genuine proletarian nationalists to wage an effective battle against pseudo-nationalists, “who have played the dominant role on the stage of the struggle for at least the last 25 years.”(5)

Pseudo-nationalists — both reactionary and neo-colonialist petty bourgeois elements — use the terms Black and/or African-American. Such elements do not want an independent nation from the U.S. New African implies the identity of a national territory — the Republic of New Africa. New Africans are an oppressed people who want to determine their “own destiny through absolute control of the social, economic, and political resources and institutions of their own nation.”(6)

All that is implied in the term New African is vital for ideological struggle: colonial oppression and exploitation, imperialism and capitalism, and when defining the need for independence from the united snakes — a national territory (New Africa) with a socialist economy.

The term New African clearly advances the proletarian struggle, whereas the term “Black” cannot and will not be distinguished from integrationist, assimilationist, and other petty bourgeois reactionary agendas. Terminology is crucial to identity. Although we are astute when distinguishing revisionism from socialism, we are reckless when describing New Africans as “Blacks.” We must remember that the fight for proletarian-led national liberation will expose the neo-colonialist and petty bourgeois elements that want to remain part of the empire — with a bigger piece of the pie. These elements fear an independent nation because it will mean no pie for them. This doesn’t mean that all petty bourgeois elements won’t identify with an independent nation, but those elements favoring a more equal share of the empire will never identify with New Africa.

“Nationalism is, in part, loyalty and devotion to a particular nation ... which ‘nation’ are ‘Black’ nationalists devotion to a particular nation ... which ‘nation’ are ‘Black’ nationalists devoted to? ... Every nation has a name, and this name is the root of the term used to identify the nationality of its citizens and nationals.”(7)

The struggle for the use of the term New African is a struggle for true national liberation and socialism. It is time for MIM to drop the term “Black” and adopt the term New African.

Long live the Republic of New Africa!

Long live revolutionary nationalism!

Build toward communism!

Notes:

1. New Africans also developed their own forms of English, e.g. Ebonics.
2. Jones, Leroi (later Amiri Baraka) *Blues People* (1961), pp. 85-87
3. *Ibid*; p. 137
4. *Ibid*; p. 182
5. *Fade From Black: Notes on the Resurgence of Nationalism and the Struggle for National Identity, Purpose* (6 August 1996), p. 2, by Owusu

Yaki Yakubu; Spear and Shield Collective.

6. *Ibid*. p.3

7. *Ibid*, p.2

**MC12 responds:** Most of this essay is about why we should consider the Black nation to be a real nation, something MIM has argued for years, and spelled out in most depth with the publication of MIM Theory 7, “Proletarian Feminist National Liberation Struggle on the Communist Road.” So with that we have no quarrel.

However, there are several points made with regard to the use of *New African* instead of *Black*. The first, that Black implies skin color as the issue, MIM has conceded. That is why we capitalize the term (while colors are not capitalized) and repeatedly assert that we are not referring to skin color. Still, that is a weakness of the term for sure. It also has the potential problem of implying that Azanians and Blacks, for example, are in the same nation. However, it should be noted that Africans who come to North America generally find that they are treated to the same racism as Blacks, as a result of the racial ideology that surrounds national oppression in this country. So, with either Black or New African we are able to point out that there are important connections between Blacks and Africans that play out in material conditions all the time.

The other important argument the essay makes is that Black plays into the hands of integrationists and the petty bourgeoisie. “The term New African clearly advances the proletarian struggle, whereas the term ‘Black’ cannot and will not be distinguished from integrationist, assimilationist, and other petty bourgeois reactionary agendas,” according to the RAIL comrades. Actually, MIM is glad to see the term “African American” emerge as a way of making just this distinction. It is precisely these integrationists who want to use “African American,” just like “Italian American” to show that they are really just Americans who happened to come from another place. So now Black is beginning to stand out a little, and that is good.

The RAIL comrades do not discuss what is MIM’s only complaint about “New African”: cultural nationalism. What makes including the word “African” in the term relevant? Culture. That is, it is not the land in Africa that makes Blacks in North America a nation, nor the economy, language, and so on. It is the cultural history that survived the genocidal purges of the Middle Passage and slavery that links Blacks to a historical African culture. This is completely true, and this connection is obviously important. However, for the definition of the nation it plays into cultural nationalism to give this aspect too prominent a role. In fact, as MIM has argued, this term has been used most often by people with cultural nationalist tendencies. All the arguments for stressing the African link are cultural, and therefore the tendency of this term is toward cultural nationalism, which is a serious danger from the petty bourgeoisie and comprador bourgeoisie as well.

Therefore, MIM still prefers the term Black. Although New African is not inherently incorrect, its use has historical problems and it plays into a pervasive error within Black nationalism. We do not make this question a dividing line in working with people or organizations.

# The Color Black

*The first letter and response here are reprinted from MIM Notes 149, Nov. 1, 1997. The second letter was a response to that issue, and here MC12 responds to the second letter. —ed.*

Dear MIM, i'm writing this article , to shed some light on the issue, which was discussed on the color Black, in your March (MN 134) issue of MIM Notes. i'm not disagreeing with anyone, but i just think that when We dialogue on that subject We must not leave out nationality. So in short, i'm attempting to elevate the discussion to NATIONALITY.

We as a people need to start redirecting Our thinking. We have been trained to denote the color black (e.g. reference to black in the american Heritage dictionary blackball, black market, black-mail, blacklist) just to name a few.

It shows by the dialect between MIM and the brotha who wrote the article concerning Black, that We're starting to recognize the need for change. We're overcoming a lot of the negativity taught to Us through the mis-education system of amerika. i applaud the brotha for elevating his thought.

Now that We are no longer allowing Our oppressors to dictate to Us what to think and how to think, let's focus on NATIONALITY. What is the name of your Nation? What term do you use to identify your nationality.

"We should disregard the words black & white immediately, because they serve as obstacles to clarity when an excavation of nationality is needed. In short this one over simplification of people works to Our detriment, by obscuring nationality." —Sanyika Shakur

We know that "each nationality receives a collective name & accumulates elements of common culture." Our nationality is formulated on these shores of amerika. Through colonialism, the nationalities of Ibo, Ashanti, Ewe, Fante, & Akan, among other, came the fundamental consolidation/fusion of who We are today: New Afrikans.

We are not black people, We're African people, and Our nationality is New Afrikan. We're not amerikans nor are we Afrikan americans. Amerika is what We're struggling to rid Ourselves of. There's no way would could possible be amerikans. WE ARE NEW AFRIKANS.

We as a people are in an ideological battle (war of words) and We must focus Our attention on nationality and the struggle for an independent Nation; a New Afrikan Nation. Let's continue to struggle against the crime of GENOCIDE and america (imperialism).

UHURU SASA!!

- A Missouri Prisoner, 5 March 1997

Notes:

1. What's In A Name - Sayika Shakur
2. No We're Not Amerikkans - Crossroad Collective
3. Fade From Black - Owusu Yaki Yakuba (aka Atiba Shanna)

**MIM responds:** We welcome this opportunity to clarify why we do not use the term New Afrikan. This comrade is correct that we need to be talking about nation rather than just color or race. And to do this we need to be naming the nations within u.s. borders that share a common language, territory, culture and economy. We also

agree with this comrade that using the term African American is incorrect because we are not talking about a group of people who have become a part of Amerika — nor are we talking about a struggle of integration into the imperialist white nation.

The term New Afrikan has the advantage of distinguishing the nation within u.s. borders from Africa while focusing on the issue of nationality. But the problem with the term is its heavily cultural nationalist origins and usage. It is important that we steer the national liberation struggle away from cultural nationalism. Cultural nationalism is the false ideology of liberation that misleads many whose sentiments for national liberation should put them in the revolutionary camp. Cultural nationalism tells people that it is their culture that will liberate them and so the important thing is what you wear, how you talk, how you do your hair, and what leisure time activities you engage in. Rather than teaching people that we need to systematically organize to overthrow imperialism in order to gain national liberation, cultural nationalism serves the bourgeoisie by encouraging pacifism and minor cultural changes.

We share this comrade's focus on nationality and on fighting imperialism and we hope that discussions like this one will help elevate the ideological understanding of our readers while we stress the unity we have with this comrade and others who may not agree with our language. This language is not decisive, anti-imperialism is decisive and we must unite around this struggle, even while we are debating our disagreements over various political line and tactics.

**A California Prisoner responds:** I'm writing you this letter pertaining to the article, "The Color Black" (MIM Notes 149, Nov. 1, 1997) written by working sons of the New Afrikan Nation. First of all, I would like for MIM Notes readers to understand that from the inception of the term New-Afrikan in 1968 when the First Afrikan government conference was held, on March 30th, 31st of that year, the PGRNA [Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika —ed] comprised of many members in the people's movement for self-determination and Afrikan liberation. These comrades were Afrikan nationalists, culturalists, Pan-Afrikanists, Muslims, and workers within the Labor Force, and also the lumpen group of the oppressed in our colonized communities. When we use the term New-Afrikan, this is a part of our cultural resistance and to identify with our Afrikan heritage in the struggle against character assassination inside the u.s. and Afrikan Nation. New-Afrikans in the u.s. are only paper citizens, colonized under the jurisdiction of an empire, and never had a choice in choosing whether they wanted to be called Amerikan or not. This is why we declare independence for the Nation. There has always been an attempt to commit cultural genocide on the masses of the oppressed. This is why we continue to educate New-Afrikans around the issues concerning identity, struggle for liberation and self-determination has never been a measure used to compromise with, or pacify those who exploit and oppress the people. We as New-Afrikans stress the point that our Nation is free and independent and that you are Afrikans inside Amerika, and will never be Amerikan! This is the correct line to eliminate confusion and mis-education among the masses. If you check our story, you'll find this ideology goes back to Comrade Marcus Garvey and the Negro Improvement Association, and also to Bro Cyril Briggs of the Afrikan Blood Brotherhood from 1919 through the 1920s during the times of Lenin's Bolshevik Revolution, in the early days of the Comintern. Anyone

with knowledge of the Communist Party and the people's movements knows that cultural resistance is a vital component, in communication and education with the masses. And it seems as if MIM fails to recognize this point. Now, if you can agree that Maoism was the most valuable vehicle for cultural revolution, then how can you contradict your own politics and Maoism, by saying, cultural nationalism is the false ideology of liberation. As New-Afrikan, we adopted the Malcolm X doctrine after the death of Malcolm and the Maoist vanguard, the Black Panthers. Inside the X society and nation today, many within the Nation identify with the term New-Afrikan and our constitution, which states that we advocate a socialist Republic of New-Afrika.

We, as a colonized nation of men and women, must re-claim our true birthrights as Afrikans in the image of our ancestors and this is the type of conscious ideology the masses must be taught, not confusion! I'm a long standing member and New-Afrikan since the early days of our people's movement.

I've seen many false ideologically mis-educated people make presentations without a solid foundation as brother Malcolm X taught us. Political police are drawn to wild west political shoot-outs between the people and organizations, like flies are to feces. We must remember, in order to maximize unity, we must establish a viable process to arbitrate all major conflicts among ourselves and masses of colonized people in the u.s. And this is what Comrade Broy comments in regards to the Black or New-Afrikan question. We will always be New-Afrikan in the struggle to free our Afrikan communities and rid ourselves of the oppressive genocidal conditions. In all of Afrika, we still want bread, housing, clothing and health care to meet the needs of the people. But first and foremost we seek self-determination and justice for a new and transformed society, establishing the Nation beyond contradiction. Our language must be at the grassroots level and not above the minds of the people, not relating on debatable issues and perspectives. Comrade Martin Delaney educated that we are a Nation within a nation which distinguishes the Afrikan masses from the word Black or Afro-American. I suggest MIM makes a more in-depth study on New-Afrikan politics and history to gain more comprehensive, ideological reasoning of New-Afrikanism which correlates with socialism and Maoist ideology and self-determination. And send salutes to all New-Afrikan workers in service to our Nation. Keep moving forward together; backwards, never and you are not in this struggle alone.

I look forward to your response, MIM and the next MIM Notes; also in doing future work with RAIL cadres in the struggle for justice, liberation, and self-determination. Educate; we've been colonized but it's our rights not to become victims and drown in the belly of the beast!

Organize, Re-orientate and Rectify to Rebuild.  
New-Afrikan From Within,  
- A California Prisoner,  
17 December 1997

**MC12 responds:** In MIM Theory 13, "Culture in Revolution," we wrote: "For us what matters about 'Black' is the nation, its oppression, its conscious expression, and its liberation as part of the struggle for a world without oppression: a communist world. For that reason, we know that the Black nation does not now include all Africans and the whole African Diaspora, because in time separate nations have developed as different groups formed economic, cul-

tural, linguistic and territorial bonds. We must understand the real life of social groups if we are to develop the best way forward to national and human liberation."

This is an important part of why we, like the Black Panther Party, choose "Black" instead of "New Afrikan." The New Afrikan approach, while definitely better than "African American" or other integrationist terms, still stresses the cultural too much. It is true that controlling culture is necessary for national self-determination, but is this more important than economy, territory, or language? We don't think so.

Like the cultural nationalists, we organize for national liberation struggles. We agree that the Black nation is "a Nation within a nation," but we don't agree that this is what "distinguishes the Afrikan masses from the word Black or Afro-American." Afro-American, we agree is assimilationist. But using "Black" is no less a national liberationist than Afrikan.

In fact, New Afrikan is less concretely nationally oriented because it implies, as this writer does, that the Black nation in North America is part of some big "Afrikan" nation, and we know that materially this is not correct. Our Marxist definition of nations makes it clear that there are many nations in Africa, and that the Black nation — while maintaining cultural connections to Africa — is not the same nation as any African nation.

But we don't fall into the trap of cultural nationalism, which leads people to pick battles that are at once too easy and too hard to win: We can create a musical or clothing zone of "self-determination" without really winning anything. And this in fact feeds into the comprador interests, and tends toward the Black bourgeois interests instead of the proletarian pole. This was made clear in an article printed in *The Black Panther* in 1969:

"In declaring their opposition to cultural nationalism, the Panthers have increased the number of their enemies, but far more importantly, they have also rededicated themselves to serving the real interests of the people. Poor people need political power, not Dashikis. Black capitalism will not free black people. It is capitalism which has made them poor."(1)

MIM thus maintains that New Afrikan is a second-best term. We'd rather fix Black, with its bogus color connotations (capitalizing it helps show it's a nation, not a color), than try to fix New Afrikan, with its historical and current cultural nationalist problems.

As we said in MIM Notes, however, this issue of terms alone should not separate MIM from anyone in practical work; and our pages are open to continued struggle on this and related issues.

Notes: 1. *The Black Panther*, March 1969, "Cultural Nationalism Attacked in Emory Douglas Speech," reprinted from *Western Front* newspaper, Washington State Peace and Freedom Party. See <http://www.etext.org/Politics/MIM/bpp/bpp0369.htm> for the full text.

## A Reflection on Solidarity

Many people claim they want to be involved in various aspects concerning the political process and thus join this or that political group/movement. They do this without really giving a long and hard thought about the steps they are making or about the things

they may be asked/required to do from someone within the group/movement. And you have some that (once they get into a political group/movement) never stop to consider the many people who are inter-connected to this group/movement, or from how many different stations in life each individual within a particular group/movement may have come from. They do not take the time to think that many of the comrades within that group/movement may be in some prison (death kkkamp) or jail languishing their lives away. A few people within these groups/movements may take the time to actually come and visit a fallen brotha or sistah who may be in a death kkkamp.

It is refreshing (and I speak from personal experience) to know that there are comrades who care enough about an imprisoned comrade to take their time to come visit them. To come and share with them some hope and to reassure them that they are not forgotten, alone, or lost, and that they have support. That is a very good feeling. Not just for the imprisoned comrade, but also for the individual comrade who is not in a death kkkamp but on in 'minimum security' who came to visit the comrade, and it makes the group/movement look good. Not from the standpoint of judgement before man, but from the standpoint of being viewed from a fellow politically active and fallen comrade who is languishing in a death kkkamp.

So many people pay lip-service about being in the struggle and wanting to help others, but when it comes down to them investing time you can't pry them away from their 'all-too-important' social activity, which may amount to nothing more than sitting around drinking beer and leafing through some pornography.

It takes a lot from a man or womyn (who is in a death kkkamp) to look at nothing but pigs and more pigs and the walls day in and out without any human contact from minimum security. It takes a lot from a man or womyn who rot in these tombs and live a life void of any interpersonal relationship. It takes a lot for a man or womyn to have to cry in the drak quietly under a blanket because they just completed another day [of] lonely hell and know that tomorrow will only bring the mundane of the day before.

So, it is a *blessing* when a comrade come to show their *solidarity, love, and concern* for one that has fallen. This is the true spirit of comrades. This is the true spirit of one who's grasped the meaning of solidarity.

And for all of you that have not dedicated yourselves to the point of reaching out to *help* ease the monotony of a fallen comrade(s) day who is languishing in a death kkkamp or jail ask yourself these questions:

"What would I do if I were in a death kkkamp for 9 years and did not have anybody in the state in which I was doing all this time to come visit me?" "What would I do if I had no intimate relationship with anyone to help me through the rough times?" "What would I do if my days are spent watching others go out on visits to meet their loved ones while I remained behind?" And finally, "how would you feel if one day a comrade from a political group/movement came to visit you and show you that you are valued?" (Your first visit in over 5 years?)

To build solidarity and to win comrades to your side, you must be willing to reach out to others. You must be selfless in your dedication. You must be willing to go the extra mile. You must be serious about your goals, aims, and political agenda. You must be willing to share what you have and not feel bad for that sharing or complain about what you have shared. You must stand tall and be

strong in your convictions and not waiver - even if a gun is pointed at your head. You must be true to your word and to yourself and to those within your group/movement.

Building people support is a huge task. It involved many house of work, discipline and love for the group/movement and all those within the group/movement. Building people support is a long slow process. A process that involved educating the masses from the propaganda, lies and distorted half-truths they've been brainwashed to believe.

These facts I have given is just but a few things the Maoist Internationalist Movement is about. To take MIM and their work lightly is foolish and irresponsible, for MIM is about responsibility. The comrades within MIM are dedicated, serious and disciplined. Unlike many other movements (perpetrators and attention seekers for the sake of attention) MIM are about what they say and do what they say, and stand by what they say. *Join MIM!* Or at least support MIM by giving them your coins and paper presidents. Help MIM by supporting their book program to prisoners. Help MIM by passing out MIM Notes. Help MIM by passing out leaflets. Help yourself by going to the various events MIM gives; not for themselves, but for you. The people!

Think about that!

— an Amerikkkan prisoner

## Leaders to live and lead, not die in martyrdom

Comrades,

Revolutionary Greetings; Clenched-fist Salute & Power Forward!

I hope all is well as this word befalls before your eyes.

I have sat back and given some very strong thought to a few things that was brought to my attention by a true comrade regarding 'armed struggle' and the need for LEADERS to be available. After thinking about this it does make sense that political leaders are available (on the streets) so they can help train, share, and educate others, even though that leader may want so badly to go on the front line to vanguard, and struggle for the people with arms. After thinking this over I had to face this fact even though I didn't want too. For I am the type of person that is/was used to the trench and well trained in combat tactics. However, maybe the time has come for a new line for me. Meaning, maybe I should put all I have and do all I can to reach others by gaining public opinion from my knowledge than to go on the battlefield?

A comrade brought to my attention how it is self-defeating to have bright revolutionary leaders locked up behind bars when they could have best served the people by being on the streets. Though I hated to face it, this is true. It is better to have leaders on the streets and sometimes a leader have to refrain from taking any action (though they may ache to do so) for the overall gain. With my meditating on this very important issue, I have to give my clenched-fist salute to the comrade who same to me and had me focus in on this subject from a broader perspective. One in which I have to acknowledge in the affirmative in spite of my desires (which in many ways are selfish) because what my desires are (armed struggle)

isn't necessarily the best thing at this time for the overall collective. I know the collective is not strong and have to gain strength but this can only happen through wide support of *the people*.

So to this comrade who helped an old warrior see from a wider perspective and lower his 'war shields' I thank you.

This is what camaraderie is all about. This is what we are supposed to be to one another. No one knows it all and no one has all the answers and it takes others to help in anything that is beneficial and for the good of the collective. Chairman Mao teaches us that from the patience he and his comrades had in developing public support and opinion.

With that said I will close. But I just wanted to share this because it could be beneficial for others who may have been thinking the same thing as I, or to others who know of ones who want to take the position of 'armed struggle' today and need to be shown that this is not the mission for today. That the mission is to build and develop and grow and gain the support of *the people* and then, and only then, can we engage the enemies of *the people* in armed struggle.

— a Michigan prisoner

January 1998

## Russian party reaches out to MIM

Dear MIM,

I'm a member of Russian Communist Workers Party and it's youth organization — Revolutionary Young Communist League. The leader of RCWP is Victor Tyulkin and the leader of RYCL is Pavel Bylevskiy. The RCWP is a Leninist-Stalinist party, although some non-Stalinists are in it. The RCWP is the largest communist party in Russia (about 10 000 members). 4 of its members are political prisoners since August, 1997 — Gubkin, 19-years-old worker Sokolov, Skliar, Maximenko. They have been charged in "terrorism" of Revolutionary War Council. RWC mined monument of Peter 1 in July and demanded not touching Lenin's Mausoleum.

The "official" communist-named party — Communist Party of Russian Federation of Gennadiy Zaganov have over 200 000 members (generally, old men) and third sets in our parliament (State Duma), but it is nationalist and social-democratic, in fact. Other communist parties are very small. RPC and RCP-CPSU are anti-Stalinist (however not reformist and nationalist and social-democratic, in fact. Other communist parties are very small. RPC and RCP-CPSU are anti-Stalinist (however not reformist and not Trotskyist). CPSU, CPSUB, CPSU(b) are Stalinist but they are not connect with workers class. Trotskyist groups are very-very small. There are no Maoists, but many communists from Stalinist parties like Mao or name themselves as "Maoists." I am a Maoist, for example, and the entire RYCL of our city is Maoist.

RYCL (In Russian and English languages) <http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/8317/rycl.html>

—Member RCWP

January 1998

**MIM replies:** MIM is proud that the first contact that this comrade made on the Internet with Maoism was with MIM.

Greetings to the Russian Maoists! We read that no one was hurt in the action connected to the monument, but these four people are in prison. We wish you well to get them out.

We agree with your opinion of the Great Power chauvinist and social-democratic people calling themselves "Communist" in Russia. It won't be long before the exploited Russian workers learn the true history of their class as long as so many of you hold high the banner of Lenin, Stalin and Mao.

You are right it is not enough to be for Lenin and Stalin. We communists in 1998 have more experience in our movement in seeing the restoration of capitalism. Only Mao explained the operation of the law of value and bourgeois right under socialism correctly. He was the only one major socialist leader to see clearly that a bourgeoisie forms right inside the party.

It should now be evident to everyone that class struggle continues under socialism and in fact does become more intense as Stalin said to Bukharin when Bukharin ridiculed his position. However, it is not just the old exploiting elements trying to make a comeback. It is people like Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Gorbachev and Yeltsin right in the party. For this reason there needs to be several cultural revolutions on the way to communism.

## Writer from England on movement situation

Dear MIM: In the 1970s many students in Britain were Maoists or at least communists. Now after nearly 30 years we look back to those times as the highest point of the workers movement to achieve social justice in social democrat Britain. The movement has faced problem after problem over 30 dispiriting years which have seen the workers position worsen beyond imagination. But still the workers reject our ideas even in the face of poverty, are the capitalists so good at propaganda to distort any progressive movement.

—Writer from England

January 1998

**MIM replies:** We believe you are right that like in other countries there is ruling class propaganda in imperialist England that fools the workers and oppressed generally. However, in all the imperialist countries, the problem is qualitatively worse than just the problem of what Marx called "false consciousness" by the workers.

While a small minority within "British" borders faces grinding poverty, the majority enjoys the spoils of super-exploitation of the Third World. Hence there is propaganda and a real material reason for the opposition to progressive movements. The labor aristocracy in England is lined up almost perfectly behind Blair right now. All the third parties catering to the petty-bourgeoisie evaporated in the last election, because Blair sang the imperialist song of love for the labor aristocracy almost in perfect key.

## French comrades step forward

Dear MIM,

A lot of revolutionary greetings from Paris/France/Europe!

We are a group of communists that produce a paper [...]. It deals with Maoism, autonomy of the working class, political prisoners, social fights, and what we call triple oppression — capitalism, patriarchy, racism. We have very good contacts with the revolutionary groups from Turkey/Kurdistan and some of them gave us your MIM Theory 9 [Psychology & Imperialism —*ed.*] and MIM Notes 138 (15 May 1997).

It seems very interesting! The fact that you deal with genders, racism, that you see that the white working class is not revolutionary, all what we saw in the two papers sounds great. The only thing that is strange to us is that you see “armed struggle in the imperialist countries” as “a serious strategic mistake.” The only people in Europe that are not anarchists or Trotskyists are revolutionary because they see the militant fights in the 70-80s as very important. ... The real revolutionaries in Europe don’t say that, thinking of the political prisoners (52 in Spain, 500 from the Basques, 80 in Italy, etc.).

We can’t speak about USA, even if we think that it must be terrible for you in the heart of the beast, but revolution was possible in Europe in the ’70s, and so, if you wanna make a revolution ... you know that power comes from the barrel of the gun.

About us: we are pretty young comrades: the Maoist movement died in France in the early ’80s. You maybe know the book from autonomies about it (“the Maoist and Trotskyist movements in France”; there are some errors and some things missing but it’s OK). So your production is very interesting for us, to learn Maoism!

With the great hope that you answer soon, and that we can learn from you in the future, “hasta la victoria siempre”!

—French comrades  
November, 1997

**MIM replies:** We were delighted to hear from you. We hope to become fraternal organizations united in theory and practice.

The question of armed struggle is not a cardinal question for MIM, and obviously at some point, for communism to come about, there must be an armed struggle in the imperialist countries. However, we point you to the Selected Works of Mao, volume II, “Problems of War and Strategy,” in which Mao says very clearly that the imperialist countries should not launch armed struggle except in times of war and fascism or if the bourgeoisie is “really helpless.” At this time, we must do our share of the work as a contingent doing legal but semi-underground work behind enemy lines in France and other imperialist countries.

The Basques are not imperialist countries. Maybe Spain is imperialist, but it had fascism until recently. In imperialist Italy we do not agree with launching the armed struggle, except to stop fascists from seizing power. We only say no armed struggle in the imperialist countries without fascism.

We look forward to hearing from you again.

## Fascists and Stalinists continued

*This is a response to “Michael William responds: Fascists & Stalinists” in MIM Theory 9. The letter-writer is a member of a one of the ex-Soviet nationalities that the bourgeoisie and bourgeois pseudo-anarchists like William says Stalin wrongly repressed through “ethnic cleansing” in the words of William —*ed.**

Dear MIM,

My brain went on *boil* reading Michael William’s *fucking bull shit* about Stalin and fascism. There is not one fucking Tatar, *not one* at the time, or even in the 1950’s-1960’s that would say that Stalin went against “their people” as Tatars in the racist way. Not one. It is convenient *these days* to bitch and moan even if fired from a job due to real incompetence that “the boss did it because I’m...” fill in some minority blank. On hindsight it is “hip” these days to bitch about this kind of bull shit. I’ll write a file on *gulags* while I’m at it. Separate from this. Ugh.

*Kaganovich was Jewish.* [Reply to William’s charge of anti-Semitism by Stalin —*ed.*]

And then, of course, there is the bitch about the gay thing [with regard to Peru —*ed.*]. Look, aside from a belief based on a half-assed half-wrong theory of “genetics” — I think gays are born that way. I also *like* gays. Yeah, I am biased — don’t I know this? Sure I know this. Objectively? I find it really hard to imagine a thing “born into” people that would urge a man to put his procreative organ in any other hole except a vagina since this is what the dick is there for and what the urge is there telling you to do: make babies. So I find it hard to swallow my *own* biases in favor of gays. Now, X [another MIM reader], who is gay, agrees with me on this! But whatever it is that causes gayness, upbringing, uterine environment, or a quirk in the genes — gay people are here. It is not easy to get most men to accept gay men because men are men — men have dicks, men know they can rape — men fear being raped. Simple as that. Anyone in jail knows this and most of the men in jail who do anal sex aren’t even really gay — they’d rather fuck a woman if one was there.

Those guys, Lenin’s old group, really were out to undo communism. Stalin did not rule from the top down as I had kept maintaining based on oral anecdotes. Fact is, Hitler didn’t rule from the top down either! He was hardly a dictator himself! People went on strike, the Nazis relented. The whole mess arises from a wrong analysis of not just Stalin, but of Hitler too. Hitler had a kind of socialism going, but his anti-Semitism was not his creation — it was there big time already and he only rode the waves of it and did what the German people wanted — that is the hard fact, the fact that is hard for the world to swallow. If you were an Aryan, you’d have had it great in Nazi Germany — that’s the truth! You didn’t have to agree with Nazis or with Hitler — that’s the truth! And if you were not a racist out for your own group in a nationalistic/racist/religious way, you’d have it great under Stalin *even if you were not a communist* — that is the truth! If you were the sharing type, cooperative, good worker — you’d have it good under Stalin.



All this shit. The fact is, you *got paid* to work in a gulag, there was no genocide there, and you didn't end in a gulag due to race at all. There is no comparison between the gulag and the concentration camp — and Jews in Nazi camps were there *to die*, nothing more. They didn't even want them for useful labor! Stalin did not do ethnic cleansing. Lie lie lie. Anarchists are so fulloshit that if you ask one to “get you a glass” for your soda, you can start up a fight over this. Stalin had to evacuate and resettle (in similar lands with similar people, in fact) many of the Tatars because other Tatars knew they were nationalists — Yagoda let them all slide and Yezhov didn't get them all. Fact. My own relatives that got captured and ended up as DP's in Europe and then had to come here did so because they knew they'd no longer be trusted after having been imprisoned by the extermination squads of Nazis. How could you trust them? No matter they could be trusted — we are fatalistic like that — we accept. Sure, once here if they were hounded by some stranger (distrust would be immediate) they'd “yes” whatever the stranger said since they were *here*. They didn't want the American government on their asses. But face to face? William is *fulloshit*.

That was my beef with what I called “purist” Comrades out there. They are anarchists. Even in a game of scrabble, someone is going to chat with the others on which rules we are going to use, someone is going to finally say: OK. I've run into a lot of that type, anarchist I guess. They call themselves Communists and they start fights over the most petty shit. One anarchist and me were going to the movies. I said, “Let's go see the horror show.” So he had to be arbitrary (I knew he loved horror shows) and not see it, instead go watch a love story. So we split up and met after the show. I go into a restaurant to get some food to eat, he had to wait outside like a vagrant standing out there, while I ate alone inside. Was he hungry? Yes. God Damn. So we are driving back and passing through the tollbooth on the Garden State Parkway. I run thru the thing without throwing in my quarter by “making the light” on the car in front. The anarchist freaks out. Next tollbooth I threw in an empty soda can instead of the quarter. The anarchist is all bug-eyed “ooo, what are you doing, you are going to get into trouble.” I had to smile all the way home: the big anarchist I said. I had to say it.

We are not the Borg. We do not have a collective consciousness that automatically makes us do things in synchronicity. Someone please tell the anarchists this. Pass him this letter. William, his mock outs of MIM and Stalin — he made my *brain boil* with his nonsense, utter nonsense. Lies.

Later on the RCP and Trotsky? National boorjwa versus imperialist boorjwazi? Let me spell out my way the differences — yes, Lenin sure did act as if there was a difference: NEP! The imperialist boorjwa has The Power. They are The Gods. The national boorjwa wants the power but doesn't have it — yet. So they play friends with you for awhile, stepping on everyone on their way up to the level of Godhood. When they rise high enough (fuck over enough little people) they are bestowed recognition by The Gods (imperialist boorjwazi). Bingo. All the while, for centuries in fact, the peasants had tried to revolt. Stenka Timofeyevich Razin is one early example. The peasants would have revolted anew, but Lenin put in the NEP. What happened? Kulaks did their usual. They did what they had been doing for years. So peasants revolted again and there was like a war there — actually between the xians [Christians —*ed.*] and the atheists! No one ever noticed that. Anyway, Stalin stepped in but the peasants had been wanting this for centuries. In the past the Tsar used to step in and squash the peasants. Stalin

stepped in and squashed the kulaks ... helped squash the kulaks! So be it. Ah. Qulaks. New spelling.

There is a big contradiction with the whole issue of international Communism and national movements. It's so big it's dizzying. I said it my way, but don't know if you caught it. Each group has their own situation, like I compared it to building a house in different locations — you have to accommodate what you do to the weather conditions and a lot of other things outside where you build it. Communism is like a house being built. But there are a lot of real social entities on the planet that you might as well see as nations. I wouldn't divide them up by lines in dirt, but by habitat/environment. They are vastly different from each other, and the environments in which these nations of people exist sort of determine a lot of what the people do: basically, people have to eat! The rest of what people do flows from that: need to eat. Need for shelter and so forth — it grades up. You have nations of people just being found these days, living along side us for thousands of years, no one even knew they were there. ...

Trotsky and his mouth, Mega Mouth. My father said, always bitterly, “England is the pimp, France is the whore” — they just gave people away to Shitler, gave them away, never even asked them before they signed their treaties. I have a different perspective on this. I have to almost give Shitler a hug for doing the utterly insane: signing a treaty with Stalin — in the faces of the Pimp and Whore (England and France). Uh oh, now they had to get into a fight when they hoped Shitler would wipe us out (USSR) instead. Ha! Nyaaaaa! I don't entirely blame Shitler for what he did — and his reasons — *phew* — wanted to clear people out of the way and exterminate others to purify the world — all so that *his kind* could move in. I will never forgive England and France for what they did, what they wanted to happen. And so the USA literally got dragged into the war as we see this — dragged into it by the Pimp (England). Good then, USA fucked France and England over and became supreme over them — serves them right. Do you have any idea what the Nazis did to my homeland? Forget the 20 million dead for one moment — the Oh God, MCYY, the heart that went into the work, the love and hope that went into that labor — the Nazis totaled the fucking place — totaled it like Hurricane Andrew totaled Homstead, Florida. The socialist utopia all worked and hoped for — it was almost there, just a bit more. And then came Nazis and — they smashed the fucking place — nothing was left, not even a primitive hut. A whole hydroelectric plant was destroyed — a whole beautiful plant with beautiful arched structures. You don't have to destroy a people by killing them. You can do it worse, on the inner level, by smashing what they built with love in their hearts — by destroying their reasons to live and hope — hope not based on pipe-dreams, but based on the real, concrete material things they made. They made a lame effort to fix it all up so it looked passable, do it fast after the carnage and wreckage — but they never recovered, inwardly.

There was a show on, sci-fi, “War of the Worlds,” a series. In it, it turned out that the aliens first noticed earth due to the atomic bombs. So they practically drained their planet's resources to come to earth — which led to “War of the Worlds,” which was based on the old 1953 movie of that title. Which in turn led to wanting revenge on the earth for wiping out their race — so they fanatically sought to send in another group — which drained their planet even worse — and as they took off in their ships, their planet collapsed, was destroyed. So they come here, war with humans and in the end

find out it was all in vain, all of it. A stupid war with no sides winning. The earth is wrecked, in ecological danger (they show that as the earth is right now, for real) and the aliens no longer have a home. What did it remind me of? I didn't know. It hit me like a lead ball yesterday: Vasily Stalin — he is a dead ringer for the boy alien played by Keram Malachi Sanchez, the alien boy who united the humans and aliens in the end — the boy who also got vaporized by the arch villain who caused the 2nd war of the worlds which destroyed his own planet. Russia. It's like Russia. That is what bothered me so much, like a "grief" feeling in the chest. It wasn't the movie — it was what the movie symbolized, the reflection of the movie — was the reality of the USSR.

**MIM adds:** We would say on Hitler that he deserves particular blame for his unleashing of anti-Semitism and racism, even though they already existed. We agree that there was a ready tinderbox for Hitler to throw sparks in, because German imperialism was seeking global redivision and the bourgeoisified workers smelled the superprofits about to be ladled into their troughs.

## Nakived debates MIM Theory 12 with MIM

### On First Nations in North America, Tibet and ex-Soviet nationalities

*Nakived's response to MIM Theory 12 was written all at once, and MIM's replies are interspersed into the text. This debate was conducted in 1998.—ed.*

**Nakived:** The USSR is a place where one could *really* talk about nations, and nations that are so different that people do not realize this. There is another way to look at the autonomous SSR's there: as reservations. Were they autonomous? Well, the Islamic Turanians there couldn't exactly unite with Turkey even though most of them wanted to and had to lie and deceive everyone for a long time about it. The Pan Turkik-Islamic group ended up much larger than the plane Pan-Turanian pro-steppe people group. The latter joined in with the Reds. But the Reds *did* rule with Moscow as their Center, a more or less European-type Moscow: the majority of the people in the whole USSR are *not* Europeans.

To the west, Poland, the Baltic states, countries of their own there, these are people whose culture is *western* and Latin xian [Christian—*ed.*]. Even the E. Slavs in the USSR or former Czar Russia are not of this same culture — they're outwardly Byzantine inwardly Asian in culture and in their habits, living, behavior. They *also* look different from the Western Slavs who are very Germanized. There is argument on this — were these people always like the Germans with some Asian admixture — more of it to the East? Or were these Slavs non-Europeans with the Western ones having a later European-Germanic admixture? I think the latter because even very early on, their culture was markedly non-Indoeuropean of any kind. Only their language was, but it was oddly related to the Persian branch and not the branch that the rest of European languages are related

to — i.e., Indo-Iranian is different from Indo-Aryan as they sometimes call this. But the nouns — 50% Altaic words — and the beliefs and customs — wholly non-Indo-European. I.e., there is argument on this: were these Slavs originally "nordics" and later mixed due to Turanians coming there? I don't think so. The Slavs were there long before the Rus, Vikings, got there. And very early little-known Turanian groups that also spoke Turanian languages were there too. The Khanates were supreme in that entire area until later — and that's not that long ago — the Czar decided to try to colonize the whole place. I do know that the Austrians and Germans got some of their more Asian looks from Turanian invasions! Fact! The Brits noticed it!

But you see my point here? The Reds might have been much better than the Czar in some respects, depending on how much they "told others what to do" compared to the Czar *not* interfering at all. China was weak back then, but if not for the Soviets, with Mao taking over, the entirety of Russia's Turanian people would probably have been incorporated into China by Mao unless the western powers went to war with China. This *would* have happened, absolutely! But the Soviets *still* ruled from Moscow and were always seen as *Russians* with another language. The people may have had a better life, more for some less for others, but they were definitely *not* allowed to determine their own people's futures, make alliances with their own kin-folk — say, in China (Khazaks wanted to do this and are doing it now). "China" is another place — a colonizer! The Khazaks in China couldn't just go join their brothers in the USSR across the border.

**MIM replies:** It is a fanciful idea that China would have gone to war to extend its borders so far westward if it were not for the Soviet Union. China's main motivations under Mao in the 1940s and 1950s were with regard to securing its borders against British imperialism in India and Iran. The British may not seem like as much of a factor anymore, but they were back then. We were in favor of Stalin's splitting Poland with Hitler, and we recognize Czechoslovakia never had any independence in the conflicts of that day. Likewise, Mao could not ignore the pressure of British imperialism working its way northward from India, where the English kept on pushing the borders.

**Nakived:** I don't hear any Communists addressing this and yet this is right now *so important*. These people are uniting now, the Khazakhs in China are not yet as free to do it as are the ones in the X-USSR, but they are also making deals with Iran, as I said. Iran is *becoming* the Center. I have to say that I see my own Turanian people as *less* than Amerinds because no one even seems to notice they are there ... and I have to wonder if the western world *fears us* that much, that they could form a mental block about us. It's possible.

**MIM replies:** Although there are some organizations in North America that believe they can and should organize the new Soviet revolution from here, and make that the job of communists here, MIM only claims to be active in English-speaking imperialist countries and Spanish-speaking colonies and semi-colonies in the Northern Hemisphere. We do not claim to be organizing the ex-USSR's revolution from here. So MIM is ignoring the issue, because that is a job better left to the communists there. On the other hand, we do believe we have much more responsibility for the First Nations of

North America and we also comment generally on Tibet and nationalities in the Soviet Union without taking specific responsibility for organizing revolution in Tibet or the Soviet Union.

**Nakived:** Take the Uzbeks whom the Reds made into a phony nation when they were *one nation* (Turkestan) with the Khazaks and *both* Golden Horde people. They had a harmonious rice cropping going for a long time. But the Reds told them to crop cotton. So they did and they starved. So then they were told to go back to rice — but they couldn't do this because all they had set up for years to rice-crop was ruined by the cotton cropping. How do you imagine these Uzbek (Indians) see this? Foreign pale faces told them, forced them, to ruin their own harmonious living style. It doesn't matter who was in charge (Stalin, not a white man or a pale face) — they saw this as *Russians* doing it. And why are they a separate nation? Because Russians (Reds) carved up their national territory and declared it separate nations. The Chinese are not seen as any better — they are really another race — a race that can't even eat the same food as us. [Nakived has pointed to higher level of lactose intolerance amongst certain peoples, although there are some white people with lactose intolerance. We recommend the work of Marvin Harris on this question on how long-term climate and environment determine variation in food tastes —*ed.*] These hordes of Turanians *know* that they often conquered imperial China and ruled it themselves.

Yes, the world doesn't know — or notice. OK, fine. The Czars could never do to Turanians what their cousin Anglos did to the Amerinds because we were far too fierce and dangerous and far too numerous. The Amerinds were also numerous but not any more. The Amerinds helped the whites colonize. The Turanians were formerly the colonizers or rulers, in a very loose easy-going way, over the Russian principalities, Princes and Barons. One can't truly say that Turanians colonized the Russians because they were there first — the Rus (Vikings) were late comers to the area — but unlike with the USA and Amerinds, these Russians never ruled anyone until after the Oirats smashed the Turkistanis (Golden Horde ulus). Even then, it was a slow process and never anything like the USA and Amerinds in scope or practice under the Czars. Under the Reds it was almost like the Anglos doing it to the Amerinds. I don't think you've considered this!

**MIM replies:** Again, the handling of the national question in the ex-USSR is not MIM's responsibility. In terms of the national question there, we are sure the Soviet Revolution under Lenin and Stalin did not eliminate these questions; however, we are sure there was less chauvinism and national conflict under Stalin than what we see today. The main accusations of the bourgeois nationalists and the CIA is that Stalin deported peoples who also suffered bad conditions including disease, frostbite and hunger in the World War II period, but Nakived is one of those who agrees that his/her own relatives could not be trusted under certain circumstances with regard to World War II.

We will point out that if what Nakived says about the Turanians is true, they are not an oppressed nation.

**Nakived:** These Russians during olden days enslaved the Slavs — an agrarian people. The Turanians in China were true colonies, first under (more recently) the Manchus (another Turanian people) and then under the Chinese proper. You can say, if you like, that

Mao et. al. “set the Tibetans free,” but another way to see this is that they colonized Tibet. Tibet is still colonized. Who are you or who is MC5 or whoever said it, but just white men declaring that the Tibetans are better off as slaves to Deng than with the Dalai Lama there? I know what I'm talking about here — I met the Dalai Lama, my grandfather knows the Dalai Lama. He was no tyrant in any kind of way that the word could be used.

**MIM replies:** So what if you met the Dalai Lama? He hasn't been in Tibet for decades and thus hasn't been allowed slaves. You have no way of knowing about the slaves' first-hand in the situation. On the other hand, MIM has testimonies written by the slaves condemning old Tibet. It is simply a factual omission on your part not to mention the testimonies of the ex-slaves and pretend that MIM came up to this position without first-hand literature. We should also mention in this context that this author has in the past denied the difference between slavery and wage-slavery. That too is an ultraleft idea, as if capitalism is not progress over the slave mode of production. Deng Xiaoping represents capitalism in Tibet.

Furthermore, Nakived's factual omission is compounded by a logical error. Who the author or MC5 are is completely irrelevant to whether or not the statements made were correct. The above and paragraph below are clear examples of ad hominem attacks. They attack the speaker instead of what is said.

MIM and any revolutionary scientist frequently face ad hominem attack — especially popular these days under the politically-correct Liberal regime. When people's logic and substantive knowledge fail them, they attack MIM for who we are instead of what we are saying — in this case presuming the race and gender of their opponents.

MIM's complaint is not mainly that our critics guess the social background of our members wrong (Nakived has guessed J. Sakai wrong in the past, too). We are completely willing to defend everything we have said as if a white male wrote every word. When Nazis attack we are happy all to be Jews. We are not interested in talking with people who only care who we are and not what we are saying. Such people might as well be the cops collecting our race, gender, height, weight and eye-color. We say to all of our readers: if MIM is all white males and suddenly you don't like *MIM Notes*, *Maoist Sojourner* and *MIM Theory*, then get away from us right now!

Nakived's particular kind of attack in the context of the national question (or sometimes race) comes in two main contexts. One is from whites that are newfound believers in “pc” and post-modernist “anti-racism.” These people do not believe there is such a thing as truth and they focus their efforts on achieving “diversity” regardless of truth. The other context of these ad hominem attacks on MIM comes from the ultraleft and emotional reasoning of some oppressed nationality people or whites. Usually this type of ultraleft subjectivism is cured by a single response: “Oh, so Huey Newton is correct when he speaks, but when I (substitute any nationality other than Huey Newton) repeat his words or distribute his works or the works of his international comrades, I am wrong!” Let these subjectivists trying to deny the scientific nature of anti-imperialism address that! Huey Newton's words of 1966-1969 are mostly true, regardless of who is putting them forward.

Often times the budding activist or ultraleftist has heard the correct proposition that whites will not join the anti-imperialist move-

ment in the proportion that the oppressed nation people will. They go from that truth to reasoning that anything an individual from an oppressor nation says is untrue. That is the error of logic that we must defeat.

We will also point out the contradictions in Nakived's position. Nakived also believes that land-based nationalism should be given up and, like the Progressive Labor Party, the earlier stages of socialism should be skipped, especially for First Nations (which we might agree with). In particular, Nakived is concerned about all the oppressor nation whites driven into opposition by MIM's claims that North America belongs to the First Nations. However, if China did make a mistake in Tibet, it would be that it sent so many Han Chinese there to take up space — the land. As we will discuss subsequently, based on the work of Black nationalists here, the Chinese Communist Party ignored the issue of super-profits and compared the situation of the dominant Han nationality and the Tibetan and other nationalities to that of Blacks here.

For MIM, this poses a difficult question. Is there a Black imperialist class composed of Collin Powells and Clarence Thomases? Are these merely lackeys? The fact that there is no developed Black finance capital points to saying these figures are just lackeys. Further complicating the situation, Blacks are receiving super-profits through partial integration with imperialism. In contrast, the Han people are the dominant nationality in China, and they are super-exploited, not gathering super-profits; although it is clear that Deng Xiaoping headed China in the direction of making good on social-imperialism.

Nakived sees a more biological root to imperialism than MIM does. According to Lenin, imperialism is characterized by the export of capital. That is not to say there were not empires before, but Lenin says previous ancient empires were based on a different mode of production and different dynamics. The current imperialism is based on export of capital and has the potential of undoing empires once and for all.

**Nakived:** The place isn't even entirely Buddhist and what Buddhisms were there were varied — and the variations are far greater than, say, Protestant and Catholic. So what I clearly see here is that a white Communist person is declaring that this is better for Tibet simply because Mao did it. Long prior to Mao, China had its eyes on Tibet. Tibetans were a people who had long ago achieved peace and self-determination. And for years, no white person was *allowed* into their country, though I doubt you know this and you'd never be able to find out why this was a law unless one of us comes clean and tells you. [Nakived originally came to MIM claiming to be Tibetan. Questioned on this, Nakived claims to be a Turanian whose people came into contact with Tibetans. In any case we are talking about Central Asia and the South in the ex-USSR —*ed.*]

But as I said, the place is not entirely Buddhist and what "Buddhisms" are there are declared so by white fools who call it Buddhism when it's *far older* than Buddha is. It is nothing like Hinayana or Buddhism proper which is Buddhism at least. Vajreya is not Buddhism and what those Lamas were like is wholly unknown to the whites — and the few whites that managed to have a word to say about these non-whites either tried to make them into what they imagined "holy men" would be like, or they outright called us devil worshipers and I can truly see why they'd think this. Yet there is no god — that's the clue the western morons never

quite understood — though some strict theologians REALIZE this, they are few, they are scholars, they are not heard from by the popular masses. Due to the Reds not being able to quite fathom what side my granduncle was, they wrote him out of history. The fact that their puppet Suke Batur in the renamed city of Urga (renamed Ulaan Ba'atur - Red Warrior) sent people to murder my granduncle is ignored. Granduncle never had quarrel with Reds. He had quarrel with that Czar and nationalist Chinese especially and he kicked butt in his time. So much for peaceful Lamas. He was a Red Hat turned black hat — far from what anyone would call Buddhism, doesn't even resemble Buddhism.

Z at least has studied the sayings of these people, their founders and such — they are remarkably similar to Mao Thought only *heavier*. They know that people do what they do; eventually if rulers arise that are cruel, those under them overthrow them. Sometimes, not always, they learn from their experiences and learn to live more wisely. But they don't involve themselves or impose anything on them — they know that rules are for the unenlightened who will only follow or break them or only adopt some moral duty from the rules — that they will not have the inner understanding (Dharma) at all. So it's a waste of time to tell people rules. They must learn wisdom, come into wisdom from their actions in life. If they try to impose, they are just like the warlords — no matter if the imposition is benevolent: the wisdom would still be lacking. What you end up with is a nation of little children unable to guide their own lives or think for themselves, but filled with books of rules.

Lamas would give you books to study if you went there "to learn" — and they'd tell you to "sit here" in some freezing cold place in nothing but a sheet to wear. When you finally realize that you have to burn the books to make a fire to keep warm — the Lamas tell you "now you have learned." They know that wisdom does not come from study or meditation or any of that. It comes from physical interaction with the entire environment, including the other humans in that environment. I'm telling you first hand here. ...

## Edwards review clarification

On page 121 of MT13, we said, "Just as Edwards was critical of Mao's incorrect statements on the political economy of the imperialist countries, we have had our disagreements on this question with the Communist Party of the Philippines ... and elements of the Communist Party of Peru. Unlike Edwards, we do not feel that this is for the comrades in the neocolonies to decide."

MIM has touched on this subject in several places, but we would like to make clear that the Third World comrades do have a right to intervene in U.S. and other imperialist conditions once they have investigated them. Imperialist-country comrades should not determine the application of Maoism to concrete conditions in the oppressed nations, but the oppressed nations will have to exert dictatorship over the imperialist countries, so they do have the right to intervene in imperialist country conditions — vis a vis the national question. MIM only opposes hegemonic dogmatism in application to the imperialist countries. We do not oppose Third World intervention in the imperialist countries on principle and in fact we on

the inside of the imperialist countries invite such intervention. Ironically, those who see a large white nation proletariat will see no need for intervention and they will be in effect aiding the restoration of imperialism when imperialism does suffer some decisive blows in the future. Since we see no white nation proletariat in the imperialist countries, we in fact favor the intervention of Third World proletarians. If there is a large white nation proletariat, then of course, Mao's lessons on the COMINTERN and hegemonism would apply directly in the imperialist countries as well and there would be no reason for the comrades of the neo-colonies to intervene.

When it comes to the subject of imperialist exploitation, in fact, the Maoist comrades of the world are obligated to come to scientific answers, which are all the same or roughly the same. The comrades in Peru cannot claim U.S. imperialism is appropriating 100,000 worker-years per year of free labor from Peru while we in the imperialist countries claim it is only 10,000 worker-years per year. The various categories of surplus value must be totaled up and agreed on in at least a rough way.

MIM is currently extremely dissatisfied with the thoroughness of answers it receives on the question of imperialist appropriation of surplus value. There are those who have examined this question for years who should be commenting on it concretely and not generally with respect to some allegedly eternal dogma. In this regard, we must point to the danger of the influence of the national bourgeoisie in its dealings with MIM. Adolfo Olaechea would be a case in point. He has dodged any calculation of the issue despite repeated clashes with MIM and each time the conflict ends with his assorted quotations from Lenin or Mao and no factual information about any imperialist country class structure or the appropriation of surplus value by any imperialist country from any oppressed nation. It is obvious that the national bourgeoisie has an interest in such vacillation, spouting Lenin and Mao sometimes but not going

into the questions in thorough detail. The national bourgeoisie avoids the calculation of exploitation, because it seeks to exploit the workers itself and wants to leave itself the opportunity to exploit workers, perhaps even in a new conversion to comprador status. Hence, we at MIM must struggle for our own scientific approach. There is and will be a national bourgeoisie exerting a bad influence on the imperialist country struggle. There will also be those phony communists who have not studied surplus value or concrete conditions, and these must also be combated.

True, there are some things that MIM comrades are in a better position to know than the comrades from the neo-colonies are. How to deal with gender, culture, the lumpenproletariat, the environmental issues — these things have particular answers in the imperialist countries. To handle these correctly though, we must handle the principal contradiction correctly. To handle the principal contradiction correctly we have to handle imperialist surplus value extraction correctly. Once we realize that there is in fact no material basis for an imperialist country proletariat, it is obvious that what to do with the social groups that do exist in imperialist countries is not something cut out from Chinese experience for instance.

The question of the dictatorship of the oppressed-nation proletariat over the imperialist countries is something we dealt with in MT7 and elsewhere. We now also talk about this question as the "one equation" question, referring to the fact that the question of the methods and quantity of imperialist exploitation are questions of universal importance that can only be answered at the universal level, not with one answer from the U.S. comrades and another answer from the Azanian, Korean, Chinese, Filipino and Peruvian comrades. Such a universal answer on the nature of imperialism and its class structure determined by its surplus value extraction from the oppressed nations will go a long way toward answering what the transition period away from imperialism will look like.

.....  
**SUBSCRIBE TO MIM NOTES**

Individuals

Institutions

- 1 year, domestic, \$20
- 2 years, domestic \$40
- 1/2 year, domestic trial \$10
- 1 year, international, \$50
- 1 year, domestic, \$80
- 2 years, domestic, \$160
- 1 year, international \$100

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address : \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
City, State, Zip : \_\_\_\_\_

**Send cash, check, or a money order payable to "MIM Distributors" to:  
MIM Notes, P.O. Box 29670, Los Angeles, CA 90029-0670**

# United Front

.....

*We begin this section of MIM Theory with a series of resolutions vital to the United Front question that were approved at MIM Party Congresses from 1998 to 2001. --MC12*

## On Utilizing Contradictions in the Bourgeoisie and the Principal Contradiction in 2001

by MC5

April 25, 2001

*Approved unanimously at the 2001 MIM Congress*

During World War II, Mao Zedong distinguished between comprador lackeys of Japan and comprador lackeys of the U.S. and British imperialists. The latter he managed to have “chill” relatively speaking for a temporary period of time while he dealt blows against Japanese lackeys. According to some Comintern documents, Mao had some doubts about the advisability of playing off one set of lackeys against the other and thought it might be necessary to teach Chiang Kai-shek a few lessons, despite his leaning toward the U.S. side during World War II.

Nonetheless, and despite what the Trotskyists say, it did work out to some extent for Mao to fight one enemy at a time. Chiang Kai-shek even sent Mao money and light weapons, of course not enough to upset the balance between Chiang Kai-shek’s reactionaries and Mao’s proletarian forces.

Today, in 2001 in the imperialist countries, we are concerned about the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations of the Third World. So that the Third World oppressed nations do not have to fight every single imperialist country enemy, there have been those who have favored economic nationalism—setting one imperialist country against another, to break up the European Union for instance. However, MIM has rejected the strategy of fanning economic nationalism in the imperialist countries, as reminiscent of both World War I and World War II’s most reactionary aspects.

Instead, MIM has offered the model of taking the class struggle right to the globalizing imperialists as they globalize. We favor the example of how the fight for access to anti-HIV drugs in South Africa was won—with international solidarity, not with each section of the proletariat going its own way. See MIM Notes (XYZ).

The struggle against pharmaceutical companies revealed a small fissure in imperialism that we will aim to take advantage of. In particular, there are those companies that have essential goods—the more expensive the better for contradictions—that the world’s exploited and oppressed need and would buy, except that they do not have the money. For each individual capitalist-imperialist, it really does not matter where the money comes from as long as someone pays for his or her goods.

In the year 2001, the progressive social-democrat is only the internationalist social-democrat. Someone who seeks reforms that tax or regulate imperialist country companies or people on behalf

of the oppressed nations and super-exploited is progressive and an ally of MIM. These social-democrats have some limited prospects of success because of the contradictions within the capitalist class. Social-democrats who stir up imperialist country economic nationalism or advocate labor aristocracy demands—the traditional social-democrat—is MIM’s profound enemy. There has been news in their regard in this past year as well—the admission by Austria’s social-democratic party that it did indeed have Nazi leaders in its party before, during and after World War II on a secret basis. (See MIM Notes 209.)

Glaxo, Merck and a host of other imperialists face a problem in their humyn needs industry. Their market is the whole world, because they market things that everyone needs, drugs that prevent death from AIDS for instance. Those companies like Pfizer fortunate enough to have Viagra can sell their drug to the whole world, but they really have a lucrative imperialist country leisure-time market. Even if Pfizer paid MIM, we would not lobby imperialist country people for tax money to pay for Viagra for the Third World. Viagra is not a humyn need and pushing for it would needlessly antagonize the labor aristocracy and perhaps many genuine feminists.

On the other hand, the victory in HIV treatments was so profound and novel, we will have to be especially vigilant against “too good to be true” take-backs by the pharmaceuticals. Not only have some companies surrendered profits, but they have allowed Third World generic manufacturers to make their drugs.

This is an example of how “intellectual property” can be transformed into “a non-tariff barrier to trade” as the Wall Street Journal would say. In other words, we can use the GATT’s language of “free trade” to promote the needs of the international proletariat. If Merck invents a drug and gets a U.S. patent for several years and then extends it through special legislation later, that is an example of a non-tariff barrier to trade. Why? The reason is that some Third World generic manufacturer would like to make the drug for its own profit. Thus a question arises of fair competition within the capitalist class. When a country has a special law that other countries do not have, that country is placed under scrutiny by “free trade” logic for setting up special non-tariff barriers to trade. U.S. patent laws are “non-tariff barriers to trade,” and that is why the imperialist countries are going to GATT, NAFTA and the FTAA pushing so hard for universal protection of “intellectual property” instead of admitting that their patent laws prevent hard-working Third World manufacturers from making money.

In the global balance of forces, there are those of us who seek to simply withdraw from GATT etc. by fanning economic nationalism. In contrast, MIM seeks to weigh in on behalf of the Third World bourgeoisie against the imperialists and sometimes between one imperialist and another, when the proletariat will benefit. In the case of Merck, Glaxo etc., MIM seeks to weigh in on the side of those wishing to make anti-HIV drug production in the Third World legal and cheap (no royalties for “intellectual property.”) If our allies say that the reason is that they are for “free trade” and they are against “non-tariff barriers to trade,” MIM will say that after all we too are for economic cooperation globally in the long run.

On the other hand, milk, egg and cheese producers and many other farm producers in the imperialist countries have learned to obtain government subsidies for destroying their products and keeping prices high. MIM would prefer to see those subsidies go to distributing the food to the Third World. The only problem is that doing so destroys the prices in Third World countries, and hence Third World capitalist production, so MIM would like to see price subsidies to global agriculture (instead of just U.S. agriculture) funded by imperialist country taxes just as they are now but only in imperialist countries. This would be another progressive social-democratic reform undoing the damage wrought by economic nationalist social-democrats before.

Another internationalist social-democratic reform that we have seen was in the global treaty to cut back ozone-depleting pollutants. We urge our readers to study our review of Elliot Benedick’s book called “Ozone Diplomacy.” (See <http://www.etext.org/Politics/MIM/bookstore/enviro.html> ) There again it proved possible to take advantage of contradictions between the European and U.S. chemical industries.

The anti-HIV struggle has had a disproportionate share of queer leadership. MIM believes that the past year has shown imperialist country queers did more for the international proletariat than all the imperialist country so-called “labor” organizers combined. MIM hopes to get some people at Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace and Rainforest Action Movement also to realize that they are internationalist social-democrats and friends of MIM. These organizations also have tremendous proletarian potential; although some took a turn toward chauvinism during the Gore campaign year.

When multinational corporations or other capitalists have goods that can perish or become outdated, they come under special pressure to find customers and fast. For this reason, imperialist governments taxing their consumers are an apt target for their sales pitch. MIM is in favor of taxing imperialist country people to pay companies (that produce humyn-needs types of goods) and regulate companies for the benefit of the international proletariat. The imperialist country people will gripe about taxes, but they too benefit from cleaning up ozone-depleting production processes globally and from eradicating infectious disease globally. In questions such as food production subsidies, all that is needed is to take existing tax dollars and apply them to global food price support instead of allowing imperialist country farmers to destroy food and get paid for it while Third World people starve and have no price supports for their farmers.

MIM seeks to utilize contradictions in the enemy camp on behalf of the international proletariat. We will not fan economic nationalism simply to have contradictions to utilize. However, we do favor pitting humyn-needs sector multinational companies against

imperialist country governments to obtain free “intellectual property” for the Third World. If someone is to pay for that property, it should be the imperialist country governments. We also favor pitting the Third World bourgeoisie against the imperialist country bourgeoisie, in the name of “free trade” and against “intellectual property.”

“Intellectual property” is only possible when white-collar workers have had their basic needs taken care of —food, clothing and shelter for instance. Without cooperation from the productive sector workers, there would be no “intellectual property” producers. That is one of the most contemporary implications of the labor theory of value. The proletariat is always the revolutionary class bringing new things to the world. Whether it is the struggle for the environment or anti-HIV drugs, the proletariat has a new way forward.

## On Science, Spirituality, Existentialism, Sectarianism and Leadership

by MC5

April 25, 2001

Approved unanimously at the 2001 MIM Congress

MIM puts forward the following theses of a purely factual or scientific nature:

1. The revolution proceeds by making scientific decisions and applying them, but the more scientific decisions are made, the more certain must we be that we will alienate someone. For example, to start with, by saying that God did not create the world and that we evolved from apes, 30% of the public in the United States already disagrees. With every scientific decision we make and advance, we lose a portion of popular support in imperialist countries especially.

2. The desire for revolution is distributed unevenly around the globe.

3. The desire necessary to achieve a goal is lower the easier achieving that goal is made by scientific advance.

4. At least a minority of society will always volunteer for self-sacrificing jobs. Even the imperialist military has many high-minded people thinking of their jobs in this light.

5. Scientific knowledge and the drive to apply it is unevenly distributed among the people.

If any of the above theses are wrong, it is likely that at least part of the strategic orientation adopted by MIM is wrong.

### Strategic orientations

1. The goal of the party in the imperialist countries despite the fact that science inevitably becomes a minority matter is to promote science, without concern for short-run popularity. Popularity

when truly behind enemy lines often stems from taking up enemy political lines. Popularity gains only count positively when they serve the international proletariat. Becoming more popular by compromising with creationism or its analogous equivalents does not interest MIM.

2. Sectarianism is not struggle for principles or scientific dispute. Sectarianism is retreating from a class struggle or breaking of unity in action on account of feelings arising out of bitter scientific dispute.

3. Opportunism can be defined as watering down or rejecting science to avoid alienating supporters to be won on relaxed, pre-scientific or random grounds. Although some matters are less important than others, which is why MIM specifies “principal contradictions,” the notion of “principal contradiction” does not justify opportunism. The more we successfully fight sectarianism as defined above, the more we can afford to put forward science in all matters, not just the principal contradiction. The more people we train to take up the scientific method across-the-board, the better off we will be in resolving the principal contradiction.

4. The fact that we lose imperialist country support for our scientific stands does not mean we do not make them. It only means that when the masses agree with the urgency of certain central scientific analyses of ours, they will ignore the less important and less popular ones and proceed with Maoist revolution. By focussing on key links and applying the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the people can do the most to advance. The reason is that some scientific questions involve matters more principal than others and their resolution does more to drive society forward.

5. The desire to be relaxed or agnostic is common among the people. Many do not understand the militance that we apply to questions and are ready like Bart of the Simpson cartoon show to tell MIM: “don’t have a cow!” when it comes to any subject matter. In contrast, we believe there are many subjects to have a cow over and many more not to as a matter of making having a cow stand out more.

Relaxation of scientific drive is not what is going to propel the proletariat over the imperialists. A casual relativist stance on politics, spirituality or existentialism benefits imperialism by failing to truly unite the people against imperialism, instead producing cross-canceling actions of various individuals who then cannot overthrow imperialism because of their individualism. People who are doing drugs, wearing rose-colored glasses, taking up religion or otherwise suffering impaired vision will not be able to see the enemy when we have a decisive chance to attack and defeat it.

6. The leadership principle is only to accept as leaders in the most important positions those people who are willing to accept the supreme penalty for blood crimes or failures. We reject all kinds of careerism and opportunism in the picking of leaders. We do not want to vote for leaders who have no threshold to cross and are free to use every manipulative and posturing trick to obtain our support. Such happens in questions of leadership in bourgeois parliamentary democratic society. Viewing a leadership position in a government or corporation as one more perk in life is just as corrupt as putting people below profit directly for monetary reasons.

Stalin and Mao set high bars for leaders to cross to become leaders. The masses played a large role in determining how high those bars should be. If the bar is set too low, and the atmosphere in the communist party is too relaxed, it will appear that elections are necessary and that flipping a coin (or randomly choosing counting

rules and technologies as in Florida) could actually be necessary to determine who is leader. Alternatively, campaigners may feel a need to kiss babies, shake hands with thousands of people, wear good make-up in televised debates and even pay voters to vote in some circumstances. All of these problems with selecting political leaders disappear the moment the bar is raised. Hence, Lenin said “better fewer, but better.” The problem should be that the masses need to clamor for and groom leaders they really want, not to choose amongst leaders with nothing to offer but Linda Tripp.

If the persyn in charge of producing tires for the country’s cars can lose his or her life for being in charge of tires and doing what Firestone leaders did to kill over 300 people with faulty tires they knew about or should have known about, we will find that many people are unwilling to be in charge of tires. We will find a shortage of leaders and we will not have to have meaningless parliamentary elections that distinguish between whose side slept with Monica Lewinsky and whose did not. Nor will we have to choose between engineers with 10 years of experience and people with 2 MBAs for the position of leader. In other words, phony credentialism will also decrease by raising the leadership principle and applying it.

We believe we can even become somewhat popular for saying that we want leaders who rise above a certain threshold, not elections in most cases. Many people are sickened by politics as it exists. Elections should be reserved only for those leisure-time matters which really cannot result in accidental or criminal deaths. For matters which unfortunately still exist today that involve life-and-death questions, we insist that our leaders be both scientifically prepared and self-sacrificing.

The prestige of any Maoist internationalist party under the dictatorship of the proletariat should stem both from its willingness to overcome the problems of the old society and to move forward on life-and-death questions under socialism, upon possible penalty of imprisonment or death. The Maoist internationalist party will include those people who in old society would have volunteered for police, fire and military duties out of a sense of self-sacrifice (a minority, but an existing minority nonetheless). Any other conception means that state power attracts careerists like a fire-hydrant attracts dogs.

The Maoist internationalist party of any nation does not see itself as an organization that will offer voters better beer and pizza, superior television wrestling entertainment as in the governor of Minnesota Jesse Ventura (or nude, full-body contact as in the case of one stripper who won in Italian parliamentary elections). We see ourselves as a problem-solving organization that the masses of the world may come to choose to rule or partially rule the imperialist countries in conjunction with other Maoist internationalist parties. The masses have to have already decided that they need a scientific organization dedicated to applying science to the solution of hunger, homelessness, health, environment, patriarchy and war problems.

7. This brings us to the question of existentialism or spirituality of classes and individuals. As a class, the Third World proletariat is already subjectively motivated to end war, hunger, homelessness etc. There is no need to delve profoundly into its psyche, its spirituality or existentialism. In fact, the existential philosophical endeavors of the Third World proletariat will tend on average toward Marxism more than capitalism. Without confidence in this fact, and if this fact were not true, MIM would be wrong.



In the imperialist countries, the appeal of Maoism does not stem from its better electoral tactics—finer wine, wimmin or song as many would suggest that we take up. Nor can Maoism merge with either spirituality or existentialism and come out on top in the imperialist countries. The reason for this is that the subjective element in the imperialist countries is on average materially rooted in parasitism. Awakening of existentialism, Satanism or spirituality in the imperialist countries leads to wallowing or enhanced mystical parasitism ripe for fascist harvest.

MIM is confident that there exists a group of people with the subjective motivations to bring an end to imperialism. MIM does not find any need to waste time or resources wallowing in individual psychiatric, spiritual or existential questions—except for very short answers to very small sets of questions as discussed here, the smaller the set of questions the better. 99% of MIM is science that makes resolution of imperialist-caused problems easier. Only 1% is that initial “why” or “existential” question of why to act.

A student goes to medical school after deciding to be a doctor. Once in school, most of his or her time is dedicated to learning the art and science of medicine. His or her time is not mostly dedicated to wondering whether he or she should be a medical student to begin with. Likewise, the people only choose the Maoist internationalist party after deciding to take care of certain problems. The doctor advertises solutions to AIDS and a host of other diseases. Likewise, the Maoist internationalist party advertises itself, but if the global patient does not want to be cured of imperialism, Maoist internationalist parties will not lead dictatorship of the proletariat.

The existential question needing resolution in the imperialist countries can be very brief, only one question. It could be that reducing premature deaths is the only “value” choice someone needs to make to become Maoist. The rest is science. Those who oppose life itself might as well get about dying, and thus there is nothing very complicated about this overly profound or simple idea.

People seeking to open endless “values” questions in imperialist countries will only awaken fascism. The United States has no lack of Christian preachers pretending to have solutions to social problems through their preaching. The increase in televised preaching (televangelism) does not stop murder, abortion, homelessness or any other problem. People who wallow and get no where become frustrated and go for fascism. In addition, our vulnerability to such fascism increases only the more we fail to adopt the leadership principle ourselves and the more the masses see no alternative to bourgeois democracy’s leadership style other than fascism. That is why MIM seeks to cut back on the existential questions in the imperialist countries and take up scientific leadership questions instead.

MIM talks about ideology mostly as a matter of understanding social groups that go about their business. It is not a case that the MIM platform is a long list of values choices. Rather it is a long list of actions that go together in a connected way—connected by the power of the international proletariat and the inevitable collapse of imperialism.

To the reactionaries who question our goals, we say to please set about dying. Eat your unregulated meat bought from profiteers; live in zones where arms and drugs traders make their money; take drugs from pharmaceutical companies unregulated and unhampered by proletarian class struggle. “Live free” as New Hampshire says and die quickly of syphilis, because you took phony penicillin

manufactured for profit dispensed by an unregulated medical doctor “free” to practice his or her individualist form of medicine. Pray to your gods and condemn us humyns living here and now as inadequate, but go to meet your more perfect gods sooner.

We say the same to other idealists who have no praise for any movement here on earth, whether their idealism is absolute humyn-rights or any other idea that justifies criticizing all that live on this earth in the name of the Idea. Such idealists are really misanthropes, looking everywhere and finding no humyn movement worth extending, deepening and improving. Yes, we say to you idealists above us with your “ends don’t justify the means” ideas—go to your Maker; we are no doubt inferior to Him. Go to Him quickly and leave us here living “the weakness of the flesh.” We don’t have time to wallow in your spiritual, existential and religious quests. We are busy saving the living.

## Platform of the Maoist Internationalist Movement

*The Maoist Internationalist Movement Program, adopted in 1995, talks about theoretical and strategic goals. The MIM platform is for specific demands including reforms in the capitalist system.*

### Preamble

MIM has separated itself from the politics of the labor aristocracy and has already criticized all those who speak in the name of Marxism for parasite classes. Now it is necessary to gain as much sympathy as possible for communism without giving into parasitic demands of the enemy classes of imperialism. We draw the attention of the whole world to our platform, because not everything the Maoists will do in power will be so bad for the middle-classes of imperialism. The sooner those middle-classes admit their parasitism, the more successful we will be in implementing our platform.

MIM encourages anyone who wishes to work on this platform, to flesh it out in details. We wish that people show in terms of cause and effect how our platform is good for the people and to write more planks for approval in future congresses. Hence, this platform shall be approved for now but still be considered a work in progress.

### Minimum demands

*Demands we think are possible within capitalism.*

The following planks to be enforced through the GATT and other international bodies of imperialism.

1. An international minimum wage.
2. 40 hour work week.

3. International child labor standards.
4. An international welfare system for food, clothing and basic medicines as human rights, funded by an endowment paid for by taxes on the imperialist countries.

The following to be enforced by international banking authorities.

1. Elimination of international currency exchange rate fixing by governments.
2. Tying of exchange rates to a standard basket of goods.

## Impossible demands (for now) that are objectively revolutionary

*Demands we would like to see fulfilled under capitalism but will not.*

1. An end to U.S., British, French, German, Japanese, Israeli, Belgian, Swiss etc.—all imperialist military and economic “aid” and training in the Third World.
2. Removal of all imperialist country troops from the Third World and Eastern Europe.
3. Opening of all borders for immigration and labor

## Dictatorship of the proletariat platform planks

*What we will do when we seize power.*

1. A proletarian United Nations to run the former imperialist countries, a dictatorship of the oppressed nation proletariat over imperialism.
2. Opening of imperialist country borders to immigration and labor.
3. Abolish the American prison system and replace it with a system guided by proletarian principles, including tribunals to re-evaluate convictions by the American injustice system.\*

### Dictatorship of the proletariat platform planks with appeal to both the proletariat and middle-classes of imperialism

1. Primary, secondary and college education free to the whole world.
2. Mandating of production techniques that are the least polluting, putting unemployed to work on replacing existing polluting techniques and assets.
3. Free health insurance for the world.
4. An end to military production and research for profit.
5. Banning of pornography for profit.
6. Comparable worth pay for women and oppressed nationalities.
7. Free day care.
8. Mandatory sex education by age 11.
9. Forced restitution by criminals to their victims and society.
10. Free and expanded public transport.
11. Jobs for all.
12. No limits or restrictions on volunteer political activism that does not put property above survival rights.

\* principles guiding imprisonment under the dictatorship of the proletariat: Those who need confinement and physical restraint to keep from damaging the dictatorship of the proletariat with violence, sabotage or espionage will be imprisoned. This includes those

who commit anti-social violent acts against the people. Those who act out against the dictatorship of the proletariat without violence will be sent to re-education camp. Community involvement in both deciding who should be sent to re-education camp and re-education itself will realize in practice the American Constitution’s ideal of “a trial by one’s peers.”

MIM upholds Mao’s support for the death penalty under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat: “Whereas those whose crimes do not deserve the death penalty shall be sentenced to life imprisonment or various prison terms or put under public supervision and surveillance, with respect to all counter-revolutionaries deserving capital punishment execution shall be confined to those who owe blood debts, or who have committed other major crimes which evoke public indignation, such as frequent rape or the plundering of large amounts of property, or who have done extremely serious harm to the national interest, while the policy towards the rest shall be one of passing the death sentence, granting a two-year reprieve and subjecting them to forced labour during this period to see how they behave.” Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume 5, p.54.

# Party issues Self-criticism Regarding Agitational work, RAIL

by MC5

*Approved unanimously at the 2001 MIM Congress*

A review of recent events and struggles has led the party to think over what has been happening and issue some new directives for the party’s agitational work and its relationship to the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist League (RAIL). To do so involves a self-criticism of MIM’s previous agitational practice and relationship to RAIL.

Two problems in particular sum up the need for this document. The main thing is that MIM has often over the past few years veered into publicity for timeless events unconnected to generating people’s movements in connection to partial demands that can be won under capitalism. The second thing is the purge of a recent party liaison to RAIL.

MIM has always opposed the “Spark” model of organizing, which is so named after a Trotskyist group. This organization appeared to us to run the same historical lectures every year and do a good job publicizing them, but because the events were historical and involved what are now timeless questions, the organization came off as dogmatic and sectarian. Examples would be “Europe in 1848” as a lecture. We don’t know if Spark did anything else, because we are not too interested in Trotskyism, but what we call the “Spark model” is clear enough just the same.

Today, MIM is coming off in the same fashion while tarnishing

both MIM's and RAIL's name to do so, something Spark would not do, because events were in its own name. Events which advertise only films concerning historical events are disproportionate in MIM's work. Sometimes events get organized in the name of RAIL that address only such broad topics as "education."

### **New rules of agitation**

All agitation has in common its focus on current demands, whether already existing amongst the masses or initiated for the first time by the party.

1) The party branch cannot hold more than one public event every three months unless the event is party agitation defined below. Hence, an event on Stalin cannot be followed by an event on the Cultural Revolution within three months in a locale unless they are connected to a current demand which is the focus. Theory magazines must be sold at agitational events and such timeless infrastructure is what separates Leninist agitation from anarchist agitation, but agitation is not education on timeless topics. People who cannot separate theory and agitation work must be mercilessly removed from leadership roles in agitation. MIM does not produce theory magazines and timeless web pages because agitation is unnecessary.

2) RAIL continues to have its choice of how much agitation and how much timeless work it does, but MIM will not encourage RAIL to run timeless events and even less so will MIM use the RAIL name to run timeless events.

3) To qualify as an agitation event, an event must meet at least one of the three criteria listed below. The operational definition of agitation will be as follows until we are a stronger organization.

a) Petition drive or letter-writing. This excludes writing to allies such as prisoners, but includes letters to newspapers explaining the campaign in the local language necessary for that newspaper. Branches can still call semi-public organizational meetings (to write to prisoners for example) or invite the masses to stay on after agitational events to help with such tasks, but organizational tasks cannot dominate agitational events or the publicity for them (see 4 below).

b) Talk, presentation or film directly about a current petition drive or letter-writing campaign. When we say "about a current petition drive," we mean "currently about" (see 4 below).

c) Talk or film organized on a current event for which at least five non-MIM affiliated mass organizations were contacted and struggled with to co-sponsor the event. If no non-affiliated mass organization co-sponsors the event, the event loses its status as agitation. We recommend that agitators know the mind frames of mass organizations and go prepared to win them over to signing on to a MIM initiated event.

In the event of failure to qualify as agitation under the above rules, the party may hold its event if it fits under the three month rule or it may cancel the event.

4) All publicity distributed by MIM will subordinate timeless resources and organizational tasks to agitation. "Free Mumia" is perfectly fine to campaign for, but a poster titled "History of the Black Panthers" will not be acceptable. A film about the history of the Black Panthers may only be shown AFTER a talk concerning a current movement concerning something in connection to the Black Panthers. The main event will be to collect signatures for Mumia or stop censorship in XYZ prison and publicity will clearly subordinate timeless resources accordingly, as something of secondary

mention, in the fine print.

5) The party shall have no limit to the amount of agitation it does in its own name, if that agitation is such that it is a very lucky combination of things concerning our cardinal principles. For example, the party may lead agitation to demand that Harvard University Press retract its erroneous mortality figures concerning Stalin and Mao in ITAL The Black Book of Communism. END Such involves a struggle of the current time period that has to be initiated and led and which obviously affects our cardinal principles.

6) One difference between the party and RAIL is that party members should be able to detonate and understand why it is necessary to detonate a movement on any subject. Agitation should often be principal over science production. Certainly we already know scientifically that imperialism causes world war and starvation. That should be enough to agitate about right there.

7) We ask all people to help us to implement the above thinking and to review with us our recent successes and failures with regard to these principles. Not all MIM work has failed to be agitational, so it is important not to exaggerate self-criticisms or criticisms. We ask the RAIL branches to write up reviews of what the party has suggested to RAIL and to what extent the party used the RAIL name for timeless events — for publication in MIM Notes.

### **Opportunism and small-circle thinking**

Much of the weakness in MIM's agitational work and its relationship to RAIL comes from opportunism. It became a fad to hold historical films, such as "Eyes on the Prize" or films on the CIA because certain films attracted good crowds numerically speaking.

When an event fails to draw a crowd for agitation, the reason is that leadership did not agitate correctly prior to holding the event. Agitation means grabbing a hold of people and talking to them verbally, with petition or literature in hand. Agitation is not putting up posters for timeless events; although that is also necessary.

Party members who cannot face their failures as agitators like to put up posters for timeless events and call themselves "RAIL." Failure means having to face the people and learn that they don't like what you have to say. The ideological wimps among us will never overcome the fear of being rejected by the masses and hence they can never lead.

If the people do not turn out for an agitational event, they probably also did not sign the petitions in advance. The correct answer is to listen to the impact of one's own words in talking with the people. In all likelihood it means getting some sharp phrases on the tip of one's tongue and writing and rewriting agitational petitions and literature numerous times, after learning how to have the most impact through struggle and re-thinking. It does not require watering down. It requires knowing what is most life-and-death about what one is doing and getting that in to short phrases so as to be ready to talk to people as they go by. That is best accomplished by listening to the masses. Even in failure, there will be those common questions that the masses ask most frequently. To whatever extent possible, change your petitions and approaches to answer those questions or speak in such a way as to direct the masses toward pithy challenges.

Many people have innumerable excuses for why they cannot lead an effective campaign in their locale. We cannot listen to any of their excuses. People who have such excuses will not be allowed to lead and if they disagree we request their resignation from any liaison to RAIL and we also ask that they not sully the party name as

MCs.

Even a small minority in this country is capable of generating large-scale audiences for auditoriums, period. In actual fact, the problem MIM is having is not a lack of recruits. A steady stream of people volunteer to help. The problem we have is a question of quality of leadership — the level of skills and umph such that we can capitalize on the steady stream of people who do volunteer to work with us. If we cannot agitate, we have no choice but to learn how to do it. There is no other way to win but by improving. Failure to do so would certainly mean that the proletariat does not deserve to rule, and hence the world will end in imperialist barbarism. We have no choice but to submit our minds and maybe our bodies to the cauldron of class struggle and coming out stronger somehow.

There is nothing wrong with doing preparatory work over months and even years to lead to such large events, but the focus must be concrete demands that do not require complete scientific mastery of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. One difference between theory magazines and agitation is that in agitation, the same facts must be stated and re-stated over and over again until the people are familiar with them and the people who state them.

Unity comes in agitation and action. Substituting theory for agitation results in intellectualism and all kinds of vacillations. Only very rare people can achieve increasing unity principally on theoretical bases. Most people have to unite with us in demands.

The rules above will help us filter out those who are weak leaders. Weak leaders will recognize their weaknesses and seek to improve them. Those who are too weak and cannot agitate at all will not lead party events. They may still participate in PIRAO, study-group or MIM Supporters Group events until they get the umph to go back into agitation. What they must not do is leave a bad impression of RAIL or MIM.

### Lizard-thinking

Part of opportunism and small-circle thinking is the inability to understand the relationship of partial demands to the proletariat and its allies. A “partial” demand is one that might be solved under imperialism or that can obtain proletarian unity without being a communist. In the most “pure” agitational campaign — one directly led by the party — there may be people who want to correct the historical record regarding Stalin and Mao only for bourgeois academic reasons. Others may be appalled at the state of math teaching in the United States and France and sign up with the party drive for an erratum on the ITAL Black Book of Communism END only for that reason. That is all fine and good. Those are not our reasons for campaigning for an erratum, but they are plenty true and good enough for relative unity, so even in a party campaign, there is a basis of unity with non-party people.

RAIL is a concrete embodiment of the fact that a persyn does not have to be a party member to agree with the party at some level less than 100%. Even party members do not agree with the party 100% and individuals disagree with themselves as their views change or they forget them. Biologists talk about the unsophisticated brains of lizards, which may only be able to think “run forward” or “run backward” or “turn this way” or “turn that way.” People able only to think in yes/no terms cannot lead the RAIL. We need people who can think in percentages, as a minimum level of sophistication. As a whole slew of Harvard University Press writers and editors have proved, it is not easy to find people who have a mind for

percentages all the time. It’s ridiculous, but that is the state of affairs in the United States.

When the lizard would-be party leader sees the masses, he or she is pushing them to be party or nothing. Hence, these lizards tend to adopt the most superficial kinds of opportunism like calling an event a RAIL event instead of party event or tagging RAIL’s name on to a party event. This is a kind of unconscious recognition that the comrade has failed to unite people around partial demands, and so it is necessary to throw a bone to the masses by renaming a party event a RAIL event. That is small-circle thinking connected with lizard-thinking. Such people simply cannot think of any appealing reasons for the masses to unite with us, so they throw superficial bones out to the masses. Probably they need to listen to the masses more and figure out how their thinking relates to ours in regular patterns. Once one recognizes the patterns in the masses’ thinking, it becomes possible to unite with them. Recognizing those patterns is connected up with theory.

### False egalitarianism

Connected with lizard-thinking where everything is either 100% party or nothing at all is the idea of false egalitarianism. Many reason that since in principle anyone can be in the party, that everyone can be in the party now and should be. It’s an ultra-leftism that dilutes the party and destroys agitation. Agitation can only succeed where the pole of the proletariat is set up by the party and where the leadership recognizes bases for partial unity in percentage terms, not either/or terms.

False egalitarianism also says that all people are equal agitators in all the same situations. In fact, it is much easier for a student to stay up in a dorm all night struggling for students to sign up in a campaign, than for a middle-aged persyn to stay in that same dorm. Likewise, prisoners who see each other every day are better at organizing prisoners than outsiders are. There is a division of labor and the ultra-left idealists like to overlook that fact.

Similarly, this ultra-left thinking tries to turn all agitation into theory work. The ultra-left fails to recognize that respect for theory includes the theory of how to agitate and organize a united front. Agitation is not putting up timeless web pages or writing MT articles. Successes in those areas do not require liquidation of agitation work! Quite the contrary! Agitation feeds the demand for theory and theory improves agitation!

### Leadership question

Because leadership is very important, we must mention at least at a secondary level the purge of a recent RAIL leader. Somehow a womyn who did not believe in her own political effectiveness or that of the party became part of the central leadership of RAIL! Such a failure reflects poorly on the party, right up to the top, because MIM’s relationship to RAIL is pivotal.

The purged leader felt an ideological compulsion to agitate for a few months at an MC level but saw no effectiveness in her work. This is at best a model of Christianity, a question of pleasure and pain, where painful abstinence is considered virtue. This comrade became an MC because she saw it as her “duty,” her “cross to bear” for the international proletariat, not because she saw party work as the most effective work she could do to end starvation, war, etc. We have unity with many such progressive Christians, but we cannot allow them to call themselves upholders of Lenin’s scientific party principles; hence we had to purge someone we had relative

unity with. It is better to be a forthright anarchist than not to believe in one's own work in a Leninist party. We wish our former liaison to RAIL luck in her future endeavors.

MIM is not a virtue-production device. MIM does what is expedient for revolution. If doing what is expedient for revolution makes you feel good, then you have achieved the lucky status of complete ideological unity with science, such that there is no difference between science and ideology. Those of us in imperialist countries with Christian hangovers can not achieve this status. Perhaps no one does completely, but science must be predominant over subjective feelings produced by imperialism, wherever there is a gap. If we allow science 50% of the time and subjective feelings produced by imperialism 50% of the time, we oscillate in the manner of the petty-bourgeoisie. People who do not believe science can rise above our subjective states are welcome to be post-modernists or religious mystics, but they should not be calling themselves in agreement with MIM's cardinals. In fact, they consciously disagree.

### Honorary Comrades

MIM has created the role of Honorary Comrade (HC). Such comrades do not have to live the full democratic-centralism and commitment of one's life to the proletariat. We are still hopeful that HCs can exert a positive influence on the party itself by adhering to scientific principle.

We have many people in our circles who believe scientifically in what MIM is saying in terms of cardinal principles, but they would not put it above finding a girlfriend or boyfriend or a bourgeois career. Many HC level people have left the party upon grievous loss of a girlfriend/boyfriend or upon finding a really good boyfriend/girlfriend. Such people should not be considered beyond HC status. For this reason, MIM has a "Control Commission" to prevent promotion into the party MC status before it is due. In general there is nothing wrong with being RAIL, MSG, PIRAO or HC for life.

HCs should not initiate events in the name of the party. People who cannot "enjoy" the revolutionary movement to a sufficiently obsessive degree should not attempt to recruit to the party if they do not believe they are effective. Those HCs who do give recruiting a go should have a backup recruiter for their recruits approved by the Central Committee. We now have a new rule that each recruited person should have two recruiters, especially to make sure that recruiters are listening and explaining theoretical points that address the patterns in recruits' political thought.

### Implementation

1. We ask all RAIL people to review and write in to rail@mim.org.
2. We want all people being recruited to the party to have two recruiters, including at least one approved by the Central Committee for that purpose. There is nothing worse than to be recruited by a lackadaisical or theoretically backwards recruiter. No one should let that happen.
3. Party leaders should go before the masses at their next event and explain this criticism and self-criticism and also invite input. MIM apologizes here and now for any poor impression left with regard to agitation. We are not dogmatists. We pride ourselves on the work we put into the concrete details of agitation.
4. Above all we ask for the initiation of true campaigns of agitation! Good luck!

# Again on the Subject of the 'masses' in the Imperialist Countries

by MC5

April 19, 2001

Approved unanimously at the 2001 MIM Congress

Most calling themselves "Marxist" continue to misapply Marxism to today's conditions. There are opportunists changing the definition of "proletariat" and abandoning the labor theory of value—usually without explicitly saying so. There are also dogmatists who quote from Lenin more than 75 years ago in Russia on conditions in imperialist countries today, when Lenin himself never quoted someone from 75 years prior to him on conditions in Russia in his day.

One of the trickiest forms of opportunism and dogmatism stems from the concept of the "masses." Many opportunists use this word to turn Mao into a bourgeois democratic populist. Others use it to justify failing to analyze conditions of today, since the masses everywhere must be revolutionary and exploited forever, or so the dogmatist reasons, and so we do not even have to apply the definition of "masses" today.

In contrast, MIM has said that in the imperialist countries, the population cannot be the principal source of rational knowledge of proletarian politics. This should be obvious from the lack of socialist history or revolutionary class struggle in the imperialist countries. Nonetheless, MIM finds itself having to defend itself against those who do not know how carefully Marx, Lenin and Mao defined the words "proletariat" and "masses" and how they used them in their context. In particular, there are no timeless "tactics" that apply to the "masses" for all times and places. In this essay, we will distinguish between "population" and "masses."

It is not a mistake that a more "top-down" approach to rational knowledge is more necessary the higher the percentage of parasites in a population. That is only another way of saying that when behind enemy lines, we communists do not simply ape the enemy in all ways. We are not fish in the sea seeking to blend in with the enemy population when we are behind enemy lines.

Historically, in Mao's China, there were people who did have to work behind enemy lines, to fight the Japanese or Chiang Kai-shek. There were two main communist complaints about those people who worked behind enemy lines. First, of course, was that such people became so muted that they became indistinguishable from the enemy, the basic problem of working behind enemy lines. (See for example, Mao's 1944 essay, "Our Study and the Current Conditions") Secondly was that once victorious in revolution, the communists who worked behind enemy lines continued to use the same methods they used when behind enemy lines—excessive conspiracy, lack of reliance on the population and even a lack of outspokenness.

In explaining the Bolshevik differences with Menshevism, Lenin says that worker “masses” are only in the “thousands” in “One Step Forward, Two Steps Back.” In fact, Lenin says that in the beginning of the revolutionary movement, the reference point of the struggle in the use of the word “masses” is only a few thousand people! The following very long quote from a Comintern speech at the Third Congress addressing many imperialist country comrades mentions all the key issues:

“We must prepare for dictatorship, and this consists in combating such phrases and such amendments. (Laughter.) Throughout, our theses speak of the masses. But, comrades, we need to understand what is meant by masses. The German Communist Workers’ Party, the Left-wing comrades, misuse this word. But Comrade Terracini, too, and all those who have signed these amendments, do not know how the word “masses” should be read.

“I have been speaking too long as it is; hence I wish to say only a few words about the concept of ‘masses’. It is one that changes in accordance with the changes in the nature of the struggle. At the beginning of the struggle it took only a few thousand genuinely revolutionary workers to warrant talk of the masses. If the party succeeds in drawing into the struggle not only its own members, if it also succeeds in arousing non-party people, it is well on the way to winning the masses. During our revolutions there were instances when several thousand workers represented the masses. In the history of our movement, and of our struggle against the Mensheviks, you will find many examples where several thousand workers in a town were enough to give a clearly mass character to the movement. You have a mass when several thousand non-party workers, who usually live a philistine life and drag out a miserable existence, and who have never heard anything about politics, begin to act in a revolutionary way. If the movement spreads and intensifies, it gradually develops into a real revolution. We saw this in 1905 and 1917 during three revolutions, and you too will have to go through all this. When the revolution has been sufficiently prepared, the concept “masses” becomes different: several thousand workers no longer constitute the masses. This word begins to denote something else. The concept of “masses” undergoes a change so that it implies the majority, and not simply a majority of the workers alone, but the majority of all the exploited. Any other kind of interpretation is impermissible for a revolutionary, and any other sense of the word becomes incomprehensible. It is possible that even a small party, the British or American party, for example, after it has thoroughly studied the course of political development and become acquainted with the life and customs of the non party masses, will at a favourable moment evoke a revolutionary movement (Comrade Radek has pointed to the miners’ strike as a good example[135]). You will have a mass movement if such a party comes forward with its slogans at such a moment and succeeds in getting millions of workers to follow it. I would not altogether deny that a revolution can be started by a very small party and brought to a victorious conclusion. But one must have a knowledge of the methods by which the masses can be won over. For this thoroughgoing preparation of revolution is essential. But here you have comrades coming forward with the assertion that we should immediately give up

the demand for “big” masses.

“They must be challenged. Without thoroughgoing preparation you will not achieve victory in any country. Quite a small party is sufficient to lead the masses. At certain times there is no necessity for big organisations.

“But to win, we must have the sympathy of the masses. An absolute majority is not always essential; but what is essential to win and retain power is not only the majority of the working class — I use the term “working class” in its West-European sense, i.e., in the sense of the industrial proletariat — but also the majority of the working and exploited rural population. Have you thought about this?”

