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**War  
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# On the World Situation, War And Revolutionary Struggle

The international situation today is marked by rapid change and great turmoil. The Soviet Union engineers a "security conference" in Europe but imperialist rivalry, and in particular superpower contention, continues to sharpen in Europe as well as other parts of the world. Kissinger maneuvers an "agreement" between Egypt and Israel in the Middle East, which pushes things toward war, not peace, in that area.

Kissinger goes to China and the Chinese make clear that they will not be a pawn in the farce of "detente" acted out by the two superpowers to cover their growing contention for world domination and their intensifying war preparations; the Chinese warn Kissinger that the detente game will not work and point out that overall the Soviets are gaining most from it. James Schlesinger is axed as U.S. Defense Secretary, after clashing with Kissinger over "detente" and pushing for a "hard line," "get tough," policy against the Soviets.

These, and other events, reflect the increasingly complex world situation. It is crucial for the working class to grasp the essence of this situation, to create clarity out of the confusion and to turn the turmoil to its greatest advantage in order to advance its struggle worldwide toward the goal of revolution and socialism. This is especially crucial for the working class and its Party in this country, which is one of the two imperialist superpowers.

As the Party's Programme states, "The central task of the Revolutionary Communist Party today, as the Party of the U.S. working class, is to build the struggle, class consciousness and revolutionary unity of the working class and develop its leadership of a broad united front against the U.S. imperialists, *in the context of the world-wide united front against imperialism aimed at the rulers of the two superpowers.* As this is developed, together with the development of a revolutionary situation, the question of mobilizing the masses for the armed insurrection will then come to the fore as the immediate question."

We have put the part above in italics here to emphasize the fact that the struggle of the working

class and the uniting of all who can be united under the leadership of the working class can only be built and advanced toward the goal of proletarian revolution in this country by developing this, in an overall way, in unity with the worldwide struggle against the two main enemies of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world, the two imperialist superpowers.

This, of course, does not mean that the situation in every country is exactly the same or that the struggle of the working class and the tasks of its Party are identical everywhere. In fact, revolution can only be made country by country, and in order to lead the working class in making revolution, the Party of the working class in each country must constantly analyze the specific conditions there and apply the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism to develop the struggle in those concrete conditions.

But, at the same time, especially in this era of imperialism, the struggles in all countries are closely inter-related. The Party of the working class in every country in developing and implementing the strategy for revolution in that country must base itself on a correct understanding of the development of the international situation and the worldwide struggle against imperialism.

The sharpening rivalry among the imperialists, and the ever fiercer contention between the two superpowers in particular, dramatically drives home this point. The growing danger of world war, arising from this imperialist contention, especially of the two superpowers, makes it all the more decisive for the working class and its Party to base itself on a correct understanding of the forces involved in the international struggle. Such an understanding must, and can only be, rooted in the Marxist method, taking class analysis as the key and fundamental tool, and with this tool digging beneath the appearance to the essence of things.

## Restoration of Capitalism in the USSR

Certainly one of the main developments in the present period and one of the major factors in the

international arena today, is the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, beginning with the rise to power of the revisionists there, headed first by Khrushchev, the transformation of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, into a social-imperialist country (socialist in words, imperialist in deeds and in fact) and the emergence of the Soviet Union on the world scene as a superpower, contending with the other superpower, U.S. imperialism, for world domination.

This unquestionably has been a setback for the working class, but it is just as unquestionably a fact. It must be faced up to and reckoned with, in order for the working class, internationally, to both understand the causes of this reversal and apply these lessons to its struggle, and to strip the mask from the Soviet rulers and deal with the Soviet state today as the great enemy of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world that it is.

(A concrete and detailed analysis of how Khrushchev and, after him, Brezhnev & Co. carried out this capitalist restoration has been made in a book, *How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle*, first published by the Revolutionary Union in 1974 and adopted by the Revolutionary Communist Party in 1975.)

In the past, when it was a socialist country, the Soviet Union was a bright beacon and source of great support for the workers and oppressed people throughout the world in their struggle to liberate themselves from the chains of imperialism and all exploitation and oppression; it was then the internationalist duty of the workers of all countries to defend the Soviet Union from imperialist encirclement, subversion and aggression. Today, as an imperialist superpower, the Soviet Union is one of the two greatest exploiters and oppressors of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world; and it is the internationalist duty of the workers of all countries to build and strengthen the fight against Soviet social-imperialism as a key part of the overall battle against imperialism, and to aid the Soviet working people in struggling against and eventually overthrowing their new capitalist rulers.

This Soviet ruling class does not openly advertise its capitalist nature, but wraps itself in the history of the Soviet Union as the world's first socialist state and operates under the signboard of socialism in order to carry out its imperialist interests. While U.S. imperialism and its tattered veil of "democracy" is more and more exposed throughout the world and is a main target of revolutionary struggle everywhere, Soviet social-imperialism, with its cover of "socialism," is still able in many cases to portray its imperialist contention with the U.S. ruling class as "socialist" opposition to imperialism. It tries everywhere to turn to its advantage the revolutionary struggle and the striving of millions throughout the world for socialism.

Because, on the other hand, it is in fact imperialist, and not socialist, the Soviet ruling class exploits, oppresses and carries out aggression, within the Soviet

Union and throughout the world, and this gives rise to widespread struggle against these new Tsars. But because their "socialist" cover is not yet thoroughly torn off, capitalist rivals to the Soviet rulers and enemies of genuine socialism are still able to spread confusion, often, in the short run, to misdirect struggle against Soviet social-imperialism—and the hatred of millions who have felt, or seen in action, the whips and tanks of the Soviet ruling class—into opposition to socialism, and to re-enforce the bourgeois lie that there is no real alternative to capitalist rule and its evils. All this emphasizes the tremendous importance of exposing the true character of Soviet social-imperialism, and building the struggle against it as part of the worldwide struggle against imperialism and for socialism as the final goal.

Without grasping, and exposing, the real nature of Soviet social-imperialism it is impossible to correctly analyze the world situation and more than that to develop the struggle of the working class and prepare its ranks for the battles that loom ahead. In the final analysis, it would be impossible to continue to advance the worldwide revolutionary struggle for socialism and ultimately communism.

As was pointed out in the book on the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union (referred to earlier), "An example of how a wrong view of the Soviet Union leads to a wrong appraisal of world events was shown in 1971, when during the Indian invasion of East Pakistan, some progressive people were hoodwinked into believing that the 'Bangla Desh Affair' was actually a national liberation movement!"

In fact, the events in East Pakistan (Bangladesh) at that time were directed by the Soviet Union, which armed the reactionary Indian government and supported it in carving up Pakistan, and bringing part of it (East Pakistan or Bangladesh) under indirect, but real, Soviet domination. (Since that time there have been changes in the situation in Bangladesh, but none of that changes the nature of the Soviet Union or its actions at that time.)

Similarly, as the book on capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union stresses, "it is utterly impossible to understand the complex picture of the Middle East without understanding the role of the Soviet Union as an imperialist superpower." And the same holds true for events in Europe, Africa and everywhere else in the world today.

### Weakening of U.S. Imperialism

During the same period that the Soviet Union has emerged on the world scene as an imperialist superpower, U.S. imperialism, which for a time after WW 2 sat alone atop the imperialist dungheap, has been battered on all sides by resistance and revolutionary struggle and especially through the course of the long war in Indochina has suffered tremendous defeats and been greatly weakened.

This weakening of U.S. imperialism has also been a major factor in the world situation in the recent period, and has been seized on by the Soviet social-

imperialists in their drive to replace U.S. imperialism as number one imperialist world power.

During the Indochina war, with the military forces of U.S. imperialism tied down there and being battered by the heroic struggle of the Indochinese peoples, the Soviet Union took advantage of the situation to push out in other parts of the world—the Middle East, the South Asian subcontinent (India-Pakistan area), and other areas. The Soviets even carried out significant penetration, economically and politically, into Western Europe, since WW 2 a stronghold of U.S. imperialism.

Wherever the U.S. imperialists have had to pull back or pull out their forces, the Soviet social-imperialists have tried to move in. With the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from Indochina, and their weakening in that part of Asia generally—the inevitable result of U.S. imperialism's defeat—the Soviets have tried to establish their domination. To achieve this they have cooked up a so-called "Asian Collective Security" system, with the aim of drawing the countries in that area into their orbit and under their domination. And, although this has met with opposition, the Soviets certainly have not abandoned this attempt, or other means to replace U.S. imperialism as lord and master there.

But even more crucial for Soviet imperialist aims, and for the contention between the two superpowers, is Europe. As the Programme of the RCP points out, "Europe is the focal point of their contention, because it is in Europe that vast economic, political and military power is based, which the superpowers must seek to control." And at the present time it is Western Europe in particular—where the Soviets have been making gains, but U.S. imperialism still holds the upper hand—that is the most vital spot in this superpower contention.

In Western Europe, as in other parts of the world, the Soviets try to use the revisionist "communist parties" as their arm and agent within those countries. Portugal is a clear example of this tactic. And it is clear that the Soviets have summed up from the events in Chile, where the revisionist CP tried to play a similar role, that it is necessary to have "armed revisionism" in order to carry out Soviet aims of "capturing the fortress from within." This is indicated by the efforts of the Portuguese CP to build a base of control in the bourgeois army.

This role of revisionist parties obedient to the Soviet social-imperialists is a special weapon in their arsenal, and is also part and parcel of their general attempt to use their "socialist" cover to infiltrate, subvert and misdirect the struggle of the working class and movements against colonialism and imperialism to further their own imperialist aims and interests. The revolutionary upsurge of the masses of Portuguese people in the last two years has been seized on by the social-imperialists as a testing ground for this tactic of using revisionist parties as "Trojan horses," as well as an attempt to gain an important foothold for contention with U.S. imperialism in Western Europe.

At the same time, the Soviets work "from the top" to penetrate Western Europe and gain further footholds there. That is, using their oil and other economic leverage—including the growing openings for investment in the Soviet Union itself—the Soviet ruling class is stepping up its efforts to pry Western European capitalists away from the U.S. and draw these countries into the Soviet sphere.

Overall, not only in Europe, but throughout the world, the Soviet social-imperialists are on the offensive. They are driven by the same laws as the U.S. imperialists but have a weaker position economically and a smaller sphere of influence, because the present division of these spheres of influence among the imperialists—and specifically among the two superpowers—still to a large degree reflects an earlier time in the post-WW 2 period when U.S. imperialism was in a much more powerful position. The Soviet social-imperialists need to change this division and are desperately pushing out everywhere, trying to take advantage of the decline of U.S. imperialism to grab up new areas.

### Contention Pushing Things Toward World War

For their part, the U.S. imperialists just as desperately need to "defend" their sphere of influence, maintain the present division—and in the final analysis enlarge their share of the spoils from international robbery—and beat back Soviet attempts to cut into it. All this is why the contention between the two superpowers is intensifying, despite their fanfare of "detente." And it is this sharpening contention that is pushing things toward a third world war, since, ultimately it is only through war that the struggle for domination can be resolved—and then only temporarily—among these imperialist gangsters.

War is the continuation of politics by other means, and politics, in turn, is the extension and expression of economics, that is, of class relations. Imperialist war is the extension of imperialist economics and politics, of exploitation and the struggle for domination, for carving up the world into spheres of influence—sources of investment, raw materials, markets, workers who can be forced to work for lower wages, and—the aim of it all—the accumulation of more and more profit, wrung out of the working people.

In the present situation the fact that the Soviet Union is overall on the offensive makes it more likely that a war in Europe, or on its flanks—especially the Middle East, or the Mediterranean area—will break out with Soviet military action. This may well come not as a simple invasion, but in the form of "support" for "socialist revolution"—revisionist parties loyal to the Soviet social-imperialists leading or taking part in coup attempts. On the other hand, however, the U.S. imperialists cannot afford continual economic and political setbacks, especially at the hands of the new Tsars, and may be forced to take the first step in extending political contention to war.

In the recent period, especially since the end of

the war in Indochina, the U.S. imperialists have made some headway in their contention with the Soviets. An obvious example is Kissinger's diplomatic coup—the recent Egypt-Israeli agreement—which strengthens the hand of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East and lays a stronger basis for direct U.S. military action—through the placing of several hundred American “technical experts” as “watchdogs.”

Another clear example of recent gains by U.S. imperialism is Portugal. Through its allies in West Europe and the Socialist Party in Portugal itself, U.S. imperialism has been able to deliver significant setbacks to the Soviet arm in Portugal—the revisionist CP—and, for the time being at least, in the midst of a very unstable situation, not only prevent a coup by the revisionists and their allies but reverse the momentum they had built up and put them on the defensive.

### Bound By Laws of Capitalism

Kissinger, and the forces within the ruling class who back him, apparently feel that they can best advance the interests of U.S. imperialism, and carry out contention with the Soviet Union most effectively, through such maneuvering, behind the smokescreen of “detente.” Other sections of the ruling class, represented by politicians like Henry Jackson and the now deposed former Secretary of Defense, James Schlesinger, take a “tough stand” toward the Soviets, calling for an openly aggressive posture and more blatant war preparations.

But the entire ruling class aims at carrying out contention with the Soviets for world domination, and the U.S. imperialists, as well as the Soviet social-imperialists, and imperialists generally, are bound by the laws of capitalism, which are pushing things toward war, regardless of diplomatic chess games, fanfare of “detente,” or talk of “preventing war by being strong militarily.”

Recent gains by U.S. imperialism do not change the fact that, overall, the Soviet social-imperialists are on the offensive in Europe and other parts of the world, while the U.S. imperialists are on the defensive. Nor does it wipe out certain real advantages the new Tsars have over the U.S. imperialists, especially in Europe—in particular the presence of large revisionist parties loyal to them in a number of European countries—and the presence of a large standing army of the Warsaw Pact in central Europe—considerably larger than the NATO troops under U.S. command in Europe—not including Soviet troops within the Soviet Union itself.

The superpower contention and the international situation as a whole means, as the Programme of the RCP states, that the “working class of all countries faces the task of building the broadest united front on a world scale aimed at the ruling classes of these two superpowers, while at the same time uniting all who can be united within each country to continue the battle for socialist revolution.” And the growing danger of world war, arising from the intensifying contention between the superpowers, further empha-

izes the importance of this task.

Each superpower pushes the line that there is no choice for people and countries in the world except to side with the one superpower against the other. And with regard to bourgeois forces and governments, while they may to a certain extent resist superpower domination, in the final analysis, out of greed or fear, they will tend to line up with one superpower or the other.

But the stand of the working class is exactly the opposite. While the working class supports and encourages all genuine resistance to superpower domination, it fundamentally relies on its own struggle and the masses of people in the fight against imperialism. In this way the working class can break through the efforts of both superpowers to establish and extend their domination and can advance its struggle to establish its own rule.

### Role of People's China

In this context, the role of the socialist countries, and in particular the People's Republic of China, is especially important. As a country where the working class has emancipated itself from imperialist rule, established its own rule, and made great strides in continuing socialist revolution and carrying out socialist construction, China is in a position to play an important role in world affairs.

As a socialist country it does this not in the manner of the imperialists, not through aggression and seeking domination, but through supporting the revolutionary struggles throughout the world and helping to unite all those forces that can be united on a world scale against the main enemies of the people of the world, the two imperialist superpowers. This is clearly shown in its firm support for the Indochinese peoples' war of liberation against U.S. imperialism, for the reunification of Korea and the expulsion of U.S. troops there, for the struggle of the Palestinian and Arab peoples, and for all genuine struggles for independence, liberation and revolution.

As a country where the working class is in power, China is able to use its diplomacy and state to state relations to make use of contradictions among the imperialist and reactionary forces, and to build unity between peoples and countries in resisting superpower domination.

In the present situation, China, recognizing the fact that the Soviet Union is overall on the offensive, is giving special emphasis to making use of contradictions—even those between the U.S. and Soviet imperialists—to place obstacles in the path of Soviet expansion. This China does in order to delay the outbreak of war and to make the conditions more favorable for the masses of people and their revolutionary leadership to develop their struggles, strengthen their forces and get prepared to continue the struggle under the conditions of world war, should it break out from superpower contention.

The Chinese also do this in order to make it more difficult to launch an attack on China. And as a part

of strengthening the forces of the working class and its allies worldwide, China is paying serious attention to preparing itself for defense against attack. Under the present conditions the greatest danger of such attack comes from the Soviet social-imperialists. Since the restoration of capitalism, with the rise to power of Khrushchev in the mid-50s, the Soviet revisionists have made provocations and at times direct aggression on Chinese territory. They have tried to use revisionist forces within China itself as an agent of their designs on China and have supported reactionary forces, such as the state of India, in attacking China.

With the growing contention between the two superpowers, their scramble for domination all over the world, the danger of attack on China—which stands as a great obstacle to imperialist aggression—mounts, especially the danger of attack from the Soviet Union. Defense of China from such an attack—from the Soviet social-imperialists or any other reactionary force—is an important question not just for the Chinese people, but for the whole international working class. For, as the Programme of the RCP emphasizes, “the socialist countries belong to the international working class and...it is the duty of the international working class to defend them.”

What form this defense would take, and how it would relate to the struggle in different countries, could only be decided, of course, on the basis of analyzing the actual situation at that time, the balance of forces—fundamentally class forces—and a concrete determination of what would advance the overall revolutionary struggle under the concrete conditions. But in one form or another the working class in every country must support and defend as its own the countries where our class has won political power and is building socialism, and must link this with the fundamental task of advancing the struggle toward the goal of revolution and socialism in all countries.

In the countries where the proletariat has not yet won political power the working class has different tasks than in the socialist countries and makes different contributions to the international struggle. Not having state power it cannot use state to state relations and other similar means to make use of contradictions among the imperialist and reactionary forces and unite the greatest number of forces against the two superpowers.

Nor, lacking state power, is it yet able to give the same kind of support to revolutionary struggles that a proletariat in power is able to give. The working class in countries where it has not yet seized power can and must support the revolutionary movement in every country and support the struggle against the two superpowers as the main enemies on a world scale. But it must combine this with carrying out what, overall, is its main task—the building of the revolutionary movement in its own country and the carrying forward of this fight, through whatever necessary stages, to the final goal of socialism under the rule of the working class.

By the same token, a working class which does not

have state power, while it does not have the same ability as the socialist countries to use state to state relations, etc. to further the worldwide struggle, also does not have the necessity to make compromises with various imperialist and reactionary forces and governments, in the same way as the socialist states do in order to make use of contradictions, etc. As Mao Tsetung set down in 1946, at a time when the Soviet Union—then a socialist country—was making certain agreements with imperialist countries—“Such compromise does not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at home. The people in those countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions.” This principle still applies today.

### Waging Struggle Against Own Bourgeoisie

In the capitalist countries the question for the working class is waging struggle against its own bourgeoisie and preparing to overthrow bourgeois rule and establish the rule of the working class. If this task is not undertaken by Marxist-Leninist forces, it does not mean that the class struggle will stop, but only that the class struggle and the striving of masses of workers for socialism will be abandoned in many cases to the misleadership of the revisionists, with their phony “socialist” banner, and be perverted into support for Soviet social-imperialism.

At the same time, the working class in these countries must, in order to advance its own movement and contribute to the international struggle, fight against superpower domination, support the worldwide struggle against these superpowers, and prepare to carry forward the fight in the conditions of world war, should it arise from superpower contention.

Here, in the U.S., which is one of the two imperialist superpowers, it is especially important for the working class to give every possible support and make every possible contribution to building the worldwide united front against imperialism aimed at the ruling classes of these two superpowers. And it is the special duty of the U.S. working class and its Party to expose and oppose the aggression, domination and war preparations of U.S. imperialism, our own ruling class.

The U.S. working class supports neither the Kissingers nor the Schlesingers nor any efforts of the U.S. imperialists to defend or extend their domination and exploitation. As the Programme of our Party states, “The main contribution of the U.S. proletariat to the worldwide revolution is to overthrow imperialism in the U.S.,” and “in finally overthrowing U.S. imperialism, the U.S. working class will strike a great blow for the liberation of people throughout the world.”

The Party’s Programme further states, in analyzing superpower contention and the danger of war arising from this, “Either the working class in the U.S. and the Soviet Union will prevent such a war by overthrowing these greatest oppressors, in conjunction with the worldwide struggle against them, or they

will launch a world war before they can be overthrown. But even if they launch such a war with all the suffering it will bring to the people throughout the world, this will only hasten their own downfall and the end of imperialism...In launching a third world war, the imperialists, especially the rulers of the U.S. and the USSR, would further expose their barbarous nature, deepen the determination of the people of the world to bury them once and for all, and give rise to a revolutionary storm shaking the world as never before."

But this will happen only through the work of the Party of the proletariat, building the struggle of the working class and leading it toward the goal of socialist revolution. In this country (as well as others), a revolutionary situation may not develop before the outbreak of world war, or right after the start of this war. But, in any case, the Party of the working

class must continue to build the struggle of the working class toward the goal of revolution, in unity with the struggle of the workers and others fighting against imperialism throughout the world.

The more broadly the Party mobilizes the working class and the masses of people in struggle against imperialism, including its acts of aggression and war, and through the course of many battles raises their consciousness—exposing the imperialist system as the source of the evils and sufferings in society, including war, and bringing to the fore the outlook and interests of the working class in overthrowing imperialism—the more the struggle of the working class will be able to weaken the imperialists and advance toward the point where it can overthrow them and bring an end to the misery and destruction of capitalism, even if the superpowers do launch a third world war. ■

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# West Europe Revisionists Barrier To Revolution; Aid to USSR

The crisis of the capitalist system is shaking Europe. Most of the Western European countries are the scene of a rapid intensification of struggle between the working class and capital. At the same time Europe is rocked by the contention between the various imperialist powers, and the two superpowers, the U.S. and USSR in particular, which covet the tremendous wealth and power concentrated there.

The contention of the superpowers threatens to erupt into a third world war and bring great suffering to the people of Europe, who bore immense burdens in both previous world wars. At the same time, the growing inter-imperialist rivalry, and the political and social turmoil that arises from it, make conditions more favorable for the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

In virtually all of the European countries the working class is large and powerful. The European workers have a long and glorious tradition of conscious class struggle. Europe was the birthplace of capitalism and the modern working class; the home of Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism; and the place of the first great onslaught of the proletariat against the rule of capital, when the workers of Paris briefly held political power during the Paris Commune.