Historically as a concrete reference point, in 1894, Lenin was giving tactical respect to an enemy that had no army but commanded a few thousand readers and some libraries! Lenin said, “However, it should not be forgotten that these slanderers command all the material means for the most widespread propaganda of their slanders. They possess a magazine with a circulation of several thousand; they have reading-rooms and libraries at their disposal.” (“What the ‘Friends of the People’ Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats”)

Concretely, MIM is fortunate to have Lenin’s writings to know that MIM does indeed surpass Lenin at his earliest stages organizationally, while we too would have to give tactical respect to the type of enemy that faced Lenin in 1894. While Lenin in his day and MIP-Amerika both have large territories to cover, MIM today distributes articles in the five and six digits every month just on its web site alone. Lenin did not have this and his newspaper in the early 1890s was not physically superior to MIM’s in quantity; although we may certainly surmise that his literature gathered greater passion from the population, and perhaps more people handed his newspapers on than MIP-Amerika’s, thus meaning more readers per newspaper. Furthermore, MIM’s prison struggle and prison readership alone is reminiscent of Lenin’s reference point of a few thousand people in early stages of struggle. Hence, anyone comparing MIM with Lenin on the “masses” and finding MIM lacking just did not read Lenin very carefully.

Lenin remembered bitterly in his “Lecture on the 1905 Revolution,” the “reformists” who called him “sectarian” for having only a few hundred organizers and a few thousand people as a reference point. The Liberal leader Struve led the attack along these lines; yet today, people continue to attack MIM along the exact same lines. Lenin stood his ground and believed even such a small element constituted “revolutionary people.”

Even in 1915, two years before the revolution, Lenin says he only had 40,000 subscribers. He made a point of saying that the tzar could repress 5 or 10 times that number and still the 40,000 would not be annihilated in influence. (“What has been revealed by the trial of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Duma Group”)

MIM points to Lenin’s precise conception of masses to refute those trying to pull us in a bourgeois populist direction about what our real political roots are and how science is actually applied. It goes without saying that a party of millions can address hundreds of millions of people, but at earlier stages of revolutionary development the word “masses” can be demagoguery, a kind of god that supports nihilism or reformism.

Somehow, with the international proletariat’s luck in drawing enemies in imperialist countries, the Trotskyists and crypto-

Trotskyists such as Avakian criticizing us as “Lin Biaoists” manage to foul up the word “masses” from another angle, by denigrating the exploited and oppressed masses of the Third World. Against these Trotskyists, the term “masses” must be defended. On the other hand, within the imperialist countries we get the social-democrats and other left-wing elements of parasitism trying to have us worship the enemy population as “masses.” Both ultra-purist Trotskyists and reformist left-wing elements of parasitism use the term “masses” only to denigrate the Third World oppressed and exploited while glorifying the labor aristocracy.

Mensheviks have made too much of Lenin’s and Stalin’s relative distrust of the population compared with Mao’s. Lenin said in “What Is To Be Done?” that Russia was a “politically enslaved state, in which nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand of the population are corrupted to the marrow of their bones by political subservience.” For this reason, he thought it might be defensible to have a communist party which commanded loyalty and obedience to itself instead of the state. Thus, some Mensheviks think that for Lenin to say what he did about the labor aristocracy is not surprising, while Mao was more friendly to the “masses,” which includes the labor aristocracy by this line of Menshevik reasoning.

Yet, we must remember that Lenin lived in a semi-imperialist country, one that had “Great Power” status at the time Lenin lived. Mao lived in a country that once had “Great Power” status but was in fact super-exploited and oppressed. Hence, we can say Mao was correct to have more reliance on the population of China than we have on the population of the United States or Lenin had in Russia’s population.

This is to leave aside the fact that Mao was careful in defining the word “masses.” When he says “mass line,” it is not an excuse for spontaneity or bourgeois democratic prejudice. Mao’s “mass line” is universally correct, but only if it is universally correctly defined and applied.

Here in the imperialist countries we often fail from step one—defining friends and enemies based on the appropriation of surplus-labor, which is the connection between Marx’s *Das Kapital* and the political theories of Lenin and Mao. Political theorizing and strategizing in a void without Marx’s labor theory of value is rank opportunism, creating a bourgeois political philosophy of a pre-scientific sort, whether or not it is in the guise of Marxism. There is no meaning to political steering or tactics without the labor theory of value, so any discussion of “ultraleft” or “right opportunism” is completely sterile without an understanding of concrete conditions first. There is nothing permanently politically ultraleft or right opportunist without first defining classes and hence friends and enemies.

Mao himself defined the classes in Chinese society, and specifically Chinese society, in order to define “friend” and “enemy.” In his “Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society” in 1926, Mao talks about many things that are specific to China and even more things that are specific only to semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries. He did not talk about all masses in all countries being the same at all times.

Even in the essay “On New Democracy,” which is not relevant for imperialist country oppressor nations, Mao said, “No sooner had the strength of the proletariat and of the peasant and other petty bourgeois masses brought the revolution of 1927 to victory than the capitalist class, headed by the big bourgeoisie, kicked the masses aside, seized the fruits of the revolution, formed a counter-revolu-

tionary alliance with imperialism and the feudal forces, and strained themselves to the limit in a war of ‘Communist suppression’ for ten years.” Here, Mao contrasted the masses and the enemy. Most references to the “masses” by Lenin, Stalin and Mao speak of “exploited,” “toiling,” “working” or “oppressed” masses—not masses that include substantial enemy sections.

During the Cultural Revolution in China, the “Little Red Book” said the following: “The broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers and the broad ranks of the revolutionary cadres and the intellectuals should really master Mao Tse-tung’s thought.” Again, we do not hear the term “masses” used to refer to enemies.

In another context, in his essay, “Speeches at a National Party Conference” in 1955, Mao said, “We often say that we should not become conceited because we have done well in our work and that we comrades should remain modest and learn from the advanced countries, from the masses and from each other so as to make fewer mistakes.” Again, as MIM has always said, there is a distinction to be drawn here. Mao did not lump “the advanced countries” with “masses” here. Let’s also keep in mind he could have said, “learn from the masses of the advanced countries” and he did not. It’s not so simple. There are things to learn from enemies, but we do not refer to it as part of the “mass line,” with “from the masses” and “to the masses.”

In truth, if once in a while, “masses” referred to people that included enemies it would not be so bad—if the enemy component of “masses” is the minority. Such was the case in times during the war against Japan led by Mao. Both Mao and Chiang Kai-shek spoke of the “entire nation” opposing Japan—and for a decisive period of time the conflict with Japanese imperialism was the principal contradiction for the Chinese Revolution. Yet, contrary to the image some would like to foist concerning Mao, Mao was even more precise than just counting a few enemies as “masses.”

In “Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country?” Mao said in 1963 what he would later say about the USSR. Some people do not realize that Mao never counted the “labor aristocracy” as anything but enemy: “It shows us that not only is it possible for a working-class party to fall under the control of a labour aristocracy, degenerate into a bourgeois party and become a flunkey of imperialism before it seizes power.” Furthermore, Mao said, “Old-line revisionism arose as a result of the imperialist policy of buying over and fostering a labour aristocracy. Modern revisionism has arisen in the same way. Sparing no cost, imperialism has now extended the scope of its operations and is buying over leading groups in socialist countries and pursues through them its desired policy of ‘peaceful evolution.’” Hence, Mao always said the question of labor aristocracy is linked to the question of the restoration of capitalism. For a supposed Maoist to ignore the “labor aristocracy” of the imperialist countries is revisionism. For people to talk about upholding the Cultural Revolution and opposing Soviet revisionism without opposing the labor aristocracy as enemy is just pure hogwash.

In this regard, we must note the revisionist efforts of many to smuggle the labor aristocracy into the “masses,” and then the “mass line,” as an excuse for tailing parasitic demands by the imperialist country parasites. MIM follows the “mass line,” but the population does not get to define whether or not it is “masses” or not. MIM uses the definition of “proletariat” and “masses” laid down since Marx and Lenin. Belonging to the “masses” or the “proletariat” is not a question of self-identification. We do not mean conditions are the same as in the days of Marx and Lenin, but it does mean we

have no reason to change the very definition of these words, since capitalism and semi-feudalism continue to dominate the world. People who believe MIM is wrong are free to argue that the proletariat of 2001 is less relevant than in 1901, but our critics should not be allowed to change the definition of proletariat and “masses” to include a majority of enemies.



## *What is militarism?*

Militarism is war-mongering or the advocacy of war or actual carrying out of war or its preparations.

While true pacifists condemn all violence as equally repugnant, we Maoists do not consider self-defense or the violence of oppressed nations against imperialism to be militarism. Militarism is mostly caused by imperialism at this time. Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism—seen in countries like the United States, England and France.

Under capitalism, capitalists often profit from war or its preparations. Yet, it is the proletariat that does the dying in the wars. The proletariat wants a system in which people do not have self-interest on the side of war-profiteering or war for imperialism.

Militarism is one of the most important reasons to overthrow capitalism. It even infects oppressed nations and causes them to fight each other.

It is important not to let capitalists risk our lives in their ideas about war and peace or the environment. They have already had two world wars admitted by themselves in the last 100 years and they are conducting a third right now against the Third World.

Even a one percent annual chance of nuclear war destruction caused by capitalist aggressiveness or “greed” as the people call it should not be tolerated by the proletariat. After playing Russian Roulette (in which the bullet chamber is different each time and not related at all to the one that came up in previous spins) with 100 chambers and one bullet, the chance of survival is only 60.5% after 50 turns. In other words, a seemingly small one percent annual chance of world war means eventual doom. After 100 years or turns of Russian Roulette, the chances of survival are only 36.6%. After 200 years, survival has only a 13.4% chance.



# Resolution on international Organizing situation and the Subjective forces for progress

*Approved at the 2000 MIM Congress*

Determined to drive the humyn species to utter ruin by driving Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to a premature death reformists, populists, dogmatists, social-democrats and a majority of those calling themselves Marxist in the imperialist countries continue to cover up the truth of imperialist parasitism and the principal contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism.

For this reason, MIM continues to stand aside from all organizational initiatives aimed at a false unity of communists or united front activities. One such recent initiative refers to “workers” and “unions” without reference to whether they are from imperialist countries or oppressed nations. Indeed, the initiative in question fails to mention the labor aristocracy and sidesteps the quantitative and qualitative nature of imperialist parasitism.

Other initiatives accept as legitimate representatives of Maoism those imperialist country organizations that do not recognize the extent of parasitism in their own countries. These phony Maoists of the imperialist countries go so far as to say a majority of their peoples are still exploited and not a beneficiary of superprofits.

The shame that these forces bring to scientific Marxism is to such an extent that we believe Karl Marx and V.I. Lenin would rather be completely forgotten than associated with them. It would be easier for communism to arise from a void than the pollution of what calls itself Marxism-Leninism or Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the imperialist countries.

The chasm between the proletarian line and the old-fashioned revisionists is such that it would be much better for Maoism to be dead and buried rather than to serve as a rotting corpse for imperialist and revisionist vultures to feed on. With a decent burial, any corpse can eventually give rise to fragrant flowers.

For this reason, MIM continues to adopt Lenin’s unflinching stance against imperialist country revisionism and its echoes in the semi-imperialist and oppressed nations.

## Repudiate sub-reformism; study lifestyle scientifically

*Approved at the 1999 Party Congress: Session II*

*by MCS*

*February 24, 1999*

### I. The LRS and the “Gang of Four”

In the July, 1979 publication of the now defunct organization League of Revolutionary Struggle(LRS) which gave rise to the revisionist Freedom Road Socialist Organization(FRSO), there is an article upholding Deng Xiaoping revisionism called “China Is Vigorously Building Socialism.” The publication says that the “Gang of Four” went too far in attacking bourgeois right—the right to distribution according to work—and went too far toward communism. However, the way that the article put this attack into effect was as follows: “The ‘gang of four’ opposed fully implementing the principle ‘to each according to one’s work’ and attacked workers who worked hard for socialism as backward.”(1)

This oversimplification of the problem of socialist transition toward communism is made to the point of caricature, as if the “Gang of Four” went about attacking workers instead of the policies of the central leaders they disagreed with. With such reasoning communism itself will be an attack on workers who work hard, because by definition, communism will not be “to each according to his work,” but “to each according to his need” as Marx said.

The article continues “In those areas where the gang held influence, socialist construction was seriously disrupted. In many factories workers stopped working altogether. These workers, however, continued to receive full pay whether or not they worked. In some areas this went on for several years.

“What did this mean? It meant of course that socialist production suffered for the entire country. It meant that the burden on the workers who continued to labor became greater— objectively some workers lived off the labor of those workers and peasants who did work hard for socialism.”(1)

Of course, anyone who reads Peking Review or any other Chinese publication from the time that the “Gang of Four” were in charge

(1966 to 1976) can see that the above is a lie or oversimplification of the class struggle. The articles are full of calls for hard work and producing more for the state. If production did not increase or work stopped it must have been on account of those sabotaging it and running contrary to the stated line. When such enemies attacked, the workers may have had to stop production as well just to deal with them. In 1976 it was none other than Deng Xiaoping's supporters who staged the counterrevolutionary Tiananmen incident. Throughout the Cultural Revolution, conniving rightists and sub-reformist ultraleftists did everything to distract attention from the basics of the mode of production.

Not surprisingly, given their brief and caricatured treatment of the issues, the reasons the LRS gave for opposing the "Gang of Four" are exceedingly superficial. We will provide the whole argument they gave in their section "True nature of the 'gang of four'" right here. We will letter each paragraph for study purposes.

A. "It is very important to understand that the gang's policies were leading to the restoration of capitalism in China. Their policies were weakening socialism and encouraging the development of backward and capitalist ideas. The gang themselves were bourgeois elements.

B. "What makes this hard for some people outside of China to grasp is that the gang built up its reputation supposedly opposing capitalist restoration. But their talk was only a cover for their own attempts to get top power in the Party and country. We can't look at just what they proclaimed about themselves; we must examine their actual practice and effect on society.

C. "The gang accused many veteran Party leaders of supposedly being capitalist-roaders. This was very similar to Trotsky's attacks on the old Bolsheviks during the time that Lenin was near death. The purpose of these attacks was the same in both cases: to discredit leaders who had made genuine contributions to revolution and replace them with new counter-revolutionary 'leaders.'

D. "The lifestyle and behavior of the gang and their followers show their hypocrisy about wanting to restrict privileges and having more equality. The gang themselves lived extravagant lifestyles—this was revealed ironically by Jiang Qing (Chiang Ching) herself to an American author who wrote a biography about her. The gang's followers also live such a life. There is a very popular play in China today called *ITALICS Where Silence Reigned*, *ITALICS END* which shows how the gang and its followers attacked the veteran communists in an unprincipled way just to gain power, position and comfort.

E. "A key figure in this play is a high official who gained many privileges and material advantages because of his unscrupulous attacks on other communists during the Cultural Revolution. He is shown to be an out and out careerist. The play is very popular in China because it speaks to how many people in China actually feel about the gang—that all the gang's noise about combatting capitalism was nothing more than 'thief crying stop thief.'

F. "Contrary to the bourgeois media's presentation of the gang as 'austere proletarians who represented the revolutionary left' or even 'over enthusiastic, but well intentioned ultraleftists,' the 'gang of four' were really self-seekers and capitalist elements who used Marxist words and some 'ultraleft' thinking to cover their own personal ambitions.

G. "A good example of the type of reactionaries promoted by the gang is an opportunist called Wen Sung-ho. In China they say he personifies the gang's essence. His career illustrates what is called

the new bourgeois elements that appear under socialism, and also what is meant by the gang's feudal fascism.

H. "Before the Cultural Revolution, Wen worked in a Hangchow silk factory. He was not respected much by the other workers, for he was known as a pleasure seeker, paying little attention to Marxism-Leninism and work. He had been criticized for his attitude and behavior during the socialist education movement in the early 1960's.

I. "With the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution, Wen suddenly became very active and incited factionalism and disruption at the factory. He carried out Lin Biao and the 'gang of four's' line of 'overthrowing all' and attacked the veteran cadre. Soon afterwards he began to meet personally with Yao Wenyuan (Yao Wen Yuen) and Wang Hongwen (Wang Hung Wen), two of the 'gang of four.' With their backing, Wen rose up rapidly, first becoming a director at this factory and then even a member of the Standing Committee of the Provincial government. He also was admitted into the Party.

J. "The masses of workers at Wen's plant strongly opposed he getting these posts. Ninety-five percent of the workers there, knowing his behavior, openly expressed their opposition to his Party membership. But the gang promoted him over these mass protestations. In 1974, Wang Hongwen got Wen to be a delegate to the 10th Party Congress, even though 550 out of the 581 Party members of the factory signed a letter opposing Wen's delegate status. But the gang disregarded the democratic centralism of the Party and the masses.

K. "With his new power, Wen lorded over the workers. He persecuted the veteran cadre and reorganized the local militia into his personal shock force which he used to terrorize the workers. Wen retaliated against many of the workers who had previously opposed him—he had some workers beaten up right on the line, while he had others arrested in their homes in the dead of night, imprisoned and beaten for months.

L. "Wen used workers' funds for his own pleasure, squandered money on banquets, appropriated five cars for himself and even converted a workers' sanatorium for his own personal use. He even had people carry him in a sedan chair once when he visited a scenic spot.

M. "Finally in early 1975, Chairman Mao himself went to Hangchow and pointed out that Wen was a bad element. The Party soon sent Vice-Premier Ji Dengku (Chi Teng-kuei) to straighten out the situation in the province which culminated in Wen's arrest in late 1975.

N. "This struggle was conducted *ITALICS* before *END ITALICS* the gang itself fell in late 1976, and is an example of the masses fierce struggle against the gang and its followers." (2) There are so many things wrong with this quote, let's go over it point by point.

Paragraph "A" is correct to ask how capitalist restoration occurred in China.. If the LRS wants to prove its point within Maoism it needs to prove what it says in paragraph "A." However, already it is in trouble, because Deng Xiaoping disallowed the concept of "bourgeoisie in the party" and discussions in China are no longer allowed to take the form that the LRS used in paragraph "A." They were already passe in China by the time LRS published its article.

Paragraph "B" should be read as the beginning of a slide into Christian-style sub-reformism. Clearly what the LRS means by "practice" is one's personal lifestyle.

Paragraph "C" is obviously ridiculous. Stalin also attacked and had shot plenty of "Old Bolsheviks"—Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin

and Trotsky himself. The question is not whether they “had made genuine contributions” as LRS itself says. The question was whether or not they were still making contributions. The answer to this is obvious because these “veterans” named in the “Adverse Current” in 1967 and Deng Xiaoping’s legions came to power in China without the “Gang of Four” and proved their substance. They abolished collective farming, issued all land as private plots, allowed for agricultural goods to be traded mostly on a free market for profit and instituted industrial production for profit with massive unemployment. All of this about the mode of production in China is admitted fully and openly in official Chinese publications by the “veteran comrades” of which LRS speaks.

Paragraphs “D” through “F” are about lifestyle again. Far more attention is given to the alleged lifestyle of the “Gang of Four” than to matters of distribution under socialist transition. That is not to mention there is NOTHING about the abolition of collective farming or the revolutionary committees in industry that were running factories instead of the old style of single-responsibility system bosses. Without fail the strategy of reactionaries is to attack the revolutionaries’ motivations instead of their line and impact on the mode of production. In many cases, Christian individualists and other pre-political people are incapable of understanding the nature of structural change, so they reduce issues to individual lifestyles that they can understand.

Paragraphs “G” through “L” are about Wen. Yet, again the focus is on Wen personally, not his line. All we learn about his line with regard to class struggle is that he terrorized workers according to LRS. The rest is all lifestyle talk and irrelevant personal detail. Where did Wen want the province to go? What was he saying and implementing in factory policy? There is mostly no answer.

Paragraphs “M” and “N” only prove that Mao did not regard the “Gang of Four” as bourgeois elements. He corrected a mistake and no where did he call the “Gang of Four” “bourgeois elements.” He certainly did call Deng Xiaoping a capitalist-roader though and had him removed from office in 1976. The League of Revolutionary Struggle does not face that fact anywhere in the article: Deng Xiaoping is simply not mentioned despite his having a well-known line, and not just a lifestyle.

Everything that the Gang of Four said about the “veteran comrades” it attacked proved to be true. The “veteran comrades” had decades in power after 1976 to prove the “Gang of Four” correct about them.

If there were still collective farming in China, no unemployment and firms were not openly run for profit, then we would have to consider whether it was worth getting rid of the “Gang of Four.” Yet, the facts are in: it is a good thing that the “Gang of Four” sought power and had in fact two seats on the highest party committee when Mao died. It wasn’t just for personal ambition and lifestyle that the Gang of Four pursued power; the change of China’s mode of production without the “Gang of Four” is the proof.

If every single lifestyle charge they made against the “Gang of Four” (and now Mao too with all these rumors about his sex life coming to light), it would not add up to a hill of beans. Socialism is not a lifestyle. It is a mode of production that underlies propensities to make lifestyle choices. Reformists at least aim at change affecting the whole society. Sub-reformists look at change in individuals. The League of Revolutionary Struggle (LRS) was a subjectivist, empiricist, sub-reformist, individualist organization paving the way for post-modernism.

In discussions with MIM in the early 1980s, the LRS attacked MIM with post-modernism. Always the Chinese were right, because they were Chinese according to the LRS. So goes their line across-the-board. The LRS should have studied the Red Flag article (23 September 1964) “The Subjective Idealist Substance of Pragmatist Empiricism.” It is not the experience of a Black person, a Chinese person or a Latin King or Queen that makes that person correct or not.

Describing American pragmatist William James, Red Flag said, “From his viewpoint so-called ‘pure experience’ is a primitive, obscure entity; experience is wholly ‘self-sufficient’ and not dependent on the realistic world; it in itself is the only true reality.” To translate for the current issue at hand, the mode of production in China is the mode of production in China, no matter what any Chinese say about it—and that should be obvious as we are talking about Deng Xiaoping and his cronies that the LRS defended.

Red Flag continued: “‘Experience’ is the philosophical conception with which pragmatists are fondest of toying. . . Pragmatists are so fond of discussing experience, principally because they seek to utilize this conception for carrying on sophism and concealing the subjective idealist substance of their philosophy. . . They have extended the scope of experience immeasurably, make it include and embrace everything under the sun. The pragmatist interpretation of experience is confused and incoherent. What pragmatists call experience is not limited to what is ordinarily called sense experience, but includes all man’s ideologies and psychological impressions, even dreams, rambling thoughts, magic, and superstition. . . At other times they stress with all their effort that experience is not subjective itself and not dependent on any subject.” The experience of being Chinese does not make one’s line on China correct, because experience comes with idealist inaccuracy. However, the LRS line paved the way at some major U.S. colleges for post-modernism—with a social basis in the tokenism that exalted experience and said people with different experience should be hired as faculty for that reason.

Now even former members of the LRS such as Amiri Baraka have admitted that the LRS followed the yuppie ideology and surrendered the weapon of ideological struggle. They certainly did: they and their FRSO descendants are for feel-good subjectivist politics. For this reason they still haven’t admitted that China is capitalist.

The LRS represents the equivalent of the right wing in the Communist Party of China, the bourgeois wing. They are not unlike the hard-right bourgeois elements who sought to oust President Clinton for his lifestyle.

The FRSO that descended from LRS merged with the centrist elements supporting Hua Guofeng, who himself was the one who ended the campaign against Deng and allowed him back to power without a fight. The FRSO still hasn’t come clean to this day and jumbles the question of capitalist restoration; although the masses clearly should require from us communists clarity on that before we ask them to sacrifice their blood in struggle!

## II. The ultraleft in the Cultural Revolution and sub-reformism

Apart from the counterrevolutionary right like the LRS and the center-right turned counterrevolutionary like the FRSO, the ultraleft

was also obsessed with sub-reformism and also broke up the proletarian camp by examining one individual lifestyle at a time during the Cultural Revolution. Although it is a lie by the LRS that the “Gang of Four” ever said “overthrow all,” the Progressive Labor Party and affiliated Red Guard groups in China were openly for overthrowing 95% percent of the party. Other anarchists and Trotskyists were for 100% overthrow. These ultraleft factions wanted to fry Jiang Qing in oil as they said themselves.

Not surprisingly when tens of millions of workers and peasants seem wrong to you, the focus ends up being on each individual lifestyle—what is wrong with each of these people, else how else can one attack the 95% who are workers and peasants? People like Deng Xiaoping can be attacked for their lines in power and what they want to do with the mode of production. Yet the mode of production and structure of society with regard to patriarchy bored the rightists and ultraleftists during the Cultural Revolution. They also didn’t like it when Mao kept telling them the enemy was only 5 percent of the party—and not a different five percent every day. They sought to bring about disunity in the proletarian camp by focussing on lifestyle questions.

Even now in “Road to Revolution 4.5” the PLP talks about breaking with nationalism and breaking with reformism. Then they say about those breaks: “Every one of our breaks represents yet another halting step towards communism.”(3) For them, joining a party and changing one’s mind is revolution. Not surprisingly they say most of their practice has been reformist. The reason is that their root conception of class struggle is sub-reformist. No wonder there is not a single armed struggle in the world that PLP supports fully and fraternally. For MIM, in contrast, a step toward communism is a change in the structure of society or at least an armed struggle in progress. We must now teach the masses the lesson of the Cultural Revolution — how to oppose both rightism and ultraleftism in party-led mass movements. Repudiating sub-reformism is one key to the struggle.

We should repudiate sub-reformism confidently, because there will never be a time when the society produces no advanced elements. Some communists will degenerate, but others will be born to take up the struggle unless the species ends itself. As long as the “Gang of Four” opposed private agriculture and profit in command, it was the duty of the proletariat and revolutionary masses to support them.

The emphasis in lifestyle questions must be voluntary and non-obtrusive. Obtrusive struggles aimed at using state or mass movement power to change individual lifestyles backfire and produce anarchism. During the Cultural Revolution’s latter phases, the leadership of the movement realized that revolutionizing other people is easier than revolutionizing oneself. In other words, ego gets in the way of revolutionary remolding; however, the solution is to struggle at the general line level and let individuals draw their own conclusions about themselves.

In the Cultural Revolution, to deal with the ultraleftists, the slogan arose of “repudiate self; fight revisionism.” Another version was “combat self-interest, criticize and repudiate revisionism.”(4) Even this slogan ended up being too much of a concession to the ultraleft. It must be made clear that people should voluntarily repudiate self and that uncovering hypocrisy and lifestyle flaws in others is not the goal of revolutionaries. The ultraleftists were out to revolutionize everyone else or 95% of everyone else in lifestyle questions and they were being encouraged by the slogan to look at

themselves in terms of ideological remolding first and primarily while also attacking the 5% of party members on the capitalist-road. Ideological remolding of the masses must in no way be equated with the necessity of power-struggle against the capitalist-roaders in the party. Putting ideological remolding of oneself first may result in New Age ideas or other mystical traps. Fighting revisionists or imperialists in power is principal over ideological remolding or we will tend to fall into the sub-reformist trap. Number one target of the Cultural Revolution Liu Shaoqi was famous for his work along these lines stressing “self-cultivation.”

### III. A scientific approach to lifestyle

In MIM we have a party “primer.” It constitutes numerous rules and regulations for party members. They are based on appearances that we need to make to be attractive to the masses and mostly what the causes of political degeneration are. Through long years of dealing with the masses, of combating pseudo-feminism, of listening to extremist lifestyle pseudo-environmentalists, of defending Stalin and Mao against what our critics think are devastating blows having to do with lifestyle and from dealing with the history of political degeneration in and outside MIM, MIM has come to an increasing understanding of the uses and limitations of a primer and any lifestyle related sub-reformism. The primer is helpful in the functioning of our party. In addition to the issue of degeneration, it is easier to be an effective communist with some lifestyles rather than others—by living near large numbers of people for instance. For this reason, our Central Committee takes up the burden of revolution including living by the primer.

We no longer require living by the primer of all members, only our best ones. Even that is not to say that the primer would be any protection if revisionism arose in the Central Committee. The best upholding of the primer will mean nothing in a context of struggle over general line—unless we are guilty of sub-reformism. Not for nothing Hitler titled his book “My Struggle” and not for nothing “practice is principal” does not mean “my practice is principal.” We have geographic restrictions in the party primer. The reason for that is the experience of our party and other North American organizations historically that it is more difficult to be a communist in some geographic locations than others, especially if one is alone as a communist in that locale. Eventually we will have communists everywhere, but right now we seek to prevent the ones we have from degenerating. The science involved says that geographic choices cause degeneration or political reliability.

There is a science in preventing political degeneration. We give advice on finances, geography, drugs and marriage. Yet, we must be clear that none of these are the mode of production. None of these amount to self-determination for the oppressed nation masses. Every single thing mentioned in the primer is less than secondary, because lifestyle questions are less than secondary.

Patriarchy is an example of a secondary contradiction right now and lifestyle questions are all less than secondary. Of the three major strands of oppression, it is gender oppression in the imperialist countries that tends to be most susceptible to causing sub-reformist thought. We must say frankly that we do not trust the anarchists or pseudo-feminists seeking to reform men by lifestyle choices within the existing patriarchy. Men cannot be reformed within pa-

triarchy, only revolutionized.

A student attended a typical pseudo-feminist led “Take Back the Night” march of the U.S. anti-rape movement and he brought his mother. His mother was a little taken aback and said to her son, “don’t you think the speakers are a little radical?” His reply was that she was out of touch, “no ma, they are not radical; they are mainstream. There—that’s radical” and he snatched a MIM Notes from a comrade at the rally and gave it to his mother. The story raises that for too many imperialist country people, the meaning of “radical” has been lost. It has been so stifled that people don’t know what it is anymore and assume a radical is looking for a new lifestyle, because their politics or lack thereof has no other reference point other than maybe Christianity or Buddhism at best.

MIM does not want to know about Paula Jones and Monica Lewinsky. MIM wants to make on-the-job sexual harassment impossible by guaranteeing everyone a job and geographic mobility in their jobs. Anyone who wants to turn down a sexual advance by a “superior” or rebuke that superior will be able to do so under socialism by leaving a job if necessary without fear of career loss. If it is true Mao chased after wimmin in his late years in power, at least the wimmin he chased had jobs guaranteed. Hence, his achievements far outweigh anything his objectively patriarchal critics might raise. The question of political leaders is what affects the millions of people, not just the one.

That is the difference between an individualist sub-reformist and a radical or structuralist. A radical looks for some simple underlying solution to a problem affecting everyone or large groups of people; whereas people chasing down the details and wanting everyone to get excited about Paula Jones and Monica Lewinsky are sub-reformists. They burn the people out in ideological struggle case-by-case and thereby set back the movement. The most red-hot of these sub-reformists are usually ultraleftists shouting militant rhetoric even against revolutionaries and then getting bogged down in burnout and reformism.

People raising a fuss about gay and lesbian lifestyles either for or against are far removed from cardinal questions. We will not tolerate splitting the Maoist forces so that some prudes will rest easy at night with regard to his or her comrades’ lifestyle in bed. The number of gay or lesbian revolutionaries raising lifestyle up as a cardinal question can be listed on a single hand. Mostly this problem of putting lifestyle above cardinal principles comes from the right. These counterrevolutionary rightists don’t understand what a cardinal question is anyway, so we do not go out of our way to attract them to the party. Let them be dissuaded by our lesbian liberation logo or by our hammer and sickle. In the national oppression question, there are those who say one has to wear certain clothes, have certain hairdos and listen to certain music. The Black Panthers disdained these “pork-chop nationalists” and the Panthers were right. A lifestyle is no substitute for real politics.

In class exploitation questions, we have the movement “for social responsibility” that says each individual should invest in funds that carry out responsible capitalism. These petty-bourgeois have made lifestyle yet again the focus. Meanwhile, MIM is in favor of making money any way legally possible and handing it over to PIRAO, so we do not believe that lifestyle on these questions is paramount.

MIM is not really in favor of reviewing lifestyles case-by-case. Any politics that leads in that direction will necessarily divide the proletarian camp into little bits. This is what we mean by repudiat-

ing sub-reformism. In Amerika we have the unconscious background of thinking about the “Ten Commandments” and living in “hypocrisy” with regard to those “Ten Commandments.” As we pointed out in the Stalin MT, even comrades engaged in armed struggle such as in Yugoslavia found themselves breaking with the Russian comrades over lifestyle questions, especially food and drink. We need to break with unscientific preconceptions and no longer seek to draw our sense of outrage from them. In fact, we need to put these sub-reformists on the defensive every time they raise up their drivel to being principal or even secondary.

At any time, some elements of the international communist movement are progressing and some are degenerating. We ask that comrades manipulate themselves into progressing.

We point to the common policies that help with degeneration prevention and reduce the chances for subjectivist and individualist infighting in the proletarian camp. That’s how we address lifestyle questions—by informing people of what choices they can make to increase their chances of not degenerating. There will be those who do not believe the Party in its historical experience with many similar people and organizations, but we should struggle with the non-believers in a general theoretical and historical way and not with reference to their own lifestyle to be examined case-by-case.

Monogamy increases the chances of inner-party stability and helps truly oppressed and proletarian mothers who need help caring for young children. Not taking drugs keeps one from getting arrested or drifting off into escapist political space. So on and so on—there are lifestyle things one can do to improve one’s chances of making revolutionary contributions. Each of these questions will hit hard at the individual level, but we must seek to answer them at the level of general line. The general line talks about the things that everyone can refer to and therefore is the only way for people to envision how to work together.

In 1976, the people of China had a choice. They could support the “Gang of Four” despite whatever perceived lifestyle flaws they had or they could support Hua and Deng. The result is now history.

That is not to say we do not vigorously promote a science of lifestyle. We must let the party members and masses considering becoming revolutionaries know what is most likely to promote their revolutionary consciousness. We must also take a clear stand of right and wrong on all lifestyle questions—not case-by-case but in general. Failure to do so only results in more endless relativist and ultraleftist conflicts, often through the informal channels of gossip favoring the oppressor.

Taking a clear stand on lifestyle questions should never mean choosing one’s leaders and consequently the line one is following based on lifestyle of individuals. No one calling him or herself “radical”—not to mention revolutionary—should substitute sub-reformism for communism. We would have picked the “Gang of Four” and Mao over Deng Xiaoping, Hua Guofeng and the Adverse Current group of “veteran comrades” who restored capitalism in China whether or not all the lifestyle charges against Mao and the Four were true. The weapon of lifestyle criticism must be removed from the hands of those who claim to be in our movement against class, nation and gender oppression. We should rely on voluntary efforts in lifestyle questions while vigorously making known the statistical truths about where certain lifestyle choices lead politically. Criticism of comrades should be restricted to questions of the general line, never to lifestyle. Today, we speak of the Mark Rudd lifestyle with regard to wimmin, but we do so with no

particular animosity against Rudd. Rather we mean to sum up the damage that '60s men practicing the "free love" line did in our movement.

We are confident that the progress of society does not depend on one-on-one struggles relating to lifestyle. Even the question of suicide itself is a question of the general line—one's attitude toward the international proletariat. MIM has no magic lifestyle solutions within capitalist society that make everyone happy. To be happy living within imperialism is itself a crime against the international communist movement.

Asking individuals for sacrifice for the Central Committee does not necessarily help provide such sacrifice. We seek people to abide by our primer voluntarily in order to become useful Central Committee members. A Central Committee member tripping out on drugs or caring for children s/he shouldn't have had in the imperialist countries—such a Central Committee member is little use to the proletariat. Hence, we ask our people who join the CC voluntarily to put revolution ahead of drugs and child-raising.

Science does not advance by single case studies alone. In fact, such a science is impossible. Likewise, when it comes to lifestyle, MIM's primer and ideological position is based on what tends to be true statistically, not in each case. Even following every single rule in the primer is not a guarantee of revolutionary consciousness. A certain percentage of cases will always turn against us and a certain percentage of cases will always turn up in our favor when we didn't expect them to. We are presenting generalizations to the masses and struggling to make sure the masses and party members understand these generalizations. Hence, our slogan is "repudiate sub-reformism; study lifestyle scientifically."

Notes:

1. Forward, July 1979, p. 33.
2. Forward, July 1979, pp. 39-41.
3. See [www.plp.org](http://www.plp.org) to find "Road to Revolution 4.5"
4. See for example, Peking's Red Flag No. 15, 6Oct1967: "This is the basic guiding principle of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

## Comment on "Repudiate sub-reformism; fight revisionism!"

Yes, with regards sub reformism. It is no surprise that the proposal was overwhelmingly approved. Indeed, the party's slogan is correct, and as you say, the argument behind it is a powerful tool against arguments of the PoMo [short-hand for "post-modernist—ed.] type. Such arguments range from not only calling for a change in the personal life style of activists and revolutionaries but also propose to change the attitudes and lifestyles of people suffering under the yoke of imperialism in the third world. The line may be that of transforming the lifestyle of wimmin in the Third World who serve as 'baby factories,' for imperialist production. The issue of survival well overrides what lifestyle choices are available to the oppressed. It is the grossest chauvinism to propose first world settler family relations as a way forward for the oppressed. Not because anything in the first world family makes it inherently fucked up (in my opinion it is WAY FUCKED UP), but because to do so ignores the material conditions in the Third World an account of which is manifestly important for any proposed solution to the problems at issue. Sub reformism is a perverse and popular idealist ideology which both misses the point as to what gives rise to the contradictions in capitalist society and which serves to mislead well

intentioned activists and genuine revolutionaries. Its roots in the un-scientific ideology of the petty bourgeois who at times has a vested interest in chasing after its own tail for 'solutions' must be exposed.

This is pretty much the line that J. and I put forth against the charming fellows from TWLF [Third World Liberation Front - people leading the campaign for ethnic studies departments (dominated by PoMo theorists) at the UCs].

# 'Free speech' under the dictatorship of the proletariat

*Approved at the 1999 Party Congress: Session II  
Written January 25, 1999*

The dictatorship of the proletariat is defined as a stage of struggle between capitalism and communism. The final goal of communism is the classless and stateless society. The dictatorship of the proletariat is also defined as organized force to protect the non-negotiable interests of the people for food, clothing, shelter, medicine, and a pollution-free and militarism-free environment—survival rights. The dictatorship of the proletariat is further defined by its repression of those who put property or profit rights or other exchange-value goals above the survival rights. It also represses those who seek to cause strife within the dictatorship of the proletariat, by for example agitating for violence against the party.

When the last imperialist power has been defeated, the party will permit the beginning of discussion of challenges to the need for party rule. When such party rule is open to challenge, the party will take stock of the challenges to the dictatorship of the proletariat to see how much progress there has been in instilling belief in survival rights and harmonious economic and cultural behavior. If the party judges this progress sufficient and dissolves itself into the people, then the people will have the duty of protecting survival rights directly. If a new threat to survival rights arises and the final advance to superior stages of communism needs to be put off, the people will be obliged to form a new proletarian party to guide the use of organized force against the enemy.

Upon the successful completion of initial stages of revolution, which will happen after the current imperialism collapses and becomes "truly helpless" as Mao said, a portion of imperialist country citizens will be deprived of citizenship rights completely. Such was also necessary after the U.S. civil war when various slaveowners refused to recognize the Union or the citizenship of former slaves.

Repression under the dictatorship of the proletariat will take three main forms—execution, prison or re-education camp. Execution will be reserved for murder and services to military enemies. At the other extreme, casual mistaken expression of bourgeois thoughts will not result in being sent to re-education camp, but organized and active expression will. Mistaken bourgeois thoughts will be used by professionals in the government and party for purposes of refutation and enlightenment—a reminder of ideological priorities.

## Prison and re-education camp

Those who have engaged in violent opposition or spying or other services to military enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat may be executed. Others guilty of the crime of murder amongst the people may also be executed. The party will make public at all times a list of the military enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

### Prison conditions

If economic conditions at the time of the revolution are as good or better as they are in the world in 1999, then MIM will guarantee that prison conditions will be the most “cushy” seen in history. In the event that there is a serious food shortage in the imperialist countries or the world on the event of crises caused by the moribund class system, we will not make any guarantees on the conditions provided to prisoners. We will not be feeding class enemies when the proletariat is still starving. The following applies in more generous conditions, such as after the overthrow of imperialism and military defeat of counterrevolution.

Prisoners are those who need confinement and physical restraint to keep from damaging the dictatorship of the proletariat with violence, sabotage or espionage.

Prisoners will have national health care, libraries, reading materials of their choice and exercise and recreation facilities comparable with what is found outside prison walls. Prisoners will also have the duty of work to make restitution for their victims.

### Re-education camp

Re-education camp is for those who are not a violent threat to society. Members of re-education camps will have every privilege afforded to prisoners but they will be more exposed to the open community. Internees will differ from the public in being limited to a central geographic local and buildings. Re-education camp is for those who act out against the dictatorship of the proletariat without violence, sabotage or espionage. The expression of an opinion that property rights should be higher than survival rights will result in being sent to camp. Those who wish to check into a camp for urges contrary to the dictatorship of the proletariat may do so, and will be honored for trying to nip a problem in the bud.

Many comrades will also go to re-education camp from time to time to brush up on their politics in the context of different material conditions, perhaps in a poverty-stricken zone of former capitalism or semi-feudalism (if comrades in the Third World agree to take our re-education camp internees). Thought reform re-educators

In imperialist country experience, there is little reference point for the camps that were created in China for thought reform. The thought reform personnel will be most like reverends, clergy and rabbis except with scientific substance to their arguments and a materialist ideological agenda—no concern for the afterlife. Re-educators are not in camp or prison to take perverse or sadistic pleasure with internees. Re-educators are instead some of the most self-sacrificing people there are in their concern for all people.

Reports that re-educators deprive their internees of books, magazines, papers, pens, computers or any other privileges granted will result in transfer to another occupation. Care will be taken to organize multiple level checking on the administration of prisons and

thought reform camps. All officials of the dictatorship of the proletariat are always welcome to retire into other professions so as not to damage the prestige of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Jobs are always guaranteed under the dictatorship of the proletariat and required for the able-bodied adults. In some cases administrators will be wrongfully transferred out of prison or re-education camp, because we cannot take the chance of abusing internees. This will have no grave impact on public servants who will simply take jobs elsewhere.

## The public

The public is exposed to professional propagators of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism through the cultural and media organs and various social institutions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Both in re-education camp and in the public, the party proceeds with full confidence that it will win its public opinion battles and learn with the masses as is necessary in the march to communism. The public will enjoy greater “free speech” rights than they do under U.S. imperialism with the exception of those prisoners deprived of their citizenship rights.

1. Restrictions on public posting will be eliminated except on residential buildings.

2. Large and convenient bulletin boards will be placed on every block. Boards covered over will be evidence for the need to build more.

3. There will be convenient places to leave literature along with such bulletin boards.

4. There will be no arrests in any non-residential building or premise for quiet distribution of literature. The only exception will be for high government officials meeting and who face threat of assassination—the Central Committee and government officials above a certain rank.

5. Arrests for vocal discussion will be limited to places where there is a need for meetings and orderly work. Cafeterias, outdoor sidewalks and most indoor hallways will be legally required to allow vocal discussion.

6. Meeting halls of public buildings will be made available for meetings to the public. If necessary more will be constructed. Government bureaucrats interfering with the “free speech” of the public will be transferred to jobs where they have no such possibility.

## Restrictions

1. Those advocating opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat as defined at the top of the document will go to prison or re-education camp and thereby not enjoy all full public citizenship rights.

2. Sale of pornography will be forbidden. Distribution of nude photographs paid for by the photographer or person who signed a consent form to be displayed in photographs will always be legal, but government authorities may require a registration for financial bookkeeping purposes. Those publicly distributing nude photos of children 12 and under will be sent to re-education camp, whether money spent was their own or not.

3. Any non-party literature or other device for public opinion building will be paid for by individual members of the public with money from salary and no outside capitalist money or stolen sources of wealth will be used to promote any opinion of the non-party

public. Stimulation

1. MIM will not order the government to censor the INTERNET except on questions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and party rule.

2. USENET groups such as talk.rape, alt.activism.death-penalty, alt.politics.greens etc. will be permitted, partly for stimulation of the minds in imperialist countries, partly to bring to the surface bourgeois thoughts in need of professional proletarian refutation and partly because there will continue to be problems in all these areas under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The need for stimulation is especially great in the depoliticized imperialist countries. Many middle-class peoples will come under the dictatorship of the proletariat without ever knowing that the world's majority of people suffered threats to their survival on a daily basis.

## Veganism and 'Animal rights'

*Approved at the Party Congress 1999: Session II*

### Summary

MIM approaches the issue of the environment from the standpoint of the group of people in the world with no property—"nothing to lose but their chains." That group of people is called the proletariat. The proletariat has a non-negotiable "right" to survive and therefore a non-negotiable right to a non-toxic environment, one that is sustainable and life-promoting. There is no way to individualize the environment for property purposes. Under the organized force or government known as the "dictatorship of the proletariat," the right to property will be clearly subordinated to the right to a non-toxic and life-promoting environment. There is no compromise between collectivism and individualism possible. Those disagreeing and acting against the dictatorship of the proletariat will be sent to prison or re-education camp.

Definition: Vegans are people who do not eat meat or animal by-products.

### Criticisms of the imperialist country vegan movement

1. In 1998 there was an "animal rights activist" ad that aimed to stir up Western chauvinism against China for eating dogs. MIM condemns inter-cultural veganism outreach of this sort, because preventing war is more important than promoting veganism as far the environment is concerned. Stirring up hatreds against other cultures for their different meat tastes contributes to people-to-people hatred. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, such inter-cultural hatreds will be repressed through re-education camp.

2. We condemn the line that the vegan lifestyle prevents global hunger. Such a line covers up the fact that there is currently enough food produced to feed the whole world, but it is not distributed under capitalism. Should population growth reach a point where there is actually a global shortage of food and not just a distribution problem, the dictatorship of the proletariat will not hesitate to impose a vegan diet if necessary. Vegan diets do require less arable land per persyn.

3. We oppose the line of boycotts as the leading tactic. Boycotts punish one capitalist while allowing others to restart the business being boycotted. State power exercised in an uncompromising collectivist fashion is necessary for environmentalist goals.

4. MIM upholds the rights of aboriginal peoples to hunt and serve their own people through traditional barter and exchange. We do not necessarily uphold the actions or formation of aboriginal monopoly capitalist corporations to exploit any aspect of the environment, but care must be taken not to oppose the efforts of the First Nation bourgeoisie to develop business.

5. There is no meaningful non-religious view that holds the "rights" of animals to be similar to those of humyns with regard to "murder." "Deep ecology" is often just deep religion. Before there was a humyn species, there were five massive species extinctions. The disappearance of dinosaurs had nothing to do with humyns and the eventual burning out of the sun guarantees extinction on this planet again. Such is reality and hence part of dialectical materialism. We oppose humyn interventions to keep foxes from eating mice and similar phenomena. There is no humyn action that does not affect the environment and thereby favor one set of species in the world over another. The best-meaning "deep ecologist" or vegan tips the environmental balance toward one set of species over another, whether s/he knows it or not. There is no meaningful way to practice "anti-speciesism." The choice is between anthropocentric dialectical materialism and religion.

In actual fact the efforts of most "anti-speciesists" compounds the problem of humyn separation from the environment by denying the many threads in which we are connected to our environment. Such compartmentalized and unscientific thinking often referred to as "dualism" underpins any claim that says humyn actions can possibly not favor one set of species over another. Such compartmentalized thinking is often referred to as "logic," but in fact it is Western imperialist "logic" which is pseudo-science leaving out entire areas of scientific study and chains of causation.

### Benefits to the vegan movement if the communist movement succeeds

1. The first benefit is that there will be no ad campaigns by monopoly capitalist corporations to promote meat-eating. Production will not be for profit. "Beef: It's what for dinner" billboards will be abolished.

2. The state will fund education on why vegan diets are scientifically superior for health.

3. The existing vegans will be allowed to persuade others to become vegan, and the vegans will rest assured that no one will be profiting in the millions or billions of dollars from animal slaughter. No persyn under socialism will have a job dependent on butchering. At any time a butcher may switch to another profession, because jobs are guaranteed under socialism. Under these material conditions, vegans can expect to have the greatest success in their history.

4. Distribution efforts will entice the people into vegetarian hamburgers and other synthesized forms of food most nutrititious and tasty for the proletariat not currently promoted under capitalism.

5. Under collective child-rearing, adults will not be allowed to require their children to eat meat.

### Animal rights platform



1. MIM opposes logging on federal land and will seek to double or more the area under preservation without logging, if the basic needs of the proletariat so allow. We favor preservation for humyn health reasons.

2. Although the value of a spotted owl or other species is almost nil to capitalists profiting from lumber cuts, the value of any species to the proletariat is unknown at this time. For two hundred years the capitalists have spread fallacious propaganda that they are not hurting the environment and health of the worker. MIM supports environmental preservation as a matter of the health of the people, based on what has worked to support humyns as living beings for millions of years.

3. Just as the black market for drugs will be eliminated, the black market for poaching will be eliminated. People caught with money not part of their state-planned salaries or known sidelines will be sent to prison or re-education camp. Mao showed that this is possible in China, 1949 to 1976.

4. The party will not guarantee an end to animal research, but it will guarantee an end to animal research in luxury production. Extending life and health of humyns is not luxury production. Cosmetics are luxury production. The Maoist emphasis on the applied nature of scientific advance will also ensure that many types of scientific research carried out strictly for the profit, bureaucratic or turf interests of certain scientists will be abolished. Resources will be re-allocated to other scientific endeavors.

5. The dictatorship of the proletariat will abolish luxury production of animal furs and other animal products.

## Evaluating Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese Revolution in 1969: The International United Front and the Impact on U.S. party-building

*by MC5, February, 1998*

We consider ourselves lucky in the United States to have had two important communist-led mass movements of Euro-Americans to study in the last two generations. We believe they also hold important lessons for the comrades in the European imperialist countries. In one experience, the CP-USA achieved 100,000 members and at the time it did so it was catering to industrial worker demands. It soon lost those members, because they had succeeded in achieving their economic demands. Just as it reached its height, the CP-USA also dissolved itself once before passing into permanent Browderism. MIM has addressed this already in MT#10. We believe that what the CP-USA did had to be tried, but we also believe it proves beyond doubt that already by that time it was not possible to root a Communist Party in the industrial workers of imperialism, because those workers were already bought off.

Even more relevant to our experience today is the history of the 1960s. Once again, a correct party emerged, gathered some mo-

mentum and threw itself headlong into the industrial workers. The result is there for all to see: the crypto-Trotskyism and sub-reformist New Age “politics” of the Progressive Labor Party. We call this New Age sub-reformism on PLP’s part, because PLP attacked 90% of the 16 million peasants and workers of the communist party under Mao as “capitalist class.” With such a large and dispersed enemy, the only prescription the ultraleft ended up making was ideological remoulding for everyone and indiscriminate violence. Such an approach de-emphasizes those who hold power. As we showed elsewhere in a review of their magazine Road to Revolution 4.5, this continues to this day in PLP’s practice: the PLP now openly announces that changing one’s mind is all that is necessary to make a break for communism.

Before the worker-student alliance, the PLP upheld Mao and was its fraternal party. After the worker-student alliance went into application, PLP went down the drain, least of all numerically, but most importantly from an angle of political line.

Reading the communist literature of the U.S.A. in the 1960s, it is important to remember how little communist culture existed following the McCarthy period. Much of the literature is dogmatic and devoid of factual substance or alternatively, watery in a right opportunist direction.

The 1960s changed all that, for good. Although we are in a weak position in the 1990s as a communist movement, there is no shortage of ideological and theoretical thinking. In fact, we have now passed into the direction of having too many “sects.” According to Mao, a sectarian is someone who puts his or her narrow organizational interest above that of the international proletariat. In the imperialist countries, most sect variety is on account of idealism. It is not much different than the reason the United States has so much Protestant sect variety. Religion is just one example of idealism’s infinite possibilities of division.

The Progressive Labor Party took the wrong turn in the 1968 to 1971 period. That wrong turn was caused by some difficulties and newness in the anti-revisionist movement and it was solidified and amplified by the PLP’s “worker-student” alliance in which the PLP performed the magic act of making the petty-bourgeoisie disappear. In contrast, MIM has not gotten involved in serving the labor aristocracy, and MIM has managed to stay on the Maoist road for more than 15 years, compared with the 7 years for PLP.

MIM upholds rooting oneself in the people. It is only by repeated exposure to the same line and people that the masses come to understand it. It does not follow that it is necessary to put forward the class demands of parasites to be rooted in the people.

Progressive Labor Party is the proof of Lenin’s dictum that no right opportunist error goes unpunished by another ultraleft error. By studying the documents below and above all by applying the materialist method consistently, MIM seeks to avoid PLP’s revisionist outcome. Many who have not read Lenin’s work very carefully will call MIM “ultraleft” and not much different than PLP. Indeed, where there is no large mass movement exerting pressure on the party, this must indeed be a suspicion. On the other hand, the question of demarcation here is not one principally related to the U.S.A. The whole question started with Vietnam. On this question, we invite the participation of the whole international communist movement.

*retyped by MC5*  
September 4, 1969

**Central Committee of Communist Party of China**

## Sends Message of Condolences to Central Committee of Viet Nam Workers' Party on Passing Away of President Ho Chi Minh

"The Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party:

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on behalf of all the members of the Party and the entire Chinese people, expresses, with boundless grief, condolences on the passing away of President Ho Chi Minh, the founder of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the great leader of the Vietnamese people and the close comrade-in-arms of the Chinese people.

"President Ho Chi Minh was an outstanding proletarian revolutionary. He applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Vietnamese revolution. He dedicated his whole life to the national-liberation struggle of Viet Nam and the cause of communism. Under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh, the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the heroic Vietnamese people waged protracted and unyielding struggles against the French colonialists and the Japanese fascists, won great victories, founded the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and embarked on the road of socialism. After U.S. imperialism unleashed its war of aggression against Viet Nam, President Ho Chi Minh, by giving full play to the might of people's war, led the entire Vietnamese people in fighting U.S. imperialism, which is the most ferocious of all, with the result that U.S. imperialism was severely battered, driven into an impasse and confronted with inevitable destruction. He thus made important contributions to the cause of the anti-imperialist struggle of the oppressed people and oppressed nations the world over.

"Upholding proletarian internationalism, President Ho Chi Minh actively supported the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat of all countries and of all the oppressed people and oppressed nations. He came to China several times in the years when the Chinese people were waging the national-democratic revolutionary struggle. He shared weal and woe with the Chinese people and fought shoulder to shoulder with them, and built up profound proletarian feelings with the Chinese Communist Party. After the victory of the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions, he worked untiringly for strengthening and developing the fraternal friendship and militant solidarity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. Forged through protracted fighting, this friendship and solidarity between our two peoples can stand any test.

"It is unfortunate that President Ho Chi Minh passed away at the crucial moment when the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is about to win final victory. This is a great loss for the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Vietnamese people and also a great loss for the cause of the anti-U.S. struggle of the Chinese people and all the people of the world. President Ho Chi Minh has died, but his noble revolutionary qualities and fighting spirit of defying brute force will live for ever in the hearts of the Vietnamese people, in the hearts of the Chinese people and in the hearts of the revolutionary people of the world.

"We profoundly understand and sympathize with the feelings of the broad masses of the Vietnamese people at this moment. We sincerely hope that you will turn grief into strength and deal U.S. imperialism still heavier blows. We are deeply convinced that following President Ho Chi Minh's teaching 'fearless of sacrifices and hardships. . . determined to carry on and vigorously step up the resistance war, with the firm resolve to fight and win,' the Vietnamese people, who have a tradition of heroic revolutionary

struggle, will certainly overcome every difficulty on their road of advance, small all schemes to undermine their war of liberation, drive the U.S. imperialists off the territory of Vietnam lock stock and barrel, liberate the south, defend the north and [lost text here, MC5] maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in their own hands and persevering in self-reliance.

"The 700 million Chinese people provide powerful backing for the Vietnamese people; the vast expanse of China's territory is their reliable rear area.' Following this teaching by Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people will, as always, resolutely support the Vietnamese people in carrying through to national salvation.

"U.S. imperialism is sure to be defeated! Viet Nam is sure to win!

"Eternal glory to President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people!"

*Peking Review, September 7 1969, pp. 3-4.*

**MC5 comments:** What is important to notice is that in the obituary from Mao's communist party, there is no mention of Ho Chi Minh's contributions to the struggle against revisionism or in support of the Cultural Revolution. Yet, Vietnam was appearing to uphold People's War. That much Vietnam did not share with the Soviet Union.

From this obituary and many similar articles celebrating the People's War in Vietnam, we should gather that Mao considered Vietnam a part of the united front against imperialism. There were some agreements and some disagreements, but the disagreements with the Vietnamese comrades were not public.

In contrast, the Progressive Labor Party in the USA considered itself Maoist, but it criticized Vietnamese revisionism in public as early as May, 1968. It is clear that PLP benefited from the political training of the Chinese comrades. However, PLP became impatient about the struggle against revisionism.

Starting with "Road to Revolution III" in 1971, PLP took an ultra-Trotskyist simpleton view of united fronts. Aping the fair-weather friends of the proletariat who abandoned Stalin in the hour of the Soviet Union's greatest need — just because Stalin shook hands with the Nazis and signed the Non-Aggression Pact in 1939 — PLP took up the Christian ultraleft purist stance of opposing Mao for shaking hands with Nixon. The road to that decision started with Vietnam.

## Progressive Labor: Boston News "Revisionism: Lea(r?)ning the Hard Way" Historic reprint, May, 1968

*retyped by MC5*

"But why would the Vietnamese sell-out?

"The answer to this question is difficult to give in a short space. It lies in the nature of what Communists call 'revisionism' and the meaning of opposing it.

"What is revisionism?

"Some strikes are broken by the boss because he can hold out longer than the workers. Some are broken by the government, when the boss can't do the job. But most strikes are in fact never mainly defeated from without. They are basically sold out from within, by the trade union 'leaders' themselves.

“These are often men who got power in their unions by appearing or actually being quite militant. Sometimes they were phonies from the start. But a trade union leader can make a lot of money. If he never learns the necessity of sharp class struggle leading, in the long run, to the total destruction of the government which runs things for the boss, if he gives in to the constant enticement of bribes from the boss, even a militant can become a sell-out. This can only be prevented if revolutionaries lead workers to grasp the political realities of imperialism so those workers become themselves the guarantee against sell-outs by leaders who have gone over to the enemy.

“Revisionism is the theory and practice of selling-out the people covered over with communist phraseology. As such, it represents the interests of exploiters against the oppressed. The history of the revolutionary movement demonstrates that, as long as there are exploited and exploiting classes, the revolutionary leaders of the oppressed can become revisionists, can betray the interests of the working people, can take the side of imperialists. Thus in the early 20th century, many leaders of the once-revolutionary European socialist parties became pro-imperialist. In European parliaments, most representatives of the old socialist parties voted for the First World War. It had long been agreed among revolutionaries that the coming war was a war among imperialists, a war for the division of the world’s working people and resources among themselves. The socialist parties had agreed that the workers had to use the situation of Imperialist war to launch revolutions against their ‘own’ capitalist class. And after World War I, when workers began to take sharp revolutionary action in Germany, it was these revisionists who sided with the most reactionary forces in Germany to completely smash the working people.

“Revisionism is presented by the American press as a swear word used by rigid Marxist-Leninists to smear their more ‘creative’ brothers. Thus to oppose revisionism is to be an ideological fanatic. In fact, revisionism is not marxist creativity. It opposes, in the particular context of a given struggle, the fundamental notions of marxism which make it revolutionary. Against class struggle, revisionism upholds peace between oppressors and oppressed. Despite the constantly repeated historical lesson that no class gives up power without revolution, the revisionists hold that reform can bring the working people to power. Against the Marxist-Leninist notion that people, people oppressed by imperialism and not technique or weaponry, can defeat imperialism, the revisionists uphold the notion that weapons are the main thing and the political awareness of the people is of minor significance. (In practice, this means that revisionism wants to keep the people politically ‘innocent’ so they can be misled.) When such people ‘lead’ the revolutionary movement, they can hurt it more than imperialism. When the imperialists attack the people, the latter can learn lessons from such attacks and fight back harder. But when revisionists establish a strong following among the people, they can use their position to prevent key lessons from being learned, to get the people to follow their wrong ideas, and thereby demoralize and sell out the revolution. Mispread and demoralized by revisionist leadership, the people can be smashed by imperialists’ tactics of violence and bribery. Thus, (CP), arguing that since the war was a just war against fascism (which was true, no class struggle in the U.S. was acceptable (false), dissolved sharecroppers’ groups all over the south. The sharecroppers, left in the lurch, unprepared for a sharp fight, were literally slaughtered by police and vigilante forces.

“In recent years, revisionism has become the dominant force in most old communist parties — including most of those in power. The result has been tremendous setbacks for the movement. Thus the willingness of the European and Soviet revisionists to ease up the struggle in Europe meant that the U.S. could move huge numbers of Europe-based troops to Vietnam. Thus Russia gave large-scale aid to the Indonesian fascists, after they had slaughtered half a million reds and their followers, discussed earlier. Thus the deals between southern American communist parties and the military dictatorship in their countries. Thus the support of the revisionist American CP for Kennedy and McCarthy, and its attempt to swing the anti-war movement behind these imperialists. Thus the tremendous pressure the Soviets applied to get the Vietnamese to back down from their original four point stand for immediate withdrawal, to their present one-point, sell-out position.

“Revisionism, therefore, is not an abstraction, an ideological heresy from which purists draw back in horror. It is the organized, systematic attempt by those who have sold-out to imperialism to betray the revolution from within. It can be seen, by observation, that revisionism develops in all revolutionary movements. To let it take the lead is to let the theory and practice of counter-revolution, of imperialism, lead the anti-imperialist movement.

“In this stage in the development of the communist movement, more than at any time, to fight revisionism is crucial. Unless one defeats its ideological influence in and practical leadership of the movement, the movement must be reversed, must be turned from anti- to pro-imperialist.

“It is clear, more and more, that revisionism is very strong in Vietnam. There are a number of ways we can see this.

“First, the fact that the North Vietnamese leaders do not struggle against revisionism. There is no way of conducting this struggle secretly. The intensity of the fight in the world communist movement between the revolutionary and the opportunist, the revisionist position, is tremendous. Therefore, the thing that most clearly marks the revolutionary forces within that movement today is that they wage a sharp struggle, both theoretically and in day to day practice, against revisionism. This means criticizing a revisionist approach as it develops out of the mistakes of basically solid revolutionaries, as well as sharply opposing the theory and practice of the world-wide revisionist movement. But the Vietnamese have been notable for their abstention from that struggle. Their stand has been (somewhat favorably) presented in the Western press as a ‘third’ socialist path. There can be no such third path. In America, for example, Progressive Labor opposes the class privilege (sic.) of 2S as unjust and a thing which divides students and workers. The revisionist Communist Party supports 2S. What is the third path here? Similarly, revolutionary forces call for the total elimination of U.S. influence in Vietnam. The revisionists argue that this is too extreme, that it is unreasonable, that a deal maintaining U.S. presence is the only way. Where is the third path here?

“Secondly, the Vietnamese go further. Not only don’t they attack revisionism internationally — they support it, although this support is somewhat veiled. Thus Ho Chi Minh sent a telegram wishing success to the recent Soviet sponsored congress of revisionist parties, call to attack the revolutionary part of the communist movement, especially China. Again, the DRV consistently invites the worst sell-outs, revisionists from all over the world, to visit Vietnam. Then they can return, their influence greatly enhanced by the prestige of the Vietnamese struggle.

“Thirdly, the Vietnamese don’t fight revisionism in their own country. There are two ways we can tell this. One way is by reading their literature. A struggle against revisionism cannot be waged in private. Its absence from Vietnamese publications means its absence from the efforts of the Vietnamese leaders. A second way is by considering what it means to accept Soviet aid. Nobody gives aid without strings. Even if the Soviet aid were without explicit strings (and Burchett’s statement, quoted earlier by Theodore Draper), indicates this is hardly the case)(sic.), there is the unspoken ‘string’: do something against me or what I represent, and I’ll remove aid. You can’t expect a man to lend you money if you spit in his face. The Soviets would never give aid to those who fight revisionism — that was precisely why they cut off aid to China in 1960.

“And this acceptance of Soviet aid, in turn, gives the revisionists a tremendous boost around the world. ‘Don’t tell me the USSR’s leadership is counter-revolutionary! Don’t they help the Vietnamese?’ This involves, of course, a fundamental misestimate of why the Russians give that aid. As the U.S. knows, that Russian aid enables the Vietnamese to shoot down a few planes is secondary. For it also allows Russian (revisionist) influence to become much stronger in Vietnam; it builds the prestige of sell-outs all over the world; it confuses people about revisionism, so they see it as less militant communism instead of as disguised counter-revolution; it prevents the Vietnamese from fighting revisionism within their own country, for if they fight, they lose aid. The more aid accepted, the stronger it shows that revisionism has become, the harder it is for wavering forces to accept the hardships of rejecting the aid, the greater the influence of revisionism in Vietnam can become. The circle is vicious: the end result is the defeat of the Vietnamese.

“‘But why not unite with revisionism?’ some people argue. ‘After all, does someone have to agree completely for you Maoists to unite with him?’”

“Of course not. Revolutions develop in stages. To make revolutions, communists must unite groups of people whose needs may dictate very different long-term goals, but who, within that stage, can unite in a common struggle against a common enemy. Thus, in Vietnam, workers and peasants unite with various elements like small shop keepers and anti-U.S. businessmen against imperialism. That’s one thing. But uniting with revisionism is another. Revisionism means selling out the struggle on whatever level. Revisionism isn’t a class; rather, its leadership rests on the opportunism present in all classes. It acts to get various groups to function in the least revolutionary way. To unite with revisionism is as bad as uniting with imperialism.

“If the Vietnamese leaders opposed revisionism, denounced it, fought it internally and externally, and refused aid from it, the absence of that aid would probably mean a slightly more difficult situation in the ‘purely military’ sense. (Of course, the weakness of the U.S. is not ‘purely military’ anyway; the few planes that the SAM’s (sic. for surface-to-air missiles (plural) —ed. ) shoot down can easily be replaced.) But the struggle against revisionism would greatly strengthen the Vietnamese politically. It would strengthen people all over the world politically. And that, after all, is how you win a people’s war in the first place.

#### WHAT WILL HAPPEN? WHAT SHOULD WE DO?

“The situation that will emerge in Vietnam as a result of negotiations for a U.S. presence will undoubtedly be very complex. Although the revisionists have the upper hand in the Vietnamese com-

munist party (north and south), and therefore tremendous influence, most Vietnamese communists are against revisionism. The revisionists will be able to set the struggle back. But we have no doubt that — in the long run — the struggle will fully reassert itself, as the Vietnamese learn to see through revisionists among their leaders. . . .”

(end of excerpt)

**MC5 comments:** We have to agree with most of what PLP says about the vanguard party in Vietnam. In particular, the point that the Vietnamese party does not fight revisionism in its own country is crucial.

From our limited factual knowledge of the time, there were some Maoists in Vietnam upholding the Cultural Revolution and the fight against revisionism. However, let us assume that PLP got its facts right here and that Vietnam has been on a downhill slide which ended up in its copying Deng Xiaoping revisionism after Liberation from U.S. imperialism and siding with Soviet social-imperialism even before that. Let’s also ignore what PLP said about unions in the USA and use it as a correct example where there are exploited workers in the majority. If we grant these smaller points to the PLP, then the larger issue remains what is the relationship between the international united front and the fight against revisionism?

This is the crucial question where PLP took the wrong turn. Could the Vietnamese accept aid or was it automatically out of the question? On this question, we have to admit that the RCP-USA understanding is theoretically superior to PLP’s. According to the RCP-USA, the contention of imperialist rivals is fundamental to the economic system of imperialism. Hence, whether the Soviet social-imperialists wanted to or not, whether they had intentions of spreading revisionism or not, they were bound to get involved somehow in the Vietnam War. This flows from the correct understanding of the imperialist anarchy of production. Cooperation amongst capitalists or imperialists is only relative, while contention is absolute. To hold otherwise is a fundamental revision of Marxism-Leninism tantamount to saying that imperialism is a peaceful system. Lenin handled this question in attacking Kautsky’s theory of “super-imperialism.” Mao also dealt with it in attacking Khrushchev’s “three peacefuls” including the ballot box road to power.

Hence, PLP’s ultraleft stance against Soviet aid to Vietnam and the united front merges with right opportunism in whitewashing the imperialist system, Soviet social-imperialism especially. Soviet social-imperialism got involved, because it was not a peaceful system and because it sought redivision of the world. Pursuing its own interests, it sought to undermine U.S. interests.

The RCP-USA line is such a hodgepodge that we can see by reading the PLP of the late 1960s things that RCP-USA Avakian would say later in the 1970s. Thus, while the RCP-USA may understand dog-eat-dog capitalist competition, it did not draw the correct conclusions with regard to the united front. To this day, the RCP-USA has not dropped its posture tailing after the PLP on the united front question.

From the above document we should not be surprised with the document that came later in 1969 from the PLP.

*retyped by MC5*

“Greetings from M. Rosen, Chairman of National Committee of

U.S. Progressive Labor Party”

“Comrade Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Comrade Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee, have received from Comrade Milton Rosen, Chairman of the National Committee of the Progressive Labor Party in the United States, a message of greetings on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the People’s Republic of China.

“The message said: On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the People’s Republic of China, the National Committee of the Progressive Labor Party extends deep comradely greetings to the people of China and to their proletarian vanguard, the Communist Party of China. The great revolutionary victory over imperialism and the Kuomintang bourgeois reactionaries established the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. Together with the October Revolution, which has been betrayed by the new Russian tsars, the Chinese revolution is a milestone of the proletarian socialist revolution. The timely launching of the proletarian cultural revolution consolidated the socialist state and brought the great Marxist-Leninist thought of Mao Tsetung to the masses of China and revolutionaries throughout the world. Above all, the teachings of Comrade Mao instruct revolutionaries to wholeheartedly serve the people. This means that in order to win and secure socialism we must defeat revisionism, racism and nationalism, which are based on the reactionary bourgeois outlook of self-profit. The U.S. and Soviet imperialists conspire to encircle and destroy socialist China. The focal point of their counter-revolutionary strategy is to liquidate the people’s war in Viet Nam by obtaining a political deal in Paris which will protect the U.S. imperialist economic and military interests in Southeast Asia. Temporary reversals caused by revisionist-nationalist betrayals will ultimately be swept away by the continuing revolutionary upsurge of the oppressed masses led by genuine Marxist-Leninists. This upsurge also gains momentum here in the United States. With militant Black workers in the lead, a broad worker-student alliance is being forged against the U.S. ruling class. Increasing number of revolutionary youth study Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Comrade Mao to guide the class struggle for a new society. All revolutionaries are inspired by the great achievements of the People’s Republic of China under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung.”

*Source: Peking Review 24 October 1969.*

**MC5 comments:** The document above may seem like other communiques supporting Mao at the time, but it actually contains a number of rare items. First, it says “we must defeat, revisionism, racism and nationalism,” without qualifying that the nationalism of oppressed nations is applied internationalism and hence progressive.

Secondly, the document mentions “temporary reversals caused by revisionist-nationalist betrayals.” This was a veiled reference to the Communist Party of Vietnam.

Finally, the document is excellent evidence that it was at that time that Progressive Labor Party was reaching out to workers to forge the “worker-student alliance.” We believe the Workers Party of Belgium (PTB) and the Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD) should look at the experience of the PLP as foreshadowing their own experience. Magazines from PLP at the time criticized Soviet revisionism in a way particularly reminiscent of the

MLPD. Like MLPD today, PLP wrote at length about the “petty-bourgeois mentality” that infected the Soviet Union’s Communist Party.

Unlike the PTB or MLPD though, the PLP took the stance above all else that all nationalism is bad. In their muddled explanation of their difference with Trotskyism, PLP claimed that Trotsky was too much for nationalism!

In reality, PLP is for imperialist country nationalism — perfuming of the imperialist country petty-bourgeoisie in particular. The PLP excels in rooting out the evil interests of the oppressed nation bourgeoisie, but it carried out one hell of a magic trick by making the imperialist country petty-bourgeoisie disappear. In the Road to Revolution III, the PLP asks how it could be a wing of capitalists could be more progressive than peasants. What it really should have asked is how office workers could be more progressive than peasants. That question was answered correctly and directly by Lenin and all other COMINTERN leaders, but the PLP goes on about the majority being proletarian. These combined efforts of the PLP are designed to cause the proletariat to lose in class struggle.

Where the proletariat does set up a pole as in China, PLP opposes the united front and wishes defeat on the proletarian camp. PLP says in Road to Revolution III: “The ‘lesser evil’ line has two main consequences: it either prevents revolutionary movements from seizing power or causes parties in power to restore capitalism.” With this trick, PLP hopes to capitalize on knee-jerk disgust with the Democrats and Republicans and thus do away with the united front. Yet voting for one of two parties where there are numerous parties and the option of abstaining is not the same question as war-fighting. Generally, we do not ever see three armies on the battle-field fighting each other simultaneously. Nor did Hitler give Stalin the option of abstaining from war. Yet, PLP condemns Stalin for signing the pact with Hitler and then for allying with the Allied imperialists in World War II. At the same time PLP offers no historical proof of a better winning strategy. Indeed, PLPism has no revolutions to back its claims. Opposing the “lesser evils” thesis means having proletarian goals. It does not mean fighting all enemies simultaneously and it does not mean giving up the united front. Pragmatism cannot be combated with idealism. Pragmatism only ends up being reinforced by ineffective idealism of the PLP sort.

Where there is no proletarian pole set up yet, PLP sabotages its creation from within by smuggling in the labor aristocracy and other elements of the petty-bourgeoisie. In the next document we see the PLP magic trick, a disappearing act for the imperialist country petty-bourgeoisie, one to be palely imitated by the RCP-USA later.

*Progressive Labor Boston News, May, 1968, page 50*

“Progressive Labor: Building a Revolutionary Party of the Working Class” by a trade union club

*retyped by MC5*

“The Progressive Labor Party (PLP) is trying to build a revolutionary working class-led movement. The kind of movement we are trying to build and the way in which we fight is determined by our long range goal— the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Only Two Classes: Capitalists and Workers

“The two most important and powerful classes in the world to-

day are the working class and the owning class (capitalists, the bourgeoisie, the ruling class of the U=S= (sic.) and other capitalist countries). These two classes are defined by their relationship to the means of production (machinery, mines, buildings, land, etc.). The capitalist class owns the means of production and needs workers to operate the machines and produce the goods. The working class, which is the over-whelming majority, is that class of people who, because they don't own the means of production are forced to sell their ability to work (labor power in order to survive.)"

**MC5 comments:** What they leave out talking about "the world today" is that the overwhelming majority in the U\$A is petty-bourgeoisie.

In response to this kind of blunder in the estimation of revisionism, some comrades became the precursors for post-modernism, which is the trendy way of being subjectivist and relativist. Writers like Sakai, Tani, Sera, the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee and the Sojourner Truth Organization and others associated with the RYM (Revolutionary Youth Movement) saw supporting oppressed nation nationalism as a *carte blanche* for revisionism.

The errors of the Vietnamese and Korean comrades were taken up and reinforced by these right opportunists and precursors to post-modernism. If Mao said there needed to be Cultural Revolution, then these right opportunists and post-modernists said the attack on the bourgeoisie in the party was only necessary in China. If PLP attacked revisionism, these comrades said it was only because PLP was white or white-dominated.

Even in a situation as we have today where the principal contradiction is between imperialism and oppressed nations, Marxist-Leninist-Maoists have an obligation to scientific truth first and foremost. The distinctiveness of each nation is not a goal higher than the repudiation of revisionism. Putting nationalism above repudiating revisionism in the communist party is insecure nationalism and Liberalism combined.

The logical conclusion to such a line of reasoning as putting nationalism first is post-modernism. It's not much farther to saying what is correct or not depends on one's identity. That is why Marx stressed that a communist differs from other socialists and working-class activists in that communists are scientific and internationalist.

Either the Soviet Union had a bourgeoisie in the party like Khrushchev, Gorbachev and Yeltsin that restored capitalism, or it did not. The answer is not different depending on whether one is a Korean, Vietnamese or Chinese comrade.

In this regard, we share our unity with PLP. The Vietnamese party did fall into revisionism. PLP was also right about Zhou Enlai and Hua Guofeng, even while it attacked too many other targets.

Where MIM will not buy what PLP says concerns idealism. It is ultraleft idealism for PLP to split the way it has in the international communist movement. There is as yet no successful PLPist revolution, except in the minds and souls of PLP comrades led by their New Age gurus. We cannot have organizations splitting away every time they come up with a new line. The communist movement must be improved from within through unity and centralism.

# Puerto Rico's relationship to U.\$ imperialism and Puerto's Rico class structure

by MC5

March 22, 1998

The highest question on the agenda in Puerto Rico in this 100th anniversary of the Yankee imperialist invasion of Puerto Rico is what should Puerto Rico do about its culture and relationship to the United States. The question is known as "status" in Puerto Rico.

The popular press paints the question as one of three choices: 1) status quo 2) statehood 3) independence. The problem with the status quo is that it continues 100 years of colonialism.

Before the Yankee imperialists there were Spanish imperialists in Puerto Rico. When the Yankees took over in Puerto Rico, the economy revolved around agriculture. As in Cuba, sugar was a focal point.

Examining Puerto Rican history this past century, it turns out that we cannot separate the status question from the question of the class structure. For example, much of the initial move out of agriculture in Puerto Rico came from boosting government employment. For politicians to come quickly upon a large sum of money to hire state employees with, a relationship with the United States was necessary.

As of 1993, the 1.2 million workers were only 17 percent in manufacturing, six percent in construction and another five percent in communications and transport. A separate statistic shows that agriculture is now only one percent of the Puerto Rican economy and three percent of the national economy counting exports. Hence, what we Marxists call the "productive sector" is a small minority of the Puerto Rican economy. In this way, Puerto Rico already mirrors its Yankee master. Most employment is services. Government by itself is 22 percent of employment and trade is another 20 percent.

As late as 1950, Puerto Rico was still dominated by agriculture. 36 percent of workers were in agriculture and another 9 percent in manufacturing, thus giving Puerto Rico a hefty productive sector. In 1956, manufacturing surpassed agriculture,<sup>(1)</sup> but today Puerto Rico sports an economy with 20 or 25 percent of workers in the productive sector, much like the U.\$ economy.

## Status: colonial, independent or 51st state

According to Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina, the Puerto Ricans should not receive \$1 billion in foodstamps, because they do not pay federal taxes. President Nixon and Congress had approved putting Puerto Rico and other island colonies on the foodstamp list in 1971. Since then redneck conservatives like Helms and some liberal colonialists paint Puerto Rico as a country of mooching sponges. Helms says he cannot explain the foodstamps hand-out to Puerto Ricans to his constituents.

We agree that Helms has labor-aristocracy constituents. They have proved to be motivated by racism before. Hence no amount of reasoning about Puerto Rico would help them on issues related to taxes and appropriation of labor.

Rather than endure charges of colonialism, the U.S. government granted Puerto Rico second-class U.S. citizenship. This means the Puerto Rican men have to serve in the U.S. military forces. 60,000 did so in World War I. Hence, maybe Jesse Helms should explain to his constituents that Puerto Rican men die for the U.S.A., but they cannot vote for their commander-in-chief or the Congress that declares war. Maybe his constituents would give him a different response if the educated leader so framed the question. It's not taxation without representation. It's conscription without representation. Helms should also examine the fact that profits repatriated from Puerto Rico equal or exceed the welfare payments to Puerto Rico.(2) By 1978, pharmaceutical companies alone in Puerto Rico repatriated \$1.1 billion in profits. (3)

Beyond the fact that Puerto Ricans have served in all the U.S. wars this century and continue to serve in the ongoing occupation of Korea and have unfortunately earned their imperialist citizenship with blood, the Puerto Ricans also receive foodstamps, because otherwise they would all move to the USA, and the ruling class does not want that to happen. The junior ruling partner known as the labor aristocracy especially does not want all the Puerto Ricans to move to the United States. As it is, Puerto Rico loses a net of over 6 out of 1000 Puerto Ricans to emigration each year. Since the Puerto Ricans do have U.S. citizenship, they would just move to the Mainland USA if they endured too much economic difficulty at home in Puerto Rico. It is this dynamic that has undercut the movement for independence for Puerto Rico at a political economy level of causation. Majorities of Puerto Ricans have always expressed economic fear of leaving the U.S.A. as an independent country. However, if Helms did manage to cut the foodstamps or the tax advantage for U.S. companies operating in Puerto Rico, we at MIM would still say right on! The revolution will only speed up. The choice in Puerto Rico is assimilation, colonial social-democracy or revolutionary communist independence. The more big mouths like Helms we can find, the better for our cause. He will cut out the statehood and colonial social-democratic options.

The belief in the economic necessity of maintaining a strong business interaction with the USA led a politician originally for independence toward forming the relationship widely condemned by Puerto Ricans and global anti-imperialists as "colonialism." This colonialism is called "commonwealth" or sometimes "free association." Commonwealth supporters claim Puerto Rico chose its relationship with the USA of its own free will.

Today, the U.S. military occupies 13 percent of Puerto Rican land.(4) The U.S. Government also makes decisions for Puerto Rico about shipping, insurance, foreign affairs, defense etc. Boston is the district court for Puerto Rico. Since Puerto Rico is literally administered by the Mainland, it is a colony. We recommend Ronald Fernandez's book "The Disenchanted Island" as the best history of the island. It exposes at length the U.S. imposition of colonialism and the collaborators within Puerto Rico who saw to its continuation. Research uncovered in this book is unknown to other authors we read.

One of the key acts that determined the shape of the current struggle besides unabated military occupation since 1898 was the

president's coming out for free trade in 1899. That means he favored treating Puerto Rico as another state and not charging it tariffs on its exports to the United States. President McKinley recognized that the U.S. war with Spain deprived Puerto Rico of its old trading partner and now Puerto Rico would need a new one, lest it suffer instead of the Spanish.

In a compromise with the U.S. Congress McKinley imposed small tariffs for two years, refused citizenship and reserved the right to proclaim free trade. His legislation became law in 1900. Monies gathered from such tax collection were turned over to Puerto Rico. (5) Ever since then, the fear of losing preferential trade agreements with the US has been a major factor to keep Puerto Rico from going independent.

As Uncle Sam thought about Puerto Rico and what to do with it, the War Department came to an alliance with the island socialists, not unlike the alliances seen of the Kautskyites and others to his right with European imperialism during World War I. The War Department believed it was crucial to hold on to Puerto Rico as a naval base to cork up the Caribbean and it sided with socialists who wanted statehood for Puerto Rico.(6) Hence there has been some steady military reasoning that making Puerto Rico a state was the easiest and surest way to secure military bases in the Caribbean. It was exactly this reasoning that Reagan and Bush applied in speaking for statehood and supporting a Puerto Rican party in favor of a larger welfare state. The first calculation of the ruling class that the Puerto Ricans could use to their advantage was that class struggle might threaten the stability of Puerto Rico and hence make the military bases less secure.

The next advantage of the Puerto Ricans as is often the case was inter-imperialist rivalry. When the Germans and USA were at war, the imperialists decided amongst themselves that the Danish better sell the West Indies to Uncle Sam, because Uncle Sam could protect them better from the Germans. Wanting not to take care of the mess that such a transition would entail, Denmark insisted that all islanders be granted U.S. citizenship. With the aid of a ruling class figure named Arthur Yager, Congress passed a similar bill in 1917 for Puerto Rico to show the world that the USA was more liberal and democratic than Germany.(7) Of course, it also helped that Puerto Ricans were being conscripted for the war!

The leaders of the Union Party that dominated Puerto Rican politics the first 20 years of Yankee invasion opposed accepting U.S. citizenship if it meant that statehood and independence were ruled out. Yet despite their political voice, the Yankees imposed the hand-picked choice of the U.S. president for governor on the island even after 1917. They also forced citizenship on the Puerto Ricans by threatening military force and by making it practically impossible to get a job without being a U.S. citizen in Puerto Rico. Only 288 Puerto Ricans out of 1.2 million stood up to formally reject U.S. citizenship in 1917.(8)

### **The original motivation of Commonwealth**

Like capitulators everywhere, Luis Munoz Marin despaired of his people's abilities. He didn't think Puerto Rico could make it as a nation. Originally Munoz Marin was a Liberal with some Marxist ideas for independence. When he saw the chance though, he got on-board for colonial social-democracy. While we criticize the individual as a political leader, it was inevitable that someone like Munoz Marin would arise given the opportunities that existed in the U.S.-Puerto Rico relationship at the time.

In 1930 he said, “The Puerto Rican masses. . . are as poor today as they were before the United States took over the island. . . . The American tariff compels Puerto Rico to buy necessities in the American market at monopoly prices. . . . It is this flow of wealth out of the island and the high cost of living imposed by the monopoly market that keeps the bulk of the Puerto Rican population in the same economic state of thirty-one years ago.”(9)

From the 1930s till 1968, Munoz Marin monopolized Puerto Rican politics. However, he changed his position from that of 1930. In essence, he was impressed with the Democratic Party in the USA and sought to bring Puerto Rico under the aegis of the New Deal. He told voters that commonwealth, independence or statehood did not matter relative to bread and butter. Although the New Deal had yet to do anything for Puerto Rico, already Teddy Roosevelt Jr. was saying that Puerto Rico should be a “show window looking south.”(10) Munoz Marin correctly understood that Puerto Rico was in for a special deal from the imperialists that could not be offered to all Third World countries. While the imperialist system has no hope of solving the whole world’s economic problems the favored few selected by Washington can become rich.

In salivating for a special deal with the imperialists, Munoz Marin only took up the economism of a social-democratic leader named Santiago Iglesias who came before Munoz Marin. Iglesias had organized Puerto Rico’s first union, but he was in prison when the Yankees landed. The Yankee army let him form a union in 1899. From then until his death in 1939, Iglesias sought to follow the AFL in the USA. This meant taking advantage of civil liberties to organize for bread and butter and it meant being pro-statehood.(11) The Socialist Party dissolved after the death of Iglesias, but others were to take up his politics.

The political basis of colonial social-democracy for a generation was machine-politics pure and simple. Those who obtained government sector jobs were expected to contribute to and vote for the PPD—the “Populares.” Always the PPD looked ahead for some source of money to hire civil servants to support the party. As late as 1974, the PPD was borrowing money in New York in order to pay for public sector jobs.(12) Beyond the narrow support of the employed in the public sector, the PPD also gains brownie points from the public for increasing employment, no matter on what basis with whatever economic soundness of strategy.

The first 40 years of Yankee invasion, sugar ruled the economy. In 1929, U.S. companies owned or rented 68 percent of the sugarcane land which was one-third of all Puerto Rico’s cultivated land. It was the same story in tobacco and fruit.(13) The first hint of instant money for a PPD political machine were various promises made of providing \$150 million (or less in subsequent promises) to Puerto Rico based on monies collected from the Sugar Act of 1934.(14) Between 1935 and 1938, New Deal relief organizations set up in Puerto Rico did employ 60,000 people and paid \$1 million per month in salaries— all under the administration of Luis Munoz Marin.(15)

Nothing came of the original promises of the New Deal for a sugar tax for Puerto Rico but revolutionary nationalist unrest at the time continued to worry the imperialists. In 1936 after violence against U.S. colonial officials, the U.S. government proposed independence for Puerto Rico in four years! Colonial “socialist” Santiago Iglesias opposed it and it was dead on arrival in Congress.

Luis Munoz Marin made a classic statement on why he also re-

jected the proposal for independence and abstained from elections for his Liberal Party. ““You can’t impale me on that have your cake and eat it too. That is just what I do want.””(16) He wanted New Deal money and professed to want independence too; although he would later drop that profession. Thus in 1936, Munoz Marin was salivating for New Deal money to such a degree that he decided he would not support independence when offered on a silver platter. He abandoned his party which won 46 percent of the vote with “independence now!” as a slogan. Had the “socialists” of the social-democratic variety supported independence, there would have been a clear victory.

In 1938, Munoz Marin founded his PPD which won elections till 1968. The New Deal Democrats on the Mainland never did bail out Munoz Marin despite his similarity to them. Rather the New Dealers gave Munoz Marin just a large enough taste of largesse to whet his appetite and create a political machine.

Instead, World War II bailed out the PPD. Cut off from European liquor supplies, the United States suddenly increased Puerto Rican rum consumption. Rum taxes skyrocketed from under \$2 million in 1939 to over \$65 million in 1944 and Puerto Rico managed to get a hold of 70 percent of them.(17) In addition, U.S. war expenditures coursed through the Puerto Rican economy as well, providing 18.2 percent of that economy in 1945.(18) With money to spend, the PPD bought parcels of land for land reform thus further expanding its popularity.

In 1944 the independence movement surged forward and even Munoz Marin publicly admitted that the majority of Puerto Rico wanted independence. His party thus smashed the statehood supporters by obtaining 65 percent of the vote. What is little known is that once again the U.S. government quietly worked for offering independence, this time with an easier 20 year transition instead of 4 years and once again Munoz Marin turned down the bill for independence of 1945.(19)

Although Munoz Marin opposed independence, even his political cronies put up by his party in elections signed petitions for independence in 1945. 11 out of 19 senators, 22 out of 39 representatives and 42 out of 73 PPD mayors supported independence. Ronald Fernandez said this amounted to 57 percent of all elected officials.(20)

Munoz managed to maneuver to an extent at that juncture though intensely criticized for it. Eventually President Truman killed the idea of a plebiscite to determine the will of Puerto Ricans. It is not surprising in the aftermath of Truman’s colonial impositions in the face of popular demand, armed struggle arose.

Apart from a nationalist revolt, which we will cover in another article on Pedro Albizu Campos, the next challenge came with regard to international public opinion. To persuade the UN to remove Puerto Rico from the colonies list or non-self-governing territories list as it was called, President Eisenhower promised to grant independence for Puerto Rico any time it asked. So it was that in 1953, President Eisenhower offered independence to Puerto Rico and once again the PPD ignored the offer.(21)

In 1956, major U.S. ruling circles led by Henry Cabot Lodge again raised the idea of independence for Puerto Rico, thanks to criticism at the UN. On this question, we learn that despite our admiration for his book, even Ronald Fernandez believes that a simple principled position of independence for Puerto Rico was not sustainable. Since 67 percent of Puerto Ricans had just approved Commonwealth in 1952 elections and thereby finally



achieved formal colonialism through Munoz Marin's leadership, Fernandez again raises that it was wrong for Uncle Sam to raise the idea of setting Puerto Rico free. MIM disagrees with Fernandez on this point: achieving independence through non-violent means however imperfect is still preferable to having to launch People's War. Puerto Rico's rejection through its leadership of independence and the discourse concerning it raise picayune issues in the face of the general principle of independence. It is a measure of the reality of the annexationist position, that Puerto Rican and American authors both perceive that independence is impractical for this or that reason.

In 1964, Munoz Marin finally retired. 85,000 jobs had been created between 1960 and 1965.(22) The job growth was long overdue, because by 1963 there were still 28,000 fewer total jobs than in 1948.(23)

Since 1968, there has been a see-saw battle between the statehood supporters of the PNP (New Progressive Party) and the commonwealth continuation of colonialism in the PPD (Popular Democratic Party). In 1968, the PNP won elections, but the PPD won in 1972. The PNP reclaimed power in 1976, but the PPD took it back in 1984 until 1992 when the PNP reclaimed power yet again. Although the PNP is in power, polls show that only 36 percent of the public supports their view for statehood; although it is likely that with the support of U.S. Congress more would support statehood if Congress offered something tangible, like a specific chance and transition plan to become a state. If the terms are not too onerous, it is possible a majority would support statehood.

There is no doubt that it is possible to bend the will of an entire people and bring about assimilation. According to Marx and Lenin such assimilation was a progressive aspect of capitalism that prepared the day of one internationalist humyn race. On the other hand, Lenin strongly backed national liberation in the colonies and semi-colonies.

The masses of Puerto Rico expressed themselves for independence in the 1940s and 1950s. When they were turned down and their armed struggle was crushed, they turned to adjusting to their oppression. The Puerto Rican masses started to pay more attention to choosing their oppressors after 1952, to see if this or that one would provide any small advantage relative to the other oppressors. Both the PNP and PPD are parties of collaboration with Yankee imperialism.

In 1965, the United States sent the Marines to the neighboring Dominican Republic to prevent a democratically elected president from returning himself to power against a U.S.-backed coup. The blood in the streets reminded Puerto Ricans the price of resisting Uncle Sam. When the Nicaraguans elected a "democratic socialist" government, Uncle Sam gave military aid again to the other side and made the people pay in blood for their choice. For this reason, election results in Puerto Rico and elsewhere in the Third World only show what the people will say with their arms twisted behind their backs. In elections, the Puerto Ricans can only choose how they will be chained to the United States, not whether they will be chained.

The result in Puerto Rico where the people spoke for independence and the Yankees rejected it is proof why "democratic socialism" does not work. We communists reject "democratic socialism," because in this day and age to achieve a truly free election it is necessary to be able to defeat Yankee imperialism militarily. To defeat Yankee imperialism militarily one has to organize a military

force, and to be accountable we must admit that it means applying dictatorship over the Yankee. The Puerto Ricans have tried for decades "to persuade" the United States to leave, but only dictatorship (organized force) will settle the question. Without the freedom to keep the Yankees out, the elections only show what the Puerto Rican people will say with their arms twisted behind their backs. That is not to mention the economic pressures exerted on Puerto Ricans considering their destiny.

MIM is for dictatorship over the imperialist countries led by the proletariat of the oppressed nations. That means we believe it will only be organized force that abolishes the current state of colonialism and neo-colonialism in the world. We also believe that there should be free trade between socialist states, so that large economies can no longer blackmail small ones with the threat of tariffs.

We started this section talking about the origins of Commonwealth thought on economics. Now we turn to the economic bases for wanting statehood.

### The economic basis of assimilation

It is thought that Puerto Rico is not particularly rich in natural resources going beyond its natural beauty, well suited to enjoyment, botany and tourism. With a population about the size of a U.S. city like Chicago, many doubt whether Puerto Rico is a viable nation.

We believe Puerto Rico is a viable nation; however, there is an economic basis for assimilation. It is not much difficulty for the USA to swallow Puerto Rico whole. The strongest force is the economic tie to the Mainland. "Men, as Rousseau remarked, run to meet their chains. Of no person is that more true than the average present-day Puerto Rican, who, with the old class alignments breaking down, indulges in a frantic pursuit of new social status through the ownership of the gimmicks and gadgets offered by the American system. . . . But because they are willing victims they become their own executioners."(24)

In this regard, Munoz Marin was the one to set up the standard where politicians were evaluated based on bread and butter issues devoid of status politics. Running to meet his chains is an apt description, because historians have now uncovered that despite public pronouncements to the contrary by the Congress and Presidents of the U.S. Government, Munoz Marin did receive the option of independence from the USA and he turned it down repeatedly saying it would be an economic disaster. For MIM, this made shocking reading. Usually a politician does not turn down the chance to be head-of-state, but Munoz Marin did. He preferred outright colonialism to neo-colonialism, apparently because he took his own economic philosophy for Puerto Rico seriously. Since Munoz Marin gave legitimacy to the idea of putting aside the status issue for bread-and-butter issues, the other Puerto Rican politicians finally countered with economic strategies of their own.

Although PNP statehood supporters say that "statehood is for the poor" (which is the 1973 title of a book by PNP lead Romero Barcelo) because Puerto Ricans would enjoy more welfare benefits as a state, according to a 1997 San Juan Star poll, 52 percent of the Puerto Ricans making under \$5000 a year oppose statehood. That is about equal to the 52.8 percent who rejected statehood in a 1993 plebiscite with 75 percent participation.(25)

Nonetheless, the PNP strengthened its hand greatly by changing its stated reasons for statehood. Where it used to be a tiny minority party, it is now one of the two major bourgeois parties along with

the PPD. Originally earlier in the century statehood was the project of the Socialist Party, Republicans and scattered poor. The landed class of sugar planters was the hard-core money behind the statehood position. Some socialists favored sell-out to the Mainland in order to gain union protection and minimum wage legislation. In fact, the statehooders attempted to out-left the PPD (which had come to sustained power with populism and colonial social-democracy). 1965 saw the launch of a movement for statehood based on the idea it would gain minimum wage and other labor protection standards for Puerto Rican workers. Out of this movement arose a strong showing in the plebiscite on status in 1967 and Luis Ferre came to power as governor as the head of the new party called the PNP in 1968. (26)

The PNP argued that it was necessary to have an eight persyn Puerto Rican delegation in Congress and votes in the electoral college to assure that Puerto Rico's budget not be cut. (27) Reagan ended up cutting the Puerto Rico budget in his first term.

Some have noted that as the multinationals repatriated more and more profits out of the country, the only thing that made up the difference was the increase of U.S. federal outlays to Puerto Rico. "Federal transfers—both in the form of program grants, such as those for education or urban improvement, and in the form of grants made directly to individuals, such as food stamps—came to play an increasingly significant role in sustaining the island economy. In 1950, they represented a mere 9 percent of the island's GDP; by 1980, federal assistance accounted for 29 percent and over 60 percent of Puerto Ricans were receiving food stamps." (28)

One basis for annexationism has been removed with the introduction of minimum wages. The notion that minimum wage laws in the U.S. will protect Puerto Ricans has had an influence on wages in Puerto for some time. In 1982, those minimum wages finally fell into line with U.S. minimum wages. (29) Raymond Carr either did not know or passed over this point, but the U.S. companies in Puerto Rico have to pay \$5.15 an hour. It is perhaps difficult for the colonial bourgeoisie to argue that it is necessary to have statehood to have the minimum wage, when Puerto Rico can set its own minimum wage for itself. Currently it is \$4.25. Thus during the PNP period of power the wages equalized at the lower end.

Another basis for the PNP is the Cubans who left Cuba after the revolution. According to Liberal bourgeois historian Raymond Carr, "the most solid social support for the PNP comes from the Cuban exile community, many of whom are members of the prosperous former middle class who have fled the perils of socialism in their home island. . . . Their twenty thousand-odd votes are critical to the PNP; without them, Romero would not be governor of Puerto Rico." (30) That is a reference to the narrow margin of victory in 1980 by the PNP.

Historically, statehood had its support from sugar planters wishing to be part of the USA. Important labor, socialist, Cuban and Black leaders joined in. Although statehood has still not earned majority support from the poor it has made substantial inroads there as well. Those advocating independence suffered from not being able to point to tangible resources and businesses that would keep Puerto Rico afloat if it chose independence. This situation differed from the Japanese invasion Mao faced in China, because the Japanese never managed nor intended to administer the whole country, so substantial parts of the rural economy were left untouched. Mao set up base areas and organized tangible economic forces for nationhood.

### The new petty-bourgeoisie

Two authors writing on Puerto Rico—Gordon Lewis and Emilio Pantojas-Garcia— have followed Poulantzas in talking about the new petty-bourgeoisie in Puerto Rico. Poulantzas put forward the MIM line on the new petty-bourgeoisie before MIM existed. He held that the new petty-bourgeoisie came to replace the working-class in imperialist countries.

Around 1960, the proletarian character of the Puerto Rican people living in the Mainland reached its peak. "By 1950, 48.4 percent of the Puerto Rican migrants in the United States were classified as 'operatives' (i.e. machine operators and related activities) and 18.6 percent were service workers. By 1960, 51.8 percent of the Puerto Rican migrants were classified as operatives and 15.2 percent were service workers." (31) Approximately 10 percent were unemployed; 8 percent were foremen and 2.8 percent were professionals or technicians. Half a million Puerto Ricans moved to the United States in the 1950s.

Meanwhile, those who were left behind in Puerto Rico became increasingly petty-bourgeois in character. "The sectors that increased the most were the craftsmen and foremen, the professionals and technicians, clerical workers, and service workers, in that order. If these occupational categories were translated into the concepts used here the craftsmen and foremen would be included in the labor aristocracy; the professionals and technicians as part of the category that has been called the technobureaucracy; and the clerical workers and service employees, as well as some professionals and technicians, as intermediary elements mainly linked to nonproductive activities. They would constitute, in an embryonic form, what Poulantzas calls the new petty bourgeoisie." (32) Despite the growth of the Puerto Rican petty-bourgeoisie, Puerto Ricans on the mainland still had a 46 percent higher median family income as of 1959. (33)

Monthly Review author Gordon Lewis put it this way in the early 1970s with regard to the formation of two new petty-bourgeois classes in Puerto Rico: "The growth in the 1950s and 1960s of a new generation of professional meritocrats who found a new economic base in the social programs developed by the Popular reform governments. They became, in Angel Quintero Rivera's phrase, the technocrats of the new industrial welfare state which is modern Puerto Rico. . . .

"Beneath them—although the class lines are somewhat blurred at this point—is a new middle class proper, the genuine children of the embourgeoisement process, the product, sui generis, of the transformation of the society from a quiet, rural economy into a modern, American-style urban economy, with its frenetic pace, its frantic search for social status, its obsessive materialism, and, in brief, its compelling anxiety to 'make the grade' in a new competitive world. Statistically, it forms something like 20 to 25 percent of the population. Occupationally, it includes teachers, government employees, doctors, dentists, welfare workers, salesmen, owners and managers of satellite service industries, junior executives, secretaries, mass media functionaries, technicians, and others. Its physical presence, highly visible, can be seen in the myriad suburban villa areas that have proliferated in the expanding outskirts of the major cities, thus converting greater San Juan into a modern American-style megalopolis, while most of the other Caribbean centers still remain pre-industrial townships." (34)

Already by 1971, poverty was mainly a rural thing. 73 percent of

those receiving federal aid for the neediest were in the rural areas of Puerto Rico.(35)

The economy had regressed considerably in the 1960s in terms of employment, but people had moved out of the countryside and a radical expansion of state jobs once again cushioned the blow of a shrinking economy. In 1964 the government sector provided 12 percent of the jobs and by 1976 it was 22 percent.(36)

According to Emilio Pantojas-Garcia, it is the new petty-bourgeoisie which most adamantly opposes independence. Created by economic ties to the USA, the new petty-bourgeoisie seeks various ways to maintain that relationship.(37)

Prospects of development and growth of the Puerto Rican labor aristocracy

Between 1976 and 1988, Puerto Rico generated almost 200,000 new jobs. Much of what dominated political discussion was how to attract banking business to Puerto Rico.

It turns out that imperialist capital benefits from commonwealth the most, because it brings tax-free shelters that would not exist if Puerto Rico were a state in the union. In 1986, taken as a country, Puerto Rico led the whole world for providing profits to U.S. direct investors. Not England, Canada or West Germany matched total profits obtained in Puerto Rico.(38)

Thus the growth of the role of imperialist capital in Puerto Rico and the escape of poor Puerto Ricans to the mainland means that the seal of parasitism is rapidly going into place in all of Puerto Rico. In the 1976 to 1988 period, “service and financial sectors led job creation. . . Nonproductive or nonmanual categories grew far more than productive ones, from 47.1 percent of all occupations to 52.3 percent. Productive ones declined from 40.6 to 34.4 percent of all occupations.”(39)

The growth of the labor aristocracy in Puerto Rico is assured the more Puerto Rico resembles the imperialist country economies. Currently, the economic situation is comparable to the level of economic development in Greece. Puerto Rico is a notch above Portugal as well, based on gross domestic product per persyn. In this range of development we should also include Korea.

In these countries we see some favorable political fermentation. In Korea, Puerto Rico and the Six Counties of occupied Ireland, the economic development level is about half that in the USA and a national question has lingered in the air for a long period of time. In each of these cases imperialism has demonstrated its ability on a limited basis to buy off chunks of people .by favorable trade, tax or other arrangements. Without the economic confidence associated with having a closer relationship to imperialism, these countries would have adopted revolution long ago.

However, when militant labor bureaucrats say the economic conditions are bad in an imperialist country and expect revolution by determined workers, they should look at the countries in this batch first. Just based on economic conditions and not particular political crises, we should not expect a staunch proletarian movement in the United States before we see it in Puerto Rico. If the workers in Puerto Rico are not in a revolutionary mood, less can we expect such from U.S. or English or French or Japanese workers with regard to their economic conditions. While allowances should be made for particular political crises—like the rape of Japanese children by U.S. troops in Japan—in general it is a good measure of ultraleftism to hear people talk about the prospects of revolution in the imperialist countries as if those prospects were better or more essential than those in Puerto Rico, Korea and the Six Counties.

Revolutionary gains in the imperialist countries count on strategies focussed on immigration, the lumpenproletariat, internal oppressed nations, anti-militarism, environmentalism and proletarian feminism. Even in these areas, it may not be possible to organize a majority except against militarism and for the environment.

One thing that our excellent author Emilio Pantojas-Garcia on development misses is the prospects for a Puerto Rican solution globally. Any bragging about the abilities of the capitalist system even at this late imperialist stage to sustain economic growth should be balanced by the cases of capitalist countries where there has been regression in GNP per capita. As we showed in MT#1, the facts are that in the Third World, losers outnumber winners. In fact, even in Europe, the oldest imperialist powers such as Portugal and Eastern Europe have seen losses of position relative to their heydays. It is not that capitalism is a dynamic influence (except relative to feudalism). Some countries can gain especially in a combination of favorable tax, tariff and land reform struggles, but others will just as surely fall back.

It is almost a tautology to say that the strategy pursued in Puerto Rico cannot be pursued elsewhere. The premise of Puerto Rican development is that corporations operate there tax-free and Puerto Rico faces no tariffs to export to the USA. If all countries were able to operate tax-free vis-a-vis Uncle Sam, then the corporations would spread out very thinly and no one country would benefit from such a status. The same is true of tariff advantages. If all countries had no tariffs placed on their goods imported into the USA, there would be a different kind of advantage, but not the kind where capital concentrates itself in one place.

The fact that Puerto Rico’s “model of development” or “showcase to Latin America” is not reproducible is immediately apparent in Puerto Rico’s reaction to Reagan’s CBI— Caribbean Basin Initiative. Reagan wanted to make investment and trade advantages available to all of the Caribbean islands and El Salvador. Puerto Rico objected and critics accused Puerto Rico of foot-dragging in its administrative role for the CBI. Among other things, the Puerto Ricans feared that their rum sales would be undercut as other islands got in on the act of producing rum and selling it to the USA tariff-free. In response, the Puerto Rican government even protested “discrimination”?(40)

### Prospects for revolution

This being the 100th anniversary of the infamous Yankee invasion, the prospects of revolution are much better. Political energy and focus is being brought to bear. In 1997, polls conducted for the San Juan Star showed that the public already rejected certain elements of integration with U.S. imperialism. For example, support for statehood had failed to cross 36 percent for several years.

Over two-thirds of Puerto Ricans opposed losing the ability to go to international sports events and beauty contests as Puerto Rico instead of part of the United States. 75 percent opposed making English the official language.

With 89 percent literacy, now more than ever the Puerto Rican masses are able to compare their experiences with international experiences. For this reason, 65 percent agree that Puerto Rico would benefit economically by becoming a state while only 36 percent want to become a state. Thus Puerto Rico may have reached a point where we cannot adopt a straight-forward economist interpretation of Puerto Rican behavior.

Having achieved much of the U.S. standard of living, Puerto Rican

masses feel no conscious or unconscious push toward statehood—as long as U.S. tax breaks for businesses operating in Puerto Rico remain in place. Should the U.S. Congress eliminate such tax breaks as often threatened, we may see a different view from the people who may feel either resentment or pressure for statehood.

The U.S. Republican Party's attempts to bring Puerto Rico on board as a state may also backfire, since such an endeavor is bound to be high-profile. As historians have shown, much of U.S. policy toward Puerto Rico is simply ignorance and therefore continuation of the status quo out of lack of concern. When it comes to being in the spotlight, we may find that the U.S. government officials blunder intentionally or unintentionally and create Puerto Rican nationalism and better prospects for revolution.

While the question of status bodes well for revolution, the economic tide has turned against the revolutionary movement. The growth of the new petty-bourgeoisie and the appeal of getting on the gravy-train are very great. On the other hand, we can also hope that the Yankee style economic development gives the masses a sense of being able to do without Uncle Sam's foodstamps. The Puerto Rican people may yet come to believe they can afford nationhood and maybe the nationalization of Yankee assets.

Another factor is the migration away from Puerto Rico of Puerto Ricans and the influx of non-Puerto Ricans. By 1971, the number of people voting in Puerto Rico who were not Puerto Rican was 30,000.(41) The USA dumped the reactionary Cubans fleeing revolution in Puerto Rico. In addition, there are those from the Mainland who settle in Puerto Rico for the same reasons they would to Hawaii or Florida.

Until a Jesse Helms position takes control of the Puerto Rico policy of the Mainland USA, it will be difficult even for the new democratic stage of revolution to occur. Puerto Ricans who wish to vote can move to the Mainland and thereby enjoy bourgeois democracy without making revolution. As New Yorkers or members of other states, they can vote and enjoy the limited civil liberties of bourgeois democracy. For that matter Gordon K. Lewis pointed out that Puerto Ricans can and do directly appeal to U.S. public opinion from Puerto Rico. As long as this is possible and there is no open fascist dictatorship, prospects for revolution are diminished.

#### Notes:

1. Raymond Carr, *Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment* (NY: New York University Press, 1984), p. 231.
2. Gordon K. Lewis, *Notes on the Puerto Rican Revolution: An Essay on American Dominance and Caribbean Resistance* (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1974), p. 52.
3. Ronald Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: 1996), p. 239.
4. William M. Kunstler and Ronald L. Kuby, intro. Ronald Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: 1996), p. xi.
5. Ronald Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: 1996), pp. 15-9.
6. Ronald Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: 1996), p.62.
7. Ronald Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: 1996), p. 71.
8. Ronald Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: 1996), p. 73.
9. Gordon K. Lewis, *Notes on the Puerto Rican Revolution: An Essay on American Dominance and Caribbean Resistance* (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1974), pp. 68-9.
10. Ronald Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: 1996), p. 117.
11. Raymond Carr, *Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment* (NY: New York University Press, 1984), pp. 157-60.
12. Raymond Carr, *Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment* (NY: New York University Press, 1984), p. 215.
13. Emilio Pantojas-Garcia, *Development Strategies as Ideology: Puerto Rico's Export-Led Industrialization Experience* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990), pp. 29-30.
14. Ronald Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: 1996), p. 117.
15. Emilio Pantojas-Garcia, *Development Strategies as Ideology: Puerto Rico's Export-Led Industrialization Experience* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990), p. 37.
16. Ronald Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: 1996), p. 127.
17. Ronald Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: 1996), p.145.
18. Emilio Pantojas-Garcia, *Development Strategies as Ideology: Puerto Rico's Export-Led Industrialization Experience* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990), p. 50.
19. Ronald Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: 1996), p. 153.
20. Ronald Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: 1996), p.154.
21. Ronald Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: 1996), pp. 187-9.
22. Ronald Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: 1996), pp. 214-5.
23. Emilio Pantojas-Garcia, *Development Strategies as Ideology: Puerto Rico's Export-Led Industrialization Experience* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990), p. 80.
24. Gordon K. Lewis, *Notes on the Puerto Rican Revolution: An Essay on American Dominance and Caribbean Resistance* (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1974), p. 58.
25. Ronald Fernandez, *The Disenchanted Island: Puerto Rico and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: 1996), p. 261.
26. Raymond Carr, *Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment* (NY: New York University Press, 1984), p. 148.
27. Raymond Carr, *Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment* (NY: New York University Press, 1984), p. 152.
28. Raymond Carr, *Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment* (NY: New York University Press, 1984), p. 215.
29. Raymond Carr, *Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment* (NY: New York University Press, 1984), p. 217.
30. Raymond Carr, *Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment* (NY: New York University Press, 1984), pp. 263-4.
31. Emilio Pantojas-Garcia, *Development Strategies as Ideology: Puerto Rico's Export-Led Industrialization Experience* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990), p. 81.
32. Emilio Pantojas-Garcia, *Development Strategies as Ideology: Puerto Rico's Export-Led Industrialization Experience* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990), p. 84.
33. Emilio Pantojas-Garcia, *Development Strategies as Ideology: Puerto*

- Rico's Export-Led Industrialization Experience (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990), p. 92.
34. Gordon K. Lewis, Notes on the Puerto Rican Revolution: An Essay on American Dominance and Caribbean Resistance (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1974), pp. 60-1.
35. Gordon K. Lewis, Notes on the Puerto Rican Revolution: An Essay on American Dominance and Caribbean Resistance (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1974), p. 65.
36. Emilio Pantojas-Garcia, Development Strategies as Ideology: Puerto Rico's Export-Led Industrialization Experience (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990), p. 123.
37. Emilio Pantojas-Garcia, Development Strategies as Ideology: Puerto Rico's Export-Led Industrialization Experience (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990), p. 132.
38. Emilio Pantojas-Garcia, Development Strategies as Ideology: Puerto Rico's Export-Led Industrialization Experience (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990), pp. 166-7.
39. Emilio Pantojas-Garcia, Development Strategies as Ideology: Puerto Rico's Export-Led Industrialization Experience (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990), pp. 168-9.
40. Raymond Carr, Puerto Rico: A Colonial Experiment (NY: New York University Press, 1984), p. 326.
41. Gordon K. Lewis, Notes on the Puerto Rican Revolution: An Essay on American Dominance and Caribbean Resistance (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1974), p. 18.

## Congress Resolution on Puerto Rico, 1998

1998 marks the 100th anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico. We seek to make it a year of progress toward the end of colonialism.

Uncle Sam uses the carrot and the stick to keep Puerto Rico under U.S. rule. One important carrot is U.S. citizenship. Economic pressure in Puerto Rico only builds up so much before emigration to the U.S.A. Puerto Ricans arrive in the U.S. not as illegal immigrants but as citizens.

U.S. government programs also bring money to Puerto Rico. These programs dull the nationalist passion of the Puerto Rican people.

Finally, as for carrots, there is the U.S. dollar itself binding Puerto Rico to the U.S.A. Since Puerto Rico does not have its own currency, it benefits fully from U.S. imperialist manipulations of international exchange. The masses of Puerto Rico enjoy the same prices for goods that mainland U.S. residents do.

For the stick, the U.S. puppet regime in Puerto Rico still does not allow unionization of workers and there is no minimum wage. As we speak, tepid legislation is coming to pass to allow government-approved unions.

This unique combination of circumstance makes Puerto Rico a microcosm of imperialism and its relationship to oppressed nations. Using the carrot more than in most oppressed nations, U.S. imperialism has created a "split in the working class" in Puerto Rico. The workers are not all sub-minimum wage proletarians and they are not all labor aristocracy. As an island, Puerto Rico would be the poorest U.S. state, but there are parts that certainly resemble the Mainland states, especially in the urban and suburban areas where

living conditions are very similar to those in the Mainland USA.

When the people rise up against colonialism, the U.S. Government cracks down with killings and imprisonment. Even though Puerto Rico is not the 51st state, the U.S. Government calls some actions of the Puerto Rican patriots "sedition" and convicts Puerto Rican patriots in U.S. courts.

MIM upholds both the peaceful and armed actions of Puerto Ricans against U.S. domination. That is what all Marxist-Leninist-Maoists must do to uphold the right of self-determination in Puerto Rico.

Hence, we call for the unconditional release of all Puerto Rican prisoners of war. As of yet, the same U.S. government founded by George Washington has yet to uphold international treaties and recognize the prisoner of war status of the anti-colonial freedom-fighters in Puerto Rico.

All Puerto Ricans in prison are political prisoners; although not all are prisoners of war. Puerto Rican political prisoners should all be released to be tried by Puerto Rican justice systems. Some prisoners are truly sick and will be incarcerated by the will of the Puerto Rican people, but most are victims of the world's leading prison state per capita — the USA. The majority will readily redeem themselves given a chance in a socialist system.

MIM seeks to uphold the Maoist tradition of the Young Lords Party — Puerto Rican Maoists organized here in the USA with the inspiration of the Black Panther Party. It is our duty to render material aid to the organization of a Maoist party that will conduct the People's War in Puerto Rico.

It is also our duty given the actually existing conditions to call on the Euro-American settlers moving to Puerto Rico to do business or retire to respect the national aspirations of the Puerto Rican people. We expect that land currently held by Euro-American settlers will be returned to the Puerto Rican people through revolution.

MIM supports all peaceful and armed efforts of the Puerto Rican patriots against the U.S. government. There are two mistakes to avoid through this line. One is to avoid opposing the right to self-determination. The Puerto Rican people are entitled to fight any way they choose. Some will fight better than others, but we must uphold the rights of all Puerto Ricans to fight for their independence. All Puerto Rican patriots are our friends.

The other mistake MIM seeks to avoid is relativism and subjectivism. MIM is itself a collection of Maoist parties and pre-parties. It would not be correct for it to treat all Puerto Rican political organizers equally. It is natural that we should support the Maoist Puerto Ricans the most. Right opportunists and post-modernists believe that MIM should not favor the Maoist Puerto Ricans above other patriots. They would also oppose our criticizing Puerto Rican revisionism. However, we at MIM believe that Khrushchev, Gorbachev and Yeltsin were the bourgeoisie in the party in the Soviet Union and that fact is the same no matter one's national background. Fighting revisionism is a scientific matter that comes before asserting one's unique national identity. The cardinal principles upholding the Cultural Revolution in China and opposing old Soviet-style revisionism are cardinal principles everywhere in the world.

MIM calls on non-Maoists in the USA to support their counterparts in Puerto Rico seeking independence. It is MIM's duty to assist with the establishment of a Maoist pole in Puerto Rico. With the Young Lords, other organizations and amongst individuals in Puerto Rico there is already a strong Maoist tradition on which to build.

# On the internal class structure of the internal semi-colonies

by MC5, February 1998

edited by MC45, March 1999

## I. History of the BPP view

### II. Class structure and exploitation

#### a. Genocide, its meaning for class structure and reparations

#### b. Relative deprivation

#### c. Current surplus-value

## I. History of Black Panther Party view of class structure

In the four years preceding the formation of the Black Panthers, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale had the chance to run into activists of the Progressive Labor Party. The Progressive Labor Party and Robert Williams were conduits to Mao of information about the USA.

In his famous statement of 1963 on the oppression of Black people, Mao countered those nationalists who would say that white workers were the enemy. We have to recall at that moment the Nation of Islam was dominating headlines and Malcolm X was seen as the leader of radical Blacks. He would occasionally have something quotable to say about “white devils.” Mao’s statement offset the reformism of Martin Luther King and the non-materialism of the Nation of Islam. Huey Newton recalls that even he was not able to summon enough hatred of the Euro-Americans to be totally acceptable to the non-Marxist nationalism of the time; although he demonstrated in practice the physical courage to go into shoot-outs with police.

Unfortunately, given the climate of the times, Mao veered away from a serious analysis of the class structure of the United States and promoted a stereotypical view. Some Chinese documents on the national question within U.S. borders at the time do not even mention super-profits and thus prepare reconciliation with social-democracy in order to fight Islam, a most definitely incorrect strategy.

Nonetheless, throughout the 1960s, the Peking Review of the Chinese Communist Party was admitting that comrades in the United States “were beginning” to study Mao Zedong Thought. The first Chinese references to the Black Panthers were of this nature. Revisionists of the Wang Ming variety promote the idea that Mao settled the issue of the class structure, when the contrary is the truth: the comrades in the United States had only just started studying Marxist-Leninist science and Mao Zedong Thought. To think that they had come up with a definitive analysis of the class structure would be like saying the Chinese Revolution was carried out in Moscow classrooms. Those who attack us with such general statements by Mao and no analysis of U.S. conditions do not understand the first thing about Maoism. We advise them to read the Selected Works of Mao from the beginning.

The first analyses of the U.S. class structure in the post-McCarthy period omitted Lenin’s concept of labor aristocracy. There are no

writings from the CP-USA or the PLP that show any awareness of the original Lenin and COMINTERN pronouncements on the imperialist country class structures. What the Progressive Labor Party said was right out of a chapter of *Das Kapital*—completely removed from U.S. conditions. As we explain elsewhere in a review of their 1968 Boston Magazine, PLP performed the magic act of disappearing the petty-bourgeoisie in order to smuggle it into the proletarian camp as Lenin spent most of World War I warning against.

At first the Black Panthers accepted the proclamations from Mao in 1963 and 1968 on Black people and re-distributed them in the hundreds of thousands by reprinting them in their newspaper. Newton accepted the view in 1968 that 98 percent of Black people were have-nots, even higher than the 94 percent the APSP says today. As time went on the Black Panther Party started showing awareness of the concept of the labor aristocracy, middle classes generally and the situation in Algeria. In comments on the U.S. Constitution Huey Newton referred to settlers.

By 1970, Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver were both putting forward something a little different than what would be found in standard Maoist circles. Influenced by Fanon, they took up Lenin and wrote off the economic demands of the middle-classes as imperialist parasitism. Then they said what was left was the lumpenproletariat. This represented the correct recognition that salary and wage-receiving people within US borders are labor-aristocracy or higher, unless they are undocumented.

So at first the Black Panthers were well served by reprinting what Mao said with the feedback of Robert Williams and the Progressive Labor Party. As time went on, the Black Panthers took Mao seriously and devised an analysis specific to their conditions. That analysis shows that there is a bridge from Lenin to Fanon and Mao, if conditions are such that there is no industrial proletariat.

As we have explained in MIM Theory 10 and elsewhere, Lenin provided the concept that entire nations might be bought off with surplus-value sucked out of the colonies. Newton and Cleaver accepted this idea and argued that the proletariat ascended to the middle-classes. Only the lumpenproletariat that does not get paid might be considered otherwise.

Huey Newton said, “In this country, 1970, the Black Panther Party issued a document. Our Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, who now is in Algeria, wrote a pamphlet called ‘On the Ideology of the Black Panther Party.’ In that work Eldridge Cleaver stated that neither the proletarians nor the industrial workers carry the potentialities for revolution in this country at this time. He claimed that the left wing of the proletarians, the lumpenproletarians, have that revolutionary potential, and in fact, acting as the vanguard, they would carry the people of the world to the final climax of the transformation of society. It has been stated by some people, by some parties, by some organizations, by the Progressive Labor Party, that revolution is impossible. How can the lumpenproletarians carry out a successful socialist transformation when they are only a minority?”(1)

Answering his own question, Huey Newton did not say that the oppressed nations (a concept he was moving out of) were majority lumpen but he said that the lumpenproletariat was going to become

the majority of society. “Technology is developing at such a rapid rate that automation will progress. . . . If the ruling circle remains in power it seems to me that capitalists will continue to develop their technological machinery because they are not interested in the people. Therefore, I expect from them the logic that they have always followed: to make as much money as possible, and pay the people as little as possible.”(2)

Furthermore, “If revolution does not occur almost immediately, and I say almost immediately because technology is making leaps (it made a leap all the way to the moon), and if the ruling circle remains in power the proletarian working class will definitely be on the decline because they will be unemployables and therefore swell the ranks of the lumpens, who are the present unemployables. Every worker is in jeopardy because of the ruling circle, which is why we say that the lumpenproletarians have the potential for revolution, will probably carry out the revolution, and in the near future will be the popular majority. Of course, I would not like to see more of my people unemployed or become unemployables, but being objective, because we’re dialectical materialists, we must acknowledge the facts.”(3)

According to Newton, “How can we say that we have accomplished revolution if we redistribute the wealth just to the people here in North America when the ruling circle itself is guilty . . . they have taken away the goods of the people of the world, transported them to America and used them as their very own.”(4) This was an excellent point, one that the APSP missed as MIM showed in our review of that organization in MT8. Newton understood what was wrong with narrow nationalism, to such an extent that he preferred to chuck the whole concept of nation.

In a related point very similar to MIM line in MT7, Newton points out that a country that exploits the whole world will have to be corrected by what MIM calls a joint dictatorship of the proletariat of the oppressed nations. Here is how Newton put it: “The bourgeoisie that is based here in America has an international character because it exploits the world, it controls the wealth of the world; it has stolen, usurped, the wealth of the people of the world, including the people who are in the Black colony here in America and who were stolen from Africa. We feel that the only way that we can combat an international enemy is through an international strategy of unity of all exploited people who will overthrow the international bourgeoisie and replace it with a dictatorship of the proletariat, the workers of the world.”(5)

Newton did not call the present US majority revolutionary. The Black Panthers said it would take the descent into the lumpen from the petty-bourgeoisie to create a revolutionary majority. MIM has not put forward the line of an emerging lumpen majority. However, we must admit certain facts pointing in this direction. One is that since the time Newton wrote, a prison craze did start, and middle-aged and younger people alive today are on pace to live to see the majority of the oppressed nations people thrown in prison if present trends continue in the USA. There is also some evidence of this craze spreading to Europe; although Europe starts considerably “behind,” which is one situation in which “behind” means ahead. Secondly, others have pointed to the development of technology that makes it possible for the ruling class to single-handedly oppress the vast majority of people with personalized weapons of militarism and with technology that makes labor obsolete. Some argue that the labor theory of value is now obsolete, because we are headed for a future where there is no labor or only very small

quantities.

We believe that the materialism displayed by Newton is leagues ahead of that seen in the labor aristocracy and Kautskyite circles criticizing MIM. We would like to keep his theory of the lumpenproletariat in mind. He also adds to it in the book *In Search of Common Ground*, where he explains why the concept of intercommunalism is necessary. It turns out that just as the PLP break with Mao that resulted in so much splintering since that time was inspired by Vietnam, Huey Newton’s eclectic break with Mao was also inspired by Vietnam. Neither PLP nor the BPP liked what Mao was doing about Vietnam — criticizing revisionism in private and upholding united front in public. Huey Newton relates that he was writing a letter to the Vietnamese Communist Party to criticize it for nationalism, but he wrote the letter and tossed and turned in his sleep. When he awoke he decided he felt too guilty to be able to criticize the Vietnamese while they were being bombed. Like PL, he now accepted that all nationalism is bad, but he also was still unwilling to criticize the Vietnamese for revisionism as Mao did.

From this time onward, under the theory of “revolutionary intercommunalism,” Newton took up eclecticism. He still liked Mao, but he now liked any resistance to “reactionary intercommunalism” equally. Kim Il Sung, Castro, Ho, Fanon and Mao were now to be treated equally in Black Panther literature. Ultimately the material reason Newton gave for this was that even in China, the U.S. empire was in force, because Mao could not reclaim Taiwan. The problem was even worse of course for occupied Korea and Vietnam. All peoples were under the U.S. empire according to Newton, but there were some liberated territories practicing revolutionary intercommunalism. Thus Newton felt it necessary to lump Mao’s China into having merely a community, not a state. The proof of not having a state to Newton was the existence of Taiwan under U.S. control. The community in China was simply the strongest community awaiting other communities to advance so that a state could be administered over U.S. imperialism.

In both “To Die for the People” and in “In Search of Common Ground,” Newton stresses materialism, science and the fact that oppressed nationality people of the internal semi-colonies are not much different than oppressor nation people. “The people and the economy are so integrated into the imperialist empire that it’s impossible to ‘decolonize,’ to return to the former conditions of existence.”(6) Newton went on to say that settlers returned from their colonies in many countries, but those colonies continued acting as before, as part of the empire. Thus “nations no longer exist.”(7) Speaking of the successes in China, Vietnam and Korea, Newton referred to these as “revolutionary intercommunalism” and opposed it to the fate of most people which is “reactionary intercommunalism.”

Our summation of the BPP view on the internal class structure of the USA and its internal semi-colonies is that in no nation of North America or imperialism generally is the lumpen yet the majority. On the other hand, we agree with Newton that outside the lumpen and undocumented workers, there is no revolutionary class inside imperialist country borders. We continue to uphold international proletarian-led revolution, with exploited and superexploited workers of the Third World at the head. All the combined John Browns and Huey Newtons within US borders will not be enough to administer the dictatorship of the proletariat, because we have to be absolutely sure that U.S. imperialism does not raise its head again once it is defeated.

MIM organizes for the interests of the u.s. lumpenproletariat as we organize for the interests of the international proletariat. Yet we take to heart Mao's admonition that the lumpen class without proper and decisive leadership is not a reliable revolutionary vehicle. Mao wrote that the lumpen "lead the most precarious existence of all One of China's difficult problems is how to handle these people. Brave fighters but apt to be destructive, they can become a revolutionary force if given proper guidance." (8) MIM takes this analysis by Mao to mean that while the lumpen truly have nothing to lose in revolutionary struggle and everything to gain, they may lack elements of class consciousness that define more organized proletariat. So as we look at the situation within u.s. borders today and see that the revolutionary classes have no kind of majority here, we take responsibility for leading with the line of the economic interests of the lumpen and undocumented workers.

Unlike Newton, we say that any time a community has organized force it has a state, the dictatorship of one class over another. It is necessary to say as much to avoid the unaccountability of anarchists and bourgeois democrats. For example, the U.S. Civil War involved the organized use of force and the next major advance in class and nation relations will also involve oppositions of organized force. Calling MIM seditious for pointing this out would be like blaming a historian of Abraham Lincoln for the Civil War. We just point out the facts and which theories go along with the facts.

Even the Maoists in Peru and the Philippines have incipient states. The Mohawk Nation also has a state and Huey Newton had one in Oakland. The advantage of Newton's position is that it accounts for the situation of small nations and does not expect that they will seize territory and set up completely independent nation-states. Newton says that is impossible for everyone including China, thus setting up a standard of what is ultraleft. By his definitions, MIM reasons that Newton would have called us ultraleft for insisting that a party with organized force must have a state. He went a step farther in opposing imperialism while also attacking narrow nationalism.

MIM agrees with Newton that even small communities must get on the revolutionary road and start the struggle even if they are dispersed as Newton believed the Black communities to be. If Blacks in Los Angeles organize force to be their own police, they are a state just as much as a state set up parallel in New York. There may be very small states. What Newton missed was that within those communities he was calling revolutionary intercommunalist, it is possible to return to reactionary intercommunalism. Such a return is not a foregone conclusion because of the degree of imperialist assimilation of oppressed peoples. It is a question of the class enemy from within. Vietnam has proved willing to return to assimilation and capitalism. In this, MIM calls Newton ultraleft, because looking at the many revolutionary movements around the world some of which held state power like the Chinese Communists, Newton insisted that none should be weighted with the accountability of statehood. We say this is ultraleftism because the theory moves ahead of concrete conditions rather than accounting for what is really going on.

MIM believes part of Newton's problem lies in his failure to fully explain the need for a new theory of revolutionary intercommunalism. Unable to distinguish among revolutionary movements with different ideological leadership and unwilling to account for the defense of territory seized through revolution, Newton's theory of intercommunalism disagrees with Lenin's line

on ending World War I. Lenin argued against Trotsky that the first responsibility of a revolutionary party upon seizing state power was to defend its gains in the largest territory possible by not overreaching the boundaries it could defend. Mao's private criticism of the Vietnamese for revisionism was another approach to taking responsibility for revolutionary gains. Honoring the united front, Mao took responsibility for trying to help the Vietnamese learn from China's more advanced stage of revolution. While Newton elaborated on some important aspects of the struggles of revolutionary governments, his theory of revolutionary intercommunalism has the air of theory for its own sake. The theory makes proletarian parties less accountable for protecting their own political gains than either Lenin or Mao did. Newton's theory is newer, but it is a step back from the practice of building socialism in one country or one base area.

Mao proved to be correct about Vietnam being on the capitalist-road. What the communists of the time failed to do was follow Mao on both fighting revisionism and upholding some united front. PL wanted to fight revisionism and ditch the united front. Others like many in RYM I wanted to ditch fighting revisionism and uphold the united front as the be-all and end-all. MIM does not believe it is possible to fight revisionism without upholding united front and we also don't believe it is possible to have a proletarian-led united front without fighting revisionism. In fact, where there is no proletarian pole there is no united front, so in this sense it is meaningless to talk about united front without fighting revisionism first.

It is fitting that it would be Huey Newton to be so concerned about imperialist assimilation that he would devise a whole theory of intercommunalism to address it. We agree with him that it is not a straight-forward matter for an oppressed nation to put itself first while it is within an imperialist economic framework. In such a case where the relationship is such that super-profits flow into an oppressed nation (internal semi-colony) we cannot even say nationalism of an oppressed nation is applied internationalism. Specifically Newton did not want to see Black organizing for a share of global imperialist loot. For this reason he did not believe that even Black workers were a revolutionary proletariat and he took greater interest in the lumpenproletariat and how the lumpenproletariat was assuring its consumption rights without a job providing income.

## II. Class structure and exploitation

### a. Genocide

One of the main reasons that MIM has had difficulty with pinning down the class structure of the internal semi-colonies is understanding the role of genocide and past appropriations of labor in class formation. Today, when it comes to answering what class various oppressed nationality people are in, we finally answer that historical genocide and exploitation should be thought of as affecting the property passed down from generation to generation.

When it comes to understanding whether oppressed internal semi-colonies are net exploiters through imperialism or whether they are exploited, it seems that genocide should be accounted for as an historical and continuing debt. Recently, a former member of CP-USA circles apparently decided that MIM is slightly more correct than both the CP-USA and the Workers World Party and started working with MIM. He wrote to MIM various anti-Semitic comments that also showed a confused understanding of fascism. Not surprisingly the same person contended that First Nation people



cannot be said to be exploited. He says they were killed, so no labor was extracted. This brings us in a crude way to the question of the impact of genocide on class structure.

In the main, oppressors carry out genocide in the capitalist context to ease the appropriation of labor both past and present. Past labor known as “dead labor” is capital, unless we mean property of the sort that is land.

Of course, land also has congealed labor that goes into it as a means of production. The work of First Nations to remove rocks from agricultural fields and to build various improvements is something stolen when land is stolen.

It is the accumulation of the means of production through genocide that establishes the basis of class society from the earliest existence of class society. Thus genocide can be thought of as a precondition for capitalist exploitation. It is much easier to extract super-profits once an oppressor nation has established its ability and willingness to use genocidal force.

Genocide is thought of as something requiring reparations as a matter of justice. Does such a concept relate to our understanding of class structure? According to an informative APSP pamphlet we reviewed in MT8, the debt owed for slavery is in the trillions of dollars. During the Vietnam War, the Black Panthers suggested that the USA pay \$10 billion for 1 million killed in Vietnam in reparations. How do we relate such calculations to our understanding of class structure? And what do we do with the fact that any repayment of First Nations must surely make each remaining First Nation member a millionaire, a new capitalist?

Aside from the theft of the products of labor that usually goes along with genocide, we should look at the economic meaning of genocide. People are after all congealed labor themselves. It took so much food, shelter, clothing and education to make the persyn before s/he was killed by the imperialists or their allies.

When a persyn with one day left to live is killed by imperialists, his or her people are deprived of his or her labor or creations for that one day. When a persyn is struck down at age 13, a whole adult lifetime of labor is lost to the oppressed nation. Genocide involves both the appropriation of labor and labor-power.

As scientists, we must admit that killing is not part of what Marx called the “productive sector.” Rather it is a kind of appropriation more in the waste sector. The military, police and oppressor nation lynch-mobs are part of the unproductive sector. (See a forthcoming MT on the controversial subject of the ideological ramifications of the “unproductive” sector.)

Oppressor nations appropriate the labor and labor-power of other peoples either to waste them in order to seize control of resources and sometimes to take them home and use them. The commodities they steal after killing involve the theft of labor. Much other destruction is appropriation through waste.

When we look at an oppressed nation and wonder why its national bourgeoisie is so weak and why there is either semi-feudalism or dependent capitalism in place, the reason can often be traced to genocide. To be a strong and vibrant bourgeoisie, a bourgeoisie has to have had labor to appropriate. If the people in one’s area of economic intercourse have been killed off, it is difficult to appropriate labor and become thriving bourgeoisie. Genocide stunts the upper ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie.

Not surprisingly the same writer in MIM circles formerly of CP-USA circles also failed to understand that home and real estate ownership are class and national in nature. The fact that an oppres-

sor nation persyn rarely owns the exact farm his/her great grandparents took from the First Nations does not mean those great grandparents did not trade within their nation. Classes and nations are groups of people not individuals or families. That property ended up in the hands of oppressor nation people one way or another, usually through sale in exchange for other capital. To this day, people of the same occupation but different nations—e.g. Black versus white—have different average amounts of property. Genocide increases the development of the petty-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie proper in the oppressor nation.

The debt owed by the oppressor nations to oppressed nations of the internal semi-colonies is in the trillions. The problem for our analysis of the class structure is that the oppressor nation is now paying it back through economically integrating the semi-colonies with imperialism: Now the internal semi-colonies appropriate the labor of the Third World with the help of Uncle Sam. Thus the payback is not with Euro-American labor but with Third World labor.

The APSP is correct to say that the main issue of reparations is not cash. It is control of institutions. The trillions owed to the oppressed nations mean control of the land and institutions on top of it. The First Nations must control their land here and the Africans must receive control of Africa. In Europe, Blacks can receive their reparations by control of institutions of the economy and in the USA, Blacks can work out something with the First Nations to seize land. We do not mean to favor transferring the wealth of Third World people to internal semi-colonies. Quite the opposite, we seek to inspire the internal semi-colonies to be a bridge back to the Third World for the flow of reparations from ex-imperialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

### **b. Relative deprivation**

Various bourgeois social-scientists claim that Marx’s labor theory of value is incorrect. Most simply are unaware of it in any meaningful way. Nonetheless, there is a sociology discourse claiming that Marx’s ideas of “absolute deprivation” are incorrect, because supposedly absolute immiseration of the proletariat has not happened under capitalism since Marx’s time.

MIM does not agree with this thesis. The Third World proletariat has been increasingly exploited. Life expectancies have improved over feudalism. We cannot deny that, but Marx never did deny that capitalism represented progress over feudalism. The question is what happens within capitalist society. We agree that the conditions of those workers bought off by imperialism and turned into a labor aristocracy have improved, but for the world’s majority, imperialism has brought absolute immiseration.

We hold that Marx’s absolute immiseration theory holds true to this day with regard to life under capitalism. We point to three facts alone that justify it, the first two of which are rooted in the anarchy of production under capitalism created by intra-bourgeois competition. One is the continued and incremental destruction of the environment that only becomes more thorough the more technology advances under capitalism. Such destruction is mitigated only by the class struggle to put the workers’ health interests into account in the design of production processes. Two, we point to modern militarism which threatens more people and kills more people than ever before. Thirdly, the greater wealth of imperialist societies and their modernization of social control means higher percentages of people in prison and psychiatric wards, higher than at any time in previous history. It all boils down to killing and wasting of humyn

life.

To avoid talking about militarism, the environment and prison, the bourgeois social scientists talk about “relative deprivation,” in which having one VCR is a disadvantage if your neighbor has two. Obviously this is a backward concept in many regards as far as we Marxists are concerned. It is not fundamental to our political economy analysis.

Genocide is a matter of absolute immiseration. There can be nothing worse. In contrast, the fact that the internal semi-colonies have stunted upper ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie is a matter of relative deprivation.

Knowledge of relative oppression helps us form an understanding of what we Marxists call “the particularities” of our material conditions. When comparing Euro-Americans with oppressed nations, we can often show that oppressed nations are in a relatively poor position. Such is important for reasons ranging from the united front to why national consciousness arises to why separate nation vanguard parties may be necessary until we reach higher stages of human development.

### c. Appropriation of labor

Ultimately the class structure is about the appropriation of labor. In “Imperialism and Its Class Structure in 1997,” I go at length into the calculations for who is appropriating labor. Blacks, First Nations, Aztlan people, Puerto Ricans and Asian-descended people within imperialist country borders have histories of exploitation and oppression, but today, with the exceptions of the undocumented and lumpen-proletariat, they differ from Euro-American workers only in degree, not in quality when it comes to their relationship to the Third World proletariat. As we have already shown in MIM Theory 1, for this reason, Blacks taken as a nation are ahead of some advanced European capitalist countries in terms of income. This shows us that there is variation within capitalism and the buying off of workers. A similar thing is seen in Ireland and the Six Counties of “Northern Ireland,” where although Ireland faces national oppression, its workers are integrated economically into imperialism to such an extent that they compare favorably with the conditions of workers in some imperialist countries. Thus there is only a proletariat in the war-torn Six Counties of Ireland. The proletariat there suffers discrimination relative to Protestant workers on a national basis with religion as the cover.

We must recall that “having nothing to lose but chains” is the definition of proletariat. Genocide and historical exploitation determine whether one is born into the proletariat, but they do not prevent the imperialists from lifting today’s oppressed nationalities out of their propertyless condition into the labor aristocracy. A person born with no property may nonetheless start to absorb more labor in consumption than the person gives back to class society in production. True, such a labor-aristocracy will be newer and less stable than the labor aristocracy of the oppressor nations, but it is labor aristocracy nonetheless. In fact, those with a sense of scrambling for crumbs off the plate are often the most reactionary of all towards the proletariat they just left and seek to stay above.

In this regard, as we have seen already, Latino workers continue to have a high proportion in the productive sector. We can still speak of an Aztlan proletariat. We see a genuine “split in the working-class” as Lenin said within that oppressed internal semi-colony. As we will detail elsewhere though, even in the case of Puerto Rico, the economic integration with imperialism has already occurred to such an extent that the economic tide is on the Puerto Rican labor

aristocracy’s side.

The “Brown” peoples are the most proletarian within the internal semi-colonies. There are also immigrant Haitians and African nationalities and “boat people” from Asia—all terribly exploited or super-exploited and oppressed. To the extent that these people are workers and they are subjected to oppression outside the law applying to U.S. citizen laborers, we can say there is a small Black and Asian proletariat. What we must be clear about though is that only class sectors dominated by undocumented work in the productive sectors form a proletariat. Not even all undocumented people are proletariat or lumpenproletariat. A good portion enters the petty-bourgeoisie immediately upon migration through family connections and various legal fronts.

The vast majority of the employed Black, First Nation and Asian-descended peoples is labor aristocracy or higher. An examination of the figures in “Imperialism and Its Class Structure in 1997” makes clear that the repatriation of profits from the Third World, the transfer of surplus-value from the productive sector in the Third World to the unproductive sector in the First World and the administrative fixing of prices by multinational corporations to artificially lower prices of Third World goods and thus disguise transfer of surplus-labor — all these add up to such an extent that is impossible to see any proletariat where there is an imperialist country minimum wage in effect. That minimum wage is almost ten times the average wage in the Third World.

The conclusive calculation in an upcoming MT is to look at the new wealth and profits of the imperialists every year and figure out where they got that piece of pie. If the imperialists gave back their discrimination profits to the internal semi-colonies, would the imperialists still have the same new wealth added each year? The answer is yes.

The imperialist countries are absorbing so much pie from the Third World that even if discrimination ended, the imperialists would still be covered completely by the pie from the Third World, without losing any pie. The reason for this is that the Third World hands all of the people within U.S. borders with minimum wage status using U.S. currency an enormous piece of pie. Out of that enormous pie that also ends up in internal semi-colony hands, the internal semi-colonies surrenders a relatively small piece as discrimination profits. The class that would lose from an end to discrimination is the white petty-bourgeoisie, mostly the labor aristocracy. The labor aristocracy would still be eating super-profit pie, but its piece would be smaller if the discrimination profits were gone. The pie the labor aristocracy makes would still be smaller than it eats.

The imperialist piece of surplus-value pie is covered by merely one slice of the pie that the Third World has to hand over to the imperialist countries. If we look at the piece of pie called “transfer of surplus-value from the productive sector in the Third World to the unproductive sector in the imperialist countries,” we see the following. The Third World delivers bananas and sneakers to the door of imperialism. Upon arrival in the imperialist countries, the banana and sneaker workers do not sell them; salespeople sell them. These salespeople help the boss make his profit and they get paid out of the surplus-value extracted in the Third World. Surplus-value is never extracted from salespeople or other unproductive sector workers that Poulantzas correctly refers to as “new petty-bourgeoisie” in keeping with Lenin’s teachings on the labor aristocracy. The person on the street can figure it out this way. If all a country had

was salespeople and security guards, it would die quickly with nothing to sell or guard. If however, a country had no unproductive sector, it could still barter and create wealth, just not the usual way under capitalism. The mark-up on Third World goods delivered to imperialism is sufficient to explain all the new wealth of the imperialists every year. The other pieces of the surplus-value pie can be used to account for the obesity of the oppressor-nation labor aristocracy and the internal semi-colony labor aristocracy.

Only the lumpenproletariat (e.g. making license plates in prison or the minority of lumpen getting sub-minimum wage as a hooker or drug-dealer) and undocumented workers face life without an imperialist country minimum wage and similar laws. Workers making license-plates in prison may be more objectively revolutionary than regular industrial proletarians. On the whole, MIM looks to the lumpen and the undocumented productive sector workers to form the core of that group whose economic demands we can cater to somewhat successfully. Even in these groups we will have difficulty though, because the pull of parasitic life in the labor aristocracy exists for the majority and is clear to any person who looks around—Euro-American, Black, Latino, Asian or First Nation. The tendency will be for people to see that parasitism all around and seek to join it rather than wage a class struggle to end parasitism.

It was a disappointment to see voting Blacks and Asian-descended people go for Proposition 187 in California. That is the kind of extreme thing we would expect to see from the labor aristocracy and other exploiter classes. There were also key Black labor spokespeople attacking foreign workers in bashing NAFTA. In 1998, there are die-hard state-hood supporters in Puerto Rico who only wish to complete the seal of parasitism on Puerto Rico. The state-hooders argue that all Puerto Ricans will be entitled to more welfare benefits if they hook up officially with the world's greatest gravy-train. All such people attacking workers outside imperialist country borders represent the parasitic classes. Their attitude of seeking to integrate with imperialism to re-divide the surplus-value extracted from the world must be combated. On the other hand, where the labor aristocracy is in dominant position relative to the proletariat, there is a question of whether military struggle and various other resources would be better committed in some other nation where the imperialist link in the chain is weaker. The extent of the parasitic classes in the minority of the world's population inside imperialist borders is no cause for paralysis. We simply adjust our strategy to focus in more fruitful areas than advocating the economic demands of parasitic classes.

Notes:

1. Huey Newton, *To Die for the People: The Writings of Huey Newton* (NY: Random House, 1972), p. 26.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 27-8.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 197-8.
6. Kai T. Erikson intro., *In Search of Common Ground: Conversations with Erik H. Erikson and Huey P. Newton* (NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1973), p. 30.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.
8. Mao Zedong, "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung Vol. I.* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1967), p. 19.

# Maoists, Join MIM!

## Anti-imperialists, Join RAIL!

### MIM Documents on United Front Organizing

*Reprinted from MIM Notes 166, July 15 1998*

*"To organize the strength of the masses is one policy. Is there a contrary policy? Yes there is. It is one that lacks the mass viewpoint, fails to rely on the masses and organize them... That is the other policy, the wrong policy." —Mao Zedong*

History teaches us that broad organization is necessary for an anti-imperialist and socialist revolution to be successful. The Chinese and Russian revolutions are positive examples of this truth; Paris in '68 is a negative example. The Chinese and Russian democratic and then socialist revolutions were successful because they were led by parties that had spent decades out of the limelight building solid organizations with cohesive political line. Paris '68 represented tremendous mass motion far disproportionate to the level of organization, and it was not able to succeed.

MIM founded the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist League (RAIL) in 1994 and continues to exert leadership over RAIL's work. That MIM leads RAIL (which is not a communist party and does not have a worked out "line" on all political issues) means that RAIL does work that MIM believes will contribute to the overall struggle for Maoist revolution. At the same time, people in RAIL range from anarchist to revolutionary nationalist to prisons-focused reformist to those who agree with MIM on all political matters but just don't want the discipline that goes with party membership.

MIM leadership of RAIL also means that RAIL must not accept leadership from any organization that has fundamental disagreements with MIM line. In practice this means that RAIL would not co-sponsor an event with the National Women's Rights Organizing Committee (NWROC), a front group for the Revolutionary Worker's League (a Trotskyist party), for example. Similarly, if RAIL were to show a film on police brutality in Amerika together with other mass organizations, RAIL would need to be certain that a proletarian line led the event. In the first example RAIL would not co-sponsor an NWROC event no matter what the event because this would mean taking revisionist leadership over MIM leadership. In the second example RAIL would need to be certain that the event led attendees to understand that police brutality will remain a pervasive part of national oppression in Amerika until the internal Black, Latino and First Nations colonies are liberated from U.S. imperialism.

Many groups claiming anti-imperialism and even socialism encourage people to "Get Organized!" — but go on to tell people that it does not matter what group people join, as long as it is "progress-

sive.” Kwame Toure of the All-African People’s Revolutionary Party, for example, called on people to join non-revolutionary groups ranging from the NAACP to the Nation of Islam.(1) Other groups say implicitly that it does not really matter what organization people join, but they do so by embracing “coalition” politics. They sign on to any event that sounds good to them, regardless of who organized it, or they plan events with a huge list of “co-sponsors,” regardless of who those co-sponsors are or whether the co-sponsors do any work.

MIM and RAIL both call on people to organize for the specific goal of revolution. This means that when we endorse an organization claiming revolutionary nationalism as being progressive, we are saying that it is a genuinely anti-imperialist organization not just that it refers to “oppressed nations” from time to time. This also means that we would not co-sponsor an event with a Trotskyist front group just because it claims to organize for “women’s rights.” For RAIL or MIM to sponsor an event claiming feminism, that event would have to be led by a proletarian feminist line. The event would have to put forward the reality that the majority of the world’s wimmin face imperialism as the principal source of their oppression, and working for the so-called liberation of First World wimmin before or even at the same time as liberation of Third World wimmin is an imperialist-apologist approach.

History teaches us that any organization that aspires to squelch the oppression that is capitalism in a lasting way must be led by the ideology of the international proletariat. Does this mean that all people who oppose oppression must be Maoists? No. Just as those who wish to reform the criminal injustice system may share the tactical goal of expanding prisoner educational resources with RAIL and MIM, these reformists can work on other individual campaigns that contribute to a broader revolutionary struggle. Expanding education for prisoners is what we call a revolutionary reform because it is a reform that increases the possibility of revolutionary political struggle.

But if these same reformists were to spend all their time working to get egregiously abusive prison guards fired, MIM would say that these individuals and their organizations are doing nothing to advance the cause of revolution and are therefore not contributing to the struggle for a permanent end to oppression. To the short-sighted, getting rid of a single rotten cop, guard or elected official, or getting rid of 20 of them, can look like a great contribution. When a cop is murdering young Black men at will, when a guard is writing false tickets and keeping prisoners bouncing around the DOCs and not getting paroled, when an elected official is violating every law s/he is sworn to defend (and even those laws do not offer equal protection to the masses) it can seem that it is a tremendous and worthwhile effort to get these people out of their jobs.

The reality is that it is a tremendous effort to make reforms of this magnitude, but unless it takes place in the context of building a lasting revolutionary organization it contributes nothing to the struggle. MIM and RAIL insist on proletarian leadership of all our public work because we insist that all our work contribute to the end of imperialism. We hold ourselves and the comrades with whom we ally ourselves to this standard because we want to do much more than get the abusive cops fired, we want to dismantle the system that trains them and pays them to brutalize the oppressed.

### Rightist errors

Several RAIL branches have occasionally succumbed to “coali-

tion-based” politics, breaking RAIL and MIM policy and negating in practice the principle that MIM leads RAIL. They have even gone so far as to put RAIL’s name on flyers alongside revisionist-led organizations without comment or criticism.

The root cause of RAIL comrades’ “coalition building” errors is a lack of reliance on and trust in the masses. Mao said that if a political party has the correct line then everything will come its way — if it does not have followers, then it can have followers, but it must first have the correct line. Similarly for RAIL, when people understand that we put out a newspaper, that we raise money continentally for MIM’s Free Books for Prisoners program, and accomplish other large and important tasks, then they are drawn to our work and they look to get involved. But if RAIL leads people to believe that it is no different from any other organization, then it will not convince people to join RAIL and it will not be organizing more people into anti-imperialist work.

There are several reasons for this type of mistake — including pragmatism, a lack of revolutionary arrogance, bourgeois populism, and Liberalism — but the root problem is a failure to rely on the masses. This may seem contradictory. After all, aren’t the coalition builders able to get impressive lists of “co-sponsors” and “supporters”? But the reality is that these “co-sponsors” and “supporters” are not the masses; they are a small elite; and their “support” often only amounts to a name on a flyer.

Comrades seeking to solve the problem of lack of mass involvement by running into coalitions with the local revisionists are replacing their original problem with essentially the same problem. Only worse. They equate RAIL and MIM — proletarian organizations — with petty-bourgeois organizations, depriving the masses of the proletarian leadership they crave and need.

### RAIL and the struggle against revisionism

Now, many RAIL comrades are new to anti-imperialist organizing, and may not know the differences between MIM and revisionist parties like the Worker’s World Party and the Revolutionary Communist Party. Things are complicated further by the fact that these and other parties often hide the fact that they lead so-called “mass organizations.” These comrades may see these revisionist parties or mass organizations doing work that is similar to the work RAIL is doing, and they may suggest that RAIL work with these groups.

Now should we allow these inexperienced but enthusiastic RAIL comrades to arrange a joint event with one of these revisionist-led organizations? Of course not. Is this raising the bar for RAIL membership, requiring them to essentially adopt Maoism? No, it is not. We can explain RAIL’s policy of not taking leadership from revisionist organizations to the comrades, and encourage them to study the differences between MIM and the revisionists and why they are important. This is in fact one way in which working with RAIL advances comrades’ ideological and political level.

Some inexperienced RAIL comrades may succumb to Menshevism at that point and decide to leave RAIL. But this should not worry us too much. As the revolution develops here they will be back, or others will step forward to take their place. Why is this so? Because the differences between MIM and revisionism and opportunism are real and will have large, practical implications. The revisionists and opportunists will mislead the struggle into capitulation with the Amerikan imperialists and betrayal of revolutionary movements abroad and at home. When that happens the

masses will turn to the truly revolutionary movement led by the Maoists in MIM. The only way to keep this from happening is for MIM to abdicate its leadership now, and opportunistically “unite” with the revisionists and opportunists.

### Take initiative and assert independence in the united front!

RAIL and MIM should do work with anti-imperialism mass organizations. It is desirable and necessary that we do so. But we have to be very careful to exert our leadership and independence. This includes agreeing with our co-sponsors that we will criticize pro-imperialist and anti-proletarian lines of theirs in public if they choose to promote these positions in public. We will not sign our name to other groups’ work simply because they ask us, we consistently prioritize our responsibility to build the MIM-led organizations. This includes being clear about our requirements up front (such as equal time to criticize publicly if necessary), and working with people when there is a clear benefit to RAIL and/or MIM (and not just signing on to something because we were asked). A resolution passed at the 1998 MIM Congress provides some simple guidelines on building the united front.

To succeed in our revolutionary tasks, we must fearlessly expand our work, reach more and more masses, firmly rely on the masses to take on more tasks instead of relying on a select few, and resolutely apply MIM’s guidelines in building the united front.

Notes: 1. MIM Notes 100, May 1995.

## MIM policy on building the united front

*The following policy passed unanimously at MIM’s 1998 Congress.*

MIM has had difficulties with the united front. Our work should feature the following simplified guidelines.

1. **No liquidation:** Maintain the possibility and capability of criticizing our allies, since we represent the proletarian pole.
2. **Hard bargains:** Look for what we are getting from the deal with other classes.
3. **No pimping:** The most backward masses should be able to see what the difference is between us and our allies, except for fraternal parties on issues that are not the third cardinal [the labor aristocracy question —ed.].
4. **No neo-colonialism:** Always keep the perspective of the international proletariat and do not use the United Front as an occasion to cut “a special deal” for one oppressed nationality.
5. **No Trotskyism:** Uphold the national question and alliances with classes that have any interest however temporary against U.S. imperialism.
6. **No tailing:** Take initiative in United Front activities or don’t get involved at all. See also NO PIMPING and NO LIQUIDATION. Either the proletariat leads or we stay out.

## How to Build a United Front

Comrades,

I appreciate your promptness in responding to my last question, and I would like to expound on your answer.

First, I certainly agree that we here in Amerikkka are not ready for armed struggle, entitled a revolution, and that we must educate and enlighten the masses, but a dependence on number is what I don’t understand. Socialism can be defined and redefined according to one’s understanding or sincere misunderstanding (look at the Christian Socialist and Nazi euphemism for, in part, German Socialist which was in actuality fascist), so when you “unite” under the banner of socialism and some agree but some don’t, but all agree with anti-imperialism then you are not truly united. One leg fights against anti-imperialism but not for socialism. The other leg, vice versa. One arm for religious freedom and the other for the sake of fighting and violence, then the body kills the head. (Pure unadulterated socialism.)

So how do we unite under this banner when that banner is definable by education and circumstance? Oppression itself is formless, it is innate in the nature of individuals, and some oppression is overt while most is covert, and even there, in differing degrees. What happens when what the “arm” was fighting for is appeased and pacified (as witnessed in the Farce on Washington) and our numbers, in which you emphasize are cut into quarters? Mass itself is definable as weight times force, and as you see, both would lose its potency. Combining with other groups out of necessity in the now-ness can bring about problems in the eventuality of victory, where one group was not fighting anti-imperialism it was fighting to be the new imperials! Then supposing this faction has superior numbers, then we’re helped to implement another generation of imperials.

How to combat this? I believe I know the answer, pure and simple, but decline to expound for two reasons. First, the method of communication we utilize, second, I don’t know who I’m talking to. I’m sure you won’t take offense, as I am certain you know about the incident of the hair salon during the French Revolution.

But please expound as soon as possible

— A North Carolina Prisoner

**MIM responds:** MIM, as a Maoist party, upholds the strategy of the United Front led by the proletariat. This means that we believe it is possible to unite various classes in the anti-imperialist struggle under the leadership of the proletariat. Of course, some of these classes are not going to be fighting for socialism, but because they will unite with us in the principal battle, the fight against imperialism, it is important for us to make use of their assistance.

Historical lessons from the Chinese revolution in particular can instruct us on how to correctly carry out the United Front. Prior to 1949 the communists there allied with many classes in Chinese society including the national bourgeoisie in the struggle against Japanese imperialism. First they made a serious mistake in giving up proletarian leadership in this unite front and that led to the massacre of many communists. They learned from this error the importance of proletarian leadership.

At this stage in the struggle we agree with you on the question of the importance of numbers. We do not expect to unite large numbers in this country. But we do seek to lead as many people as we can in both the smaller legal battles and the larger revolutionary struggles. But we recognize that in order for communists to continue their work within the united front we must retain independence of initiative and ensure proletarian leadership at all times. With these things clear we can unite all who are willing to unite with us.

Let us know if we can send you some readings on the Philippine revolution or the Chinese revolution, both of which serve as excellent examples of the correct way to lead a United Front.

We look forward to hearing from you again.

In struggle,

MIM

# The United Front and the Spanish Civil War

*The Good Fight: The Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War*

Distributed by Kino Video

333 West 39

New York, NY 10018

(212) 629-6880

*Prisoners of the Good Fight: The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939  
Americans Against Franco Fascism*

By Carl Geiser

Lawrence Hill & Company

This 1980s documentary is a good summary of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade's role in the Spanish Civil War. The Abraham Lincoln Brigade (ALB) consisted of North Americans organized by the Communist Party-USA to fight fascism in Spain. The video consists of interviews of ALB veterans, still photos, movie clips, narration and songs of the war. What makes this video excellent is the context it gives to this important rare time of Amerikan internationalism. It gives great detail explaining the political context of the international effort to fight fascism and why these North Americans would risk their lives. It also spends considerable time on how the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, as Amerikans and members of the U.S. empire, were different than the other international brigades. This discussion in particular sheds some light on the contradictory role of the labor aristocracy in the fight against fascism.

MIM had the opportunity to see this video as part of a show of pictures from the war called *Aura of the Cause: An Exhibition of Rare Photographs from the Spanish Civil War 1936-1939* at the Image Gallery in Stockbridge, Mass. in July 1997. (*Aura of the Cause* is also a book, published by the University of Illinois Press.) The *Aura of the Cause* show was made possible by the recent discovery of ALB documents and photos in the Soviet Union. Peter Carroll, vice-chairperson of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives

at Brandeis University, told the *Valley Advocate* his suspicions on why the Soviet Union was the destination. "These people knew the war was coming, and no one wanted this material to fall into the hands of the fascists,' pointing out that when France fell to the Nazis there were probably few options other than the Soviet Union or overseas shipping — with the risk of documents being sent to the ocean floor by a German U-boat."(2)

Both Carroll and the video make clear that the members of the International Brigades, and the Soviet Union, which militarily supported them, were class-conscious fighters looking to strike a serious blow for humanity. They were aware of the coming Holocaust and they took Hitler's threat of the Aryan race ruling the world seriously. They recognized the Western policy of "neutrality" for what it was: complicity in fascism's rise to power. The video goes further, showing how the ALB volunteers linked the fight against fascism internationally with the fight against fascism within the United States.

A representative of the Puffin Foundation, which helped fund the show, said in his introduction that it was important to share this important piece of history "with the next generation." Unfortunately, the MIM representative was the only one in the audience at either showing under the age of 50. MIM was greatly impressed with this documentary, and will use it to teach others, especially youth, about this important period in time when North American youth (most aged 18-22) rejected the bourgeoisie's call to individualism and gave their lives to try and stop the spread of fascism.

In MIM Theory 8, MIM summed up the Spanish Civil War:

"The Spanish Civil War was the high point of First World communist parties' internationalism as they followed the policy of the United Front to support the Spanish Republic against Franco, Hitler and Mussolini. With no support of capitalist governments, about 40,000 volunteers from France (10,000), Germany and Austria (5,000), Poland and Ukraine (5,000), Italy (3,350) and the United States (2,800) volunteered to fight against fascism in Spain, and many of the died in the losing effort."(1) According to *The Good Fight*, 3,200 U.S. residents fought in Spain.

## The war

In 1936 a leftist coalition of "socialists, communists and anarchists" came to power in Spain. In July 1936, the military launched a coup against the Spanish Republic, expecting to seize total power within a week. But the military, led by General Franco, was not counting on the resistance of armed workers and peasants. Fascist Germany and Italy came to the aide of the Spanish military, and international volunteers came to aid the Spanish Republic.

MIM notes that this is an additional failure of the social-democratic model, which states that a peaceful transition to power through elections is possible because the people will support it. However, such a road to power leaves the current military and power structures intact — and the former aristocracy will use the military against the new people's government. As happened in Haiti (against Aristide) and in Chile (against Allende), the armed force of the old regime is used against the new government.)

The fascist rise to power in Spain was not an isolated case. In the mid- to late-1930s, fascism was rising. Japan had seized Manchuria, Italy seized Ethiopia. Austria fell to Germany, and then did Czechoslovakia, but the Western powers stayed "neutral." Both the fascists and the international proletariat and its allied forces side viewed the Spanish Civil War as a turning point. For over a

year, the fate of Spain hung in the balance. Would the spread of fascism be stopped?

The Western powers officially took a policy of appeasement, letting Czechoslovakia go to the fascists, and a policy of “neutrality” in Spain. But this was phony neutrality, showing that the non-fascist capitalist powers don’t care about fascism at all, just their own bottom line. For the first time in American history, a legally elected government was prohibited from buying arms in the United States. It was made illegal to help the war effort in Spain, and volunteers with the ALB were threatened with loss of citizenship or arrest in France if caught while trying to cross the border.

Of course, aid to the fascists wasn’t stopped. Texaco sold oil to Franco, and Ford and General Motors sold trucks (on credit!) to Franco. Hitler and Mussolini supplied 100,000 troops, 1,000 tanks, 3,000 pieces of artillery, and hundreds of thousands of machine guns and small arms as well as German bombers and Italian fighters. Those bombers were used in one of many firsts of this war: the systemic bombing of civilians. (The video gives some especially graphic footage of digging dead and injured children out of the rubble.)

When Madrid was on the verge of capture by the fascists, help arrived in the form of 40,000 international volunteers. Later, increasing amounts of international aid, especially medical aid, was to arrive. For a time, the tide of the battle was turned.

### Fight fascism at home and abroad

*The Good Fight* explains that vast numbers of Americans were isolationists. In footage of a baseball game, the video plays a popular song of the time: “We’re for you, Uncle Sam, but keep it [war] over there [in Europe].” According to the video, the Western governments had three fears preventing involvement in saving the Spanish Republic: first, that Spain would turn Communist, second, fear of alienating voters weary from inter-imperialist slaughter-fest in World War I, and finally a fear of antagonizing Hitler.

These three points were roughly correct, although the first is of the most importance and the second is of least importance. What makes fascism different from other imperialism is that fascism aims not to just to seize colonies, but to seize the mother country of other imperialists as well. The Western imperialists each hoped to take the cheapest route of steering fascist aggression away from their own homelands and colonies onto someone else, preferably the home base of world revolution at the time: the Soviet Union.

The second point is also of importance not because the American government wants to fully represent its people, but because the issue was prime for manipulation by opposition forces within the capitalist class early in the war. But late in war, in 1938, as a result of the intense agitation by progressive forces, 75% of Americans with an opinion supported the Republic. This agitation included Hemingway’s *For Whom The Bell Tolls* and a 1938 Henry Fonda movie called “Blockade.” But still the blockade survived.

But what these three points all emphasize in different ways is that fascism itself was not a problem, but rocking the American boat was to be avoided by America’s leaders at all costs.

Most of the ALB volunteers were previously very politically conscious and saw volunteering as the logical extension of their previous political work. In fact, according to Peter Carroll, 70% of ALB volunteers were members of the Communist Party or affiliated organizations such as the Young Communist League.<sup>(4)</sup> This was not true for one ALB volunteer, Ruth Davidow. She explained

that the war in Spain politicized her for life. At first, she wasn’t affected by the plight of the Jews in Germany, or of Italy’s invasion of Ethiopia. She saw these as domestic issues for Germany and Italy. But for some reason, she the events in Spain showed to her that fascism wasn’t going to stop with one or two countries, but that it wanted the whole world. Intervention was necessary before it was too late. The ALB volunteers knew of the connection between fascism at home and abroad, singing “And when we get home, we’ll do the same thing there.”

### The Spanish Republic and the ALB

*The Good Fight* explains that the Spanish Republic recognized that this was a political army, and so organized it along political lines. Political Commissars, most linked the Communist Party, were in each unit. These Commissars led discussions of strategy and tactics.

The ALB soldiers were mostly young. Commanders were often 22, and platoon leaders 19. Many others were only 18 and most had never held a gun before. This contrasts greatly with the volunteers from other countries who were much older and more experienced. Some of the other soldiers had already faced fascism in their own countries, and some of the German volunteers included concentration camp escapees. This internationalist exposure further deepened the political commitment of the members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

New for residents of the U.S. empire, the Abraham Lincoln Brigade was the first fully integrated (officers and soldiers) unit to see combat action. One Black man in the ALB reports in the video the experience of being treated with dignity by whites for the first time. Salaria Kee, a Black woman, joined the ALB when the Red Cross told her they didn’t accept “Negroes.” Kee reports in the video her shock at the difference in the way she was treated by Americans upon her return. The implication is clear that the class-conscious fighters in Spain, and the Spanish people in general at that time, were much more politically advanced than the still legally-segregated American society.

The ALB was at first looked down upon as militarily unable and complain-prone by volunteers from other countries. According to the video, the ALB eventually earned the full respect of the other volunteers. MIM doesn’t know how accurate this claim is or whether it is just nationalism. As we document below, the Americans did make themselves considerably difficult to the Spanish Republic. But to the information MIM has, the ALB didn’t run from death. In the first offensive of the Republican forces, 900 ALB volunteers took part in the successful effort, and 600 of them were killed or wounded.

In MIM’s opinion, the video spends too much time mired in bourgeois individualism. Although this is appropriate for the discussion about the contradictory role of American settlers in such a position that MIM attempts here, it is a bit distracting from a discussion of the ALB and the International Brigades.

There is an interview with one ALB volunteer about his refusal to salute Republican officers. He said that he would only salute people he considered a “good guy” but not because of rank. In the Chinese People’s Liberation Army under the leadership of Mao Zedong, insignia and the trappings of rank were abolished. To people outside of the army, it was almost impossible to distinguish soldiers from officers. This is a correct model with which to organize a people’s army.

However, how to organize an ideal people's army is a separate discussion from how foreigners who joined the Spanish Republican army should behave. The International Brigadiers joined to help the Spanish Republic and interfering with how the Spanish army operates runs counter to that goal. They should have followed Spanish policy until it was changed, not rebel within in.

On a similar note, MIM cringed at the discussion by one volunteer that he only had two hot baths in his 18 months in Spain. This is one of those life-style voyeurism issues like asking astronauts how they go the bathroom, but to American audiences such statements can show how much the ALB volunteers were willing to give up, aside from their lives, to fight fascism. At another point in the video a volunteer complains about the food the soldiers were given, although it is explained that soldiers knew that the best food was being sent to the front.

There is also a discussion in the video about the response of some wounded ALB volunteers in a Spanish hospital to the speeches of CPUSA Chairperson Earl Browder. While they may not have appreciated his exhortations to further heroism, for a variety of correct or incorrect reasons, singing back "We are the bastards" and "We'd rather fuck than fight" is the complete opposite of the politically principled methods of struggle necessary to build the political unity necessary to take on the highly organized imperialist and fascist systems.

MIM has seen no mention in any literature about the Spanish Civil War of such widespread problems in other International Brigades, even from the other non-fascist imperialist countries.

The video makes clear that the only country to support the Spanish Republic was the Soviet Union. In fact, the Soviet Union provided more help than ever reached the Republic, as it was not permitted across the French border. One soldier in the video claimed that he would have fought fascism with a slingshot, but that the USSR made a great impression upon him by giving him a gun.

### **Book about POWs offers more principled discussion**

By chance, MIM also discovered *Prisoners of the Good Fight* by Carl Geiser. This book is a more principled treatment of the Spanish Civil War than the video.

From the back of the book:

"Fifty years ago 290 young Americans fighting with the Abraham Lincoln and [Canadian] Mackenzie-Papineau battalions were captured by Italian, Moroccan and Spanish troops in Spain. Of these 176 were killed on capture without trial.

"The author of this book, who had served as the political commissar of both battalions, was the highest ranking officer to survive capture, thanks to the timely arrival of an Italian command car as he faced a firing squad, and to the loyalty of his fellow prisoners who refused to reveal his rank to their fascist captors during thirteen months of imprisonment.

"This book ... reveals the amazing breaks which allowed some to survive, and how the survivors organized in the concentration camps and prisons to resist fascist brutality and indoctrination and to maintain their morale and health. They had their secret *Jaily News*, and organized the San Pedro Institute of Higher Learning with 17 classes ranging from beginners Spanish to calculus. It describes their solidarity with 500 fellow prisoners from 30 countries.

"Research for this history was conducted in the archives of 10 countries, and former prisoners from nine countries were interviewed. Most of the material has never appeared in print."

On the basis of only the above, *Prisoners of the Good Fight* is a valuable book. Right up front the book shows it's good political line with the comment of a Republican leader to Geiser: If this was a real civil war between classes, your participation would be inappropriate. But this is a foreign invasion.

The *Good Fight* video explains that the Communist Party was forced to use the cover of recruiting workers for Spain in order to get around the restrictions on recruiting soldiers for foreign armies. Once in Spain, however, Geiser's book explains the importance of being politically principled. The prisoners came up with a cover story for interrogation that would protect themselves without embarrassing the Spanish Republic: They would claim to be anti-fascists, and that they had come to Spain to fight fascism. They denied Communist affiliations, however. The prisoners felt that using the worker excuse would have played into Franco's propaganda that the Spanish Republic was offering foreigners imaginary jobs to entice them to come, and then using them in the Republican Army.

The prisoners also took the defense of their revolutionary leadership quite seriously. They recognized that their officers and the political leaders from the fascist countries were in particularly severe danger. One of these leaders was William Fellendorf, who worked in the German CP after the Nazis banned it. In prison, he used the Swedish alias Arthur Karlson and Swedish prisoners helped polish his Swedish background. Fellendorf was even pictured leading a Communist demonstration on the cover of an anti-Communist pamphlet distributed by the prison to the prisoners. The prisoners and prisoner organizations repeatedly took great risks to allow those in the greatest danger from the fascists to attempt escape.

The book is also a good discussion of how to maintain unity within a POW camp. The reality was that the prisoners came from a variety of political commitments and some succumbed to the pressure of the fascists more than others. The prison leadership put its emphasis on principled unity. For example, the POWs were under great pressure to give the fascist Franco salute, but they refused and were punished. When some of the prisoners were about to break ranks, the decision was made that everyone would give the salute, put poorly; and that they would never do it in front of foreign guests of the prison. This is certainly was not an ideal solution, but it correctly dealt with the long-term problem of maintaining their collective power against the fascists.

The discussion about maintaining prisoner morale is also a useful one to for other POWs. The prisoners were demoralized at first and at times blamed their capture on poor Republican leadership or other Republican soldiers. Geiser led political study groups of the only information available: the fascist newspaper. Through reading Franco's statements, the prisoners were reminded that the only reason that Franco won battles (and eventually the war) was through the military support that he received from Italy and Germany. Both the book and the video give detailed information about the magnitude of fascist military might given Franco as compared to the small amounts that the Republic had or was able to acquire under the imperialist's "neutrality" position. The prisoners read Franco's boasts to seize such-and-such a place within three days. But then they read weeks or months later that such-and-such a place had just



been taken by Franco. The prisoners knew that the International Brigades had for the most part been annihilated already. The only logical explanation to Franco's failure to advance as he planned was the stubborn, fierce, resistance of the Spanish people and their republic.

The book also discusses the various structures that were used to create effective prisoner and Communist Party organizations.

Geiser's book also covers in vivid detail Amerika's unwillingness — beyond even that of the other non-fascist imperialists — to request the release of Amerikan POWs even after the Civil War had ended. The book stresses repeatedly, however, that the prisoners from the fascist and fascist occupied countries were not going to be so lucky.

## Conclusion

Impressively, the video ends with footage of the ALB veterans in their sixties engaged in various anti-imperialist activities in the 1980s. As one veteran says: "To give up now would be the worst form of cowardice."

A widow interviewed in the video explains that while she was saddened by the loss of her husband to fascism, that because he "died for a good reason, it is not that bad." MIM salutes this materialist reasoning and the sacrifice of so many people from Spain and around the world in the fight against Franco's fascism.

The experience of the Communist Party and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade offers us many lessons about internationalism, and the potential of even a party mired in the class demands of the semi-proletariat to make a real contribution to the cause of fighting fascism. Many lessons about the United Front in North America can and will be learned from the Spanish Civil War experience.

MIM will use this video, and the book as a supplement, to educate ourselves and supporters, and the public about this important history. We also recommend these materials for study group use.

### Notes:

1. MIM Theory 8, p. 28. \$6 from MIM. Source: Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: A history of the world, 1914-1991*. Pantheon: New York, 1994, p. 160.
2. *The Valley Advocate* 3 July 1997, p. 21.
3. Robin D. G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class*. Free Press: New York, 1994, chapter 6.
4. Note: Lecture at Mt. Holyoke College, 18 February 1998.

# The Question of Independence and Initiative within the United Front

*This essay by Mao, dated November 5, 1938, appears in Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Vol. II, pp. 213-217. It was scanned*

*by MIM, which takes responsibility for errors that may have occurred in the process. —ed.*

## Help and Concessions Should Be Positive, Not Negative

All political parties and groups in the united front must help each other and make mutual concessions for the sake of long-term co-operation, but such help and concessions should be positive, not negative. We must consolidate and expand our own Party and army, and at the same time should assist friendly parties end armies to consolidate and expand; the people want the government to satisfy their political and economic demands, and at the same time give the government every possible help to prosecute the War of Resistance; the factory workers demand better conditions from the owners, and at the same time work hard in the interests of resistance; for the sake of unity against foreign aggression, the landlords should reduce rent and interest, and at the same time the peasants should pay rent and interest. All these principles and policies of mutual assistance are positive, not negative or one-sided. The same should be true of mutual concessions. Each side should refrain from undermining the other and from organizing secret party branches within the other's party, government and army. For our part we organize no secret party branches inside the Kuomintang and its government or army, and so set the Kuomin-tang's mind at rest, to the advantage of the War of Resistance. The saying, "Refrain from doing some things in order to be able to do other things",<sup>(1)</sup> exactly meets the case. A national war of resistance would have been impossible without the reorganization of the Red Army, the change in the administrative system in the Red areas, and the abandonment of the policy of armed insurrection. By giving way on the latter we have achieved the former; negative measures have yielded positive results. "To fall back the better to leap forward"<sup>(2)</sup> that is Leninism. To regard concessions as something purely negative is contrary to Marxism-Leninism. There are indeed instances of purely negative concessions - the Second International's doctrine of collaboration between labour and capital<sup>(3)</sup> resulted in the betrayal of a whole class and a whole revolution. In China, Chen Tu-hsiu<sup>(4)</sup> and then Chang Kuo tao<sup>(5)</sup> were both capitulators; capitulationism must be strenuously opposed. When we make concessions, fall back, turn to the defensive or halt our advance in our relations with either allies or enemies, we should always see these actions as part of our whole revolutionary policy, as an indispensable link in the general revolutionary line, as one turn in a zigzag course. In a word, they are positive.

## The Identity Between the National and the Class Struggle

To sustain a long war by long-term co-operation or, in other words, to subordinate the class struggle to the present national struggle against Japan — such is the fundamental principle of the united front. Subject to this principle, the independent character of the parties and classes and their independence and initiative within the united front should be preserved, and their essential rights should not be sacrificed to co-operation and unity, but on the contrary must be firmly upheld within certain limits. Only thus can Co-operation be promoted, indeed only thus can there be any co-operation at all. Otherwise co-operation will turn into amalgamation and the united front will inevitably be sacrificed. In a struggle that is

national in character, the class struggle takes the form of national struggle, which demonstrates the identity between the two. On the one hand, for a given historical period the political and economic demands of the various classes must not be such as to disrupt co-operation; on the other hand, the demands of the national struggle (the need to resist Japan) should be the point of departure for all class struggle. Thus there is identity in the united front between unity and independence and between the national struggle and the class struggle.

### “Everything Through The United Front” Is Wrong

The Kuomintang is the party in power, and so far has not allowed the united front to assume an organizational form. Behind the enemy lines, the idea of “everything through” is impossible, for there we have to act independently and with the initiative in our own hands while keeping to the agreements which the Kuomintang has approved (for instance, the Programme of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction). Or we may act first and report afterwards, anticipating what the Kuomintang might agree to. For instance, the appointment of administrative commissioners and the dispatch of troops to Shantung Province would never have occurred if we had tried to get these things done “through the united front”. It is said that the French Communist Party once put forward a similar slogan, but that was probably because in France, where a joint committee of the parties already existed and the Socialist Party was unwilling to act in accordance with the jointly agreed programme and wanted to have its own way, the Communist Party had to put forward such a slogan in order to restrain the Socialist Party, and certainly it did not do so to shackle itself. In the case of China, the Kuomintang has deprived all other political parties of equal rights and is trying to compel them to take its orders. If this slogan is meant to be a demand that everything done by the Kuomintang must go through us, it is both ridiculous and impossible. If we have to secure the Kuomintang’s consent beforehand for everything we do, what if the Kuomintang does not consent? Since the policy of the Kuomintang is to restrict our growth, there is no reason whatever for us to propose such a slogan, which simply binds us hand and foot. At present there are things for which we should secure prior consent from the Kuomintang, such as the expansion of our three divisions into three army corps - this is to report first and act afterwards. There are other things which the Kuomintang can be told after they have become accomplished facts, such as the expansion of our forces to over 200,000 men - this is to act first and report afterwards. There are also things, such as the convening of the Border Region assembly, which we shall do without reporting for the time being, knowing that the Kuomintang will not agree. There are still other things which, for the time being, we shall neither do nor report, for they are likely to jeopardize the whole situation. In short, we must not split the united front, but neither should we allow ourselves to be bound hand and foot, and hence the slogan of “everything through the united front” should not be put forward. If “everything must be

submitted to the united front” is interpreted as “everything must be submitted to” Chiang Kai-shek and Yen Hsi-shan, then that slogan, too, is wrong. Our policy is one of independence and initiative within the united front, a policy both of unity and of independence. Notes:

1. A quotation from *Mencius*.

2. V. I. Lenin, “Conspectus of Hegel’s Book *Lectures on the History of*

*Philosophy*”, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Moscos, 1958, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 275.

3. “The doctrine of collaboration between labour and capital” is the reactionary doctrine of the Second International, which advocates such collaboration in the capitalist countries and opposes the revolutionary overthrow of bourgeois rule and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.
4. Chen Tu-hsiu was a radical democrat around the time of the May 4th Movement. Later, under the influence of the October Socialist Revolution he became one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party. For six years after the founding of the Party he held the leading position in the Central Committee. His thinking had long been strongly Rightist. In the latter part of the 1924-27 revolution, it developed into a line of capitulationism. The capitulationists represented by Chen Tu-hsiu “voluntarily gave up the Party’s leadership of the peasant masses, urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie, and in particular gave up the Party’s leadership of the armed forces, thus causing the defeat of the revolution” (“The Present Situation and Our Tasks”, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p. 171). After the defeat of 1927 Chen Tu-hsiu and a handful of other capitulationists lost faith in the future of the revolution and became liquidationists. They took a reactionary Trotskyite stand and formed a small anti-Party group together with the Trotskyites. Consequently Chen Tu-hsiu was expelled from the Party in November 1929. He died in 1942.
5. Chang Kuo-tao was a renegade from the Chinese revolution. Speculating on the revolution, he joined the Chinese Communist Party in his youth. In the Party he made many mistakes and ended by committing grave crimes. Most notoriously, in 1935 he opposed the Red Army’s northward march, advocating a defeatist and liquidationist withdrawal by the Red Army to the minority-nationality areas on the Szechuan-Sikang border (the province of Sikang was abolished in 1955; now one part of it is under the jurisdiction of Szechuan Province and the other under that of the Tibet Autonomous Region), and he engaged in openly traitorous activities against the Party and the Central Committee, established his own bogus central committee, disrupted the unity of the Party and the Red Army, and caused heavy losses to its Fourth Front Army. Thanks to patient education by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee, the Fourth Front Army and its numerous cadres soon came back under the correct leadership of the Central Committee and played an honourable part in subsequent struggles. Chang Kuo-tao, however, proved incorrigible, escaped by himself from the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region in the spring of 1938 and joined the Kuomintang secret police.

## Correcting the Concept of the National Democratic Front

*This document was translated from the original in Pilipino and printed in Rebolusyon, Theoretical and Political Journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, No. 2, Series 1993, April-June. It was scanned by MIM, which takes responsibility for errors that may have occurred in the process. — ed.*

## Resolution of the Tenth Plenum of the Central Committee

(With adjustments in the formulation as contained in the EC-CC Memorandum dated March 1993.)

1. After more than two decades of efforts to broaden the National Democratic Front (NDF) as a formal national united front organization. The NDF continues to consist only of the Party and the forces that it directly leads and influences and that, in various degrees, recognize and adhere to the line of the people's democratic revolution or the two-stage revolution.

The bulk of our relations with other political forces are in the legal sphere or are at local levels in the countryside. And those with whom we relate secretly are generally not ready to put themselves within the NDF, although at certain times they agree to cooperate with us in some particular activities or consult with us on important political issues.

This situation reflects the general level of development of the revolutionary movement, the strength established by the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry to effectively draw the other motive forces to the revolutionary cause, and also the political character and standpoint of other political forces we relate with.

2. Although striving to form the NDF — with the participation not only of the organizations led and influenced by the Party — was correct, it has taken us very long to make the necessary adjustments even when it had become very clear that this could not yet be achieved. The formal building of the NDF itself was delayed.

The erroneous idea also emerged that NDF building could be meaningful only if other forces are strongly represented and, worse, to achieve this, the NDF program must be diluted or laid aside or the Party leadership must be liquidated under the illusion that such a course would encourage other political forces, which are essentially reformist and parliamentarist rather than revolutionary, to join the NDF.

3. In the early years of the 1980s the wrong concepts regarding the united front were encouraged by tactics aimed at forcing a decisive victory over the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship (USMD). These tactics upheld the following:

- \* general stress on the building of a broad revolutionary coalition (NRUF) encompassing the "liberal democrats" (LDs) and the left wing of the "bourgeois reformists (BRs)" based on the claim or view that the development of the basic worker-peasant alliance had run too far ahead and broad alliance work must catch up with it, and that it was therefore necessary to put the heavier stress on the latter;

- \* "neutralizing" the "bourgeois-reformist" bloc by drawing its "left wing" to the side of the revolution and isolating its "right wing"; and

- \* building the NDF as a broad national-democratic coalition within the framework of the NRUF (i.e., encompassing the LDs and the "left-wing of the BRs" and their legitimate interests).

The wish to draw to the side of the NDF the so-called LDs and "left wing" of the anti-Marcos reactionaries resulted in moves to change the program and concept of the NDF, despite the fact that the political groups and forces that were targeted were still very much parliamentarist and reformist and many of them, after the fall of Marcos, would expose their counterrevolutionary character.

Following the above concept of the NDF, the program of the *Katipunan* (proposed new name for the NDF) was drawn up in

1982. This program with its dilutions and compromises was opposed by many Party units and cadres and was subsequently laid aside.

Although the draft program of the *Katipunan* was laid aside, the concept of building the NDF as a broad national democratic coalition within the frame of the so-called NRUF persisted.

Despite the unnecessary dilution and compromises on the NDF program, the dominant feature of the tactics of forcing a "decisive revolutionary victory over the USMD" was the overestimation of the capability of the revolution to put under revolutionary leadership the majority of the people, the middle forces, the LDs and the so-called left wing of the BRs, and the assumption that the entire antidictatorship struggle could be transformed into a comprehensive (anti-imperialist and antifeudal) revolutionary struggle. An outstanding feature of these efforts was the haste in drawing the majority, if not all, of those considered as "positive forces in the struggle against the USMD" to become revolutionary, without regard for the fact that among the so-called positive forces were groups and elements with a basically reactionary character or whose reactionary aspect is strong.

4. After Marcos fell, the concept of quickly drawing the majority of the people to the revolution and, to this end, the building of the NDF as a "broad ND coalition" persisted.

Because of the persistent desire to go beyond the actual level of the development of the revolution, the angling for projects and for the illusory urban insurrection and its attendant obsession of riding on the spontaneous masses and hastily drawing and inciting them towards insurrectionary actions grew strong.

Under the signboard of seeking to get the majority of the people, there was overemphasis on coalition tactics and currying favor with the middle forces and the bourgeois mass media. Populist, social-democratic and bourgeois liberal influences and tendencies grew strong.

Behind the concept of the broad ND coalition, the concept of NDF-building that developed and gradually came to be aggressively pushed was related to the wish of further broadening and positioning the NDF within the broad political struggle of the people by moving farther away from the line of the people's democratic revolution; by adopting a policy of "all alliance and all unity" with the middle forces; by disregarding the concept of Party leadership, the struggle for the independence and initiative of the revolutionary proletariat and the decisive role of the basic alliance; and by opening up to parliamentarist and pacifist ideas and tendencies.

When insurrectionist illusions and projects temporarily held sway in the tactical political plan drawn up in 1990 for the national capital region (NCR) — a result of the usurpation and misrepresentation of the authority of the Party's central leadership by one leading cadre — there were "pol-mil" actions and efforts not only to force a general paralyzation and bring about an explosion of the situation but also to rapidly position the NDF directly at the center of the broad legal movement as a whole, to build an open and broad anti-imperialist democratic front (AIDF), which the NDF would subsequently join. It was dreamed that the AIDF would serve as the center for a popular uprising. A people's agenda, a further dilution of the NDF program, was to be drawn up as the program of the AIDF and superimposed on the NDF program. This people's agenda was to be adopted as the common program of the NDF and the various groups and political forces ranging from the Left up to the Right.