This history of struggle has left its mark: in the various European countries large sections of the working class consciously oppose the capitalist system and yearn for the day when socialism—the rule of the working class—will dawn in Europe. But in part because of the different history of the class struggle in Europe, the European workers face conditions of struggle and obstacles to revolution different from those faced by the working class in this country or at least not in the same form.

In most of the Western European countries there exist influential revisionist parties that call themselves "communist" even though they have given up the fight for working class revolution long ago. In France and Italy these parties have millions of members and continually fill a large chunk of the seats in Parliament, as well as controlling the largest trade union federation in each of those countries. In Spain, where the CP is illegal, and Portugal, where it was until last year, the revisionist parties have held the allegiance of large sections of the working class even under conditions of illegality and are an influential political force. And even in countries where the parties themselves are smaller, such as Britain, they have substantial influence in the trade unions.

The European revisionist parties have rendered great services to the European capitalists, and the U.S. imperialists who share in the exploitation of the workers there. They join in productivity drives aimed at intensifying the exploitation of the workers. They promote nationalization of industry—by the bourgeois state—as a panacea for the problems of capitalist crisis, and in so doing assist the capitalists in exploiting workers in the vast public sector of the West European countries.

They have sided with the capitalists in suppressing the revolutionary struggles as the French CP did in May, 1968 when workers, students, and others were involved in a revolutionary upsurge. And as a general rule they have restricted the struggle of workers to the confines of trade unionism, and voting revisionists into Parliament every election day.

These parties try to pimp off the hatred of the working class for capitalism and their desire for socialism, while the parties themselves have made peace with the system of capitalist exploitation. Thus while they masquerade as "parties of the proletariat," and in many countries still have the allegiance of large numbers of workers, in actual fact the revisionist parties are all in opposition to the working class, an obstacle that the working class must sweep aside in the course of its struggle against capitalism.

And today these parties provide a great service to the imperialist ruler of the USSR. The CPs aid the Soviet Union in disguising its hideous imperialist features under the guise of "socialism." Most importantly, the Kremlin's New Tsars hope to use the revisionist parties as a weapon—a "fifth column" within Western Europe—in their contention with the U.S. imperialists for domination of Europe, and all the world.

The betrayal of the European CPs, and the rise of modern revisionism on a world scale, is closely connected with the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The revisionist parties of Europe were once genuine communist parties. They led the workers in revolutionary struggle during the 1920s and '30s. And during the Second World War these parties led the anti-fascist armed struggle in Italy and Germany, and the countries which the Axis powers occupied.

But following WW 2, during a period of relative stabilization of capitalism in Europe, revisionism began to grow within the Communist Parties, as they put more and more emphasis on winning seats in Parliament, while losing sight of the ultimate goal of

the revolutionary struggle. And in 1956, when Khrushchev's clique seized power in the Soviet Union and launched an all out assault on Marxism-Leninism, the budding capitalists of the USSR helped solidify these tendencies into a consolidated revisionist line in virtually all of the European parties.

### Abandoning Socialism

The cornerstone of revisionism is the abandoning of the fight for revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to carry out their plans to restore capitalism in the USSR, Khrushchev and company had to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union which they did under the cover of calling for a "state of the whole people."

In the international arena the Soviet revisionists who were consolidating capitalism internally and had not yet launched their all out drive for world domination, followed a line of capitulation to imperialism. They slandered China and other socialist countries. They said that imperialism would no longer mean war, that it would be possible for "peaceful co-existence" between the imperialist powers and the socialist countries to continue indefinitely, and that revolution was no longer necessary in the capitalist countries, instead it would be possible to have a "peaceful transition to socialism."

All of this squared nicely with the leaders of the various Communist Parties of Europe, who seized on Khrushchev's "creative development of Marxism-Leninism" as a justification for the total abandonment of the goal of revolution.

In country after country the revisionist parties rushed into the arms of the bourgeoisie. They pledged their loyalty to bourgeois democracy, and resurrected the exact lie of the old social-democratic parties, that socialism would come peacefully and gradually as a result of winning a majority in parliament.

### Riding the Workers' Backs

The leadership of the revisionist parties eyed with envy the old social-democratic parties which had long ago been given a share in the bourgeois government. Their goal became to use their influence over the working class and their ability to derail the class struggle, even if only temporarily, as "capital" to trade to the monopoly capitalists for integration in the state apparatus and a piece of the action in exploiting the working class.

Nowhere is this process clearer than in Italy. The Italian Communist Party is the second largest electoral party in that country. In industrial cities and regions across northern Italy CP leaders have been elected to head up local governments. They try to present this so-called "Red Belt" as a model. To the workers, they speak of their honesty and efficiency in contrast to the corrupt bureaucracy of the Italian government. To the capitalists, they show off their enforced labor peace in contrast to the long hard-

fought battles of workers throughout the country in recent years.

All of this is to push the Italian CP's strategy of the "historic compromise," demanding that as the country's second largest party they be brought into the government as the junior partner of the largest, the Christian Democrats. As their part of the compromise, the Italian CP promises to keep the workers under control, help push up productivity, not challenge membership in the Common Market or NATO, and in every other way serve the Italian monopoly capitalist class.

The U.S. imperialists, while relying mainly on the Italian monopolists, lack the services of a large and influential social-democratic party, which they use in other European countries to clamp down on the workers. So they have been forced to have direct dealings with the Italian revisionists. Mobil Oil, for instance, donated \$68,000 to an Italian CP election fund. The *Wall Street Journal* never tires of reporting how "communist" officials in Italy require smaller bribes and how well they control strikes and slowdowns in the cities where they run the government.

### Soviet's Use of Revisionist Parties

The stubborn laws of imperialism have gotten in the way of the dreams revisionist parties formulated in the 50s and 60s of a long protracted peaceful evolution which would eventually result in their integration into a state monopoly capitalist class. The development of the class struggle in Europe has been profoundly affected by the emergence of the Soviet Union as an imperialist power. Driven by the basic laws of capitalism—fundamentally expand or die—the USSR is forced to challenge the existing division of the world into "spheres of influence" in order to displace the U.S. with itself as the world's chief exploiter. The social-imperialists hope to make use of the revisionist parties to do this.

Despite attempts to publicly disassociate themselves from some of the more blatant crimes of social imperialism—like the invasion of Czechoslovakia—the revisionists have already provided tremendous services to the Kremlin's New Tsars. These parties glorify the Soviet Union daily, and help the Soviets lay the smokescreen of detente that they use to cover their own war preparations and imperialist nature.

The revisionists work overtime to hide the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. They have to—its exposure would make their own class nature much more obvious. The revisionists describe Soviet efforts to use the struggles of the masses as a weapon in its contention with the hated U.S. imperialists as proof that the USSR is the main bulwark of people everywhere struggling for freedom.

Millions of Western European workers, for all that current developments in the USSR may make them uneasy, still see it as the world's first socialist state, which inspired their parents and grandparents, and they know that the Soviet Union, then socialist, played the decisive role in defeating the fascist powers

in the Second World War. And as the capitalist crisis deepens, and the European workers' struggles and aspirations for socialism become still stronger, the parties point to the Soviet Union as the homeland of socialism.

### Changing Tactics

But as the battle between the superpowers for world domination heats up, the Soviets need more than public relations men in Europe. They need to use the revisionist parties as a direct political, and eventually military, weapon for use against their U.S. rivals.

The very "peaceful transition" strategy the Soviets advocated pushed the revisionist parties into the arms of the Western European capitalists, and to become flabby electoral parties.

The USSR's sharpening need to expand has given rise to what the Italian CP calls "a debate in the Kremlin." While the "peaceful transition" line is still of some use to the social-imperialists, and some of the New Tsars still want to rely on it as their main "leg" in utilizing the European parties, increasingly it fails to adequately serve Soviet ambitions. Because of this a new line is emerging out of the necessity dictated by its stepped up rivalry with the U.S., and the opportunity presented by the deepening crisis and class struggle in Western Europe. This line puts the main emphasis on building CPs more loyal to the Soviet Union, willing and able to act more decisively in the event of revolutionary crisis and war.

The clearest statement of this new approach comes from a top Bulgarian ideologist, Dimiter Mitev, who is closely allied with the so-called "hardliners" in Moscow. He proclaimed recently that peaceful transition plays a "secondary role in the general strategy of the communist movement in capitalist countries" and that the revisionists "must be prepared to use all forms of struggle, including armed struggle."

The intention of this turnabout is clear—push the CPs away from their own capitalists, making them more dependent on support from the USSR, and enable them to more fully make use of the growing mass struggle. And, of course, they hope to use the CPs in the event of war. In fact a coup attempt advertised as "revolution" by some revisionist party could be the trigger for World War 3, with Warsaw Pact troops ready to move in to "defend the revolution" at Soviet orders.

The present struggle in the Kremlin, like the Kissinger-Schlesinger "detente vs. hardline" argument being heard in the U.S. ruling class, is fundamentally a dispute over how much emphasis to place on certain tactics at this time. The goal is the same—Soviet control over Europe, and use of the revisionist parties to further this end.

### Revisionists Can't Serve Two Masters

The recent developments in the Kremlin has caused quite a little conflict within the European revisionist parties and between some of them and the Soviets.

The conflict is rooted in a dilemma for the Western European parties—trying to serve two masters at the same time.

The Italian CP has denounced the new Soviet line as "narrow and dogmatic" and jointly issued a statement with the previously more openly pro-Soviet French party reaffirming their intention to work entirely within the framework of bourgeois democracy and abide by its laws. The Spanish party echoed this stand.

Apparently the leaders of these parties feel that at the present time, they stand a good chance of cashing in their influence among the workers for a share in the government.

On their part the Soviets are trying various methods to force the revisionist parties to accept the new line including making use of Soviet loyalists in their ranks. In the past they have gone so far as to sponsor a leadership coup in the Austrian Party, and they tried to set up a rival Spanish party, unsuccessfully. Now they are concentrating on trying to corral all the revisionists into a meeting to hammer out a "general line" that would bind all of the European CPs to Soviet policies. So far they have been unsuccessful. This conference of European CPs has been called off several times—blocked in preliminary meetings by a group of Western and Eastern European parties.

Some of the revisionist parties like the Italian, have a lot to lose if they turn their backs on "peaceful transition"—including seats in Parliament, control of local governments, the running of huge consumer co-ops that rank among Italy's largest businesses, and an important role as the main social prop of the bourgeoisie. But even these parties could conceivably dump their "historic compromise" someday as contradictions intensify.

For while all the revisionists have made peace with capitalism as a system, and in general are loyal to the monopoly capitalist class of their own country, they have no particular loyalty to the present capitalist governments, and their highest loyalty, like all bourgeois, is to themselves. What they are after is at least a share in bourgeois rule. The method of achieving this is secondary to them.

### Struggle Heats Up

In fact, the actual development of the class struggle in these countries, the intensification of the conflict between the superpowers, and the material stake the revisionist leaders have in the old order, will determine the future actions of the revisionist parties. All this is far more important than the feelings of their leadership toward the USSR or their own country's monopolists.

Such a response to changing conditions can be seen in the actions of the Portuguese CP, which is being hailed by the Soviets as a model for other Western European parties. The actions of the PCP were determined to some extent by the dictates of the USSR which pays its bills and to which it is extremely loyal. But more importantly, they were determined by the

development of the class struggle in that country.