5. We hereby revoke the earlier concept of the NDF as a broad national democratic coalition, offering and maintaining a framework for the “equal” competition of the old-type and the new-type national democratic forces in the vain hope that such a framework would attract other political forces to participate in the NDF.

No matter how much we dream or how many times we overhaul the NDF program and organizational mechanism and no matter how much we strain to hide the role of the Party (short of actually repudiating it), we will not succeed in drawing into the NDF the middle forces that are not ready to go beyond reformism and decisively throw in their lot with the revolution.

Therefore, it is senseless for us to go ahead of these forces and dilute and make compromises on their behalf on the maximum program of the NDF before there is any significant allied force willing to join the NDF or a broader revolutionary united front and actually asking for changes in the program of the alliance.

There is no sufficient reason for avoiding any reference in the NDF program to the recognition of the leadership of the working class through the Party, especially because the NDF is still composed of forces led and influenced by the Party. Any concept of the united front that removes the right of the revolutionary proletariat and the forces led by it to adhere to the line of the people’s democratic revolution is essentially wrong.

The concept of developing a “mixed economy” and suspending indefinitely the socialist revolution and construction and the concept of “pluralism” opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of a people’s democratic dictatorship both violate the line of the people’s democratic revolution and should be combated.

The basic forces of the Philippine revolution, especially under present conditions in the country and in the world, can comprehensively strengthen themselves only by consciously supporting the line of the two stage revolution and the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. We can neither broaden the united front nor draw in a growing part of the middle forces if the basic forces of the revolution are allowed to be weakened by the pernicious influences of such bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas and tendencies as revisionism, populism, social-democracy, reformism, pacifism and bourgeois parliamentarism.

6. As the advance detachment of the leading class in the Philippine revolution, the Party has learned lessons from the failure of the Paris Commune, where the proletariat lost power when it laid the question of political authority to an electoral process in which the bourgeoisie and the reactionary forces participated and at that crucial period prevailed. It is the Party, not the NDF, that leads the government, the people’s army and the people, even as the NDF is an instrument for facilitating the building of a broader people’s consultative council and a democratic people’s government whose core of leadership is proletarian.

The Party must know what type of formal or informal united front is acceptable. It should be the type that upholds and propagates the leadership of the working class in the revolution and accomplishes the new democratic and socialist stages of the revolution.

A different type of united front is where nonproletarian entities prevail over the revolutionary party and transform the united front into a party that supersedes or puts aside the working class party. In such a united front petty bourgeois and middle-bourgeois organizations and individuals first surrounds and overwhelms the working class party and eventually gives way to the dominance of the

big bourgeoisie.

7. Even as the NDF remains to be constituted by none other than the Party and the forces that it directly leads and influences, the need for a formal united front organization is not diminished.

The NDF, as the most consolidated part of the united front, should serve as an organizational anchor for further broadening the united front through the establishment of various types of relations — bilateral, multilateral, legal, illegal, consultative, project-to-project — with other progressive social strata and classes.

It shall serve the following:

- \* help to facilitate our work among the middle forces, the national minorities and special groups;
- \* be an instrument for developing different levels of relations with other political forces;
- \* stand in representation of the revolutionary movement in talks with the GRP;
- \* be an instrument to pave the way for the local organs of political power under Party leadership;
- \* be a frame for coordination and cooperation among clandestine national democratic mass organizations;
- \* be a frame for the revolutionary movement in addressing the entire people;
- \* be a frame for diplomatic work;
- \* serve as coordinator of multisectoral campaigns;
- \* be a frame for facilitating direct political organizing and education among the people;
- \* be a frame for training mass activists.

8. The NDF is the most consolidated part of the national united front composed of the basic revolutionary forces (workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie). Individuals from the petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie may be admitted on a case-to-case basis, depending upon their willingness and track record in word and deed and provided they represent significant political trends or organizations that are not ready to join the NDF.

The NDF is a distinctive block within the national united front upholding the leadership of the working class through the Party and the national-democratic revolution with a social list perspective.

The NDF is being built not only to further strengthen the allied and cooperating organizations within its frame and the basic revolutionary forces but also essentially to build the broadest possible unity and cooperation with all progressive and democratic forces in order to advance the national democratic revolution towards victory.

The NDF is within the entire structure required for building the national united front. It functions within the national united front in order to set up the various types and levels of relations with other political forces that are not ready to come into the NDF. This clarification is being made to preempt sectarian tendency of building the NDF only as a united front of the basic revolutionary forces.

9. The entirety of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie must continuously be reached and drawn to progressively relate with us according to their consciousness and willingness to participate in legal, semilegal and illegal struggles, activities, organizations and relations.

However, we must be rigorously objective in estimating their willingness to participate or support the revolution, especially with regard to the upper section of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. In this regard, it is important for us to suffi-

ciently build our strength and persist in actively building the strength of the basic revolutionary forces.

In drawing the upper urban petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie to the side of the revolution, it is important for us to unite with them on the basis of common national and democratic interests. At the same time, it is equally important for us to struggle against their vacillations and their attempts to suppress the ideological, political and organizational independence and strengthening of the revolutionary proletariat in order to promote the dominance of petty bourgeois and bourgeois-liberal tendencies and influences over the revolutionary forces.

To be able to give due attention to the work among the middle forces, we must plan our work at the national and intermediate levels, where the bulk of our relations with these forces can be found. In the process of correcting the imbalance between military work and mass work in the countryside, we expect to be able to focus sufficient attention on work in well-populated areas where the middle forces abound.

10. We criticize and revoke the old concept of the NDF with a confederative or a federative character. The concept, to begin with, is wrong and have not been carefully examined. Worse, it sets organizational arrangements and processes that violate the leading role of the proletariat and its Party, put the Party and the NDF on a collision course and violate the principle of independence and initiative of the Party and other allied organizations.

It was the 9th CC Plenum that set the organizational character of the NDF as a confederation. At the same time, it set provisions running counter to the confederative arrangement, like the admission of individual members, voting in the making of decisions and two-thirds majority vote for important decisions.

In 1987, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee decided to build the NDF even only with the participation of the Party and the forces that it directly leads or influences. But despite a subsequent decision to admit other political forces, the confederative character of the alliance that had been set earlier was maintained. The provisions violating the confederative arrangement were also maintained.

The First NDF Congress magnified the problem even more when the provisions violating the confederative or federative character were introduced into the NDF constitution, like higher-lower level relations (as in a unitary organization); no proxy vote; setting of a quorum; and disciplinary actions on "member-organizations."

By decision of the NDF Congress, the Party is subordinated to a confederative center exercising federal powers and, in some instances, unitary powers over it. The NDF was made arrogate unto itself the formal power to subject the Party to decisions that could be made against its will and without its voice because of a provision on quorum and another one on "no-proxy" voting.

Worse, the draft NDF constitution stipulates the equal rights of "member organizations" and individual members.

The concept of the NDF as a federation or confederation came from the mistaken notion that as such an NDF would accelerate the setting up of a broad political center that would stand as the unified command encompassing the majority of the people, including the forces then and now that are reformist and parliamentarist.

According to the tactics of achieving a "decisive victory over the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship," the concept was anchored on an overestimation of the strength of the Party and the revolution and an underestimation of the capability of the anti-Marcos reactionaries

as well as of U.S. imperialism to intervene and maneuver within the antidictatorship struggle.

The insurrectionist tendencies that grew after Marcos fell were aimed at building a unified command that would bring the spontaneous masses and various progressive and positive forces towards a popular uprising. At the same time, these tendencies increasingly played down and relegated to a secondary role the weight and leadership of the revolutionary proletariat and its party; and, oftentimes, even presented them as a negative factor affecting the broadness of the front that was being sought.

Even then, such erroneous concept of the NDF already encouraged supraclass populism although in later years this was to be more systematically used by some elements within and outside the Party to aggressively push populism, popdemism, social-democracy, bourgeois liberalism, and lately, under the influence of Gorbachovism, an anti-Party and anticommunist line.

11. We hereby abandon the concept of the NDF as a political federation through which the Party can be dominated by nonproletarian entities, even if such entities have Party groups within. Such a concept undermines the leadership of the working class presently in the new-democratic stage and subsequently in the socialist stage of the Philippine revolution.

It suffices that the NDF be an alliance or a united front organization operating on a confederal, consultative and consensual basis. It is wrong to build it as a federation whose constitution is further complicated by the introduction of rules and processes of a unitary organization arching over organizations and individuals equally considered as members with equal rights.

Within the NDF as an alliance or united front, the independence and initiative of the Party must be insured. It is wrong for the vanguard party of the proletariat to enter into any arrangement that limits or disregards the Party's independence and initiative. In this connection, the Party should be regarded as an allied or cooperating organization within the NDF, instead of a member-organization of a federation.

If the Party is regarded as an ordinary member-organization of a federation, there is no guarantee that the leadership of the working class will prevail over that of the bourgeoisie. The Party can be outvoted by the nonproletarian entities in a federation.

The united front is properly a frame for consultation and consensus among allied forces. It is not a frame for voting. It is a weapon wielded by the Party and is not a formal arrangement for dominating the Party and the working class and under which they can be outvoted, tied and chopped off.

The NDF as it is currently composed is not a full blown horizontal and vertical organization. It is a confederal, consultative and consensual alliance of organizations within the frame of the national democratic struggle. The view that the NDF does not only have a coordinative role but has fullblown powers of leadership over its member organization is wrong.

The correct way of building the NDF is to build the component or allied organizations (particularly those that are still weak) and afterwards put up at various levels the councils of representatives of the allied or cooperating organizations and possibly some prominent representatives from significant trends and organizations which are not prepared to come into the fold of the NDF.

12. Whether intended or unintended, the building of the NDF as a federation, as demonstrated by our concrete experience, has led to the following:

- a. attempts to present the NDF, instead of the working class and its Party, as the center of the Philippine revolution;
- b. the presentation of the current revolution as a mere recycling of the old liberal revolution without the leadership of the proletariat and without a socialist perspective (supposedly for the purpose of attracting the middle forces and the national bourgeoisie);
- c. the issue of whether the NDF is under the centralism of the Party or vice-versa;
- d. the opening for nonproletarian elements to use the name of the NDF in order to attack such basic principles of the Party as the vanguard role of the proletariat, democratic centralism and socialism;
- e. the demand that the Party and all the so-called member organizations that were previously independent subject themselves to the authority of the NDF leadership;
- f. the absorption of cadres and members of the Party into the administrative structure of the NDF under the signboard of “regularization” and the use of the authority of the NDF to undertake the redeployment of Party cadres in violation of the processes of the appropriate committees of the Party, to the detriment of mass work and Party building which are urgently in need of cadres and members.

What have been enumerated are but a few instances of putting the NDF as a federation on a collision course with the Party or of creating the NDF as a channel for limiting the Party.

13. Everything in the decision of the 9th CC Plenum and the subsequent decisions of the Political Bureau that runs counter to the leading role of the working class through the Party, the two-stage revolution and the principle of independence and initiative of the Party in a united front have been criticized and revoked by the 10th CC Plenum.

14. All Party members, especially those directly involved in the work of the united front, should seriously study the principles of the united front according to the teachings of the Party since its reestablishment and also the pertinent writings of Mao Zedong. We must undertake a thoroughgoing assessment of our more than 20 years of work in the united front, draw lessons from it and advance on the correct line and method of building the revolutionary united front.

## Relationship of the Party with the NPA and the United Front

**Directive of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee to All Units and Members of the Party, August 1992**

*This document was translated from the original in Pilipino and printed in Rebolusyon, Theoretical and Political Journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, No. 2, Series 1993, April-June. It was scanned by MIM, which takes*

*responsibility for errors that may have occurred in the process. — ed.*

The Communist Party of the Philippines is the advanced detachment of the proletariat, which is the leading class in the Philippine revolution.

The vanguard role of the proletariat is absolutely necessary in order to carry out the Philippine revolution in two distinct but continuous stages: new democratic and socialist.

By virtue of its two-stage line of development under the class leadership of the proletariat, the Philippine revolution clearly belongs to the same category as the Soviet, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, Cuban and similar revolutions and not to that of revolutions aimed at mere decolonization towards a neocolonial compromise or at democratization that is without genuine proletarian leadership and therefore ends within the confines of bourgeois rule.

If the proletariat and its revolutionary party are not in the lead, then all efforts at social revolution in a country like the Philippines fall within a vicious circle dominated by the joint class dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and the landlord class, even as some unremoulded petty bourgeois elements pose as the champions of democracy and social reform and appear to be independent of the exploiting classes in viciously opposing the vanguard role of the proletariat and its revolutionary party.

The Filipino people have three instruments for carrying out the two-stage Philippine revolution: first, the Communist Party of the Philippines as the advanced detachment of the proletarian leading class; second, the New People’s Army (NPA) and third, the united front, whether there is a formal united front organization or not.

How are these weapons of the people related to each other? Representing the leading class, the Party wields the armed struggle and the united front as two weapons in the people’s democratic revolution.

Party cadres and members are first of all personnel of the Party when they work in the field of armed struggle or united front. They are duty-bound to pursue and realize the general line of the people’s democratic revolution set by the Party and follow the discipline of the Party.

The revolutionary class leadership of the proletariat through the Party has to be stressed time and time again because there are certain elements who wish to evade their obligations and responsibilities as Party cadres and members by asserting the “independence” and “separateness” of either the NPA or the National Democratic Front (NDF).

The same has to be clarified among cadres and members of the Party in the New People’s Army in the face of the emergence of some erroneous concepts regarding a separate machinery and premature verticalization of the structure and flow of command within the people’s army, simultaneous to the tendency of weakening the leadership of the corresponding Party committee or organ.

From outside the Party, there are the imperialists, revisionists and anticommunist petty bourgeois elements who keep on trying to undermine the conviction of Party cadres and members with regard to the vanguard role of the proletariat, democratic centralism and the socialist future of the Philippine revolution.

### **The Relationship Between the Party and the NPA**

The Party has absolute leadership over the New People’s Army. Without this principle clearly and firmly held, then the command

of the NPA at every level is liable to fall into the trap of the purely military viewpoint.

The revolutionary politics of the proletariat, represented by the Party, must be in command of the NPA. The Party is the one holding the gun from whose barrel political power grows in the people's democratic revolution.

It is wrong to speak of the separateness and independence of the NPA as if the Party leadership were something dispensable. The Party and the NPA have distinct organizations and functions but they are inseparable and interdependent, with the Party playing the principal role and the NPA the secondary role in this relationship.

The entire Party is at the head of the entire NPA. At every level, from the national level downward, the Party committee provides the political leadership to the command of the NPA.

The Central Committee directly and through its Military Commission leads the National Operational Command of the NPA (NOC); the interregional Party committee, the Interregional Operational Command; the regional Party committee, the regional operational command; the guerrilla front Party committee, the guerrilla front command; and so on.

At no level should the Party leading committee be identical with the command of the NPA for two reasons:

1. The Party leading committee is the comprehensive organ for all matters within and outside the NPA; and
2. The Party leading committee must not be narrowed down to military concerns.

While being at the head of the NPA, the Party is at the same time at the core of the NPA.

At every command level, from the company upward, there is a Party committee. At the level of the NOC/NPA, there is the Political Department to promote ideological and political work within the NPA and in the localities and to insure that there is Party building at the basic level and upward in the NPA and in the localities.

At every command level and in every unit of the NPA, there is dual leadership. The commander is in charge of military command and administration. The political commissar or political officer is in charge of the ideological and political work. The military commander and political officer or commissar must consult with each other and work together in order to achieve combined political and military objectives.

In an emergency military situation in which neither consultations between military commander and political officer nor a deliberative meeting of the entire NPA unit is possible, the military commander assumes full responsibility.

The Party within the NPA, from the branch level to the Party committees at higher levels of the NPA, must do political work among the Red fighters as well as see to it that the NPA units do political work among the people in the localities.

In the localities where Units of the NPA have just begun conducting mass work, the Party within the NPA is superior to the Party in such localities for the obvious reason that the former has prior knowledge and experience and better access to the higher levels of the Party. The situation of the Party in the localities may also be fluid because of enemy campaigns.

But in due time, as the Party in the localities gains more knowledge and experience, this becomes a stable force and develops direct relations with higher levels of the Party which are defined according to the territorial scope of jurisdiction.

In fact, NPA units can operate most effectively in any locality

through the cooperation of the Party in the NPA and the Party in the localities, besides the close relations of the NPA units with the people and the local organs of political power.

### Relationship of the Party and the United Front

To carry out the united front policy and wield the united front as its weapon, the Party may or may not build any formal united front organization.

What is important is that the Party pursues a revolutionary class line involving the following: working class leadership, basic alliance of the working class and peasantry, the alliance of such basic forces as the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie, the alliance of such positive forces as the basic forces and the national bourgeoisie, alliance with sections of the reactionary classes and isolation and destruction of the enemy.

With regard to the basic alliance of the working class and peasantry, it has sufficed for the Party to lead and coordinate the organizations of the working class and peasantry. And yet this basic alliance is the foundation of the national united front.

Without any formal united front organization, the Party and the NPA have been able to relate to individuals and organizations belonging to the urban petty bourgeoisie and enlightened sections of the reactionary classes since the start of the armed struggle in 1969.

There have been multisectoral and issue-oriented legal alliances combining the toiling masses with the urban petty bourgeoisie and sometimes with the national bourgeoisie or even with sections of the reactionary classes. In these alliances, the Party has not been a formally recognized part but Party cadres and members have worked in them.

These alliances have strengths and weaknesses arising from or related to their legal status. They are strong in legally promoting the national democratic line but they are weak because they are vulnerable to the coercive power of the reactionary state.

Since 1973, the National Democratic Front (NDF) has been conceived of as the most comprehensive formal united front organization under working class leadership, along the line of new democratic revolution, and for armed struggle.

The principles of the united front were drawn mainly from a study of Philippine, Chinese and Vietnamese experiences and writings. The works of Mao Zedong were definitely the richest source of ideas. But in addition to learning from Philippine experience in the building of formal united front organizations, the NDF was considered most akin to the South Vietnam National Liberation Front as a foreign example.

In a certain effort to build the NDF recently as a "federation" or "confederation", a number of principles of the united front have been violated in the following manner:

1. The working class leadership, the line of the new democratic revolution and the socialist perspective have been liquidated. What is set forth as the ultimate goal of the revolution is the building of a "national democratic society" upon the seizure of political power. Thus, the program is to recycle the old democratic revolution. The working class is reduced to carrying the sedan chair for the bourgeoisie.

2. The Party is reduced to being a "member-organization" subject to voting and being outvoted by a preponderance of nonproletarian member organizations, mostly petty-bourgeois even if there are Party groups within them. The principles of working class leadership through the Party and the independence and initia-

tive of the Party are contravened.

3. Under the guise of liberating the NDF from the “centralism” of the Party and making the NDF separate and independent of the Party, certain elements wish to subordinate the proletariat and its party to the NDF and regard the NDF as the center of the Philippine revolution. These elements include some Party members and members of NDF “member-organizations” as well as individuals who are not at all members of any NDF “member organization” but are regarded as direct individual members of the NDF.

If the Party is to build the NDF as a formal united front organization, its Program and Constitution have to be in accordance with the following:

1. The working class leadership and the two-stage line of development of the Philippine revolution must be reaffirmed.

2. The concept of “federation” or “confederation” has to be discarded. The organizations coming together under the rubric of the National Democratic Front must be allied or cooperating organizations and not member-organizations. They must enjoy independence and initiative. Their representatives can confer, consult and agree with each other under the rule of consensus and unanimity.

3. There should be no direct individual members of the NDF who do not belong to any allied or cooperating organization of the NDF. Such allied or cooperating organizations must be strengthened. The only individuals that may be invited to the NDF should be those who represent certain significant trends, sectors and sections of organizations outside of the NDF and who are invited to become members of leading councils at various levels.

4. Any basis for certain elements to claim that the center of the Philippines is no longer the Party but the NDF must be removed from the NDF Draft Program and Constitution. Thus, the basis for putting the Party and the NDF on a collision course or invoking the name of the NDF against the Party is removed.

### **Relations Among the Party, the NPA and the NDF**

Is it the Party or the NDF that leads the NPA? It is the Party. At the same time, it is correct to say in the following sequence that the NPA is the army of the Party, the people’s government, the NDF and the entire Filipino people.

What is the relationship of the Party, the NDF and the organs of political power? The Party leads the united front and organs of political power. The NDF cooperates with the Party by paving the way for the organization of the organs of political power and for the effective functioning of these in various aspects of government

The Party does not yield political power to any united front organization. The NDF has not been formed to supplant the Party leadership over the organs of political power. Upon the basic completion of the national democratic revolution through the nationwide seizure of political power, the Party will still exercise leadership over the democratic coalition government and the people’s democratic state, if we are to carry out the socialist revolution.

# **Nation of Islam pushes metaphysics, crypto-pacifism**

SEP. 20, 1996, CALIFORNIA

More than 30 days later, Louis Farrakhan’s prediction has failed to materialize. In mid-August, the leader of the bourgeois nationalist Nation of Islam (NOI) incorrectly predicted that an earthquake would strike California within 30 days and possibly wipe California off the face of the earth. While Farrakhan’s statement appears on the surface to be an extreme example of religious metaphysics, Farrakhan was in fact skillfully using metaphysics as a cover for a crypto-pacifist line directed at his followers.

Farrakhan’s “prediction” was delivered in Inglewood, Cal. by Minister Tony Muhammad, head of NOI’s Western region. On August 8, sheriff’s deputies evicted NOI officials from NOI’s regional headquarters in Inglewood. Said Muhammad: “The wrath of God will show itself in a major earthquake for this attempt to uproot upstanding citizens from their community.” Muhammad said the sheriff’s deputies roughed up mosque members, removed them from the premises illegally, and arrived as part of a force of 100 pigs, including FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents.

Naturally, the largely proletarian NOI rank and file was filled with righteous anger at these government abuses. Since the NOI cultivates an image of itself as a militant Black nationalist organization, the rank and file were doubtless anxious to express their anger in some form of organized protest. But while the national bourgeoisie organizes proletarians under its banner, it hesitates to mobilize the proletariat in a thorough way against the imperialists.

The national bourgeoisie of oppressed nations such as the Black nation is caught in a bind. On the one hand, it wants to exploit its nation’s proletariat and in that sense is an enemy of the proletariat. On the other hand, as much as the national bourgeoisie would like to exploit its nation’s proletariat, it finds that it is unable to do so, since the imperialists have the upper hand in the competition for access to the labor power of the labor force in question. Thus restricted, the national bourgeoisie seeks to oust the imperialists from its territory or territories.

But the national bourgeoisie cannot oust the imperialists without the assistance of other classes. This is why bourgeois nationalist outfits such as the Guomindang in China in its day, and like the Nation of Islam in the Black Nation of North America in our day, mobilize proletarians under the national banner and against the oppressor nation. At the same time, only the proletariat – the class with nothing to lose but its chains – has an interest in pushing the revolution beyond its national democratic stage into a socialist stage and ultimately toward the stage of communism, a stage of society which marks the end of the domination and oppression of groups by other groups. The national bourgeoisie, in contrast, vacillates in the face of the masses’ struggles for justice. It wants to make sure that the masses do not go too far. Furthermore, the national bour-



geoisie is constantly looking to cut a deal with the imperialists.

Thus, while the proletariat, through the leadership of its party, should make every effort to bring the national bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation into a united front against imperialism (principally Yankee imperialism, in the North American case), the proletariat and its allies should not be surprised to see the bourgeois nationalist leaders respond to an imperialist attack on the masses with a tall tale about “Allah’s coming vengeance” designed to mislead the angry masses into inaction.

This is not the first time that Farrakhan has pulled this crypto-pacifist stunt. When the U.S. war of aggression against the Iraqi people broke out in January 1991, Farrakhan delivered a “warning” about Allah’s anger with Amerika, then announced that he was retreating to his mosque.

Note: 1. Los Angeles Times, Aug. 17, 1996, p. B3.

## The role of ‘gangs’ behind the walls

Dear MIM,

I write to share my thoughts with you about a sentence I just read in MIM Notes 128, 15 December 1996, page 6 [in reference to bourgeois media charges that the so-called Provisional Party of Communists in Brooklyn beat members who quit]:

The sentence in question is “if someone is physically prevented from leaving an organization — that is a crime like any other physical crime.”

This statement is very true and it reminds me of the crimes committed by prison organizations like the Latin Kings and the Netas against the masses in the penal system. In which these two prison organizations physically prevent their members from leaving their organizations.

These organizations present themselves as revolutionary and attract many progressive elements in the penal system. But once a prisoner joins the Latin Kings or the Netas he or she soon finds out that these groups are not revolutionary at all, and instead have joined a religious reactionary group whose practices are contrary to their revolutionary principles, morals and values. And when he or she attempts to leave the group, the group prevents him from doing so. Those that have managed to build up the courage to leave the group have been subjected to all kinds of reactionary oppression by the Latin Kings and the Netas. Such as being physically and psychologically assaulted, robbed, extorted, stabbed, etc. and are forced to sign into Protective Custody. It should be added that those who are not easily manipulated into joining these revolutionary groups are coerced into joining.

Instead of helping the movement these groups are hurting it very badly. These groups seek out all the progressive elements in the penal system, recruiting them (some voluntary and some being coerced), and indoctrinating them with religious reactionary propaganda. When those that have joined realize the reactionary trap they’ve walked into and try to leave (like any progressive individual would do) these groups actually torture them physically and psychologically, destroying them, or driving them into Protective

Custody where they are not longer active among the masses in the penal system.

This brings into mind what Mao said: “We are confronted by two types of social contradictions — those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves. The two are totally different in their nature.”

Mao also said: “To understand these two different types of contradictions correctly, we must first be clear on what is meant by ‘the people’ and what is meant by ‘the enemy’. ... At the present stage the period of building socialism, the classes, strata and social groups which favour, support and work for the cause of socialist construction all come within the category of the people, while the social forces and groups which resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to or sabotage socialist construction are all enemies of the people.”

While it is true that we are still in the stage of arousing the masses to seize state power and not in the stage of building socialism, the above equation from Mao applies to the stage of building and period of arousing the masses to seize state power.

This being the case, in which category does groups like the Latin Kings and the Netas fall under? The People? Or the enemy? Please bear in mind that the Latin Kings and the Netas have managed to do in five years what the government was unable to do in the past 30 years: identify, isolate, and eliminate a large portion of the progressive elements in the penal system.

Ideological education and/or ideological battle is essential to eliminate all incorrect ideological practices, tendencies and undesirable manifestations among prisoners, and greatly enhance the progressive, revolutionary ideology of prisoners. We must develop an “Ideological Education Movement” with a democratic and mass character.

At this present time MIM Notes is the perfect vehicle for this “Ideological Education Movement.” Therefore, I request MIM Notes to devote one page entitled “Ideological Education Movement” so prisoners from all over the country can conduct in constructive criticism and self-criticism. An X will replace any names of groups and/or individuals, and since writers submitting letters of ideological struggle for the “Ideological Education Movement” will not be identified, the safety of all will be assured.

Mao said: “The masses in any given place are generally composed of three parts: the relatively active, the intermediate and the relatively backward. The leaders must therefore be skilled in uniting the small number of active elements around the leadership and must rely on them to raise the level of the intermediate elements and to win over the backward elements.”

It would be ideal for MIM (the leadership) to unite all the active elements (the prisoners) to participate in the “Ideological Education Movement” and rely on them to raise the level of the intermediate elements (prisoners) and to win over the backward elements (prisoners).

If MIM decides to do this, the heading of the page should be “Ideological Education Movement” and somewhere on the page it must state “1. All articles submitted for the ‘Ideological Education Movement’ must have all names of groups, individuals, prisons, etc. replaced with an X before being mailed to MIM Notes,” and “2. Ideological education is essential to eliminate all incorrect ideological practices, tendencies and undesirable manifestations among prisoners, and greatly enhance the progressive and revolutionary ideology of prisoners. From now on we must carry out on this new

type of ideological education movement in the penal system, a movement with a democratic and mass character.”

I also request that MIM Notes print this letter in its entirety so that any prisoner who wishes to engage in ideological struggle and criticize this letter may do so. I would also like MIM’s criticism as well.

In struggle,

—A New York Prisoner

5 Jan 1997

**MIM responds:** MIM salutes your call for more prisoner unity built through a process of criticism and self-criticism. Your approach in this regard is 100% correct.

We disagree, however, with your verdict on organizations such as the Latin Kings and the Netas and we are not convinced by your evidence. These organizations arose to meet the needs of the oppressed. In the case of the Latin Kings, they were formed in Chicago in the 1940s to represent the demands of the lumpenproletariat of the Latino nation.

The lumpenproletariat is the class of the permanently unemployed. It can be an ally of the proletariat, but it is prone to being manipulated by the government against the people and their revolution. To use an example from North American history, the U.S. government used the lumpenproletariat to deal drugs in oppressed nation territories, weakening the oppressed nation and its vanguard class, the proletariat. The social conditions of the proletariat allow it to develop the class consciousness to liberate the whole society. The lumpen, however, are prone to government manipulation and senseless masses-on-masses violence.

The Young Lords Party (later Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization), the Maoist vanguard Party of the Puerto Rican nation in the mainland United Snakes in the late 1960s and early 1970s, grew out of a Chicago street gang. Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton came very close — before FBI interference — to recruiting the entire 5,000 member strong Black P. Stone Nation (a Chicago gang) into the Black Panther Party.

As of this writing, in the case of at least the Latin Kings, we see a significant effort to return to their progressive roots of the 1940s, when community service was the focus and drugs and reactionary violence was shunned.

The Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM) is a revolutionary communist party that upholds Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, comprising the collection of existing or emerging Maoist internationalist parties in the English-speaking imperialist countries and their English-speaking internal semi-colonies, as well as the existing or emerging Spanish-speaking Maoist internationalist parties of Aztlan, Puerto Rico and other territories of the U.S. Empire.

MIM supports the formation of organizations of, by and for the oppressed classes and nations and we defend these organizations from attack by Amerika regardless of whether they originated within our circles. However, we do not fetishize organization — not just any organization will do — and we uphold organizations of the proletariat as necessary for liberation. That is why we say vanguard parties led by a proletarian feminist line are necessary for genuine national liberation struggles (see MIM Theory 7).

If it is true that prison organizations in your facility physically prevent members from leaving, that is a problem on a number of levels. First, this is a form of violence against the oppressed (amongst the people) that sets back the revolutionary struggle instead of advancing it. Secondly, such tactics reduce the effective-

ness of organizations we support. Members of organizations are most effective when they want to be members, not when they are forced.

However, we think that charges such as the ones you raised should be backed up with more details. MIM for example, struggles fiercely with words against comrades who say they want to quit the Party or the movement in general. Physical force is not used, but MIM is not about to let the bourgeoisie walk off with our comrades unchallenged either. There are many bourgeois and misguided individuals out there who spread lies and gossip about organizations of the oppressed; and so we must be vigilant that our efforts build only unity and do not create further divisions.

On the tactical side, we disagree that all names and locations should be removed across the board. On one hand we want to protect the security of the letter writer and their allies from the repressive force of the state (who read prisoner’s outgoing letters and then MIM Notes on the way in). On the other hand, we want people to be able to mark sharp criticisms and self-criticisms. In some places and at some times, specific information is useful or can do no further harm. A third angle is that of accountability. We do not want to encourage the pigs to step in undercover and “bad jacket” truly progressive forces. (Bad jacket refers to the pig’s practice of labeling revolutionary individuals and organizations as agents. *Agents of Repression* documents how the FBI used this tactic against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement) We encourage prisoners to keep these issues in mind to and decide for themselves what specifics need to be included. Prisoners can look to how letters are edited for security in *Under Lock and Key* for a model. MIM will continue to look over letters with these concerns in mind as we select and edit letters for publication.

We think your general call is correct, while we have reservations about the charges and are not yet convinced that a special page is the best way forward. Importantly, we would not print such a letter without a response from the people’s organizations criticized. We would like to hear more from you about your charges and your efforts to bring these criticisms to the Latin Kings and Neta. We also want to hear from the organizations and their supporters. This debate will be summarized for an upcoming issue of MIM Theory.

We also would like to hear from the prisoners about what they see as the best way forward to build prisoner unity within each prison and between the prisons. Is a page in MIM Notes the way to do it, or a separate prisoner paper, or what? What about the security concerns raised by the prisoner and in the MIM response above? How can our criticism be useful and avoid being manipulated too easily by the pigs? How should we go about coordinating such an effort to conduct the process of unity-criticism-unity amongst prisoners?

Again, we think your letter was an excellent example of ideological education through its method of showing the masses how to engage in political struggle.

# Islamic revolutionary opposes homosexuality

MIM,

I would like to thank MIM for the material that they have sent, it is appreciated and passed around to others who are like minded (revolutionary).

In your July 15, 1997 issue "Education is a Security Threat in Amerikan Gulugs; In South Carolina; MIM adds: *It is our assertion that homosexual activities are not wrong.*" MIM went on to say, "It is patriarchal dominance that is wrong." For those of us who are African orientated, homosexual activities are very wrong ... and patriarchal dominance is a myth in the African American community. In Africa, and the African-American community, the rule has always been matriarchal, for the black woman has always been the dominating force, anyone who knows anything about history must bear witness to this fact.

The reason for this humble missive is to attack the ideal that homosexual activities is right.

Everything in creation is positive and negative, right and wrong, there is no middle ground, if anything, that ideal is paganistic and European influenced.

Why am I so against homosexual behavior? I am a Muslim, and Islam is the guiding force in my life. I devote myself to overthrowing the corrupt, wicked, and unjust government because that is Islam also, yet we must maintain some type of moral guidelines.

Before I get too far ahead of myself, I would pray that MIM will print the following words so that other Muslims will recognize why we should look for allies in the Revolutionary Movement.

Islam is not merely a religious creed or a name for a collection of a few acts of worship. It is a comprehensive system which seeks to annihilate all evil and tyrannical systems in the world, and enforce its own programme of reform, which it deems best for the well-being of mankind.

Islam addresses its call for effecting this programme of revolution, reconstruction and reform not just for one nation or group of people, but to the whole humanity. This system harbours no animosity against any human being. Our animosity is directed against tyranny, strife and immorality, and against the attempt to seize for himself that which is not apportioned to him by God.

Those of us who affirm their faith in this ideology become members of the party of Islam and enjoy equal status and equal rights, without distinctions of class, race, ethnicity or nationality. In this manner, an International Revolutionary party is born, to which the Qur'an give the title of The Party of God, otherwise known as the Nation of Islam. As soon as this party is formed, it launches the struggle to attain the purpose for which it exists. The rationale for its existence is that it should endeavour to destroy the hegemony of an wicked and oppressive system, and establish in its place the rule of that social and cultural order which regulates life with balanced and humane laws. If this party fails to strive and effect a

change in the government, then it loses its very *raison d'être*, for this party exists for no other purpose.

It is the duty of all Muslims to wipe out oppression, wrong-doing, strife, immorality, arrogance and unlawful exploitation for the world by force of arms. This party is left with no other option but to seize the authority of state, for an evil system takes root and flourishes under the patronage of an evil government, and a pious cultural order can never be established until the authority of government is wrested from the wicked and transferred to the hands of the reformers (revolutionaries).

Apart from reforming the world, it becomes possible for the Party itself to act upon its own ideals under an alien state system. No party which believes in the validity of its own ideology can live according to its precepts under the rule of a system different from its own. A man who believes in communism could not order his life according to the principles of communism while living in America or Britain, for the capitalistic state system would bear down on him and it would be impossible for him to escape the power of the ruling authority. Likewise, it is impossible for a Maoist or a Muslim to live under a capitalist system, for all the rules which he/she considers wrong, all taxes which he/she seems unlawful, all matters which he/she believes to be evil, the civilization and way of life which he/she regards as wicked, the education system which he/she views as fatal ... all these will be so relentlessly imposed on him, his home and his family, that it will be impossible to avoid them.

Hence a person or a group are compelled by the innate demands of their faith, or belief (ideology) to strive for the elimination of the rule of an opposing ideology, and for the setting up of a government which follows the programme and policies of their own faith, belief, ideology, for under the authority of a government which professes inimical doctrines, that person or group cannot fully act upon their own convictions. If those people evade their duty of actively striving for this purpose, the clear implication is that they are hypocrites, and not sincere to the ideology, faith or belief system.

The acid test of a party's true devotion to its convictions is whether or not it expends all its resources — wealth and life — in the struggle to instill its ideology, belief, faith, as the ruling power in the state. If you put up with the authority of an inimical doctrine in the state, this is proof positive that your ideologies, beliefs, faith is weak and/or false. The natural — and only possible — result of this is that your nominal devotion to struggle will also eventually wear off. To begin with, you will endure the rule of an inimical system with disdain, but gradually you will lean to live with it, until your contempt will turn to a liking for this corrupt rule. Finally, you will become a pillar of support for the establishment and maintenance of the state rule of an opposing ideology. You will then expend your life for the installation and upholding of oppressive and exploitative doctrines in the place of an just system.

So you see MIM, homosexual activities have no place in a struggle based upon belief in God. This is where I'm at — you are evidently some place else, yet we struggle. All ideologies, and revolutionary thought, will never be the same, I look for a common threat, something to build upon — to unify upon — yet that statement about homosexual activities threw me for a loop.

Yours in Solidarity and Struggle,

—A Tennessee Prisoner

11 August 1997

**MIM replies:** Thank you for the letter explaining your views on Islam and homosexuality. We print this letter in MIM Theory in issue on the United Front because it demonstrates where we can work together with different ideologies as a part of the United Front against imperialism while still having serious disagreements that we struggle over.

You are correct that there is a history of matriarchy in some places in Africa. But as patriarchy has won out in general and we live in a patriarchal world today. This means that men have greater access to resources and power than wimmin. But MIM qualifies this statement with a note that under imperialism on a world scale both men and wimmin in the Third World have far less gender power than white wimmin in Amerika or other imperialist countries. The fact that oppressed nation men have much less power than oppressor nation means that there is often less gender inequality in oppressed nations, and this is the case in the Black nation as well. To the extent that saying the Black nation is a matriarchy is way of saying that Black wimmin have a history of great struggle and have tremendous potential power today. But we disagree that today wimmin in the Black nation have more power than men do.

(For what it's worth, although this is not a problem at the moment, in principle matriarchy would not be better than patriarchy, because it would still be a system of gender inequality.)

If you wish to look back into history to make a point about gender relations you are going to have to also study the history of homosexuality. In fact, homosexuality is not a recent "moral corruption" or other imperialist related cultural phenomenon. Homosexuality has been around as long as society has existed and in some cultures, historically different sexualities were considered superior or even believed to have religious ties. We do not believe that it is morally correct for men and wimmin to engage in sex but it is incorrect for people of the same sex to do so. This is all a debate about leisure time activities and the view that homosexuality is morally wrong — most prevalent among the ruling class — is a statement about culture that we can not accept.

Your only argument for the incorrectness of homosexuality is that "we must maintain some type of moral guidelines." But why the guidelines you describe? MIM is not a mystical organization: as materialists we believe that morality comes from people, not from some higher power. As such, we believe in proletarian morality, which is an ideology that all people deserve the right to self-determination and equality. There is no basis in the proletarian movement for the view that homosexuality is immoral.

Your statements about Islam are indicative of the basis that the proletarian movement has for uniting with revolutionary Islamic movements in our fight against imperialism. You say that you fight for revolution for the whole of humanity. In this we can unite as well as in the struggle against tyranny and strife. But we encourage you to elaborate on your concept of "immorality." You suggest that there are "natural limits" on individuals that are apportioned to by god. But as materialists we cannot agree with this. We believe that the greatest limits to humanity are based in what we allow ourselves to accomplish. It appears that for you these natural limits include a discussion of what sexual practices are correct. We wonder what else you consider unnatural, because this rhetoric sounds very much like that of the imperialists who try to tell the people they are not capable of taking care of themselves, feeding themselves, etc., and that they must instead rely on a higher power (the

imperialists) for these needs.

We would also like to ask you about equality within the party of Islam based on gender. You state that members enjoy equal rights "without distinctions of class, race, ethnicity or nationality." We wonder if this equality also includes gender and we would appreciate your comments on this issue.

We have much unity with your struggle for revolutionary change and your statements about the importance of a party demonstrating its conviction to this change by putting its resources and lives into this work. The issues we raise above are important questions for revolutionaries to be debating and if you are interested we'd be happy to send you a copy of MIM Theory 2/3, "Gender and Revolutionary Feminism," which addresses some of these questions in more depth.

We look forward to continuing this discussion with you.

## Moi and Kenya

Dear Comrades,

I would not dispute your contention that President Moi is a comprador element who has done the dirty work of imperialism for many years and has been well paid for doing it. That does not necessarily mean he is not playing a progressive role now. Manuel Noriega was an American lackey for many years, but he repented of this and stood up for Panama's national interests. Saddam Hussein waged a brutal war against Iran that killed hundreds of thousands of Iranian and Iraqi workers and peasants with the support of Washington, but after this war he turned against imperialism and supported pan-Arabism, beginning with the seizure of the puppet state of Kuwait. We are seeing such a transformation in President Moi. Imperialism has endorsed the multiparty system that threatens his power, and the only way Moi can hold on to power is to combat imperialist control of Kenya. Regardless of his past actions, if Moi resists the dictates of imperialism, he is de facto struggling against imperialism and thus becomes "our son-of-a-bitch".

This is the nature of the Third World bourgeoisie. Compradors who are betrayed by their imperialist patrons can become our allies. Naturally a people's government of Kenya is preferable to continued rule by President Moi, but as you have said, that is not what the current demonstrators advocate. They advocate "reform" to a multiparty regime, which is exactly what the imperialists have indicated they want. There is no evidence that a multiparty regime is in the least progressive, and it has never led to socialist revolution. A multiparty regime has the potential for disastrous division of the workers and peasants. My Kenyan friend wrote to me that when the multiparty regime was introduced in 1993 it nearly led to civil war because the parties formed along tribal lines. It should be obvious to us how divisive tribalism can be for proletarian unity.

Yes, multiparty "democracy" is more favorable for imperialism, and that is why the imperialists prefer it to the one-party government Moi used to have. If Moi willingly went along with this, I could see writing him off as a hopeless comprador. That Moi is resisting this does not make him a revolutionary, but it makes him our ally against imperialism. If Moi wins this battle, Kenya will either be cut off from imperialist "aid" and thus able to chart a more independent course or the imperialists will have to cut a more favorable deal with Kenya. Either way a victory for Moi is a victory for Kenya.

If you consult leftist sources or sources within a nation, it would be helpful if you quote them, rather than leave your sources to our imagination. When we can only see sources from domestic bourgeois sources, it is difficult to conclude that you have done a thorough investigation. Comradely Yours,

—A friend in the south

**MIM responds:** This letter continues a debate with this reader that began with the MIM Notes article on Kenya published October 1, 1997. We take this opportunity to update our readers on the situation in Kenya and continue this debate which is very relevant to organizers everywhere who must always ask the question of who are our friends and who are our enemies.

Elections were held in Kenya in late December and President Moi won another term in office. As we described in the October article, this is no surprise since he carried out the same campaign of violence against the people in areas known to support his opponents that was carried out by his party in the 1992 elections. Our critic has suggested that our sources from the original article should be questioned because they all came from mainstream press but MIM has seen no evidence anywhere that suggests that Moi did not carry out this violence against the people of Kenya and we have a lot of evidence that he has. We were unable to find any leftist sources, either inside or outside Kenya, which said anything other than what we reported. Mainstream media does not always lie and we can sometimes glean useful facts from it.

As we also pointed out in the October article, Kenya receives a tremendous amount of foreign aid from the imperialists. As the article stated, over the past decade this has totaled more than \$8 billion. This reader is correct to point out that Moi is now faced with the need to oppose the multi-party system that imperialism is demanding in order to put a pretty face on the Kenyan dictatorship. But little has changed over the past five years. In 1992 Moi was also opposing this same multi-party system and he had no problem getting millions of dollars in imperialist aid each year after massacring so many of his people to win the 1992 elections. A lot of the harsh words between the IMF and Moi are posturing attempts to look good in the eyes of the international community of imperialists and it is likely Moi will be back on the imperialist payroll. Saddam Hussein is a good example to look at. He has never been a friend of the people. He has murdered the Kurds along with many of his own people and has certainly not run his government in the interests of the people. But once he was faced with imperialist military aggression he resisted with military force and thus became an ally of the anti-imperialist movement. This does not mean that we support Hussein but it does mean that we support Iraq's battle against the imperialists. When Hussein and the imperialists were just exchanging mean words Hussein was not an ally. It was only through the change in material circumstances that he became an ally.

The same would be true for Kenya. Moi is not a friend of the people and is not an ally just because he opposes some aspects of the imperialists' plans. Moi being cut off from imperialist aid so he can "chart a more independent course" will not make him an ally. In all likelihood this course will be a continued military dictatorship over the Kenyan people. But in a military conflict between the imperialists and Kenya, we would certainly side with Kenya and oppose all imperialist military aggression and support military opposition to the imperialists.

## Political prisoners in the U\$?

*This letter was printed in a university newspaper after that paper ran a relatively honest article covering a Prisons Awareness Week organized by MIM and RAIL at that university. MIM's response follows. —ed.*

The issue of "political prisoners" is, and always has been, quite a complex issue simply because of the fact that it involves the incarceration of an individual based on his or her ideology.

At this point, I must strongly disagree with organizations such as the Maoist Internationalist Movement on their interpretation of what is a "political prisoner" based on their "goals."

First of all, the goal of ending all oppression by building "public" opinion to seize state power through armed struggle smacks of "think like us or suffer the consequences" mentality, the same mentality which led to China's so-called "Cultural Revolution" — in which "intellectuals" (the same people the Khmer Rouge had a problem with), some of whom even helped the late Chairman Mao seize power, were treated as common criminals simply for possessing the potential to express an opposing point of view. With this said, we now come to MIM's criticism of the U.S. current prison system when it comes to the treatment of "political prisoners."

Now, here in the U.S. you don't get jailed for ideology as one would in a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist state, and the fact that organizations such as MIM exist prove this. However, you can be arrested for committing actual physical crimes, which involve theft, endangerment or hurting and/or killing someone.

Stockpiling illegal weapons and explosives, or acts of assault, are illegal acts — regardless of ethnic or racial background or political belief — and there's a consequence for those actions: jail. Based on the charges leveled at the U.S. prison system by groups such as MIM and the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist League, it would seem that most of the complaints are based on the fact that someone got caught doing something physically illegal and then tried to explain the act as supporting their ideology.

Practices involving the incarceration of "draft dodgers," the only true "political prisoners" in recent U.S. history, have stopped with the end of the Vietnam war, and one fine book on this subject that I can recommend for anyone to read is *Going to Jail* (Grove Press), by Dr. Howard Levy and David Miller, both true political prisoners. In this book they describe the experiences they faced as political prisoners in the U.S. jails as a result of their beliefs.

One point they make extremely clear, though, is that while it does suck to be thrown in jail for espousing a certain ideology, incarceration in a U.S. prison is *much* better than prison in another country, especially a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist state. You can almost equate MIM and RAIL's view to that of a freshman bitter at the police because he or she got [busted] while walking down the street with an open container — but this would be making a petty issue of the cause of true political prisoners throughout this world.

They do exist, unfortunately. It would be so nice if we didn't need police, judges, sentences, jails and prisons, but unfortunately we do have real criminals in human society, so what to do? ...

If you truly do care about the issue of political prisoners, then get involved with Amnesty International, because they stand for *all*

political prisoners of conscience everywhere. Don't use the plight of real political prisoners to fuel a long-dead ideal. Yes, it's true that the U.S. justice and the prison system are not the best, but there's much worse, and some of the worse ones hold more political prisoners than real criminals (murderers, rapists, thieves, and thugs), and in most cases the political prisoner doesn't get a fair trial, if one at all.

One aspect of the U.S. prison system that does make it a hellhole is the treatment of prisoners by prisoners, but I'm sure that's a topic that the Prison Awareness Week covered, as well as abuses by guards who are no better than the criminals they police... but then would we need them if there was no crime?

In any case, my only request of organizations such as MIM and RAIL is to please refrain from considering someone who has committed a physical crime, such as shooting a police officer in "self-defense," a prisoner of conscience. There's simply no comparison, since an act is deadlier than an idea, even if the idea follows the "goals" of MIM.

— Idealist critic

**MIM responds:** Our idealist critic claims that "here in the U.S. you don't get jailed for ideology." This is just not true, as our idealist critic would have learned if s/he had attended any of the Prison Awareness Week events. For example, Geronimo JiJaga Pratt, a former leader in the Black Panther Party, spent 25 years in prison on trumped-up murder charges. Despite the fact that the average sentence served for murder in the u.s. is 4-1/2 years, Pratt was consistently denied parole, because, in the words of L.A. Assistant District Attorney Dianne Vanni, "[Pratt] is still a revolutionary man." Pratt's conviction was recently overturned because the main witness against him was a paid FBI informant, a fact that was hidden by the prosecution during Pratt's trial.

Furthermore, here in the u.s. your ideology can not only get you jailed, it can get you killed. Dozens were killed by the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO program in the late sixties and seventies. Chicago police gunned down Fred Hampton, chairperson of the Chicago Black Panthers, while he slept. And this extra-legal violence is not a thing of the past. Within the last decade, the FBI bombed environmental activist Judy Barri and then had the nerve to say that Barri blew herself up.

Our idealist critic is at best naive if s/he thinks that the u.s. government is going to admit that it imprisons people on the basis of their politics. No, it imprisons political activists on alleged civil crimes, or it ignores the legal system and covertly "neutralizes" the activists.

Another example. There are currently scores of Puerto Rican activists in u.s. prisons because of their belief that Puerto Rico should be a free and independent, and not a u.s. colony. Many of these prisoners are kept in so-called control units, a particularly brutal form of solitary confinement condemned by many international human rights agencies — including our idealist critic's cherished Amnesty International. True, some of these prisoners were charged with acts of violence or weapons possession; so by our idealist critic's allegedly objective criteria, if they are guilty, they belong in prison. But our idealist critic's claim that s/he is not taking sides breaks down. Evidently it was OK for George Washington and his gang to pick up guns against an oppressive colonial power, but it's not OK for Puerto Rican *independistas* to do the same. Evidently it's OK for the u.s. to seize and control Puerto

Rico by force of arms, but when the people of Puerto Rico respond to armed occupation by taking up arms themselves, it's a crime.

But MIM also believes that many non-activists imprisoned for social crimes are also political prisoners.

Why? Let me give an example. The amount of powder cocaine needed to trigger a mandatory 5-year minimum sentence is 500 grams, while the amount of crack cocaine needed to trigger a mandatory 5-year sentence is only 5 grams. Now, thanks to uneven police enforcement, 90% of those arrested for crack cocaine use are Black (despite the fact that 53% of crack users in 1994 were white), and at the same time 75% of those arrested for powder cocaine use are white. The result is that Blacks are disproportionately receiving harsher sentences for drug use. Now the fact that the laws against crack and powder cocaine differ, the fact that enforcement and prosecution differ between whites and Blacks, and the fact crack cocaine is readily available in poor Black neighborhoods — these are results of the current political situation in the u.s. On a deeper level, why does simple possession of crack cocaine carry a sentence of five years, while the CIA can mastermind the shipment of tons of cocaine (and heroin etc.) into inner cities with impunity? Politics.

As other speakers besides MIM and RAIL pointed out at PAW events, the u.s. prison system is not about deterring or rehabilitating criminals; it's about the social control of oppressed people in general and making profits (via the exploitation of prisoner labor). This is the best explanation of why Black men are seven times more likely to end up in jail than white men, and why one-third of all young Black men are on probation, in prison, or on parole.

If our idealist critic attended any of the PAW events maybe s/he wouldn't have misrepresented MIM's position on this question. MIM does recognize that rape, murder, drug-pushing, and theft are crimes against the people, and that people who commit these crimes need to make amends. But MIM contends that the u.s. injustice system is unfit to judge these crimes and does nothing to combat the social roots of these crimes.

Our idealist critic's typical anti-Communist rantings to the effect that commies will lock up everybody who doesn't dress like they do are also indicative of our idealist critic's naivete. (If our idealist critic ever read MIM's publications, s/he would know that we devote considerable space to our critics). Lenin, Stalin, and Mao were honest about the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat was indeed a dictatorship — a dictatorship of the majority over the minority of former oppressors who wanted to restore oppression. But the bourgeoisie cloaks its current dictatorship (dictatorship of the minority of oppressors over the majority of oppressed) in so-called democracy — a pathetic joke considering that even in the u.s. only the rich have access to the mainstream media or can afford to run for office.

Indeed, MIM believes that in practice Chinese society during the Cultural Revolution was the most democratic modern society. For example, people who attended the screening of the film "Breaking With Old Ideas" saw how the Cultural Revolution was able to give everybody access to higher education, not just the rich or the elite.

Finally, it is worth stressing that although MIM does recognize that anti-imperialist revolution ultimately requires armed struggle, MIM does not engage in or advocate armed struggle in the u.s. at this time. To do so now would only give the u.s. government an excuse to lock us up or worse with the blessing of the likes of our

idealist critic. Our struggle now is purely a legal one.

MIM invites all people, communist or not, to get involved in the struggle to increase public awareness around the issues of explicitly political prisoners and prisoners in general.

# Political Prisoners Debated

*Reprinted from MIM Notes 153.*

*This letters section of MIM Notes is devoted to discussion of the issue of political prisoners. As MIM and RAIL build for the upcoming Jericho march in Washington D.C. [in March 1998, — ed.], we are pushing forward the struggle over the definition of political prisoners. We welcome discussion with people of all points of view on this subject and encourage our readers to write and let us know what you think.*

## Political prisoners in Amerika

Dear MIM Notes,

I am writing in regards to the statement that all prisoners are political prisoners. In negotiating my agreement with this extreme perspective, I first had to define the term. The common person describes a political prisoner as one who is incarcerated for his/her political beliefs. At first this seemed to restrict the use of the term to those who had not committed a "crime." To that notion, one must look at which imperialist powers set up the qualifications of what a crime entails. The supposed purpose of the law, as instituted by the constitution, is to protect the rights of the people. However, an American prisoner is clearly a citizen of this country and should be allowed his/her constitutional rights. Unfortunately, the amount of censorship that goes on in United States prisons, constitutes grave injustice on the part of the governing body. Denial of such basic rights should be considered criminal behavior on the part of the prison system.

In my opinion, it does not matter under what circumstances a prisoner is incarcerated. The most important issue is that once under the jurisdiction of the penal system, no one should be punished for reading revolutionary literature, holding political discussions, or otherwise imparting political ideals. I have come to agree with MIM's statement after reading several letters written by prisoners detailing their struggles with the prison administration. Disciplinary actions are taken against those who attempt to receive MIM Notes and other revolutionary literature through the mail. Many inmates' incoming and outgoing mail is screened and duly censored. Finally, many prisoners are discouraged from having political discussions among themselves. Whether revolutionary or reactionary, a prisoner with political views is most likely considered a threat to the social order. In light of the rampant censorship and other injustices common to American prisons, I have to agree with the statement that all prisoners are political prisoners.

Sincerely,

A Comrade (in the Midwest)

## The Political Prisoner and Prisoner of War Issue

There has been much debate and discussion in the issue of who is and isn't a Political Prisoner and/or Prisoner of War (PP/POW)

and we think it is time that this issue is *again* discussed, because we find there are some people who refuse to accept that there are PP/POWs unless their cases have received some form of yankee acknowledgment, or the captured individual was involved with this or that movement/group.

It is interesting that many "revolutionaries" have not raised their consciousness above the level of Amnesty International's conventional labeling of comrades. As comrade Geronimo Pratt clearly indicated, and I quote from MIM Notes 141, July 1, 1997 page 1: "You have political prisoners on top of political prisoners. I'm only one of a great many that should be exposed, should be addressed." This comment supports the position of PPWC and MIM/RAIL comrades. We "overstand" this but there are any others who do not agree with this and fight tooth and nail to denounce the fact that there are literally thousands of PP/POWs in state/federal death kkkamps. This makes us wonder whether or not some of these movements/groups who refuse to accept this fact have hidden agendas as to why they refuse to see the big picture.

For another example testifying that there are many PP/POWs in state and federal death kkkamps that most of the masses know nothing about, please refer to the story in MIM Notes 141, July 1, 1997, page 6 regarding former Black Panther Party members Mondo we Langua (formerly David Rice) and Ed Poindexter, who have been languishing in the kkkamps since 1971, where they were accused, wrongfully convicted and left to rot in the death kkkamps for a murder they did not commit, but were accused of by a frightened 15-year-old Duane Peak.

It is rather interesting that this issue of PP/POW should even be a thing of discussion today considering the nature of the amerikkkan unjust system (cyst'm). PPWC have been telling many about the political process and how that process discriminates against oppressed nations within her borders. That *all people of color* who have been colonized and beaten to amerikkkan judicial submission and are incarcerated in the yankees' state/federal death kkkamps are PP/POWs. But we still find ourselves in debate with various ones out there over this. Ones who claim to be Anarchist. Ones who claim to be progressives. Ones who claim to be about the liberation and struggle and political, social, economic change and the total *overthrow* of this existing amerikkkan (farce) kapitalistic government.

It shouldn't be a hard thing for anyone with eyes to see that amerikkkan officials have taken every aspect of our lives and made it *political* by the very nature in which they control and attempt to control our lives. From the food you eat to the clothes you wear, to the type of place you live, to where you are "allowed" to live. All of these things are *political* and to think otherwise is foolish or (as they say in N.A.) you're in *denial*.

When we have pigs arresting Seneca First Nations in New York, and being held hostage, harassed, badgered, threatened and treated with ultimate disrespect solely because they refuse to give up the little land they have or the livelihood they have by selling tax-free gasoline and tobacco, how can anyone sit back and claim that their arrest is not *political* or that they are not PP/POWs (if they are locked up) by the police state whose aims are purely for political economical gain?

Like MIM, we believe that all prisoners are not to be set free at this time, because there has to first be implementations in place for fighting crime against the citizen. But we do advocate that all prisoners undergo complete political re-education while implementa-

tions for dealing with social crimes are being made. We also understand/overstand that the bourgeois injustice cyst'm imprisons and executes a disproportionately large number of oppressed people while they allow big business, the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and corrupt korporations to get away with wholesale slaughter, murder and deceit in the name of kkkapitalism and expansionism.

As a conscious collect of political revolutionaries, PPWC does not agree with everything MIM says but we agree to disagree and act accordingly in efforts to educate and effectuate complete change in this existing cyst'm in amerikkka, while we struggle alone side our comrades of MIM.

We would like to know what you comrades out there think on this issue of PP/POWs? We would like to have this issue put to the public for debate and see why can't we collectively go to Amnesty International and let them know that "they must" change their concepts and definitions. Then again, what's really up on Amnesty International and who made them the definers of who is and isn't a PP/POW?

In the trenches...

—A Michigan Prisoner

August 1997

---

## MIM on Prisons & Prisoners

MIM seeks to build public opinion against Amerika's criminal injustice system, and to eventually replace the bourgeois injustice system with proletarian justice. The bourgeois injustice system imprisons and executes a disproportionately large and growing number of oppressed people while letting the biggest mass murderers — the imperialists and their lackeys — roam free. Imperialism is not opposed to murder or theft, it only insists that these crimes be committed in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

All U.S. citizens are criminals—accomplices and accessories to the crimes of U.S. oppression globally until the day U.S. imperialism is overcome. All U.S. citizens should start from the point of view that they are reforming criminals.

MIM does not advocate that all prisoners go free today; we have a more effective program for fighting crime as was demonstrated in China prior to the restoration of capitalism there in 1976. We say that all prisoners are political prisoners because under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, all imprisonment is substantively political. It is our responsibility to exert revolutionary leadership and conduct political agitation and organization among prisoners — whose material conditions make them an overwhelmingly revolutionary group. Some prisoners should and will work on self-criticism under a future dictatorship of the proletariat in those cases in which prisoners really did do something wrong by proletarian standards.

Contact MIM to find out to get involved in our work with prisoners.

---

*Did you know?*  
There are more than 200 back issues of MIM Notes available on the MIM website?  
Not only can you browse more than 15 years of the newspaper, you can also keep up with the very latest on MIM agitation campaigns, prisoner news, the MIM/RAIL radio program (download audio versions!), and much more. MIM's website is an indispensable tool for the revolutionary movement. *Get involved!*  
[www.etext.org/Politics/MIM](http://www.etext.org/Politics/MIM)

What's New @ MIM's Homepage



# Peking Review Reprints

## Armed Violence Against Tyranny: Afro-American Struggle Batters U.S. Imperialism

Reprinted from: *Peking Review*  
12 April 1968, p. 21.  
retyped by MC5

Mao believed that there was no role for himself to play in leading a new COMINTERN of the world communist movement. Hence he relied on his comrades in other countries to examine their own conditions and report on them. *Peking Review* is full of articles written by comrades outside China. Thanks to the bad information from the Progressive Labor Party that Mao received, Mao held some illusions about the industrial working classes of imperialism. According to Mao, the students and victims of racist violence would move first for revolution, but he still held out hope for the industrial workers to join them if the students appealed to the workers with the workers' own demands.

MIM does not speak of "Afro-Americans." We refer to a Black nation. The division in the communist movement within U\$ borders explains why sometimes the *Peking Review* would refer to oppressed nations sometimes and other times just racism.

Despite the divisions in the U\$ communist movement, *Peking Review* managed to squelch the most important illusions about U\$ workers, first, by always showing oppressed nations and the anti-war movement in the lead and secondly, by attacking the ideas of integration and non-violence. This is done most clearly in the *Peking Review* article of January 26, 1968. —MC5

In the United States, the new wave of armed violence staged by the Afro-Americans against racial oppression on April 4 spread rapidly to scores of cities, including Washington, New York and Chicago. Crowds of angry Afro-Americans, men and women, old and young, poured into the streets, shouting slogans opposing racial discrimination and demanding Black power. Defying bloody suppression by troops and police, they trampled underfoot the "law and order" which upholds the interests of monopoly capital. This scared the wits out of the white racists and exploiters. Urgent telegrams for help streamed into Johnson's office from the reactionary



authorities of many cities. Johnson was kept on tenterhooks in the White House.

For the three days ending on April 6, the violent struggle against racial oppression waged by the Afro-American masses in Washington continued with great intensity. Filled with great hatred for the white racists' atrocities, the Black Americans burnt down shops owned by them in the business centre with petrol and incendiary bottles. In the morning of April 6 alone, more than 250 of the shops were set ablaze and in some quarters row after row of buildings went up in flames.

At the same time, courageous Black snipers fired at the spying helicopters hovering low overhead. The snipers were even active near the heavily guarded White House and Congress, shooting at the reactionary police and troops.

In Chicago, the second largest city in the United States, the wave of the violent struggle against racial oppression swept over the whole city. By April 6, there had been 1,000 fire alarms in the city. The fires burnt fiercely in 250 places. Black snipers shot at the troops and police from the roof tops or from behind doors and windows. As a result, police cars on night patrols dared not turn their lights on.

In Detroit, the fifth largest city in the United States which last summer witnessed the biggest Black violent struggle against racial oppression in American history, the Black masses threw bricks and rocks at cars driven by white racists and set fire to stores run by white exploiters. Snipers shot at and wounded two police officers patrolling a ghetto district.

In Baltimore, the sixth largest city of the United States, the Black masses on April 6 fiercely carried on their violent struggle against racial oppression for five hours on end. Again and again, crowds of Black youth demonstrated in the city and set fire to stores run by white exploiters. Ten policemen were beaten up by the angry Black masses.

Frightened by the Afro-Americans' courageous struggle, the Johnson Administration has mobilized large numbers of paratroopers and marines to join the army, police and "National Guards" to carry out bloody suppression of the Black masses. Up to April 6, 12,500 regulars, including the 82nd Airborne Division which has taken part in massacring the Vietnamese people abroad and suppressing popular struggle at home, had been thrown in. On the 6th alone, two to three thousand Afro-Americans were reported to have

been arrested.

The Afro-Americans' struggle also hit Boston, Memphis, which a week earlier had just witnessed another Afro-American struggle, Miami, Birmingham, Jackson and other major cities.

The courageous and stubborn fight by the broad masses of the Black people in the American cities once again demonstrates their awakening and their great latent potentiality. Once again, too, the death from white racist violence of Martin Luther King, the exponent of non-violence, shows to the Black masses the bankruptcy of the doctrine of non-violence. As Stokely Carmichael, a young Afro-American leader, has correctly stated: "What we need now are guns and more guns."

## Cleaver speaks in Peking Review

*Statement by Responsible Member for Information of the U.S. Black Panther Party: Chairman Mao's statement has tremendously encouraged the American people in their revolutionary struggle*

**Reprinted from: Peking Review**  
**June 12, 1970, pp. 25-26**  
**retyped by MC5**

*Peking Review was the official weekly magazine of Mao's Communist Party of China. This is an historic document. It appears on the same page as a shorter statement from Yasser Arafat. Cleaver and Arafat were both talking about Mao's May 20th, 1970 statement on helping the world's peoples bring down U.S. imperialism.*

*This document is also important in marking U.S. communist history. Eight months earlier the Progressive Labor Party criticized the Communist Party of Vietnam (not by name) in the Peking Review for revisionism and nationalism. Later in 1971, the Communist Party of China and the Progressive Labor Party severed ties with each other. Thus we at MIM can say that Progressive Labor was officially pro-Mao and similar to MIM from 1962 to 1969.*

*Finally, this document is important to Black Panther Party history. Previously Peking Review had mentioned the Black Panther Party and one of its leaders named Stokely Carmichael. Here in this document the Peking Review again acknowledges the Black Panther Party and shows that Cleaver was a great admirer of Mao. Today, various salespeople have tried to spin the Black Panthers as if they were some glorified social workers and not revolutionaries. This document shows that burying the history of the Black Panthers is going to require more than just burning and burying their own newspapers. There is also an historical record in the Peking Review. —MC5*

Eldridge Cleaver, responsible member for information of the Black Panther Party, the Afro-American organizations which advocates armed resistance against violent repression, expressed, in his recent interview with the Hsinhua correspondent in Algiers, the warmest support for Chairman Mao's solemn statement supporting the struggle of the world's people against U.S. imperialism. He said that Chairman Mao's statement was tremendous encourage-

ment and support to the American people in their revolutionary struggle, and that the cause of the American people was sure to be victorious and U.S. fascist ruling circles were bound to be defeated.

Cleaver said, 'In his statement, Chairman Mao Tsetung has set forth a brilliant and timely analysis of the qualitatively new and excellent situation that exists in the world.' 'This statement pulls together into clear view the revolutionary struggles and the liberation struggles of the people of the whole world, including the revolutionary struggle of the American people themselves.'

He pointed out, 'This statement by Chairman Mao Tsetung has reflected the heartfelt feelings and common hope of millions of oppressed people in the United States. It made the American people see clearly the reactionary and aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism has carried out barbarous and criminal fascist repression on the domestic scale and rampant aggression on the international scale, thus committing innumerable crimes.' He went on to say, 'The black people in the United States have been the long-suffering victims of fascist violence and repression. But under the reactionary Nixon clique, this violence and repression has been escalated to unprecedented heights.'

He said, 'Chairman Mao Tsetung has said: 'U.S. imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its death-bed struggle.' This is perfectly correct. U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger abroad; it is also a paper tiger at home. The invasion of Cambodia by the Nixon administration has aroused enormous indignation among the entire American people. The Nixon administration, trembling with fear at the gigantic and growing mass movement against the policy of aggression and war pursued by the Nixon fascist clique, is killing black and white people and has unleashed a bloodbath against the demonstrating masses. However, the mass movement is growing bigger and bigger.' He said, 'Determined to fight to the finish against the economic, political and social system of the United States, the black and white people have joined hands, struggling to the end against the madmen in the Pentagon who dominate this system which is responsible for the misery and bloodshed all over the world today.'

Cleaver said that never before has the Nixon government been so isolated as it is today. And never before has it been so clear that its criminal rule can only be ended by the people rising up courageously to take up arms and seize their own destiny from the handful of willful exploiters and murderers.

Cleaver pointed out that the solemn statement of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the Chinese revolution, hero and teacher of the revolutionary people of the world, has added impetus to the struggle by people of the world against the common enemy of all — U.S. fascist imperialism, and has made an estimable contribution to all mankind. Chairman Mao Tsetung's inspiring statement gives new heart to peoples in their struggles to throw off the shackle chains of oppression now being held in place by imperialism.

Cleaver said, 'We welcome this statement because we have learnt, by shedding our blood, that the moment is of great significance and that only the relentless struggle, by resorting to arms inside the house of U.S. fascism and imperialism, can we gain freedom and liberation.'

In conclusion, Eldridge Cleaver shouted: 'Long Live Chairman Mao Tsetung! Long live the victory of people's war! Death to U.S. fascism and imperialist invasion! All power to the people!'

# Irresistible Surging tide of American People's struggle

Excerpt reprinted from: *Peking Review*  
26 January, 1968, pp. 15-17  
retyped by MC5

*This article shows that once again, the Progressive Labor Party was not able to cover up the basic facts of the U.S. situation with fairy-tales of industrial worker radicalism. The article states that the Black struggle is "most bitter and their struggle the most resolute." It is not the industrial worker struggle that is most reliable and resolute. This much the Chinese comrades could see clearly. The fact that the Chinese analysis was still in the throes of conflict with the PLP is demonstrated by continued references to "Afro-Americans" and the inevitability of a white worker rising. On the other hand, with the policy of "seek truth from facts," the Chinese did not just consider the Black struggle a prelude to revolution. The Chinese comrades called it the most significant of all struggles in U.S. history thus far. That is why it was not difficult for MIM to take what the Chinese Maoists were saying, dump the PLP albattross and come up with its own line basically in continuity with Mao's.*

*As the PLP went deeper into the industrial working class, the more it had to dump the Peking Review line on integration expressed above. Not surprisingly, the PLP finally broke with Mao in 1971. That is also a matter of "seeking truth from facts." It is high time to sum up the damage of industrial worker fallacies.*

*Also important to note is that at the time, the Chinese thought the U.S. imperialists would not withdraw from Vietnam and would keep up wars of aggression that would wind them up in hotter water. Thus, they instructed us here to prepare for fascism and the final desperate moves of the oppressor. The revolutionaries thought it was very possible U.S. imperialism would bring itself to an end in a few years. —MC5*

In the United States the people's struggle has surged to a new high in the past year. The mounting and furious struggle of the Afro-Americans against racial suppression has echoed, and was interwoven with, the American people's broadening and intensifying struggle against the war of aggression in Vietnam, and with the workers' spreading and growing strike movement. Occurring one after another, these struggles presented a magnificent picture of the people's broad, irresistible movement. U.S. imperialism, which is being badly mauled on the Vietnam battlefield, is thus at the end of its rope on the home front as well and finds itself in unprecedented isolation and in an extremely backward position.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out long ago that "to start a war, the U.S. reactionaries must first attack the

*American people. They are already attacking the American people — oppressing the workers and democratic circles in the United States politically and economically and preparing to impose fascism there. The people of the United States should stand up and resist the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries. I believe they will."* The all-round upsurge of the American people's struggles in 1967 has fully borne out Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis. In order to continue and expand its war of aggression against Vietnam, the U.S. reactionary ruling group has intensified its attacks on the American people politically and economically and has tightened its fascist rule at home. However, these attacks on the American people have aggravated the class contradictions in the country; they have speeded up the awakening of the American people, especially the Afro-Americans, the youth and the workers, and have stimulated them to stand up courageously and strike back against the onslaught of the reactionaries.

## "Afro-Americans' Raging Struggle against Racial Oppression"

The toiling masses of the Afro-Americans who have long been suffering in the depths of social injustice, are not only the victims of ruthless racial discrimination and oppression, but are also bearing the brunt of U.S. imperialist policy of aggression against Vietnam. That is why their resistance is the most bitter and their struggle the most resolute. Last year, Afro-American struggles against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights stormed more than 100 large and small U.S. cities. Their scope and intensity have surpassed all such previous struggles in the history of the United States. According to obviously watered-down U.S. official figures, 75 large-scale Afro-American armed struggles against racial oppression occurred in various parts of the United States in the ten months of 1967 as against only 21 in 1966 and 5 in 1965. In their struggles, the Afro-Americans have displayed a highly militant spirit and great courage. In the armed struggles against racial oppression last summer, the most outstanding of which took place in Detroit, there appeared large numbers of Black snipers and sniper squads which even used machineguns. The fascist troops and police were badly knocked about and a number of cities were paralysed. Thrown into a panic by this raging storm, the U.S. ruling group cried out in alarm that the violent struggles of the Afro-Americans were "the number one problem in the United States today" and the "gravest domestic crisis" in more than a century.

What is particularly heartening is the fact that in their struggles more and more Afro-Americans have begun to realize that the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung is their most powerful ideological weapon for achieving their liberation. Some young Afro-American intellectuals who have taken an active part in the armed struggle against racial oppression have begun to study Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Stokely Carmichael, a young Afro-American leader, pointed out last August that many Black Americans taking part in the struggle had in their hands the red-covered *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. He added that Chairman Mao's thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and other teachings are helping to awaken the Black Americans. In the fierce class struggle, the more advanced among the Afro-Americans have come to un-

derstand Chairman Mao's brilliant teaching that "*in the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle.*" They have come to realize that, to gain liberation, they must fight shoulder to shoulder with the oppressed peoples and nations of the world, including other oppressed people in their own country, to smash the imperialist system and its principal bulwark, U.S. Imperialism.

Under these circumstances, the deceptive tricks like "civil rights," "racial integration" and "non-violence" which the U.S. reactionaries tried to pull off during the Afro-Americans' armed struggles last year have become increasingly bankrupt in the eyes of the broad masses of the Afro-Americans. The idea of armed struggle against racial oppression and the slogans of "Black power" and "violent self-defence" are taking root in the hearts of the people. Armed struggle against racial oppression is gradually becoming the main form of struggle waged by the Afro-Americans. This new awakening of theirs is bound to push their struggle to an entirely new stage.

### **Vigorous Upsurge of the Movement against Aggression in Vietnam**

The Afro-American struggles and the struggles of the American people in other fields are supporting and giving impetus to each other. With the constant "escalation" of the U.S. war of aggression against Vietnam, the American people's movement against the war has experienced an unprecedented upsurge. In the past year, mass organizations opposing this war and opposing conscription have mushroomed in cities, in rural areas, in universities and high schools, and in the ghettos of the Afro-Americans. In April and in October of 1967, the broad masses of the American people carried out two mammoth protest campaigns against U.S. imperialism's policy of aggression in Vietnam.

In the struggle, more and more people, especially the youth, have seen through and rejected the hoax of "pacifism" and "legalism" preached by the reactionary authorities and their henchmen; they have raised clear-cut militant slogans and waged a brave and determined struggle. During last October's mammoth demonstration in Washington, the demonstrators shouted unequivocally: "The enemy is Lyndon Johnson." They besieged the heavily guarded Pentagon. A group of youth, disregarding their personal safety, charged into the building and fought against the reactionary troops and police, showing a dauntless spirit in face of brute force.

A new development in the American people's movement opposing the U.S. war of aggression against Vietnam last year was that more and more young men have firmly refused to fight and die for U.S. imperialism's policy of aggression and war, and have taken daring actions against the draft measures of the reactionary authorities. They have brought about a vigorous upsurge in the anti-draft movement of the American youth. During the past year, large numbers of young men in various parts of the United States, openly defying the threats of the reactionary authorities, boldly burnt their draft cards, besieged army induction centres, and drove away the war recruiters. Some of them prevented the trains carrying draftees from going to the docks by sitting on the rails. Their heroic actions threw the reactionary authorities into a panic. The press of the U.S. monopoly capitalists had to admit that today the young Americans' "open resistance is greater than any time" in more than a century.

# **Peking meeting Commemorates Centennial of Birth of Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois**

**Reprinted from: *Peking Review*  
1 March 1968, pp. 26-7.  
retyped by MC5**

The centennial of the birth of Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, noted Afro-American leader, was commemorated at a meeting sponsored by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau in Peking on February 23 [1968].

Vice-Premier Chen Yi attended the meeting. The speakers were Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of China; Mrs. Shirley Graham Du Bois; and Rathe Deshapriya Senanayake, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, who were in Peking.

Kuo Mo-jo quoted this passage from the cable of condolence by the great leader Chairman Mao in 1963 to Mrs. Du Bois: "Dr. Du Bois was a great man of our time. His deeds of heroic struggle for the liberation of the Negroes and the whole of mankind, his outstanding achievements in academic fields and his sincere friendship towards the Chinese people will for ever remain in the memory of the Chinese people."

"Our great leader Chairman Mao," Kuo Mo-jo said, "made the most correct and comprehensive appraisal of Dr. Du Bois. Today, the struggle of the oppressed Afro-Americans in the United States is advancing triumphantly under the light of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must continue to develop the undaunted spirit of Dr. Du Bois in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and unite with Afro-Americans and all oppressed nations and peoples to eliminate U.S.-led imperialism and new and old colonialism.

"Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out that 'the evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people.' We firmly believe that Chairman Mao's great prediction will become splendid reality."

Kuo Mo-jo pointed out that Dr. Du Bois' whole life was one of struggle and of searching for the truth. Dr. Du Bois' heroic struggle for Afro-American freedom and liberation had made him clear-sighted, and in his later years he had repeatedly declared that only close co-operation with the proletariat and under the leadership of the Communist Party could the Afro-American fight for freedom be guaranteed to win final victory.

When Dr. Du Bois came to China in 1959, Kuo Mo-jo said, "he saw for himself the splendid achievements of the Chinese people's revolution under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao; he saw the thriving New China illuminated by Mao Tse-tung's

thought; he saw that the national question with which he was most concerned could only be correctly solved under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. And so he raised a great call to the African people to learn from China; he wanted the African people to learn from China's revolutionary experience — the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung."

Dr. Du Bois' China visit "gave him a new lease on life. In 1961, at the advanced age of 93, Dr. Du Bois was determined to devote his life to the complete liberation of all mankind and to strive for communism," Kuo Mo-jo continued.

"On August 8, 1963, half a month before the death of Dr. Du Bois, our great leader Chairman Mao issued the *"Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism,"* he said. "Like a radiant lamp, Chairman Mao's statement pointed out the road of liberation for the Afro-Americans and all the oppressed peoples and provided the most powerful theoretical weapon for the revolutionary struggle of the Afro-Americans. After this great document was published, in the United States the Black people became more awakened and their struggle became more powerful. They are using revolutionary violence to deal with counter-revolutionary violence." The masses of Afro-Americans had broken the fetters of "non-violence," Kuo Mo-jo said. At present in the United States, armed struggle against violence had become the main form of struggle of Afro-Americans.

Kuo Mo-jo condemned the modern revisionists with the Soviet leading clique — the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism — as the centre, for their attempts to make use of Dr. Du Bois to peddle their revisionist trash. "They deliberately do not mention Dr. Du Bois' spirit of resolutely opposing imperialism and new and old colonialism; and with evil intent, distort the great Du Bois as merely 'a teacher' 'whose interests were very wide,' 'professor of classical languages' and 'of economics.'" They even go further to distort Du Bois as 'a Negro pacifist' and a 'fighter for peace and freedom' to serve their surrender to U.S. imperialism and their betrayal of the revolutionary cause of the people of the world. This is diametrically opposed to Dr. Du Bois' resolute revolutionary spirit against imperialism," he said.

In her speech, Mrs. Du Bois said, "I take delight in proclaiming to the world that the essence, the core, the light and glory of the nearly one hundred years accorded William Edward Burghardt Du Bois is that: He was a revolutionist!"

The revisionists, she said, might only hail him as one of the founders of the World Peace Council. "I rejoice that I may celebrate this day here in the People's Republic of China, mighty bastion of world revolution . . . a nation of fighters against imperialism and revisionism, fighters against aggression and exploitation, fighters of justice and freedom, the nation which is the pilot light and inspiration of oppressed and struggling peoples, where they be. For the People's Republic of China is the only nation of indomitable, uncompromising, uncorrupted revolutionists in the world."

She gave a detailed account of the valiant struggle fought by Dr. Du Bois for the Afro-American cause of freedom, equality and liberation.

As Dr. Du Bois approached his 90th birthday, he was discouraged. He began to wonder what the long years of struggle had accomplished. However, he was reborn when he visited he People's

Republic of China in 1959. "Seldom can it be said that a man who has long since passed three score and ten years, is born again in spirit, in mind, in body. But, in that spring of 1959, I saw it happen," Mrs. Du Bois said.

"Long ago, the young Du Bois had written: 'I shall seek truth — and I shall follow where it leads,'" she said. "Du Bois found truth in the People's Republic of China. The light came out of the red sun rising in the east, and he saw that the world and all its abundance not only belongs to the people, but that the people shall claim and hold it for their own. Here in China was the proof!"

"After four months travelling over China, he wrote: 'As we leave may we thank them (the people) humbly for all they have done for us, and for teaching us what communism means.'"

Mrs. Du Bois recalled how the great teacher Chairman Mao had received them. "And, as we left, Chairman Mao placed in my husband's hands a slender book of his poems. All the following days of his life this little book lay on Du Bois' night table beside his bed — for . . . I salute the Afro-Americans, who with the slogan 'Black Power' are moving the proletarian masses of the United States towards revolution!" she continued. Dr. Du Bois "told us that the United States aggression would be stopped by the aroused masses of the world. Today, throughout Southeast Asia, in the Middle East, in South America and the islands of the sea, U.S. aggression is being pushed back, is being challenged, is being mocked as never before. He told that imperialism is doomed! Today, the victorious people of Vietnam are sounding its death knell. He told us that a people armed with correct thoughts, correct ideas and ideals — are invincible. Today, the great proletarian cultural revolution, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, lifts revolution to heights never before envisaged by man."

In closing, she recited one of Du Bois' favourite poems by Chairman Mao Tse-tung:

Soon the dawn will break in the east,  
But do not say we are marching early;  
Though we've traveled all over these green hills we are not old  
yet,  
And the landscape here is beyond compare.  
Straight from the walls of Huichang lofty peaks,  
Range after range extend to the eastern ocean.  
Our soldiers, pointing, gaze south towards Kwangtung,  
So green, so luxuriant in the distance.

The audience then heard a recording of the speech made by Dr. Du Bois at Peking University during his China tour. Dr. Du Bois said: "Africa, arise, face the rising sun!" "China is flesh of your flesh and blood of your blood..."

Addressing the meeting, R.D. Senanayake drew attention to the significance of the celebration of Dr. Du Bois' centenary in Peking, capital of the bastion of world revolution, and amid sweeping victories scored in the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution personally led by the greatest revolutionary leader of our time, Chairman Mao Tse-tung. He added that the world's revolutionary people had the highest admiration for China's cultural revolution.

Senanayake acclaimed the firm and uncompromising stand taken

by Dr. Du Bois against imperialism and colonialism.

The Soviet modern revisionist leading clique and its hangers-on, he said, had distorted the militant political stand of Dr. Du Bois against imperialism and colonialism headed by the United States and all reaction. They were trying to paint Dr. Du Bois “as a passive peace worker, in order to divert the revolutionary struggles that are being waged today by his fellow Afro-Americans in the United States of America and elsewhere against imperialist domination, racial discrimination, political oppression and social injustice.”

Senanayake continued: “Dr. Du Bois desired world peace not by capitulation to U.S. imperialism or compromising with it or ‘peace at any cost’ as the revisionists desire and preach now, but by struggling against imperialism and colonialism to win and safeguard national independence, people’s democracy and socialism. It is with these aims he associated himself with the world peace movement since its early days.

“Dr. Du Bois advocated the national-liberation struggles against imperialism and colonialism headed by the United States in order to achieve ever-lasting peace. The so-called world peace movement under the Soviet revisionists has, today, become a movement of capitulation to U.S. imperialism.”

The Afro-Asian Writers’ Bureau called upon the revolutionary and progressive Afro-Americans and other peoples to resolutely carry forward the struggle against imperialism and colonialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist leading clique at its centre and all reaction in order win and safeguard national independence, people’s democracy and socialism, the ideals for which Dr. Du Bois had stood and fought uncompromisingly till his last breath.

Present on the occasion were leading members of the various organizations concerned including Chang Hsi-jo, Chu Tu-nan, Ting Hsi-lin and Hsu Kuang-ping. Among the foreign friends present were representatives of the Afro-Asian Writers’ Bureau — Ahmed Mohammed Kheir from the Sudan, Kinkazu Saionji from Japan and Afif from Indonesia — Djawoto, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Journalists’ Association, Afro-American leader Robert Williams and representatives of international organizations and organizations for national liberation of a number of countries in Peking. A reception was given by R.D. Senanayake after the meeting.

## Progressive Labor Party in 1968-1969

Reprinted from: *Peking Review*  
24 October 1969  
retyped by MC5

*The following is one of the last times that the Progressive Labor Party hailed Mao.*

*The document may seem like other communiqués supporting Mao at the time, but it actually contains a number of rare items. First, it*

*says “we must defeat, revisionism, racism and nationalism,” without qualifying that the nationalism of oppressed nations is applied internationalism and hence progressive.*

*Secondly, the document mentions “temporary reversals caused by revisionist-nationalist betrayals.” This was a veiled reference to the Communist Party of Vietnam. Elsewhere we print a document from the Progressive Labor Party explaining that statement more clearly.*

*Finally, the document is excellent evidence that it was at that time that Progressive Labor Party was reaching out to workers to forge the “worker-student alliance.” We believe the Workers Party of Belgium (PTB) and the Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD) should look at the experience of the PLP as foreshadowing their own experience. Magazines from PLP at the time criticized Soviet revisionism in a way particularly reminiscent of the MLPD. PLP wrote at length about the “petty-bourgeois mentality” that infected the Soviet Union’s Communist Party. —MC5*

### Greetings from M. Rosen, Chairman of National Committee of U.S. Progressive Labor Party

Comrade Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and Comrade Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Committee, have received from Comrade Milton Rosen, Chairman of the National Committee of the Progressive Labor Party in the United States, a message of greetings on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the People’s Republic of China.

The message said: On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the People’s Republic of China, the National Committee of the Progressive Labor Party extends deep comradely greetings to the people of China and to their proletarian vanguard, the Communist Party of China. The great revolutionary victory over imperialism and the Kuomintang bourgeois reactionaries established the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. Together with the October Revolution, which has been betrayed by the new Russian tsars, the Chinese revolution is a milestone of the proletarian socialist revolution. The timely launching of the proletarian cultural revolution consolidated the socialist state and brought the great Marxist-Leninist thought of Mao Tsetung to the masses of China and revolutionaries throughout the world. Above all, the teachings of Comrade Mao instruct revolutionaries to wholeheartedly serve the people. This means that in order to win and secure socialism we must defeat revisionism, racism and nationalism, which are based on the reactionary bourgeois outlook of self-profit. The U.S. and Soviet imperialists conspire to encircle and destroy socialist China. The focal point of their counter-revolutionary strategy is to liquidate the people’s war in Viet Nam by obtaining a political deal in Paris which will protect the U.S. imperialist economic and military interests in Southeast Asia. Temporary reversals caused by revisionist-nationalist betrayals will ultimately be swept away by the continuing revolutionary upsurge of the oppressed masses led by genuine Marxist-Leninists. This upsurge also gains momentum here in the United States. With militant Black workers in the lead, a broad worker-student alliance is being forged against the U.S. rul-

ing class. Increasing number of revolutionary youth study Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Comrade Mao to guide the class struggle for a new society. All revolutionaries are inspired by the great achievements of the People's Republic of China under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tsetung.

# Soviet revisionist Renegades' 'Communist Christianity' Shows how Degenerate they Have become

by Yu Fen

Reprinted from *Peking Review*

August 22, 1969

Retyped by MC5

*The 1998 visit of the Pope to Cuba and Castro's admittance of Christians into the party deserves an historical look. It was Khrushchev, first of modern revisionists, to pioneer the idea of the Pope as a "great man dedicated to world peace." Unfortunately, Castro is singing the same song as Khrushchev now, but many claiming to be Marxist-Leninist tolerate or encourage him. —MC5*

Under the "auspices" of the Soviet revisionist chieftains, a minor but hideous farce was acted out not so long ago on the outskirts of Moscow. From different parts of the Soviet Union, patriarchs and priests, monks and imams, and other religious chiefs, numbering more than a hundred in all, gathered for a conference. They made a big noise, discussing what they called "essential problems of our epoch." One Soviet revisionist renegade clique bigwig sent this clutter of churchmen a personal message wishing them success in their show and bidding them "to make contributions to this noble cause of the consolidation of universal peace."

This step by that handful of Soviet revisionist renegades, Brezhnev & Co., who are bent on putting religion and superstition back into circulation in the Soviet Union, is an extremely reactionary one. It is an attempt to fool the Soviet people and people the world over and, by using the robes of these patriarchs and priests, to cover up the crimes they have committed at home and abroad.

Revisionists of all breeds and brands were denounced by the great Lenin as hens among dung heaps in the backyard of the working-class movement. They peck away at anything, even the filthiest, so long as it keeps them going. Torn by troubles at home and abroad the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has long regarded

the reactionary religious forces as a talisman by which it carries out counter-revolutionary revisionist domestic and foreign policies. For years it has been playing the disgusting role of a sycophant of the Vatican, bulwark of the most reactionary religious forces in the world, and sucking up to the Pope, a loyal defender of capitalism. The notorious Khrushchov brazenly presented the Pope as a 'great man devoted to world peace.' Following in Khrushchov's footsteps, a neo-Soviet revisionist chieftain in his capacity as head of state went on a 'pilgrimage' to Rome and sought an audience with Pope Paul the Sixth. At home, the revisionist renegade clique in the Kremlin takes great pains to speak up for the religious forces. Religion is an opiate. Yet without any hesitation, this clique turns out reactionary religious propaganda through its press and news agencies. It shamelessly trumpets religion as being "beneficial," and hollers for restoring religious education in the schools. Religious forces in the Soviet Union have become increasingly rampant and all-pervasive. Religious rites have increased by three or fourfold in the last tens years. More and more churches and parishes have come into existence. Religious followers now number dozens of millions. In addition, quite a number of seminaries have been set up to train "successors" to the church.

After having recently cooked up what it calls "communist Christianity," which is a reactionary fallacy, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique published a spate of press articles advertising the "evolution of the modern Russian Orthodox Church." In the fifth issue of the journal *Science Religion*, a hired "candidate doctor of philosophy" went to the length of preaching like a priest that the Russian Orthodox Church is an "instrument for transforming social relations." "Christianity," he said, "is harmonious, fitting and in coordination with the process of transforming social relations on socialist and communist principles. Christianity has developed into 'communist Christianity.'" Like revisionism, the sham Marxism-Leninism mouthed by the Soviet revisionists, this "communist Christianity" is said to be most enthusiastically "calling on the believers to take part in the struggle for socialism and socialist construction." Brezhnev & Co. can now very conveniently find in "communist Christianity" a blueprint for "building communism," and even toss their Marxist-Leninist garb to the winds because, it is said, "in the Russian Orthodox Church the building of the kingdom of Christ on earth is more and more associated with communist transformation of the world." Amid such loud braying for "communist Christianity," leading church figures in some areas have openly called meetings in public places, conducted propaganda among the inhabitants and "recruited supporters." What a miasma!

Can anyone find anything more degenerate than this!

By putting the label of "communism" on Christianity, the Soviet revisionist renegades smugly calculate that they can deceive the people at home and the revolutionary people of the world and provide themselves with a figleaf to cover up their use of the church to push capitalist restoration in all spheres of endeavor and their social-imperialist policies. In fact, this precisely reveals that their so-called "building of communism" is of a piece with the "building of the kingdom of Christ." In using religion, they are taking the idealist and most reactionary stand of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, and their programme is the same as their deceitful "communist Christianity" propaganda.

The proletariat is determined to completely overthrow the bour-

geoisie and all other exploiting classes, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and defeat capitalism by socialism and eventually realize communism. *"Religion is opium for the people."* It is a spiritual weapon of the exploiting classes for oppressing, enslaving and exploiting the labouring people; it manacles the oppressed classes and prevents them from rebelling against their oppressors. Scientific communism is the antithesis of religion. Like fire and water, the struggle for the realization of the ideal of communism in the whole world is incompatible with "the building of the kingdom of Christ on earth."

The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* solemnly declares: The communist revolution's "development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas." Since the great theory of scientific communism came into being, it has been fiercely resisted by the reactionary religious forces, with the Pope as their champion. Lenin pointed out: *"We must combat religion — that is the ABC of all materialism, and consequently of Marxism."* The Party and Soviet state led by Lenin and Stalin waged a resolute struggle against all reactionary religious forces. Now, this gang of Soviet revisionist renegades claiming to be loyal to Lenin's behest has shamelessly alleged that Christianity and communism are "harmonious, fitting and in co-ordination" with each other. It has combined communism and Christianity into one, flying the sinister flag of "communist Christianity." This shows to what despicable depths they have sunk. Those in the upper echelons of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique want to be Christian "bishops" so as to dope and hoodwink the Soviet people and the people of the world! But at the same time they want to garland themselves with "communism" to hide their own treachery. Don't they find this double feature far too clumsy and preposterous?

Reactionary forces and revisionists of all hues and shades have tried in vain to "incorporate" communism with religion since the advent of Marxism. This trick was used by the "god-building" school that Lenin denounced. The so-called "evolution" and "socialization" of religion in the Soviet Union, as well as the "association" of "kingdom of Christ" with communism, and so forth — all this is unadulterated religious eyewash. Many prevailing theologians who are today busy with "reforms" are racking their brains searching through theological theory for a "more effective form of expression" of Christianity. They oppose what they called the "flagrant infringement of atheistic materialism and communism upon human dignity." They wildly clamour for "extending the kingdom of Christ to the furthest limits of the earth" and "propagating the gospel" among the proletariat. But all their charlatanism cannot be compared with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's trickery. The Kremlin renegades have come out as "communist" theologians to prove that in their sham communism the ideals of Christianity have been translated into reality. Why do the Soviet hierarchs now consider it possible to energetically support the political and philosophical propositions of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique? They themselves have put their finger on the matter. They support the political "principles" of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique because, they say, "these principles are in accord with the needs of Christianity." It was nobody but Khrushchov, Brezhnev and their kind, who after coming to power, have converted the bourgeoisie's "hope of restoration" into "attempts at restoration." They usurped the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin and turned the world's

first state under the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dark fascist state under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The reactionary religious bosses have found such a "process" of capitalist restoration very "harmonious, fitting and in co-ordination" with their desires. That is why they have applauded it and are willingly working for the Soviet revisionist renegade clique.