In Portugal the masses have been in a state of revolutionary ferment ever since the military coup over a year ago. The struggle of the working class, and the contradictions among various groups of exploiters and would-be exploiters, have led to the toppling of one bourgeois government after another. In conditions like these, even a tiny monarchist party has come out for the "dictatorship of the proletariat." The PCP would instantly lose most of its support among the workers, and a chance at political power, if it openly peddled the virtues of electoral democracy.

### Revolutionary Rhetoric

Instead the PCP wrapped itself in revolutionary rhetoric and tried to tie the working class to the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois officers of the Armed Forces Movement. To try to get a piece of the AFM action, they offered their services as strikebreakers and, most importantly, as brokers for support from the Soviet Union, since no bourgeois government could stand in Portugal without superpower backing.

In France, Italy, and Spain, where a grab for power backed by the USSR is not presently their favored route to a piece of the action, the embarrassed revisionists denounced the PCP for threatening to upset the applecart they hope to ride in with their own monopoly capitalist class.

As the working class struggle advances toward revolution and the various imperialist powers get closer and closer to all out war, the freedom to waffle between two masters will diminish rapidly. The U.S., for its part, is still resolutely opposed to seeing a revisionist party integrated into a Western European government. The U.S. has every interest in supporting the status quo, and as long as it can, will keep the present bourgeois parties in power, since the revisionists cannot be trusted not to switch their allegiance to the Soviet Union.

But the working class has no crystal ball, and doesn't need one. The point is not exactly what this or that revisionist party will do. Rather it is to keep a firm grasp on the actual contradictions that exist—fundamentally the class contradiction between the workers and capital, and the inter-imperialist rivalry which provides the context within which the class struggle is taking place.

### War and Revolution

A storm of struggle is brewing in Europe. The monopoly capitalists there, like our own, are trying to duck its effects by launching all out attacks on the masses—speedups, layoffs, plant closings, wage cuts, cutbacks in social services, etc. The workers have struck back with a wave of strikes, wildcats and plant occupations, which have had broad political consequences.

In Portugal, both superpowers are forced to build their bids for power around the struggle of the workers, yet neither has succeeded in quelling it. In

Britain, the government is unable to force through the wage freeze the ruling class desperately needs. In Spain, the capitalists are squabbling desperately over how best to handle the growing tide of workers' struggle. The rivalry between the superpowers, and the political upheaval and war danger that arise from it, can only sharpen these class battles and create favorable conditions for the workers to advance their struggle towards its historic goal, the elimination of capitalism.

As the contradictions in Europe lead toward war and revolution, the working class of Europe will come face to face with the revisionist parties who, in the name of the working class and socialism, will try to tie the working class to the system of capitalist exploitation, prevent revolution, and lead the workers into slaughter on behalf of the Soviet Union or some other gang of international bloodsuckers. All the while they will be dressing themselves up as "Communists"—in Lenin's words, in times of revolutionary ferment, "Every scoundrel...is a revolutionary!"

In times of intense revolutionary activity it is possible for the working class to learn lessons and accumulate experience that might take decades in periods of peaceful development and while conditions will exist for the revisionists to make advances, conditions will also exist for a rapid exposure of their treachery. But none of this comes automatically. The old social-democratic parties have been betraying the proletariat for decades but still manage to maintain a grip on a large section of the workers in several countries. And the crimes of the CPs are fertile soil for the bourgeoisie to breed anti-communist ideas.

### Advancing Through Twists and Turns

Only genuine communist parties, based on the struggle of the proletariat against capital, are in a position to help the workers correctly sum up their experience in struggle. As the workers develop class consciousness, it is key that they come to understand the *class nature* of the revisionists—that their fundamental feature is the acceptance of the capitalist mode of production. It is on this basis that the leaders of the CPs serve one or another capitalist class and themselves aspire to become exploiters.

In the absence of such class consciousness, the revisionists and other bourgeois forces will be able to derail the revolutionary struggle of the working class and its allies, and turn it to their advantage and that of their bourgeois masters. Often this will mean the CPs will unite with the workers' hatred of and struggle against their own exploiters and the U.S. imperialists to divert them, in the name of "class war," into serving the interests of the Soviet monopolists. Blatant maneuvers and plots by the revisionists on behalf of the New Tsars may well, on the other hand, provide the capitalists of a particular country the opportunity to rally a section of the workers around its national flag and take the heat off itself.

Whether or not the working class in any given country can make revolution before the imperialist

powers launch a world war depends on many factors. In the event of an inter-imperialist war on European soil, the class will face a complex situation with real difficulties. But if a war does break out, it will create excellent conditions to advance the revolutionary struggle.

The workers of the Western European countries will surely knock aside the revisionist parties and all other obstacles to advance through the twists and turns of the class struggle toward the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship and the establishment of the rule of the working class. ■

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# World War: The Correct Stand Is a Class Question

The factors for world war are rapidly rising. This is a blunt assessment, but one that is confirmed every day by the words and the actions of the two superpowers. Should anyone doubt it, he would do well to consider Angola, where the rulers of the U.S. and the USSR instigated and fueled a reactionary and vicious civil war in which more than 100,000 people died—all to determine which superpower would get the inside track in its rivalry to control Angola and all of Southern Africa.

The superpowers carry on about "fighting imperialism" or "defending freedom" and they mean imperialist adventure and heightened rivalry. They speak with pious determination about "national defense" and seek to justify stepped up war preparations.

Can a new world war be prevented and if not how should the working class prepare for it and what are its interests and goals if such a war does break out? These are critical questions which demand careful and deep-going answers and not slick or panicky responses.

Fortunately, the international proletariat has considerable experience in two world wars, summed up by some of its greatest leaders, to draw on. While the working class suffered greatly in World War 1 and World War 2, where the correct Marxist-Leninist line was applied, great advances were won, including the victory of socialism in several countries.

The basic approach of the working class in analyzing and responding to a war in the era of imperialism was laid out clearly by Lenin in polemics with various opportunists during World War 1. First, he demystified war, quoting the bourgeois military expert von Clausewitz: "All know that wars are caused only by the political relations of governments and of nations; but ordinarily one pictures the situation as if, with the beginning of the war, these relations cease and a totally new situation is created, which follows its own laws. We assert, on the contrary, that war is nothing but the continuation of political relations, with the intervention of other means." Politics, Marxism teaches, is concentrated economics, is based on the relationship between different classes in society. Lenin summed up, "The class character of war—that is the fundamental question which confronts a socialist." (*The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, p. 78)

## World War 1

World War 1 was a war between two blocs of imperialist powers which broke out in 1914 over the

existing division of colonies and large sections of Europe. Ever since the complete division of the world among the Great Powers by the late 1800s, some rising imperialist classes, particularly the German capitalists, had begun pushing hard for a redivision, for a bigger piece of the action. Small skirmishes instigated by the Great Powers took place in Egypt, Morocco, the Balkans and elsewhere, and alliances between the different governments were made, broken and rearranged. Two years before the war broke out it was clearly predicted by the socialist parties of the world assembled in the **Second International**.

The war was finally triggered by the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on Serbian soil. Austria, with Germany's blessings, invaded Serbia to "extract reparations" and the alliances as they then stood swung into combat, basically pitting Germany and Austria-Hungary against France, Britain and Tsarist Russia.

Lenin summed up the class character of the war after it had broken out: "This war is in a treble sense a war between slave-owners to fortify slavery. This is a war firstly, to fortify the enslavement of the colonies by means of a 'fairer' distribution and subsequent more 'concerted' exploitation of them; secondly, to fortify the oppression of other nations within the 'great' powers, for *both Austria and Russia* (Russia more and much worse than Austria) maintain their rule only by such oppression, intensifying it by means of war; and thirdly to fortify and prolong wage slavery, for the proletariat is split up and suppressed, while the capitalists gain, making fortunes out of the war, aggravating national prejudices and intensifying reaction." ("Socialism and War," in *Lenin on War and Peace*, FLP, Peking, pp. 10-11) In article after article, speech after speech, Lenin hammered home to the workers Marx's great message, "The workers have no fatherland," and warned them they were being used as cannon fodder in a war between international bandits.

His task was made more difficult by the collapse of the Second International as the leaders of most of its member parties scurried at the outbreak of the war into bed with their respective bourgeoisies, uttering little squeals about "defending *our* country."

Lenin mercilessly ripped the covers off these traitors to socialism and exposed the moralistic rationalizations they used to justify their treachery, like pointing to the *other* side as "expansionist" or the "aggressor" in the war. Lenin countered this with the internationalist stand of the revolutionary working class: "The char-

acter of the war (whether it is reactionary or revolutionary) does not depend on who the attacker was, or in whose country the 'enemy' is stationed; it depends on *what class* is waging the war, and of what politics this war is a continuation." (*The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, p. 80)

Lenin refers to "the German financiers" as having "started the war" *once* in his 52 page article "The Collapse of the Second International" (*Lenin Collected Works*, Volume 22) and not at all in many others, so little importance does he attribute to this question. Similarly he points out that the struggle of the small Serbian nation against Austria *by itself* reflects the national-liberation movement of the Serbs, but that, "The national element in the Serbo-Austrian war is not, and cannot be, of *any* serious significance in the general European war." ("Collapse of the Second International," Vol. 22, p.235)

The working class could in no way unite with or give the least aid to its own ruling class in such a war, this much was clear, but at the same time, World War 1 was not merely a fatal tragedy. Indeed, Lenin showed, it created a very favorable situation for the working class for overthrowing the bourgeoisie amidst the misery their war caused in the countries involved. "The war has undoubtedly created a most acute crisis and has increased the distress of the masses to an incredible degree. The reactionary character of this war, and the shameless lies told by the bourgeoisie of *all* countries in covering up their predatory aims with 'national' ideology, are inevitably creating, on the basis of an objectively revolutionary situation, revolutionary moods among the masses. It is our duty to help the masses become conscious of these moods, to deepen and formulate them. This task is correctly expressed only by the slogan: convert the imperialist war into civil war; and *all* consistently waged class struggles during the war, all seriously conducted 'mass action' tactics inevitably lead to this." ("Socialism and War," p. 22)

With this revolutionary perspective, it was not enough for the proletariat merely to *refuse to support* its own ruling class in its war effort. "A revolutionary class cannot but wish for the defeat of its government in a reactionary war, cannot fail to see that its military reverses facilitate its overthrow." (same, p. 25)

In short, the Leninist line, forged in ideological and political struggle during World War 1, is that the response of communists to a war between imperialist bandits is to use the mass line to mobilize the working class and its allies against the bourgeoisie's war efforts and for revolution. It was this line that led to the victory of the great October Revolution and the birth of working class rule in the Soviet Union out of the flames of World War 1.

### What Has Changed?

It would not do, however, to apply Lenin's line mechanically or indiscriminately to the present situation. It is necessary to determine if matters have changed in the 60 years that have elapsed since World War 1.

Are we in a different historical era or epoch than

that Lenin was dealing with? This question has been answered with exceptional clarity by the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people in their struggle to repudiate the counter-revolutionary Lin Biao. The late comrade Chou En-lai summed it up in the main report to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of China, "Chairman Mao has often taught us: We are still in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. . . Stalin said, 'Leninism is Marxism in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution.' This is entirely correct. Since Lenin's death the world situation has undergone great changes. But the era has not changed. The fundamental principles of Leninism are not outdated; they remain the theoretical basis guiding our thinking today."