In playing up "communist Christianity," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique extols religion as an "instrument for transforming social relations." Such a shameless utterance can only expose still more clearly the hideous features of these revisionist renegades who are making the most of the reactionary religious forces to quicken the pace of full-scale capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. Religion has always been a tool in the hands of the exploiting classes to dominate, enslave and poison the minds of the labouring people. The great teacher of the proletariat Karl Marx said: *"The social principles of Christianity had justified ancient slavery, extolled medieval serfdom and, when necessary, will also defend, although with a look of pity, the oppression of the proletariat."* Therefore, religion has always been supported and used by the reactionary ruling classes: by the slave-owners of slave society, by the landlords of feudal society and by the capitalists of capitalist society. The Soviet people will never forget how the old tsars always used the Russian Orthodox Church as an instrument for maintaining their sanguinary rule in their feudal empire. After the founding of Soviet power, the overthrown reactionary ruling classes, in a bid to seize back their lost paradise, organized an anti-Soviet "crusade" to subvert the first socialist state with the help of the reactionary religious forces and in co-ordination with international imperialism. Still less will the Chinese people forget how the imperialists used religion for cultural aggression and, in its wake, military and political aggression against our country, and turned China into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. At the time of the founding of the great People's Republic of China, the imperialists again used reactionary religious forces to poison the minds of some backward people. These forces also served as cat's-paws in their attempt to subvert and undermine our country. Used by a handful of counter-revolutionaries, religion, whether in Catholic or Protestant garb, has always been an anti-communist, anti-people imperialist task force and an imperialists instrument of aggression. That the Soviet revisionist renegade clique now employs the Russian Orthodox Church to "transform social relations" is not very original. This is merely a mantle inherited from the old tsars, and a leaf taken from the stinking book of U.S. imperialism.

While working out its reactionary theory of "communist Christianity," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, which is capable of anything foul and base openly applauded the Russian Orthodox Church ecclesiastics in the press for following the Kremlin's "international policy" and supporting its "efforts in ensuring international security." This is an unsolicited confession which gives away its counter-revolutionary aim of using the reactionary religious forces to push its social-imperialist policies. At present, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is stepping up collusion with U.S. imperialism, intensifying suppression of the revolutionary struggle of the people of different countries and strengthening control over and exploitation of some East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia. These criminal activities are proof that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's "international policy" is an



imperialist policy of collecting all reactionary riffraff to carry out expansion abroad.

Even while continually intruding into Chinese territory and air space and shooting down unarmed Chinese fishermen and herdsmen, the Kremlin clique has been using religion for counter-revolutionary subversive propaganda through its radio programmes beamed to China's Sinkiang. This is an attempt to drive a wedge into the unity of our motherland and disrupt our country's national solidarity. The old tsars [used] religion to carry out divisive activities in Sinkiang, and now the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is doing the same thing. From this, people throughout the world can clearly see once again that this handful of renegades are out-and-out social-imperialists and new tsars, pure and simple. We firmly warn the chieftains of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique: You can go on using reactionary clergymen to carry out counter-revolutionary activities, but you will come to no good end.

Chairman Mao, the great leader of all the nationalities of our country, pointed out in his work *On Coalition Government*: "All religions are permitted in China's Liberated Areas, in accordance with the principle of freedom of religious belief. All believers in Protestantism, Catholicism, Islamism, Buddhism and other faiths enjoy the protection of the people's government as long as they are abiding by its laws. Everyone is free to believe or not to believe; neither compulsion nor incrimination is permitted." It is our consistent policy to protect the freedom of religious belief and the freedom of not believing in any religion. Communists abide by a policy of freedom of religious belief; but towards religious believers, "we can never approve of their idealism or religious doctrines." We must criticize and repudiate idealist monasticism and all kinds of religious obscurantism. We are convinced the time will come when followers of religious faiths will awake and throw away their "idols." That the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, which has completely betrayed the rudimentary principles of Marxism-Leninism, should have acted perversely and gone so far as to rake up its reactionary "communist Christianity" nonsense in an effort to shore up its counter-revolutionary revisionist rule only shows the depths of its political and ideological degeneration. It is a reflection of its mortal fear of the doom awaiting it.

Did the Soviet revisionist renegade clique not instruct the religious hierarchs it groomed to discuss so-called "essential problems of our epoch"? The essential problem of our epoch, as pointed out by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao in his political report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is: "The contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other; the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries; the contradiction between imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries; and the contradiction between socialist countries on the one hand and imperialism and social-imperialism on the other. The existence and development of these contradictions are bound to give rise to revolution." U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and all reaction can never survive this great storm of people's revolution, nor can "communist Christianity" save the revisionist renegade clique in the Kremlin from destruction.

Acute class differentiation and bitter class struggle are taking place in Soviet society. This arises from the fact that this renegade

clique is ruthlessly carrying out the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the Soviet people and pursuing a social-imperialist policy of expansion abroad. The Soviet revisionist chieftains are simply day-dreaming and wasting their time if they think the use of religious forces can benumb and disintegrate the revolutionary fighting will of the Soviet people who are rising against them. It will only promote their steady awakening and arouse them to greater resistance; it will only open the eyes of the people of the world still more to the degeneration and shamelessness of this gang of renegades. The revolutionary movement of the proletariat of the world and the people of all countries today is surging forward vigorously. The struggle of the Soviet proletariat and the broad masses of the Soviet people against the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is developing in depth. Imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries are getting closer and closer to their graves. As pointed out by Chairman Mao, the great leader of all the nationalities of our country, "*Working hand in glove, Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism have done so many foul and evil things that the revolutionary people the world over will not let them go unpunished. The people of all countries are rising. A new historical period of struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun.*" Invoking the reactionary religious forces to put up a last-ditch struggle will only bring the Soviet revisionist renegade clique a speedier and more ignominious defeat. This, too, is the will of "god." But this "god" is none other than the proletariat and revolutionary people of the world, the Soviet people included.

## Solidly united under The great red banner Of Mao Tse-tung's Thought, the P.K.I. Is Leading the Indonesian people to March onward on the Road of People's War!

*Statement of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Indonesia in commemoration of the 48 anniversary of the founding of the Party, May 23, 1968*

**Reprinted from: Peking Review**  
**31 May, 1968, pp. 17-19**  
**retyped by MC5**

*A few vain splitters from the international communist movement with the non-proletarian ideology of Trotskyism attack the communists repeatedly over Indonesia as if to say that the Indonesian repression of the early 1960s was the result of alliance with the national bourgeoisie. They ignore the many cases in which alliance with the national bourgeoisie did not result in laying down arms. For that matter, Stalin allied with imperialists against impe-*

*rialists during World War II and the Soviet Union emerged as a superpower — contrary to Trotsky's predictions. So if it is possible to ally with imperialists and emerge stronger militarily it is certainly possible to ally with the national bourgeoisie and emerge stronger militarily. It has been done: take for example the case of Korea, where in his books Kim Il Sung made sure to show readers pictures of capitalist establishments that supported the Korean war of liberation. The problem in Indonesia was Khrushchevism. In the 1950s, when Khrushchev attacked Stalin in his speeches to the party after Stalin died — to the delight of the Trotskyists — Khrushchev called for the "three peacefuls," including the peaceful road to power. The Trotskyists amongst others — unlike Hoxha and Mao — continued to hold illusions about the Soviet Union as a "workers' state" or a "workers' state with bureaucratic deformations." Hence, the Trotskyists sided with Khrushchev and Brezhnev against Mao, who was calling for people's war rather than the parliamentary road to power. The problem in Indonesia was that the party did not follow the road of people's war. The Trotskyists did nothing to help along these lines, and were the usual by-standers criticizing the proletariat from the sidelines. —MC5*

May 23, 1968 is the 48th anniversary of the founding of our respected and beloved Party — the Communist Party of Indonesia (P.K.I.). The Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people commemorate the anniversary of the Party by waging heroic struggles against the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime, by taking up arms in the countryside and in the mountains and jungles, by persevering in the struggle in the prisons and concentration camps with an unbending and unflinching spirit and holding in contempt all the savage [text missing] military regime. However brutal and ferocious the reactionaries may be, they cannot prevent the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people from commemorating the anniversary of their Party. They commemorate it by steeling their fighting will further in the unfolding of guerrilla warfare, by establishing rural revolutionary bases, by arousing the peasant masses to undertake agrarian revolution, and by persevering in protracted armed struggle to encircle the cities from the countryside and eventually seize the cities and win national liberation.

While commemorating the 48th anniversary of the founding of the P.K.I., we are fully aware of the fact that the road of long-term struggle ahead of us is fraught with difficulties and sacrifices. The rabid white terror that began in October 1965 and the opportunist-revisionist errors committed by the Party in its line in the period, 1951-65, had subjected the Indonesian people's revolutionary movement to severe blows and resulted in the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people. Supported by the U.S. imperialists and Soviet modern revisionists, the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime has further stepped up its oppression and exploitation of the Indonesian people. It has revived and strengthened the imperialist control over the Indonesian economy and has completely sold out the national interest of the Indonesian people. Out of its fear of the revolutionary influence of the great People's Republic of China, it unleashed an unprecedented, savage racist campaign against China and the Chinese nationals in Indonesia. Despite the fact that temporarily the P.K.I. and the Indonesian revolutionary people are confronted with enormous difficulties and despite the fact that temporarily the en-

emy is still strong and the revolutionary forces are still weak, we are full of revolutionary optimism in facing the future. In commemorating the 47th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Indonesia on May 23, 1967, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I. said in a statement: "The victory of the counter-revolutionary forces in Indonesia and their superiority over the revolutionary forces have been achieved not because the counter-revolutionary forces are in rising development. This has happened because the revolutionary forces led by the P.K.I. had undergone major deterioration, as a result of the opportunist and revisionist errors of our Party. This had enabled the counter-revolutionary forces to deal heavy blows at the P.K.I. and the Indonesian revolutionary movement. This victory of the counter-revolutionary forces in Indonesia as well as their supremacy over the revolutionary forces are temporary in nature. It is taking place at a time when the forces of counter-revolution on a global scale are heading for their total downfall. The mainstay of the Indonesian counter-revolutionary forces is shaky. Internally, the Indonesian counter-revolutionary forces rely on a decadent social system, namely, the vestiges of feudalism which is totally opposed by the vast masses of the Indonesian people. [Text missing] counter-revolutionary regime rely on U.S. imperialism and are supported by the revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union. This too, is not a stable mainstay but a shaky one." The developments since this period have shown that the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime is faced with inextricable and daily increasing difficulties. With all the "aid" from the imperialists and modern revisionists, this regime cannot overcome its economic and financial difficulties. The contradictions within the ruling clique resulting from the scramble for power and profit have become more and more acute. What is most important is the fact that led by the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Indonesian people have risen in arms to resist the counter-revolutionary rule.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung teaches us: "If there is to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs." In extremely difficult circumstances and after a relatively short period, the P.K.I. published in September 1966 the "Self-Criticism by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party" and corrected the basic errors of line committed by the Party in the past. The lessons drawn from the experience in blood of the P.K.I. and the Indonesian people's revolutionary movement are not only of great significance to the P.K.I. and the Indonesian revolution; they are also important lessons for the struggles of the revolutionary people throughout the world and for the international communist movement. They have most clearly and profoundly proved that whenever the revolution departs from Mao Tse-tung's thought, it is bound to suffer losses. They have also proved that the revisionist road of "peaceful transition" preached by the modern revisionists with the C.P.S.U. leading group at the centre is the road to the destruction of the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries.

The "Self-Criticism by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party" has unequivocally

stressed: “To achieve its complete victory, the Indonesian revolution must also follow the road of the Chinese revolution. That means that the Indonesian revolution must inevitably adopt this main form of struggle, namely, the people’s armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution, which in essence is the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat.” The P.K.I. has adopted three banners which are in conformity with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung’s thought and which play an important role in guiding the Indonesian revolution. By consistently carrying out the tasks set by the three banners, we will possess the three main weapons to win victory for the people’s democratic revolution in Indonesia first, a Marxist-Leninist Party, which constitutes the [text missing]; secondly the people’s armed forces under the leadership of the Party as the main form of organization of the revolution; third, a revolutionary united front under the leadership of the Party as the embodiment of all revolutionary forces in Indonesia.

From their own experience, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists regard Mao Tse-tung’s thought as the sole guiding ideology of the P.K.I. in building itself anew into a Marxist-Leninist Party capable of leading the Indonesian revolution. In its May 23, 1967 statement, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the P.K.I. has stressed: “The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists unhesitatingly recognize Mao Tse-tung’s thought as the peak of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, and are determined to study and use it as an effective weapon in the struggle for the liberation of Indonesia, which inevitably will have to follow the road of people’s war as shown by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.”

At present, under the leadership of the P.K.I., the Indonesian people have set out on the road of armed struggle. The flames of armed struggle have risen on the main islands such as Kalimantan (especially West Kalimantan), Java (especially East Java), Sumatra and Kolawesi. The people have started to organize their own armed forces, to punish the despotic landlords and local bullies. Overcoming various kinds of difficulties, the P.K.I. has begun to transfer the emphasis of its work from the city on to the countryside, and to switch from peaceful struggle to armed struggle, from legal to illegal and from open to underground activities. Under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung’s thought, in line with the general principles of Party building at the present time, that is, Party building which serves the armed struggle and stresses the work in the countryside and underground work, the Marxist-Leninists of Indonesia are rebuilding the Communist Party of Indonesia.

In rebuilding the P.K.I. into a Marxist-Leninist political Party which is capable of leading the Indonesian revolution, we must continue to liquidate thoroughly the remnants of the errors of opportunism and revisionism, weed out their ideological roots and eliminate the conditions for their growth, clean up individualist ideology and develop the spirit of being ready to make sacrifices for the interests of the people and the Party. For this purpose, as pointed out clearly by the Political Bureau on the occasion of the 47th anniversary of the founding of the P.K.I.: “We must more assiduously study, master and practise Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung’s thought.”

We are now commemorating the 48th anniversary of the founding of the P.K.I. at a time when the international conditions are extremely favourable to the Indonesian revolution as well as to the

world revolution. The all-round victory of China’s great proletarian cultural revolution is of tremendous world significance. The great proletarian cultural revolution has made China a great school of Mao Tse-tung’s thought. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, hundreds of millions of Chinese people have studied, grasped applied Mao Tse-tung’s thought — the most powerful ideological weapon for opposing all enemies of the revolution. The victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution has assured that China which has become the most powerful bulwark of the world revolution will remain red forever. The great victory of the proletarian cultural revolution won by the Chinese people under the direct leadership of the great Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China is a telling blow to the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism, the modern revisionists with the C.P.S.U. leading group at the centre and all reactionaries of the world including the Suharto-Nasution traitorous regime. Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung’s thought, the great proletarian cultural revolution has made Mao Tse-tung’s thought the victorious banner of the world revolutionary people’s struggle.

Under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Albanian Party of Labour, a Marxist-Leninist Party, the People’s Republic of Albania has become a powerful bastion against imperialism and modern revisionism and a beacon of socialism in Europe.

The struggle of the people of various countries against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, against modern revisionism with the C.P.S.U. leading group at its centre and against all reaction is surging forward with each passing day. The Vietnamese people have scored one victory after another in their heroic struggle to smash the aggression by U.S. imperialism, defend the north, liberate the south and reunify their fatherland. The achievements and victories of the people of various countries in their revolutionary struggles are a direct assistance to the Indonesian people’s struggle to smash the Suharto-Nasution fascist military dictatorial regime.

On the occasion of the commemoration of the 48th anniversary of the founding of the P.K.I., the Indonesian Communists and the Indonesian revolutionary people express their gratitude and deep respect for the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of all countries for their internationalist support to the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people.

By uniting solidly under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung’s thought, the P.K.I. will surely lead the Indonesian people ever onward on the road of people’s war and surmount every difficulty to win victory.

*Long live the armed struggle of the revolutionary people of Indonesia! Down with the Suharto-Nasution fascist military regime!*

*Long live the great Indonesian Communist Party!*

*Long live proletarian internationalism!*

*Long live Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung’s thought!*

*Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time and the most respected and beloved great leader of the revolutionary people of the world!*

# Black Panther Party Reprints



*The following reprints from The Black Panther were selected and retyped by MC5. For MIM's complete collection of BPP reprints, check out the Internet web site at <http://www.etext.org/Politics/MIM/bpp>—Ed.*

## Field Marshall Don Cox At the Conference

*The Black Panther*  
26 July 1969, p. 11

(United Front Against Fascism conference)

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE! You can do better than that. All Power to the people! Right on!

Huey P. Newton says, "Any unarmed people are slaves, or are subject to slavery at any given moment. If the guns are taken out of the hands of the people and only the pigs have guns, then it's off to the concentration camps, the gas chambers, or whatever the fascists in America come up with. One of the democratic rights of the United States, the Second Amendment to the Constitution, gives the people the right to bear arms. However, there is a greater right; the right of human dignity that gives all men the right to defend themselves."

As the black liberation struggle in the United States developed from a lower to a higher level, from a lunch counter sit-in in Alabama to guerrilla type actions all across the United States, we saw and we see the demagogues beginning their campaign against 'crime in the streets.' We see the demagogues mobilizing supporters, the forces of fascism under the philosophy of 'law and order,' the guise under which fascism is growing in America. Backing up the rhetoric of the demagogue is the "beefing up" of the gestapo pig police forces all across America. In addition, more and more gun control legislation, the guise under which the people are being unarmed, is being passed every day to take away the democratic right to bear arms, which in turn dehumanizes you by preventing you from exercising your human right to self-defense.

Eldridge Cleaver said, "The oppressor has no rights that the oppressed are bound to respect." Because those people that own and control the institutions of finance capital, the Rockefellers, the

Kennedys, the Hunts, etc., want to maintain their control because they want to maintain the oppression and exploitation of mankind. They do not have the right to dispatch their fascist troops through the cities of America to brutalize and murder to maintain their terror over the people. The only way they can exercise their right to oppress and exploit you is if you give up your right to human dignity, and do not defend yourself.

We, the members of the Black Panther Party, say there is an alternative to fighting racism, other than with more racism. We say the way to fight racism is with solidarity. We also say the only alternative to the violence perpetrated against the people by the fascist troops of finance capital or slavery, is revolution.

Many people throughout America have not decided or even dealt with how they're gonna deal with the power of finance capital as manifested in those fascist pig police forces. But, black people, unorganized, have shown through the many rebellions that they ain't goin' for it. Huey P. Newton didn't for it. The Black Panther Party ain't goin' for it. Los Siete de la Raza didn't go for it. You'd better make up your minds quick. Because [ ] don't see much time left. Black people in general, may not relate to the word, or the definitions of fascism as articulated by Dimitrov but black people sure relate to the social practice of 400 years of brutality and murder perpetrated on us by the fathers of fascism. Huey P. Newton says, "racist dog police must withdraw from the black community, or face the wrath of the armed people. The Black Panther Party has a motto. It is a quote by Chairman Mao Tse Tung of the Chinese Communist Party, "We are advocates of the abolition of war. We do not want war, but war can only be abolished through war. In order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to pick up the gun." POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

# Chairman Bobby Speaks at May Day rally to free Huey

*The Black Panther*  
11 May 1969, p. 11

What's happening people? (FREE HUEY) Good evening, Good morning. I think it's about 12:00 right now. It's about 12:00 and if you look in the back of you, you will see Reagan's state building, with his state pigs observing the people. And, of course, if you look in front of you, you will see Nixon's U.S. federal building, with the pigs inside, observing the people. And if later on you decide to leave here and go on down Polk Street, you'll walk in front of pig mayor Alioto's office, and they'll be observing the people. Now I know you've heard a lot lately about what pig Mafioso, Moussili, Alioto, has had to say, (right on I know you've heard this pig with his ignorant backwards, minded butt sit up and say crazy things, like he wants to destroy the Black Panther Party. But the Black Panther Party, and black people, and Mexican-American people, and all people are saying there will always be Huey P. Newton, and a Black Panther Party, as long as there are black people living here in this city. (Right on). Pig mayor Alioto said that he wanted to destroy the Black Panther Party. Richard Nixon, from the United States White House, is saying that he wants to destroy the Black Panther Party, by lying to the people, (right on) and by not telling the truth; and the reason they're not telling the truth is 'cause they always told lies. Right on. They told lies about the people, trying to protect their own self-capitalist interests. In the papers this morning (and I want the papers to get a hold of this) they're saying or trying to imply that the Black Panther Party is "subversive." Well, this is all the Black Panther Party has to say to all those pigs in the power structure. The Black Panther Party, along with other members of the community are feeding 2,000 young brothers and sisters every morning (right on), if that's subversive, then damn it we're subversive. (More right on's). The Black Panther Party is going forth implement Free Health Clinics in the black community, and we hope the Mexican-Americans, and the Chinese-Americans and all the other people do the same thing — and if Free Health Clinics are subversive then damnit, mayor Alioto, and pig Reagan and Nixon, damnit, we're subversive. (Right on). We're saying that the Ten Point Platform and Program that our Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton put together, is in the process of being implemented. That if it had not been for Huey P. Newton we would not have people with an understanding that they got a right to use weapons to defend themselves against any pigs who attack them. (Right on.) We're saying that if it had not been for Huey P. Newton, there would not be any BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN. (Right on.) If it had not been for Huey P. Newton COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE would not be in the process of being implemented by the



Huey

people. If it had not been for Huey P. Newton, FREE HEALTH CLINICS would not be in the process of being implemented in the black community. If it had not been for Huey P. Newton, the TEN POINT PLATFORM AND PROGRAM of the Black Panther Party would not begin to be implemented by the people. And not only black people, because the Chinese-American, the Red Guard, has copied the same Platform and Program, and they got a right to

it. And the Indian-American organization named NARP has copied the same Ten Point Platform and Program of the Black Panther Party and they got a right to it. We're just waiting for this racism to break down when we see in the poor white Appalachians up in the mountains copy the same Ten Point Platform and Program and go forth to destroy the Nixons, the Reagans, and the pig Aliotos. (Right on.) When the Party says "Power to the People," we ain't jiving a pound. We say Power To The People. And when the people say to Reagan, when the people say to Alioto, when the people say to pig Richard M. Nixon, that we want Huey P. Newton free, we're saying you bald headed pig punks better get out of the way (Right on.) because we're tired. And we saying you better let Huey go. They let that pig O'Brien, who killed Basket go, right on. You let him go on the very minute you allowed him in the street to murder our brothers. They let that other pig go who killed Brother Lindstrom out in Hunter's Point (right on). Wait a minute, the Young Men of [no text—ed.] And this damn bald-headed Mafioso, Alioto jumped up talking about (right on), wait a minute, the Young Men of Action are his boys. Aint he an ass-hole, shame. (Right on.) What we're saying is this. We're saying this here. We heard the brothers say in a press conference the brothers in Young Men of Action, they said in a press conference that they denounced pig mayor Alioto, and mayor Alioto is saying that that's his boys. But we're saying this here: the Panther Party aint mayor Alioto's boys. (laughter) We are the people's workers, and we're going to keep serving the people, everybody. I mean everybody. The man don't like it, but we gone show him. You got your Red Books, hold your Red Books up and tell the brothers where we getting some new ideology from. We're saying like Huey P. Newton said, "that we're going to follow the thoughts of Chairman Mao." We're saying we going . . . Panther Party standing up and proving through social practice that we're not racist, but proving that they in fact are the real racists. They have never liked the Black Panther Party and the people talk about "We want some community control of police." They have never respected Huey P. Newton. But we respect Huey P. Newton. We love Huey P. Newton. (Right on.) I say: We love Huey P. Newton (repeated). We love Eldridge Cleaver (repeated). We love Kathleen Cleaver. We love all our people. We love our people so much that if the pigs attack us, we gone defend ourselves rightfully with guns and force. (Right on.) We love the people (audience repeats) and we love the people so much that we gone say: I am a revolutionary and that's our message to pig Alioto and Rich-

ard M. Nixon's America. That you and FREE HUEY, (repeated). FREE HUEY. FREE HUEY. Some Brothers are walking around with some buckets, some plastic buckets, they gone be asking for some donations for all the money that had to be put out, and we had to borrow it, to put this rally over, and so let's get it together, there some more speakers coming, sister Kathleen Cleaver is here, Eldridge Cleaver's wife, the Chief of Staff David Hilliard is here, we gone donate to the bucket, because are what, we say: I am a revolutionary. (Audience repeats each statement): FREE HUEY P. NEWTON. Down with the pigs. Down with all the pigs. Power to all the people. The collection is going on. Power to the people and thank you brothers and sisters. Right on. Applause.

## Interview with the Chief of Staff David Hilliard

*The Black Panther*  
20 April 1969, p. 18

*At this time Mao himself denied there was Maoism. He called himself "Marxist-Leninist." Since that time, we of MIM and a few others in the world have started to speak of "Maoism" to enshrine the contributions Mao made in fighting the bourgeoisie under socialism. The phrase "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism" or just "Maoism" indicates that Mao raised Marxism-Leninism to a third stage of development. —MC5*

[Excerpt]

Q: You speak of the strength and organization of the Longshoremen but do you think they will be able to fight off the ill effects of containerization without the help of the community?

A: I doubt it. They will not need the community to retain their right to work, in terms of loading and unloading the vans. I think that it will probably be solved in the next two weeks. We have seen in the past that they have come up with threats of walking out or striking, but we know that the waterfronts are a major means of export and importation here in North America. I don't think they (employers) could stand the economic effect of having the longshoremen go out. Because they need the longshoremen for more reasons than containers.

Q: So they will give them another one of the concessions out of the bag?

A: That's right. So, they will gladly concede to those demands in order to further their imperialistic means. To further exploitation and prolong their war on the Vietnamese people. The longshoremen play an important part in that because they work at the military bases.

Q: What is the reason for the purge that is going on in the Black Panther Party?

A: We related to what Lenin said, "that a party that purges itself grows to become stronger." The purging is very good. You recognize that there is a diffusion within the rank and file of the party, within the internal structure of the party. So the very fact that you

purge strengthens the party. You get rid of all the criminal elements, and work with the people left. You will become stronger, more of a fortress. Quoting from Stalin, I think he said something like "the party used to be hospitable, it would yield to the opinions of all the sympathizers. "But, now the party has become like a fortress." And that the party is only interested in the very best and the most revolutionary sections of society. We try now to attract the very best. And our doors are not open to anyone that decides that they want to join the party. Now the people that become a part of the rank and file of the Black Panther Party will definitely have to be somebody who wants to carry out the desires and aspirations of the oppressed people."

Q: What of the alliance with "DRUM" "FRUM"?

A: That was an alliance that was put together by Kenny Horston. He is the leader of the Black Panther Caucus out at General Motors in Fremont. Kenny had went back east to do some investigation because he became interested in trying to organize the workers, the black workers in particular. He went back and had discussions with members of DRUM and members of the Ford revolutionary movement that they have back there. He found out that the majority of the members within the two organizations were Panther Party members. That was a very gladdening experience to know, that the brothers back there had begun to organize the workers. And really moving to try and put up a working class force in order to deliver a very mighty and telling blow to the imperialistic system.

I think the credit should be attributed to Kenny Horston the brother that came up with the idea of trying to make some coalition with the Black Caucus here in Fremont, and the brothers in Detroit.

We see the necessity of making some alliances with the working class, black, white, Latin American, Orientals, and or what have you. We see that as being a very grave necessity that the revolution as a whole is dependent upon making a coalition with the other working class people. Panthers themselves are workers, it is just that we consider ourselves the most advanced detachment of the working class. Because of the theoretical analysis and because we have applied theoretically the ideas and works of Marx and Lenin and we have tested them in the external world, which proves that there is a need for the masses of the people, and a need for solidarity of the working class. Our whole thing about discovering the triumvirate consisting of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. It is just a matter of trying to give a very complete picture of history. It's like considering the part without the whole to talk about Lenin and Marx, to talk about Mao Tse-Tung and his deed without really bringing Stalin in on the overall historical scene. Stalin played a very important part in the Russian revolution and he played an important part in the first Socialist State manifested in Russia.

It is not a thing that we are Maoist or Stalinist, Leninist. We say that there is no such animal as a Maoist — that there is just Marxist, Leninist, and that Stalin was truly a Marxist-Leninist. He always praised Lenin and carried out the ideas of Lenin. It's just a matter of people and history in its totality and telling the true story of what took place.

The reason that they fear Joseph Stalin is because of the distorted facts that they have gained through the Western press.

The one thing that we respect about Stalin, is that Stalin was able to capture the will of the people. He was able to put forth the will of the people more so than anyone else.

# Reparations for Vietnam

*The Black Panther*

4 Jan 1969, p. 7

AT LEAST A million Vietnamese people have been killed by the Americans or by puppet forces armed and directed by the U.S. Precious human lives can never be replaced with money or goods. Yet material compensation must be granted to the survivors. Using the racist standards of imperialism, the U.S. government has paid \$34 per person to relatives of persons killed by its armed forces “by accident” in so-called “friendly areas.” Such token payments measure nothing but the depravity of the U.S. military rules.

Here is a suggested standard. The U.S. grants each serviceman a \$10,000 life insurance policy, for a token premium of \$2 yearly. This may be taken as the minimum value of a human life. Applied to the million plus killed by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, it comes to a total of more than \$10 billion.

# Cultural Nationalism Attacked in Emory Douglas Speech

*The Black Panther*

March (1969?)

*This article is a reprint from Western Front newspaper — Washington State Peace and Freedom Party.*

By Calvin Winslow

Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, was scheduled to speak February 1, at the Encore Ballroom. That afternoon the Panthers announced that Seale would not be able to make it to Seattle. Those who passed up the meeting, however, made a mistake.

Emory Douglas, Minister of Culture of the BPP, stood in for Seale and proved once again that the leadership of the BPP includes many of the most articulate, dedicated revolutionaries of our time.

The central issue raised in the meeting, discussed by both Douglas and Aaron Dixon, Seattle Panther Captain, was the recent assassination in Los Angeles of Alprentice Carter and John Huggins, L.A. Panther leaders. The Panthers have accused US, a cultural nationalist organization led by Ron Karenga, of killing “two beautiful black brothers in the prime of revolutionary life of serving our people.”

US, based in Watts, has put forth the idea of uniting all black people, regardless of class or ideology, while at the same time ac-

cepting federal money and promoting black capitalism. That cultural nationalism has now become so blatantly counter-revolutionary should not be surprising. Huey Newton pointed out some time ago that blacks can easily be used by the state to oppress their brothers. US has now turned its guns on the Panthers. This must certainly be another indication that the United States government spends its money carefully—the system can find its real enemies.

In declaring their opposition to cultural nationalism, the Panthers have increased the number of their enemies, but far more importantly, they have also rededicated themselves to serving the real interests of the people. Poor people need political power, not Dashikis. Black capitalism will not free black people. It is capitalism which has made them poor.

Emory Douglas said the Panthers will continue to organize the black community on a revolutionary basis. “The whole of Westwood (part of white Los Angeles, where UCLA is located and where the two Panthers were assassinated),” he added, “is not worth a few organized blocks of the Oakland flatlands.” The Panthers now have over 80 branches, and from each an ultimatum has been issued warning Karenga and his followers to stay away. Dixon added that Seattle was included.

For those who are still looking forward to hearing Bobby Seale, Dixon said that the Panthers plan to bring him to Seattle in the near future. Watch for the time.

# Why we support China

*The Black Panther*

20 April 1969, p. 20

*The BPP was right about China then. After Mao died and the revisionists arrested Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyan and Wang Hongwen, China had capitalism restored and it ceased to be a beacon for revolutionaries everywhere. Now there are no socialist countries anymore. —MC5*

It seems highly unlikely that the intentional involvement of the United States Airforce plans, in the intrusion into and the exercising of territorial domain over parts of Laos called the Ho Chi Minh trail, is a random move.

This involvement is designed to coincide with the United States undercover Pig the Soviet Union of Russia. Trends in this country to form closer ties to the Soviet Union and the experts of the Soviet Union to reciprocate are further indications of the revisionism, which has led the people of Russia and the people under her control, i.e. Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, East Germany and Yugoslavia closer into the gaping jaws of colonialism and the searing teeth of capitalism and has produced the aggressive movements of Russian troops and cut out movements of Russian troops and diplomatic barks thrown at our brothers in China.

This move then must be taken as an endorsement of the war in Viet Nam, otherwise how could it be possible for the campaigns to proceed simultaneously. Is it so diametrically unopposed to one another over night. Or could the avaricious fools who dictate foreign policy have for both countries decided that even though they

differ somewhat when they are dealing with a “Civilized Country,” means anything that has a white or a white thinking puppet when it comes to dealing with a non-oppressive or non-white country, their differences cease to exist.

Marxist-Leninist theory indicates that we must unite with real friends in order to distinguish real enemies, and we all know that capitalism is our real enemy. Marxist-Leninist practice because it is nice to never become divorced from practice, proves out the theory that anything that our enemy attacks must not be all bad for us, and anything that our enemy does not attack cannot be all good for us and in most cases will be more good than bad. We know capitalism is our enemy. Capitalism is the United States government and the U.S. government is capitalism. The U.S. is preparing for directly and is attacking indirectly the People’s Republic of China; it is not yet attacking the Soviet Union. Unite with real friends in order to defeat real enemies.

There is too much co-existing with the oppressor. There is one common denominator that is very glaring in the previous sentence in each case there are two dominant classes, the haves and the have nots, the oppressor and the oppressed.

China stands as a beacon to all revolutionaries around the world: the guiding light showing the path to freedom to all of our brothers in Africa and Asia. For this and only this reason has she been singled out for attack. The imperialists in Russia and the U.S. realize in their cunning that if they can stop the revolutionary and dynamic thrust, of China, them and their lackeys, with no China to face can continue to subjugate and exploit Africa, Asia, Latin America, Harlem, Watts, Oakland and your neighborhood wherever you may happen to be, but what they don’t realize is that you and I will not let them.

FREE HUEY

PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE

— FREE HUEY

Raymond Jennings, East Oakland branch, BPP

## Message to Revolutionary Women

*The Black Panther*

9 August, page 23

Black Women, Black Women, Hold your head up, and look ahead. We too are needed in the revolution.

We too are strong. We too are a threat to the oppressive enemy. We are revolutionaries. We are the other half of our revolutionary men. We are their equal halves, may it be with gun in hand, or battling in streets to make this country a socialist lead.

Sisters, let’s educate our people. Combat liberalism, and combat male chauvinism. Awaken our men to the fact that we are no more nor no less than they. We are as revolutionary as they. For too long, we have been alone. For far too long we have been women without men, for far too long we have been double oppressed, not only by

the capitalist society, but also by our men.

Now we are no longer alone, our men are by our sides. We revolutionary men and women are the halves of each other.

We must continue to educate our men, and bring their minds from a male chauvinistic level to a higher level.

Our men need, want and will love the beautiful children, that come from our fruitful wombs.

They need our trust and encouragement as well as we need theirs. They need us to educate, them, the people and our children as well as we need them to educate us. Sisters, we are being called by life itself. We are being called by the revolution. We are mothers of revolutionaries, with us is the future of our people.

We my sisters, are mothers of revolution and within our wombs is the army of the people.

Sisters! Revolution Is Here! Bring Forth The Army! Bring Forth the Guns!

We my sisters are revolutionary women of revolutionary men! We are mothers of revolution!

— Comrade Candi Robinson

## Open letter to Ronald Reagan

*The Black Panther*

31 May 1969, p. 14

Ronald Reagan, you’re a FOOL. The people says you’re a fool. You’ve got three to five thousand little fools running around Berkeley with guns even calling you a fool. Now how are you going to deal with that?

There were many people who didn’t believe me (and you still don’t) when I said I held a Redbook class with your National Guards. They told me seeing was believing. Now they believe, what about you Reagan? Your own little punks are being haunted for knowledge from Chairman Mao Tse Tung’s Redbook.

You see Reagan the Black Panther Party will not allow you to bluff us and hinder us from teaching the masses of people the correct principles and ideologies of revolution. Even after receiving your arrogant and narrow minded orders not to accept reading material from the people, well your troops still read our Black Panther Party Newspapers, and other materials. When you own little puppets call on the Black Panther Party to teach them passages from Chairman Mao Tse Tung’s Redbook such as Imperialism will not last long, because it always does evil things. It persists in grooming and supporting reactionaries in all countries who are against the people, it has forcibly seized many colonies and semi-colonies and many military bases, and it threatens the peace with Atomic war. Thus, forced by Imperialism to do so, more than 90 percent of the world is rising up in struggle against it. Yet, Imperialism is still alive, still running amuck in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the West Imperialism is still oppressing the people at home. This situation must change. It is the task of the people of the world to put an end to the aggression and oppression perpetuated by imperialism, and chiefly by the U.S. Imperialism. And if the U.S. monopoly



capitalist groups persist in pushing their policies of aggression and war, the day is bound to come when they will be hanged by the people of the world. The same fate awaits the accomplices of the United States. So Reagan my last statement is a warning, our Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton says THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE IS GREATER THAN MAN'S TECHNOLOGY. And the Black Panther Party is going to continue to educate Black people in the black community, the Mexican Americans, Indian American, Chinese and the oppressor country radical, and even your own little fools running around the streets in Berkeley with guns, to chairman Mao's Redbook, the Party platform and program, and the PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

(SIGNED) A field nigger

## Persecution of The Young Lords

*The Black Panther*

19 May 1969, p. 14

In this country where illegality is systematic and injustice deliberate, not only Black people but Brown people as well, suffer the brunt of repression. The American eagle, with its predatory instincts, vamps and Miss Liberty, with her deliberate ruthlessness, tramples on those people they find it profitable to attack and crush. America compresses its oppressed between an atmosphere of vileness and a ground of hostile instability and dares them to challenge the mediums. The Young Lords Organization, a Latin-American revolutionary group who are working in Chicago, have dared to dispel the mediums; they are demanding an end to the injustices heaved upon Latin-American people.

Latin-American people in this country face some of the same problems that we, Black people face, i.e., inadequate food, indecent housing, irrelevant education, police brutality, and unemployment. And what are the Young Lords doing? They are working for adequate food, decent housing, relevant education, police brutality cessation, and employment for their people. The power structure would have these problems continue, as people who have little power to solve these problems are easy to exploit. The Young Lords, however, cannot be placed into this category because they are showing their people the strategic method to resist the oppressive forces of the power structure. This has made them the "enemy" to the power structure and the "friend" to all who desire an end to imperialism. The power structure's perception of them has resulted in them being harassed, arrested, beaten, and shot by the pigs who "protect and serve" (yes, protect capitalistic enterprises and serve us with arrest warrants, search warrants, subpoenas, summons, and the like).

On Sunday, April 4, one of the Young Lords, Manuel Ramos, Minister of Defense was killed and Ralph Rivera, Minister of Education was critically wounded. yes these two were dedicating their lives to the revolutionary struggle. They were shot by pigs who made it their goal to deal with them as all protesting poor and exploited people are dealt with: elimination.

These brothers who sought to overtake those who have unjustly taken over, whose love was liberation and hate was oppression, whose bodies lie stiff and contorted, whose blood overflows the State of Illinois and surges into those adjacent states, who words (Todo eo poder a la genta — All power to the people) can be heard reverberating in response to the scream of the oppressed — these brothers we hold sacred; these brothers we hold dearest; these brothers we hold highest.

Presently facing many trumped up charges (such as mob action, disorderly conduct, inciting to riot, and everything else that is false) Chairman of the Young Lords, Cha Cha Jimenez is picked up at least once a week by the pigs. Many other Young Lords as well have been arrested on similar conspired charges. The news media and the pigs would have us believe that the Young Lords are a menacing gang, but we know otherwise. Their continuous community efforts have proven this. But the massive intimidations and negative propaganda have not made the Young Lords cease their struggle for the liberation of their people — quite the contrary. More determined than ever, they are now intensifying their efforts to see that the needs of their people are met.

We ask the people to witness the Young Lords as they attempt to improve their community and place its control in the hands of the Latin-American people, to witness the pig persecution of those who believe that power should be vested in the people and not in minority enterprises. We call on the people to judge whether the struggle for justice now being waged by the Young Lords is invalid; whether the murder of one and the intended murder of the other is right. We call on the people to judge whether the Young Lords deserve such persecution.

Regarding you, the Young Lords, as our true revolutionary brothers, as our comrades, and as our allies, the Black Panther Party is working jointly with you to see that aggression is thwarted and suppression is ended. Illinois Chapter Reporter Carletta Fields

## Statement by The Central Committee of the Black Panther Party

*The Black Panther*

27 April 1969, p. 14

Twenty-one New York Black Panther Party members busted by pig power structure. Statement from the Black Panther Party Central Committee at National Headquarters, Oakland, California, delivered by the Deputy Chairman, David Brothers of the New York State Black Panther Party Central Staff.

Historically, all REACTIONARY forces (the pig power structure and their "cultural" Black capitalist lackeys) on the verge of EXTINCTION invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against

the revolutionary forces (all workers, the unemployed, Mexicans, Indians, Puerto Ricans, poor whites, et. al., but especially poor black and oppressed peoples and their vanguard, the Black Panther Party. And some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves (the revolutionary peoples) are nearing victory. (Mao's little Red Book, page 83)

TWO MILLION ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS BAIL AND THE CHARGES AGAINST THE 21 BLACK PANTHER PARTY MEMBERS IS ABSURD AND OUTRAGEOUS. Concerning the charges, every Black Panther Party chapter and leadership knows that we would not waste dynamite on the blowing up of some jive railway stations and department stores simply because some of our own poor people would be killed and we know this is completely wrong when it comes to organizing the people against the demagogue politicians, the avaricious businessmen, and the racist pig police forces. They are the enemies of the people of America, be they white, brown, black, yellow or red.

We will not try to fight fire with fire because all of the people that FIRE is best put out with WATER. Therefore, the Black Panther Party will not fight racism with racism. But we will fight racism with solidarity. We will not fight capitalism with capitalism (Black capitalism), but with the implementation of socialism and socialist programs for the people. We will not fight U.S. government imperialism with more imperialism because the peoples of the world and other races, especially in America, must fight imperialism with proletarian internationalism. All peoples and revolutionaries must defend themselves with organized guns and force when attacked by the PIG POWER STRUCTURE.

"The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist-racist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph." (Mao's little Red Book, page 24)

The Black Panther Party is informing and calling on all the peoples of the communities across the country to SCORN and DENOUNCE the actions of this capitalist-racist government's attempts to try and destroy the Black Panther Party which has chapters and branches across the nation. SCORN, DENOUNCE, and DESTROY the lies by capitalists and racists, from the Nixons, the Rockefellers, and all their pig lackeys, to the bootlicking cultural nationalists and black capitalists. They are the real conspirators where we see their obvious attempts to destroy the Black Panther Party's revolutionary leadership. They, of course, try to do this by murders, jailings, unfair court trials, the forcing of Eldridge Cleaver into exile, and the temporary imprisonment of the Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton in California. FREE HUEY. THE REVOLUTION IS HERE. We the people of the world must FREE HUEY AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS because if it wasn't for Huey P. Newton, free BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN programs before school would not be spreading across the nation. If it wasn't for Huey P. Newton, the idea of having free medicine and FREE HEALTH CLINICS wouldn't be in the process of being implemented. If it wasn't for Huey P. Newton, the teaching that "it's not a race struggle, but a class struggle" would not begin to be understood. IF IT WASN'T FOR HUEY P. NEWTON, THE TEN POINT

PLATFORM AND PROGRAM OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY WOULD NOT BE IN THE PROCESS OF BEING IMPLEMENTED, PRACTICAL SOCIALIST PROGRAMS FROM THE BLACK NATION IS WHERE IT'S AT, WHEN EVEN OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS COPY IT, AND THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD KNOW THIS IS THEIR AND THAT IT'S RIGHT.

THE NEW YORK BLACK PANTHER PARTY 21 MUST BE SET FREE AS HUEY P. NEWTON MUST BE SET FREE. THEY, AND ALL OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS, MUST RECEIVE THE PEOPLE'S SUPPORT AS A NATIONAL RESISTANCE AGAINST THE PIG POWER STRUCTURE WHICH IS IMPERIALISTIC, CAPITALISTIC AND RACIST.

A NATION-WIDE CAMPAIGN IS NOW IN THE PROCESS OF BEING WAGED TO PUT TOGETHER A "FREE POLITICAL PRISONERS FOR THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE." THE NEW YORK BLACK PANTHER PARTY 21 MUST BE SET FREE. BAIL MONEY IS NEEDED FOR THE 21, HUEY P. NEWTON, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AND "THE CONSPIRACY 8" OF CHICAGO, WITH BOBBY SEALE, BLACK PANTHER PARTY CHAIRMAN. DONATIONS MAY BE SENT TO:

POWER TO ALL THE PEOPLE

PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD

## Black Panther Revolutionary Wedding

*The Black Panther*

11 May 1969, p. 7

On May Day, Thursday, May 1st a revolutionary wedding took place. The wedding was to unite in revolutionary matrimony, Black Panther Brother Charles Bursey and Panther Sister Shelly Sanders.

The wedding was the first of its kind here in the decadent, racist America. The ceremony was performed at the Church of the Minister of Religion of the Black Panther Party, Father Earl Neil. The Church is located at 27th and West Streets in West Oakland.

The Church is also the site of one of the Black Panther Party's Free Breakfast for Children programs. The ceremony was officially carried out by the National Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale. In place of a Holy Bible, Chairman Bobby used the Red Book "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung." The crowd attending the wedding consisted mostly of Panther members and children from the community, who attended the breakfast program every morning.

The marrying couple looked radiantly revolutionary in their Panther uniforms of black and Panther blue. After the ceremony, the united couple were serenaded by the children to the revolutionary song of "We want a pork chop, off the pig."

# MIM THEORY STRUGGLE & REVIEW

## Bodyguard Account Takes on Little Lies on Stalin

*Next to Stalin: Notes of a Bodyguard*

By A.T. Rybin Northstar

Compass Journal

280 Queen St. W.

Toronto, Ont. Canada M5V 2A1 1996

Review by an MC

This book, published by Northstar Compass Journal, a Stalinist group in Canada, is a recent attempt by one of Stalin's closest bodyguards to refute some of the lies that Stalin's enemies have propagated over the years. In the introduction we learn that all the facts in this book were checked with a number of other bodyguards so that nothing would be taken for granted as the view of just one person. As such it is really quite an amazing book. Rather than attempting to take on the big issues for which Stalin is frequently attacked, Rybin instead focuses on some of the smaller but important lies that have been told about Stalin that have contributed greatly to his image as a self-centered tyrant and butcher. Rybin concludes, "whoever will read this book will think that I am a die-hard Stalinist. I do not absolve Stalin of everything, but I know his character and I also know the circumstances and the bunch of opportunists that were surrounding him in the Politburo. History now has shown us the conditions under which Stalin had to work, think and lead our country then, during the hectic events, enemies internally and externally doing everything possible to steer the country away from the socialist path" (p. 107).

Rybin, who was with Stalin for more than 25 years, says that he and others who were close to Stalin were compelled to write this book because they felt a responsibility to set the historical record straight. It is unfortunate that we need books about the "character" of Stalin to refute other books about the "character" of Stalin as if we cannot discuss historical events without first talking about personal motivations. MIM maintains that the defeat of fascism would have been progressive whether it was led by a man totally self-absorbed or by one personally bent on serving the people. But the distinction between these two possible approaches, or characters, is worth examining for the political line behind it which will lead to other correct or incorrect actions, and in this Rybin does a good job of sticking to politics rather than falling for the psychoanalysis that bourgeois historians are so fond of using when criticizing Stalin.

### A general picture of Stalin

#### And the situation in the USSR

A theme that runs through the entire book is the way that Stalin dealt with his bodyguards and other workers, including them as a

part of the household, ensuring that they were treated well, and always insisting that he not be afforded special luxuries. Stalin lived simply. When he traveled people frequently would try to win his favor by providing him with luxurious accommodations, but he was quick to criticize these and order the luxuries taken away. He refused new clothing, instead having his old clothes patched, and overall "was very frugal, economizing on everything and thus trying to set an example to others." One common bourgeois criticism of Stalin is that he was a drunk. In fact, he drank only very weak wine and the guard could only recount two occasions that Stalin had ever drunk enough to be considered tipsy, and even then not enough to be drunk. A number of high-ranking party officials had a practice of drinking heavily and charging the alcohol to Stalin's tab: a practice that came out in an audit of his finances.

This book recounts a number of incidents which demonstrate that Stalin was very careful to be fair to people. Insisting that things that were taken for use by him were paid for and that individuals were not punished unnecessarily. In one incident a woman crashed into Stalin's car and guards were all set to take her away when Stalin intervened and told them to let her go because it was not her fault. While this was only one incident, when set against the backdrop of the picture painted of Stalin, it becomes possible to understand how many people were killed under Stalin's rule not because he ordered their deaths but because others working in the government and military did so. This does not excuse Stalin for the unnecessary deaths under his leadership, but it is an important distinction.

During the war against the fascists Stalin was very much involved in the day-to-day actions as commander in chief. Stalin's critics have made many false claims, suggesting that he never met with the troops, stayed far from the battles in safety, and had no idea what was going on. Quite the opposite, Stalin refused to listen to his guards when they warned him to stay away from Moscow and instead insisted on holding his planning meetings in dangerous locations because they were the most convenient and because he did not want the Soviet people, most importantly the soldiers, to hear that Stalin was fleeing as this would have a bad impact on their moral at a crucial time in the war. Stalin spent much time visiting wounded soldiers and discussing the situation with those on the front lines. He kept himself very well informed and it is clear that this contributed to his masterful role as military commander. In a small but indicative action, at one point Stalin planned a big parade for Moscow, although many of his aids thought it a bad idea because they had little resources and because of fear of Nazi bombing during the parade. But Stalin understood the importance of

putting on a show of strength: both as a show of confidence in the soldiers and to demonstrate to the world that the Soviet Union was still quite strong.

Rybin paints a picture of many counterrevolutionaries on the central committee, struggling for personal power, with Molotov and Voroshnikov the only two truly working in the interests of the people alongside Stalin. These are not hollow words but instead statements backed up with accounts of many incidents where central committee members demonstrated that their loyalties were not with the people.

### Refuting specific lies

It is sometimes claimed that Stalin killed his wife. In fact, Stalin's wife shot herself. From the story Rybin tells this may have been because she was upset over her disagreements with the Soviet government. Rybin makes it clear that Stalin was devastated by her death and he frequently visited her grave. He had no further romantic relationships after her death and on this question was critical of others in the party who ran around with many different women. Since these men were generally using their position in the party to get into bed with (often much younger) women, MIM agrees with Stalin's disdain for this practice. While the Trotskyists like to claim that this was just an example of Stalin's puritan opposition to feminism, this account of Stalin's life suggests that he understood the problems with bourgeois romance culture and its remnants after the revolution better than many other leaders of the party.

Rybin also addresses a few key deaths that have been attributed to Stalin to describe how enemies of Stalin in fact carried out these assassinations, and much to his dismay. This included Kirov, a close friend of Stalin who had upset Yagoda, head of the NKVD (the security forces of the state) by criticizing the extremely harsh actions against the Kulak families taken by the NKVD. Rybin makes it clear that most people believed Yagoda had Kirov killed.

Stalin took a strong interest in the theater and arts. He encouraged the use of the arts as a means of recounting history. Some bourgeois critics claim that he kept all the western films for his private showing and then only let the masses see pro-Soviet propaganda. In fact one incident is recounted where Stalin was shown a film he believed was reactionary and he told people to show another film to the youth and future generations instead.

With regard to nepotism, Stalin's son and daughter both tried to take advantage of their positions in Stalin's family, but when he learned of this he made certain that neither of them could gain privileges just because of nepotism.

On the matter of Stalin's death, Rybin and other guards believe that central committee members Beria, Malenkov, Khurshev and Bulganin all had something to do with the death of Stalin. Even if he had a heart attack, it is possible he was poisoned, someone high up delayed medical care until it was too late to save him and it appears that the doctors were ordered to carry out incorrect practices to ensure that Stalin would die. Rybin recounts the actions of these central committee members as individuals seeking personal power rather than serving the people.

### The purge trials

Rybin does go into some detail on the purge trials and confes-

sions of those being tried. He writes, "Please do not think that these confessions were taken under brutal force on the guilty persons. There was nothing of that sort at all. I myself was always present at these processes. Alxiev was also present, keeping a close watch on these culprits and every day brought these people fresh newspapers. They were held in jail cells with all the necessary conveniences and got fed really well. Even Bukharin in his trial stated this, with foreign correspondents present" (p. 74).

"Where there were party secretaries of districts that were honest Bolsheviks, dedicated and loyal Soviets, there were no problems of arrests of innocent people or provocations. One example was the dedicated party Secretary of Stalingrad District Committee, A. Chuyanov. When the head of the NKVD Sharov and assistant Tsac presented him with a list of people to be arrested, he told them that he needed a day to think about this. He looked over the documents and saw that these people were innocent. He freed all of those arrested. Then he got an angry telephone call from Malenkov in Moscow, accusing Chuyanov of doing this on his own. Malenkov, fired up, came to Stalin and reported all this. Stalin did not support Malenkov" (p. 78).

Stalin learned of the incorrect purges that were taking place under the leadership of Yezhov, head of the NKVD, and demanded that he appear before a meeting of the Central Committee.

"The Plenum of the CC ACP[B] was held in January of 1938. Stalin spoke at this Plenum, analyzed and criticized the work of the NKVD, which had abandoned its revolutionary principles. This activity of disregarding some organizational rules extended to higher commands and to some sections of the Red Army. Yezhov was removed from his post as head of the NKVD. In the ranks of the NKVD, there took place a very sharp debate and criticism to such an extent that the present 'Glasnost' would be put to shame. There was a concerted aim of saving the leadership of the NKVD from criticism. But all over the country, there were stormy meetings and criticism of the leadership of the NKVD. In all districts, there took place a removal of provocateurs, spies, quislings and perpetrators of injustices and some of them were jailed, while others, after being tried, were sentenced to death for the harm that they had done to the country, to the party and to socialism. Over 40,000 soldiers were freed from arrest after it was found out that Yezhov and others, under their command, falsified their 'criminal anti-State activities.' Altogether, there were let out of jail, for lack of evidence, after Stalin started the process of these Investigative Commissions — over 320,000 people because they were innocent" (p. 79).

"How can anyone not allow himself the stupidity of criticizing Stalin for repression and crimes? This was a psychosis that was cleverly instituted by Yezhov and other enemies of the State. This psychosis took over the minds of millions of people. Practically all were involved in looking for 'enemies' The CC ACP[B] was against this, fought this tooth and nail — Stalin in particular. People got involved in this, and friends were "drowning" friends in the name of getting rid of 'enemies.' Of course, this cannot all be explained as a mass psychosis! In all

these examinations that were conducted into this period, we had 30-40 people going over the same documents, but *nowhere* did we *ever* find the name of Stalin, or the command of Stalin, or the revolution to do these things which were undertaken by the *real enemies* of the Soviet People. No directives either of Stalin, Molotov or Voroshilov were to be found in all these documents” (p. 80).

Rybin goes on to say, “According to my way of thinking, Stalin also bears some blame because he was the Head of the Motherland” (p. 80). MIM agrees with this assessment: even if Stalin did not order the deaths of innocent people, he bears responsibility as the leader of the country for both the accomplishments and the failures. It is unfortunate that Rybin does not go into more detail about the purge trials after 1938 as the war against the fascists and in particular the fight against the Nazi fifth column within the Soviet Union led to more purge trials that are often the focus of Stalin’s critics. On the question of purge trials in general MIM agrees with Mao’s assessment of the experience of the Soviet Union and we believe that Stalin’s errors make clear the need for a cultural revolution, both to fight against the corruption and counterrevolution at high levels of the party and also to educate and involve the masses in the revolutionary process.

## Secret Documents from Russia helps Research

### *Secret Documents*

Michael Ukas, ed.

Northstar Compass, 1996

280 Queen St. W.

Toronto, Ontario CANADA M5V 2A1

977-5819

This book collects some articles from Russia’s “Military-Historical Journal” and translates them into English. It includes some old documents written or spoken by Stalin. MIM gives this book our endorsement for those doing in-depth research on Stalin.

Included in the documents are translations of the head of the Moscow Soviet on what it was like when Stalin was busy defending Moscow against the Nazis, captured German documents from the war on Ukrainian operations, the articles of a witness to the Kirov assassination conspiracy, and a Polish officer who believes it was the Germans behind the Katyn massacre of Polish officers.

With regard to Khrushchev, we learn more evidence that he planned the murder of Stalin, that he voted with Trotsky and against Lenin (p. 24) — and suffered his son’s being shot by order of a Soviet military tribunal for treason in a German POW camp (p. 186).

The documents citing Albania’s Enver Hoxha also say that Khrushchev arranged the death of the Czech leader Gottwald while

attending Stalin’s funeral. Then he put in Edward Ochab in Poland after another mysterious death of a party leader. Ochab arranged the release of imprisoned Wladyslaw Gomulka (pp. 266-7). Hoxha claimed by 1979 that Mikoyan told him that he and Khrushchev arranged the death of Stalin. Mikoyan himself was strangely silent in later years.

For those who don’t yet understand how explicit the Nazis’ extermination plans were, some Nazi documents are also included. They show what Nazi plans were for the Russian people and the Baltics — death. Likewise, some material about the Ukrainian nationalist movement’s work as part of the Nazi movement is included. These wretched nationalists are now in charge in the Ukraine.

## Anti-Semitism Book attacks Stalin

### **Stalin against the Jews**

By Arkady Vaksberg

Vintage Books: New York, 1995

Reviewed by MC5

The most hateful anti-Stalin material is the oral rumors started by people Stalin repressed. Antonov-Ovseyenko has managed to publish them, but this book by Vaksberg is the most twisted of all anti-Stalin books read so far in that it so willfully contradicts itself on behalf of a very emotional Zionism. The irrationality of settler politics drenches every page of this book.

Although he originally had no evidence for his charge of anti-Semitism in Stalin before the 1940s, Vaksberg points to a book by an author who changed tunes 50 years after leaving the Soviet Union (p. 16). We are referring to the one and only Boris Bazhanov, who arranged anti-communist military adventures and was recruited by the Nazis during the war to provide leadership of the invasion of 1941. Vaksberg does not mention Bazhanov’s high standing with the Nazis; yet, he found it appropriate to quote him against Stalin on the subject of the Jews.

Again and again, according to Vaksberg, anti-Semitism was the only problem there seemed to be. There was no problem of anti-Tatar, anti-Georgian, anti-Latvian or anti-Ukrainian sentiment according to Vaksberg (p. 20). It was only the Jews being persecuted; furthermore, according to Vaksberg, Stalin’s article on the national question proved his anti-Semitism, because it saw Jews as scattered and without a territory and therefore not a nation. Later when Stalin specifically arranges for the Jews to have a territory and become a nation, Vaksberg says that is anti-Semitism too (p. 64). Hence, pointing out that Jews had no compact territory and also putting one together were both anti-Semitism according to Vaksberg.

Also conveniently clipped are Molotov’s conversations with Chuev, in which Molotov condemned anti-Semitism and said that communists today were going down the wrong road with anti-Semitism and nationalism (p. 21). To add comedy to stupidity, Vaksberg then says virtually the same thing he accuses Molotov of

on the following page (p. 22) and openly wonders why the communists want to re-impose a system that was dominated by Jews (p. 20)!

Although Trotsky was of Jewish background, Vaksberg expresses his disappointment with him, and fails to mention that Trotsky himself thought it would be bad to make the head of government someone with Jewish background. This idea was laid to blame on Stalin and Molotov (p. 24).

Later we learn that Vaksberg considers Jewish background an automatic protection against being considered a Gestapo agent before the Holocaust was known (p. 41). This was despite the public position of many Jews working with or even agitating for Nazis in the hopes of a broader geopolitical deal at the time. It was also despite the fact that Vaksberg himself admits that there were Jews “who helped kill their own people in Hitler’s concentration camps” (p. 209).

When criticized by the fact that Stalin also unleashed plenty of repression against people who were only “pure-blooded” Russians, Vaksberg says that it was on account of their Jewish wives. Then on the other hand, he says the great Jewish wimmin of the revolution should not be singled out for special attention and it was quite natural to find them so close to the top positions of power (pp. 49-50).

While claiming no other nationalities were repressed, he actually shows that the only leaders Stalin trusted to the end had Jewish wives in every case (p. 51). When it came to Jewish wimmin being oppressed, Vaksberg held that it was especially significant that in *one* case a womyn had her husband convicted for poking her eye out. This was not good enough for Vaksberg, because according to him, since the husband was not Jewish and she was, it was also anti-Semitism (p. 59). Everything boils down to anti-Semitism according to Vaksberg. There is no gender oppression or other national oppressions.

Next Vaksberg actually admits that under Stalin there was the greatest flourishing of Jewish culture ever (p. 61). Yet then he makes a stink on repression of biblical cultural productions in the theater, when religious productions from other cultures were also repressed (p. 62).

Taking back everything he said so far in the book, Vaksberg says that someone would have to be nuts to consider Stalin anti-Semitic thus far in the history of Stalin reviewed (p. 70). He even admits that maybe other nationalities are also facing a stern Stalin (p. 67).

Next, he notes that Stalin took some heat on his anti-anti-Semitism. He was being attacked simultaneously with the Jews in the popular culture. Yet when Stalin cracked down on an anti-Semite, Vaksberg rose to the defense of one of the anti-Semite’s friends, who Stalin also believed to be anti-Semitic. In this defense, Vaksberg defends Boris Kornilov. How? By pointing to his Jewish wife, which just a few pages earlier was an indefensible tactic in looking at Stalin’s closest comrades-in-arms (p. 72)!

In the case of the womyn with her eye gouged out, Vaksberg complained it wasn’t called anti-Semitism, but when Stalin cracked down in another case of anti-Semitism where a Jewish doctor was murdered, Vaksberg questions whether it was just an accident, despite what the victim’s wife said. Ordinarily Vaksberg would never question someone’s account of anti-Semitism, but in this case he did (pp. 73-4).

Vaksberg admits again that Jews had it good for more than a decade as Stalin posed against fascism. Yet, then he returns to the subject anyway and says Stalin initiated an anti-Semitic crackdown by removing Foreign Affairs Commissar Maxim Litvinov on May 3, 1939. Vaksberg does not mention that Litvinov was in charge of handling Germany as that was the most important matter of foreign affairs at the time! The idea that Stalin might have a hard time getting a peace treaty with Hitler signed with a Jew does not come up! No, Stalin was supposed to leave Litvinov in there to deal with Hitler (p. 83). Certainly, start a world war just to be principled about who conducts diplomacy! Also not mentioned were Litvinov’s disagreements with Stalin’s and Molotov’s view of foreign policy.

Vaksberg’s complaints of Stalin’s handling of the border in ex-Poland between Germany and the USSR are also idiotic. He admits the border was mostly open and Jews could cross it from the German side into the USSR. On this embarrassing subject, apparently Vaksberg wanted Stalin to do the obvious but stupid thing of telling Hitler to send him the Jews, so he could save them. What happened instead, according to Vaksberg, when Germans shot the Jews at the border, Stalin said it was because Hitler was trying to force the Jews on the Soviet Union (p. 105). From our point of view there was no good way to finesse Hitler on this point, but Stalin’s approach seemed as good as any.

Here we also learn what may have been the basis for Stalin’s considering Molotov part of a Zionist conspiracy at the end of his life. As it turns out, Molotov did seek to help Zionists in the Soviet Union, this according to Vaksberg himself who was there at the time. His friends considered him the next commissar of foreign affairs in Jewish Crimea (p. 126). What Molotov did was receive the suggestion that the Crimea be made into the Jewish homeland, when another piece of territory had already been chosen. Molotov also had the suggestion passed along to four other officials. Vaksberg had criticized the choice of land as not very fruitful and he wanted the Crimea, while claiming disingenuously that he did not mean to see the people of the Crimea deported.

Vaksberg admits that the Jewish Action Committee did act independently and agitated for a second Jewish state within the USSR. Thus it is not a matter of invention that there was active Zionism in government circles.

When the Soviet Union did recognize Israel, that too was of no account to Vaksberg. He comes up with the incredibly idiotic notion that it does not matter how quickly a nation receives international recognition as a state. Apparently he does not know that many nations and governments never receive recognition from anyone (pp. 175-6).

The last straw for Stalin’s suspicions also turns out to be legitimate. Molotov’s wife, who was later arrested, was apparently arrested for a long and favorable meeting with Golda Meir, which Meir fully admitted (p. 188).

At the end of the book, Vaksberg takes credit for Jews who allegedly killed Stalin. Then he says the Jewish struggle led to the liberalization of the Soviet Union by leading to the first case of an admitted extraction of false evidence from prisoners (p. 272). Of course, that is not true, as Stalin’s previous heads of security had been purged and executed for the same.

Finally, on the second-to-last page of the book, Vaksberg admits that today Jews are not the ethnic group enemy number one of chau-

vinists in the Soviet Union and he asks, but does not answer, how many Russians were repressed for every Jew (p. 294).

This book was not really about Stalin and the Jews in any rational way. It is a justification for right-wing Zionism seeking excuses for why it sides with the U.S. imperialism against the world's peoples.

## **New Russia Illuminates petty Bourgeois Struggles**

**Resurrection: The Struggle for a New Russia**

**By David Remnick**

**New York: Random House, 1997. 398 pp.**

### **Review by a comrade**

This book is a dialogue with the petty bourgeoisie of the old pro-Soviet communist parties. Much journalistic information can be gained with a view to the petty bourgeois struggles in the Cold War that were aimed at aiding the new bourgeoisie in the USSR.

Remnick notices a lot that could vindicate the old revisionists of the Soviet Union. First, he admits the Yeltsin regime and some others replacing the USSR are more "authoritarian" and use much more force than the patsy revisionist regimes (p. 4). Having tanks fire at the Parliament in 1991 was revealing for most of Russia on Yeltsin. It is also clear that Yeltsin roughs up political opponents in the streets (p. 191). He admitted he would not honor a "communist" election victory (p. 338); and he banned the social-democrats calling themselves communist from the airwaves during the campaign (p. 336). Second, Remnick notices things in the conditions of the common person, including that life expectancy for men fell to 59 in 1993 from 65 in 1987 under revisionism (p. 4). Thirdly, when it comes to writers, the perennial complaint was that they were suppressed. Today they are starving, because there is no money for writers (p. 222). Hence, there is no intellectual life anymore, just the mad-dash for profit in a free market system. One writer admits to wishing for Brezhnev suppression back, because then there was intellectual life (p. 227). The whole book is about the bourgeois democrats and the wistful petty bourgeoisie like this writer who wish for the old state-capitalist system back.

When it comes to the coup of 1991 that supposedly was a hard-line Marxist-Leninist coup, it turns out the coup had many more people in the streets supporting it than the Yeltsin regime had supporting it. Furthermore, contrary to images, the coup plotters were the ones unwilling to use extensive violence and it was only the military that finally bailed out Yeltsin.

Backing MIM's line on the pull of the gender aristocracy is an interesting tidbit Remnick found. Who is running Cosmopolitan magazine in Russia? A degenerated Maoist turned capitalist is (p. 162). We see thus the pull of the patriarchy's privileges and its

widespread support amongst the gender aristocracy that makes it difficult to attack the patriarchy. We communists have not paid enough attention to this issue and have lost many to the patriarchy's snares.

Remnick helps us to understand the combination of mafia and monopoly capital that is running Russia today. "If it were to be ranked by the Global Fortune 500, Gazprom would be second in profits, behind only Royal Dutch Shell. Gazprom is responsible for 5% of the entire Russian economy and is the country's biggest taxpayer, pouring \$4 billion annually into the state. In fact, Gazprom does not pay nearly the amount of taxes it should" (p. 178). Of course, it has bought off key government officials.

The war to suppress the Chechen ethnicity is also covered in depth. Here is a gem: "'During the Cold War, you Americans used to go wild over one or two political prisoners,' one man said. 'But when an entire city is wiped out there is hardly a word from you! Would President Clinton have come to Moscow for the V-E Day parade if Sakharov were alive and in prison?'" (p. 284). Such comments abound in the book. There is no lack of reason for cynicism about Russia. People are seeing through the many cheap political stunts of U.S. imperialism in its Cold War.

Remnick is aware of the grist for those with "something of the social democratic orientation" (p. 296). He understands and mentions Zyuganov, who ran for president and got 40% of the vote. Zyuganov sought the coalition with the fascists and came up with the traditional Nazi garbage about finance capital being Jewish (p. 315). Fortunately, Remnick informs us that the more hard-line communists distance themselves from anti-Semitism, and not just Molotov's circles either (p. 325).

Also, Remnick interviewed another person whose parents were killed by Stalin but who considered himself a staunch communist not unfriendly to Stalin (p. 327).

The petty-bourgeoisie does not understand the essentials of class politics and is distracted by the mountain of lies it has to dig itself out from under. To avoid a simply cynical type of politics easily manipulated by fascists and bizarre nationalists, the Russians must return to an understanding of the proletariat, Lenin and Stalin. Most of what passes and has passed for communist politics is not.

## **Indian review of Fascism fills in Some blanks**

**Fascism: Its Philosophy, Professions and Practice**

**By M. N. Roy**

**March, 1938**

**Sris Kumar Kunda**

**Jijnasa**

**133A, Rasbehair Ave, Calcutta-29**

**1A, & 33, College Row, Calcutta-9**

This book explains some of the missing pieces behind fascism. How did the Swastika and the concept of Aryan start in India and

end up in Hitler's hands? What is the connection between Indian spirituality and fascism?

In some cases, influences were more direct than others were, but by going through a succession of links in a chain, ideas found their way into Hitler's hands.

We recommend this short little book as an explanation of some of the Western philosophers since Hegel and their connection to Indian thought. Essentially, what all the philosophers in the background to Hitler had in common was a tragic inability to break with idealism.

Nietzsche was a disciple of Schopenhauer, and it was Schopenhauer who was said to find consolation in the Hindu Upanishads (p. 33). It was Nietzsche who put the idea of the "Superman" into the air in Germany to be picked up by Hitler. Schopenhauer, confronted by materialism, came to the conclusion that humans are motivated to evil and cannot help it. Nietzsche picked up on the idea and said we should glorify the desires of the human including oppressing and exploiting.

It goes without saying that spirituality is the source of good if the material world is the source of bad. Thus, the vision of these people was dualist in splitting off a material world from a spiritual world, instead of believing as materialists do that the entire spiritual world is also a product of the material world. Among other things, vulgar spirituality can serve as a cover or atonement for vulgar materialist pursuits in this framework, or the two can hold each other off at arm's length, but the result is the same.

Nietzsche worked within the same framework but just decided to celebrate the vulgar material pursuits. "Having condemned the 'human herd' to powerlessness and subjugation, Nietzsche could have no patience for them. He exclaimed: 'Happiness on this earth will never be increased through the change of institutions; it will be realised through the disappearance of the melancholic, weak, groveling, complaining temperament'. Again an echo of the spiritual voice of India — this philosophy of Fascism: Earthly things cannot make man really happy; happiness is a state of mind, independent of the outside world. It is all a matter of temperament. One can be happy by the very simple means of imagining himself happy" (p. 39).

## Hilliard book Helps with BPP History

**This Side of Glory: The Autobiography of David Hilliard and the Story of the Black Panther Party**

By David Hilliard & Lewis Cole

**Reviewed by MC5  
27 July 1997**

David Hilliard was the chief of staff of the Black Panther Party. His autobiography is a positive contribution to understanding the most successful communist organization within U.S. borders in his-

tory.

Hilliard was a childhood friend of Huey Newton. Hilliard gauges himself as chosen to perform a leadership role because Newton trusted him. The most political parts of the book start with chapter 10 and proceed pretty much to the end.

Specifically, Hilliard describes the power struggles within the party and how Hilliard was firmly in the pro-Huey faction. His description of trying to rein in Eldridge Cleaver's adventurism (after coming to understand his own jackanape adventurism) and run the party on behalf of Newton ring true. Cleaver's adventurism turns out to have developed well before Newton was released from prison and the subsequent famed telephone-call split between Cleaver and Newton.

Also, something that Bobby Seale does not explain in why he split from the BPP to write cookbooks is that Huey Newton went crazy with drugs and the lumpenproletariat. MIM was aware that Newton was definitely not holding together after a string of tactical defeats, but we did not know he continued to have such a negative role in directly running the party well into the 1970s. By the time of his death he made it quite clear he was not trying to politically intervene anywhere, so Newton was clear that he himself was in the wrong.

In this regard, Hilliard also admits that he had a role in turning Newton onto more dangerous drugs. Of course, Hilliard and Newton put forward that drugs were not for the revolutionary, but they proved unable to escape lumpen origins in times of difficulty. Saying this, we do not mean to say the BPP's theories on the lumpen in major imperialist countries were wrong. Those of more stable mind and aim in the USA pursue parasitism, so we are not going to make up stories about industrial workers being better than lumpen-proletarians within the imperialist countries. If the historical situation had been different and contingents of Chinese, Vietnamese, Korean and Mexican troops led by the proletariat of those countries had shown up to put down U.S. imperialism right at the source, what Newton had done would have been plenty good enough and the weaknesses of his approach would have been irrelevant.

Another difficulty Hilliard admitted to was with wimmin. His attitude toward wimmin before joining the party was to start kissing them before they knew him or could say anything. He also followed the rituals of macho pursuit and rejection in his community, but he also knew they were wrong and says he respected the role of wimmin in the party when he was chief of staff. Still, he discusses the musical chairs of lovers in the party. In the end, one of the things he kicks himself for most is the thought that fighting with Huey Newton over a womyn named Brenda may have brought about the final crackup. Hilliard takes responsibility for this, coupled with the drug problem, as contributing to the failure of the party starting about 1970.

Short of a self-criticism that leads to rebuilding a proletarian party, writing such a summary is the best service ex-revolutionaries can do for their successors. Even if comrades like Hilliard are beyond working with today's revolutionary leaders, they do something important when their histories allow us to sum up these experiences more accurately. We do not doubt that there are other members of the Panthers from whom today's revolutionaries have a lot to learn. Nothing can erase the errors of the better Panthers like Hilliard and Newton, but these admissions help us to formulate our



drugs, gender and anti-adventurism policies. In this way, the book is an important contribution to regrouping for the next massive proletarian offensive. It fills in many important holes in the history of the Black Panthers.

# Integrationist Book on Malcolm

**Malcolm X: Speeches at Harvard**  
**Paragon House: New York, 1991. 191 pp.**  
**Introduction by Archie Epps**

**Reviewed by MC5**

We cannot recommend this book, because most of the material is not Malcolm X speeches but commentary on Malcolm X. There is also no stunning position of Malcolm X's in this book that is not available elsewhere. Hence, we will just use this review to comment on a few points.

Archie Epps paints Malcolm X as someone with an essentially impracticable view, which spawned later rhetorical Black nationalism with no real means of accomplishing goals. In reply, we quote Malcolm X who had the same strategic confidence of Mao and MIM after him: "Don't tell me about a six-to-one disadvantage. I agree it is a six-to-one disadvantage when you think in terms of America. But in the world the nonwhite people have you at an eleven-to-one disadvantage. We black people consider ourselves a part of that vast body of dark people who outnumber the whites, and we don't regard ourselves as a minority" (p. 159).

Ironically, while Epps and others were saying Malcolm X's revolution was not practical while supporting integration instead, Malcolm X was pointing to actually existing revolutions in Africa: "When Africa succeeds, you'll find that you have a new situation on your hands here in America" (p. 158). More than 30 years later, we can ask, has integration succeeded more than Black nationalist revolution? MIM says not. There have been numerous revolutions to kick out white invaders and no successful cases of integration.

Connected to that idea, Malcolm X thought it was a step up from asking for civil rights to ask for human rights. He aimed his petitions at the United Nations, where he also thought he could get some support from Islam. At the time, oppressed peoples of Angola and "Rhodesia" (Zimbabwe) seemed to need to do the same thing. We agree with Malcolm X's idea that human rights is a step up from civil rights and we agree with his efforts to get Blacks to look more at the international situation and not just the situation within U.S. borders (pp. 143-4). Still, we do not think the United Nations or the pursuit of human rights goes far enough. The imperialists can twist the United Nations around their fingers and human rights should exist, but they do not practically exist except on paper, so a power struggle of the oppressed is still necessary.

Since the time of Malcolm X, it has also become clear that the ballot is not the solution. In 1964, Malcolm X was advocating voter registration (p. 174), something with more progressive content at the time considering how there was no real right to vote by Blacks

at the time. Now, however, we have had many Black government officials, most of whom serve as lackeys for white colonial occupiers.

Another point that Malcolm X put forward at the time is also out-of-date: he supported the term "Afro-American" (pp. 161-2). While he himself correctly said he was not an American, he noted that it was a step up for Blacks to stop denying their heritage. Hence, we take it to mean that at the time, Malcolm X thought too many Blacks were calling themselves "American" and even denying the "Afro-" in "Afro-American." Today we reject the term "Afro-American" as implying integration like that of the Italian-Americans and Irish-Americans. We do not reject it because of its acknowledgement of African roots.

We will have to concede Epps a few points. We do not agree with the religious and other mystical attempts at ending oppression. Epps is correct that these can lead to a cycle of oppression, especially as small Black elites manipulate the Black masses this way instead of mobilizing for broad-based scientifically oriented social change. An example of a Black nationalist leader to follow from Malcolm X's day was Robert Williams.

The last point that Epps makes is that Malcolm X apparently died with his own supporters paralyzed in fear the day of his shooting. His friends did not know which amongst them were genuine and which were not. This points to another reason why there has to be a vanguard party and not just a very popular leader on the lecture circuit or in the press. Infiltrators will always get into parties like any other organizations, but they should be required to carry out constant deeds for the revolution or be purged. This will cut down on the kind of situation Malcolm X had to face suddenly when kicked out of the Nation of Islam.

## *Negro in the City* good Introduction

*The Negro in the City*  
**Gerald Leinwand, General Editor**  
**Washington Square Press**

**Review by an Indiana prisoner**

I just finished reading *Negro in the City*, a good book for the person who is confused on some important facts about the slave trade as well as Black people's struggles. It began with the slave trade, and gave detailed accounts of ongoings in that era, a lot of statistics, a lot of pictures. After the detailing of the slave trade, the book took a slight turn and started to want Black people to depend on the government for the betterment of our people. It also was in the area of blaming Black people for our oppression, in areas, but it changed back to giving details.

This book is, or would be best used as a sort of a study guide for persons that are in the infant stages of their studies, or their understanding of Black history. It also details how Black people staged boycotts, sit-ins, urban riots, non-violent protest, etc. The book gives

a good account of history in this book, but the best, the very best part of this book is Part II: Selected Readings. These are excerpts from books that some authors have wrote, or a speech they made, or interview they gave. Authors such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, Stokely Carmichael, Malcolm X, among others. But it's not the excerpts so much as the "Further Inquiry" or the questions asked after the excerpts that you have to answer in your own words. This section of the book will help our young minds to come up with solutions for some of the ills facing Black people in Amerikkka.

Overall? This is a good book for people who are in that first stage of becoming aware of the "race" problem Black people face in every day life.

## Why We Can't Wait — Still!

*Why We Can't Wait*

By Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Review by a Michigan prisoner

In reading Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. book *Why We can't Wait*, he mentions some factors which he believed led to the so-called Negro revolt. Most notably, he mentions, "disappointment over the slow pace of school desegregation" in 1954 and how they were awaiting the Supreme Court's ruling on the issue as a key factor. I, on the other hand, disagree with this assessment. African Americans (Negroes, according to Dr. King and a name that was used during that time) were not keying in on that one decision of the Supreme Court for the basis of making a decision to revolt. Rather, there had been a long simmering going on and a self-awareness or consciousness, you might say, that had always been present but resolved. However, in 1963 much had been read, discussed, debated and thought-out regarding the African American condition and the youth (of that day) were tired of enduring the conditions in which they had been living and witnessing what their mothers and fathers had endured for years. The second reason Dr. King gave for the "outburst" in 1963 was "rooted in disappointment with both political parties." That President Kennedy and his administration failed to keep their campaign promises/pledges to "wipe out housing discrimination with the stroke of a pen." There could be some substance to this assumption for surely this played some role, but we have to examine this from broader fields.

Housing was a problem and African Americans knew of African nations gaining independence for self-rule and determination (through violent revolutionary means) and decolonisation of their land, but this was not the sole reason why. President Kennedy's failure to live up to campaign promises and housing — the fire that ignited resulted in African Americans demanding and taking action. It was the youthful thinkers who no longer believed in passive resistance. Who no longer believed in the lie "turn the other cheek" that s/he been taught and bred with. But, one might consider, that it was a combination of things, i.e., the teachings of Black Pride that were being shouted throughout the inner-city ghettos and rural areas of desperation and hopelessness that had filtered down to every quarter of the African American community via way of the

Honorable Flijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam, the speeches of the Nation of Islam's charismatic orator, Malcolm x; the Black Panther Party; the writings of James Baldwin, Richard Wright, H. Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, Dick Gregory, Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Chairman Mao, Ho Chi Minh, Nelson Mandela and a host of other Inspirers that sparked the African American to no longer accept white racism and humiliation passively.

Dr. King attributes that the "nonviolent direct action" philosophy was the best thing for the African American "Negro" to endure, no matter how brutal s/he were beaten or whether a loved one was outright murdered by the hands of racism, oppression and bigotry. King says being nonviolent was a "'practical' and 'moral' answer to the negro's cry for justice ... which became the triumphing tactic of the negro revolution of 1963." I disagree! The nonviolent approach only supported and aided the racist of this country to cover more things; to commit more atrocities (as they refined their political and social agendas). And, it cost more African Americans their lives.

Dr. King, in speaking of "tokenism" stated, "Democracy, in its finest sense, is payment." I have a problem with King's view of democracy and with democracy itself. We must understand that democracy is supposed to be about the majority rule; the majority win. How can you trust the vote of the masses, or your neighbors and whether or not they are cognizant of the issues? How can you rely on democracy when the very root of this democracy is artificially stimulated by the means of capitalism? When this so-called democratic country (America = Amerikkka) was built on the backs of slaves, the murdering of First Nations (Native Americans), the denial of wimmin and the like? Thus, this does not serve The People as a People's Party would. Further, the type of alleged democracy Amerikkka talks about is one that exclude people of color, immigrants, the poor and the uninfluential. We can witness this by the very nature of lobbyists who campaign for special interest groups, politicians, and/or the passing or rejecting of certain laws that affect the people.

Dr. King made a comment regarding African Americans saying that "Although his desperation had prepared him with the courage to die for freedom if necessary, he was not willing to commit himself to racial suicide with no prospect of victory." This comment was wrongfully stated and King took for granted that African Americans were afraid to fight, to die; to give themselves for freedom. It was not The People who were afraid to sacrifice, die or spill blood for freedom... it was the leadership of African Americans (primarily the influence of the Christian Church, which many of the leaders with King came from) that pushed this fear into the minds of African Americans not to spill blood, or fight back that held them captive to the white man's brutality, and in so doing, kept the African American afraid to stand. King supports the position I just offered by the following comments:

"Perhaps even more vital in the Negro's resistance to violence was the force of his deeply rooted spiritual beliefs. In Montgomery, after a courageous woman, Rosa Parks, had refused to move to the back of the bus, and so began the revolt that led to the boycott of 1955-56. The Negro's developing campaign against that city's racial injustice was based in the churches of the community."

This nonviolent doctrine was the root of many long years of suffering and it was the African Americans' own leadership who aided this suffering by presenting a doctrine that is foreign to even the most basic form of life. For all things, i.e. viruses, germs, animals etc., very survival revolves around fighting to survive. For example, biology teaches us that if a foreign agent enters the body the healthy cells in that body will attack that foreign agent so it doesn't destroy the body. Or a doctor will give a patient medicine that will kill the foreign agent. This same principle applies to human beings and their survival. African Americans, under King's leadership, was not given the medicine needed in order to fight off the virus of racism, because the doctrines King and his supporters imposed called for a mild acceptance of "suicide." Passive suicide, if you will, which only prolonged the virus = white supremacy.

Also, Dr. King's view regarding militants was rooted in his Christian belief of nonviolence. Therefore, any act of militancy was rejected by King and his supporters if that militancy went beyond passive resistance and civil disobedience (which pleased the white supporters of King quite well, because they were not going to support King in any act of violence against other whites, regardless if those other whites were murdering African Americans) was rejected by King.

As we look at Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Civil Rights Movement, it becomes imperative that we look at and discuss the sit-ins, the arrests, the marches and the philosophy of nonviolence.

### Sit-ins

This tactic used by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC) to win the battle of desegregation was one that costs a lot of blood (African American blood) that stained the streets, the dirt roads, the trees and the rope. Sit-ins were considered a good tactic at the time by King and his supporters, but it also allowed the racist to become ever the more violent with the protestors. It allowed the city fathers of hate to generate more funds for their coffers by way of arrest, fines, bonds being paid, and court costs. While the protestor's lost lives and limbs, jobs, hard to come by money, homes etc. These sit-ins only became effective late and when many foreign countries began to speak out in the international arena, did these sit-ins have some measure of credibility and effect against the white supremacist. But let us take this even further, why was King so bent on wanting to see the "Negro" sit with whites? It is obvious that King felt African Americans needed white people's acceptance. Or that African Americans could not make it in Amerikkka without white participation. The push, however, should have been more for African Americans building their own resources; developing international allies with people like Chairman Mao, Ho Chi Minh, Fidel Castro or the Communist leaders worldwide. Such a marriage would have generated the support needed to bring all those old racists to their knees, for they would have smelt the spirit of a real revolution taking form. And it would have forced the reluctant United Snakes government to act *now!* and not drag their political feet against the violators of the laws the federal government reluctantly passed or implemented, e.g., desegregation of schools and voting to name a few. Therefore, the push for sitting next too, eating with, and smelling the cheap

colognes and perfumes of racist whites at lunch counters was, to me, wasteful and unnecessary. For only a person in need of someone else's approval would go to such lengths.

### Arrests

There has been many questions raised and, criticisms over the number of arrests African Americans endured during the nonviolent marches within the Civil Rights Movement. And one has to look at why these arrests occurred? By whose laws? And the parties enforcing such laws. First, the arrests occurred due to the masses refusal to abide by racist laws, ordinances and etc. King and supporters felt that in bringing superior numbers for arrest before the racist city fathers it would tax they're facilities, cost them money and time, tie up the police where they are unable to do anything more than deal with the marchers/protestor's, and cause an international cry for justice, thus forcing the racist system to stop arresting peaceful protestor's. However, these arrest generated revenue for the racist establishment. The hard-to-come-by money African Americans had went to bail bondsmen and court fines. Even attorneys got their hands greased. This is not an indictment on King, but merely my assessment of the matter. In think, and it is my opinion, that accepting bogus arrest and paying for it financially is a double insult and a contradiction in terms of revolutionary consciousness. For the money paid by the protestor's only aided the white racist status quo and it gave legitimacy to they're racist laws. Therefore, I disagree with King's tactic of accepting unwarranted, unjustified arrest and the paying racist for release from their jails rather than with bullets. But one has to also remember the nonviolent creed, which was; to be cursed and not reply; to be beaten and not hit back.

### Marches

There comes a time when marching play a role in gaining public opinion and support. There also come a time when such acts are a waste of fleeting time. The Civil Rights Movement held many such marches/demonstrations. Marching in Birmingham, Alabama; marching in Selma, Alabama; marching in Albany, Georgia and all the other points where marching took place. All them marching people... all those sore feet and bunions. All those worn out shoes that had to be replaced by going to the same racist store owners to buy a new pair only to *march* again. Marching, after a period of time does not generate change, for the oppressors care less if you march just as long as they can continue to do their thing. Oppress! After King and his supporters had a few marches (which did get national and international press coverage) the next line of action should have been to desist all such marches, for it only caused lives to be lost, Individuals maimed, and it allowed the racist to effectuate meaner ways to punish and humiliate the marching participants.

### Nonviolence

There comes a time when nonviolence is applicable, but there also comes a time when violence is necessary. When violence has its proper place. King and his supporters' quest was to be nonviolent and they were. To accept the dog bites; the nightsticks; the lynchings; the church bombings and home bombings; the water hose; the rapes of little Black girls and yes, little Black boys (though

that was never spoke of) without ever striking back. Why? Because of this false belief that Jesus was nonviolent when nature itself knows no such thing as 'nonviolence. It does take a particular courage to send your own people out to be murdered, beaten and humiliated at the hands of your enemies and not fight back, but at the same time one does not effectuate change in a realistic manner. If nonviolence were applicable, there would not have been a Civil War. A war that Abraham Lincoln endorsed, not to free slaves, but to save the Union. Yet, King often quoted Lincoln and admired him. However, Lincoln understood violence was necessary, whereas King abhorred violence. It is both unreasonable and irresponsible for anyone to believe that an oppressor (one that enjoyed the privilege of oppressing for 400 years) would stop his oppressive acts solely because you or I "turn the other cheek." No! That oppressor has to be stopped in a violent manner. They have to witness the *rage of Black violence* in the same manner in which they had employed in order for them to cease and desist their oppressive ways and acts. That is how you deal with violent oppressors.

Many believe that King's nonviolent approach brought white racism down, or at least, made them stop Jim Crowism. No! It was the voices of youthful revolutionaries... and the teaching/writings of Chairman Mao; Che Guevara; Fidel Castro; Patrice Lumumba; Nelson Mandela and others that sparked the seeds to destroy the racist by means in which he understands... *violence!* And, it was the flaming eruptions that occurred in Watts, Newark, Atlanta, Detroit and other places that put the reality check of fear into the minds of white racist mentalities, that the old way of treating the African American was over.

It is ironic that the man who claimed and accepted the doctrine of nonviolence was gunned down by violence. Gunned down by the very ones whom he sought to love and integrate with.

—**In the trenches...**

P.S. The title of King's book is appropriate for *today*. There are many reasons *why we can't wait* for Justice, Reparations, Freedom, and the Freeing of All our Political Prisoners, Prisoners of War and Socially active prisoners. *We have been waiting too long as it is!*

**MC12 responds:** We agree on the whole with this prisoner. We urge a more careful study of historical revolutionary movements, so that Mao, Che, Castro, Lumumba and Mandela are not indiscriminately lumped together. Each had some things to offer. However, MIM knows that the historical record shows Maoism to have been the most important revolutionary force this century. The movements led by the others mentioned were important for developing revolutionary consciousness among the nationally oppressed — including the Black revolutionary national movement in North America — but it was only the application of Maoist that led to genuine national liberation from imperialism in the second half of the century. The others turned out to be dead ends.

# Nkrumah's Last years

**Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years  
His Life and Letters**

Compiled by June Milne

London: PANAF, an imprint of Zed Books, 1990. 422pp.

Reviewed by a comrade

Kwame Nkrumah was the first liberator of a country in sub-Saharan Africa. He was president of Ghana from 1960 to 1966. In 1966, as Huey Newton founded the Black Panthers and was thinking of ways to aid the Vietnamese militarily against the United States, Nkrumah used his stature to bring peace plans to Vietnam. While on that mission to Vietnam and China, some two-bit lackeys of imperialism staged a military coup against him in Ghana. He then had to stay with his good friend the president of Guinea from 1966 onwards. This book focuses on the last six years of Nkrumah's life (1966-1972), years which happen also to coincide with Mao's Cultural Revolution, so we were happy to obtain it.

## Putting Nkrumah in MIM context

Readers of MIM Theory 13 saw that MIM noted the premature passing of K. Essack of the Pan-Africanist Congress. We were active supporters of each other's work who also had some differences of principle.

K. Essack was a protege of Nkrumah's. While Nkrumah was dying, Essack arranged for Nkrumah's assistant named June Milne to meet with President Kaunda of Zambia (p. 413).

MIM has also reviewed the works of W. E. B. Du Bois in previous issues. It was Nkrumah who took in Du Bois and took care of him while he was president of Ghana. At that time, Du Bois worked on writing an encyclopedia for Africa. Nkrumah fed and sheltered Du Bois and other Pan-Africanists when Ghana became the Mecca of Pan-Africanism and revolution in Africa. It was Nkrumah behind the training and arming of many revolutionaries throughout Africa.

In the last years of his life, Nkrumah was still close to the Du Bois family that survived. As autobiographical material came out, Nkrumah apparently felt stabbed in the back by Du Bois, who Nkrumah faulted slightly for being cold and for only reaching for communism so late in life.

## Nkrumah and Pan-Africanism

Nkrumah is also the most well known advocate of Pan-Africanism. According to Pan-Africanism, Africa should be one country with one government. Among the practical economic realities giving rise to Pan-Africanism is the advance of the Sahara desert. Nkrumah believed that handling the desert and keeping Africa from becoming one large desert would require a joint effort of nations. Left to themselves, each nation individually might wait to let other nations pay for the work to stop the desert advance.

The stereotyped Trotskyist and revisionist view of Pan-Africanism is that it is nationalism and not socialism. There are indeed such strains in Pan-Africanism as to what role class has versus nation

and they should be combated. However, if Nkrumah is the founder of Pan-Africanism, then there is no doubt it was meant to put class ahead of nation, perhaps too much so (e.g. pp. 383-4). We can safely say there is nothing about Pan-Africanism that is inherently contradictory with communism. To the extent that it overcomes tribalism and fosters local cooperation against imperialist machinations, Pan-Africanism is objectively helpful to communism.

From MIM's point of view, a nation is a group of classes geographically linked, so when there is a national struggle there is a struggle of classes involved as well. The question is to have those national struggles that are also useful class struggles. When a nation struggles for its independence from imperialism, we have found such a forward-looking class struggle.

Throughout the book, we see Nkrumah castigating as racist those Black nationalists that did not put class in first place above nation: "I am an internationalist and colour blind" (p. 178; see also , pp. 187, 232-3). While Huey Newton was criticizing Stokely Carmichael for bourgeois nationalism in the USA, Carmichael received the same message from Nkrumah on his visits to Africa, and it appears Carmichael really tried to take the message to heart once it came from Nkrumah. Carmichael changed his name to Kwame Ture, called himself a socialist and joined the Black Panther Party. Meanwhile Mao was printing the same thing — that national struggle boils down to class struggle. So in terms of the people who actually liberated countries, cultural nationalism was isolated.

Nkrumah believed Blacks in the USA turned to bourgeois nationalism because they did not see yet that the futility of their politics was tied to the imperialist oppression of Africa. As the oppressed nations gained their own real independence, the U.S. imperialists would find they could not treat Blacks the same way anymore. With regard to forming a Black Nation on American soil, Nkrumah said, "It is totally unrealistic to think that a 'Black Nation' can be created on American soil, since no Black Power movement can possibly succeed in seizing political control of the present white power structure in the USA" (p. 271). MIM would have to agree that anyone viewing the formation of a Black Nation apart from the general downfall of U.S. imperialism taking blows from all around the world — such a persyn would indeed be having far-fetched ideas.

MIM believes that Nkrumah felt he had to respond to the straight-jacket type of revisionist he knew so well in England (e.g., pp. 192, 376). Much of this book shows that Nkrumah felt he had to deal with these revisionists to the very end of his life. This type of white-bread "Marxist" believes workers are the same everywhere, doesn't know about the appropriation of labor by the imperialist countries from the Third World and easily falls for the "peaceful road to socialism" and things like the "non-capitalist" road that Nkrumah attacked again and again. (Nkrumah also attacked the idea of "Third World" at the time, but in Africa at the time, that referred to the idea that Africa could be neither like the USA nor the USSR and go its own third road. We refer to Third World as just Latin America, Asia and Africa and Nkrumah would have agreed with our view of that entity being decisive for the world's proletariat.)

When speaking with other heads of state in Africa, many of which owed past debts to him, he always stressed that nationalization had to be done without compensation (p. 122). The reductionist phony Marxists of the imperialist countries believed that the workers and

majority of the population in the imperialist countries were fundamentally the same as the exploited and super-exploited workers of the Third World. Such reductionist Marxists tend to see the strategy of revolution as being the same in every single country of the world. Most reductionists are also closet white nationalists who believe that white workers are really 10 or 20 times more hard-working than the Third World proletariat instead of seeing all nations' workers as being equally hard-working. These white nationalists in Marxist dress also forget that the Comintern of Lenin regarded peasants as more objectively revolutionary than white-collar workers. This doesn't stop these white nationalists from claiming that the imperialist countries are more advanced and ripe for revolution than the oppressed nations.

In reaction to imperialist country phony Marxism quite definitely and perhaps also in reaction to some of the Soviet Union's own revisionism at the time, Nkrumah felt it necessary to say that Lenin and Mao were Marxists who applied Marxism to their countries' conditions. Now the Africans need to apply Marxism to their own conditions, he would say. Although he favored the use of a vanguard party himself, Nkrumah was ambivalent about Lenin's contributions as being universally applicable:

"I am a Marxist and scientific socialist. But I don't consider myself in this particular sense a Leninist. Leninism is an application of Marxism to the Russian milieu. But the Russian milieu is not the same as the African milieu. What I am trying to do is to apply Marxism — scientific socialism — to the African social conditions and situation, in other words, to the African milieu. And here the question of communism comes in -- whether I am a communist or not. I am scientific socialist and a Marxist and if that is tantamount to being a communist then I am. But not a communist of the Marxist-Leninist type. June, I am now trying to think out this question, and I want you to study it very carefully. ... It is a very important point, and I must at one stage or the other make my position here very clear to the world. ... I have all respect for Lenin and Leninism, and have learnt a lot from him" (p. 94).

In view of the last few sentences above, it is all the sadder that Nkrumah died in 1972. There were still many important things unfolding. We wonder what he would have said after seeing Deng Xiaoping and Gorbachev in power.

Like Fanon, Nkrumah did not believe the African class structure was suitable for analogy with other countries. June Milne notes that Nkrumah did not believe in dictatorship of the proletariat for Africa (p. 194). Unfortunately, Nkrumah also spoke well of Rosa Luxemburg, perhaps because of a similar problem he had with Leninism (p. 291). To such an extent did he stress everything coming from Marxism and then being applied to concrete conditions, he said Mao should have referred to his ideology as "Marxism-Maoism" for China while Lenin should have said, "Marxism-Leninism" for Russia. Then for Africa it would be "Marxism-Nkrumahism" (p. 196).

### **Nkrumah and the military**

When we read Nkrumah's work, much of it is like Mao's and in fact, according to Nkrumah, some of his work is crucially derived

from Mao (pp. 42, 49, 71, 77, 128). On the front page of one of his military books called *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare*, he put some points from Mao (p. 173). He also studied other guerrilla leaders and made sure to include any positive contributions from any of them in his own work.

While he wrote many books and pamphlets at the end of life, most of his time went into preparing for a counter-coup within the military to get back into power in Ghana and re-establish a base area for Pan-Africanist communism. As Nkrumah became a better and better Marxist, he also made sure to point out that the revolution should come to power based in the social demands of the grass roots. After a left-wing coup in Sudan, Nkrumah said, "Soldiers anywhere have no right to interfere in politics in any circumstances. If they don't hand over to a civilian communist government soon, they will meet a similar fate" (p. 312).

### Nkrumah and MIM's cardinal principles

The question of whether or not to consider Nkrumah in line with MIM's cardinal principles is not easy at first glance. Nkrumah made favorable statements about all four of MIM's cardinal principles.

With regard to the Cultural Revolution, we find that even in 1997 most so-called socialist leaders cannot look back and say Mao was right about the bourgeoisie in the party and the need for a Cultural Revolution. In contrast, Nkrumah was open to this idea already in 1966 as soon as the Cultural Revolution started. "The capitalist press is giving a lot of publicity to Mao. Good for him. Any time they start talking about you it is a sign that something is hitting them somewhere. But I like Mao. I should have started a 'cultural revolution' in the army, police, civil service and within the party too. Anyway, the experience is worth having, and it is never too late" (p. 62; see also p. 184).

Taking slaps at the Soviet revisionists, Nkrumah was circumspect but still managed to make his opinions clear. "I wonder what the press campaign against China is all about. The imperialists should not forget that they are 700 million strong! They are determined, and are advancing. I like old Mao. He does not give a damn what the West and the Russians think of him" (p. 62).

In practice, Nkrumah tried to straddle both China and the revisionist USSR in their conflict of the time while making it clear that he leaned slightly to the Chinese side (p. 121). "I am not surprised China has given 6 million [British pounds —*ed.*] to Kaunda. The first time I went there they gave me 18 million for Ghana. ... I think, of all the big nations, China is the only one which sincerely wants to help Africans and Africa" (p. 162; see also p. 179). When Poland refused to publish his *Handbook*, he said, "So the Polish publisher has now decided not to publish a Polish edition of the *Handbook*. Well, the hidden hand! Not only that, they know that my thoughts are closer to China on such points and that I am taking an independent view of Marxism-Leninism as an ideology" (p. 343).

Like with some in the Black Panthers in their years of political decline and many others, the Sino-Soviet split and its ideological significance was slow to sink in. Nkrumah tended to favor any socialist who took up arms against imperialism, so he criticized the revisionist peaceful road parties of the imperialist countries and took some indirect shots at the USSR, but he liked Che Guevara, Fidel Castro and many others. "A coming together of Russia and

China alone would put the fear of God into America" (p. 203; see also p. 333).

At the time, the Communist Party of the Philippines took the definitive and correct road by siding with Mao. So did the Albanian communists. To only a slightly lesser degree, the Black Panther Party also sided with Mao against Soviet revisionism. A true middle-of-the-roader was Kim Il Sung in Korea. To his credit, he knew that the dispute over political economy and the law of value under socialist construction was not just a "quarrel," as Nkrumah said, but Kim Il Sung came down exactly between Mao and the Soviet revisionists on the question and he never acknowledged the universal need for cultural revolutions during socialist construction. Now with the restoration of outright capitalism in the Soviet Union and China, we should know that it was not a mere "quarrel" that China and the Soviet Union were fighting in the 1960s: there really was an issue of capitalist restoration and, contrary to Kim Il Sung and revisionists further to his right, Mao did not exaggerate the material basis for capitalist restoration.

Nkrumah accepted bits of material aid from wherever they came. He wanted to take a medical holiday in the Soviet Union, but the Soviet Union told him he would be due back in Ghana any day, so it would not be a good idea to leave Guinea for the Soviet Union. In the end, Nkrumah went to Romania to die, partly based on the fact that he knew one doctor there who had cared for him in the past. It's clear that Nkrumah felt the Soviet Union was at least of some use, but one had to be circumspect in dealing with it, including in aiding him back to power in Ghana. "Sometimes Soviet politics intrigues and flabbergasts me. Why they are in Nigeria helping one side to kill the other side, I do not know. Why they sometimes get softer with the West, I do not know and cannot understand" (p. 305).

On the question of MIM's third cardinal, the labor aristocracy, Nkrumah was the one to write a book about settler politics in Rhodesia. He also told Milne that he believed the workers of Europe and the USA to be completely embourgeoisified (p. 323). Another letter from Nkrumah showed that while in his other writings he had strategic confidence in the global proletariat, there had to be a specific analysis of imperialist country workers similar to what MIM's is now:

"The workers of Europe and America have become well-fed Philistines in a capitalist, neo-colonialist world.

"We in Africa can no more rely on the workers of Europe and America for our revolutionary struggle against neo-colonialism.

"Ralph Brown is right and Stokely [Carmichael] wrong. Black power is anti-racism. Whoever is with us is a friend, regardless of colour. To me Black Power represents the power of the four-fifths of the world population which has been systematically damned into a state of underdevelopment by colonialism and neo-colonialism.

"Yes, the establishment seems to be strong but do not forget that the foundations supporting that establishment are all rotten. If it still stands on its rotten foundations, it is because of the sell-out workers" (p. 246).

For MIM the above is precisely correct. Overall the white work-

ers are sell-out. That is a scientific generalization, but because we are scientific socialists, we accept the minority of whites who will side with us. There is no contradiction between the two positions. They are in unity in science.

Nkrumah also had the same favorable impression as MIM when it came to the Black Panther Party. After calling Stokely “really mixed up” (p. 256), Nkrumah rebuffed a meeting and then changed his mind to meet with Carmichael again. “The little he said was that, whether I like it or not, I was chosen leader of the black people of the world, and that the Black Panther Party is preparing, or is ready behind me, for the armed phase of the struggle. I asked him whether they were prepared for all the sacrifices, and he said, ‘yes.’ I asked them to wait for my return [to Ghana —*ed.*]. Without a base we can do nothing” (p. 261). He added later that Blacks could volunteer for military service in Ghana once he regained his power there (p. 272).

“I am just about to finish Bobby Seale’s book, *Seize the Time*. These Black Panthers are along the right lines. The class struggle is the main issue, and the sooner this is realised the better for the black revolution” (p. 384).

Kwame Nkrumah is a rarity in MIM’s experience of political delineation. We share unity with Nkrumah on many issues. He was influenced by Mao and saw him as a friend, but he was not a Maoist in his own mind. In his own mind he was a Marxist-Nkrumahist. While he was for the vanguard party and cultural revolution, he apparently did not see them as universal points justifying the use of the term Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

## Fanon in light of Current debates

*Fanon’s Dialectic of Experience*

by Ato Sekyi-Otu

Cambridge, Mass.: 1996. 276 pp.

Reviewed by MC5

Ato Sekyi-Otu treats the central questions of our day in this book reviewing and re-interpreting Fanon’s work. Despite this, MIM can only recommend this book to academics, because of its extremely difficult language and pre-occupation with being able to address postmodernism. We recognize that within academic circles, this would be a more progressive book than most on Fanon.

Since Fanon is dead, more important than whether he was a Maoist or not is whether or not his theses could be used by Maoists. J. Sakai, though an anarchist, has written a history book that MIM easily integrates with Maoism as an understanding of concrete conditions in the United States. Can Fanon make such a contribution in the case of Africa? MIM believes it is possible, and Fanon can start as one point of departure for African Maoists interested in integrating Maoism with African conditions; although we certainly do not claim to have done a thorough research of the questions. MIM’s precise review of how Fanon relates to Maoism is in MIM

Theory 9.

Even more than Marxism, Fanon’s work has suffered a fate worse than death in academia, because Fanon lived at a later date when the imperialist academy was in decay. He has attracted a discussion of postmodernists, including at least one who wants to claim Fanon as one of post-modernism’s own. To his credit, Sekyi-Otu has fended off these attacks and appropriations from decadent academia stuck in relativism — the belief that there is no truth. “I believe in the hands of colonial discourse theorists, such postmodernist commitments result in evisceration of Fanon’s texts: they excise the critical normative, yes, revolutionary humanist vision which informs his account of the colonial condition and its aftermath” (p. 3).

At the same time, Sekyi-Otu has had to compromise to enter Fanon into the discourse of philosophers and English theorists in the imperialist academy. He goes to some length to deny that Fanon was advocating complete violence against oppressors. Even more important, Sekyi-Otu admits his original agenda in studying and writing on Fanon was to find something original in Fanon, and not something just stolen from Marx, Hegel or Sartre (p. 19). “Fanon will not indeed be ethnicist enough for Miller, modernist enough for McCulloch, or postmodern enough for Bhabha. Could it be that to be charged with mutually exclusive failings is the surest sign of a thinker’s originality?” (p. 46).

Sekyi-Otu recognizes that the postmodernists would put Fanon in the pantheon of great thinkers no matter what, but still he considers himself a fan bringing forth what is original in Fanon. Like all academics, if there were nothing original in the work, Sekyi-Otu would still be forced to come up with an invention making Fanon original. That’s why it’s hard for socialists to trust academia.

The easiest way in academia to make something appear original — aside from simply forgetting the past — is to reduce the complexity and flexibility of all previous thought, thereby leaving room for something original to be discovered. For this reason of the political economy of academic “knowledge” production, Marx is often portrayed as a flat economic thinker of very simple mind.

The postmodernists and Sekyi-Otu answering them carry out this swindle of turning Marx into a simple advocate of universal truths without a role for particularities. The postmodernists claim that Marx is fundamentally a white man and that is what determines the nature of his claims to universal truth. In the opinion of many postmodernists Marx’s theory should be seen as overarching generalizations that must somehow benefit Marx the individual — or perhaps some other white social group — with no greater claim to truth than any other theory.

Sekyi-Otu rejects this method, or non-method, of approaching truth, but he spends much of the work wrestling with the relationship between the universal and particular. In this we find him and the postmodernists guilty of academic knowledge production, because Hegel and Marx beat this subject to death. It is also obvious that the extremely dense language fitting of postmodernists caters to the academic crowd in an effort to impress. In contrast, we at MIM believe that under socialism people will not enter academia to make careers for themselves distorting truth. All people will have jobs, food, clothing, shelter and health care, so there will be less incentive to pursue a career at the expense of the truth.

To the extent that Sekyi-Otu finds Fanon to be putting forward

humanism, then he has indeed found something that is a medley of beliefs not found in Marx. In “Moralizing Criticism and Critical Morality,” Marx dismissed those speaking of a humanism above class. (Trotsky’s secretary Raya Dunayevskaya should also take note, for she has founded an organization taking up supposed Marxist humanism.) However, it is not clear that when Sekyi-Otu is speaking of humanism, he isn’t just speaking of Marxism, given how he places Marxism relative to other ideas he discusses.

Of special concern is how Sekyi-Otu takes Marx at the level of philosophy and then uses Fanon to criticize at the level of sociology as if Marx’s dialectical materialism already contained within it a complete set of theses on all the world’s conditions. Relevant to this lengthy discussion of how Marx was supposedly inflexible and not capable of understanding the particular — e.g. national conditions — is Marx’s essay called “The Poverty of Philosophy.”

By taking Hegel’s comment on slavery and dialectics as applicable to all slavery, Sekyi-Otu concludes that Fanon saw dialectics as inadequate. According to Fanon, there are pure and unconnected opposites in the case of slavery and colonial occupation, so that revolutionary philosophy comes more from Aristotle than Hegel and Marx (p. 72). The lynchpin or obsession of this whole argument boils down to Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation in the United States.

According to a common line of argument, in the U.S. Civil War, Lincoln freed the slaves and the slaves did not accomplish their own liberation. According to Sekyi-Otu this proves Hegel, and by extension Marx, wrong about slavery and the dialectics of progress. The Emancipation Proclamation appears as a conflict among white men with Black people silent and unimportant. Likewise, the anti-colonial struggle appears to Fanon to need no synthesis of the colonized and colonizer. The simple removal of the occupier will do.

An alternative interpretation of the Emancipation Proclamation would emphasize the history of resistance and rebellion, and attempts to escape by Black people. Though in the position of being oppressed, Black people forced Lincoln to account for them and ally with them in the war with the South. For MIM, the fact of intra-ruling class dispute and fracture is no reason for abandoning dialectics. In fact, it is a general necessity of revolutionary progress, and not confined to the case of Blacks by any means.

As for anti-colonial struggle, we agree with Fanon and the Pan Africanist Congress: “One settler, one bullet.” However, even in total defeat and retreat from occupied land, the colonizer does change. The Vietnam War changed the oppressor nation, giving indications of what a progressive youth culture would look like in the imperialist countries. Fanon himself recognizes this in that he is for an internationalist view toward colonizers who renounce colonialism and their oppressor nation (p. 115). Like all internationalists, he believes there are some whites who are more helpful to the struggle than those Blacks who recoil from it.

Today we are seeing a discussion of dialectics again, this time in the context of the universals of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Peru. In order to cover his Menshevik attack on MIM’s line for the imperialist countries, Adolfo Olaechea has invented a petty conflict with MIM. To justify his call to exclude MIM from an Internet forum, he claimed that the people in the Canto Grande prison who signed onto the weed calling for dissolution of the People’s War were not “comrades” ever and this was grounds for his infantile

divisiveness with MIM.

MIM has already said in print, in the very documents Olaechea is criticizing, that the PCP has regarded some action as that of the police and not comrades turned counterrevolutionaries, and MIM was addressing the Revolutionary Communist Party-USA (RCP) line assuming that what the RCP-USA said about the facts was true, because even then, the RCP was twisting the universal aspects of Maoism, universal aspects that Olaechea does not care to defend. Olaechea also never gave MIM a specific commentary on the Canto Grande weed published in the RCP’s *A World to Win*, again probably out of a metaphysical approach to struggle in which it would have been impure to raise the precise subject with MIM. In this sense this struggle entails both the particular vs. universal issue and the issue of dialectics in general.

According to Olaechea, MIM was wrong to call for a defense of the universals of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism against the RCP which said the facts were that prison comrades signed on to this document, just as Adolfo Olaechea had been saying only a year prior in his defense of agent Quispe and his *New Flag* publication, which Adolfo Olaechea never corrected on this point. Whether Olaechea knows it or not, he is closer to Fanon on dialectics than he is to Mao. Like Fanon, Olaechea is openly flirting with Aristotle. All metaphysics has in common that there is no change. Capitalism is and always will be, the metaphysicians say, and likewise, if someone is not a comrade now, s/he never was according to this view. According to metaphysicians there may be opposites, but they are pure, completely divided and unrelated. In contrast, dialectics emphasizes interconnectedness and the fact that there has to be an oppressor for there to be an oppressed. Even within individuals, there are proletarian aspects and bourgeois aspects and one or the other is dominant, but no person is pure — because “one breaks into two.”

Unfortunately for Olaechea, and contrary to Comrade Gonzalo, what holds together his attack on MIM and dialectics is Menshevism. Gonzalo, like Lenin before him, believed that purges strengthen the party. They don’t leave it “weak and divided” as Olaechea asserts. Gonzalo never said purges help Peruvian President Fujimori by making the party look divided.

For Olaechea to object to our defense of Maoism’s distinction between right opportunism and counterrevolution, based on this petty point of whether the Canto Grande people were always cops or originally comrades as the RCP says — shows how little he cares about the universals of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The real issue is the class position of those Canto Grande weed-signers. Cops or counterrevolutionaries, the difference is small compared with the difference between the universal truth of Maoism and what the RCP is putting forward.

We Maoists are proud upholders of purging dead wood. People do not always move forward. Sometimes they change to go backward. Even if every signer of the Canto Grande weed was always a police agent by the true version of the facts as represented by Olaechea, it does not excuse the RCP for smuggling counterrevolution into the party as right opportunism by its version of the facts. Yet Olaechea finds this reason enough to say MIM is “parasiting off” the prestige of the PCP and should be excluded from an Internet forum — and he has the nerve to call us “infantile.”

While we reject Olaechea’s non-existent version of dialectics,



we also reject the RCP's fork-tongued version of dialectics. The RCP version of dialectics allows it to speak of parasites being proletarians at the same time, when we at MIM believe the people in question are principally either one or the other.

Along with Fanon, MIM has rejected economist dialectics, in which there is no doubt that the class struggle will succeed. We believe it is fully possible that the species will end in nuclear war or similar ecological catastrophes. For that matter, it is inevitable that the earth will be destroyed, and as comrade Gonzalo has said the small pile of dust that we are doesn't mean much to the universe.

Economist dialecticians replace their faith in God with the optimism of the afterlife of communism. According to them there is no way nuclear war could end the species. It is usually these same idealists saying that parasites are proletarians and justifying their flattery of parasitism by saying what is parasitic today won't be tomorrow. Hence, dialectics must often be disentangled from chauvinism.

While dialectics is the last refuge of the chauvinist economist these days, Fanon also recognized that opportunism festered where there is an incorrect approach to truth — a lack of the application of materialism in its “this-sidedness,” as Marx said. “The danger that will haunt him continually is that of embracing populism; he becomes a sort of yes-man who nods assent at every word coming from the people, which he interprets as considered judgments” (p. 179). Thus Fanon excoriated opportunists of his day and the postmodernists of today — people who simply lack the backbone to deal with truth.

## Stock market crash: Labor aristocracy crisis-mongers grasp at straws

By MC12

Take an example: Two people each put \$100 in the stock market. Over time, the price of the stock increases to \$200. Then one person sells out, taking a \$100 profit. If a lot of people do this at the same time, the stock market “falls” — that is, the price of stocks goes down from all that selling. So the second person, who was yachting the first day and not paying attention, has to sell his or her stock the next day, at “only” \$150.

“Look!” says MIM, “These imperialist-nation investors just cashed in on a profit of \$150 between them, without lifting a finger in labor.”

On the other hand, “Look!” says Workers World and other crisis-mongers, “The masses are losing money, because the second person only got half the profit of the first person!”

This is a condensed version of what happened with the U.S. stock market when its core stocks (averaged into the Dow Jones industrial average) suddenly dropped in price in November. A few really

rich capitalists and millions of really privileged labor aristocrat workers cashed in on huge unearned profits from years of riding the stock market up in their mutual funds and pensions. When they did, they reduced the amount of profits that could be claimed the next day. The stock market lost a few percentage point of price, but remained much higher than it was even one year before.

No one “lost” anything, although some people got less opportunity to reap unearned profits off the backs of the oppressed than others did.

But here's what Workers World said, representing the “small investor,” and the “working class” who have trillions in stocks, directly and indirectly through mutual funds and pensions and the like:

“It's not just Bill Gates and other rich capitalists who lost money on Wall Street. At least 40% of the population of the United States owns stock shares — most through mutual funds, pensions, insurance policies or savings accounts. Some estimates are as high as 75% of the population. Many workers have no idea where their pension money is invested.”

So now Workers World says almost half the U.S. population “lost” money in the market crash!

They quote AFL-CIO President John Sweeney, who pointed out, as MIM did, that

“Worker pension funds now own 30% of all financial assets in our country and 25% of the shares of stock in U.S. corporations,” which comes to more than \$2 trillion. WW weeps on:

“These funds lost billions in the crash. Even when the market goes up again, it doesn't mean that the winners are the same people as the losers. Much of the pension fund losses may never be recovered. The stock market is notorious for being a disguised form of capitalist expropriation of small savers. It is another way for the capitalists to take away savings and pensions of the workers and middle-class people. The stock market fall is thus another form of cutback.”

Now we are supposed to despair that these “losses may never be recovered”! Let's see the numbers on how many people had a NET loss — how many people saw their stock prices fall below the amount they put in. Granted, a small proportion of people probably walked in and plunked down their semi- or un-earned cash the day before the crash, and they could have had net losses, but all those millions of labor aristocrats with their money in pensions have had it there for years; their “losses” are merely missed opportunities to claim the profits of pillage.

WW has the smarts to know some allies of the oppressed are scratching their heads by now, so they go on:

“The idea that almost everyone in the United States could be called a capitalist is often put forward. But owning stock does not make anyone a capitalist. A shareholder does not own the assets of a company; she or he only has a right to part of the profits made by the company. The yearly dividend incomes of working class and middle-class investors rarely amount to the monthly wage of an average industrial worker.”

OK, now MIM and the allies of the oppressed are pacified. The

labor aristocracy is not bilking the poor — in fact, many of them see unearned pay increases of less than 1/12 or about 8% — every year, compounded until retirement, of course — all for doing nothing!

“The real capitalists are those who own controlling interests in the big corporations,” says WW, and that’s true. But the question is not really whether or not the labor aristocracy are all “real capitalists” — most are not. The question is whether they are oppressed proletarians, and whether they will side with the oppressed in revolutionary movements. In answer to both those questions, the fact that the labor aristocracy reaps billions in unearned stock market profits — beyond their inflated wages and salaries — is strong evidence in support of MIM’s position that the labor aristocracy is not a revolutionary class.

Notes: Workers World newspaper quotes from Nov. 6, 1997, “Market spasms forecast turmoil in economy” on <http://www.workers.org>. For more of MIM’s analysis of Workers World and the labor aristocracy, see MIM Theory 10, “Coming to Grips with the Labor Aristocracy,” and another article in this issue.

## Oink update: Workers World

In October 1994, the Workers World Party printed some erroneous articles about the decline of median family income. The Filipino comrades of the NDF followed suit and reprinted the article. At that time MIM explained that family size was decreasing, and that as a matter of fact, median income was increasing.

Two years later, we re-published the critique in MIM Theory 10 in 1996. It turns out that the same year statistics came out to prove MIM’s point.

If we look at median household (not family) income, it appears to have declined between 1972 and 1994, from \$32,367 to \$32,264 in 1994 constant dollars to account for inflation.

However, a closer look shows MIM was right. It is only that families and households are getting smaller, not that incomes are not going up. Appliance ownership and college enrollments went up, not down.

Percent change in median income by size of household between 1967 to 1994 in 1994 constant dollars:(1)

One-person	+69%
Two-person	+33%
Three-person	+21%
Four-person	+27%
Five-person	+18%
Six-person	+16%
Seven or more	+8%

The social democrats and revisionists in the imperialist countries continue to argue with MIM, but they are either liars or severely misinformed. Their whining serves to cover up the huge transfer of value from the Third World to the imperialist countries, which is the central fact of our time, imperialist exploitation and super-exploitation of the neo-colonies.

This transfer of value to the imperialist countries is so large that the capitalist class alone cannot consume it or even invest it. That is why the median incomes continue to grow in the imperialist countries.

Instead of whining about the conditions of oppressor nation workers in order to get more gravy for them, the communists have the duty to point out what is really happening internationally. If we take the countries of the world and put them into big regions of Western Europe, offshoots of Western Europe like the United States, Southern Europe, Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia & Oceania, Africa, then we can talk about the growth of inequality between large groups of people. Inequality of income per person between regions was only 3:1 in 1820, but it kept growing: 5:1 in 1870, 9:1 in 1913, 11:1 in 1950, 12:1 in 1973 and 16:1 in 1992. Since 1950, Western Europe and Japan gained ground on the U.S. leader, so we hope not to hear whining from social-democrats in those countries either. The richest country went from being over 3 times richer per person in income in 1820 to 72 times richer in 1992.(2) For us communists, this is not a mystery. Africa and Latin America actually suffered declines in income in the 1980s, because of imperialist exploitation. Countries that would grow richer do not, because of the transfer of wealth to the imperialist countries.

The Workers World Party has been arguing with MIM a long time. It never ceases to be wrong and it never rebutted our rebuttal. The Filipino comrades of the NDF who only knew us for a year at that time were wrong to print the Workers World article, not because they were wrong to intervene in “our” business, which is taking down the imperialists, but because they were scientifically incorrect. Only the MIM line is correct for the imperialist countries’ conditions.

Notes:

1. Thomas G. Exter, *The Official Guide to American Incomes*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, NY: New Strategist Publications), p. xxi.
2. Angus Maddison, *Monitoring the World Economy: 1820-1992* (Paris: OECD, 1995), p. 22.

## Progressive Labor Party’s Liberal, Integrationist Political economy

By MC5, July 26, 1997

According to the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the proletariat should fight racism, not national oppression. In fact, according to PLP, national liberation is not progressive anywhere in the world. The better part of the student movement abandoned PLP in connection to the Vietnam War on that account, because the Vietnamese needed to fight a war of national liberation against U.S. occupyingtroops.

We have dealt with other aspects of PLP elsewhere. Here we

focus on the one thing most relevant to MIM's third cardinal principle, which the labor aristocracy being the majority in the major imperialist countries.

PLP says that racism hurts white workers, so white workers should understand that they need to unite with others and fight. This is different from what MIM is saying about white workers being bought-off by imperialism, so MIM looked into PLP's argument in detail.

In their issue "Racism and Sociobiology" (Vol. 13, no. 2), PLP included an argument that white workers lose income when racism increases (p. 45). The same thing appeared in "Racism, Intelligence and the Working Class," another informative magazine of the PLP (p. 3).

At first, it seems that you can change the word "racism" to "chauvinism" in PLP magazines, and you would have a MIM essay in MIM Theory. So we are asked why MIM and PLP are fighting and divided then.

Whenever there is oppression and exploitation, the ruling-class tries to hide it, but when it cannot — as in the case of the conditions of slavery in the USA, genocide against the First Nations etc. — then the ruling-class comes up with its own explanations and phony solutions to distract the proletariat. Progressive Labor and the Trotskyists are on the liberal road with Martin Luther King. MIM is on the same broad road as Malcolm X's, for national liberation.

What difference does it make? It's hard to say, because PLP does not answer MIM polemics. PLP appears to know there is something to hide, or perhaps it's just the petty-bourgeoisie's usual paralysis when caught between the capitalist class and the proletariat.

So MIM went to the library to check into one difference between PLP and MIM, which centers on PLP's use of Michael Reich's work. Reich presented an updated version of his work in *Racial Inequality: A Political-Economic Analysis* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981).

So is it true that white workers are hurt by racism? Can we appeal to them for integration? On what basis?

In a chapter titled, "White Workers Are Hurt by Racism: Econometric Evidence," Reich shows that where there is more racist inequality, the incomes of white workers are also lower. He also shows that part of the problem is that there are no unions where racism prevents their formation. The racial split in the working class makes it hard to deal with the capitalists, PLP says, so the workers should unite to fight the bosses.

### **Superprofits from foreign workers And immigrants**

MIM is an internationalist organization, and for that reason, it is not interested in Reich's work. He did not account for immigrants or superprofits from abroad. PLP never accounts for profits from abroad or the profits derived from immigrant workers. PLP never totals up how much profits, dividends and stock equity the capitalist class gains in a year. From MIM's point of view, it's obvious why: if PLP did this it would show there is no way that dominant-nation capitalists are extracting surplus value from white workers. What the capitalists get is less than the superprofits from national oppression.

PLP's lack of concern about foreign workers and imperialist ex-

ploitation leaves PLP in the same non-monopoly capitalist camp as Patrick Buchanan. PLP organizes internationally, but only to fool the workers into assimilating and adjusting to imperialism.

Reich correctly refers to "monopoly profits" being lowered by worker struggle in the USA of the sort he imagines, because those profits would go to the labor aristocracy here. He uses fancy statistical methods when addition and subtraction are more appropriate, but the point remains that MIM is not interested. What Reich has shown is that if Black workers and white workers unite, they can suck more of the super-profits from the Third World.

The statistics Reich uses are based on what exists now within capitalist society in the USA. It says nothing about how we get to socialism. All Reich's study says is that areas of the country that are more integrated have higher incomes for white people. In other words, if the more racist parts would reform and be more like the more Liberal parts of the North, incomes would go up. Politics does not integrate itself into Reich's book. There is nothing revolutionary or dialectical about the analysis.

### **Neo-colonial strategy**

Any strategy premised on handing out more goodies to white workers is neo-colonialist. In the case of PLP, it's a classic strategy of dividing the workers. The capitalist class is always willing to ally with one section of workers against another. When will the proletariat learn this lesson? Every section of workers gets its chance to be used against another section, but the one with the greatest opportunity for this is the white working class.

PLP makes this all the more clear, first of all by not addressing the elimination of superprofits from imperialist exploitation. Foreign workers don't matter squat to the PLP when it comes to its own calculations here.

However, Reich's work is even more clear than that. Within the USA's borders, Reich is only talking about Black and white workers. The other groups are left out entirely. PLP does the bosses' work by offering the Black workers the strategy or idea of making a special deal with white capitalists and white workers to exploit the rest of the world.

While the PLP brand of liberalism and neo-colonialism is out there telling Black workers to oink it up with white workers, other liberals are out there telling the Tibetans they are the special ones. Other Liberals want to focus on this or that First Nation. The bosses love this kind of single-issue politics, because it cancels itself out and leaves the dominant nations and classes in place.

We at MIM do not trust the dominant nation when it raises up one group and not the others. There is always a reason to preserve ruling-class stability and dominant-nation privileges by playing off the oppressed nations against each other. PLP's line is to unite the labor aristocracy, not the proletariat.

# U\$. inequality Grows; World Inequality still Much greater

by MC12

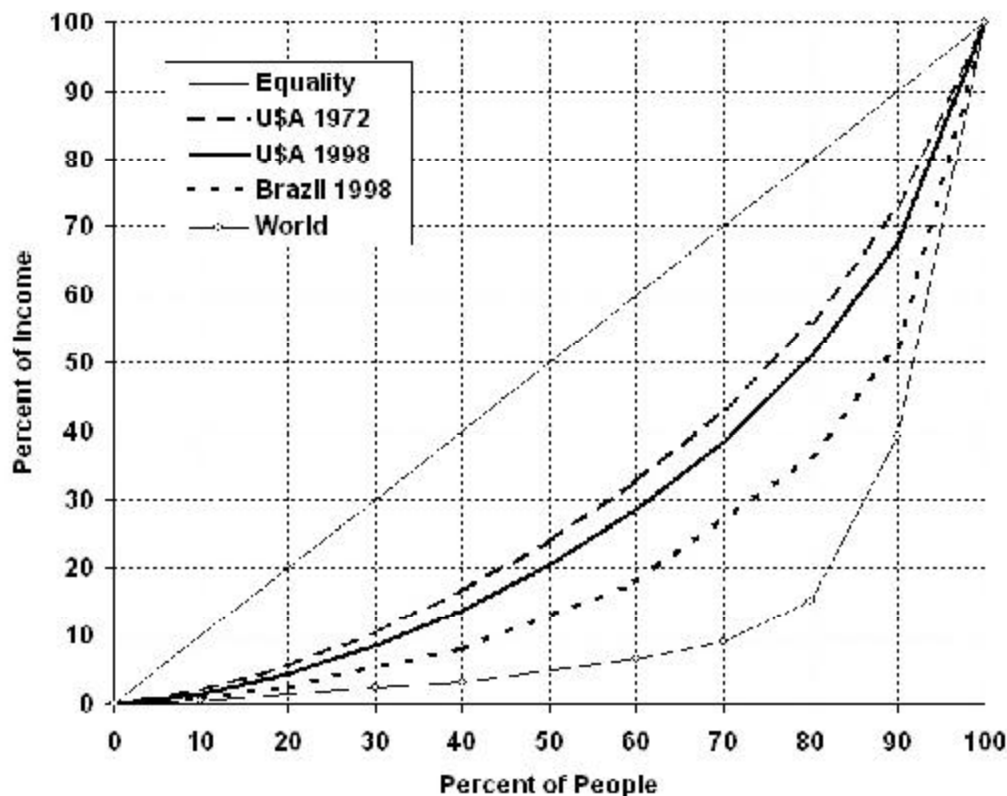
[Written for MIM NOTES 149, updated April 2001)

The U\$. Census Bureau came out with new income figures for 1996 last month, showing that income inequality in the country remains at the high levels reached in the early 1990s. In this report MIM highlights three long-term trends in the income distribution.

## 1. U\$. Versus World Inequality

While income inequality is increasing among U\$. residents, it is much lower than inequality in other countries, and no country in the world has income inequality as great as the income inequality between rich and poor countries overall. The first graph shows the family income distribution for the U\$ in 1967 and 1996, for Brazil (1998) and for the world as a whole (circa 1990).

The straight diagonal line represents perfect income equality: if every 1% of the population got exactly 1% of the income. On the other extreme, if the top 1% got all 100% of the income, the only line would extend from the bottom right straight to the top right of the graph. So the gap between the income distribution line and the perfect equality line represents the amount of income inequality.



Family inequality measures assume everyone in the family shares the income — not really true, but a good indicator for comparing groups.

On the graph, you can see that the level of inequality increased in the U\$. from 1967 to 1996. However, this movement was very small compared to the distance between U\$. inequality and inequality in Brazil (the most unequal major country in the world).

The last line shows an estimate of world inequality. We use the World Bank's estimates of income (GNP) per capita, which means we assume that all income is shared equally within countries. Again, this is not true, but it's good for comparing the wealth of different countries. This line shows that inequality between countries is greater than inequality even in the most unequal country, and much greater than U\$. inequality, even with the move toward more inequality in the last 30 years.

This is one piece of evidence on which we base our conclusion that national contradictions are principal in the world at this time: This is the greatest source of inequality in the world.

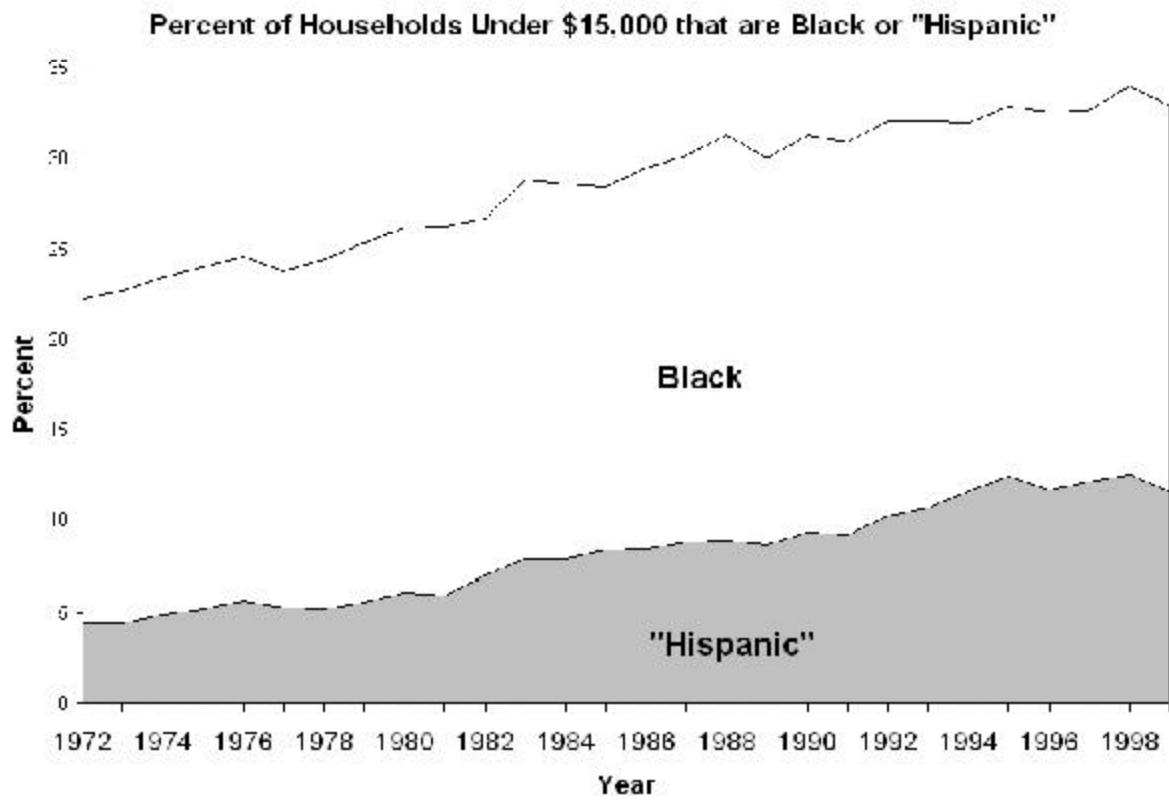
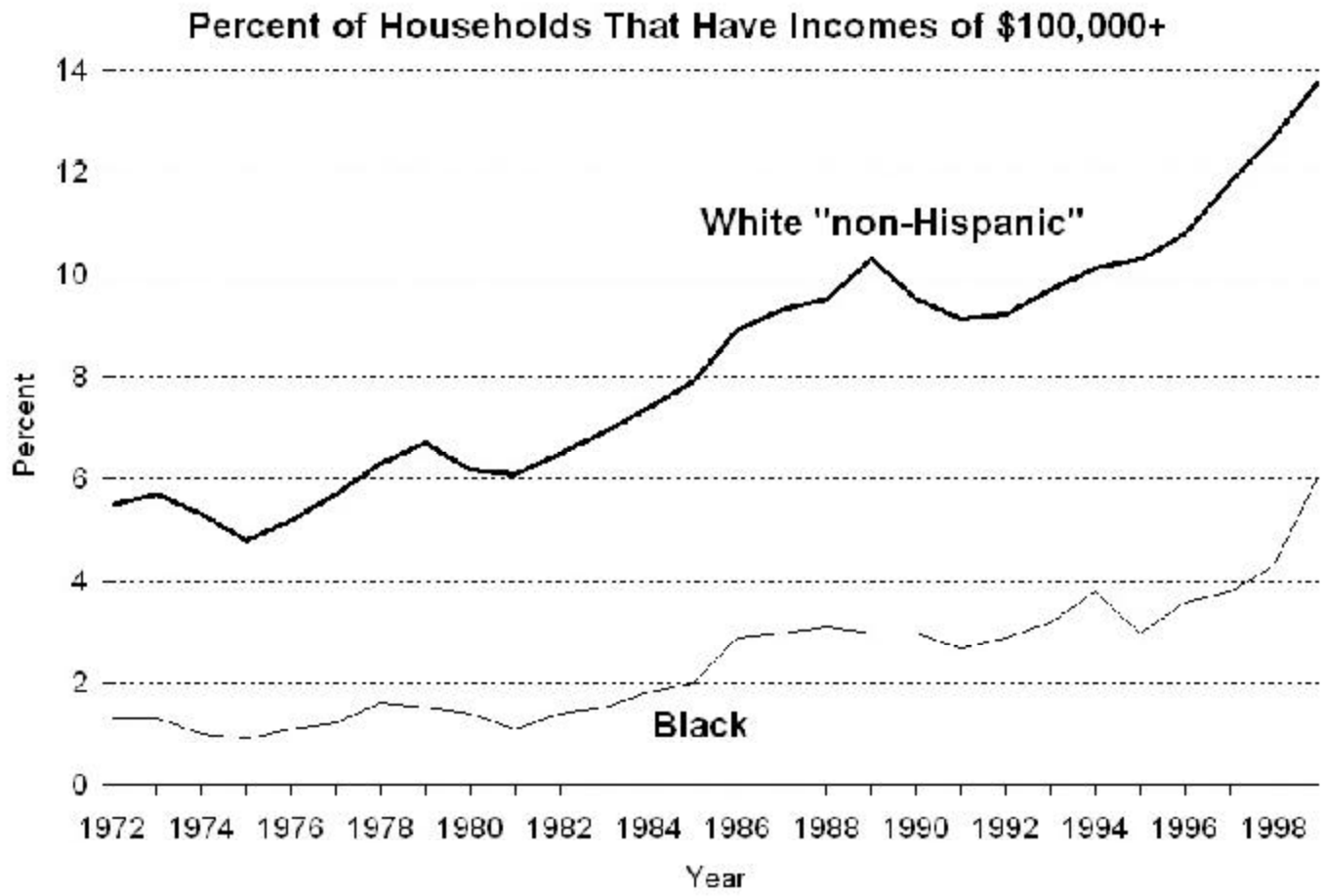
## 2. More Rich Whites

The second graph shows that the U\$. has seen a large increase in the number and percentage of rich families, families making more than \$100,000 per year. Some of this is due to the tendency among the middle class for wimmin to work for pay as well; these are families with two middle class (by American standards) incomes in one family. But this also reflects increased earnings for professional "workers" with higher educations — the group that increased their earnings the most in recent years. In 1972 only 5.5% of white families had incomes over \$100,000, compared to more than 13.8% today (this adjusts incomes for inflation to equal 1999 dollars).

This is a very large and growing group of educated, professional whites with strong material reasons to support imperialism and the status quo. There has also been an increase in rich families among Blacks (especially in the last few years), part of the growing inequality in the Black nation, but the number and percentage remain much smaller.

## 3. More of the Poor are Blacks and Latinos

The third graph shows that the bottom of the income distribution is increasingly made up of Blacks and Latinos. This shows the percentage of all households with less than \$15,000 per year income that are Black or "Hispanic." This cut-off point is roughly equal to the bottom 15-20% of families. Although the reactionary Census Bureau makes this hard to measure accurately because of their "racial" (Black v. white) versus "ethnic" (Hispanic v.



non-Hispanic) classification scheme, it is clear that Blacks and Hispanics are a growing proportion of this poorest group. Most “Hispanics” are also counted as “white” by the Census, a very small proportion are counted as “Black,” which means they would be counted twice on this graph where Hispanics are stacked on top of Blacks, so the numbers are not exact.

MIM concludes from these trends that world inequality is mostly between countries, not within countries. Further, within the U.S. there is an increasingly large and vocal group of rich whites whom we know are politically dedicated to imperialism and the status quo. And finally, these trends underscore MIM’s decision to pay most attention politically to the poorest 20% of the country, which includes a large and growing proportion of oppressed nation members who are most likely to work against imperialism, for national liberation struggles and socialism.

*Note on sources:* The U.S. income data are from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P60-209, Money Income in the United States: 2000, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1997. The report is available from [www.census.gov](http://www.census.gov). The World Bank data are from World Development Indicators 2000 ([www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org)).

Many people complain when we use government statistics because the government may lie, because it uses methods that are skewed, and so on. Our response is that it’s good to be suspicious, but the government also has an interest in getting out information that is useful to the bourgeoisie for their own purposes. The greatest error in these statistics is probably the undercounting of poor members of oppressed nations, so we assume things are always somewhat worse than the numbers show. Prisoners are also excluded from most of this data. However, we believe the up and down trends are usually accurate even if the specific numbers are not, so that’s what we look at.

# Internationalist bourgeoisie Refutes protectionism

*Single World Divided Nations?*

*International Trade and OECD Markets*

By Robert Z. Lawrence

Paris: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Development Centre, 1996. 146 pp.

**Review by a comrade**

The OECD is a reference to the industrial countries of the world. For MIM, the acronym might as well refer to oppressor nations or imperialist countries, so we will use “OECD,” “imperialist” and “industrial” interchangeably. This book is a joint effort between the OECD and the Brookings Institute, a major middle-of-the-road ruling class think tank in the United States. The central purpose of

this book is for the internationalist bourgeoisie to refute the protectionist faction of the bourgeoisie and the labor bureaucracy. The internationalist bourgeoisie believes in international trade without taxes imposed by countries and it also believes in equal opportunity exploiting, by which it means that people from all nations should be allowed to be exploiters. The protectionist bourgeoisie believes there should be tariffs or taxes placed on goods imported from other countries. This same protectionist bourgeoisie gains political aid from the labor bureaucracy that is afraid of competition. The protectionist bourgeoisie believes only that it should be allowed to exploit and market in the home country while sneaking into other markets abroad as well.

There are many such books on both sides of the question, but we consider this one to be a powerful success on bourgeois terms. For this reason, we learn more from reviewing this book than from most others, especially since most other books on the subject demonstrate little grasp of the facts while blathering too much about ideology and theory unconnected to reality.

The central question asked by the book is whether or not competition with low-wage countries through world trade adversely affects the wages and employment of under-educated workers in high-wage countries. As such this book stands as an academic answer to Ross Perot, who talked about the “sucking sound” of Mexico “stealing” U.S. jobs.

The book succeeds in showing that for the majority of U.S. workers, the effect of world trade is very small and easily offset by other advantages of world trade for the oppressor nation workers, such as increased real wages, because of cheaper goods imported (p. 24). Of course, the book never asks whether or not all the small disadvantages studied and admitted tend to accrue to the bottom 20 percent of U.S. society. In this sense, Lawrence succeeds in addressing the conditions of the oppressor nation working class, but he does not care to focus on the oppressed nation workers and scattered whites in the bottom 20 percent.

## **Information: the new shibboleth**

Whether the buzzword is “human capital,” “information society,” “post-industrial” or “high-tech society,” it all refers to the same phenomenon, which hordes of capitalist pulp factoid paperback publishers have seized on to justify the existence of capitalism. According to this new ideology, the socialist societies failed because they did not innovate and could not meet the challenges of an “information society.”

Of course, these charges are highly ironic, because the Russians were the first to launch a space satellite in 1957, one year after the denunciation of Stalin. The Sputnik was the last gasp of Russian advance, rather than the first of a series of triumphs, because the Russians left the road of Stalin and took up capitalism. The more the Russians denounced Stalin, enshrined profit in the constitution and switched to outright capitalism, the further they fell behind the West in technology. Even today, the more Russia apes the United States, the faster the life expectancy declines, so that now it stands at an average of merely 58 years for Russian men.

However, if we leave aside the issue of Russian retrogression since Stalin for the moment and take the capitalists at face value, we can understand what they are thinking about world trade right

now. To summarize what Lawrence has shown — workers in the imperialist countries are losing their jobs first of all because of the less and less demand for their products and increased industrialization. This is a new form of daily war between the laboring class and imperialism keeping and opposing because we will with low wage workers. The new college going the Lawrence white collar workers Clinton — all the oppressor nation workers have to go to col-

Although it brings war, including “trade wars” that lead to real wars, competition is also the mantra these days. That competition is “globalization.” “Between 1970 and 1990 U.S. exports plus imports as a percentage of gross national product rose from 12.7% to 24.9%. During the 1980s the ratio of the stock of inward foreign direct investment to GNP, valued on a historic cost basis, grew from 3.0% to 8.1%” (p. 5).

MIM’s interpretation of “globalization” is different than Lawrence’s. The capitalists assume that without cutthroat competition everyone will become lazy and uncreative. We at MIM do not believe whatever merits there are to economic competition outweigh its negative side of stimulating wars, the drug trade, and so on. To merely tell someone that s/he should go forth and make profits is not correct. Nor is winning a competition helpful to society, if that competition is investing in a corporation that profits directly or indirectly from apartheid, the arms race, narcotics or pornography just to name a few. However, if the leaders of society continue to recite the mantra of competition, people are going to go forth to win in these areas, and all of society will lose. Now that it is possible for military or environmental self-destruction, we are playing Russian roulette with our future as long as capitalism’s blind impulse to competition survives.

Hence, MIM disagrees with Lawrence on the impact of global competition under the capitalist system. MIM also disagrees with Lawrence about where profits come from in the existing system. According to Lawrence, firms in the 1980s were able to reduce their prices and improve competitiveness by hiring more white-collar workers and fewer blue-collar workers (p. 56). Indeed, he offers the example of the black-and-white television. It just does not make sense to manufacture the black-and-white television to compete with color televisions anymore. For Lawrence, this is the kind of example that demonstrates why the would-be competitor must continuously innovate by using white-collar workers and applying superior technology. Old-fashioned goods produced by low-wage labor just will not have a market.

From MIM’s point of view, workers today are more productive than yesterday’s workers are, but white-collar work is far from a bastion of innovation that the oppressor nation ideologists make out. According to these ideologists, low-wage work is becoming more and more irrelevant. No matter how low the wages, there is no possibility for substituting low-wage workers for highly educated white-collar workers, or so these propagandists representing oppressor nation semi-proletarians say. In contrast, MIM would say that the increased hiring of security guards, the growth of government employment and a whole slew of marketing, legal services and other paper-pushers represents nothing of innovation and everything of the possibility of living off the labor of others in a handful of countries. From our point of view, the white-collar workers are not essential to production, except capitalist production, and only because they directly oversee the “realization of surplus-

value” (e.g. the achievement of profits after low-wage work has occurred.) Also, with more people in the bourgeois classes, the oppressor nations have higher “demand” possible for the goods produced by super-exploited labor.

Lawrence and our labor aristocracy and revisionist critics say that more and more white-collar workers get hired because they really are so much more productive. In contrast, MIM says that there is a limit to white-collar employment determined by the limit to the realization of surplus value. In other words, if for some reason the low-wage workers suddenly obtained higher wages through class struggle including outright revolution, then the limit to white-collar employment would quickly reveal itself. There would not be enough profits possible to justify such high white-collar employment levels.

At work as lawyers, guards, soldiers, salespeople and bankers, the oppressor nation workers are involved in achieving the profits made possible by superexploitation of Third World farmers, miners and industrial workers. After work, the oppressor nation worker again takes a role in the actualization of imperialist profits by buying goods, especially luxury goods. MIM believes that if the borders opened up, the wages of the oppressor nation workers would go down quickly. Suddenly the capitalists would not be able to cater to oppressor nation worker whims for their market and they would have to direct themselves to a market of people still seeking agricultural and manufacturing goods as a part of survival. Then we would see that the imperialists would not continue to hire white-collar workers. Both the labor supply and the commodity demand would be affected by simply opening the borders. In this sense, what the OECD and Brookings Institute are talking about is a pseudo-globalization that assumes the non-globalization of labor and the continuation of borders and national conflicts.

MIM found this book extremely useful in addressing the conditions of the oppressor nation working class and we will return to more details on this later. Another problem with the book from our point of view — other than its imperialist outlook — is that it is very difficult, because of its abbreviated use of many academic concepts. Therefore, we cannot recommend this book to those without some similar graduate training. Though it did not intend to be, the book is a service to communists, who have to be interested in many of the same subjects for different reasons.

## World Bank Reform is a lost Cause

*Masters of Illusion: The World Bank and the Poverty of Nations*  
By Catherine Caufield  
Henry Holt and Company: New York, 1996

Review by a comrade

Upon the recommendation of Dennis Brutus, MIM reviewed *Masters of Illusion*. We recommend this book as if it were an ex-

tended and thorough journalistic account of the World Bank from its beginning. Learning about the World Bank from this bourgeois source should be eye opening to anyone considering communism.

The World Bank is an institution funded by the industrial countries to lend money for large projects in the Third World that no commercial bank would loan money for. The plurality of its staff is Amerikan economists.

Catherine Caufield correctly points out that bankers and economists by training and predisposition naturally incline to giving the environment short shrift. If there is no price on polluting or even killing, then economists do not usually take pollution or premature death into account. As a result, the World Bank is behind some of the world's most destructive economic projects. Throughout the Third World, bourgeois ideas of development have come along with environmental catastrophes sponsored by industrial country "experts" and bankers. Caufield provides the details and shows how difficult it is for the World Bank to change.

The World Bank is to neo-colonialism what the missionary was to colonialism. Unwilling to work with local experts and government officials in the Third World, the World Bank provides the funding to establish entirely new agencies that fill the role that governments usually do in industrial countries. "By the early 1970s, more than half of all its loans went to autonomous agencies it had helped to establish in scores of countries" (p. 60). For this reason, some have seen the UN as a competitor of the World Bank, because both organizations set up their own branches in the Third World and both have pretensions of being world governments.

While we recommend this book on a journalistic level, it has numerous theoretical flaws. The most grating is to read this book as an indictment of the intelligence of bourgeois economists and Third World government officials, as if becoming a wealthy country the way these economists want is just a matter of applying the expertise of a handful of people.

MIM has to agree with Caufield that the Harvard, MIT and Oxford trained economists at the World Bank are especially stupid, because they tend to have little creativity and confuse their theories with the scientific and mathematical methods they learned in graduate school. However, the ultimate underlying problem is the system arranging economic education and rewarding it to be removed from practical reality. Otherwise, these economists would notice that capitalism has a far bigger record of failure than socialism. Class interests are more important than economists' skills or intelligence.

Based on the reports of World Bank staff, Caufield's report never rises to the level of thinking of systems that influence the behavior of large numbers of people. Hence, she lightly reports that bank insiders believe they undercut themselves by having quotas of loans to make. These quotas reduce their bargaining power with regard to the strings attached when it comes to working with government officials in the Third World. We are asked to be concerned that the "true rate of erosion in the Bank's bargaining power was more like from 50 to 35 percent" [of what they want —*ed.*] (p. 103). This is despite the fact that no systematic evidence comes forth to show that increasing the Bank's power would be good for anyone but the Bank itself.

Even more neo-colonial in outlook is her comment that the Peruvian people were victims of demagoguery when some protested

ceding control of the economy to the World Bank (p. 136). Here the obsession with intelligence applied to rational policy merges with neo-colonialism of the sort that says the Peruvian people should just accept the supposedly more intellectually sound leadership at the World Bank.

Elsewhere Caufield sides with the bankers wondering if investments in education, housing and health pay off (p. 125). Typical of her whole atheoretical approach to development is her statement quoting one World Bank officer on why education projects fail: "The best and the brightest' in government end up in the finance ministries and not in the education ministry" (p. 295).

### Lenin vindicated

If the reader reads Lenin's *Imperialism* before reading this book, the reader will see Lenin's theory vindicated by the facts throughout the book. Most interesting is the picture of commercial banks in the Third World begging to make a loan so that they can collect interest, and then having multilateral agencies like the World Bank clean up after them. According to Lenin, the capitalist system develops into finance capitalism and the finance capitalists must find some outlet for their surplus capital. It turns out that the World Bank annual meeting is a great chance for commercial bankers to meet Third World clients (pp. 136-7). Observing one such meeting gives the reader the sense that Lenin had about what imperialists with surplus capital lying around have to do.

Even the World Bank itself feels pressure to release capital to the Third World, and its top leaders have adopted a sham planning system to reach their goals of loans made. Seeing this, the far right has labeled the World Bank a socialist plot. Caufield caters to this militia-type rightist throughout the book.

In reality, the World Bank is not just an "adjuster" for Third World economies: it is a central actor in rationalizing the flow of capital from the industrial countries (imperialist) to the Third World. According to one Kidder Peabody executive, the World Bank "earned its keep" during crises of the private sector (p. 143).

While some right-wing militia types may not like being involved in multinational organizations like the World Bank, the truth is that Amerikan corporations are even more involved abroad than the World Bank and they are the ones requiring the World Bank to go on. In this way, taxpayers of the imperialist country middle-classes subsidize the failures of the bankers. After all, in 1977 the top nine U.S. banks received more than half of their profits from loans to the Third World (p. 128). Moreover, "by 1982 Citibank's loans to just five of its Latin American clients amounted to twice its net corporate assets" (p. 129). On account of these profits sometimes the private bankers complain about the World Bank's stealing business, but on the other hand, the World Bank is bailing out the commercial banks and spurring economic infrastructure projects that the commercial banks would be afraid to undertake. Nor is it just U.S. capital at stake. The Bank of Tokyo has the equivalent of 80% of its net assets at stake in Mexico (p. 138). From the point of view of these banks, the World Bank may be a failure, but not relatively speaking. The bankers themselves know what it is like to have to find large profitable outlets for their capital or accept losses, and they cannot think of any better way to do what the World Bank does within the existing system. If the World Bank is eventually



replaced, it will be by an institution that is very similar — and not likely better for the oppressed.

The World Bank is also a means of outlet for the overproduction of capital goods in the imperialist countries: “Most of our money doesn’t go to the South, it goes straight from Washington to Pennsylvania, where they manufacture the turbines, or Frankfurt, where they produce the dredging equipment” (p. 242). For this reason, the World Bank has its patrons in the super-elite.

Despite all the efforts of the bankers both multilateral and private, the capitalists fail to export away their crisis. “In 1994, for example, the developing world received \$167.8 billion in foreign loans and paid out \$169.5 billion in debt service — a net transfer from the poor to the rich nations of \$1.7 billion” (p. 335). This is a small token of the imperialists’ worst nightmare — surplus capital lying around with no profitable place to invest it. This sort of mechanism is typical of why imperialism is always in crisis.

### Adjustment failure

Caufield has the facts showing that World Bank economic policies imposed on Third World countries do not work. So-called adjustment loans have failed. Such loans go to countries willing to change their economic policies to suit the World Bank.

In Mexico, where the international banking community has dumped money, economic growth is only keeping pace with population growth. Thus Mexico has stabilized for now to suit the banking community, but it has not accomplished anything worthwhile to the proletariat by following the imperialist-dictated course: “In 1992, average wages were — in real terms — half what they had been 10 years earlier. ... Investment in health, education, and basic physical infrastructure was cut roughly in half, with predictable results. Between 1980 and 1992, infant deaths due to malnutrition almost tripled” (p. 153). The poorest 20% of Mexico receive less than 5% of the income. “The country’s richest man, Carlos Sim, had more money than the country’s 17 million poorest people combined” (p. 153).

In conclusion, we do not agree that hiring more staff at the World Bank or increasing the number of ecologists there is going to help the systematic problems underlying the World Bank. It should be abolished like many other imperialist entities that block the initiatives of the toiling classes for their own economic well being.

## Whose problems?

*Poverty in the U.S.: Problems and Policies*

By Daniel W. Woods and John B. Williamson

Review by a prisoner

Poverty in the U.S., Our problem (the oppressed), their policy (the rich and greedy oppressor). Centuries ago while establishing the constitution of the United States, the so-called founding fathers addressed its colonies, with such slanderous words as “we the people.” What these neglectful devils failed to explain, is that “we” does not include the enslaved (people), or their kind (offspring) to come later on, but only for their (devils) selves and descendents, whom should arrive today 1900’s, to fulfill the prophecy of long

ago. This prophecy was to neglect, deprive the people (oppressed), the true builders, maintainers and substantial originators of this wilderness, called the United States of America. Today the offspring of these crafty, cunning and deceitful devils, have inherited their true greed, lies and falsehoods, passed down that instilled in their minds to keep the masses of oppressed people on a level of dependency, depending on those who keep them suppressed, only to later on ask for their needed votes.

Politics is the policy of keeping the downward masses searching, but finding no solution, which is the number one answer to such self destructiveness such as hunger, homelessness, increased crime rate (committed against one another), teen-age pregnancy, abortion, unwanted children, aged, lack of job, training skills. Today’s world does not call on the applicant, due to advancement in the world’s in dust. Realized technology, calling for computer skills, etc.

Why is the existence of poverty in America so surprising? To me, it is not surprising. Being one of the five richest countries in the world, not able to seek profitable solutions for keeping its hungry and homeless fed and with shelter, makes me come to the conclusion that through conspiratorial minds, America is no dummy, America is to be lead to so many problems, without its people, truly seeing what is happening? Keep the needed public uneducated, who will be able to see that poverty is allowed. It is policy, in order to keep the masses of poor and needy, needing the assistance of the American government, therefore making them slaves of Americas dependencies. What might be an alternative goal to the elimination of poverty?

This goes back to the question: does the government of America really want the elimination of poverty? No, they do not. I feel that they wish to curb it to a point, only when the issue has been raised to question, like around election time. Could it be so hard to invest funds into the renovations of empty buildings, turning them into shelters for those who need shelter? Space programs, tools for the cause of war, mass death, and destruction, and to feed the poor comes to a greater cost? Invest funds means there was to be a profit for the investor, and in a capitalistic society, if no capital is given back to its greedy and powerfully rich, then no, there can not/will not be a solution.

*Poverty in the U.S. (Problems and Politics)* tackles many such issues, but opens its readers eyes, to America’s true ways, which does not benefit the struggling and unable body to move ahead forward, but down and backwards. As it is a true fact that capitalism is not in favor for the people in this country, then one would assume that socialism and communism would best fit the needs of the oppressed masses, of homeless and hungry. Let the able working hungry have a chance to support themselves instead of wasting away. Let those who are unable to work be supported by what the socialist/communist countries provide, on top of what the working able can produce in support, including medical health needs, etc. I can only wonder why America allows its people into a forced way of living, which is an atrocious and uncivilized act. American people are allowed to vote republican or democratic but both are not the solutions, which brings one the conspiratorial theory! Does America allow the hungry to starve and die? Does America allow the homeless to be homeless? Does America neglect its uneducated, hungry, diseased children and aged? Increased crime rate, a tool to popula-

tion control, unwanted pregnancies, abortions as a tool to population control. Prisons. What has America really got in store for its people? Has one ever really searched for a solution? Why can't it be found? *Poverty in the U.S. (Problems and Policies)* instead of finding solutions!

**MC12 responds:** MIM has much in common with this prisoner's review. However, we do not agree that abortion in the U.S. is being used as a means of population control. In fact, it is the very populations that are being controlled — i.e., the oppressed nations — that have had their abortion rights most restricted. There are other forms of population control (crime and prisons, for sure, but also forced sterilization campaigns like in Puerto Rico).

## Martens's good Book on Eastern Europe

**USSR: The Velvet Counter Revolution**

By Ludo Martens, 1991

Bd. M. Lemonnier 171

1000 Brussels

BELGIUM

review by a friend

This is *the* book to read, not on the USSR but on Eastern Europe. Most of the book ends up being about Eastern Europe and MIM has nothing like it on its reading list, so we gladly recommend it.

Despite our favorable reviews of some of Ludo Martens's books, we must point out a tragedy to the Maoist movement. Ludo Martens's Party of Workers in Belgium (PTB) used to be Maoist. Under the pressure of the international revisionist offensive against Maoism in the 1970s and 1980s, the PTB backtracked. Thus some of our most able leaders abandoned Maoism and turned the PTB into a "Stalinist" party seeking to appeal to ex-Soviet-revisionist-retreads. (Martens in particular is an extremely prolific author and speaker.) For this reason, this book is a must-read for the facts on Eastern Europe and a European outlook on them, but theoretically it is a mixed bag.

As an example of the problems of this book, Martens wondered openly what side Gorbachev would end up on in the battle with Yeltsin (p. 48). It is clear from his remarks on Cuba, Romania and Gorbachev that he was hoping these elements of the new bourgeoisie would see the light and return to socialism.

Let us not underestimate the strengths of this book though. Like MIM it is very sharp on Trotskyism and Martens ties the late Trotskyist leader Ernest Mandel to the far-right bourgeois democrats and fascists again and again throughout the book. As one example among many, Martens documents that the CIA used Trotskyist slogans in its Hungary campaign of 1956: "Make the revolution a permanent one!" (p. 81).

Martens is especially good as an historical memory of who is who in the imperialist attack, subversion and spying. In his book we learn of Yugoslavians and Hungarians contacted by Allen Dulles from the United States to infiltrate communist parties and work

within them for "peaceful evolution" toward capitalism (pp. 73-4).

These are still timely references, because every day new facts arise to prove that Stalin and Mao were correct in their assessments of the Dulles brothers and their strategy for the State Department and the CIA. John Foster Dulles was secretary of state from 1953 to 1959 after working his way through the ranks of the ruling class. His brother Allen Dulles was a division chief in the State Department before World War II, CIA-precursor (Office of Strategic Services) officer during World War II, deputy director of the CIA in 1951 and director of the CIA from 1953 to 1961. The Dulles brothers were grandsons of a previous secretary of state and nephews of another one.

John Foster Dulles himself was a lawyer representing the U.S. government in important post-World War I negotiations. Yet, in 1939 after the Nazi invasion of Poland, there was John Foster Dulles doing legal work to help the Nazis hide their gold stolen from Dutch Jews. By getting an American company involved, Dulles helped the Nazis avoid having their resources confiscated (*Boston Globe*, 6 July 1997, p. A10). With such eminent background as a paid lawyer for the Nazis, his brother's background arranging for the Nazis to join the OSS/CIA after the war, no wonder John became secretary of state. He had proved his general ruling class skills!

Lie upon lie told by fascists and Nazis repeated by the U.S. Government is clouding the masses' memory of Stalin and the USSR. Ludo Martens's book helps us to vindicate Stalin.

## MIM Debates Russell Means, 17 years later

*Russell Means gave this speech, "For America to Live, Europe Must Die," in July 1980, before several thousand people who had assembled from all over the world for the Black Hills International Survival Gathering, in the Black Hills of South Dakota. MIM's remarks, from October 1997, are interspersed. Brackets [...] indicate cuts from the original text. For more debates on First Nations, Marxism and environmentalism, see MIM Theory 12, "Environment, Society, Revolution." —ed.*

**Means:** I should be clear about something here, because there seems to be some confusion about it. When I speak of Europeans or mental Europeans, I'm not allowing for false distinctions. I'm not saying that on the one hand there are the by-products of a few thousand years of genocidal, reactionary European intellectual development which is bad; and on the other hand there is some new revolutionary intellectual development which is good. I'm referring here to the so-called theories of Marxism and anarchism and "leftism" in general. I don't believe these theories can be separated from the rest of the European intellectual tradition. It's really just the same old song.

**MIM:** The last person I heard saying this about Marxism being a European thing was standing under the Visa and Mastercard signs for her shop trying to sell T-shirts criticizing Columbus.

If you speak with the members of the Iroquois Confederacy, you

will learn that Marx obtained his ideas about communism from First Nation peoples. The only observations of communism that he could come in contact with were through anthropologists of his day who reported on First Nations. Hence, the notion that the origin of Marxism is European is already as false as the planet is whole.

But the idea that “American Indians” are *not* living in a European set-up already is idealist escapism. It is the very dualism that Means criticizes below, because everyone lives in this world *now*, and that world is capitalist for us within U.S. borders. We are *not* saying that it is necessary to quit with Visa and Mastercard. That is not the point. The point is to change the whole system or be careful about hypocritically attacking Europeanism.

**Means:** The process began much earlier. Newton, for example, “revolutionized” physics and the so-called natural science by reducing the physical universe to a linear mathematical equation.

Descartes did the same thing with culture. John Locke did it with politics, and Adam Smith did it with economics. Each one of these “thinkers” took a piece of the spirituality of human existence and converted it into a code, an abstraction. They picked up where Christianity ended: they “secularized” Christian religion, as the “scholars” like to say — and in doing so they made Europe more able and ready to act as an expansionist culture. Each of these intellectual revolutions served to abstract the European mentality even further, to remove the wonderful complexity and spirituality from the universe and replace it with a logical sequence: one, two, three. Answer!

This is what has come to be termed “efficiency” in the European mind. Whatever is mechanical is perfect; whatever seems to work at the moment — that is, proves the mechanical model to be the right one — is considered correct, even when it is clearly untrue. This is why “truth” changes so fast in the European mind; the answers which result from such a process are only stopgaps, only temporary, and must be continuously discarded in favor of new stopgaps which support the mechanical models and keep them (the models) alive.

**MIM:** If the truth appears to change too often or contradicts itself from moment to moment, that is usually the result of empiricism and pragmatism. See Mao’s “Four Essays on Philosophy” to understand why empiricism and anti-theory lead in this direction. Ironically, Means complains about this but at the same time in the same speech he criticizes theory.

**Means:** Hegel and Marx were heirs to the thinking of Newton, Descartes, Locke and Smith. Hegel finished the process of secularizing theology — and that is put in his own terms — he secularized the religious thinking through which Europe understood the universe.

Then Marx put Hegel’s philosophy in terms of “materialism,” which is to say that Marx despiritualized Hegel’s work altogether.

Again, this is in Marx’ own terms. And this is now seen as the future revolutionary potential of Europe. Europeans may see this as revolutionary, but American Indians see it simply as still more of that same old European conflict between being and gaining. The intellectual roots of a new Marxist form of European imperialism

lie in Marx’ — and his followers’ — links to the tradition of Newton, Hegel, and the others.

Being is a spiritual proposition. Gaining is a material act. Traditionally, American Indians have always attempted to be the best people they could. Part of that spiritual process was and is to give away wealth, to discard wealth in order not to gain. Material gain is an indicator of false status among traditional people, while it is “proof that the system works” to Europeans. Clearly, there are two completely opposing views at issue here, and Marxism is very far over to the other side from the American Indian view. But let’s look at a major implication of this; it is not merely an intellectual debate.

**MIM:** Again, we do not know of First Nations people that intentionally rejected technology while others were sick or starving. Indians took to the horse when it was domesticated. The above is not a cultural defense of First Nation integrity. It is the voice of the middle-class created by capitalism and comfortable with its own existence — a relatively recent and European-associated invention. Marx was for an increase in efficiency to cut down on conflicts over food, shelter, clothing and medicine. Show us how First Nations opposed that idea in history.

**Means:** The European materialist tradition of despiritualizing the universe is very similar to the mental process which goes into dehumanizing another person. And who seems most expert at dehumanizing other people? And why? Soldiers who have seen a lot of combat learn to do this to the enemy before going back into combat. Murderers do it before going out to commit murder. Nazi SS guards did it to concentration camp inmates. Cops do it. Corporation leaders do it to the workers they send into uranium mines and steel mills. Politicians do it to everyone in sight. And what the process has in common for each group doing the dehumanizing is that it makes it all right to kill and otherwise destroy other people. One of the Christian commandments says, “Thou shalt not kill,” at least not humans, so the trick is to mentally convert the victims into nonhumans. Then you can proclaim violation of your own commandment as a virtue.

**MIM:** The greatest impetus or motivation for dehumanizing is *profit*. Eliminate the causes of murder instead of praying to dualist Gods for Salvation. The very John Locke that Means just mentioned also believed in god, to such an extent that he based his political theory on it.

**Means:** In terms of the despiritualization of the universe, the mental process works so that it becomes virtuous to destroy the planet. Terms like progress and development are used as cover words here, the way victory and freedom are used to justify butchery in the dehumanization process. For example, a real-estate speculator may refer to “developing” a parcel of ground by opening a gravel quarry; development here means total, permanent destruction, with the earth itself removed. But European logic has gained a few tons of gravel with which more land can be “developed” through the construction of roadbeds. Ultimately, the whole universe is open — in the European view — to this sort of insanity.

**MIM:** Marx and Engels said the above long before Russell Means. See the “Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844.” The difference is that Marx identified once again the contemporary cause of this state of affairs. The power of the capitalist class over the individual is what causes him or her to partake in a system

not to his or her own environmental self-interest.

[...]

**Means:** Capitalists, at least, can be relied upon to develop uranium as fuel only at the rate at which they can show a good profit. That's their ethic, and maybe that will buy some time. Marxists, on the other hand, can be relied upon to develop uranium fuel as rapidly as possible simply because it's the most "efficient" production fuel available. That's their ethic, and I fail to see where it's preferable. Like I said, Marxism is right smack in the middle of the European tradition. It's the same old song.

**MIM:** As we were saying, this whole thing is really a de facto apology for capitalism. This is simply untrue about Marxism. It is attributing humyn qualities to imaginary gods or "Mother Earth" that speeds up the alienation of humyns from their own environment and creates division amongst them. We Marxists can deal with other atheists who refer to the material world and what to do about it, but try talking to a real fundamentalist Christian or authoritarian believer in any religion, and it is clear the whole point of some religions is to cut off communication and start war.

In a harmonious world, as Marx pointed out, the humyn has no self-interest in destroying the environment. It is only the class system that has this interest. The phony communists of the Soviet Union polluted. They were stuck in capitalist logic. Today's capitalists endure a shortening of their own life spans to be richer, especially if they think they are dumping on someone else's backyard.

Meanwhile, Mao's feeding, clothing and detoxifying the Chinese people was a huge leap forward. Yes, Mao got rid of drugs, the internal pollution. What spiritualist hocus-pocus ever did that on such a large scale? And how can we ever fight for our environment if our own individual minds are in a haze? Let's not forget the Opium Wars China had to fight and endure, because of European influence.

But the haze in the mind does not come only from chemicals. Nazism, which Means mentions above, prospered in a spiritual haze, with appeals to emotion, not science. Nazism triumphed over Marxism in Germany and to see it was to recognize that irrationality won over reason. There was no arguing with these classes of people seeking benefit from imperialist war. Hitler was a Christian viewed as the personal servant of God by German Christians at the time. He himself was also interested in the occult and mystical. In other words, ideas truly dehumynizing can only develop in a completely inaccessible mist, a fog of genocide where basic social connection and the interweaving of life are severed.

**Means:** There's a rule of thumb that can be applied here. You cannot judge the real nature of a revolutionary doctrine on the basis of the changes it proposed to make within the European power structure and society. You can only judge it by the effect it will have on non-European peoples. This is because every revolution in European history has served to reinforce Europe's tendencies and abilities to export destruction to other peoples, other cultures and the environment itself. I defy anyone to point out an example where this is not true.

**MIM:** We agree with the above unless he considers the Russian Revolution to be European. The principal contradiction on a global scale as Mao described is between the oppressor nations and the oppressed nations. Progress hinges on the favorable resolution of that knot. With the exception of some Irish, Albanians and other

non-imperialist Europeans, MIM does not care for the worker struggle of Europe. It is a struggle of parasites, bought-off workers.

**Means:** So now we, as American Indian people, are asked to believe that a "new" European revolutionary doctrine such as Marxism will reverse the negative effect of European history on us. European power relations are to be adjusted once again, and that's supposed to make things better for all of us. But what does this really mean?

Right now, today, we who live on the Pine Ridge Reservation are living in what white society has designated a "National Sacrifice Area." What this means is that we have a lot of uranium deposits here, and white culture (not us) needs this uranium as energy production material. The cheapest, most efficient way for industry to extract and deal with the processing of this uranium is to dump the waste by-products right here at the digging sites. Right here where we live. This waste is radioactive and will make the entire region uninhabitable forever. This is considered by industry, and by the white society that created this industry, to be an "acceptable" price to pay for energy resource development. Along the way they also plan to drain the water table under this part of South Dakota as part of the industrial process, so the region becomes doubly uninhabitable. The same sort of thing is happening down in the land of the Navajo and Hopi, up in the land of the Northern Cheyenne and Crow, and elsewhere. Thirty percent of the coal in the West and half of the uranium deposits in the United States have been found to lie under reservation land, so there is no way this can be called a minor issue.

We are resisting being turned into a National Sacrifice Area. We are resisting being turned into a national sacrifice people. The costs of this industrial process are not acceptable to us. It is genocide to dig uranium here and draw the water table — no more, no less.

Now let's suppose that in our resistance to extermination we begin to seek allies (we have). Let's suppose further that we were to take revolutionary Marxism at its word: that it intends nothing less than the complete overthrow of the European capitalist order which has presented this threat to our very existence. This would seem to be a natural alliance for American Indian people to enter into. After all, as the Marxists say, it is the capitalists who set us up to be a national sacrifice. This is true as far as it goes.

But, as I've tried to point out, this very "truth" is deceptive. Revolutionary Marxism is committed to even further perpetuation and perfection of the very industrial process which is destroying us all. It offers only to "redistribute" the results — the money, maybe — of this industrialization to a wider section of the population. It offers to take wealth from the capitalists and pass it around; but in order to do so, Marxism must maintain the industrial system.

**MIM:** Dualism leads to simplistic criticism from the vantage point of Absolute Ideas. Here Means offers no alternative except an implied dismantling of industry. It is again the pipe dreaming we are talking about, the comfortable opinion of a person situated in the middle-class, not the view of someone who needs a house or a shirt on his/her back.

**Means:** Once again, the power relations with European society will have to be altered, but once again the effects upon American Indian peoples here and non-Europeans elsewhere will remain the same. This much the same as when power was redistributed from

the church to private business during the so-called bourgeois revolution. European society changed a bit, at least superficially, but its conduct toward non-Europeans continued as before. You can see what the American Revolution of 1776 did for American Indians. It's the same old song.

Revolutionary Marxism, like industrial society in other forms, seeks to "rationalize" all people in relation to industry — maximum industry, maximum production.

**MIM:** This statement is simply untrue. Marx called for production in line with the self-interests of workers. Killing themselves with pollution is not the self-interests of workers. It is the self-interest of capitalists and middle-classes to distort what Marx said, however.

**Means:** It is a materialist doctrine that despises the American Indian spiritual tradition, our cultures, our lifeways. Marx himself called us "precapitalists" and "primitive." Precapitalist simply means that, in his view, we would eventually discover capitalism and become capitalists; we have always been economically retarded in Marxist terms. The only manner in which American Indian people could participate in a Marxist revolution would be to join the industrial system, to become factory workers, or "proletarians," as Marx called them. The man was very clear about the fact that his revolution could occur only through the struggle of the proletariat, that the existence of a massive industrial system is a precondition of a successful Marxist society.

I think there is a problem with language here. Christians, capitalists, Marxists. All of them have been revolutionary in their own minds, but none of them really means revolution. What they really mean is a continuation. They do what they do in order that European culture can continue to exist and develop according to its needs.

So, in order for us to really join forces with Marxism, we American Indians would have to accept the national sacrifice of our homeland; we would have to commit cultural suicide and become industrialized and Europeanized.

At this point, I've got to stop and ask myself whether I'm being too harsh.

**MIM:** It's not harsh so much as analysis based on a pipe dream, that the world will go without industry. To even conceive that is a sign of the dualist sickness. Oh sure, it's opposite of some other sicknesses, but still a sickness. Those of us who conjure spiritual realities far removed from material reality are the ones creating justifications for genocide. The farther one's spiritual ideas are from reality, the more violence is necessary to achieve them. In some cases, it may even be self-inflicted violence. We hear some Quaker-brainwashed Indians say they would rather die than give up their spiritual view of the world and they would rather their whole people die as well. That is dualism of the destructive sort. If it were truly indigenous thought, indigenous people would have died out tens of thousands of years ago.

Right now the fastest way to generate clothing and shelter is still industry. Denying those humyn needs is a sign of dualist sickness, trendy with some among the Euro-American middle-classes.

**Means:** Marxism has something of a history. Does this history bear out my observations? I look to the process of industrialization in the Soviet Union since 1920 and I see that these Marxists have done what it took the English Industrial Revolution 300 years to do; and the Marxists did it in 60 years. I see that the territory of the

USSR used to contain a number of tribal peoples and they have been crushed to make way for the factories. The Soviets refer to this as "the National Question," the question of whether the tribal peoples had a right to exist as people; and they decided the tribal peoples were an acceptable sacrifice to industrial needs. I look to China and I see the same thing. I look to Vietnam and I see Marxists imposing an industrial order and rooting out the indigenous tribal mountain people.

I hear a leading Soviet scientist saying that when the uranium is exhausted, then alternatives will be found. I see the Vietnamese taking over a nuclear power plant abandoned by the U.S. military. Have they dismantled and destroyed it? No, they are using it. I see China exploding nuclear bombs, developing nuclear reactors, and preparing a space program in order to colonize and exploit the planets the same as the Europeans colonized and exploited this hemisphere. It's the same old song, but maybe with a faster tempo this time.

The statement of the Soviet scientists is very interesting. Does he know what this alternative energy source will be? No, he simply has faith. Science will find a way. I hear revolutionary Marxists saying that the destruction of the environment, pollution, and radiation will be controlled. And I see them act on their words. Do they know how these things will be controlled? No, they simply have faith. Science will find a way. Industrialization is fine and necessary. How do they know this? Faith. Science will find a way. Faith of this sort has always been known in Europe as religion. Science has become the new European religion for both capitalists and Marxists; they are truly inseparable; they are part and parcel of the same culture.

**MIM:** It is better to have faith in people than spiritual forces. For this reason Mao referred to the people as god in a metaphorical story, "The Old Man and the Mountain."

**Means:** So, in both theory and practice, Marxism demands that non-European peoples give up their values, their traditions, their cultural experience altogether. We will all be industrialized science addicts in a Marxist society.

**MIM:** The rejection of science itself by Means is telling in that Means is serving to help First Nations to adjust to their oppression instead of overthrowing it. When witnessing the use of science to oppress, it is typical for the disempowered to question science. The rulers hasten this line of thinking with speeches like that of Russell Means. As long as the oppressed suspect science and not the oppressor, the oppressor is safe.]

**Means:** I do not believe that capitalism itself is really responsible for the situation in which American Indians have been declared a national sacrifice. No, it is the European tradition; European culture itself is responsible. Marxism is just the latest continuation of this tradition, not a solution to it. To ally with Marxism is to ally with the very same forces that declare us an acceptable cost.

**MIM:** This speech allies with the class society that committed genocide against the Indians.

**Means:** There is another way. There is the traditional Lakota way and the ways of the other American Indian peoples. It is the way that knows that humans do not have the right to degrade Mother Earth, that there are forces beyond anything the European mind has conceived, that humans must be in harmony with all relations

or the relations will eventually eliminate the disharmony.

**MIM:** Saying that the harmony will eliminate the disharmony could easily be a scientific view, a notion of how the world works. It is also what Marxists are saying.

**Means:** A lopsided emphasis on humans by humans — the European's arrogance of acting as though they were beyond the nature of all related things — can only result in a total disharmony and a readjustment which cuts arrogant humans down to size, gives them a taste of that reality beyond their grasp or control and restores the harmony.

**MIM:** This whole passage is based on Idealism. A complete natural history of the earth before humyns existed would include many species' extinction. Those extinctions cannot be blamed on the science used by humyns. Disharmony is also natural. The ruling class would like us to think disharmony is not natural so as to protect its own rule. These rulers also come up with a view of preservation or conservationism in which the object is to make sure every species survives as it has for hundreds or thousands of years. However, humyns had no role in the extinction of dinosaurs, but we all know it happened and it was as natural as anything else.

**Means:** There is no need for a revolutionary theory to bring this about; it's beyond human control. The nature peoples of this planet know this and so they do not theorize about it. Theory is an abstract; our knowledge is real.

Distilled to its basic terms, European faith — including the new faith in science — equals a belief that man is God. Europe has always sought a Messiah, whether that be the man Jesus Christ or the man Karl Marx or the man Albert Einstein. American Indians know this to be truly absurd. Humans are the weakest of all creatures, so weak that other creatures are willing to give up their flesh that we may live. Humans are able to survive only through the exercise of rationality since they lack the abilities of other creatures to gain food through the use of fang and claw.

**MIM:** Here again is rejection of the brain as if it were any less natural than the claw or fang. This sort of mysticism leads to Nazism.

**Means:** But rationality is a curse since it can cause human beings to forget the natural order of things in ways other creatures do not. A wolf never forgets his or her place in the natural order. American Indians can.

**MIM:** If a wolf species did "forget" its place, it would go extinct. But how is the extinction of the wolf any different than the extinction of the humyn? Again the ruling class has placed conservatism in Means's environmentalism and we are not surprised by his open defense of capitalism.

**Means:** Europeans almost always do. We pray our thanks to the deer, our relations, for allowing us their flesh to eat; Europeans simply take the flesh for granted and consider the deer inferior. After all, Europeans consider themselves godlike in their rationalism and science. God is the Supreme Being; all else must be inferior.

All European tradition, Marxism included, has conspired to defy the natural order of things. Mother Earth has been abused, the powers have been abused, and this cannot go on forever. No theory can alter that simple fact. Mother Earth will retaliate, the whole environment will retaliate, and the abusers will be eliminated. Things will come full circle, back to where they started. That's revolution.

And that's a prophecy of my people, of the Hopi people and of other correct peoples.

**MIM:** "Mother Earth" has already retaliated against many, many species, and none for using science.

**Means:** American Indians have been trying to explain this to Europeans for centuries. But, as I said earlier, Europeans have proven themselves unable to hear. The natural order will win out, and the offenders will die out, the way deer die when they offend the harmony by over-populating a given region. It's only a matter of time until what Europeans call "a major catastrophe of global proportions" will occur.

**MIM:** The above seems perfectly sensible and scientific.

**Means:** It is the role of American Indian peoples, the role of all natural beings, to survive. A part of our survival is to resist. We resist not to overthrow a government or to take political power, but because it is natural to resist extermination, to survive. We don't want power over white institutions; we want white institutions to disappear. That's revolution.

American Indians are still in touch with these realities — the prophecies, the traditions of our ancestors. We learn from the elders, from nature, from the powers. And when the catastrophe is over, we American Indian people will survive; harmony will be reestablished. That's revolution.

At this point, perhaps I should be very clear about another matter, one which should already be clear as a result of what I've said. But confusion breeds easily these days, so I want to hammer home this point. When I use the term European, I'm not referring to a skin color or a particular genetic structure. What I'm referring to is a mind-set, a worldview that is a product of the development of European culture. Peoples are not genetically encoded to hold this outlook, they are acculturated to hold it. The same is true for American Indians or for the members of any other culture.

It is possible for an American Indian to share European values, a European worldview. We have a term for these people; we call them "apples" — red on the outside (genetics) and white on the inside (their values). Other groups have similar terms: Blacks have their "oreos;" Hispanos have "coconuts" and so on. And, as I said before, there are exceptions to the white norm: people who are white on the outside, but not white inside. I'm not sure what term should be applied to them other than "human beings."

What I'm putting out here is not a racial proposition but a cultural proposition. Those who ultimately advocate and defend the realities of European culture and its industrialism are my enemies. Those who resist it, who struggle against it, are my allies, the allies of American Indian people. And I don't give a damn what their skin color happens to be. Caucasian is the white term for the white race: European is an outlook I oppose.

The Vietnamese Communists are not exactly what you might consider genetic Caucasians, but they are now functioning as mental Europeans. The same holds true for the Chinese Communists, for Japanese capitalists or Bantu Catholics or Peter "MacDollar" down at the Navajo reservation or Dickie Wilson up here at Pine Ridge. There is no racism involved in this, just an acknowledgment of the mind and spirit that make up culture.

In Marxist terms I suppose I'm a "cultural nationalist." I work first with my people, the traditional Lakota people, because we hold a common worldview and share an immediate struggle. Be-

yond this, I work with other traditional American Indian peoples, again because of a certain commonality in worldview and form of struggle. Beyond that, I work with anyone who has experience the colonial oppression of Europe and who resists its cultural and industrial totality. Obviously, this includes genetic Caucasians who struggle to resist the dominant norms of European culture. The Irish and the Basques come immediately to mind, but there are many others.

I work primarily with my own people, with my own community. Other people who hold non-European perspectives should do the same. I believe in the slogan, “Trust your brother’s vision,” although I’d like to add sisters in the bargain. I trust the community and the culturally based vision of all the races that naturally resist industrialization and human extinction. Clearly, individual whites can share in this, given only that they have reached the awareness that continuation of the industrial imperatives of Europe is not a vision, but species suicide. White is one of the sacred colors of the Lakota people — red, yellow, white and black. The four directions. The four seasons. The four period of life and aging. The four races of humanity. Mix red, yellow, white and black together and you get brown, the color of the fifth race. This is the natural order of things. It therefore seems natural to me to work with all races, each with it’s own special meaning, identity and message.

[...]

To cling to capitalism and Marxism and all the other “isms” is simply to remain within European culture. There is no avoiding this basic fact. As a fact, this constitutes a choice. Understand that the choice is based on culture, not race. Understand that to choose European culture and industrialism is to choose to be my enemy. And understand that the choice is yours, not mine.

[...]

So, I suppose to conclude this, I would state clearly that leading anyone toward Marxism is the last thing on my mind. Marxism is as alien to my culture as capitalism and Christianity are. In fact, I can say I don’t think I’m trying to lead anyone toward anything. To some extent I tried to be a “leader,” in the sense that white media like to use that term, when the American Indian Movement was a young organization. This was a result of a confusion that I no longer have. You cannot be everything to everyone. I do not propose to be used in such a fashion by my enemies. I am not a leader. I am an Oglala Lakota patriot. This is all I want and all I need to be. And I am very comfortable with who I am.

**MIM:** We agree that we are talking about ideologies and practices, and not about genetic “races.” And to the extent that “European” here overlaps with the oppressor nations of imperialism today, we agree with these conclusions. But we make a distinction between Marxist-Leninist-Maoists (whom Means considers just another bunch of “Europeans,” even though the greatest communist-led revolutions have not been primarily European with the exception of Russia if you consider that a European revolution, and not European at all since then, with the exception of Albania) and the imperialists who have perpetrated the oppression of First Nations in the Americas.

# The voice of Revolution can Never be Imprisoned

*Strong Hearts*

Rod Coronado Support Committee

3245 E. Patricia

Tucson, AZ, 85716

Send postage (55 cents) and maybe a small contribution

**Review by Otis**

Rod Coronado is a prisoner of war. The war he’s fighting is a struggle to save all indigenous culture and the compassionate values that traditionally go along with it. He is a committed vegan who has spent a large portion of his life, risking (and eventually losing) his freedom to liberate non-humyn animals. Rod has produced a zine from his prison cell entitled *Strong Hearts*, which carefully details his struggles and views.

The opening article depicts his deep respect for the lynx as a regal creature and the work he did to release a pair of lynx and a number of minks from the confines of the fur trade. Rod and other activists posed as furriers, only to rehabilitate the creatures to their natural tendencies and, ultimately, altogether liberate them from cages and give them a fair shot at survival. Other actions he describes are against the whaling industry in Iceland and the confining of wild horses in western North America.

A crucial article for anyone interested in both humyn and animal liberation is the one entitled “My Native American Diet,” which depicts how rarely First Nation people relied on the death of others before colonization. He states that the relocation of native peoples and the shift to factory farmed meat and dairy products and junk foods, have had horrendous physiological effects on native people.

Although Rod fights so vigorously for non-humyn animals, he does not in any way negate the struggles for humyn liberation. There is a lengthy article about the MRTA [Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement —*ed.*] in Peru who are equated in many ways to Robin Hood; expropriating funds from the capitalist regime — to better serve the poor.