Today there are no longer a half a dozen or so imperialist more or less equal "Great Powers." Among the imperialist countries, there are now only two serious contenders for the throne of chief exploiter and oppressor of the world's people—the United States ruling class, "our" bourgeoisie, and the new capitalist class which tore down the great socialist society built by the workers of the Soviet Union and established its own corrupt rule there. No other imperialist power is strong enough to contend as an equal with either superpower, especially in forming blocs for the purpose of world domination. The "lesser" imperialist powers align themselves with one superpower or the other as the most feasible route to expanding their own empires. Although this basic drive puts the rulers of these countries in contradiction, to an extent, with the superpowers, it mainly shows they are still the moribund and parasitic bandits Lenin described so well. As the threat of war sharpens, their drive to share in the redivision of the world—and their fear of being among the redivided—will tend to compel them ever more to fall in line as junior partners in one camp of thieves or the other. And certainly superpower status doesn't make the U.S. or USSR any different in essence from the "Great Powers" of Lenin's day.

Does his description of "the younger and stronger robber (Germany)" out "to rob the older and overgorged robbers," not precisely describe the relation between the USSR and the U.S.? Is it not the case that the roots of a third world war lie precisely in the fact that the existing "partition of the world *compels* the capitalists to go over from peaceful expansion to an armed struggle for the *repartitioning* of colonies and spheres of influence?" (*The Collapse of the Second International*, p. 226)

It is this compulsion, this drive to "expand or die," that is pushing the world toward World War 3, independent of anyone's will or desires. "Either the working class in the U.S. and the Soviet Union will prevent such a war by overthrowing these greatest oppressors, in conjunction with the world-wide struggle against them, or they will launch a world war before they can be overthrown." (*Programme of the RCP, USA*)

Another potential objection to carrying out the line Lenin developed should an inter-imperialist war break out is that conditions in the U.S. (and the USSR) are not the same as they were in Europe and

especially Tsarist Russia at the outbreak of World War 1. The argument goes: There is not a large class conscious workers movement strong enough to or prepared to topple even a weakened bourgeoisie and patriotic sentiments are so strong that a line of "revolutionary defeatism" could never take root. Lenin himself dealt with this kind of cowardly capitulation, answering opportunists whose arguments he characterized as, "Hopes for a revolution have proved illusory, and it is not the business of a Marxist to fight for illusions." ("The Collapse of the Second International," p. 213)

He ridiculed this "realistic" stand on two counts. Firstly as discussed above, war and especially imperialist world war tends to create revolutionary situations by its very nature—putting unprecedented strains on the bourgeois state and unprecedented hardships on the working class and masses of people. Secondly, he pointed out, "No socialist has ever guaranteed that this war (and not the next one), that today's revolutionary situation (and not tomorrow's) will produce a revolution. What we are discussing is the indisputable and fundamental duty of all socialists—that of revealing to the masses the existence of a revolutionary situation, explaining its scope and depth, arousing the proletariat's revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary determination, helping it to go over to revolutionary action, and forming, for that purpose, organizations suited to the revolutionary situation." (same, pp. 216-17)

Nor is a revolutionary situation a precondition for this work. "It is impossible to foretell whether a powerful revolutionary movement will flare up during the first or second war of the great powers, whether during or after it; in any case our bounden duty is systematically and undeviatingly to work precisely in this direction." ("Socialism and War," p. 22)

Only such a policy will strengthen the working class in the course of the war so that, even if it is unable to make revolution, it will still be in the best position to deal with the result of the war for the bourgeois "fatherland"—victory, defeat, stalemate or even occupation.

### Existence of Socialist Countries

Is there then no significant change since World War 1 that affects Lenin's line on war and revolution? Of course there is such a change—the existence since 1917 of the Soviet Union and since World War 2 of a number of socialist countries, despite the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and several Eastern European nations. While in the most fundamental sense Marx's statement that "The workers have no fatherland" remains true and crucial for exposing the patriotic appeals of imperialist ruling classes, it can also be said that a genuine socialist country like the Soviet Union until after Stalin's death or like China today belongs not only to its own people but to the international working class for whom it is a beacon light.

Lenin wrote about the possibility of wars involving socialist countries in 1916, well before the October Revolution gave birth to the first one. He correctly

analyzed that socialism would not win victory everywhere at once and that some countries would remain under bourgeois rule. "This must not only cause friction, but a direct striving on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the victorious proletariat of the socialist state. In such cases a war on our part would be a legitimate and just war. It would be a war for socialism, for the liberation of other nations from the bourgeoisie." ("The War Programme of the Proletarian Revolution," in *Lenin on War and Peace*, p. 61)

Understanding this principle is the key to understanding World War 2 and how it changed from an inter-imperialist war to a war of the type Lenin describes. Like WW1, the Second World War when it began was a war to redivide the world, with Germany—now allied with Italy—once again in the position of the up and coming imperialist bandit.

Like World War 1 it was preceded by shifting alliances and smaller conflicts and acts of aggression. Full scale war broke out when Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, to annex it. Alarmed by German successes, France and Britain declared war on Germany.

Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the Chinese revolution and the international working class, declared, "On whichever side the Anglo-French or the German, the war that has just broken out is an unjust, predatory and imperialist war." ("The Identity of Interests Between the Soviet Union and All Mankind," *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 277) This analysis went to the heart of the situation. Although bourgeois rule in Germany had a fascist character and the German ruling class openly attacked Poland first, this did not change the character of the war. "Germany started the war in order to plunder the Polish people and smash one flank of the Anglo-French imperialist front. By its nature, Germany's war is imperialist and should be opposed, not approved. As for Britain and France, they have regarded Poland as an object of plunder for their finance capital, exploited her to thwart the German imperialist attempt at a world redivision of the spoils, and made her a flank of their own imperialist front. Thus their war is an imperialist war, their so-called aid to Poland being merely for the purpose of contending with Germany for the domination of Poland, and this war, too, should be opposed, not approved." (same, p. 279)

Thus for the international proletariat, the tasks were the same as they had been in World War 1. In Mao Tsetung's words, "The Communist Parties and the people of all countries should rise up against it and expose the imperialist character of both belligerents, for this imperialist war brings only harm and no benefit whatever to the people of the world, and they should expose the criminal acts of the social-democratic parties in supporting the imperialist war and betraying the interests of the proletariat." (same, p. 277)

In the same article, Mao also cautioned that the nature of the war could change and objective circumstances could call for the entry into the war of the Soviet Union and the peoples of the world. Less than two

years later, on June 22, 1941, this occurred. Hitler launched the bulk of his forces against the Soviet Union boasting they would drive to the Ural mountains in three months. The next day Mao Tsetung summed up the changed world situation in an inner Party directive: "for communists throughout the world the task now is to mobilize the people of all countries and organize an international united front to fight fascism and defend the Soviet Union, defend China, and defend the freedom and independence of all nations." ("On the International United Front Against Fascism," *Selected Works*, Vol III, p. 29) This was the general line for the duration of the war.

## Change in World War 2

The change in the character of World War 2 was not to a "war for democracy," or just an "anti-fascist war." There was no change in the character of the class rule in the imperialist powers—for the "worse" in Germany or for the "better" in England, the U.S., etc.

The new character of the war was determined by the event which changed it, the attack on the Soviet Union and its entry into the war. The war became, as the *Programme of the RCP, USA* points out, "...a battle for the defense of the future as it was already being realized by the Soviet working people in building socialism. Millions of workers and other oppressed people around the world fought and died to defeat the fascist Axis in order to defend socialism and to advance their own march toward socialist revolution."

Opportunists in the leadership of some communist Parties took advantage of the necessity to unite with their bourgeoisie in fighting this war, in order to cave in entirely to them—to negate what was now the secondary aspect of the war—that Britain, the U.S. and so on were still in it for the same imperialist reasons they had been from the beginning. These revisionists—Earl Browder, who headed the Communist Party in this country, chief among them—used the war to put their Parties entirely at the service of the capitalists.

However, this was not the main trend. In many cases, communists grasped the necessity of entering the war on the same side as the imperialist bloc that had been forced to ally with the Soviet Union and turned this necessity into freedom. They took advantage of the split in the imperialist camp and the alliance of one bloc with the Soviet Union, to fight for leadership of the struggle against the Axis, and use that leadership to advance the struggle to socialism. Within a few years of the end of World War 2 the socialist camp had grown to a dozen countries.

Since World War 2, the world has undergone many changes. The socialist camp no longer exists and the country that was its core, the Soviet Union, is now one of the two main capitalist enemies of the world's people.

Today the world is in a very volatile situation. Everywhere contradictions are heating up, among them the desperate contention between the rulers of

the U.S. and the USSR. How should the international working class take the growing danger of world war into account? The RCP has dealt with this question at some length in an article in the November 15, 1975, *Revolution*, "On the World Situation, War and Revolutionary Struggle." Some of its points are summarized below.

In the approach of the international proletariat to the question of war, the role of the People's Republic of China, a socialist country belonging to the workers of the world, is of great importance. As a country where the working class holds state power, "China is able to use its diplomacy and state to state relations to make use of contradictions among the imperialist and reactionary forces, and to build unity between peoples and countries in resisting superpower domination." China does this, paying particular attention to thwarting Soviet expansion, in order to delay the onset of war and enable the people of the world to be in a better position should war break out. China also follows this policy in order to make it more difficult for the Soviet Union to attack China, which stands as a bulwark of world revolution. Defending China is an objective and a duty not only of the Chinese people but of workers all over the world.

"What form this defense would take, and how it would relate to the struggle in different countries, could only be decided, of course, on the basis of analyzing the actual situation at that time, the balance of forces—fundamentally class forces—and a concrete determination of what would advance the overall revolutionary struggle under the concrete conditions. But in one form or another the working class in every country must support and defend as its own the countries where our class has won political power and is building socialism, and must link this with the fundamental task of advancing the struggle toward the goal of revolution and socialism in all countries.

"In the countries where the proletariat has not yet won political power the working class has different tasks than in the socialist countries and makes different contributions to the international struggle. Not having state power it cannot use state to state relations and other similar means to make use of contradictions among the imperialist and reactionary forces and unite the greatest number of forces against the two superpowers.

"Nor, lacking state power, is it yet able to give the same kind of support to revolutionary struggles that a proletariat in power is able to give. The working class in countries where it has not yet seized power can and must support the revolutionary movement in every country and support the struggle against the two superpowers as the main enemies on a world scale. But it must combine this with carrying out what, overall, is its main task—the building of the revolutionary movement in its own country and the carrying forward of this fight, through whatever necessary stages, to the final goal of socialism under the rule of the working class.

"By the same token, a working class which does not have state power, while it does not have the same

ability as the socialist countries to use state to state relations, etc. to further the worldwide struggle, also does not have the necessity to make compromises with various imperialist and reactionary forces and governments, in the same way as the socialist states do in order to make use of contradictions, etc."

By focusing its efforts on building the struggle for revolution, the working class is dealing genuine blows to the two superpowers and making the best possible preparations for carrying on the struggle under conditions of war.

As it has in the past, the question of war today provides a big opening for opportunist lines. One form is to speculate on the twists and turns the struggle *may* take in the future, on the character a new world war *may* assume if it should break out, all to set aside the difficult task of waging the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. Often a cover-up is pretending to carry out China's foreign policy to the letter. Some may say, "Why should we bother to develop our policy and tactics by applying Marxism to the concrete analysis of concrete conditions? We'll let the Chinese comrades do it for us."