The center fold of the zine is a short article and illustration which states “We all live in Chiapas.” The sentiment is totally right on. All Americans live on stolen soil which is now being ravaged by neo-liberalism and backed by the U.\$ government and its military. But, like Chiapas, resistance is possible and even necessary.

Also included is a review of a radical feminist zine which includes the message, “Until there is no rape, This (two wimmin holding guns) IS JUSTICE.” In discussing what might be a contradiction between armed resistance and the completely non-violent Animal Liberation Front, Rod proclaims, “there is no contradiction. Armed struggle against an oppressor who has killed millions of your people since their arrival on this continent is self-defense and

nothing more.”

*Strong Hearts* is beautiful. It is powerful, uncompromised resistance to a massive and sadistic machine. *Strong Hearts* is for those brave enough to join Rod in the war for total liberation: his spirit, his message, can never be destroyed by the state. In closing Rod states, “For all of you who are survivors, I salute your resistance and thank you for those that can’t thank you themselves.”

**MC12 replies:** Rod Coronado may not mean to “negate the struggles for humyn liberation,” but if this zine (which MIM has not seen) uncritically praises Tupac Amaru as a revolutionary movement, then it appears Coronado negates at least the need for an analysis of revisionism’s failure to aid human liberation. MIM believes that much of the exploitation of non-human animals is the result of capitalist approaches to production and consumption — and the cruel culture that capitalist society creates. And we know that meat consumption is an inefficient use of resources when people are starving. We therefore welcome supporters of animal liberation into the communist movement, although we do not believe that animal liberation is the principal task of revolutionary movements at present, and we do not require MIM members to be vegans.

Many animal liberation supporters, apparently including Coronado, also mean to support the liberation of oppressed peoples. If Coronado and his supporters truly want to end mink farming, for example — and MIM also opposes mink farming as not only cruel but also as a decadent waste of resources for dressing up the rich — they should drop such reformist or focoist acts as rescuing a few minks and instead organize for a revolution that will overturn the existing social order and bring about a socialist system that won’t tolerate such foolishness. For more on environmentalism, indigenous debates and animal rights, see MIM Theory 12.

## Parenti strikes Another (limited) blow

*Blackshirts and Reds: Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism*

By Michael Parenti

City Lights: San Francisco, 1997, 160 pp.

Review by two MORAIL comrades

The message behind Amerikan progressive Michael Parenti’s new book is one that its Amerikan audience needs to hear: communism cannot be compared to fascism and everyone who uses Stalin and Hitler in the same breath needs to shut up and get hip to the historical facts. Despite the general Marxist orientation of this book, the fundamental limitation of this and Parenti’s other recent books — *Democracy for the Few*, *Against Empire*, and *Dirty Truths* — is Parenti’s lack of thorough and open commitment to the Marx-Lenin-Mao tradition.

This limitation is immediately apparent in the obscure subtitle — what is this book about? Ultimately, it is a defense of Marxist societies in the face of fascist and imperialist antagonism. If Parenti had only titled the book *A Defense of Marxism Contra Fascism*

and *Imperialism* then there would be no potential for confusion. Given the rabid anticommunist climate in the United \$nakes, however, maybe we can afford him this tactical discretion.

Broken down into its nine chapters, *Blackshirts* is: an explanation of how fascism is a development of capitalism at a certain stage under certain conditions; a defense of popular revolutions against oppression and exploitation; a sound denunciation of left anticommunism; a critical defense of real, existing socialism in its day; a realistic and documented portrayal of Stalin’s so-called “terror” that puts to rest wild, bourgeois estimates; a brief history of capitalist restoration in the former communist world and the human misery it brings; a somewhat lukewarm defense of Marxism as theory, and a well-deserved belittling of fake Marxists, postmodernists and other petit-bourgeois intellectuals of the Amerikan so-called Left.

The well-educated may be able to skip this book, as there is little new information or analysis in it. Parenti’s sources largely consist of bourgeois (*New York Times*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Washington Post*) and Left (*Nation*, *People’s Weekly World*) periodicals and progressive publications, quite a few of which are his own previous works. The great exception to this is Parenti’s use of an article from *American Historical Review* on the so-called Soviet “gulags.”(1) This section should put at ease those MIM readers who have been reluctant to fully embrace the M-L-M tradition because of the so-called “horrors” of Stalin. For those who are not so well-versed in history, *Blackshirts* is a welcomed tool for defeating anticommunist propaganda.

The sources that are used all too sparingly in this book are the ones so desperately needed: Marx, Lenin, and Mao. For a book that appears to be a defense of Marxism in theory and practice, there are few quotes from Marx and not one from Lenin or Mao. While Parenti was able to state quite boldly that “Marxism has an explanatory power that is superior to mainstream bourgeois social science,” he also states that Marx’s writings form “an incomplete science” (pp. 121-2). Fair enough — that is something all Marxists recognize — but Parenti fails to utilize the vast theoretical works of those who rightly inherited Marx’s mantle: Lenin and Mao.

One particular development in Marxist science that MIM stresses is the theory of the labor aristocracy. Parenti has repeatedly failed to take this development into account, which leads to distortion on his part. When Parenti has taken up the topic of imperialism in more detail (*Against Empire* and *The Sword and the Dollar*), he has tried to reach Americans through their wallets: Look what imperialism costs you in tax dollars and loss of jobs! But, Parenti fails to recognize that the fruits of imperialism that labor aristocrats reap exceed the costs they must pay when they collaborate with the bourgeoisie.

While Parenti makes note of some specific examples of this collaboration (the AFL-CIO’s Free Trade Union Institute), he doesn’t explain the objective material conditions that make this collaboration the rule rather than an exception. Parenti corrects bourgeois estimates of the rich/poor gap within the United \$nakes, but he makes no mention of the gap between oppressed and oppressor nation wages!

Thus, Parenti makes statements that are not based in materialism: “Marx also underestimated the extent to which the advanced capitalist state could use its wealth and power to ... retard and



distract popular consciousness or blunt discontent through reform programs” (p. 128). Every capitalist state tries to distort the consciousness of the masses, but truly oppressed peoples are less likely to be fooled or bought off by such propaganda. For the labor aristocracy, whose opportunism gives them a stake in imperialism, there is a certain degree of reality to the notion that communism threatens their way of life. Given the brutality of imperialism and the decadence of Amerikan consumerism, this threat is a righteous one.

Another major flaw of this work is Parenti’s critique of the internal weaknesses of state capitalist countries. Chapter 4, “Communism in Wonderland,” presents without question state capitalism as socialism. This chapter mentions nothing about Maoist China’s attempt to weed out capitalist economic methods, bureaucratic ineptitude, corruption, and bourgeois thinking. Parenti is sincere in criticizing the failings of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, but he never gets to the root of these failures. Parenti totally ignores the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which weeded out a lot of capitalist baggage and paved a path toward socialism. The GPCR not only criticized China’s internal weaknesses, but more importantly demonstrated what advances the masses can achieve in the political, economic and social arenas when encouraged to fully participate in the decision-making process. We call the GPCR the farthest advance of communism in human history because it correctly proved that the internal weaknesses of socialism can be corrected when the party leads with the correct political line.

Given all the limitations of Parenti’s analysis, *Blackshirts* should not be consigned to the scrap-heap of bourgeois scholarship; it is more consistently Marxist than most anything else you’re likely to bump into at a Borders or Barnes & Noble. MIM readers ought to familiarize themselves with Parenti’s work, but, more importantly, Parenti ought to familiarize himself with MIM literature!

Notes: J. Arch Getty, Gabe Rittersporn & Victor Zemskov, “Victims of the Soviet Penal System in the Pre-War Years: A First Approach to Archival Evidence,” *American Historical Review* 98 (October 1993), pp. 1017-1049.

## Prison Connections: Good information — and reformism

**Prison Connections**

**PO Box 9606**

**North Amherst MA 01059-9096**

**wmpig@persephone@hampshire.edu**

**<http://persephone.hampshire.edu/wmpig/prisoncon.html>**

Prison Connections is both a print and online publication of the Western Mass Prison Issues Group. It contains articles about prison struggles in Massachusetts and elsewhere, as well as information about political prisoners and prisoners of war. The publication’s purpose is to “inform and connect people, while offering points of view on prisons from people not usually heard from. We are interested in printing material which actively combats the forces of oppression keeping us separated and offers life-affirming alterna-

tives.”

In the most recent issue, there are articles about sentencing disparities for cocaine and crack, the struggle of Massachusetts prisoners to establish a political action committee, and book reviews. The current issue of Prison Connections was among the first to bring to MIM’s attention a new postage policy at Walpole Prison that greatly reduced the ability of prisoners to write letters.

The web page is continually updated with action alerts and events around North America, including a number of prison and POW-related events led by RAIL. Their link page is an extensively put together list of many different resources on prisons, from activist groups to the Department of Corrections in most states. There is also a search engine to search the site.

MIM and Prison Connections have a lot of practical unity in recognizing that the current incarceration craze doesn’t affect the crime rate, and that the current system targets Blacks and Latinos. Our disagreements, however, are shown the most clearly in the article, “Volunteers Sought: Alternatives to Violence Program.”

Alternatives to Violence Program (AVP) (not associated with the Western Mass Prison Issues Group) started in 1975 when some prisoners in New York, “working with youth gangs and teenagers at risk were having difficulty communicating their message about the consequences of violence,” contacted the Quakers to conduct a workshop. Out of that organizing, a movement was born. Now AVP needs more volunteers from the outside to assist in the anti-violence workshops.

Masses-on-masses violence, as well as unfocused violence against the oppressor, sets back the people’s struggle and so MIM opposes it. But the problem with the AVP approach is that it puts the focus on prisoners’ individual actions. Instead, they should focus on the larger society that encourages violence among the oppressed for the sake of keeping the oppressed nations down through internal strife and selective prosecution.

Some of the other articles in Prison Connections support the formation of prison Political Action Committees as an effective way to make social change. In one book review, Prison Connections correctly criticizes a book for focusing only on the illogical Amerikan practice of incarcerating large numbers of people for non-violent drug offenses, but ignoring violent crime. However, Prison Connections also criticizes the book for not discussing “cost effective alternatives to incarceration for violent offenders,” such as so-called “community-based” intervention programs or other forms of state surveillance.

MIM thinks the corporate and Amerikan government leaders are among the most violent criminal offenders in the world. As such, these pigs have no moral authority to condemn the perpetrators of smaller crimes as “criminals.” Violent crimes amongst the people exist because we live in a violent society and there is nothing we can do within this society to change that. This is why MIM is organizing for a revolution to eliminate the roots of injustice and crime: capitalism, imperialism and patriarchy. The system’s rules have proven themselves incapable of curing the ills of this system.

We publish this review to alert others to this useful web site, and in the hopes of opening a dialogue with Prison Connections about the most effective ways to aid prisoners and to stop crime.

# Who Stole Feminism Proves useful

*Who Stole Feminism: How Women Have Betrayed Women*

By Christina Hoff Sommers

Touchstone Books: New York, 1994. 320 pp.

Reviewed by MC5

Supported financially by the right-wing Bradley Foundation and the Olin Foundation (1), Christina Hoff Sommers has nonetheless published a useful book on feminism. We recommend it to our readers along with MIM Theory 2/3.

Readers who will benefit the most from this book have no experience with pseudo-feminism or the gender bureaucracy. For such readers, MIM Theory on gender will be very rough going. This book is useful as a journalistic account of much of what MIM has dealt with in the pseudo-feminist movement. Many of the most oblivious pseudo-feminists would also benefit from this book as would people living in the midst of pseudo-feminism without realizing it.

None of the reviewers that MIM found on the Internet noticed the simple errors in the book where Sommers talks about anti-Liberals she calls “totalitarians.” Marx and Fanon would have been surprised to find themselves pitted against the Enlightenment, which was a trend of philosophical thought leaving conservative mysticism in the dust; yet, that is what Sommers does to Marx and Fanon (p. 23) in order to blame seemingly exotic and extremist thinkers for the muddle of pseudo-feminism today.

Even more ridiculous is her uncorrected and favorable reference to a professor who said, “You have the basis for a Stalinist position. Many faculty are now teaching students that there is no objectivity. All is subjective” (pp. 113-4). This is a true example of turning black into white for the benefit of confused pre-political thinkers. Of course, at other times, the same “anti-totalitarians” will attack Stalin for discounting people’s subjective intentions entirely in his scientific judgements of them.

For the record, Marx and Stalin are descendants of the Enlightenment, as were the classical Liberals that Sommers claims to uphold. Liberals such as John Stuart Mill and anti-Liberals such as Marx both shared great optimism on the capability of reason. They both worked within a general framework of belief in the existence of objective truth. In fact, like the British Liberalism of Isaiah Berlin, (reviewed MIM Theory 13), the postmodern relativism and subjectivism of pseudo-feminism is to be more closely linked to the individualist strain of the Enlightenment than to the Marxist strain. It is individualism that lends itself to opposition to probability methods applied in the sciences, and thus it is individualism that lends itself to the rejection of science itself in the name of the freedom of the individual. The class behind the rejection of science is none other than the petty-bourgeoisie — the labor aristocracy (settlers), and the traditional profession-oriented petty-bourgeoisie.

Sommers is a philosopher and she should know that. Is she guilty of short-changing what she knows is the historical and philosophical truth for the sake of a few political sound bytes? One sentence in the book shows that Sommers might be aware that victimology so-called feminism is “anti-establishment liberalism” (p. 135) — not anti-Liberalism. The rest of the book paints the pseudo-feminist movement as if it were one great follower of Catharine MacKinnon — anti-Liberal. However, if Sommers is aware that in fact Gloria Steinem and them are liberals, then what Sommers is saying reduces to nonsense. She tries to pit the Enlightenment against being “anti-establishment.” Yet it was the Enlightenment that weakened the hold of the Church, the monarchy and all tradition on the populace and political thinking. Thus, the Enlightenment too was “anti-establishment” in its time. Being pro-science like the Chinese May 4th movement that she gives favorable reference to (p. 83) does not make one pro-establishment. Quite the contrary, the May 4th movement in China knocked down centuries of pro-monarchy thinking and conservatism.

Despite the wild errors of this sort in her book when it comes to dealing with Marxism and the Enlightenment and today’s pseudo-feminism, the injection of philosophy into feminist discussion is a very valuable part of the book. Most of the male-oriented, reductionist pseudo-Marxists found in the West do not go so far as Sommers has to engage pseudo-feminism and understand it for what it is: a movement to drag philosophy back over 300 years into mysticism. For those interested in Marxism but unable to get a handle on feminism in the imperialist countries, we suggest that if the Sommers book does not jar something loose and start a train of thought and struggle, then maybe such people should be careful before claiming to be Marxist. What feminism is supposedly about should be of supreme interest to Marxists.

We found it indicative that one reviewer, Tama Starr, defended the confusion in Sommers’s book this way: “The feel-good notion that all opinions are equally valid, the liberal bias against ‘making judgments,’ invites totalitarian takeover.”(4) That would be about the only way to justify the thinking of Sommers linking Stalin and Gloria Steinem. However, from our point of view, it is obvious that it is the status quo that benefits most from the approach that “all opinions are equally valid.” If all opinions are “equally valid,” and there is a diversity of them, then they cancel out and result in paralysis. When the oppressed group together behind one opinion — that’s when the status quo is in trouble.

In the dichotomy between conservatives and liberals which dominates all discussion in the U.S. media and academia, Sommers has been called “conservative.” Yet she discounts conservatism as feeble in academia (p. 273), she openly confuses moderate leftism with classical Liberalism, and she calls herself a feminist. As Republicans and Democrats will sometimes tell the truth about each other in limited ways, we can find even more truth in Sommers’s book on feminism.

It is tempting to call this book pre-political, but it is definitely not pre-scientific, and usually one is not pre-political without being pre-scientific. The book is rather undeveloped politically and falls into the liberal versus conservative type of debate by default. As it turns out, Sommers stumps for the Republican Party quite openly as a way of selling her wares.(5)

The right-wing support for Sommers and her description of her-

self as feminist indicates that Maoist feminism is not the only alternative to mainstream pseudo-feminism anymore. The ruling class itself is seeing its hand forced into politicizing feminism. While the *Time* magazine multi-billion dollar empire endorses Gloria Steinem and Susan Faludi, a review from *Newsweek* appears prominently on the cover of Sommers's book.

In the short-run, the conservatives and Republicans are the advocates of defending the "canon." Meanwhile it is the Democratic Party that is the party of postmodern academia and hence the gender bureaucracy and its ideology of pseudo-feminism. In the long run, what has changed is that some conservative ruling class circles no longer feel they can abandon "feminism." To defend the status quo, the conservative ruling class circles will sponsor the Sommers type of writer to steal the thunder of MIM and all potential MIM-style critics of pseudo-feminism. For MIM, this is a positive and optimistic development, because while the ruling class can deprive MIM of an open field and undivided turf, it can do so only by fostering division within its own ranks, divisions that lead to politicization of the gender struggle.

Notes:

1. <http://www.vix.com/pub/men/books/sommers/fund.html>
2. <http://www.friesian.com/apa-pro.htm>
3. [http://www.cycad.com/cgi-bin/Upstream/sommers-dc-reply?embedded=yes&cumulative\\_category\\_title=Introduction;Authors+and+Intellectuals;Christina+Hoff+Sommers;Who+Stole+Feminism?&cumulative\\_category\\_id=Root;Authors;Hoff+Sommers;Who\\_Stole\\_Feminism](http://www.cycad.com/cgi-bin/Upstream/sommers-dc-reply?embedded=yes&cumulative_category_title=Introduction;Authors+and+Intellectuals;Christina+Hoff+Sommers;Who+Stole+Feminism?&cumulative_category_id=Root;Authors;Hoff+Sommers;Who_Stole_Feminism)
4. [http://www.cycad.com/cgi-bin/Upstream/starr-sommers?embedded=yes&cumulative\\_category\\_title=Introduction;Authors+and+Intellectuals;Christina+Hoff+Sommers;Who+Stole+Feminism?&cumulative\\_category\\_id=Root;Authors;Hoff+Sommers;Who\\_Stole\\_Feminism](http://www.cycad.com/cgi-bin/Upstream/starr-sommers?embedded=yes&cumulative_category_title=Introduction;Authors+and+Intellectuals;Christina+Hoff+Sommers;Who+Stole+Feminism?&cumulative_category_id=Root;Authors;Hoff+Sommers;Who_Stole_Feminism)
5. <http://remus.rutgers.edu/~rhoads/Politics/gender.gap.article>

## New Young Lords Party Documentary: Take up their Revolutionary Legacy

April 1998 — MIM, RAIL and a Puerto Rican student organization organized a showing of the new documentary *¡Pálante, Siempre, Pálante!: The Story of the Young Lords Party*. The Young Lords Party — later called the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization — was the Maoist vanguard of the Puerto Rican nation in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The film begins with Puerto Ricans in the New York area and with young revolutionary-minded students studying nationalist his-

tory. Inspired by a Black Panther newspaper article about the Young Lords Organization in Chicago, the young people in New York traveled to Chicago to meet the YLO. The youth returned to form an East Coast chapter, which later developed into the Young Lords Party.

The documentary's coverage of the early days of the Party and its organizing are especially good. While we recognize this video as the best on the subject, we disagree with the filmmaker's anti-ideology stance.

When MIM saw the unfinished video two years earlier, we criticized it for not talking about the importance of Mao to the Young Lords Party. Morales said that others had criticized the video along the same lines and that would be added. MIM — and the BPP and YLP themselves at the time — hold that the rise of Third World national liberation movements and the Chinese battle against revisionism were prime inspirations for their own movements.

When one Lord mentions weekly political study classes, the screen shows five revolutionary books, including "Quotations from Chairman Mao" but there is no other overt discussion of the very conscious application of Maoism to the YLP's concrete conditions. (Later, sharp video watchers will briefly see a newspaper containing a photo of the YLP Party Congress, with speakers sitting in front of portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao.) There is no other overt discussion of the very conscious application of Maoism to the YLP's concrete conditions.

As the video explains, the Young Lords Party organized around a 13 point program and platform, but the video spends little time on the program itself, skipping some points and excerpted others. For instance, point twelve reads "We believe armed self-defense and armed struggle are the only means to liberation" but is shortened to just "self-defense" which is much weaker. The demand for a socialist society is left in the video, but opposition to the "Amerikkkan military" [k's in original] was removed.

Finally, based on the evidence presented, MIM does not agree with the subtle cop-baiting of one leader of the transition to the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization.

Its anti-ideology stance leads the video to claim "police infiltration, shifting political directions, and infighting" destroyed the YLP. It is correct to criticize the FBI attacks on the YLP and it may be true that this was the prime cause of its demise. But one can not blame political struggle or changes in political line for the demise. Political struggle is how progress is made, in fact the word *Pálante* itself means "forward through struggle."

The YLP grappled with some difficult theoretical questions, such as the relationship of the people in Spanish Harlem, (and similar communities) to the island of Puerto Rico. Were these people a part of the nation of Puerto Rico on the island, part of new nations formed on the mainland, or merely national minorities within Amerika? The YLP spent considerable energy trying to define itself. Initially it formed as a Party of much more than just Puerto Ricans (including other Latinos and Blacks), and the 13-point program reflects this. The Young Lords attempted to find the correct answers to these questions and made many mistakes along the way.

But we can not criticize them for trying, and we certainly would not encourage the YLP to have ignored political struggle in the name of liberalism or eclecticism. Instead of downplaying theory and context and criticizing the YLP for trying to find the correct

line, it is more productive for ex-Lords to present their own analysis of these questions. In this vein, MIM is trying to find the documents of the Young Lords Party Congress, which we believe contain more detailed arguments behind some of their positions.

Its anti-politics line leads the video to celebrate the current progressive, although reformist, work of ex-Lords as if it was part of the same revolutionary work that was begun 30 years ago.

The discussion after the showing centered on the above issues of political theory and need for revolutionary work like that described in the film. Concretely, the struggle of students in local high school was discussed. The school is 53% Puerto Rican, but there are very few Latino teachers and they teach only the bilingual classes.

The bilingual program itself is a joke, as it doesn't fulfill its stated purpose of teaching the kids English. But no one cares that the kids don't learn English, because the expectation is that the students will go on to do only manual labor. But the program does succeed in quarantining the Spanish-speaking students up on the second floor of the building.

The Puerto Rican students are under attack culturally and militarily as well. Student displays of the Puerto Rican flag are restricted, but they are forced to attend long lectures on the treatment of the Amerikan flag. When students staged walk out protest, they are met with a huge police presence.

These examples show that Puerto Rican people are still a colonized people in need of national liberation and the ability to determine their own destinies. Institutions should serve the needs of the people, not oppress them.

MIM agrees with the YLP program point that reads "We want a true education of our Afro-Indio culture and Spanish language." This is one of the aims of the MIM/RAIL video and lecture series. We conduct public forums to educate people about revolutionary history as part of our organizing for revolution.

*Contact MIM to arrange a showing of ¡Pálate Siempre Pálate! in your community. See MIM Notes 101, June 1995, for a review of the then unfinished film and an interview with the filmmaker, Iris Morales. For information on ordering the film, contact (212) 713 5355, Columbia University Station, PO Box 250073 New York, NY 10025, Palantesi@aol.com.*

## Third parties lose in England Big-time & a review of Red Pepper

By a Comrade

The election of the Labour Party in England by an overwhelming majority meant savage losses by the so-called alternative parties and put them on par with their pitiful Amerikan electoral cousins. The Green Party suffered so badly it only polled over 1,000 votes in 10 seats it was running for in Parliament.

The point of Labour's victory after 18 years of Conservative Party

rule is to offer an alternative to organizing from the far left. The capitalist-class is always taking a risk of being on the wrong side of certain issues in such a way that the communists (in the worst case for the capitalists) seize on the issues and monopolize them. For this reason, when a communist is working alone on a big issue that is a matter of justice, s/he can be sure the bourgeoisie is getting a nervous feeling. Eventually, the bourgeoisie and the middle-classes move in to co-opt the issues taken up by those building institutions independent of ruling class institutions.

The typical middle-class activist only works on an issue so as to attract ruling-class attention with properly self-censored language. In this way, the petty-bourgeois liberals concede the heart of most political questions to the bourgeoisie and never challenge the ruling class's political control. It is only the proletariat that will work on an issue to its logical end and raise political consciousness, because that is the only way the proletariat can win. In England, we see now that the middle-class voter is the vast majority of voters. The supporters of the various so-called socialist groups and Greens abandoned ship the moment a "new" Labour Party appeared. The so-called alternative organizations and the Labour Party are appealing to the same base of the labor aristocracy and traditional petty-bourgeoisie.

Meanwhile, a magazine called Red Pepper is an example of the mixture of middle-class and proletarian issues. It has generally focused on how Tony Blair is a Clinton-clone and a spineless non-socialist.

In the June 1997 issue, MIM can hardly object to Gary Younge's article saying that England's flag should be abandoned for a new one, because of its colonialist and militarist past. He is complaining about the celebrities such as Jarvis Cocker, Naomi Campbell, Liam Gallagher and Geri from the Spice Girls appearing in photos clothed in the Union Jack. We only object that Younge let Amerikans and French off the hook too easily in order to vilify England's imperialism. Those flags are also symbols of oppression.

Another excellent article was by what MIM calls an internationalist social-democrat named Job Rabkin. Rabkin says England should not join the likes of Buchanan and Le Pen as the Communist Party USA advises in its alliance with non-monopoly capital. The graphic for the article is typical left-wing fantasy with 330 million Europeans and 330 million having jobs in the "New Europe." This typical bit of oinking on behalf of the middle-classes of imperialism is so exuberant that it forgets it is assigning work to infants, retirees and the sick. At some point the middle-classes are going to have to realize that we should not just want more people employed; instead we want to eradicate parasitic jobs predominant in the First World and want those unemployed to be leading productive lives in study, art etc. Even more important is that there should be a movement to end the parasitic consumerism at the expense of the Third World, not as a matter of altruism, but as a matter of peace and understanding the flaws of the capitalist-system.

Though we disagree with his core concerns of the middle-classes, Rabkin advocates for jobs, welfare and public services in an internationalist way by opposing those chauvinists such as Le Pen afraid of European Union. Rabkin wants cross-border alliances.

As such, Rabkin is more of a potential ally than the CP-USA, DSA and other chauvinist scum. In England, provincialists of the Socialist Labour Party and the Greens campaigned against the single

currency plan for the European Union. In contrast, we at MIM believe there is no progressive role for economic nationalism and most other kinds of nationalism in imperialist countries. These provincialist fools are paving the way for a national socialist movement, which is what the Nazi movement was called. On the other hand, despite some fairly decent articles, Red Pepper is mostly dedicated to the middle-class. We receive a special insert upholding the peace agreements in Guatemala, Palestine and South Africa as successes that should be followed by the Six Counties of Ireland.

As higher percentages of wimmin seek to imprison men instead of thoroughly attacking patriarchy, Red Pepper calls for more incarceration for alleged rape by complaining about the decline of rape conviction. On the other hand, we should admit that Red Pepper does pay some attention to prison issues in a middle-class way by demanding of the new Labour government early release for non-violent offenders, an end to phone tapping, support for undocumented immigrants, a ban on CS spray and long-handled batons and an end to anti-Terror and public order laws used against protests. Under the new regime in England, it is important to understand the vacillation of the middle-classes. That shines through in the election results in which a Clinton-clone carried the day and now has a 69 percent approval rating. We urge the English, Scottish and Irish comrades to rally around MIM as an unwavering proletarian pole to sort out the inevitable maneuverings of the imperialists and the middle-classes in the new government.

Note: Red Pepper, No. 37, pp. 7, 13, 18-20.

## England: Struggle For Maoist party Continues

London, England, 1998 — A cyberspace mailing list based in England to discuss Marx and Lenin has fallen apart. The so-called "Leninlist" was an offshoot from the "Marxism List" administered by SPOONS at jefferson.village.virginia.edu.

The last straw for the split was apparently the question of Cuba. When the 1980s-style revisionists on the list found out that Maoism considered Cuba's Castro to be enemy, they kicked out some people, including Adolfo Olaechea based in London. Adolfo Olaechea apparently sped up the process by calling Cuba "fascist" and "social-fascist."

The Leninlist formed initially to avoid the social democrats and Trotskyists on the "Marxism List." Initially Leninlist invited MIM participation, but Adolfo Olaechea purged MIM that same month in June 1997.

The backbone of the organization is the so-called Communist Action Group. MIM held high hopes for the Communist Action Group as it initially formed, but as time goes on, it is clear that it is a warmed over version of 1980s revisionism. By holding up defense of Castro as more important than Mao's theory of class struggle against the bourgeoisie in the party, the Communist Action Group demonstrates that it has learned nothing from the ever-more-blatant restoration of capitalism in the old Soviet bloc.

The duty of someone such as Castro who criticized Mao and Maoism on behalf of the Soviet Union is to look back and say honestly that Mao was right and Castro and his pro-Soviet line were wrong: there really is a bourgeoisie in the party in this era of socialist revolution. Yet Castro goes on singing the same song as if nothing had changed in the last 30 years. For this alone, Castroism is an enemy ideology. No amount of charity to the Third World or holding of international conferences gives Castro the right to avoid the fundamental duties of communist leaders today.

In England, Adolfo Olaechea has been associated with several failures of Maoist organizing. In this latest round, he offered the Leninlist to put a 1990s face on revisionism. Adolfo Olaechea had the role of protecting the Khrushchevites in Leninlist from Maoist criticism. To do this, he used his credentials of association with the Peruvian Revolution and banned MIM in June.

In a posting to marxism-general@lists.village.virginia.edu on October 1, Adolfo Olaechea was so good as to make clear that he rued the loss of his pact with Castroite and Khrushchevite revisionism. "it is now evident that he has opened wide the doors to all the caricatures of Maoism we had formerly kept out of LeninList by the legitimate moderators process." This is how Adolfo Olaechea points out to the revisionists that they are losing their cover by ditching him. Now surely MIM will attack he warns them.

Leninlist also long ago banned Paul Cockshott, according to an October 2nd, marxism-international@jefferson.village.virginia.edu message. MIM does not find this surprising considering that Cockshott has an idea about the flow of surplus value and agrees with MIM that the majority of English workers are not producing surplus-value.

A November 8 statement by the practical owner of Leninlist reiterated that there would be no return to the status quo, because of the issue of Cuba. It made favorable references to various revisionists and social democrats including the CPI and CPI-M in India.

MIM reiterates that it is the vanguard organization of England and other English-speaking imperialist countries. Comrades should stop wasting time with warmed over revisionists.

Note: gopher://jefferson.village.Virginia.EDU:70/0R937232-943620-/pubs/listservs /spoons/marxism-international.archive

## Pol Pot dies: Imperialist Propaganda Marches on

by MC17, 1998

In early April 1998 Pol Pot died. The leader of the Khmer Rouge ruled in what was previously called Cambodia from 1975 through 1978. Pol Pot has become infamous as a symbol of the supposed genocidal actions of communists and Maoists specifically. But as

with all history, it is important to examine the perspective of the information we are fed in imperialist Amerika. Although Pol Pot was no Maoist, he did lead a group that considered itself communist in a war against the u.s. imperialists and the reactionary Cambodian government. While MIM does not defend Pol Pot or the Khmer Rouge as any kind of model for revolutionary struggle or state power, it is important to dispel the imperialist lies upon the death of Pol Pot so that we can learn from the true history of Kampuchea.

### **u.s. devastation of Cambodia**

By 1975, an estimated 10 percent of the Kampuchean population — 600,000 — had already died as a result of the Vietnam War. Those 600,000 deaths were caused by u.s. efforts to track down Vietnamese communists. According to the Peter Jennings documentary “The Killing Fields”, Cambodia specifically absorbed 500,000 tons of u.s. bombs in the early 1970s.

Nixon’s ordering of the bombing of Cambodia, and u.s. troop forays into Cambodia, were a turning point in the movement against the Vietnam War in the united states. The national guard killed four students at Kent State on May 4, 1970 because of a protest against the u.s. war in Cambodia.

Today, however, many people who never opposed the u.s. role in Indochina are complaining about Pol Pot’s violence. That hypocrisy is increasingly easy to get away with as people forget about the u.s. war in Indochina.

The u.s.-instigated war — and the bombings in particular — also caused the creation of 2 million refugees, who flooded the cities. The cities then came to depend on the u.s. food aid to live because of the war and the inefficiency of the right-wing Lon Nol regime.

Hence, Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge seized power from Lon Nol in 1975 in the worst possible situation: The people were starving, Kampuchea was the poorest country in the world and one-third of its people were refugees.

### **Executions and other deaths**

The Boston Globe coverage of Pol Pot’s death contained the typical characterization of the Khmer Rouge: “When the Khmer Rouge marched into the capital on April 17, 1975 to establish their agrarian society, they chased out city-dwellers at gunpoint, killed anyone suspected of being an intellectual, forced millions into labor camps, and demanded that children inform on their parents. People were often arrested simply for wearing glasses or knowing a foreign language. Money and private property were abolished, schools and temples were shuttered, and medicine and food became scarce. During a nearly four-year reign, as many as 2 million people died of starvation, execution, illness or overwork.”(1)

Imperialists like to suggest that Pol Pot had two or three million people executed so the above is slightly more accurate in that it does not claim all of these people were executed. Pol Pot did execute between 75,000 and 150,000 people between 1975 and 1979. Vietnam invaded in 1978 and threw the Khmer Rouge out of power.

The commonly heard but unreliable figure of 2 or 3 million comes from counting all deaths in the 1975 to 1979 period based on estimates of population. A Finnish inquiry commission concludes that 1 million or fewer people died in the Pol Pot period. The commis-

sion documented that at least several thousand of those were because of direct military battles with Vietnam. Part of the discrepancy in death figures comes from those who fail to account for the decrease in births that inevitably happens when a population is lacking adequate food and fighting a war. These missed births get counted as deaths in population projections that assume the birth rate did not change.

Indeed, most of the Pol Pot executions were committed in an atmosphere of war (if not actual battle). The famous skull-pile pictures from Kampuchea come from a policy especially aimed at the Vietnamese. Today the newspapers and television stations reprint such photos without historical explanation.

Serious famine followed again after the final Vietnamese invasion of December 1978, and by the time international aid started it was too late for many. A total of 2 million, or 30 percent of the population, died in the 1970s from the u.s. war, the Pol Pot period and Vietnamese invasions.

One of the main charges from imperialist critics is that Pol Pot oppressed the people by forcing them out of the cities. It is true that Pol Pot had Phnom Penh emptied; however, given that these people were starving and that the economy was in a shambles, it was not a bad move, economically. It seems likely to have saved lives, something not usually considered by Khmer Rouge critics. Even so, the Khmer Rouge admitted that 2,000 or 3,000 people died in the process of migration out of Phnom Penh.

Had Pol Pot come to power and allowed his people to starve to death in Phnom Penh, and allowed his people to be slaughtered by the Vietnamese, no one would be calling him a draconian, psychotic, genocidal, former dictator as the press does today. What Lon Nol did was right, say the Amerikan liberals and conservatives: let the people starve and beg for u.s. aid as a solution. Certainly Pol Pot’s strategy was debatable. Unfortunately, the u.s. media does not allow for that debate of how to save lives. Instead it propagates simplistic lies about communism.

### **Pol Pot was not a Maoist**

Pol Pot never called himself a Maoist while Mao was alive nor did Maoist china recognize the Khmer Rouge as Maoist. In fact, Pol Pot only took up the banner of Maoism after Mao died when he needed aid from China to fight the Vietnamese invasion. This opportunism has confused many who only look at the labels and ignore the practice of Maoism as a measuring stick.

It is true that there was a relationship between the Khmer Rouge and China under Mao. The Maoist press at various times praised the efforts of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Korean peoples to struggle for self-determination and the rebuilding of their countries, but never called their communist parties Maoist.

China also gave aid to Vietnam, Cambodia, Korea and other governments — like Tanzania’s in Africa, which did not even claim to be communist. The only government that Mao recognized as genuinely communist was Albania’s.

Anyone who want’s to condemn Mao’s aid to the Khmer Rouge will have to condemn the u.s. government in the same breath. The united states aided the Khmer Rouge in the 1980s, because they were enemies of u.s. foes, the Vietnamese, who had invaded and ousted them in 1979.(1)

## Imperialist reaction

The imperialists seem saddened by the death of Pol Pot, expressing dismay at the lost opportunity to capture him and put him on trial for all of the deaths during his brief rule in Kampuchea. Many people, particularly imperialist historians, say they feel robbed of a tribunal to hold Pol Pot and others accountable for their actions.

The Khmer Rouge is still in existence but its size and strength are significantly diminished and many believe they are close to total defeat. This prediction from the imperialists must be taken with a grain of salt as the same people have been predicting the imminent defeat of revolutionary movements around the world even as some have maintained strength and even gained ground over the past century. Last year, Pol Pot's officers turned against him after he ordered deputy Son Sen and his family murdered. Pol Pot was condemned in a show trial and given house arrest, but not turned over to outsiders.(1)

According to bourgeois sources, just a few weeks after Pol Pot's death, the Khmer Rouge radio station called for national reconciliation with the government. They declared the Khmer Rouge dead with Pol Pot and renamed themselves the National Solidarity Party. Noun Nou, a spokesperson for the Khmer Rouge said after Pol Pot's cremation: "The Khmer Rouge ended today at 9:52 a.m." According to Nou, the reason for the new party "is the change from being a dictatorship to a democracy. We believe in democracy and freedom." If this new party means that the Khmer Rouge or even just a section of the group is joining the bourgeois political machine this is not progress. The imperialists have not brought prosperity or democracy and freedom to the Third World. They have brought dictatorship and death.

## The fight goes on

The united states war in Southeast Asia killed 600,000 people in Cambodia according to the Finnish Inquiry Commission. The total u.s.-caused deaths in Indochina run into the millions. But the imperialists still evaluate that as a legitimate war while calling Pol Pot a genocidal killer. These double standards come from Amerikan's failure to analyze history from the perspective of the majority of the world's people: the proletariat and peasantry. If it is assumed that the imperialist's actions are always justified in the name of capitalism and democracy, history will always be written from the perspective of the imperialists.

This is why alternative media and alternative history is so important. Where else will the people learn the truth about history and gain a different perspective on events? MIM encourages everyone who is serious about the study of history to support the people's media by financing and writing for *MIM Notes* and *MIM Theory*. Notes:

1. *Boston Globe* April 17, 1998.
2. Many of the facts are taken from *MIM Theory* printed inside *MIM Notes* 41, May 18, 1990. For a complete copy of that issue of MN send \$5.

# Sam Marcy dies: Revisionist Leader of Workers World Party

by MC12, 1998

Sam Marcy, founder and chairperson of the Workers World Party, a revisionist party based in the United States died on February 1, at the age of 86. According to a statement from the WWP's National Committee, Marcy had an activist career of more than 70 years, highlighted by his tenure with the WWP, founded by him and a few others in 1959. At this writing MIM hasn't dealt with Marcy's complete political history, so our comments are based on the WWP that he represented, including as a contributor to the Workers World newspaper until two years ago.

WWP under Marcy's leadership was remarkable for its militant defense of the most reactionary, revisionist, and social-imperialist regimes, thereby not only discrediting true socialist and national liberation movements, but also sowing confusion in the ranks of many potential revolutionaries and communists.

The statement from the National Committee said, "He promoted the militant defense of all socialist countries against imperialist intervention and internal counterrevolution while maintaining a world view that was uniquely independent and consistently revolutionary." MIM agrees that all oppressed nations should be defended against imperialist intervention, and we agree that most of the movements against revisionist regimes — such as those led by Boris Yeltsin, Vaclav Havel, Lech Walesa and so on, were anti-communist. However, the error of maintaining that Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, China, Korea, or Cuba were socialist countries in the 1980s has grave consequences for the international communist movement. This is perhaps the worst feature of the WWP under Marcy's leadership.

Deirdre Griswold, writing for Workers World on February 12, speaks of Marcy's love for the Russian Revolution, in the country of his birth. "With all its later vicissitudes, the Soviet Union inspired the workers and oppressed all over the world. It helped other revolutions break the imperialist grip. And it survived until the Yeltsin counterrevolution. To leftists who had earlier given up on the Soviet Union, Comrade Sam would say, 'Don't throw out the baby with the bath water.'" MIM is among those leftists whom Marcy would condemn for using the tools of political economy and materialist analysis to conclude that the Russian Revolution was lost to a resurgent bourgeoisie within the communist party itself after the rise to power of Khrushchev in the 1950s. At the time that Marcy wrote *Perestroika: A Marxist Critique* in 1990, Griswold writes, "many experienced Marxists were devastated and paralyzed by the news coming out of the Soviet Union. Others were completely thrown into the bourgeois camp by Gorbachev's capitulation, vainly hoping for something good to come of it." MIM and all Maoists were in neither category, because we understood the restoration of capitalism that had occurred more than 30 years earlier in the USSR, and just 15 years earlier in China — a country that Marcy's WWP believes is socialist to this day.

WWP offers better lip service than some other so-called com-

munists to the notion of national oppression within U.S. borders. As Griswold writes: “Sam would keep returning to Lenin’s views on the national question. Communists must support self-determination for all the nationally oppressed within the borders of the U.S. — African Americans, Latinos, Asians, and Native people. Should there be integration? Federation? Separation? It was up to the oppressed themselves to decide what political forms would facilitate their freedom.”

To the embarrassment of many Trotskyists, this is close to what Trotsky said, too, and it appears close to an actual recognition of the need for genuine national liberation for the Black, Latino, and First Nations in North America. However, this apparent good will is sabotaged by the insistence that the labor aristocracy — in the U.S. this means primarily the white working class — is an ally in this struggle. So it is too with the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP-USA). As much as the struggle of the oppressed internal colonies — and oppressed nations everywhere — is lumped together with the parasitic interests of the labor and gender aristocracies,

who draw their life’s blood from the system of imperialism and patriarchy, the genuine aspects of national liberation struggle are lost. This happens in the practical day-to-day operations of the movement as well as at the theoretical level. As MIM has argued in MIM Theory 10, WWP’s demands for more pay for the labor aristocracy were direct assaults on the international proletariat, from whose hides such pay raises inevitably come.

Sam Marcy and WWP, in their vocal criticisms of imperialism and patriarchy, often apparently put themselves on the right side of the principal contradiction under imperialism — the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations. However, with their revisionist views on capitalist restoration, and their grotesque pandering to the parasitic interests of the labor aristocracy in the imperialist countries, they destroyed WWP’s potential for making a serious contributing to the international communist movement, the movement the imperialist and patriarchal systems they intended to oppose.

# What’s Your Line?



## The On-Line Edition of MIM’s Essential Pamphlet <http://www.etext.org/Politics/MIM/wim/wyl/>

Many people become lost in the maze of groups calling themselves communist or socialist. This pamphlet sorts them out according to general ideological orientation. There are three sections: a general essay on the materialist method of choosing and ideology, a glossary of terms and ideologies so that the labels such as Trotskyist or Stalinist can be meaningful, and a list of organizations, their orientations, our comments on them, and a list of further readings on them.



# THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

.....

## MIM cuts back International Ministry

January 1998

**M**IM has cutback its “International Ministry” to reflect its 1997 Congress resolution on the subject. This reflects both a reallocation of resources and a tightening of security. However, we will continue to devote large portions of *MIM Theory* to articles from international parties and comrades.

In 1993, MIM made some steps toward international outreach by attending meetings and visiting with comrades. Prior to that time MIM had a very low international profile except by Internet, where MIM was a pioneer.

In summing up the period from 1993 to 1997, MIM can point to some positive benefits of international outreach. The flow of concrete information about Peru and the Philippines has greatly improved on account of international outreach. We have also learned concretely about the balance of forces internationally between imperialism and proletarian-led masses.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, we have also learned of several attempts to regroup the international communist movement. It is MIM’s opinion that although the prospects of such regroupment are vastly improved over the time of the 1980s, it is still premature.

Hard as it may seem to believe, the issues of Cuba and Korea still split the international communist movement. The revisionists who stand exposed with the outright collapse of the Soviet Union still sing the same songs about Korea and Cuba. There is a greater chance of Castro and Kim admitting past errors and launching cultural revolutions against the bourgeoisie in the party than there is of the international communist movement uniting “from below” on these questions. If the Cuban, Vietnamese and Korean comrades could see their way to Maoism in review of what has happened in the international communist movement, we can reassess the possibilities of regroupment. Right now we find that regroupment is going to happen, and happen on a revisionist basis.

In the 10% of the world that is imperialist, there is an additional roadblock in that the individuals and organizations supporting the MIM cardinal principle on the petty-bourgeois majority do not yet have the international stature, connection to the masses and experience to impose a successful conclusion on the battle against revisionism. Capitulation to the petty-bourgeoisie and imperialist parasitism is still the rule and not the exception. Although MIM could conceivably win some major battles on the question of regroupment in the imperialist countries soon, such is unlikely to be a stable strategic situation unless MIM expands its connection amongst the youth, lumpenproletariat and oppressed nations.

This is a fluid time in the international communist movement and it is tempting to believe in the possibility of major victories in regroupment. From examination, summation and experience, MIM can say such would be a mistake.

We remind comrades internationally to be on their guard against

people from the imperialist countries posing as communists. In the imperialist countries there is not much danger in discussing politics with people who may or may not be genuine MIM comrades or other comrades. At all times, our Third World comrades should protect their own security in relation to the supposed comrades of the imperialist countries.

## Overcome the Bend in the road, Developing the People’s War

Reprinted from: *El Diario Internacional*  
No. 41

September 1997

One of the latest documents of the Communist Party of Peru is entitled: “Overcome the Bend in the Road Developing the People’s War.” This text is dated September 1995, and it contains an excellent report on the current situation in the People’s War.

The document reaffirms again that Chairman Gonzalo is the leader and guide of the Peruvian revolution. The document has been received with great elation by all the political organisations and support groups that for many years continue to render indefatigable support to the armed struggle in Peru.

There are various extremely important elements in this Party document. In this brief note we want to deal with only two aspects: The first is the reaffirmation of the good situation of the armed struggle in Peru, which implies the defeat of the Fujimori armed forces.

The second aspect relates to the fidelity that the PCP expresses towards Chairman Gonzalo. This latter factor, deals a heavy blow to the capitulators, traffickers and bogus friends of the Peruvian revolution, who — using various ruses — have attempted to slander the leader and guide of the revolution, portraying him as a vulgar capitulator and as the author of the “peace letters.”

The document says: “Take everything Chairman Gonzalo and the Central Committee have said before as the political foundation, particularly the documents of the III Plenary Session, and those of the Working Sessions of the Central Committee, as well as the document “Against the Mass Murderers and Quislings Dictatorship, Persist with the People’s War.”

It is worth noting that everything that Chairman Gonzalo has said before refers to his political documents, military instructions,

speeches, scientific thesis on the national and international situation, that, as a sum total, constitute Gonzalo Thought.

This great theoretical legacy, is the ideological, political and military basis upon which the PCP and the Peruvian communists sustain themselves.

“Everything Chairman Gonzalo has said before” must be understood within the historical process developing from the sixties until his speech of September of 1992, when he was already a captive of the Peruvian dictatorship.

The title of this document by itself, constitutes an homage to Chairman Gonzalo. It raises as a banner of the revolution his famous speech of September 1992, when surrounded by a mob of policemen, snitches, and mercenary hacks from the reactionary media, Chairman Gonzalo proclaimed that his arrest was “merely a bend, nothing more. A bend in the road. The road is long but we shall arrive and win victory. You shall see it!”

In this same document we are commenting on — and as if to leave no doubt regarding the love and respect of the Party towards the leader of the revolution — militants, sympathisers and masses are called forth to mobilise for the coming December 3, and celebrate Chairman Gonzalo’s birthday and the Day of the People’s Liberation Army.

In this context it is worth asking: What do the leaders of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) and of the Revolutionary Communist Party USA (RCP-USA) — those who never tire of asserting and spreading the idea that Chairman Gonzalo is the author of the “peace letters” — say now?

It is evident that the issuing of the last document of PCP once again unmasks the dirty game of the RIM and RCP-USA leadership.

It is now clear that this Yankee mafia of bogus “Maoists” are trafficking with their feigned support for the People’s War and for the PCP. Today, no one can any longer hold the slightest doubt that these individuals are openly opposed and antagonistic towards the line of the Communist Party of Peru, and are dire and overt enemies of Chairman Gonzalo and his Thought.

## A Balance of 4 Years of struggle Against Opportunism Epitaph for the Rim Leaders’ Clique

Reprinted from *El Diario Internacional* #41  
September 1997

In April 1994, we made public our differences with the opportunist leaders of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM). This struggle — which quickly developed into an acute ideological confrontation — began 7 months after the Peruvian regime published the first “peace letter” (1).

The debate centered around our defence of the points of view of

the Communist Party of Peru regarding the “peace agreement”, and in fighting against the opportunist, conciliatory and eclectic position of the RIM leaders. This struggle put in evidence the acute contradictions between the PCP and the opportunists who hide themselves behind high-fallutin and pharisaic political tirades supposedly supporting the Peruvian revolution.

From October 1993 to date, nearly four years have elapsed, and it would be worthwhile to draw a brief balance sheet of this struggle involving tens of organisations and political parties abroad.

The struggle against opportunist chicanery within RIM has had nearly the same political importance as the struggle against the capitulationist leaders of the Movimientos Popular Peru (MPPs) who were spreading the propaganda in favour of “peace letters” outside Peru.

Both, the former and the latter, attempted to erode the foundations of the Peruvian revolution. Openly, or subrepticiously, both aimed their fire against Chairman Gonzalo, the leadership of the PCP and the People’s War. They tried their best to demobilise the international movement to support the Peruvian revolution.

The infamy of the RIM leaders, precisely because of its opportunist and undefined character was, in many ways, harder to fight against than that of the overt supporters of the Fujimori fraud.

What has been the results of this struggle? What is the current situation of opportunism within RIM?

A political struggle, like all class battles, can be judged by its results, both in the short and the long term. In class struggle, and depending on the concrete conditions within which this struggle develops, there are both negative and positive results. These are evaluated fundamentally in function of the strategic objectives of the revolution.

In this case we are dealing with, evidence shows that the struggle has turned into a complete rout for the RIM leaders. Doubtlessly, this means an advance in the struggle against opportunism within the International Communist Movement.

The defeat of opportunism within RIM, is a victory for the Communist Party of Peru, a victory for Chairman Gonzalo, and a victory for all revolutionaries in the world who decidedly partook in the struggle against capitulation and the treacherous schemes of this clique.

There is much evidence to demonstrate the catastrophic situation into which the leaders of RIM have now sunk. They have been totally debunked, isolated and bereft of any prestige. Their loud self-proclamation as the greatest “maoists” on earth, no longer reports them any political capital. They are looked at with distrust, and in some cases, ejected from public events in many countries.

Today, no one believes them when they mouth their shrill slogans of “long live the Peruvian revolution”, and even less are they entertained in their calls for “developing two line struggle” and “defending the people’s war” in Peru.

One of the most concrete and current facts showing the total bankruptcy of the RIM’s leading clique is the grotesque manner in which they are attempting now to traffic with PCP documents and with some editions of *El Diario* published in Lima. In both cases, they try to give the impression that both the PCP and *El Diario* are supporting their position.

Another expression of the failure of the RIM leaders is the perseverance and strengthening of *El Diario Internacional*. It is a well know fact that since October 1993, the leaders of RIM, in cahoots with police agents, capitulators and lumpen elements, initiated vi-

cious actions aimed at destroying this newspaper. Their defeat has been complete, and our paper, strengthened and with increased prestige, has now exceeded its 40th edition.

However, the most telling evidence of the fact that opportunism within RIM has lost the battle, is the incontrovertible fact that the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) never sanctioned the political behaviour of the leaders of this organisation.

In these 4 years, not a single document — in fact, not a single word from the PCP — has come out to support or praise in any way the behaviour of Co-RIM. Moreover, the PCP has just published a document (*Overcome the Bend in the Road by Developing the People's War*) dealing the harshest possible blows against the opportunists within RIM, people who for many years have been aiming at denigrating and liquidating Chairman Gonzalo.

The new document from PCP, reaffirms that the leader of the Party is Chairman Gonzalo. At the same time, it calls upon the militants, sympathisers and the people, to celebrate the Anniversary Day of the Leader of the Party and the Revolution (December 3).

These two facts are sufficient to show that the PCP's position is diametrically opposed to the counter-revolutionary views of the leadership of RIM. There is no middle ground in this regard:

If Chairman Gonzalo is — as the RIM leaders allege — the author of the “peace letters” and has capitulated before Fujimori, how can it be that he continues to be the leader of the Peruvian revolution, and moreover, that the Party would issue a call to render him homage?

That the Communist Party of Peru never came out in defence of their position vis a vis the “peace letters”, has resulted lethal for the leaders of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM).

In fact, the PCP — without having stated it officially — has laid down a line which is contradictory to that of opportunism within RIM. The contradiction PCP versus Co-RIM will continue to develop within this organisation. This struggle will have as its fundamental objectives the change of leadership and the reformulation of the Maoist line within RIM.

It is important to consider that already back in 1988 Chairman Gonzalo had already established that RIM would mean an important step forward in the reconstitution of the Communist International, provided this organisation “**BASED ITSELF UPON, AND FOLLOWED, A JUST AND CORRECT IDEOLOGICAL LINE**”(2).

Within the above panorama, failure to carry out struggle and to do nothing for expelling from the leadership those individuals who have usurped RIM, is simply to conciliate with a counter-revolutionary line inside this organisation. To remain idle in the face of this problem, is tantamount to providing advantages to opportunism, and this, objectively, favours the forces of imperialism. The RIM — as it currently functions — is, from any point of view, useless for the advancement of the International Communist Movement.

Reality and concrete facts demand radical changes in this organisation. If the aim is truly to make RIM into a step forward for the reconstitution of the Communist International, we can not allow it to remain any longer in the clutches of a dishonest and opportunist leadership.

It should be stressed that since 1984, the individuals who currently run RIM have been parading all over the world wrapped up in the flag of the People's War in Peru. For a long time, they sought

to make great political capital by taking advantage of the process led by the Communist Party of Peru, using it as a shield to protect themselves from the criticism and attacks of their opponents within the International Communist Movement.

The Co-Rim leaders have claimed a monopoly of leadership by exploiting the international prestige of the Peruvian revolution. Without any merits of their own (either in theory or in practice), bereft of any international prestige, with no capacity for mass mobilisation, they sought to harness for their own objectives the support for the People's War.

As part and parcel of their murky objectives, they — in the philistine manner — self-proclaimed and publicised their “Maoism” while portraying themselves as a key link in the chain of the historical process developing in Peru.

In the process of struggle against opportunism within RIM, the team of *El Diario Internacional* has played a first rank role. In this struggle, we had the exceptional advantage of being well acquainted with the ideological basis of the PCP (Gonzalo Thought), and above all, of having a clear understanding of the general political line of the revolution laid down by Chairman Gonzalo.

In this debate, we correctly applied the PCP's line regarding the “peace letters” and the struggle against opportunism.

Our initial points of view were set out in *El Diario Internacional* number 23 in an article entitled “The Silence of the Lambs”. There, without mentioning yet by name the individuals that bureaucratically manage RIM, we unmasked the dirty game that they hid behind their silent tactics and their refusal to take up a firm position vis a vis the “peace agreement”:

“The silence of the bogus friends of the Peruvian revolution turns out to be worse when they deport themselves nearly in the same fashion as do the capitulators and traffickers. Using the same methodology of those carrying out propaganda for ‘struggle for a peace agreement,’ these bogus friends have resorted to pigeonholing the documents of PCP, among those, the Central Committee's Declaration of October 7th, the International Directive of the PCP, and also statements by Socorro Popular and the war prisoners themselves. And what does it mean to ignore the documents of PCP or to place question marks upon them? Nothing but an endorsement of the Fujimori fraud, playing into the hands of US imperialism, and above all, failure to recognise the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru...”

“...silence, as a political concept, has a class character, and in this concrete situation we are analysing, it responds to a position which is drawing closer to that of world reaction... with this silence, there is conciliation with the individuals who are currently propagandising abroad the “peace agreement” fraud. Up to now, the RIM leaders have said nothing about these individuals, and it is possible that they are keeping links open with them...” (*El Diario Internacional*, April 23, 1994).

The choice of public arena to settle issues with the RIM leaders was not an act of impulse on the part *El Diario Internacional*. This choice followed a process in which the space for internal debate had already exhausted itself. Before the publication of “Silence of the Lambs”, we made every effort to get the RIM leaders to understand their mistakes around this issue, and we enjoined them to change their course of action.

In seeking this result, we met several times with Massoud Rahimi, one of the public officers of RIM and Coordinator of the International Emergency Committee (IEC). We also held a discussion with Raymond Lotta, leader of the Revolutionary Communist Party USA (RCP-USA). If for anything, these conversations served to reveal the despicable moral character of these individuals who hid under the pretext of “carrying out investigations”. People that in reality were already willfully working against Chairman Gonzalo, the PCP, and the People’s War.

The “silence” of the RIM leaders was not really that innocuous. Beginning in October 1993, the leaders of RIM set in motion and executed a triple game.

First game: While alleging to be involved in “investigations”, they declared themselves “neutral”. That is, “neutral” in inverted commas, because, in fact, they were working feverishly to demobilise and paralyse all those who were carrying out a tenacious struggle against the capitulators abroad.

In the name of “Maoism”, they summoned people to keep quiet and calm, “awaiting the conclusion of the Co-RIM’s investigation”. Within this same ruse of “neutrality” they systematically instilled and disseminated the idea that Chairman Gonzalo was the author of the “peace letters”.

Second game: Secretly they maintained links with Javier Esparza, Ostap Morote, the La Torre family, and other capitulators abroad. They promoted a dirty tricks campaign boycotting the circulation of PCP documents, and the documents of its generated organisms. They forbade their supporters the reading and distribution of *El Diario Internacional*.

Third game: Pharisaically they continued to shout their support for the People’s War and the Communist Party of Peru, while denying and rejecting the official views of the PCP around the “peace letters” and Chairman Gonzalo.

### From Silence to Open Collusion

At the end of 1994, the RIM leaders emitted two semi-clandestine documents in which — in bits and dribbles — they began to lay out the results of their purported investigation. In these documents, they portrayed the “peace letters” as an expression of “two line struggle within PCP”.

They pointed out that these documents were the product of “a very important process of study and investigation”. They also warned that these documents “should not be revealed in any public or semi-public way to prevent the enemy taking advantage of these polemics”.

Those documents confirmed that the leaders of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) had not the slightest intention of changing their position, and, on the contrary, they were attempting to present spurious arguments around the “peace letters” as the great results of a grand “Marxist-Leninist-Maoist” investigation.

The documents elaborated by the RIM leaders — bursting with lies and misrepresentations — had but a single aim: To officially sanction the work of police agents, capitulators and opportunists, as if this work was a contrary line acting within PCP. Together with this, they suspiciously denied that the “peace letters” were a fraud engineered by the American CIA and the Peruvian police.

Basing themselves upon such false premises, the RIM leaders called for dealing with the “peace letters” issue as a mere contradiction among the people, arguing that we should “deal with the

sickness in order to save the patient”. This vulgarisation and twisting of a quotation from Chairman Mao, was used in this case as a ruse to conciliate with police agents and capitulationists whom they dubbed as the “patients”.

In January 1995 we responded to the two documents of Co-RIM. For that purpose, we published the article “In Defense of the Peruvian Revolution, A Response to the RIM Investigators” In that article, among other things, we said: “The leaders of RIM are seriously mistaken and their analysis of the Communist Party of Peru and the struggle against the so called “peace agreement” fraud, contributes nothing to the revolutionary process led by the PCP. We believe that the opinions they formulate in those documents gravely breach proletarian internationalism and violate the ideological and political principles sustaining the unity of the international communist movement. That is why it is necessary to respond and throw a light over the erroneous concepts expressed by the leadership of RIM”.

In March 1995, nearly two years since the release of the “peace letters”, the RIM leadership, completely isolated and discredited, issued a public statement entitled: “Let us all rally to defend our Red Flag flying over Peru”.

As we said at the time, with that document, the RIM leaders had just made a somersault from trappist silence into outright charlatanism. In *El Diario* number 26, June 1995, we noted the following:

“This pronouncement again confirms that the RIM leaders continue to veer towards clearly opportunist positions. Neither their rhetoric, nor the ampoules language they use, can hide their close alignment with capitulators and traffickers working against the People’s War in Peru... Their last statement — strongly reeking of opportunism — is designed to be a lifejacket to rescue themselves from political shipwreck. What is the gist of the problem? In these two years, while the leadership of RIM was crawling around and dancing like a harlot before Fujimori’s fraud, in Europe and in other continents, an important mobilisation was taking place to defend the People’s war and the PCP. Dozens of parties, political organisations, and support groups were advancing a tenacious struggle against the capitulationists promoting “peace agreement”. Within this movement, nearly the totality of the rank and file of RIM took part. Only the Revolutionary Communist Party USA (RCP-USA) and two small Colombian groups, plus the Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran) — closely aligned with the RIM leadership — excluded themselves from this great movement of anti-imperialist struggle. In this framework, the leaders of RIM, overtaken by their own rank and file, were left isolated and discredited...” (EDI, N.26, June 1995).

From then on, the story is quite well known. The leaders of RIM continued with their rightward slide and currently they go around publicly asserting that Chairman Gonzalo is the author of the “peace letters”. That is what they have said in different documents, among others, in *Revolutionary Worker*, the paper of the RCP-USA. At the end of 1996, they published in *World to Win*, their official mouthpiece (Number 22), a document entitled “Twists and Turns of the Two Line Struggle”. In that document, besides emitting poisonous allegations against the leader of the Peruvian revolution, they openly assail the current position of the PCP.

The attack against the leadership of PCP comes hypocritically disguised under the pretext of criticising *El Diario Internacional*. In that text they say: “There are those who while claiming to support the People’s war stupidly take to a different road. They continue to proclaim that the peace agreement is a fraud and a concoction of the police”.

For all we know — and its documents are there to prove it — the Communist Party of Peru continues to hold firm to its position regarding the “peace agreement”. The PCP points out that this concoction is nothing but a fraud engineered by the Peruvian police and US imperialism; a fraud promoted by a rightwing opportunist line (ROL) made up of infiltrated elements, traitors, capitulationists and old revisionists.

As an epilogue, we can say that the manipulations used by the RIM leaders to disguise their opportunist line have come to a dead end. From October 1993 trafficking with the People’s War has turned ever more difficult for them. Today, no one gives their charlatanism or their high fallutin proclamations as “Marxist-Leninist-Maoists” the slightest credibility.

The “peace letters” plot served, among other things to bring out to the surface the rottenness festering within RIM. It has also served to show objectively that opportunism, as a counter-revolutionary line, continues to be a grave danger for the revolution’s advance.

Notes:

1. “Peace letters.” The first of these letters was announced by Fujimori on October 1st 1993. From the beginning, the Peruvian regime alleged that these letters were authored by Chairman Gonzalo.
2. “Bases of Discussion” — Document of the Communist Party of Peru, 1988.

# El Diario International on Gonzalo

From *El Diario International* #41  
5th Anniversary of the September Speech:  
Chairman Gonzalo’s Historical Mandate

## The Communist Party of Peru calls to render homage to the leader of the Peruvian revolution

### General Mobilisation in Peru and abroad

Last September 24 was the fifth anniversary of the speech of Chairman Gonzalo. A memorable speech won in titanic combat over Fujimori’s myrmidons who, like savage dogs, were barking and surrounding the cage from which the leader of the revolution addressed the people, the working class, and the communists of the entire world.

*El Diario Internacional* joins in these celebrations, and for that purpose, presents this special article that attempts a synthesis of the historical significance of Chairman Gonzalo’s latest words.

We consider that the greatest homage that can be offered to the leader of the People’s War is to defend his thought and the integrity

of his exemplary condition as a communist. This means, to reject and fight against all those who attempted to portray Chairman Gonzalo as a vile fraudster and author of the purported “peace letters.”

There is only one word to describe Chairman Gonzalo’s speech. It was extraordinary and full of historical significance. It was a speech consistent with his condition as the leader who set in motion the revolutionary process that from 1980 is leading towards the liberation of the oppressed masses of Peru.

These dramatically adverse conditions could not prevent the great Peruvian Maoist from delivering a message in which the most fundamental questions of the Peruvian revolution are contained. This memorable speech by Chairman Gonzalo constitutes a challenge to the Fujimori regime, to US imperialism, and all reactionaries in the world.

As we know, on September 24 1992, Chairman Gonzalo, dressed by his captors in convict stripes, and from behind the bars of an iron cage, was presented in what was billed as a “press briefing”. The event took place in the inner yard of the anti-terrorist police headquarters and was guarded by overflying helicopters and around 200 sharpshooters from the armed forces. The “briefing” was attended by police officers in plain clothes, agents of the National Intelligence Service, and several dozen mercenary journalists from Peru and abroad.

The Peruvian regime, implementing the advice received from the American CIA, organised this crass spectacle aiming to humiliate and ridicule the leader of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP).

The methodology and the behaviour used on that day against Chairman Gonzalo, would mark the beginning of a diabolic plan aimed at destroying the world wide prestige of the great Peruvian revolutionary. This plan reached its greatest level of sophistication in October 1993, with the fraudulent plot that has become known as the “peace letters” fraud. A plot that the regime’s propaganda attributed to Chairman Gonzalo himself.

## What Is the Balance To Be Drawn 5 Years On From This Speech?

The concise allocation of Chairman Gonzalo lasted barely a few minutes. However, it embodied and synthesised a whole series of political, ideological and military directives. In a single document, Chairman Gonzalo made a precise synthesis of the strategy of the PCP for the seizure of power. These directives were delivered as a mandate for the leaders, cadres, combatants and masses of the Party, to take up responsibility in accomplishing.

As the leader of the Party and the revolution, Chairman Gonzalo correctly held that his arrest, although a blow for the revolutionary process, would not in the least impede the advance along the victorious road of the People’s War.

In this message, Chairman Gonzalo sought a supreme objective: To address the Party and the oppressed people of Peru and express to them his firm conviction that the revolution should continue without the slightest interruption. That nothing, not even the most brutal repression, should change the course of the process of the armed struggle.

The Chairman commanded that no one should deviate even a millimetre from the strategic (political and military) plans elaborated for advancing towards the seizure of power. He took advantage of the bizarre platform provided by the Fujimori regime, to provide guidance for the leaders and militants of the PCP. He de-

livered to them a complete blue print to deport themselves in a period in which he no longer would be physically present. He said:

“We are living historical moments, we all know this to be the case, let us not delude ourselves. In these moments we should bring all our strength to bear in confronting difficulties and continuing with our tasks. And we must achieve our objectives! Score triumphs! Achieve victory! That is what we need to do... We should continue with the tasks laid down at the III Plenum of the Central Committee. A glorious Plenum! These accords — you should be aware — are already being implemented and that shall continue to be the case.

“We shall continue to implement the IV Plan of Strategic Development for the People’s War aimed at the Seizure of Power, we shall continue to develop the VI Military Plan to Build-up for the Seizure of Power. This will continue. It is a duty! We shall carry it out because we are what we are, and because we are bound in duty to do it with the proletariat and the people!”

A fact of enormous significance that we should emphasise in Chairman Gonzalo’s speech, is his courageous reaffirmation of his condition as a communist and combatant of the revolution. The leader of the People’s War did not even for an instant kowtow before his enemies. On the contrary, he demonstrated that a communist of his stature never ceases to be a communist. The Chairman gave an example of how a real communist should conduct him/herself when - as part of the risks and accidents that a liberation war entails - falling into the hands of the class enemy.

Chairman Gonzalo taught us with his vivid example on that occasion, that a communist - in whatever circumstance or place he/she may find him/herself- must continue to fight for the people’s interests. In that occasion, Chairman Gonzalo pointed out:

“Here we stand as flesh and blood of the people and fighting in these trenches, that are also trenches for combat. This we do, because we are Communists! Because here, we also defend the interests of the people, the principles of the Party, and the People’s War. That is what we have done, what we are doing, and what we will continue to do!”

### **The Ideological Problem**

In Chairman Gonzalo’s speech we also find embodied his ideological outlook. He misses nothing. In delivering this ideological legacy, Chairman Gonzalo refers to Maoism as the third and superior stage of Marxism. He points out that, at the international level, the main task is to build up Communist Parties based upon Maoism. That this task is one of fundamental importance to be able to confront the actions that will face us within the new wave of revolution we have already upon us. In that occasion, the Chairman said:

“... In our view of the world, Maoism is unceasingly marching forward to assuming the lead in the new wave of world proletarian revolution. Pay attention and understand this well! ...What do we see today unfolding in the world? What do we need? We need Maoism to become embodied in the masses, and Maoism now is being embodied. We need Maoism to generate Communist Parties that would advance and guide this new great wave of the world proletarian revolution that is already upon us”.

## **Part II: Information**

### **From the Speech to the Present Stage**

If anything has been demonstrated in these 5 years, is that the People’s War does not cease even for an instant. With its highs and lows, the armed struggle has retained its validity and political influence among the oppressed masses. This relevant factor confirms the strategic impact of Chairman Gonzalo’s speech.

In consequence, the events that have taken place from September 24, 1992 to September 1997 have completely confirmed that the mandate issued by the leader of the revolution was correct, and that this mandate complied with a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist analysis and political line.

We should remember that the capture of Chairman Gonzalo (September 12, 1992) was portrayed by the Peruvian regime as the end of the road for the PCP and the armed struggle. To this end, both in Peru and abroad, the regime developed a wide mis-information campaign aimed at portraying the PCP as an organisation, that without the presence of its principal leader, would end up rolling into the abyss of oblivion.

In this manner, Fujimori and the top leaders of his Armed Forces, promoted the idea that the Maoist guerillas would be completely and definitely smashed by July 1995. As everyone can see, July 1995 has gone by, and the guerillas led by the PCP continue to act in full swing and constant development.

### **The PCP Is an Indestructible Organisation**

The continuation of the People’s War has not only meant the defeat of the strategic plans for repression of the regime, but also the consolidation of the PCP and all its apparatuses taking part in the revolution.

The counter-insurgency propaganda of the regime portrayed the PCP as some sort of Mesianic sect, an organisation that exclusively depended on Chairman Gonzalo. The “analysts” and “Senderologists” of the regime based themselves upon this premise to loudly assert that “Shining Path without Gonzalo is finished”. However, the concrete facts show that not only has been the PCP able to recover from the blow it suffered with the capture of Chairman Gonzalo, but that it has now completely recovered, and is, moreover, advancing full steam ahead.

### **The State Grows Ever More Militarised**

And what is the concrete situation in Peru today?

The first thing we should mention is that the People’s war continues to be the number one problem facing the Peruvian state.

This fact expresses itself in the growing militarization of the country. In this respect, the repressive apparatus of the state has a total personnel of 627.000. Of this total, 400.000 are members of the paramilitary organisations (rondas campesinas (peasant reactionary militias), civil defence groups, armed gangs of the municipal authorities, etc). Another 135.000 correspond to the Armed Forces (Army, Navy and Air Force), while 92.000 make up the personnel in the various police forces and agencies of repression. This total does not take into account foreign military advisors present in Peru, coming from the US, Russia, Israel and other countries.

### **A Favourable Ground For the People’s War**

The militarisation of the State, the government’s crisis, the growth

of hunger and inhumanity, and also the generalised corruption in the highest official spheres, are providing a rich compost for the ground upon which the People's War continues to develop. As Chairman Gonzalo has pointed out, the rotting away of the bureaucratic-landlord state, will inevitably lead to the seizure of power. As part and parcel of this same phenomenon, the PCP is now ready to overcome the bend along the road and to complete its general reorganisation. These twin objectives, that are about to culminate successfully, will provide greater political and military force for this Party, steered as it is, in the example and the teachings of Chairman Gonzalo.

# Declaration: 'The Rim Coincides with The Plans of Imperialism'

## Peru People's Movement (MPP) — Sweden

Translated and published in Internet by Committee Sol Peru  
— London Press Commission

...this is a time to reflect. On the one hand, we have the fact that the struggle of the Party — we are referring here to the People's War led by the Party — has not ceased even for a single minute. The Party does not ever become paralysed because it is very clear about the course it must follow, because it is united around the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo, around the Party Basis of Unity, around the People's War, around the Plan for Strategic Development

— *Building-up the Conquest of Power in the Midst of the People's War,* Document of the II Plenary Session of the Central Committee of PCP

In revolutionary jubilation we salute the powerful, victorious and growing People's Liberation War masterfully led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), the organised political vanguard of the proletariat.

Justly and correctly led by our dear and always respected Chairman Gonzalo, the Party, upholding, defending and applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism to Peru's concrete reality, gave us Gonzalo Thought and reconstituted itself in relentless struggle. The Party has thus established and initiated the armed struggle, built-up the New Power, and given us our First Marxist Congress, undying milestone of victory pointing towards the road of our liberation and communism.

We would like to specially celebrate the earthshaking actions of the People's Liberation Army led by the Communist Party of Peru — an army deeply rooted in the popular masses — both in the

countryside and the cities. These actions are making of the People's War a torch to light up the road of the World Proletarian Revolution.

These are actions stirring-up the entire country and hurling the quisling mass murderers' dictatorship of Fujimori, the imperialists, principally US imperialists, the revisionists, and their mercenary penpushers of all stripes, into a panic, forcing them, to their chagrin, into acknowledging the growing development of the People's War.

Likewise, and with profound class hatred, we express our repulse, condemnation, and demolishing struggle against the opportunist positions — in essence, revisionist and counter-revolutionary positions — of the Leading Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (Co-RIM). These positions are those shown in their document "On the Two Line Struggle" published by "Revolutionary Worker," official organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA (RCP-USA).

We equally reject their editorial piece "On the Question of What is at Stake in the Two Line Struggle in Peru." Both these publications have a clear and unmistakable objective: To slander Chairman Gonzalo, portraying him as a vulgar capitulator, thus aiding the plans of reactions in their vain endeavour to destroy his greatest and most valuable contribution, Gonzalo Thought, by assassinating him.

These gentlemen also hold that the PCP is divided among "those in favour of continuation of the People's War" and those in favour of a "peace agreement," and they assert that "were the latter to win, the People's War would be abandoned." This thesis illustrates clearly their sinister wishful thinking aimed at destroying the Party and liquidating the People's War.

We must stress the clear coincidence between the ideological and political positions of Co-RIM and the PCR-USA with those advanced by US imperialism and the mass murderers' Fujimori dictatorship, who are — in cahoots with treacherous snitches — advocating the counter-revolutionary fraud of "peace agreement" and promoting a Right-wing opportunist line of revisionist capitulation (LOD).

In political life, nothing is accidental. Everything expresses a class position. Reality is determined by scientific laws, and therefore, these positions should be unmasked and smashed, because such do not serve the Party, the class, the people, or the revolution. These positions only favour the counter-revolutionary camp.

Our ideology — Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought — teaches us that in order to understand a problem, we must both analyze and synthesise, since these two processes are part and parcel of the same unity. However, synthesis is principal, since it establishes a superior level of knowledge, rendering a qualitative change, a leap in understanding.

In accordance with our outlook, it is good to single out and show-up in sharp relief the principal ideas underlying those documents so that it may be concretely appreciated who is actually served by those thesis. Then, we shall synthesise those ideas, and consequently take up position in favour of the Party and the revolution.

### ON THE CO-RIM'S DOCUMENT

We shall begin by citing from great Lenin a quote fitting the Co-RIM's document like a glove:

"Opportunism, by its very nature, always avoids presenting problems in a precise and concrete fashion. It looks for the

aggregate result, squirming like a snake between mutually exclusive points of view. It endeavours to “agree” with both sides of every argument, reducing discrepancies to a question of small amendments, doubts, innocent good wishes, etc., etc.”

From the moment that the counter-revolutionary fraud of “peace agreement” came to light, Co-RIM’s behaviour has characterised itself by sowing doubts and pessimism. Thus they have attempted to divide the international Movement in solidarity and support for the Peruvian revolution.

Initially they kept to a complicitous silence and took up a vacillating, subjective, and opportunist attitude under the pretext of carrying out a so called “investigation,” which took them more than a year.

Then, they arrived at conclusions which were useful only for the reactionaries, specifically for the mass murderers’ dictatorship of Fujimori. Moreover, under this “studious” signboard, they have promoted and disseminated underhandedly the very arguments of the reactionary fraud in question (1).

Time has gone by, and today, they openly allege that the authorship of the “peace letters” corresponds to Chairman Gonzalo himself, confirming once again on behalf of whom their servile actions are performed.

The bottom line is that these people are not in favour of the victory of the People’s Liberation War in Peru, and even less in favour of a sincere defense of the life of the great leader of the Peruvian revolution.

The basic point is that these gentlemen have systematically advocated the thesis that the PCP is divided between a line calling for “persevering” with the People’s War and another line calling for “negotiating away” the people’s War by means of a “peace agreement.”

Thus, they have permanently placed a question mark over the firm communist morale of Chairman Gonzalo, attempting to smear him as a vile capitulator, and this can only be the work of those interested in promoting murder against him, and of those who seek the annihilation of the People’s War.

In questioning the high communist moral calibre of Chairman Gonzalo, they also place a question mark upon the correctness and validity of Gonzalo Thought, the heroic creation of the leader of the Peruvian revolution.

These theses of Co-RIM clearly chime in with the allegations of the counter-revolutionary fraud of “peace agreement.” And this plot is a fabrication of US imperialism and the mass murderer and traitor Fujimori dictatorship in collusion with the sinister actions of a “black gang” promoting a Right opportunist and capitulationist line. Such a scabs gang is made up of capitulators, snitches, “pentiti,” traitors, and old rotten revisionists.(1)

Now these Co-RIM gentlemen are using another fact in seeking to generate confusion, insecurity, and capitulation among the masses that sympathise with, and support the People’s War.

They seize upon the case of Magie Clavo as portrayed by the reactionaries and say: “...it is a very unpleasant duty to inform our comrades and friends that, at this point in time, it seems that Magie Clavo has recanted her correct position, and that she has been convinced to support the call for a peace agreement.” “It is of course impossible to know the exact situation in which Magie Clavo’s “conversion” took place.”

And that is not all. They continue to reiterate that the revisionist

vermin who promote the farce of “peace agreement” are members of the Communist Party of Peru.

To illustrate this point, let us see what these gentlemen uphold: “...the followers of the Right opportunist line within the PCP, the line seeking a peace agreement, have issued a leaflet asserting that Chairman Gonzalo gave another “instruction” to their followers abroad about Clavo’s interview...,” “...The Fact that a high ranking leader of the Central Committee has changed her position, and has actually come out in support of the Right-wing opportunist line, implies in itself a serious blow to the Party’s leadership. Besides, her assertion of having met with Chairman Gonzalo, reinforces the thesis that in fact Chairman Gonzalo is the author seeking a peace agreement.” One must analyze politically these theses to see with clarity how these people vainly try to smear and slur Chairman Gonzalo’s morale and condition as a communist, besides seeking to isolate the current leadership of the PCP from the masses supporting the armed struggle.

They try to insinuate that the Party leaders are but “buttery communists” since — as they imagine — before they are arrested by the repressive organs of the rotten reactionary state, they are in favour of persevering with the armed struggle, while after suffering tortures in the hell holes of reaction, these same leaders “magically” transform themselves into vulgar capitulators, and into submissive lambs meekly following Fujimori’s strategic plans.

These Co-Rim gentlemen aim against the ethics, fortitude and revolutionary condition of today’s communists who have tempered themselves in the steel forge and example of Chairman Gonzalo. They seek to isolate the masses from the proletarian leadership.

These political planks are not perchance dovetailing to perfection with the plans of imperialism, mainly US imperialism, its puppet Fujimori, and all kinds of revisionists?

It is evident that regarding information about the Peruvian revolution, the members of Co-RIM are implementing a treacherous policy: When information favours the revolution, they pigeonhole, ignore, or distort it. However, when the media overflows with counter-revolutionary lies, they meekly accept these as facts, and use that to buttress their opportunist aims.

To cap their absurd attempts to reinforce their allegations and position, Co-Rim says the following: “History shows that even important leaders of the proletariat who had made authentic and lasting contributions to our struggle, could turn into defenders of an incorrect line.”

One must ask here to what important proletarian leaders these people could be referring to? Do they actually mean that the genuine Marxists and firm revolutionaries who have struggled within the International Movement of the Proletariat have actually advocated such counter-revolutionary revisionist line, so remote from the interests of the working class?

Can such a thing be said of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Chairman Mao or Chairman Gonzalo himself? No. Not at all. Who these people are referring to is to such worthies as Trotsky, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Liu Shao-shi, Deng Xiao-ping and Gorbachev, among other rotten revisionists that have negated Marxism, socialism, the proletarian dictatorship, and the Party.

They pretend to brand Chairman Gonzalo as a capitulator. However, we say to them that theirs is a sinister and reactionary pipe dream. Chairman Gonzalo lives, and shall continue to live, unsullied in the minds and hearts of millions of oppressed and exploited people who can recognise his great example as a revolutionary



leader and educator of communists, and who see him as a guarantee of victory for the revolution.

### On the Editorial of the RCP-USA

In the editorial piece published by the RCP-USA "What is at Stake in the Two Line Struggle in Peru," these self-proclaimed Maoists, speak of a two line struggle, but treacherously distort what that means.

They begin with the following statement: "The people's war in Peru goes on despite enormous odds..."

It is legitimate to pose the following question: Why are they sowing pessimism? Why do they insist in seeing as unrelentingly dark precisely that what shines like a torch before the world?

What do they say about the stunningly successful actions in Lima and other regions of Peru during the last few months that have forced the tyrant Fujimori to apply more mass murder and to widen the scope of the "state of emergency" in several provinces of Peru?

The RCP-USA continues: "...also, the extremely important two line struggle within the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) continues around the question of whether to persist with the people's war, or to give it up and seek a peace agreement."

Why do they keep harping that the scabs and snitches promoting the "peace agreement" are to be found within the Party's ranks?

Have they forgotten that a few days after the appearance of their verminous "peace letters," the Central Committee (CC) of PCP issued its Declaration of October 7 1993? This is what was said then by the PCP:

"This sinister fraud — which, on the one hand, vainly tries to smear Chairman Gonzalo in persistent accord with their premeditated, treacherous and murderous plan to murder him, and on the other, is nothing but a reiteration of their dark pipe dream of 'capitulation of Shining Path' — was set in motion because they feel powerless and desperate trying to achieve this counter-revolutionary need on the face of the advance of the People's War. This fraud is part and parcel of their psychological warfare in the context of 'low intensity warfare.'"

The Party asserted: Counter-revolutionary fraud. And the Party smashed it with powerful actions that shook the rotten old state of the most shameless lackeys of US imperialism.

Moreover, the CC of the PCP has further developed and confirmed its initial position, and in its Report of February 1994, it says that the so called "peace agreement" is a ridiculous fraud engineered by US imperialism and the mass murderer and quisling Fujimori dictatorship, implemented by means of the sinister action of a handful of traitors and snitches promoting a Right opportunist, revisionist, and liquidationist line.

This could not be any clearer. However, those who are not sincere in their support for the PCP and the revolution, will never be able to grasp these facts.

Another point demonstrating the opportunist position of RCP-USA is the following: "Outside Peru, there are some who, while alleging to support the People's War, stupidly persist along a different road. They continue to allege that the "peace agreement" is but a fraud and a set-up engineered by the police. They have even come to deny that this is a question of two line struggle centred on the issue of the road that the people's war should follow. They have even indulged in base accusations against RIM because of its deal-

ing with the subject as an important political question."

This statement is clear and shows the sinister role the RCP-USA has undertaken. They are for propagandising in favour of reaction's plots. They negate PCP's position and hurl themselves against the revolutionary organisations, against *El Diario Internacional*, and the revolutionary masses that support and propagandise in favour of the directives of the PCP.

They hurl themselves against those who are for the development and victory of the People's War in Peru.

Once again, they deny that the so called "peace agreement" is a clumsy fraud propagandised by reaction and a handful of renegade opportunists.

Moreover, they collude with, and indulge themselves in, the opportunist positions of Co-RIM, labeling as a "base accusation" the fact that these gentlemen had their empty and revisionist inspired chitter-chatter unmasked and smashed.

Another aspect. The RCP-USA says: "The fact that the Peruvian government says that the author of the peace agreement proposal is Chairman Gonzalo has complicated this process even more. Since the government has Chairman Gonzalo in isolation, it has been impossible to independently verify his point of view."

We think that those who are genuinely on the side of the people, on the side of the oppressed masses, those who fight and resist for liberation, would never show such benevolence towards the mass murderer quisling Fujimori dictatorship. Nor would genuine people show such consideration or lend such credibility to the torturers, rapists and murderers of the flower of the people.

On the contrary, while the RCP-USA exercises itself in propagandising the reactionary plans of counter-insurgency, they show not the slightest regard for Chairman Gonzalo, who they flip-pantly smear as a capitulator.

But the RCP-USA does not limit itself to that. They systematically pour vile slanders. Here we transcribe some of their production:

"But even if one cannot yet arrive at a conclusion, the possibility that Chairman Gonzalo may have taken an incorrect road abandoning the revolutionary path he had laid down for the PCP before his arrest, is growing."

"Whatever the case may be, even if Chairman Gonzalo himself may be supporting the line of peace agreement, we must forcefully carry out a two line struggle."

"...however, the most important thing to look for is line, and in this respect, we must prepare ourselves for the eventuality that Chairman Gonzalo maybe its (the "peace agreement" fraud) main defender."

On the other hand, those who are genuinely part of the people, love and cherish the heroic work of Chairman Gonzalo in preparing, initiating and developing the People's War in Peru. Thus, we shall never accept aspersions to be cast upon the temper, steel-like resolution, and firm communist morale of Chairman Gonzalo, the great continuator of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Party and the revolution.

In this context, it is enough to recall Chairman Gonzalo's historical and illuminating speech of September 1992, when under the very noses of reaction, he called upon the Party and the people to continue the struggle and the development of the People's War, putting into practice the decisions of the III Plenary Session and

thus proceeding with the seizure of power all over the country for the proletariat and the people.

In that speech, Chairman Gonzalo held clearly and decisively: “The People’s War will be inevitably victorious.” And that is, and will continue to be so, because the proletariat and the people want it, despite all the wishes to the contrary on the part of reaction and its revisionist lackeys, who are also a component part of the counter-revolutionary camp.

In synthesis, the “support” that the RCP-USA conveys to the CC of the PCP is merely the cutting of an opportunistic figure seeking to sow confusion among the masses who sincerely wish well for the development of the People’s War in Peru.

### Conclusions:

1. There is a clear and concrete coincidence between the ideological and political planks upheld by the leading committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (Co-Rim) and those of the Revolutionary Communist Party USA (RCP-USA).

This collusion centres around the counter-revolutionary fraud of “peace agreement” engineered by imperialism and the quisling mass murdering Fujimori dictatorship, in collusion with the “black gang” promoting a Right opportunist, revisionist and capitulationist line.

Such political coincidences reflect the fact that these occur within the framework of the four changes that reaction is seeking to implement:

A. They vainly insist in undermining the communist morale of Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the Party and the revolution. Thus, they are not — as they hypocritically allege — in favour of defending his life and health, but — on the contrary — they are for isolating him from the masses, and in favour of his assassination.

B. In casting aspersions upon the unflinching steadfastness of his leadership, they also aim at negating his greatest contribution — Gonzalo Thought, the masterful application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete reality of Peru. The ideology that points out the road for the communists, the combatants and the poor masses towards the consolidation of the Democratic Revolution, the Socialist Revolution and the Cultural Revolutions. The ideology that serves to put into practice the perspective of golden and fervently desired communism.

C. In systematically reiterating their allegation that the traitors promoting “peace agreement” are members of the PCP, they are validating the sinister plans of the quisling and mass murderer Fujimori, his Yankee masters and his servants.

They allege — like Fujimori — that the PCP is divided between revolutionaries — in favour of persisting with and developing the People’s War — and counter-revolutionaries supporting the fraud of “peace agreement” who seek to sell out the revolution in the manner of certain revisionist led organisations in various parts of the world.

They are in favour of destroying the Communist Party of Peru and their purported support for the Central Committee of the PCP is only an opportunist — and essentially revisionist — ruse to sow confusion among the genuine masses who support and hold high hopes in the just and correct leadership of the PCP and the victory of the revolution in Peru.

D. Such opportunist theses entail the fact that these gentlemen are for annihilating the People’s War, despite all their demagogic and “revolutionary” posturing.

2. The documents of Co-Rim and the RCP-USA are being disseminated within a very important political moment for the People’s War in Peru. The Communist Party of Peru is currently developing the revolution with stunning successes and impressive actions, both in the capital, as well as in the provinces of Peru.

This fact shows in practice that the proletarian leadership in the People’s War has more than overcome the bend in the road it had to traverse due to the capture of its leader.

Therefore, the PCP continues — at a higher level — to build up the conquest of power in all of Peru. Before such an earth-shaking development, the oily snake Fujimori is faced with ever growing difficulties in achieving his three counter-revolutionary tasks: To render renewed impulse to bureaucratic capitalism, to re-structure the old state, and to smash the People’s War.

For that reason, he seeks to murder Chairman Gonzalo and to destroy the Party by fostering pessimism and capitulation among the masses and the organisations supporting the People’s War.

3. In this situation, and moved by deep class hatred, we draw a clear line of distinction with the opportunist — essentially revisionist — positions of Co-Rim and the RCP-USA, and aim against them our most determined blows.

We re-affirm our defence of the communist morale and temper of the leader of the revolution, Chairman Gonzalo. We undertake to struggle to defend his life and health in accordance with the demands of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru.

Chairman Gonzalo is the great continuator of the work of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. A great example as an educator of communists and a guarantee of victory until communism.

We reaffirm ourselves in the validity of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, ideology that Chairman Gonzalo has consistently and creatively applied to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution.

We reaffirm ourselves in upholding that the PCP enjoys a solid unity and the highest degree of cohesion based upon a firm and wise implementation of a two line struggle that has revisionism as the principal danger.

A two line struggle which develops aimed against Rightist attitudes, criteria and positions, as a struggle within the ranks of the people, by defending the proletarian line, and through defeating and smashing its contrary lines.

This unity is sustained upon the Basis of Party Unity, with its three elements: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, the General Political Line, and the Communist Program of the Peruvian revolution.

This unity is also sustained upon the decisions of the I Congress of the PCP and upon the tasks enjoined by the III Plenary Session of the Central Committee.

We reaffirm ourselves in the ever higher level of development and in the inevitable victory of the People’s War in Peru. The People’s War concentrates the hopes of millions upon millions among the poor masses seeking definitive liberation.

Therefore, the People’s War in Peru will be victorious and the People’s Republic of Peru will become a Base of Support and a trench of combat for the working class and the peoples of the world. The People’s War in Peru is a torch of the world proletarian revolution.

In this endeavour, we call upon the revolutionary bases of RIM, the revolutionary organisations, comrades, sympathizers and friends of the People’s War of Liberation in Peru, to raise their voices re-

garding these facts.

We must unite in order to serve the interests of the proletariat and the people. We must unite, taking as the basis our ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism at the world level, and specifically and principally Gonzalo Thought in Peru.

We have the duty to unmask and smash the counter-revolutionary revisionist positions of Co-Rim. Particularly, since RIM is an organisation founded and conceived as a step forward in the reconstitution of the Communist International.

Only in the midst of a firm and wise two line struggle can the International Communist Movement be consolidated.

**LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S WAR IN PERU!**

**DEFEND THE LIFE OF CHAIRMAN GONZALO!**

**RENDER FIRM AND CONVINCING SUPPORT TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!**

**SUPPORT THE VIGOROUS AND TRIUMPHANT PEOPLE'S WAR OF LIBERATION IN PERU!**

**LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM, PRINCIPALLY MAOISM AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL, AND SPECIFICALLY GONZALO THOUGHT IN PERU!**

**THE PEOPLE'S WAR WILL INEVITABLY BE VICTORIOUS!**

**WE SALUTE WITH DEEP REVOLUTIONARY FERVOUR THE COMING BIRTH OF THE FUTURE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF PERU!**

**LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!**

**LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S WAR IN NEPAL!**

**LONG LIVE THE NEW GREAT WAVE OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!**

**SMASH IMPERIALISM, REVISIONISM AND WORLD REACTION!**

*PERU PEOPLES MOVEMENT (MPP)*

*Stockholm, Sweden*

*December 1996*

Notes:

1. See the Co-RIM publication "All Unite to Defend Our Flag Flying in Peru," March 28, 1995.

**MIM adds:** We agree with the Stockholm authors except that they did not go far enough, because it is not just the line of the Co-RIM and RCP-USA at fault. The whole RIM line on the imperialist countries is consciously revisionist and amounts to a sell-out of Third World workers.

The RCP-USA and RIM refuse to account for superprofits gained by imperialism in the Third World in an accurate way. The exploitation and super-exploitation of Third World workers by imperialism is several times larger than the spending and investment of the capitalists each year, but because those superprofits end up in the pay of oppressor nation workers, the labor bureaucrat representatives of the oppressor nation workers and the national bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations lie about the extent of exploitation of the Third World workers. These spokespeople of the petty-bourgeoisie with historical origins in the working-class flatter the majority of oppressor nation workers that are now petty-bourgeoisie — often to gain seats in Parliament as one goal — and they deny that the majority of oppressor nation workers are not exploited. They even

snort that the oppressor nation workers are increasingly exploited in blatant contradiction with the facts.

"Imperialism and Its Class Structure," a pamphlet detailing these facts, not just for the United States but for European and Japanese imperialism as well, is available from MIM for \$5.

# The Programme of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)

## PEOPLE'S WAR

1. Our beloved India is a country with 93 crores of people and is one of the largest and most ancient countries. Ours is an agricultural country with hard working and efficient peasantry. It is a country with great revolutionary traditions and glorious cultural heritage.

2. Direct British rule in India began in 1757 with the occupation by the British. The history of India since then has been the history of uninterrupted heroic struggles carried out by the Indian peasantry against the feudal and colonial exploitation and oppression. The First Indian War of Independence by the peasantry and the rebel army in 1857 laid the foundation for the Indian Democratic Revolution. It spread throughout the country like a wild fire and shook the very foundations of foreign imperialism by inflicting severe losses upon the imperialists. This great rebellion of the Indian people met with failure because of the treacherous role played by the Indian feudal kings. Since then, countless number of armed peasant rebellions have taken place in the country's democratic revolution. In spite of this, as the scientific theory and the revolutionary leadership capable of leading towards victory were absent, all those rebellions met with failure.

3. As the Indian proletariat was in its infant stage at the time of the rebellion of 1857, it could not provide leadership to the rebellion; in subsequent period, it participated in heroic struggles against colonial exploitation and became an organised force.

4. Terrified at the growing organisational strength of the oppressed masses, the British imperialists propped up the comprador bourgeois class and established the Congress party. Thus, they tried to divert the national liberation struggle from the revolutionary path to compromising and capitulationist path. The Gandhian leadership which represents the upper strata of the bourgeois and feudal classes tried to mould this national movement to serve the interests of the British imperialists and their feudal lackeys since the time of Champaran peasant rebellion with its theories of non-violence, satyagraha, passive resistance and charkha. Thus the congress has been betraying the people throughout right from the beginning and as a culmination came to power in 1947.

5. The Great October Revolution had disseminated the Marxist-Leninist theory to our country. As a result of several heroic struggles waged against British imperialism by the proletariat, the Communist Party of India was born. But the Party leadership became a tail to Gandhism in spite of several excellent opportunities to fight

against them. Similarly, it could not establish proletarian leadership over the national liberation movement as it did not adhere to the revolutionary path. The Party leadership totally failed in formulating appropriate strategy and tactics by applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete Indian Revolutionary practice. Similarly, the Party had not only failed to unite with the revolutionary people, particularly with the revolutionary peasantry, but also utterly failed in building the revolutionary united front. Though the Party leadership had entangled itself in the right opportunist mire as stated above, the Party rank and file stood with the oppressed people and led many class struggles. They made invaluable sacrifices for achieving the aim of the Indian toiling masses.

6. The utter defeat of the fascist forces in the hands of the world people under the leadership of Soviet Union guided by comrade Stalin; the success of the democratic revolutions in East Europe under proletarian leadership with the help of the Soviet Red Army; and the victorious advance achieved by the success of the great Chinese liberation struggle under the leadership of comrade Mao; brought realignment of class forces throughout the world. Imperialism became very much weakened. The national liberation struggles in the colonial countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America advanced like storms to wipe out imperialism and its lackeys.

7. In the Indian sub-continent also, unprecedented revolutionary situation had developed. The movement for the release of Azad Fouz prisoners, the powerful anti-imperialist demonstrations of the students, the great Thebaga, Bakast and Punapra Vayalar movements, the anti-feudal struggles that erupted in princely states, the powerful struggles of Post and Telegraph employees, the Indian Navy mutiny, the rebellions in army and air forces, the Bihar police revolt, the great solidarity actions of the working class, the beginning of the historical Telangana armed struggle of the peasants, all these had brought the imperialist rule in India to a crumbling stage.

8. The Communist Party of India failed to take advantage of this most favourable revolutionary situation. Instead of learning from the great national liberation movement of Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party of China guided by comrade Mao, it entered into the mire of class collaboration. Finally, abandoning revolution, it took to parliamentary path. British imperialism entered into alliance with the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League with the aim of suppressing the revolutionary upsurge of the Indian people. The country was partitioned in the midst of communal carnage. The British imperialists went behind the screen by transferring power to the Congress leadership representing the comprador bureaucrat bourgeois and big landlord classes. The declaration of fake independence in 1947 is nothing but the establishment of semi-colonial and semi-feudal system in place of the colonial and semi-feudal system.

9. Seeing the revolutionary situation that had burst forth in all the colonial countries throughout the world after the Second World War, and realising that their foundations are crumbling, the imperialists prepared themselves to transfer state power to the big bourgeois class, on the condition that the later accept the continued imperialist economic exploitation. Realising by that time that it is impossible for them to stop democratic revolutions which are gathering momentum in various countries in the post-war revolutionary upsurge, the comprador bourgeoisie in the colonies compromised with imperialism externally and with feudalism internally and came to power.

10. After the conclusion of the Second World War, except American imperialism all other imperialist powers became seriously weakened economically and militarily. As American imperialism did not directly participate in any war until then and acted as a money-lender to the countries involved in the war, it came out unscathed and gained hegemony over all others. By establishing its neo-colonial control over all the colonial countries that were under the control of various imperialist countries till that time, American imperialism gradually restored to acts of aggression with the aim of establishing its sole hegemony over the entire world market. Thus, it came to fore as the main enemy of the oppressed people, oppressed nations and the working class world wide.

11. After the death of comrade Stalin, particularly since the 20th Congress of CPSU, the Soviet Union became transformed into a capitalist country. Basing on the strong socialist foundation that was built during the time of comrade Stalin and exploiting the Third World countries, it became very powerful industrially and militarily utilising its hold over East European countries in economic, military and political spheres and began to contend with American imperialism for world hegemony by the early 1970s. Thus due to its transformation into an imperialist Super Power and its garb of socialism, the Soviet Union became a great danger to the world people during 1970s and 1980s.

12. After fake independence, the big comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal ruling classes have served their imperialist masters most faithfully. While protecting the old British imperialist exploitation, the reactionary Indian ruling classes under Nehru's regime first came under the domination of American imperialists and latter tilted towards the Soviet social imperialists since the end of 1960s. Through the Indo-Soviet alliance in 1971 India's tilt towards Soviet Union became consolidated. Similarly the capital and technology of the imperialist countries such as France, Germany, Japan, and others is flowing into the semi-colonial India and their hold on Indian market is continuously growing. Due to its comprador nature, the Indian ruling classes are always dependent on imperialist countries and are tilting towards one or the other powerful imperialist country. Similarly, as the inter-imperialist contradictions are intensifying, the Indian ruling classes are trying to utilise the opportunities to serve their class interests by coming to terms with various imperialist countries.

13. The comprador bourgeois classes are crating abundant opportunities for the foreign capital to repatriate profits on a large scale; entering into thousands of collaboration agreements; seeking imperialist help for heavy machinery, technology, military requirements, weapons manufacturing, for establishing industries and finally even for markets and grants; accepting and depending on foreign debt by submitting to the dangerous conditions of IMF and World Bank; creating opportunities for imperialists to enter freely into the Indian market and allowing them to exploit at will the cheap labour, land, raw materials, water, power and other facilities and even the savings accumulated by the people and to export the commodities manufactured here to their countries.

14. The competition among various imperialist countries to increase their respective shares in our country's market which is going on ever since the time India became a semi-colonial country intensified further after the fall of Soviet Union. [Three sentences were garbled and had to be removed—apologies, ed.]

Hence, the main enemy, are imperialism, big comprador bureaucrat landlord classes. The merciless exploitation by these enemies

of the Indian people are problems and dangers. Lakhs of people on the verge of death. Crores of people need food, clothing, shelter and work.

15. Seventy per cent of our country's population are peasantry who are subjected to the worst exploitation and are forced to live in semi-starved state and in utter poverty. In the semi-feudal Indian economic system, more than 30 per cent of the total land is concentrated in the hands of landlords who constitute 3 to 5 per cent of the whole population. Middle peasantry constitute 20 per cent of the rural population while 65-70 per cent of the total peasantry are agricultural labourers and poor peasants who own either no land at all or meagre land. Middle and poor peasants have to pay more than 50 per cent of their yearly produce as land rent. Money-lenders are continuing their ruthless exploitation of the peasantry. Depriving the poor peasants of their lands has become a daily feature. In addition to the killing of dajits and atavists, their social oppression as a remnant of middle ages is still continuing unhindered.

16. Inflation is skyrocketing as the economic crisis is intensifying day by day. The number of unemployed is increasing in crores. Half of the population is living below poverty line. Lakhs of small and medium industries are becoming bankrupt. Lakhs of peasants are becoming paupers and are joining the ranks of agricultural labourers and poor peasants. Starvation deaths are becoming inevitable. Food, water, shelter, fuel, education, health, transport, work, employment etc., are going out of reach for agricultural labourers, workers and middle class people. The economic crisis is rendering the lives of the people unbearable. Conflicts and clashes in the social and political spheres are intensifying. As a result of all these, the following four major contradictions in the country have become further sharpened:

1. The contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses.
2. The contradiction between imperialism and the Indian people.
3. The contradiction between capital and labour.
4. The internal contradictions among the ruling classes.

The first two contradictions are fundamental contradictions that will be resolved in the new democratic stage of the Indian revolution and one of these will be the principal contradiction at any given time. Now, the principal contradiction among the above is the one between feudalism and the broad masses. The solution of this contradiction will lead to the solution of all other contradictions.

17. The CPI did not provide proper leadership for resolving the fundamental contradictions in the Indian society. Caught neck-deep in the parliamentary padl, it betrayed the aspirations of the oppressed people of India and became transformed into a revisionist party. The split that occurred in the CPI in 1964 resulted in the formation of the CPI(M) which continued the legacy of revisionism.

The Naxalbari struggle that began in 1967 began the process of breaking away of communist revolutionaries from the revisionists and once again brought armed agrarian revolution on to the agenda. It was the first conscious application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and the path of protracted people's war in India. CPI (M-L) was formed on 22nd April, 1969 after formulating a correct line based on a correct analysis of the major contradictions in our country as well as of Soviet Social imperialism internationally. It was formed under the leadership of comrade Charu Mazumdar who led the Naxalbari struggle that became a big turning point in the history of the Indian New Democratic Revolution.

The eighth Congress of the Party was held in May 1970.

18. The CPI (M-L) (People's War) was formed on 22nd April, 1980, as a continuation of the CPI (M-L). It accepts Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought as guidance for its thinking and practice. The immediate basic programme before the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (People's War) is to overthrow bureaucrat comprador bourgeois and big landlord classes who control state power in collusion with imperialism and to establish in its place the New Democratic State under the leadership of the proletariat. Its ultimate aim is the establishment of socialism and communism.

19. To establish the New Democratic State in India in place of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (People's War) places before the people the line of protracted armed struggle. As com. Mao said, starting, 'from the backward rural areas and extending to wider areas, from solitary places and to extensive areas from small areas, establishing base areas one after another and gradually encircling cities and finally seizing political power and achieving nation-wide victory is the strategy of protracted people's war.

20. The Indian New Democratic Revolution is a part of World Socialist Revolution. Therefore, it can be successfully led only under the leadership of the proletariat. Under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat and basing on the alliance of workers and peasants, peoples democratic dictatorship is established which includes the petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. All these classes together constitute the great majority among the Indian people. Such a government will guarantee democracy for 90 per cent of the people while it imposes dictatorship upon the enemies, who constitute only a small minority. That is why, it is a people's democracy.

21. The peasantry is the main force in the agrarian revolution which is the axis of the new democratic revolution carried out under the leadership of the proletariat. The proletariat completely depends on poor and landless peasantry. It firmly unites with middle peasants. It wins over to its side a section of rich peasants and neutralises the remaining. It is only very few among the rich peasants that finally join the enemies of the revolution. The petty bourgeoisie are reliable allies of the revolution in our country.

22. The national bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals are vacillating and unstable allies for the democratic revolution. They sometimes support the revolution, sometimes oppose it and even betray the revolution on some occasions. They have a dual nature. As such, it is necessary to build a democratic front with all these classes under the leadership of the proletariat in order to carry out the New Democratic Revolution to its completion.

23. India is a vast country and is the home of several nationalities and tribes. One of the main issues in the revolution of this country is to find solution to the problems of nationalities. The question of nationalities in this country is in essence the question of the peasantry. In the ultimate analysis, nationality struggles are inseparable from class struggle and the question of national liberation is an integral part of the New Democratic Revolution. By their very nature, it is not at all possible for the nationality struggles to achieve real liberation in this era without the leadership of the proletariat. Hence, while participating in the nationality struggle it is the task of the proletariat and every communist party to make untiring efforts to provide able leadership to lead them towards their real goal. We must support the ongoing struggles for secession by the various nationalities such as the Kashmiris, Nagas, Assamese,

Mizos and Manipuris. We must also support the struggle for self-determination including the right to secession, of the Punjabi people and particularly the Sikh people's struggle. We must also support the struggles of the people of various regions for separate statehood such as Jharkhand, Uttarakhand, Gorkhaland and Bodoland. We must oppose the attempts of the Indian ruling classes to forcibly impose Hindi, English and Sanskrit on other nationalities.

24. There are three tasks before the Communist Party of India (M-L) (People's War) to achieve victory in revolution by defeating the enemies of the people: (1) To build and strengthen the Party basing on the principle of democratic centralism and having iron discipline by maintaining closest relations with the people on the basis of criticism and self-criticism. (2) To build people's army under the leadership of our Party. (3) To build a strong united front with all the revolutionary classes under the leadership of the proletariat.

25. The New Democratic Government will discharge the following tasks:

1. It takes over all banks and establishments with foreign capital. It makes null and void all foreign debts. It will cancel all the unequal treaties made with the imperialist powers by the previous governments.

2. It takes over all establishments of the comprador bureaucrat bourgeoisie.

3. It takes over all lands of the landlords and distributes among the poor and landless peasants according to the principle of land to the tiller. It makes null and void all the debts of the peasants and other toiling masses. It provides all the facilities necessary for the development of agriculture.

4. Taking agriculture as the foundation, the country will be industrialised.

5. It introduces eight hours working day; increases wage rates, solves unemployment problem, guarantees works to every able-bodied citizen and abolishes child labour and the contract labour system, provides social security such as education, health care etc., guarantees special facilities for the aged and physically disabled; and eliminates all inequalities basing on the principle of payment on par with work.

6. Develops New Democratic Culture in the place of imperialist, colonial and feudal culture.

7. Abolishes unscientific and undemocratic educational system and in its place introduces scientific and democratic system of education in accordance with the requirements of New Democratic India.

8. Eliminates untouchability and other types of caste-discrimination, promotes inter-caste marriages, and strives for the elimination of the caste system as a whole. Ensures reservation based on the degree of oppression and percentage of population to davits, women, atavists and other socially backward communities in order to bring them on par with the rest of the society.

9. Puts an end to all social inequalities and discrimination based on religion; provides security and protection to the religious minorities and ensures every citizen the freedom to practice any religion; at the same time it opposes religious chauvinism and fundamentalism.

10. Abolishes all types of discrimination against women such as male domination and patriarchy; liberates women from domestic work and ensures their participation in social production; provides 50% reservation in jobs and education in order to achieve real equal-

ity with men; guarantees equal right over property.

11. It unites the country by recognising the right of self-determination, including the right to secession of nationalities. It establishes a Voluntary Federation of Sovereign People's Republics. Such a federal government will act as a co-ordinating centre for the Federation and will have control over defence foreign affairs, currency and communications.

12. Gives equal status to the languages of all the nationalities. Develops the dialects and strives to make them fullfledged languages; will not impose any language on other nationalities in the name of official national language or link language or in any other form.

13. Abolishes exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous taxes. Introduces a consolidated and progressive tax system.

14. Establishes people's political power through revolutionary people's councils at all levels that will execute the laws made by the Supreme bodies. Every citizen who has reached the age of 18 will have the right to freely elect, to be elected and to recall the elected representatives.

15. Establishes unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and people of the world.

16. Improves the living conditions of the soldiers of the People's Liberation Army.

26. In the present era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, imperialism is heading towards total collapse and socialism is advancing towards world wide victory. Therefore, after the New Democratic Revolution, the Indian revolution will advance into the stage of Socialist Revolution. Then a socialist state will be established under the leadership of the proletariat. There will be classes, class contradictions and class struggles even in socialist society. In the transformation period from socialist society to Communist society there will be no other class dictatorship except that of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In accordance with the Marxist theory of carrying out un-interrupted revolution in a country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we have to lead the proletarian cultural revolution and, through it, a great political revolution defeating all types of dirty tactics and conspiracies hatched by imperialism, modern revisionism and capitalist roaders for the restoration of capitalism. We must thus consolidate socialist society and the proletarian dictatorship and advance along the road of communism with unflinching confidence. In the background the Chinese Communist Party turning revisionist and China transforming into a capitalist country after the death of comrade Mao, the above task acquires utmost importance.

27. The Communist Party of India (M-L) (People's War) stands by proletarian internationalism. Establishes unity with all the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and groups in the world; maintains unity with the proletariat, oppressed people and oppressed nations of the whole world. By uniting with them it tries to eliminate imperialism and the counter-revolutionary forces in all the countries.

28. The members of the Communist Party of India (M-L) (People's War) are ever ready to sacrifice their lives for the establishment of Communism. They always cultivate the outlook of winning the love and affection of the people and serve them by learning from them. They are ever vigilant towards the conspiracies and intrigues of the imperialists and modern revisionists. They are firm and fear no sacrifice in overcoming difficulties to achieve victory in the World Socialist Revolution.

# Documents of The All-India Special Conference

**Held 15 - 30 November 1995 by the CPI(ML) People's War**

**LONG LIVE THE HEROIC STRUGGLES OF THE OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES OF INDIA**

This Conference hails the heroic struggles being waged by the various nationalities against the policies of oppression, suppression and domination pursued by the Indian ruling classes.

We assert that the right to self-determination, including the right to secession is an inalienable right of every nationality in India. We express our support particularly to the struggles being waged by the Kashmiries, Nagas, Assamese, Mizos and Manipuris for secession and the struggles waged by the Bodos, Gurkhas, and the people of Punjab, Uttarakhand and Jharkhand for their self-determination.

This Conference asserts that all these struggles are an integral part of the ongoing New Democratic Revolution in India and resolves to extend all out support to these struggles. The Conference also recognises the need to unite the various nationality struggles into a b~ Democratic Front. #

**LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH ASIA IN THE FIGHT AGAINST INDIAN EXPANSIONISM!**

Since 1947 the Indian ruling classes under the guidance of the imperialists have consistently been adopting policies of aggression, bullying, arm-twisting and meddling in the affairs of the neighbouring countries of the South Asian sub-continent. They have further tried to institutionalise these unequal relations through the establishment of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC).

Besides the constant war-mongering stance towards Pakistan, particular mention needs to be made of the humiliating Indo-Nepal trade accord, the unequal division of the Farakka waters with Bangladesh and the entry of Indian armed forces in Sri Lanka and the Maldives. Bhutan faces the constant threat of annexation as was done in the case of Sikkim.

This Conference resolves to unequivocally condemn the above and all other instances of the expansionism of the Indian ruling classes, who are the common enemy of the people of the whole sub-continent, and expresses solidarity with the people's struggles in various parts of the sub-continent against Indian expansionism.

This Conference calls upon all the oppressed peoples and nations of South Asia to unite in the fight against these common enemies.

## CONFERENCE SLOGANS ON TASKS

1. Fight against PVN Government's New Economic Policies! Defeat the Hindu fascist forces!
2. Advance Agrarian Revolution!!! Advance people's war by developing people's armed resistance!
3. Advance Dandakaranya and North Telangana guerilla zones to higher stage! Build guerilla zones in other regions!!
4. Establish people's authority from grassroots level!
5. Develop subjective forces! Build Mass base in new areas!!
6. Build anti-feudal, anti-imperialist United Front ! Unite with Nationality Movements!!
7. Build strong proletarian Party! Achieve Unity with all genuine revolutionaries!!
8. Fight against all non-proletarian trends! Bolsheise the Party at all levels!!
9. Strengthen Committee functioning by developing collective functioning!
10. Develop theoretical knowledge ! Concentrate on concrete study!!
11. Uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Defeat revisionism of all hues!
12. Fight against oppression of women! Develop Women's Movement !!
13. Fight against Caste discrimination!
14. Build Urban Movement! Concentrate on the working class!

# Indonesian Communist Party Self-criticism

**Self-Criticism by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party (Excerpts)**

**From "People of Indonesia, Unite and Fight to Overthrow the Fascist Regime," September 1966**

**Foreign Languages Press: Peking, 1968**

Indonesian Tribune published in its January issue (No. 3) the self-criticism adopted by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party (P.K.I.) in September 1966. The self-criticism is entitled "Build the P.K.I. Along the Marxist-Leninist Line to Lead the People's Democratic Revolution in Indonesia."

The self-criticism says that the disaster which has caused such serious losses to the P.K.I. and the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people after the outbreak and the defeat of the September 30th Movement has lifted up the curtain which for a long period has hidden the grave weaknesses of the P.K.I.

The Political Bureau is aware that it has the greatest responsibility with regard to the grave weaknesses and mistakes of the Party during the period under review. Therefore, the Political Bureau is giving serious attention to and highly appreciates all criticisms from cadres and members of the Party given in a Marxist-Leninist spirit, as well as honest criticism from Party sympathizers that have been

expressed in different ways. The Political Bureau is resolved to make self-criticism in a Marxist-Leninist way, putting into practice the teaching of Lenin and the example of Comrade Musso in unfolding Marxist-Leninist criticism and self-criticism.

The self-criticism says that under the situation where the most vicious and cruel white terror is being unleashed by the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals Nasution and Suharto, it is not easy to make as complete criticism and self-criticism as possible. To meet the urgent necessity, it is necessary to point out the main issues in the ideological, political and organizational fields, in order to facilitate the study of the weaknesses and mistakes of the Party leadership, critically analyze them, and do their utmost to improve this self-criticism of the Political Bureau by drawing lessons from their respective experiences, collectively or individually. The Political Bureau expects all members to take firm hold of the principle: “unity — criticism — unity” and “learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient, in order to achieve the twofold objectives of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades.” The Political Bureau is convinced that, by holding firmly to this correct principle, every Party member will take part in the movement to study and surmount these weaknesses and mistakes with the determination to rebuild the P.K.I. along the Marxist-Leninist line, to strengthen communist unity and solidarity, to raise the ideological, political and organizational vigilance, and to heighten the fighting spirit in order to win victory.

### **The main weaknesses in the ideological field**

The serious weaknesses and mistakes of the Party in the period after 1951, the self-criticism says, certainly had as their source the weaknesses in ideological field, too, especially among the Party leadership. Instead of integrating revolutionary theories with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution, the Party leadership adopted the road which was divorced from the guidance of the most advanced theories. This experience shows that the P.K.I. had not succeeded as yet in establishing a core of leadership that was composed of proletarian elements, which really had the most correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism, systematic and not fragmentary, practical and not abstract understanding.

During the period after 1951, subjectivism continued to grow, gradually became greater and greater and gave rise to Right opportunism that merged with the influence of modern revisionism in the international communist movement. This was the black line of Right opportunism which became the main feature of the mistakes committed by the P.K.I. in this period. The rise and the development of these weaknesses and errors were caused by the following factors:

First, the tradition of criticism and self-criticism in a Marxist-Leninist way was not developed in the Party, especially among the Party leadership.

The rectification and study movements which from time to time were organized in the Party were not carried out seriously and persistently, their results were not summed up in a good manner, and they were not followed by the appropriate measures in the organizational field. Study movements were aimed more at the rank and file, and never at unfolding criticism and self-criticism among the leadership. Criticism from below far from being carefully listened to, was even suppressed.

Second, the penetration of the bourgeois ideology along two channels, through contacts with the national bourgeoisie when the Party established a united front with them, and through the

bourgeoisification of Party cadres, especially the leadership, after the Party obtained certain positions in governmental and semi-governmental institutions. The increasing number of Party cadres who occupied certain positions in governmental and semi-governmental institutions, in the center and in the regions, created “the rank of bourgeoisified workers” and this constituted “the real channels for reformism.” Such a situation did not exist before the August Revolution of 1945.

Third, modern revisionism began to penetrate into our Party when the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Fifth Congress uncritically approved a report which supported the lines of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., and adopted the line of “achieving socialism peacefully through parliamentary means” as the line of the P.K.I. This “peaceful road”, one of the characteristics of modern revisionism, was further reaffirmed in the Sixth national Congress of the P.K.I. which approved the following passage in the Party Constitution: “There is a possibility that a people’s democratic system as a transitional stage to socialism in Indonesia can be achieved by peaceful means, in parliamentary way. The P.K.I. persistently strives to transform this possibility into a reality.” This revisionist line was further emphasized in the Seventh National Congress of the P.K.I. and was never corrected, not even when our Party was already aware that since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., the leadership of the C.P.S.U. has been following the road of modern revisionism.

The self-criticism stresses that the experience of the P.K.I. provides the lesson that by criticizing the modern revisionism of the C.P.S.U. leadership alone, it does not mean that the P.K.I. itself will automatically be free from errors of Right opportunism, the same as what the modern revisionists are doing. The experience of the P.K.I. provides the lesson that modern revisionism, the greatest danger in the international communist movement, is also the greatest danger for the P.K.I. For the P.K.I., modern revisionism is not “a latent but not an acute danger,” but a concrete danger that has brought great damage to the Party and serious losses for the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people. Therefore, we must not in any way underestimate the danger of modern revisionism and must wage a resolute and ruthless struggle against it. The firm stand against modern revisionism in all fields can be effectively maintained only when our Party abandons the line of “preserving friendship with the modern revisionists.”

It is a fact that the P.K.I., while criticizing the modern revisionism of the C.P.S.U. leadership, also made revisionist mistakes itself, because it had revised Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle, state and revolution. Furthermore, the P.K.I. leadership not only did not wage a struggle in the theoretical field against other “revolutionary” political thoughts which could mislead the proletariat, as Lenin has taught us to do, but had voluntarily given concessions in the theoretical field. The PK I leadership maintained that there was an identity between the three components of Marxism: materialist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, and the so-called “three components of Sukarno’s teachings.” They wanted to make Marxism, which is the ideology of the working class, the property of the whole nation which includes the exploiting classes hostile to the working class.

### **The main errors in the political field**

The self-criticism says that the mistakes of Right opportunism in the political field which are now under discussion include three



problems: (1) the road to people's democracy in Indonesia, (2) the question of state power, and (3) the implementation of the policy of the national united front.

One of the fundamental differences and problems of disputes between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism lies precisely in the problem of choosing the road to socialism. Marxism-Leninism teaches that socialism can only be achieved through the road of proletarian revolution and that in the case of colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries like Indonesia, socialism can only be achieved by first completing the stage of the people's democratic revolution. On the contrary, revisionism dreams of achieving socialism through the "peaceful road."

During the initial years of this period since 1951, our Party had achieved certain results in the political struggle as well as in the building of the Party. One important achievement of this period was the formulation of the main problems of the Indonesian revolution. It was formulated that the present stage of the Indonesian revolution was a new-type bourgeois democratic revolution, whose tasks were to liquidate imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism and to establish a people's democratic system as a transitional stage to socialism. The driving forces of the revolution were the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie; the leading force of the revolution was the working class and the principal mass strength of the revolution was the peasantry. It was also formulated that the national bourgeoisie was a wavering force of the revolution who might side with the revolution to certain limits and at certain periods but who, at other times, might betray the revolution. The Party furthermore formulated that the working class, in order to fulfill its obligation as the leader of the revolution, must forge a revolutionary united front with other revolutionary classes and groups based on worker-peasant alliance and under the leadership of the working class.

However, there was a very important shortcoming which in later days developed into Right opportunism or revisionism, namely, that the Party had not yet come to the clearest unity of minds on the principal means and the main form of struggle of the Indonesian revolution.

The Chinese revolution, the self-criticism says, has provided the lesson concerning the main form of struggle of the revolution in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, namely, the people's armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution. In line with the essence of the revolution as an agrarian revolution, then the essence of the people's armed struggle is the armed struggle of the peasants in an agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class. The practice of the Chinese revolution is first and foremost the application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of China. At the same time, it has laid down the general law for the revolutions of the peoples in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries.

To achieve its complete victory, it stresses, the Indonesian revolution must also follow the road of the Chinese revolution. This means that the Indonesian revolution must inevitably adopt this main form of struggle, namely, the people's armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution which, in essence, is the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat.

All forms of legal and parliamentary work should serve the principal means and the main form of struggle, and must not in any way impede the process of the ripening of armed struggle.

The experience during the last fifteen years has taught us that starting from not explicitly denying the "peaceful road" and not firmly holding to the general law of revolution in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, the P.K.I. gradually got bogged down in parliamentary and other forms of legal struggle. The Party leadership even considered this to be the main form of struggle to achieve the strategic aim of the Indonesian revolution. The legality of the Party was not considered as one method of struggle at a given time and under certain conditions, but was rather regarded as a principle, while other forms of struggle should serve this principle. Even when counter-revolution not only has trampled underfoot the legality of the Party, but has violated the basic human rights of the communists as well, the Party leadership still tried to defend this "legality" with all their might.

The "peaceful road" was firmly established in the Party when the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Fifth Congress in 1956 adopted a document which approved the modern revisionist line of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U.. In such a situation, when the revisionist line was already firmly established in the Party, it was impossible to have a correct Marxist-Leninist line of strategy and tactics. The formulation of the main lines of strategy and tactics of the Party started from a vacillation between the "peaceful road" and the "road of armed revolution," in the process of which the "peaceful road" finally became dominant.

Under such conditions, the General Line of the P.K.I. was formulated by the Sixth National Congress (1959). It reads, "To continue the forging of the national united front, and to continue the building of the Party, so as to accomplish the demands of the August Revolution of 1945." Based on the General Line of the Party, the slogan "Raise the Three Banners of the Party" was decided. These were (1) the banner of the national united front, (2) the banner of the building of the Party, and (3) the banner of the 1945 August Revolution. The General Line was meant as the road to people's democracy in Indonesia.

The Party leadership tried to explain that the Three Banners of the Party were the three main weapons to win the people's democratic revolution which, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, were "a well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party."

Thus the second main weapon means that there must be a people's armed struggle against armed counter-revolution under the leadership of the Party. The Party leadership tried to replace this with the slogan "Raise the banner of the 1945 August Revolution."

In order to approve that the road followed was not the opportunist "peaceful road," the Party leadership always spoke of the two possibilities, the possibility of a "peaceful road" and the possibility of a non-peaceful road. They held that the better the Party prepared itself to face the possibility of a non-peaceful road, the greater would be the possibility for a "peaceful road." By doing so the Party leadership cultivated in the minds of Party members, the working class and the masses of the working people the hope for a peaceful road which in reality did not exist.

In practice, the Party leadership did not prepare the whole ranks of the Party, the working class and the masses of the people to face the possibility of a non-peaceful road. The most striking proof of it was the grave tragedy which happened after the outbreak and the

failure of the September 30th Movement. Within a very short space of time, the counter-revolution succeeded in massacring and arresting hundreds of thousands of Communists and non-communist revolutionaries who found themselves in a passive position, paralyzing the organization of the P.K.I. and the revolutionary mass organizations. Such a situation surely would never happen if the Party leadership did not deviate from the revolutionary road.

The Party leadership declared, says the self-criticism, that "our Party must not copy the theory of armed struggle abroad, but must carry out the Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle: guerrilla warfare in the countryside (especially by farm labourers and poor peasants), revolutionary actions by the workers (especially transport workers) in the cities, and intensive work among the enemy's armed forces." The Party leadership criticized some comrades who, in studying the experience of the armed struggle of the Chinese people, were considered seeing only its similarities with the conditions in Indonesia. On the contrary, the Party leadership put forward several allegedly different conditions that must be taken into account, until they arrived at the conclusion that the method typical to the Indonesian revolution was the "Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle."

To fulfill its heavy but great and noble historical mission, to lead the people's revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must firmly reject the revisionist "peaceful road," reject the "theory of the Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle," and hold aloft the banner of armed people's revolution. Following the example of the glorious Chinese revolution, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must establish revolutionary base areas; they must "turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution."

While working for the realization of this most principal question we must also carry out other forms of struggle; armed struggle will never advance without being coordinated with other forms of struggle.

The line of Right opportunism followed by the Party leadership was also reflected in their attitude with regard to the state, in particular to the state of the Republic of Indonesia, the self-criticism says.

Based on this Marxist-Leninist teaching on state, the task of the P.K.I., after the August Revolution of 1945 failed, should have been the education of the Indonesian working class and the rest of the working people, so as to make them understand as clearly as possible the class nature of the state of the Republic of Indonesia as a bourgeois dictatorship. The P.K.I. should have aroused the consciousness of the working class and the working people that their struggle for liberation would inevitably lead to the necessity of "superseding the bourgeois state" by the people's state under the leadership of the working class, through a "violent revolution." But the P.K.I. leadership took the opportunist line that gave rise to the illusion among the people about bourgeois democracy.

The self-criticism says that the climax of the deviation from Marxist-Leninist teaching on state committed by the Party leadership was the formulation of the "theory of the two aspects in the state power of the Republic of Indonesia."

The "two-aspect theory" viewed the state and the state power in the following way:

The state power of the Republic, viewed as contradiction, is a contradiction between two opposing aspects. This first aspect is

the aspect which represents the interests of the people (manifested by the progressive stands and policies of President Sukarno that are supported by the P.K.I. and other groups of the people). The second aspect is the aspect that represents the enemies of the people (manifested by the stands and policies of the Right-wing forces and die-hards). The people's aspect has now become the main aspect and takes the leading role in the state power of the Republic.

The "two-aspect theory" obviously is an opportunist of revisionist deviation, because it denies the Marxist-Leninist teaching that "the state is an organ of the rule of a definite class which cannot be reconciled with its antipode (the class opposite to it)". It is unthinkable that the Republic of Indonesia can be jointly ruled by the people and the enemies of the people.

The self-criticism says that the Party leadership who wallowed in the mire of opportunism claimed that the "people's aspect" had become the main aspect and taken the hegemony in the state power of the Republic. It was as if the Indonesian people were nearing the birth of a people's power. And since they considered that the forces of the national bourgeoisie in the state power really constituted the "people's aspect," the party leadership had done everything to defend and develop this "people's aspect". The Party leadership had altogether merged themselves in the interests of the national bourgeoisie.

By considering the national bourgeoisie the "people's aspect" in the state power of the Republic, and President Sukarno the leader of this aspect, the Party leadership erroneously recognized that the national bourgeoisie was able to lead the new-type democratic revolution. This is contrary to historical necessity and historical facts.

The Party leadership declared that the "two-aspect theory" was completely different from the "theory of structural reform" of the leadership of the revisionist Italian Communist Party. However, the fact is, theoretically or on the basis of practical realities, there is no difference between the two "theories." Both have for their starting point the "peaceful road" to socialism. Both dream of a gradual change in the internal balance of forces in the state power. Both reject the road of revolution and both are revisionist.

The anti-revolutionary "two-aspect theory" glaringly exposed itself in the statement that "the struggle of the P.K.I. with regard to the state power is to foremost the pro-people aspect so as to make it bigger and dominant, and the anti-people force can be driven out from the state power."

The Party leadership even had a name for this anti-revolutionary road; they called it the road of "revolution from above and below." By "revolution from above" they meant that the P.K.I. "must encourage the state power to take revolutionary steps aimed at making the desired changes in the personnel and in the state organs." While by "revolution from below" they meant that the P.K.I. "must arouse, organize and mobilize the people to achieve the same changes." It is indeed an extraordinary phantasy! The Party leadership did not learn from the fact that the concept of President Sukarno on the formation of a co-operation cabinet (the old-type government of national coalition), eight years after its announcement, had not been realized as yet. There was even no sign that it would ever be realized, despite the insistent demands. Let alone a change in the state power!

The self-criticism stresses that to clean itself from the mire of opportunism, our Party must discard this "theory of two-aspect in the state power" and re-establish the Marxist-Leninist teaching on state and revolution.

The 5th National congress of the Party in the main had solved theoretically the problem of the national united front. It formulated that the worker-peasant alliance was the basis of the national united front. With regard to the national bourgeoisie a lesson had been drawn on the basis of the experience during the August Revolution that this class had a wavering character. In a certain situation, the national bourgeoisie took part in the revolution and sided with the revolution, while in another situation they followed in the steps of the comprador-bourgeoisie to attack the driving forces of the revolution and betrayed the revolution (as shown by their activities during the Madiun Provocation and their approval of the Round Table Conference Agreement). Based on this wavering character of the national bourgeoisie, the Party formulated the stand that must be taken by the P.K.I., namely, to make continuous efforts to win the national bourgeoisie over to the side of revolution, while guarding against the possibility of its betraying the revolution. The P.K.I. must follow the policy of unity and struggle towards the national bourgeoisie, the self-criticism says.

Nevertheless, since the ideological weakness of subjectivism in the Party, particularly among the Party leadership, had not yet been eradicated, the Party was dragged into more and more serious mistakes, to such an extent that the Party lost its independence in the united front with the national bourgeoisie. This mistake had led to the situation in which the Party and the proletariat were placed as the appendage of the national bourgeoisie.

The self-criticism states that a manifestation of this loss of independence in the united front with the national bourgeoisie was the evaluation and the stand of the Party leadership towards Sukarno. The Party leadership did not adopt an independent attitude towards Sukarno. They had always avoided conflicts with Sukarno and, on the contrary, had greatly over-emphasized the similarities and the unity between the Party and Sukarno. The public saw that there was no policy of Sukarno that was not supported by the P.K.I. The Party leadership went so far as to accept without any struggle the recognition to Sukarno as "the great leader of the revolution" and the leader of the "people's aspect" in the state power of the Republic. In many articles and speeches, the Party leaders frequently said that the struggle of the P.K.I. was based not only on Marxism-Leninism, but also on "the teachings of Sukarno," that the P.K.I. made such a rapid progress because it realized Sukarno's idea of Nasakom unity, etc. Even the concept of the people's democratic system in Indonesia was said to be in conformity with Sukarno's main ideas as expressed in his speech "The Birth of Pantjasila" on June 1, 1945.

The self-criticism repudiates the erroneous view that "to implement the Political Manifesto meant implementing the programme of the P.K.I. could only be interpreted that it was not the programme of the P.K.I. that was accepted by the bourgeoisie, but that, on the contrary, it was the programme of the national bourgeoisie which was accepted by the P.K.I., and was made to replace the programme of the P.K.I., it points out.

The self-criticism says that the abandonment of principle in the united front with the national bourgeoisie had developed even further in the so-called "General Line of the Indonesian Revolution" that was formulated as follows: "With the national united front having the workers and peasants as its pillars, the Nasakom as the core and the Pantjasila as its ideological basis, to complete the national democratic revolution in order to advance towards Indonesian Socialism." This so-called "General Line of the Indonesian Revolution"

had not even the faintest smell of the revolution. Because, from the three preconditions to win the revolution, namely, a strong Marxist-Leninist Party, a people's armed struggle under the leadership of the Party, and a united front, only the united front was retained. Even then, it was not a revolutionary united front, because it was not led by the working class, nor was it based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class, but on the contrary it was based on the Nasakom.

The Party leadership said that "the slogan for national co-operation with the Nasakom as the core will by no means obscure the class content of the national united front." This statement is incorrect. The class content of the Nasakom was the working class, the national bourgeoisie, and even elements of the compradors, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords. Obviously, putting the Nasakom in the core not only meant obscuring the class content of the national united front, but radically changing the meaning of the revolutionary national united front into an alliance of the working class with all other classes in the country, including the reactionary classes, into class collaboration.

This error must be corrected. The Party must throw to the dustbin the erroneous "General Line of the Indonesian Revolution" and return to the correct conception of a revolutionary national united front based on the alliance of the workers and peasants and under the leadership of the working class.

The abandonment of principle in the united front with the national bourgeoisie was also the result of the Party's inability to make a correct and concrete analysis of the concrete situation, the self-criticism says.

The self-criticism points out that ever since the failure of the August Revolution of 1945, except in West Iran, the imperialists did not hold direct political power in Indonesia. In Indonesia, political power was in the hands of compradors and landlords who represented the interest of imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism. Besides, there was no imperialist aggression in Indonesia taking place. Under such a situation, provided that the P.K.I. did not make political mistakes, the contradiction between the ruling reactionary classes and the people would develop and sharpen, constituting the main contradiction in Indonesia. The primary task of the Indonesian revolution is the overthrow of the rule of the reactionary classes within the country who also represent the interests of the imperialists, in particular the United States imperialists. Only by taking this road can the real liquidation of imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism be realized.

By correcting the mistakes made by the Party in the united front with then national bourgeoisie it does not mean that now the Party need not unite with this class. On the basis of the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class, our party must work to win the national bourgeois class over to the side of the revolution.

### **The main mistakes in the organizational field**

The self-criticism says that the erroneous political line which dominated the Party was inevitably followed by an equally erroneous organizational line. The longer and the more intensive the wrong political line ruled in the Party, the greater were the mistakes in the organizational field, and the greater the losses caused by them. Right opportunism which constituted the wrong political line of the Party in the period after 1951 had been followed by another Right deviation in the organizational field, namely, liberalism and legalism.

The line of liberalism in the organizational field manifested itself in the tendency to make the P.K.I. a party with as large a membership as possible, a party with a loose organization, which was called a mass Party.

It says that the mass character of the Party is not determined above all by the large membership, but primarily by the close ties linking the Party and the masses, by the Party's political line which defends the interests of the masses, or in other words by the implementation of the Party's mass line. And the main line of the Party can only be maintained when the prerequisites determining the Party's role as the advanced detachment are firmly upheld, when the Party members are made up of the best elements of the proletariat who are armed with Marxism-Leninism. Consequently, to build a Marxist-Leninist Party which has a mass character is impossible without giving primary importance to Marxist-Leninist education.

The self-criticism points out that during the last few years, the P.K.I. had carried out a line of Party building which deviated from the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the organizational field.

The self-criticism says that this liberal expansion of Party membership could not be separated from the political line of the "peaceful road." The large membership was intended to increase the influence of the Party in the united front with the national bourgeoisie. The idea was to effect the gradual change in the balance of forces that would make it possible to completely defeat the die-hard forces, with a Party that was growing bigger and bigger, in addition to the continued policy of unity with the national bourgeoisie.

The stress was no longer laid on the education and the training of Marxist-Leninist cadres to prepare them for the revolution, for work among the peasants in order to establish revolutionary bases, but on the education of intellectuals to serve the needs of the working the united front with the national bourgeoisie, and to supply cadres for the various positions in the state institutions that were obtained thanks to the co-operations with the national bourgeoisie. The slogan of "total integration with the peasants" had become empty talk. What was being done in practice was to draw cadres from the country-side to the cities, from the regions to the centre, instead of sending the best cadres to working the rural areas.

To raise the prestige of the P.K.I. in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, and to make it respected as the party of intellectuals, the 4-Year Plan stipulated that all cadres of the higher ranks must obtain academic education, cadres of the middle ranks high school education, and cadres of the lower ranks lower middle school education. For this purpose the Party had set up a great number of academies, schools and courses. So deep-rooted was the intellectualism gripping the Party leadership that all Party leaders and prominent figures of the popular movements were obliged to write four theses in order to obtain the degree of "Marxist Scientists."

The deeper the Party was plunged into the mire of opportunism and revisionism, the greater it lacked organizational vigilance and the more extensively legalism developed in the organization. The Party leadership had lost its class prejudice towards the falsehood of bourgeois democracy. All the activities of the Party indicated as if the "peaceful road" was an inevitable certainty. The Party leadership did not arouse the vigilance of the masses of Party members to the danger of attacks by the reactionaries who were constantly on the look for the chance to strike. Due to this legalism in the organizational field, within a short span of time counter-revolution has succeeded in paralyzing the P.K.I. organizationally.

Liberalism in organization had destroyed the principle of internal democracy in the Party, destroyed collective leadership and had given rise to personal leadership and personal rule, to autonomism.

In a situation when liberalism dominated the organizational line of the Party, it was impossible to realize the Party's style of work "to combine theory and practice, to keep close bonds with the masses and to conduct self-criticism." It was equally impossible to realize the method of leadership whose essence is the unity of the leadership and the masses; to realize it the leadership must give an example to the rank- and-file.

The self-criticism points out that thus, in general the wrong political line which ruled in the Party was followed by the wrong line in the organizational field which violated the principles of a Marxist-Leninist Party, destroyed the organizational foundation of the Party, namely, democratic centralism, and trampled on the Party's style of work and method of leadership.

The self-criticism emphatically points out that to build the P.K.I. as a Marxist-Leninist Party, we must thoroughly uproot liberalism in the organizational field and its ideological source. The P.K.I. must be rebuilt as a Lenin-type Party, a Party that will be capable of fulfilling its role as the advanced detachment and the highest form of class organization of the Indonesian proletariat, a Party with a historical mission of leading the masses of the Indonesian people to win victory in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-bureaucrat-capitalist revolution, and to advance towards socialism. Such a Party must fulfill the following conditions: Ideologically, it is armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism; politically it has a correct programme which includes a revolutionary agrarian programme, has a thorough understanding of the problems of the strategy and tactics of the Indonesian revolution, masters the main form of struggle, namely, the armed struggle of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat, as well as other forms of struggle, is capable of establishing a revolutionary united front of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class; organizationally, it is strong and has a deep root among the masses of the people, consists of trustworthy, experienced and steeled Party members who are models in the implementation of the national tasks.

Today, we are rebuilding our Party under the reign of counter-revolutionary white terror which is most cruel and ferocious. The legality of the Party and the basic human rights of the Communists have been wantonly violated. The Party, therefore, has to be organized and has to work in complete illegality. While working in complete illegality, the Party must be adept at utilizing to the full all possible opportunities to carry out legal activities according to circumstances, and to choose ways and means that are acceptable to the masses with the aim of mobilizing the masse for struggle and leading this struggle step by step to a higher stage.

The self-criticism stresses that in rebuilding the P.K.I. along the Marxist-Leninist line, the greatest attention should be devoted to the building of Party organizations in the rural areas, to the establishment of revolutionary bases.

The task to rebuild a Marxist-Leninist Party as has been stated above requires arduous and protracted work, and is full of danger, and consequently it must be carried out courageously, perseveringly, carefully, patiently and persistently.

### The way out

The self-criticism says that once we know the weaknesses and mistakes of the Party during the period after 1951 as have been explained above, obviously what we have to do is to realize the most urgent tasks faced by the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists at the present time, the first one being the rebuilding of the P.K.I. as a Marxist-Leninist Party which is free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism.

To rebuild the P.K.I. as such as Marxist-Leninist Party, Party cadres of all levels and then all Party members must reach a unanimity of mind with regard to the mistakes made by the Party in the past, as well as concerning the new road that must be taken.

In order to reach unanimity of mind, a rectification movement must be carried out in the whole Party. Through this rectification movement we will remold the erroneous ideas of the past into correct ideas. In order to advance along the new road, it is absolutely necessary to abandon the wrong road.

Under the present situation, it will not be easy to come to unanimity of mind concerning all past mistakes down to the minutest details. But, what is absolutely necessary is unanimity of mind regarding the fundamental problems raised in this self-criticism.

The self-criticism says that the opportunist and revisionist mistakes in the political and organizational fields made by our Party which have been subjected to this criticism were not merely the outcome of the social and historical conditions during the last decade, but could be traced farther back in the social and historical conditions since the founding of our Party. We must, therefore, get rid of the notion that everything will be all right once we have made the present criticism and self-criticism. So long as the ideological of subjectivism is not completely eradicated from the Party, or worse still, if it is still to be found among the Party leadership, then our Party will not be able to avoid other mistakes of Right of "Left" opportunism because, if such is the case, our Party will not be able to analyze the political situation correctly, and consequently will not be able to give correct directives on work. It is above all the task of the leadership and the central cadres, and then of the regional leadership and cadres at all levels to combat subjectivism persistently and wholeheartedly.

Subjectivism can be effectively combated and liquidated when the ability of the whole Party to distinguish proletarian ideology from the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie is raised and when criticism and self-criticism is encouraged. To raise the ability of the whole party to distinguish proletarian ideology from the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie will be possible only by intensifying the education of Marxism-Leninism. The Party must educate its members to apply the Marxist-Leninist method in analyzing the political situation and in evaluating the forces of the existing classes, so that the subjective analysis and evaluation can be avoided. The Party must draw the attention of the members to the importance of the investigation and study of social and economic conditions, in order to be able to define the tactics of struggle and the corresponding method of work. The Party must help the members to understand that without an investigation of the actual conditions they will get bogged down in phantasy.

The self-criticism emphatically points out that the experience of the struggle waged by the Party in the past has shown how indispensable it is for the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists, who are resolved to defend Marxism-Leninism and to combat modern revisionism, to study not only the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin

and Stalin, but also to devote special attention to studying the Thought of Mao Tse-tung who has succeeded in brilliantly inheriting, defending and developing Marxism-Leninism to its peak in the present era.

The P.K.I. will be able to hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, only when it takes a resolute stand in the struggle against modern revisionism which today is centered around the leading group of the C.P.S.U. The fight against modern revisionism cannot be consistently carried out while, at the same time, preserving friendship with the modern revisionists. The P.K.I. must abandon the wrong attitude it held in the past with regard to the question of the relations with the modern revisionists. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism can only be manifested by a merciless stand in the struggle against modern revisionists. Loyalty to proletarian internationalism can only be manifested by a merciless stand in the struggle against modern revisionism, because modern revisionism has destroyed proletarian internationalism, and betrayed the struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed people all over the world.

In rebuilding the Party, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must devote their attention to the creation of the conditions to lead the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants that will become the main form of struggle to win victory for the people's democratic revolution in Indonesia. This means that the greatest attention should be paid to the rebuilding of Party organizations in the rural areas. The greatest attention must be paid to the solution of the problem of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the peasants in an anti-feudal agrarian revolution. The integration of the Party with the peasants, in particular with farm labourers and poor peasants, must be conscientiously carried out. Because, only through such an integration, will the party be able to lead the peasantry, and the peasantry, for their part, will be capable of becoming the invincible bulwark of the people's democratic revolution.

As a result of the attacks of the third white terror, Party organizations in the rural areas in general have suffered greater damage. This fact has rendered it more difficult and arduous to work in the countryside. But this does not in any way change the inexorable law that the main force of the people's democratic revolution in Indonesia is the peasantry, and its base are is the countryside. With the most resolute determination that everything is for the masses of the people, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists will certainly be able to overcome the gravest difficulties. By having the most wholehearted faith in the masse and by relying on the masses, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists will certainly be able to transform the backward Indonesian villages into great and consolidated military, political and cultural bastions of the revolution.

The Indonesian peasants are the most interested in the people's democratic revolution. Because, only this revolution will liberate them from the life of backwardness and inequality as a result of feudal suppression. It is only this revolution that will give them what they have dreamt all their lives and which will give them life: land. That is why the peasants will surely take this road of revolution for land and liberation, no matter how arduous and full of twists and turns this road will be.

Obviously, the second task of the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists at present is the creation of the necessary conditions for the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat. Provided that the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists succeed in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the peasants to carry through an anti-feudal agrarian revolution, the leadership of the working

class in the people's democratic revolution and the victory of the revolution are assured.

However, the Party must continue the efforts to establish a revolutionary united front with other anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and groups. Based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat, the Party must work to win over the urban petty bourgeoisie and other democratic forces, and must also work to win over the national bourgeoisie as an additional ally in the people's democratic revolution. The present objective conditions offer the possibility for the establishment of a broad revolutionary united front.

The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals Nasution and Suharto is the manifestation of the rule by the most reactionary classes in the country, namely, the comprador-bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat-capitalists and the landlords. The internal reactionary classes under the leadership of the clique of Right-wing army generals exercise dictatorship over the Indonesian people, and act as watch-dogs guarding the interests of imperialism, in particular United States imperialism, in Indonesia. Consequently, the coming into power of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals will certainly serve to intensify the suppression and exploitation of the Indonesian people by imperialism and feudalism.

The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals represents the interests of only a very small minority who suppresses the overwhelming majority of the Indonesian people. That is why the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals will certainly meet with resistance from the broad masses of the people.

Thus, the third urgent task faced by the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists is to establish the revolutionary united front with all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and groups based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class.

Thus, it has become clear that to win victory for the people's democratic revolution, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must hold aloft the Three Banners of the Party namely:

The first banner, the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party which is free from subjectivism, opportunism and modern revisionism.

The second banner, the armed people's struggle which in essence is the armed struggle of the peasants in an anti-feudal agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class.

The third banner, the revolutionary united front based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class.

The tasks faced by the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists are very arduous. They have to work under the most savage and barbarous terror and persecution which have no parallel in history. However, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists do not have the slightest doubt that, by correcting the mistakes made by the Party in the past, they are now marching along the correct road, the road of people's democratic revolution. No matter how protracted, tortuous and full of difficulties, this is the only road leading to a free and democratic New Indonesia, and Indonesia that will really belong to the Indonesian people. For this noble cause, we must have the courage to traverse the long road.

The self-criticism points out that the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries on the basis of their own experience in struggle, do not have the slightest doubt about the correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thesis that "the imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance they are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not

the reactionaries but the people how are really powerful." The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals which is now in power is also a paper tiger. In appearance they are powerful and terrifying. But in reality they are not so powerful, because they are not supported but on the contrary are opposed by the people, because their ranks are beset by contradictions, and because they are quarreling among themselves for a bigger share of their plunder and for greater power. The imperialists, in particular the United States imperialists who are the mainstay of the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, are also paper tigers. In appearance they are powerful and terrifying, but in reality they are weak and nearing their complete downfall. The weakness of imperialism, in particular united States imperialism, is vividly demonstrated by their inability to conquer the heroic Vietnamese people and to check the tide of the anti-imperialist struggle waged by the people all over the world, including the American people themselves, who are furiously dealing blows at the fortress of imperialism.

From a strategic point of view, the imperialists and all reactionaries are weak, and consequently we must despise them. By despising the enemies strategically we can build up the courage to fight them and the confidence to defeat them. At the same time we must take them all seriously, take into full account of their strength tactically, and refrain from taking adventurist steps against them.

The self-criticism says that today, we are in an era when imperialism is undergoing its total collapse, and socialism is marching forward triumphantly all over the world. No force on earth can prevent the total downfall of imperialism and all other reactionaries, and no force can block the victory of Socialism throughout the world. The military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals, as the watch-dog guarding the interests of imperialism in Indonesia, is also unable to avert its destruction. The vicious and savage massacre and torture against hundreds of thousands of Communists and democrats which they are still continuing today, will not be able to prevent the people and the Communists from rising up in resistance. On the contrary, all the brutalities and cruelties will only serve to intensify the tit-for-tat resistance struggle of the people. The Communists will avenge the death of their hundreds of thousands of comrades with the resolve to serve still better the people, the revolution and the Party.

The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists will spare neither efforts nor energy to fulfill the best wishes of the world Marxist-Leninists by resolutely defending Marxism-Leninism and struggling against modern revisionism, by working still better for the liberation of their people and country, and for the world proletarian revolution.

The Indonesian Marxist-Leninists who are united in mind and determined to take the road of revolution, by putting their wholehearted faith in the people, by relying on the people, by working courageously, perseveringly, conscientiously, patiently, persistently and vigilantly, will surely be able to accomplish their historical mission, to lead the people's democratic revolution, to smash the military dictatorship of the Right-wing army generals and to set up a completely new power, the people's democratic dictatorship. With the people's democratic dictatorship the joint power of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal classes and groups under the leadership of the working class, the Indonesian people will completely liquidate imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism, build a free and democratic new society, and advance towards Socialism where the suppression and exploitation of man by man no longer exists.

Let us unite closely to take the road of revolution which is illuminated by the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, the road leading to the liberation of the Indonesian people and proletariat, the road leading to Socialism.

*This and other documents are available at <http://antenna.nl/wvi/eng/ic/pki/selfcrit.htm>—ed.*

# MIM statement in Celebration of the 28th anniversary Of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)'s Reestablishment

26 December 1997

The Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM) sends warm and enthusiastic greetings to the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) on this, the 29th anniversary of its re-establishment on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. MIM is especially happy to congratulate the CPP on the continued successes of the rectification campaign it launched in 1992. The rectification campaign - which emphasizes the study of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and especially Mao - was able to defeat the modern revisionists, petty-bourgeois adventurists, hidden Trotskyists, and other charlatans who sought to subvert the CPP's work from within. The rectification campaign helped the revolutionary movement regain ground lost under the influence of incorrect ideas and thus demonstrates the continued relevance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a tool for liberating the oppressed.

The victories won by the revolutionary movement led by the CPP aid the struggles of the oppressed within u.s. borders and around the world, because these victories are a blow against our common enemy: Amerikan imperialism. MIM takes this occasion to reiterate its commitment to helping the revolutionary movement in the Philippines the best way it can: By hastening the day when the oppressed masses in North America overthrow Amerikan imperialism.

**Victory to the Filipino people's war!  
Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!  
Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**

# Joel Rocamora: From the Left (If he ever was There) to the Very Rabid Right

By Antonio Zumel

*Antonio Zumel, a journalist before he joined the underground after the declaration of martial law in 1972, was a member of the NDF Panel in the peace talks with the Aquino regime in 1986.—ed.*

If I were a knowledgeable journalist and I were asked to write a straight-news story about Joel Rocamora's book, "Breaking Through: The Struggle Within the Communist Party of the Philippines", I'd get to the substance of the story in the following words: "Had the author, Joel Rocamora, ever been a member of the Communist Party of the Philippines or of the national-democratic revolutionary movement that the CPP leads, he has cut off any links with these organizations. He is now a reformist. Or he is capitulating, if he has not already capitulated, to the U.S.-Ramos regime."

Indeed, reading Rocamora's book, one can draw no other conclusion than this one. Take note of his bitterness towards certain leaders of the Party, and his resentment over the Party's rejection of his friends' proposals deviating from the political line. On the other hand, savor his fawning words towards Gen. Fidel Ramos, Ramos' national security adviser, former Brig. Gen. Jose Almonte, and their "Philippines 2000". He even manages a few kind words towards the International Monetary Fund and the ruling classes in the Philippines.

Let's keep track of Rocamora's words since he says he wrote his book "because I want to understand my political past".

The conclusions he draws in his book are "guideposts for my political future". These quotes are in a blurb quoted in the back cover of his book.

There are any number of matters that we could discuss in Rocamora's book. But due to space limitations, we will concentrate on five major items. I just happened to be around in some of the sequences in Rocamora's narration, and would like to consider myself as a knowledgeable reporter. The five items are as follows:

1. What is Rocamora's real attitude towards "Kampanyang Ahos" and its principal perpetrators?
2. "...My role in these debates has been exaggerated by the steady stream of attacks on me by the leaders of the 'Reaffirm' faction of the CPP," Rocamora says. "My role has, in fact, been much more modest." I know a couple of things about this, and I'll show how Rocamora's sense of modesty is totally misplaced.
3. If the program of the National Democratic Front (NDF) of the Philippines was no longer responsive in the minds of the organizations allied in the NDF, then by all means amend it.
4. What Basic Party Course (BPC) did Rocamora have, if any?
5. Doesn't Rocamora give a damn about what the people think of the U.S.-Ramos regime's "Philippines 2000"?

Before we go into these questions, for the benefit of the reader let's go into the crux of the matter. The Party and the national-democratic revolutionary movement that it leads had suffered setbacks in the second half of the 1980s. Party membership had decreased by 15 percent, the total number of barrios under its coverage by 16 percent, the total number of members of the New People's Army by 28 percent, and the total membership in rural mass organizations by 60 percent. A big number of cadres on the provincial, front and district levels were lost due to arrest, death and demoralization. Why?

Certain Party cadres especially in Mindanao believed that the setbacks had been due to the Party's boycott of the 1986 presidential election between the dictator Marcos and Ms. Corazon Aquino. The Party was thereby "marginalized", they said. Another reason is that the Party had closed its mind to urban "insurrectional warfare" instead of protracted people's war.

The Party leadership, from the Party chairman to the Executive Committee, the Political Bureau (Politburo) and the Central Committee, made the conclusion in 1992 that the setbacks were due to two major errors: in an attempt to attain victory in a short while, there was 1) the premature setting up of many company formations in the NPA with the result that there was nobody to conduct mass work, and 2) urban insurrectionism. Both of these errors prevailed in Mindanao in 1982-1985. It was on account of these errors that "Kampanyang Ahos" (Garlic Campaign) came about.

There was a time, about five years ago, when Rocamora parroted the refrain of his friend Nathan Quimpo and other former cadres of Mindanao that the setbacks of the Party were on account of the Party's boycott of the 1986 election. The Party and the movement that it leads were thus "marginalized" on account of the boycott, Quimpo said.

When comrades called Rocamora's attention to other errors, like "Kampanyang Ahos", Rocamora seemed to take it under advisement.

In his book, Rocamora does mention "Kampanyang Ahos" in the following words of Walden Bello: "Several hundred people (some have put the figure as high as 900) were tortured and/or executed and the morale and cohesion of the Mindanao movement was almost destroyed. The NPA on the island went down from 15 companies and 30 platoons to two companies and 17 platoons, CPP membership dropped from 9,000 to 3,000, and the mass base was cut by at least half." (Actually, some 1,500 people were arrested and tortured and about 950 were killed.)

Referring to this as a "stunning setback", Rocamora says "...We cannot, should not, make excuses for the indignities, the torture, the outright murder of hundreds of comrades, allies and friends. Those who lived through those horrors continue to carry the emotional and psychological scars of their experience as tortured and as torturer."

He says we cannot and should not make excuses, but he does not identify a single cadre or collective as principally responsible for the mass murder of Party members, Red fighters and members of the rural mass organizations suspected to be deep infiltration agents (DPAs) of the enemy. Why doesn't he mention those who drew up the guidelines and those who approved and implemented it like Benjamin de Vera, Ricardo Reyes, Frank Gonzales and Nathan Quimpo who, together with some others, composed the Mindanao Commission?

Instead, Rocamora blames the Party's central organs, notwith-

standing the fact that De Vera and Reyes kept the whole bloody incident from the knowledge of the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee in 1985. Another Party organ, the Politburo, has criticized itself for initially assessing "Kampanyang Ahos" to have been a revolutionary success, with some excesses. But those who are directly responsible have not been investigated until now since they have chosen to remove themselves from the movement.

Rocamora may be interested to know that his friend Nathan Quimpo has said there was no due process in any of the 1,500 arrests and 950 executions, so they should be the last people in the Party to complain about lack of democracy.

### Reyes, Quimpo are ultra-democratic

While not mentioning Ricardo Reyes and Nathan Quimpo in connection with "Kampanyang Ahos", Rocamora gives them full play in their criticism of the Party. He quotes Paco Arguelles (Reyes), Suriang Sosyalista (Reyes) and "Pagbabalik-aral: Apriorism Reaffirmed" (Reyes), and Marty Villalobos (Quimpo) and Omar Tupaz (Quimpo).

With relish, they are quoted with such critics of the Party and national-democratic movement as Alexander Magno, Gregg Jones, Filemon Lagman, Walden Bello, P.N. Abinales, "Ka Renan" (Frank Gonzales), Edicio de La Torre, Horacio Morales, and "Standing Group, Visayas Commission" ("SG-VisCom") (there is no officially recognized body as the "SG" in the Visayas but this stands for Rocamora's friend Arturo Tabara). And Joel Rocamora.

Rocamora praises Quimpo for his "remarkable series of essays" in 1986 and 1987. Among these essays are his criticism of the boycott of the 1986 election and his conclusion that had there been no boycott, the Party might have won a share of state power or won strategic victory, and his advocacy of urban insurrectionism.

Nothing is said of the fact that although Quimpo had some criticism against the Party's central organs, he did not send these essays to the organs concerned. I asked Quimpo at one time if he ever thought of sending the Central Committee copies of his essays so these could be studied. He said he sent a copy to a CC member, but that was all. In that period, from time to time one could see Quimpo's essays being reported on in the bourgeois newspapers in Manila.

A group of people led by "popdem" leaders Edicio de la Torre and Horacio Morales is likewise commended for "one of the creative sources of ideas" in alternative economic and political systems and coalition politics.

And Reyes is lauded for "implementing a whole series of imaginative projects" when he "dismissed" the Executive Committee and imagined that the Politburo had authorized him to act as some kind of a chairman — no, not as chairman since the chairman is answerable to a collective. Perhaps as Party "dictator".

In 1990, he changed the orientation of Ang Bayan, official organ of the Central Committee, into a debate forum while praising Gorbachov.

Together with Lagman, Reyes gave rise to the bus-burning incidents in October 1990 in an effort to get the people to go out and protest on the streets (the result was that the people stayed home, following enemy propaganda and psychological warfare on the bus-burning). Their pipedream was that there would develop a "fast track" to victory. There was none. The "insurrectionary moment" for which Reyes and Lagman waited did not materialize.

Reyes convened the "NDF congress" of 1990 without even a by-your-leave to the Executive Committee of the Central Committee



(EC-CC) and without waiting for a duly appointed EC-CC representative to present the Party's views. He made the other delegates believe that he represented not only the Politburo but the CC as well. (By the way, it is this "congress" that elected me NDF chairman for a three-year term, for which I thank the delegates who voted for me.)

Reyes envisioned an "alliance" between the NDF and legal petty-bourgeois organizations in an uprising expected within the context of an "Anti-Imperialist Democratic Front" (AIDF). And he was speaking in the name of the Politburo!

What a cavalier attitude towards positions of power in the Party. And he — like Quimpo — is not even repentant about his key role in "Kampanyang Ahos".

### 'My role has ... been much more modest'

Rocamora wonders why he has been a target of attacks by leaders of the "Reaffirmists" when the role he had played in the "debates" had been "much more modest" and had been "exaggerated".

I'll just relate the incidents and let the reader draw his own conclusion. It was Rocamora, using the pseudonym "Tales Duhaylungsod" (Tales of Two Cities), who proposed in a paper ("Reform the Party! Save the Revolution!") in December 1991 that while disregarding the Central Committee and other leading organs of the Party, a special body be created (its creation and by whose authority was not clear) to supervise a summing-up from the basic organ, the Party branch, upwards. What was proposed was a decapitation of the Party. And this was almost a whole year before Rocamora and his few revisionist and factionalist friends in the Central Committee refused to recognize the CC's 10th Plenum! (He denied wanting to behead the Party.)

It was Rocamora who, without anybody's authority and behaving like his friend Reyes, smuggled to political prisoners in Ramos' prisons copies of his paper and a copy of Comrade Armando Liwanag's paper for the EC-CC of the assessment on the Party and revolutionary movement's past errors and current situation. (Within a few days, Constabulary intelligence officer Col. Robert Delfin also had a copy with which he was promoting intrigue within revolutionary ranks. Who gave Delfin a copy, Rocamora or somebody else close to Delfin?)

In 1992, Rocamora circulated in Metro Manila, delivering an anti-Party and anti-NDF speech here and there. He went to an NPA guerrilla front in a southern Tagalog guerrilla front, and there met with other factionalists and splittists, some belonging to the CC and some others to national organs and to regional leaderships. He proselyted among them.

Rocamora brought to Europe diskettes of Contra poison articles that were to be published in what he calls the "Big Red Book". Copies were distributed even to non-Party people. In November 1992, he approached at least three cadres in Europe to inform them that the ranks of the "Rejectionists" now represented a majority of the CC and of cadres on the regional level. They had signed a resolution disowning the 10th CC Plenum of 1992, he said, and were calling for a Party Congress. They really wanted to grab the Party's leadership. Separately, he proselyted among the three (he met first with two and then the third one). The two immediately disputed with Rocamora and he got nowhere. The third one he and Quimpo approached refused to sign a "rejectionist" document he was presented.

Rocamora was telling his fellow factionalists and splittists in

Europe and everybody else who cared to listen that a "wholesale purge" was in the works in the Party.

Tirelessly, he repeated his tall tale that "since both sides are armed, a bloody confrontation is inevitable". He spread poison among support groups and funding agencies in Europe against the Party and the NDF and asked that support be withheld from them.

Like the self-styled "ideologue" and friend of his, Nathan Quimpo, he spread his anti-Party and anti-NDF poison. He should stop saying, "I tried my best to respect the security concerns of the clandestine organizations I was studying. The debate has changed all this by making a lot of underground matters public." (It was he who was spreading the material.)

And let him not say, "Reports from the underground say that...a 'joint statement' signed by a majority of Central Committee members and a significant number of senior Party cadre called for a new Central Committee plenum." (He was telling us in November 1992 that he had personally talked to his fellow factionalists and splittists in Metro Manila and elsewhere, and that they already comprised a "majority".) Enough of this bullshit.

### The NDF Program

Rocamora discusses the program of the National Democratic Front (NDF) of the Philippines, from the first 10-point program that was promulgated on April 24, 1973 (which has come to be known as the NDF's foundation day) to the 12-point program passed by Ricardo Reyes' "NDF congress" of 1990.

Throughout the period from 1973 to 1990, and especially in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the program underwent changes and elaborations, depending on the development of the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The changes took into account the proposals of the national-democratic (ND) revolutionary organizations already within the NDF. It also took into account suggestions from other revolutionary organizations outside the ND ambit which we were inviting for membership. There were even proposals from progressive friends overseas.

I know this because I was part of a team that talked to friends in other organizations about joining the NDF. And from time to time, I was asked to make tentative changes in the program based on the oral or written requests of friends.

It has been no secret that our progressive friends outside the ND ambit generally endorsed the program, but they were reluctant to join as members. They said they could not join since they might be "overwhelmed" by the big number of ND organizations already in the NDF. Even so, there were agreements as to how we could cooperate and coordinate in areas where we both were — in, say, a school campus.

The realization finally came home to us that as it had historically developed, the NDF was an alliance of ND organizations, most of which the Party had helped found even before martial law in 1972. If the NDF would then remain an ND organization, it could deal as an alliance with other revolutionary organizations that arose in the course of the revolution.

To make a long story short, whatever criticism Rocamora may have, the NDF — and I mean to say the NDF, not Ricardo Reyes' "congress" but the National Conference in July 1994 — and enacted a new Constitution and 12-Point Program. In the conference, all the allied organizations accepted the leadership of the working class, through its Party.

They have a clear socialist perspective, and this is so stated in black and white. Socialism will be pursued right after total victory, but there'll be a period when the state sector, the private sector, and cooperation between the state and private sectors will co-exist for a period. But this will be temporary.

By the way, it is clear to the allied organizations that the People's Democratic Republic of the Philippines that they will establish will be a republic of the people, meaning to say, the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The imperialists and their domestic cohorts — the comprador big bourgeoisie and the big landlords — will be deprived of their political clout as the people consolidate and advance their revolution.

### What basic Party course did Rocamora study?

What sort of a Basic Party Course (BPC) did Rocamora go through? I ask this question because in his book, he says that while "insurrection" had been accepted as part of the Party's vocabulary, it was "coopted into insignificance" by treating it as an adjunct to regular mobile warfare in the last stage of people's war.

Those who took the BPC before the imposition of martial law in 1972 remember that in studying protracted people's war, it was clear that urban insurrectionary warfare — an armed general uprising — should be waged in the cities for total victory after chewing up the enemy's military-police forces in the countryside.

In "Specific Characteristics of Our People's War", which came out in 1974, Comrade Amado Guerrero drew a contrast between revolutionary warfare in a capitalist country and in a semicolonial and semifeudal country. "In capitalist countries," Comrade Guerrero wrote 22 years ago, "a civil war is preceded by a long period of parliamentary struggle. To fight there a civil war without the disintegration of at least a great part of the standing army of the bourgeoisie and without the proletariat ready for a general uprising capable of winning decisively within a short period of time is to court disaster for the revolutionary forces..."

There you have it. You just don't stage a general uprising in the city — insurrectional warfare — a) without the disintegration of at least a great part of the enemy's standing army, and b) without the proletariat trained and armed in staging such an uprising.

But in a semicolonial and semifeudal society like the Philippines, he says, "it is as necessary as it is possible to wage a protracted people's war", adding: "It is only through a long period of time that we can develop our forces step by step. We are in no position to put our small and weak forces into strategically decisive engagements with militarily superior enemy forces. It is our firm policy to fight only those battles that we are capable of winning. Otherwise, we circle round in the face of an enemy force that we cannot defeat and look for the opportunity to strike at an enemy force we can defeat."

By the way, I am told that in the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee in 1985, the urban insurrectionism of the Mindanao cadres was extensively discussed and debated upon. The CC said no, saying there would be unnecessary massacres by the enemy. But until today, such "insurrectionists" as Rocamora's friends Lagman, Quimpo and Reyes — and Rocamora himself since he has shown himself to be a crypto-insurrectionist — are still at it.

### The U.S.-Aquino fascist regime

I rather liked Rocamora's account of the regime of Ms. Corazon Aquino who, pledging to be the "opposite" of Marcos, had ended

up following Marcos' lead in preserving Philippine society semicolonial and semifeudal. She could not, as Rocamora pointed out, transcend her class interests. Instead, she spent her six-year term fumbling along, following the lead provided by U.S. imperialism, and her generals in the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

As a member of the NDF's negotiating panel along with Satur Ocampo and Bobbie Malay, I remember the frustration we often felt when, meeting with the panel of the GRP (Government of the Republic of the Philippines) headed by Teofisto Guingona, we'd be told that proposals we had made at a previous meeting "are not acceptable to the generals".

Another thing I'd like to comment upon is Rocamora's insistence on referring to "the military" when he should be referring personally to Gen. Fidel Ramos, Aquino's AFP chief of staff and later defense secretary, and Gen. Renato de Villa, PC-PNP chief and later AFP chief of staff to succeed Ramos.

According to Rocamora, it was "the military" that objected to the release of prominent political prisoners. It was "the military" that objected to the presence in the cabinet of the few liberal-democratic personalities. It was "the military" that sabotaged the peace talks between the Aquino regime and the NDF. And it was "the military" which insisted upon launching, and were authorized to launch, "total war".

I think it was a deliberate attempt on Rocamora's part to shield especially Ramos who now sits as president and to whom he has apparently moved, body and spirit.

### Licking the boots of the U.S.-Ramos regime

As far as I can see, the final confirmation of Rocamora's reconciliation with the Ramos regime is his one-chapter, 30-page discussion of Ramos, his national defense adviser former Brig. Gen. Jose Almonte, and their "Philippines 2000" strategy of development.

Nowhere does Rocamora acknowledge the widespread protests of the sectoral and multisectoral mass organizations against this program which would further open up the country to foreign monopoly capitalists.

There is no mention of the protest of the peasant masses that land that is supposed to be distributed to them is being diverted and reserved for so-called industrial zones.

There is not a word about the workers' protests against the regime's apprenticeship program and its "no union, no strike" policy. Rocamora is quiet about national minorities being driven from their homes and farms with aerial bombardment and howitzer fire to provide land for big foreign and domestic capitalists for mining, logging or agro-business. There is not even word about the expanded value-added tax (E-VAT) and the entire tax program to support the "development strategy" and military-modernization program of the Ramos regime.

Instead, quoting Ramos, Almonte and their/his friends in academe, Rocamora draws no conclusion other than that "Philippines 2000" is for the benefit of the Filipino people.

Rocamora even goes to the extent of discussing the "seriousness" and "sincerity" of Ramos, Almonte, etc., which he endorses.

To curry favor from Ramos, Almonte, etc., Rocamora poses the question of whether or not they are trapo (traditional politicians). His answer is in the negative. They have no "identifiable social base", Rocamora says, "they can only be technocrats...battling monopoly interests". If it is not clear who they are fighting for,

“they will only be social engineers tinkering with society” or are “aspir[ing] for a technocratic, supra class core of economic policy makers”.

I would like to ask Rocamora if, during his years in the Party and in the national- democratic movement, he had learned about class analysis and social investigation and about state and revolution. But it may be a waste of time.

Continuing to lick Ramos’ and Almonte’s boots, he says they have “usher[ed] in a period of stability unseen in Philippine politics since the 1960s”. He lauds them for their “ambitious strategic vision” and for having “successfully projected the image of an administration with a political project, a deliberate strategy for economic change and its political components”. Rocamora says Ramos “has carefully evaded moves that would identify his regime as dominated by the military”. That the Ramos regime is placed “squarely against the Philippine oligarchy.” “Fidel Ramos’ election in May 1992 represents a major step in the process of transition from dictatorship to elite democracy — the consolidation of a new form of elite rule.” “Pres. Ramos’ preoccupation with economic growth is no accident.” Ramos’ “image as a non- trapo...”. “As a result, progressive groups have not yet settled into a distinct and coherent stance towards the Ramos administration.” Etc., etc.

Then, taking the side of the Ramos regime in its “peace talks” with the NDF, Rocamora says, “With the government bending over backwards to get talks finally going, [Jose Maria] Sison is soon going to run out of excuses.” It is not clear when Rocamora wrote this portion of his book although he signs “April 21, 1994” at the end.

The fact of the matter is that contrary to Rocamora’s baseless defense of the Ramos regime, it is the regime that has been trying to renege on its commitments since The Hague Joint Agreement between the government and the NDF in 1992. In fact, in October 1994, Ramos’ panel unilaterally “collapsed” the talks because it wanted to get out of its commitments. And on June 27, 1995, it was Ramos himself who unilaterally “suspended” the talks after he and his panel violated the GRP-NDP Joint Agreement on the Security and Immunity Guarantees. The talks are suspended until today, February 19, 1996.

### Is Rocamora a NICA agent?

I have seen an article about Rocamora and his sister Nanette having been agents of the government’s National Intelligence Coordinating Agency (NICA) in 1962. Rocamora’s comment: “...I know beyond any shadow of doubt that I...have not been a NICA agent since 1962.” Rocamora could have said, “I am not now, nor have I ever been, a NICA agent.” But he speaks in the present perfect tense. Was he then an agent in 1962? And does he somehow continue to think and act as a government agent?

From Rocamora’s mouth also come the following quotes: “I hope it will be possible to work for our dream of development and democracy together with some in the Ramos administration and in reformist segments of the upper classes.” “In the last few years, progressive economists have slowly moved to the position that many of the structural reforms demanded by the IMF are not necessarily bad.” “It should be possible to show our elite that their own interests are served by reform in the long run. More likely, social reform will happen only if organizations of those who benefit from reform can force implementation. If both the government and popular organizations can agree on these basic realities of Philippine

political life, then our relationship with government does not always have to be antagonistic.”

And finally: “Out of the shambles of this struggle, the opposition (in the Party and in the national-democratic movement) has been given an opportunity to break through to the other side.” (Oh, yes. The italics are mine.)

### P.S.

One thing you can say about Joel Rocamora is that since his book came out in 1994, he has been consistent about certain things. In the October 1995 issue of *Issues & Letters*, a publication of the Philippine Center for Policy Studies, Rocamora has an article entitled, “The Political Requirements of Economic Reform”.

Rocamora is identified in the publication as a consultant of the Institute for Popular Democracy (no wonder he had all those nice words about Edicio de la Torre in his 1994 book) and is also a consultant of the Ateneo Center for Social Policy.

He should also have been identified as an incense-burner at the feet of Gen. Fidel Ramos and former Brig. Gen. Jose Almonte because that’s what he proceeds to do in this article. He continues to praise Ramos and Almonte and the latter’s “Philippine 2000”, even as he continues to ignore the widespread protests of the people against this “development strategy”.

What should Ramos do? Should he now pursue “Philippines 2000” and its concomitant “reforms” like raising the taxes, including the expanded value-added tax (E-VAT)? Or attend to his political future, that is, extend his tour in Malacanang Palace beyond mid- 1998 when his term expires? Or do both at the same time?

No, says our favorite incense-burner. That would be stirring up too much of a controversy. Do one thing at a time, he advises Ramos. Work first on the extension of your term and, finally achieving it, you can pursue “Philippines 2000” even well beyond the year 2000.

Still presuming Ramos’ “popularity”, Rocamora suggests that a constitutional convention be elected to amend the 1987 constitution. And then, behold! Ramos would get his second term in Malacaang. And then pursue “Philippines 2000” in earnest.

That was an important part of Rocamora’s world-view in October 1995, just a few months ago.

## MIM Statement on The 29th Anniversary of The Founding of The New People’s Army

29 March 1998

The Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM) congratulates the New People’s Army (NPA) on the twenty-ninth anniversary of its founding under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). The NPA is the pinnacle of the Filipino people’s

four hundred years of resistance to foreign aggression, domestic feudalism, and other domestic traitors and reactionaries.

In particular, the founding of the NPA was a significant step in the one-hundred year long struggle against American imperialism in the Philippines. When it took up the leadership of the CPP, the NPA defeated two of the biggest internal enemies of the Filipino armed struggle for self-determination from American imperialism. First, by asserting the leadership of the proletariat, it overcame the weaknesses of the old style, bourgeois national-democratic revolution. In the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, only a national-democratic revolution led by the proletariat can truly succeed. Second, by grasping Mao Zedong's strategy of protracted people's war, it defeated the capitulationist military line of the modern revisionists, which swung from "left" to right, and ultimately into counter-revolutionary terror.

The leadership of the CPP has also allowed the NPA to overcome recent "left" errors, which replaced painstaking mass work with purely military adventures; which replaced tactical respect for the enemy with blind arrogance; and which replaced a correct class analysis of the Philippines with wishful thinking. In short, these "left" errors sought to replace protracted people's war with a war of quick decision. The NPA's reaffirmation of its founding principles has allowed it to persist, recover losses, and expand.

The MIM and the NPA share a common struggle. The blows the NPA lands against American imperialism in the Philippines advance the struggles of the MIM within u.s. borders, just as the blows the MIM makes against u.s. imperialism advance the struggle of the NPA. Although MIM does not currently wage armed struggle, as we follow Mao's advice to imperialist country comrades to wait "until the bourgeoisie is truly helpless," there is still much which MIM does in support of the NPA. For example, MIM defeats reactionary propaganda against the armed struggle in the Philippines and promotes revolutionary propaganda.

The armed struggle of the Filipino people against American imperialism is just, and it is correct to support it. MIM seeks to lead a movement which will lend the best aid possible to the people of the Philippines: A movement to overthrow American imperialism!

**Long live the NPA!**

**Down with u.s. Imperialism!**

# Leningrad Conference Muddies the Waters

January 26, 1998

By MC5

In November 1997 from the 6th to the 9th, there was a conference of parties in Leningrad upholding Stalin. Twenty-three parties signed a declaration attacking Khrushchev revisionism. Most of the signatories were from the former Soviet Union.

Khrushchev came to power in the Soviet Union after Stalin died in 1953. Khrushchev denounced Stalin and set about making the economy profit-run.

Today, with the advent of Boris Yeltsin and the restoration of open capitalism in the ex-Soviet Union, those who used to be in the fog of Khrushchevism have in the main moved right into social-democracy, reformism. Another portion has now taken up "Stalinism."

Among the oddities of the November 1997 Leningrad resolution reflecting ex-Soviet politics are the following: "Financial oligarchy, transnational companies, whose assault troops are American imperialism and international Zionism, under the banners of deceit and 'World Democracy' exert increasing pressure in order to instore a world order." Although Israeli imperialism is certainly a ranking and aggressive imperialism, pairing it (and not even by name) with "American imperialism" as if it were equal with it and referring to "international Zionism" is a way of deflecting the question from Israeli imperialism to one of international Jewry. It amounts to catering to the unrealistic illusions or outright reactionary nationalism of anti-Semitic people, mostly in the labor aristocracy, which is not the majority in Russia, but which is still substantial and influential.

Nowhere does the resolution even mention the split in the working class; although such an issue is certainly important in attacking the social-democracy of the Gorbachovs and Zhuganovs.

The declaration signed is especially the reflection of the work of Ludo Martens in Belgium. Ludo Martens is the author of the excellent book *Another View of Stalin*, which he unfortunately uses as capital or credentials to introduce revisionism into the international communist movement. He has taken his party from a pro-Mao position into defending Gorbachev and trafficking with Deng Xiaoping. Now he is at the center of opportunist efforts to unite all who uphold Stalin—or in the case of some, at least do not openly oppose Stalin!

According to Ludo Martens, at his conferences, "There was a better understanding that parties who used to belong to different tendencies, who supported the positions of Mao Zedong or Brezhnev, of Che Guevara or Enver Hoxha, can unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the struggle against revisionism."

Here is what Ludo Martens says about Maoism: "Certain Maoist parties have also put forward this principle of 'struggle for ideological unity without compromise.' For them, ideological unity consists in recognising Mao Zedong Thought as the third stage of the revolutionary proletarian theory, after those of Marxism and Leninism. These different positions, seemingly 'firm on principles,' amount to maintaining the divisions between the parties that used to adhere to the Maoist, Albanian or Soviet orientation and the parties that have followed none of these three tendencies."

He adds, "the works of Mao Zedong are not sufficient to maintain the unity among the parties that adhere to them, for at least five different orientations can be distinguished among them. These divisions and subdivisions necessarily diminish the richness of the discussions and exchanges within each grouping. Similarly, they facilitate the adoption of unilateral positions that could have been avoided through larger, contradictory debates."

Hence, Ludo Martens is at the center of efforts attacking Khrushchev revisionism without attacking a bourgeoisie in the party. He maintains there was class struggle in the Soviet Union, but he points to no bourgeoisie. The idea of a class struggle but no bourgeoisie has always been a vexing problem for the international communist movement, but now that we have seen what has happened

in the Soviet Union and China it is inexcusable: Khrushchev, Hua, Deng, Alia were the bourgeoisie. Class struggle under socialism was not against thin air.

That is the difficulty with all the Brezhnev, Castro, Che Guevara, Hoxha and Kim Il Sung defenders. They are not able to admit that Mao was right about this crucial point and so they are being allowed by Ludo Martens to overlook it. When the open restoration of capitalism in the ex-Soviet Union should be allowing the whole international communist movement to be making rapid gains, there are those like Ludo Martens seeking to put a brake on the process.

Far from adding to the richness of the international communist movement, those who cannot face the stern realities imposed by capitalist restorations need to add to our movement by subtraction out of it.

Source: Declaration of the Leningrad international Conference of communist and labour parties, "Teachings of the 80th anniversary of the October revolution." <http://www.wpb.be/icm/icm.htm>

# The second Liberation Struggle in Africa: United we stand, Divided we fall

Excerpts from a speech in Brussels  
May 1997

by B. Chango Machyo W'Obanda

## Introduction

Comrades, Greetings!

I bring you fraternal cordial greetings from the progressive revolutionary conscious comrades of Uganda who have rallied behind the struggle of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) to carry out a national democratic revolution in Uganda since 1981, when the armed struggle to oust neo-colonial dictatorial regimes which dominated our country since independence in 1962 to 1986 when the NRM/A defeated them and took over the state power on 26th January, 1986 after a five years' protracted bush war under the command and leadership of comrade Yoweri Kaguta Museveni. I have come to attend this important seminar with the full blessings of President Museveni who kindly facilitated my transit allowance to enable me to reach here conveniently.

## About myself

I accepted the invitation to attend this international seminar not as a person versed in theory and practice of Marxist-Leninism, Mao Zedongism or Kim Il Sungism, but as a self-educated product of colonial education and a qualified surveyor in capitalist profession of real property or Estate Management, who became committed unwaveringly to the cause of the need for African revolutionary transformation from neo-colonialism to socialism as the only way

out to assure and guarantee Africa's independence, sovereignty and genuine development. I am fully convinced that despite the setbacks and the rough road ahead of us, the only way to genuine independence, sovereignty, development and progress, to end Africa's underdevelopment and backwardness imposed on us by imperialism, is a socialist revolution. There is no short cut.

## Africa's Obstacles to progress

The primary obstacle to Africa's development and progress is imperialism; the secondary obstacle is the black dependent bourgeois class which serves the interests of imperialists in Africa, in search of personal selfish benefits at the expense of the African popular masses whose plight in socio-economic terms and human dignity has become worse than under formal colonial rule.

## Independence proved meaningless:

### Neo-colonialism

The fact is that the independence achieved by African colonies all over the continent has proved meaningless and mere sham for all intents and purposes to the people of Africa. Formal independence merely gave way to neo-colonial domination with aid - economic and technical - as the means. Under neocolonial domination African governments merely served as a conduit tube for neocolonial domination and exploitation by the former colonial powers and the United States, through aid, unfair terms of trade etc.

Neocolonial domination succeeded in replacing formal colonial rule because African nationalist leaders, who went through colonial brainwashing called education and a civilizing mission, were anti-imperialists, but not anti-imperialism. They saw their mission as that of replacing and inheriting white officials, and occupying and enjoying their seats of political power and privileges. They were not against the system with its ideological, technical and cultural structures. These African nationalists who took over power, wanted to preserve and adhere to as a means of "keeping international standards."

In order to maintain and run the colonial system without colonial officials, economic and technical aid was a must. All African post-colonial leaders regarded foreign aid as the only means to what they called development. The role of the popular masses in the genuine development process was ignored; development was seen and regarded as growth generating things, not the development by the people for the people. So foreign assistance was seen as indispensable. But for the imperialists aid was a necessary weapon of the success of neocolonial domination by continued control of Africa's economies and direction of development. Accordingly, foreign aid proved to be a weapon of imperialism and a debt-trap. African leaders were turned into mere governors who administered their countries on behalf of the capitalist ruling class in the West. Aid ended up benefiting the donors more than us, the recipients. Instead we grew poorer and more miserable with every increase in aid which became a debt burden!

## Recolonization: SAPs

The failure of the consecutive UN development decades (1960-1980) despite increased aid, merely witnessed deepening dependence on aid for survival by all African governments as the prices of primary export commodities declined. To support a superficial life-style in the name of 'keeping international standards' for the

black elites, the governments dominated by them had to resort to heavy borrowing from the capitalist world. This heavy borrowing was done on the basis of mortgaging their countries and people to the donor agencies and the Group of Seven Paris Club. The deepening indebtedness - the debt burden - gave a chance to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) to take over the management of African economies in the interest of the Western donors and the Transnational Corporations (TNCs). To affect this the Breton Woods Institutions imposed what they called Structural Adjustment Programms (SAP's) as conditionalities for granting more loans to the poverty trapped African governments, to enable them to support a make-belief image of success.

### **SAP's and recolonization**

Among the important conditionalities of SAPs are retrenchment, devaluation, liberalization and divestiture or privatization of the public sector.

But SAPs lead to a state worse than the debt. And that a country under SAPs cannot simultaneously satisfy the IMF, WB and the G7 - the donor community - and the basic interests of its people. The aim of SAPs is to recolonize Africa with IMF and WB as the new masters. The end result of SAPs is to turn African Governments into mere caretaker government to administer the interests of the TNCs who take over the commanding heights of the economies of African countries. And since the economy is the base and politics is the concentrated expression of the economy, African independence and sovereignty end and real power is taken over by Washington - the seat of IMF and WB who monopolise the power to dictate not only politics, but what the African governments must do behave like. It becomes a state worse than the debt. Independence and sovereignty come to an end, as African governments are deprived of the economic base to assert their independence and sovereignty in matter or international affair.

### **The struggle for the second liberation: Need for revolutionary ideas**

There is no doubt that the formal independence Africa achieved from the 1958 culminating into independence of South Africa in 1990s has a direct link with the October Revolution in Russia.

The fact is that until after 1945, African petty bourgeois nationalists brainwashed through the education system of the European imperial powers, only demanded to be allowed to take part in the governing of their countries. This demand - this begging - ended with the 5th Pan African Congress which was held at Manchester in Britain in 1945. At that famous congress, Africans demanded to be free. They demanded for Black autonomy and independence. The language of the Congress was a revolutionary language - uncompromisingly anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist.

Definitely Marxist-Leninist ideas played a key-role. The end of the war had expanded the socialist anti-imperialist world; it produced anti-imperialist African nationalists like Kwame Nkrumah; it liberated Africans who served as soldiers to fight on the side of their white colonial masters, from racial inferiority complex. And not least it unleashed the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist movement in Africa and Asia. This culminated in the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement which was guided by progressive revolutionary ideas greatly influenced by Mao Zedong thought.

African armed victory over France, Portugal and the white rac-

ists in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, owes its success to progressive revolutionary ideas rooted in Marxist-Leninist, Mao Zedong Thought and Kim Il Sungism. It is the AK 47 which brought African military victory over fascist colonial regimes and racist white rulers in Africa. The need for revolutionary ideas in the struggle for the Second Liberation is therefore obvious. It is not necessary to overemphasize it.

### **Need for African Unity**

The 7th Pan African Congress held in Kampala Uganda in 1994, called for a struggle for the second Liberation in order to defeat recolonization. This struggle calls for a strong and solid African unity of all progressive anti-imperialist forces that can be united across the colonially imposed borders. It has to be based on the unity of the grassroots popular masses across the artificial borders. That is why the guiding call on African revolutionaries across the continent by the 7th Pan African Congress was "Don't agonize, Organize!"

Let us note that European powers were able to conquest and colonize vast regions of African territories during the 19th century, because our people lacked revolutionary unity. Today the imperialist forces are succeeding in dominating neo-colonial African States because of their practice of divide and rule. Everything possible is done to keep Africans divided: Anglophone versus Francophone; Christians versus Moslems; Protestants versus Catholics; Ethnic and cultural differences are fully exploited to divide us. So are regional differences, not to mention Africans versus Arabs in Africa. Then there is ideological penetration through NGO, religious sects and intelligence organizations, not to mention Rotary and Lions Clubs, Y.W.C.A.s and Y.M.C.As etc.

Education continues to be used to alienate the so-called western educated -the evolu or elites, the civilized- from the so-called natives. Revolutionary Africans must struggle against these various divisive imperialist tactics, go to the masses, live with them, eat and drink with them, learn from them and unite them in the struggle for the second Liberation.

### **The role of international fraternal assistance**

Africans second liberation is entirely the work of Africans themselves, indeed as was the struggle for formal independence. But just as the revolutionary socialist states played a key-role in the anti-colonial struggles, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations will have to do the same. For our victory over imperialism and capitalist dictatorship, is also the victory of the working class liberation struggles all over the world. The struggle continues!

**LONG LIVE THE OCTOBER REVOLUION!**

**LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM!**

**LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR THE SECOND LIBERATION IN AFRICA!**

*Delivered on May 4th 1997*

**MIM adds:** MIM has no objection to the idea of self-reliance that Kim Il Sung stressed, but it must be pointed out that Kim Il Sung tried to straddle Mao and Soviet revisionism. The restoration of capitalism and the lack of fight against it fall largely on the shoulders of international leaders such as Kim Il Sung. Kim Il Sung opposed Mao's theory on the bourgeoisie in the party and what causes its emergence. Thus Kim gravely undermined the class struggle under socialism.