As pointed out in the November 15 *Revolution* article, Mao Tsetung himself dealt with this question very sharply in 1946, at a time when the Soviet Union was making certain necessary agreements with imperialist countries. He put forward a principle that still holds today: "Such compromise does not require the

people of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromise at home. The people in these countries will continue to wage different struggles in accordance with their different conditions." ("Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation," *Selected Works*, Vol IV, p. 87)

Proletarian internationalism means nothing if it is not based on the struggle for proletarian revolution.

In summation, the experience of the working class over two world wars has provided a rich legacy to learn from today in the face of the growing drive to war on the part of the superpowers. Confronted with the threat of war, the U.S. working class and its Party has to cut through the imperialist-spread smokescreen of calls for "national unity for national defense," which are nothing but justification for imperialist crimes.

The key weapon for doing this—for coming through a war fighting for and advancing the interests of the working class—is the method of *class analysis* of the war's *general character*. Only in this way can the real causes of the war, and the road forward be discovered.

Armed with this understanding and deep knowledge of the particular conditions in each country, the proletariat decides its policy and its tactics, no matter what difficulties or twists and turns may arise in the actual situation, always based on what will advance the struggle to overthrow capitalism, build socialism and move to communist society. ■



# On the Slogan "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War"

"We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War" is one of the main slogans of the Rich Off Our Backs—July 4th Coalition. Party members and others are taking it out broadly to the American people in both their agitation and propaganda. As the danger of world war grows the importance of popularizing the stand and meaning of this slogan also continues to grow.

What does this slogan mean? First of all, what is the common understanding we want to develop when we bring this slogan out?

To justify their military preparations and to try to win popular support for another war, the U.S. imperialists have been stepping up their propaganda around the need for the U.S. to stand up to the Soviet Union. This was the way they have tried to sum up their Angola adventure for instance, saying that the U.S. made a big mistake by letting the USSR push her around.

And just recently in the draft platform of the Democratic Party, a big deal was made about how Russian actions "pose severe threats to world peace and stability." It condemned "the continued USSR military occupation of many Eastern European countries" as "a monument to their oppression of the peoples of those nations, an oppression we do not accept and are committed to oppose. . ." All this they use to justify stepping up their own military buildup and war preparations.

But the masses of American people, and especially the working class, have many experiences which point to exactly what is driving the U.S. to war. Millions of workers and others on one level or another realized that the big corporations were behind the U.S. war in Vietnam. And the everyday experience working in capitalists' factories and mines provides the basis for workers to see what drives the capitalists forward—the need to maximize their profits.

While these experiences remain separate in the understanding of many, much has been learned that can be built on, and much continues to be learned every day. The massive opposition and resistance of the American people to the U.S. war in Vietnam is a glorious chapter in the history of the struggle in this country. Especially as the war dragged on, as many veterans brought home their stories, the lies of the government about "defending democracy" and "stopping aggression" wore thin.

Millions came to oppose the U.S. war effort, and a growing number of these came to understand that by "defending the free world" the U.S. government meant the freedom of the giant corporations, the oil com-

panies, the banks and others, to set up shop in Indochina and discourage further rebellions against their plunder. Many in this country became revolutionaries as they came to understand the class basis of this war—to see that it was rooted in the same expand-or-die law of capitalism that produces exploitation and oppression here at home.

## Stench of War

Today as economic crisis drags on, the stench of war thickens. Many people oppose particular acts of aggression—like that of both the U.S. and the USSR in Angola—and it is important to broaden and build on this resistance and understanding. On top of this people are faced with a situation where for many "the only job around" is in the army, and military recruiters hang around high schools and unemployment offices like vultures.

And the idea is floated that the only way out of this crisis is to go to war, that this is the only choice the masses have. The capitalists at times even push the idea that it may be a hell of a way to live, but it's the way it has to be. In this context it is crucial to unite with the hatred of the masses for this situation, to point out that war is no mystery—its source lies in the rule of the capitalist class—and to bring out the idea that there is a way forward, a path to fight and break through.

By doing this we can explain to people in a down-to-earth way, based on their own experiences, the *class content* of the war preparations and initial skirmishes of both superpowers. For the imperialists, for the Rockefellers, Duponts, and Mellons of the U.S., and the New Tsars of the Soviet Union, it is a question of armed conflict for profit—to decide who will be the biggest robber barons and exploiters of the world's people. It is a struggle of slaveowners over the division of the loot they get through robbery of whole peoples. Such a war cannot be in the interests of the people and must be opposed.

The slogan "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War" sums this up by pointing to the source of their current war preparations and the working class' answer to it. It draws a line of demarcation by saying our fight is not *with* these rich bastards but *against* them and their bloody wars for profits.

## Deeper Questions

In taking out this slogan and stand to the masses,



# Europe

500 miles  
800 kilometers

Map by Revolution



including in work around July 4th, it has met with much agreement and has raised people's understanding. It has also generated controversy, and many other questions have been raised by people.

This means we need to go still deeper into these questions, and communists certainly have the obligation to understand more deeply and bring out still more sharply the revolutionary working class stand on the question of war. And this can only be done in the context of understanding, explaining and exposing the current imperialist war preparations and acts of aggression, and the kind of war they are presently preparing to fight.

Many of people's questions stem from the fact that the main kind of war that is shaping up today is a war between two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR. This kind of war, world war, while growing out of the same basic cause—the imperialist drive for profit—would obviously be different from the U.S. war in Vietnam. Instead of a war of aggression waged against an oppressed nation, this war would be an armed collision between two sets of aggressors, both driven toward collision by the same law of capitalism—expand or die. Such a war would have different and still more destructive effects.

And these very real facts are used by both superpowers to try to line up people behind them. The U.S. imperialists in particular, are trying to wipe away the opposition to their war efforts that grew tremendously during the Vietnam war by saying that now, with the Soviets as the enemy, it's a whole different story.

During the Vietnam war, they used the argument of "North Vietnamese aggression" and "defending freedom there before it is lost here" to try to paint up their own aggression as a just cause. This lie became exposed to many, but now their opponent, the USSR, is a real aggressor and imperialist, just like the U.S. And this fact is not lost on people.

During the Vietnam war people questioned what interests we were defending far away in Asia and the idea of the Vietnamese attacking California was downright laughable. But now the opponent is a powerful, aggressive country, with imperialist armed forces cruising all over the world. In this situation people have very real concerns about their own safety and security, and the capitalists eagerly pick up on this sentiment and try to turn it into a basis of support for their own war preparations under the slogan of "defend the country."

Unless consistent exposure is done from a revolutionary working class point of view of what *class interests* are involved in such a war, and unless another way forward for the working class in the event of such a war is brought forward, people will be abandoned to the strong pull of the U.S. imperialists' arguments to side with them in their war efforts.

### "Defend the Country"?

What is the class content of the bourgeoisie's slogan "defend the country"? It can only mean one thing in

a country like the U.S. where the imperialists rule society—defend their rule. And this comes out in a double sense—defend their empire abroad and their system of wage slavery at home.

There is no war, no military action abroad that the U.S. imperialists, or the Soviet imperialists, can fight for any other reason than to defend or extend their international robbery. Talk of defending freedom or opposing aggression is meaningless for them. For them the class content of "freedom," as many began to see in Vietnam, is the freedom to exploit, the freedom to defend their old markets and grab new ones.

The U.S. imperialists very quickly point to the oppression of whole nations and peoples under Soviet social-imperialism and argue, as the Democrats' draft platform states, that this is "an oppression we do not accept and are committed to oppose. . ." But there is no way that U.S. imperialism can liberate these peoples. Even if Eastern Europe were "liberated" by U.S. action, it could only mean the enslavement of these people to U.S. capital instead of Soviet capital.

When they speak about defending the U.S., all they can mean is defending U.S. society the way it is—with them on top. They mean defending a social system which is based on the daily robbery of the working class, a system that results in the cancers of unemployment and seemingly inevitable wars. They want us to "defend the country" because they want to preserve their rule as slaveowners.

### Interests of the Working Class

Clearly the working class of the U.S. has no interests in defending these imperialist goals. For the working class, the starting point cannot be "defending the country," but defending and advancing the interests of the working class, here and worldwide. Still a lot of people will say they support the U.S. building up its military in opposition to the Russian military buildup, not because they support the capitalists' plunder at home and abroad, but because they feel it is the only way to protect themselves and their families. The media builds up this argument saying the only way to preserve peace is by the U.S. being number one militarily. They pose the alternative: either build up U.S. weapons systems or face the danger of Russian bombs landing on major U.S. cities in the future.

Is it a fact that sticking with the imperialists and their war preparations will mean less misery and destruction for the working class? Exactly the opposite is true. In Vietnam, for example, the U.S. imperialists talked about "light at the end of the tunnel." But that war dragged on year after year, sometimes seeming like it would never end. It was only the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism, combined with a powerful anti-war movement in the U.S., that finally ended it.

In the same way we need to use this experience to sum up that the U.S. military buildup will not prevent war but will only make the war that eventually breaks out even more destructive.

Even if the U.S. wins another war it will not pro-

tect our families and communities. A victory for the U.S. would mean the imperialists would continue to rule society. And just like their rule has led to crises and wars in the past, so too would it lead to more crises and a fourth world war, until finally they are overthrown and their criminal system put in the museum of history.

When all is said and done the imperialists of both superpowers pose two alternatives to the masses of people should a war break out: either it ends in a victory for the U.S. or a victory for Russia. And of course they make it seem like a defeat for themselves would be the worst of all possible worlds.

### Third Way Out

But why are these the only two alternatives? Why does such a war have to end with the victory or defeat of the *present, capitalist* governments? While this view makes perfect sense to the capitalists, it is losers' logic for the working class. In fact, there is a third alternative: for the workers in this country together with our class brothers and sisters in the USSR and elsewhere in the imperialist world to rise up in revolution, overthrow these oppressors and end the war in a victory for the working class.

The imperialist system breeds wars fought slave vs. slave to decide which slave-owner will reap the bigger profit. The proletariat of all countries says: "convert this war between slave-owners for the division of their loot into a war of the slaves of all nations against the slave-owners of all nations." (Lenin, "The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution," *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 56)

Overthrowing the rulers of the two superpowers, not uniting with one set of them, is the only way a world war can be prevented. Should the USSR and the U.S. drag the world into another war for their empires of profit our stand must be: They make us shed our blood, but let us not shed it for them. Let's shed it for ourselves, for our class, and for a future for mankind free from their rule and free from their wars.

### Pacifism Not the Answer

Communists do not want war, we advocate the abolition of war. But unlike petty bourgeois pacifists and those who raise nonviolence to a principle, communists recognize that this question cannot be separated from class struggle. War cannot be finally eliminated until classes have been eliminated and communism built. Imperialism breeds war and imperialist war can't be killed until imperialism is killed. To eliminate war it is necessary to make war on the imperialists.

The imperialists do not allow the working class the freedom to stand aside from their wars. They drag the workers off to fight for them. When they place guns in the workers' hands and tell them to shoot down their fellow workers we have no choice but to organize against them on this front. The weapons they order the workers to use to prop up their rule on the broken bodies of millions must be turned into weapons against

them and their system which breeds destruction.

Even the threat or reality of a Soviet attack on this country would not change this stand. Rather than uniting with one set of rulers to expel the other, the way forward for the working class would be to break through the middle of this conflict and make revolution, against whatever set of oppressors had consolidated their control.

Not only must the working class not fight for the victory of its rulers in such an imperialist war, it is in the interest of the working class to welcome the defeats of these rulers. This is not because the working class wants the rulers of the Soviet Union to win. Exactly the opposite—we stand for the working class of the Soviet Union to overthrow their oppressors and reestablish socialism. And we do not stand for Russian capitalists oppressing workers here, any more than we do for the U.S. capitalists.

### Revolutionary Defeatism

The reason the working class welcomes the defeats of its own bourgeoisie in an imperialist war is because their defeats, their weakening, gives the working class a chance to advance its struggle to overthrow them. It is like the question confronting the slave who sees his master's house burning down: is he going to run for water to put out the fire, or welcome it and use the opportunity to step up his own struggle for liberation?

It is only by overthrowing the imperialists and building socialism that society can move forward and end once and for all the miseries and oppression of capitalism. This is why in such a war, the only stand which corresponds to the interests of the working class is to work to turn the imperialist war into a civil war, a revolutionary war.

This stand is not a pipe-dream of Marxist-Leninists, although carrying it through during an imperialist war certainly involves some very real difficulties and calls for courageous struggle. Fighting to advance the struggle toward the goal of revolution through the course of war is in fact the only stand that can produce advances and not defeats for the working class.

This is something that historical experience clearly shows. In previous wars, armed with a correct line, the masses of people in many countries have turned the outrage of imperialist aggression and war into an occasion to redouble their determination to be rid of these oppressors, and have won great victories in revolutionary struggle.

### War Sharpens Contradictions

World War 1 was marked by the first revolution in which the working class was able to seize and hold power, Russia in 1917, and was followed by revolutionary upsurges of the working class in a number of countries, including Hungary and Germany. Following World War 2 a whole series of proletarian revolutions were successful in China, North Korea, North Vietnam and Eastern Europe, although since then capitalism has



been restored in a number of these countries, including the USSR.

As this historical experience shows, imperialist war means tremendous suffering for the masses of people, but it also tremendously sharpens the contradictions and many times brings on a revolutionary situation in which the working class has an opportunity to overthrow their weakened rulers and establish socialism.

Of course none of this will happen "automatically." It will only happen through the conscious struggle of the working class, led and armed with revolutionary understanding by its Party.

How can this be done? Our stand and actions in the class struggle *right now* will determine to a great extent whether or not we are prepared to lead things forward should war break out. Under current conditions, this does not mean our main task is to build an anti-war movement, although struggles must be waged against acts of aggression and war preparations. What it does mean is that we must develop a revolutionary movement led by the working class, fighting on all fronts, that is capable of overthrowing the imperialists when conditions are ripe and put an end to their rule and their wars.

It is in this way, with this goal in mind, that *every* struggle of the working class must be approached, including the daily battles against speedup, layoffs, and other attempts to increase exploitation where the workers' struggles are mainly centered today.

Failure to build the struggle aimed at this revolutionary goal would seriously disarm the working class, and make it impossible to take advantage of the crisis an imperialist war would cause. History is a useful teacher here, too. Most of the leaders of the working class parties of the Second International practiced reformism and opportunism before World War 1. When the war broke out each sided with their own capitalists in sending the workers to kill each other on the battlefields.

Lenin pointed out the roots of this when he said "social chauvinism is opportunism in its finished form." ("Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International, Vol. 22, *Collected Works*, p. 113) Today the leaders of these parties are people like Willy Brandt of West Germany and Golda Meir of Israel—past and present heads of capitalist governments and open

traitors to the working class.

### Link With All Battles

On the other hand great advances can be made if struggles are developed on all fronts that attack and expose the system and the consciousness of the workers is raised in the course of many battles. To do this, the Party must arm the workers with an understanding of the *class basis* of all events in society— from fights on the shop floor to acts of aggression and war preparations.

It is in this way that the Party must draw out the real links between different events in society, and as the Party Programme says, develop "fighters on one front against the enemy into fighters on all fronts."

So in taking out the slogan "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War" we must not do it in an abstract way, unconnected with the current struggles the workers are involved in. Neither should we mislead people by making wrong connections, by spreading the illusion, for example, that the imperialists should "reorder their priorities" and spend money for "jobs, not war."

Instead we should draw the actual link that does exist: that the cause of war and unemployment and every other abuse lies in the capitalist system of wage-slavery, and that to finally do away with all this, the workers must do away with the source, the rule of these imperialists. We need to show that just as the crisis is driving the ruling class to intensify its attacks on the working class in this country, so too is it driving them to intensify their exploitation around the world and to contend with the other capitalist powers, especially the Soviet Union, and to push that contention toward war.

Taken out broadly in the Party's agitation and propaganda, the slogan "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War," when it is linked in a lively and down-to-earth way to the actual struggles and experience of the working class, can heighten the struggle against the imperialists, especially their current war preparations, and prepare the working class to seize the initiative in a revolutionary situation and do away with these greatest of oppressors once and for all. ■

# Guardian Sows Confusion, Caves In to Imperialism

The world today is undergoing rapid changes. The crisis in the world imperialist system is intensifying all the major contradictions in the world, it is turning up the flame underneath the conflicts. Overall, this is a favorable situation for the revolutionary struggle throughout the world. The exploiters are at each other's throats and weakened by crisis, the masses of workers in the U.S. and other capitalist countries are increasingly compelled to struggle and the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America continue to deal sharp blows to the imperialist powers. While the capitalist world is sinking into deeper crisis, the countries where the working class holds power have made important advances in building socialism.

At the same time, the present world situation places new dangers, and new tasks, before the working class and masses of people of every country. In particular, the greatly intensifying rivalry between the rulers of the U.S. and the new imperialist rulers of the Soviet Union is leading toward a third world war.

Under these circumstances, it is more important than ever that the working class and masses of people be armed with a correct understanding of what is happening in the world, how the class forces line up, and how to advance the revolutionary struggle under today's conditions.

Yet there are certain organized forces in this country who are working overtime with views that spread confusion, paint enemies as friends and disarm the masses at the very time when it is crucial that clarity be achieved. The revisionist "Communist" Party, USA has long promoted the lie that the USSR is the great bastion of socialism and progress, the friend of the people of the U.S. and the peoples of the world.

Fortunately, the CPUSA has not been able to sell this trash to many people in this country. But unfortunately, the editors of the *Guardian* (which bills itself as an "independent radical newsweekly") have recently stepped forward as a chief spokesman for an opportunist political line which, under today's conditions, serves as a cover for the Soviet Union's imperialist nature.

## One Main Enemy?

Using the excuse of a "discussion of China's foreign policy," and criticism of an article by William Hinton which implies (whatever Hinton's intentions) that the U.S. bourgeoisie is at least a potential, if not present, component of a United Front against the Soviet Union (identified as the main danger), the *Guardian* has launch-

ed a full-scale assault on the Marxist-Leninist view of the world situation.

According to the *Guardian*, the peoples of the world face only one main enemy—U.S. imperialism. We are warned by long-time *Guardian* correspondent Wilfred Burchett not "to view Moscow undialectically" (May 5, 1976) which means to the *Guardian* that it is all right to hurl insults at the Soviet Union, even to call them "social-imperialists," but we must not forget that capitalism has not "been fully restored and consolidated in the Soviet Union." (June 16, 1976) This could only mean the Soviet Union is a socialist country.

The *Guardian* declares, incorrectly, "that the principal contradiction in the world is between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations of the world." (May 26, 1976) In practice the *Guardian* carries this incorrect view further, acting as if that were the *only* contradiction of major significance in the world. While they claim to be Marxist-Leninists (and even hold up Mao Tsetung on special occasions) the *Guardian* completely negates the Marxist-Leninist view of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism, the internal laws of which inevitably give rise to world wars and working class revolution.

Instead, the view of the world that shines through the pages of the *Guardian* is an idealist, petty bourgeois view, in which there is only one big bully in the world, the evil rulers of this country, and they will be brought down by being battered from outside by the forces of progress and light. What is missing in all this is any real *class content*.

## Clinging to the Past

One reason that the *Guardian* continues to exert some influence is that they appeal to the experience many people gained during the struggle against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the revolutionary movement of the 1960s generally. They try to wrap themselves in the mantle of that movement and portray themselves as the inheritors of its revolutionary thrust. They represent themselves as the upholders of the revolutionary struggle against the U.S. bourgeoisie, but the political line they promote stands as an obstacle to the development of that struggle.

At that time, the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America were far and away the single most powerful force dealing blows to the imperialist system. The ruling class of this country was the undisputed chieftain of the world capitalist system and the chief enemy of the world's people. The powerful

and protracted struggle that developed against the U.S. imperialists' war on the Vietnamese people and the widespread support for the national liberation struggles of the Third World was an extremely important development and played a key role in rekindling a revolutionary movement in the U.S. and other countries.

During the 1960s the Soviet Union was emerging as an imperialist superpower and just beginning to challenge the U.S. for world hegemony. In those years much of the Soviet's actions on the international front involved collaborating with the U.S. ruling class to sabotage many of the anti-U.S. struggles. They sought to avoid a confrontation with the U.S. at a time when they didn't want it.

Thousands of fighters in this country were disgusted to see the Soviets try to hamstring the struggle of the Vietnamese—and later openly oppose the liberation movement of the Cambodian people—denounce the Palestinian liberation movement, and join with the U.S. in a joint effort to encircle socialist China, all while claiming to be "revolutionaries" and "communists."

At the same time, while there was broad opposition to the treachery of the revisionist rulers of the USSR, there was little understanding of the *class basis* of the Soviet ruling class, or that capitalism had been restored there and that the USSR was governed by capitalism's internal laws.

While the understanding that was prevalent in the 1960s among the radicalized petty bourgeoisie was never fully scientific, its revolutionary thrust was able to lead to advances in the struggle. But it was never correct to view what was then the principal contradiction in the 1960s (between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed peoples of the Third World) as something permanent and unchanging, and under today's conditions, such a view is incapable of advancing the struggle forward as other contradictions, especially the conflict between rival imperialist powers, intensify.

The USSR's role in the world is no longer largely one of surrender and capitulation. In the late 50s and into the 60s, though the bourgeoisie held power in the Soviet Union, they were in the process of wrecking the socialist economic base and reorganizing society along capitalist lines. They sought to avoid large-scale international conflict with the U.S. Khrushchev even "theorized" about this, speaking about the "danger" of smaller wars of national liberation "sparking global holocaust." But today, with their wrecking complete and their state capitalist economy fully geared up, they are increasingly driven by capitalism's law—expand or die—into sharper and sharper conflict with the other superpower.

Unless the class nature of the USSR is understood, the Soviets can appear, on the surface, to be becoming more "revolutionary." They have toned down their nonsense about "the peaceful road to socialism" and turned up the volume on their claims to be the staunch ally of the oppressed peoples of the world. But the Soviets' opposition to the U.S. has nothing to do with supporting the fight for national liberation and socialism and has everything to do with furthering its own imperialist aims.

## Angola

It is in this context that the recent events in Angola take on a particular importance. The developments in Angola are a very striking illustration of the direction in which the world is headed—both the growth of revolutionary struggle of the masses and the squaring off of the U.S. and the USSR. It was during the Angolan war that the *Guardian* revealed the full flowering of its incorrect line, which obscures the real nature of the Angola conflict, reverses right and wrong, and even launches an assault on the Marxist-Leninist line on the world situation.

For ten years the Angolan people had been waging an armed struggle against the Portuguese colonialists backed to the hilt by the U.S. In the course of this long struggle, three different organizations developed, each of which participated in the fighting to one degree or another, and each of which was based mainly among one of three tribal groupings located in different sections of Angola.

The struggle of the people of Angola and the other Portuguese colonies greatly weakened the Portuguese colonial regime and contributed to the toppling of the old reactionary government. Soon after the old Portuguese regime had been toppled, the two superpowers swooped down on Angola like vultures, each pouring millions of dollars of military equipment to the organizations they hoped to control.

The U.S. pumped arms to the FNLA and UNITA while the Soviet Union, who had given only the most token aid in the long war against Portugal, sent loads of up-to-date military equipment to the MPLA. By contrast, the People's Republic of China, which had given military aid to all three organizations during the anti-colonial war, ceased providing aid to any of the three groups and instead called on them to abide by an agreement worked out under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity which called for the three groups to unite and form a representative government.

Quickly this superpower intervention developed into full-scale war. At that point, both superpowers sent soldiers from countries under their control to fight for the side they were backing. Over 10,000 Cuban soldiers were sent riding in on Soviet tanks and planes to fight for the MPLA. South African troops and mercenaries were sent by the U.S. to fight for the FNLA and UNITA forces.

Thus superpower intervention turned the development of the struggle away from progressive struggle against imperialism and into a war between the superpowers themselves by proxy—with Angolans and soldiers from other countries doing the fighting and dying.

How did the *Guardian* portray these events? The *Guardian* held that only the MPLA was a "legitimate" liberation organization, the other two were simply tools of imperialism. What was their evidence of this? That the FNLA and UNITA took aid from the U.S. But, one might ask, what about the MPLA—they took aid from the USSR, doesn't that make them tools of social imperialism according to this logic? Not at all,

says the *Guardian*. After all the U.S. is the "main enemy" and the Soviet Union is just a social-imperialist socialist state!?!)

In its many articles on Angola, the *Guardian* went to great lengths to draw false comparisons between the war there and the war in Vietnam and between the MPLA and the Vietnamese revolutionary forces—all to try to justify their support of the MPLA, of the "heroic Cuban volunteers," and Soviet military aid.

Their logic ran as follows: the Vietnamese accepted aid from the Soviets and Marxist-Leninists didn't claim that made them pawns of the Soviets. Why shouldn't the MPLA do the same thing?

But the lessons of the struggle of the Vietnamese people are quite the opposite of what the *Guardian* would have us believe. The Vietnamese fought a heroic war, lasting a decade, in which they came up against virtually all that the U.S. imperialists could throw at them, including half a million ground troops at one point. It was the courageous struggle of the Vietnamese themselves that drove off the U.S.

The genuine internationalist aid by the People's Republic of China was important to the Vietnamese people's struggle, but it was not the decisive factor. The "aid" given by the Soviets was always coupled with attempts to sabotage and control the struggle, which the Vietnamese resisted. And the Soviets are still trying to push the Vietnamese for concessions—like military bases. The Vietnam war showed that by mobilizing the masses of people, relying on them and persevering in struggle, it is possible to defeat the most powerful of enemies.

Yet this lesson is totally lost on the editors of the *Guardian*. In justifying their 100% support for the MPLA and the "heroic Cuban volunteers" they write, "neither Cuba nor Angola [meaning the MPLA] preferred the necessity of international assistance, but with South Africans, mercenaries, and UNITA forces advancing from the south and Zaire and FNLA advancing from the north—all backed by the U.S. and Western imperialism—while the country was itself surrounded by hostile Zaire, Zambia and occupied Namibia, MPLA had little choice but to invoke its right to proletarian internationalist support from socialist Cuba." (May 5, 1976, emphasis added)

### Little Choice?

Leaving aside the whole distorted picture painted here of the development of events, the above statement gets to the root of the *Guardian's* outlook. The "MPLA had little choice" but to open the door to 10,000 Cuban troops and Soviet tanks and rockets or it would have lost. This revealing quote shows what is common knowledge—foreign troops and military aid put the MPLA in power. While the final word has yet to be said on Angola, thousands of Cuban soldiers remain stationed there, Castro is calling for tens of thousands of Cubans to volunteer for civilian duty, and the Soviets have started pushing their all-too-familiar patterns of "aid" agreements.

Apparently, the *Guardian* editors are incapable of

imagining a war waged by the masses of people under difficult conditions where it would be possible to win victory without surrendering to an imperialist power. This goes hand in hand with the view that Cuba had no choice but to buckle under to the Soviets in the face of U.S. extortion and aggression—a view that is brilliantly refuted by the heroic example of Albania, which, though surrounded by the U.S. bloc and revisionist countries, has stood up to all of them.

With the *Guardian's* incorrect view of the Soviet Union as a "socialist" superpower as the basis of their line on Angola, they sunk even deeper in trying to uphold their line on Angola. The *Guardian* tried to justify the Cuban expeditionary force by repeating Castro's nonsense about Cuba being a "Latin-African" country. According to Wilfred Burchett, Cuban troops do not represent "outside interference" because, quoting favorably from Agostinho Neto, head of the MPLA, "the African origins of many Cubans transforms our countries into brother countries in solidarity with each other, which understand each other...above all there is this sentimental side, that which represents our common origin." (April 7, 1976)

Thus the *Guardian* combines its opportunism with utter nonsense and the basest appeal to the most backward nationalism. But two can play this game. The *Guardian* did not make the same point about the fact that great numbers of the South African troops were also black, or that the U.S. imperialists, working through flunkies like Roy Innis (so-called "civil rights leader," and long on the payroll of the imperialists) made efforts to recruit Black veterans in this country as mercenaries to fight on the side of UNITA.

At least one of the *Guardian's* editors has been around long enough to remember the use of Gurkhas by the British imperialists and the fact that imperialists have long used soldiers from their dependencies to enslave others.

### Guardian Attacks China

While continuing to pose as a "friend of China," the *Guardian's* actions opened the door to comments from a wide variety of revisionists, trotskyites and other opportunists to accuse China of siding with the U.S. bourgeoisie. But despite the slanders of the revisionists and the implications of the *Guardian*, the Communist Party of China has consistently put forward the line of opposing *both* superpowers.

At the present time, the Chinese have paid special attention to making use of the contradictions between the two superpowers, especially ripping the mask of socialism off the USSR, which presents the greatest immediate threat to China. The policy of exploiting the differences between imperialist powers while maintaining principled opposition to all imperialism is entirely consistent with Lenin's policy after the Bolshevik revolution and the experience of all socialist states since then.

The *Guardian* did not thoroughly take on the line of the RCP on Angola (which consisted of upholding the struggle against the Portuguese, exposing and op-

posing the role of both superpowers, while aiming our main fire at our own ruling class). Instead, the *Guardian* implied that anyone who opposed the Soviet/Cuban aggression in Angola shared the October League's class collaboration, and grabbed ahold of a piece of emotionalism by attacking the RCP for exposing their favorite "socialist" country, Cuba, "when Henry Kissinger and Gerald Ford were threatening a military attack on Cuba." (June 16, 1976)

### Bourgeois Logic

But it is bourgeois logic to say that exposing the USSR and the role of its neo-colonies like Cuba means siding with the ruling class of this country. In fact, the article they criticized points out that the advances of the early years of the Cuban revolution lay precisely in the booting out of U.S. imperialism: "The revolution led by Fidel Castro in 1959 was a tremendous step forward for Cuba, clearing away the rule of the U.S. imperialists and the Cuban landlords, dependent capitalists and all their parasites, pimps and gangsters." (*Revolution*, February 1976)

The point of exposing the Soviet Union and Cuba's role in Angola to the workers of this country is not mainly to convince them that the Soviets are aggressive. The important thing is to arm the working class and people with an understanding of the *class basis* of the Soviet Union and why, for example, Cuban troops were sent to Angola.

If people do not understand the class basis of the Soviets' actions, they will be left to conclude that the U.S. bourgeoisie is telling the truth when they speak of "communist aggression." Far from strengthening the hand of the U.S. ruling class, only by understanding the actual world situation in class terms will it be possible to advance the struggle *against* the U.S. ruling class. And it is impossible to understand the world today without recognizing the real nature of the USSR.

In fact, the *Guardian* editors, along with the U.S. ruling class and groups like the October League, are saying, in effect, that the people of the world have no choice but to throw in their lot with one or another of the superpowers. Refuting this argument was one of the major purposes of publishing the exposure of Cuba in the first place. And it may also explain why the *Guardian* was so anxious that people not read the article that they refused a paid advertisement for the February 1976 issue of *Revolution* which contained the article. That article concludes:

"The Soviet imperialists say that the working class and masses of people are destined to remain in chains unless they receive Soviet 'aid' and submit to Soviet control. The U.S. imperialists, whose own economic and military aid has long been used to enslave and reinforce the bonds of oppression of many peoples, say the same thing from their angle—if the oppressed and exploited dare to rise up against U.S. 'protection' and plunder they are sure to fall prey to the Soviet jackals.

"But the most important lesson to be learned from the failure of the Cuban Revolution is just the oppo-

site of this imperialist logic. The masses of people can free themselves and advance the cause of freeing all humanity only by relying on their own efforts and not the 'aid' of the world's exploiters—by taking the road of proletarian revolution."

### World War

One consequence of the *Guardian's* view of the Soviet Union and their overall line is a gross underestimation of the danger of world war. From reading the *Guardian*, one might draw the conclusion that the only kind of imperialist war is aggression by the U.S. against peoples of the Third World. Rarely is the possibility of inter-imperialist war, world war between rival imperialist bandits, even discussed. This is entirely in keeping with their view that "capitalism has not been fully restored or consolidated in the Soviet Union." They describe the USSR as "social imperialist" but deny that "the export of capital is a compulsion that flows inexorably out of the Soviet system." (June 16, 1976)

But the export of capital, the seeking of superprofits off the backs of the working people of dependent countries, the drive to monopolize sources of raw materials—these are some fundamental features of imperialism. To talk of "social imperialism" while denying the economic basis of the Soviet system, is to reduce imperialism to a *policy*, dependent on the *will* of governmental leaders. (The book *How Capitalism Has Been Restored in the Soviet Union and What This Means for the World Struggle*, published by the Revolutionary Union and adopted by the RCP in 1975, has demonstrated that the USSR must and does export capital and has analyzed outstanding examples of this.)

If the laws of capitalism are not the basis of the Soviets' aggression and plunder of other countries, there is no other explanation for it; no explanation, that is, but the deception of the revisionists themselves who claim their actions are proof that they are the staunch ally of the world's people, or the slander of the U.S. ruling class who paint social imperialism as "communist aggression."

In fact the *Guardian's* line amounts to calling the Soviet Union a friend and ally of the world's people, despite their protestations to the contrary.

On one of the few occasions when the *Guardian* has even discussed the possibility of world war, Irwin Silber wrote in an article aimed at proving the Soviets had nowhere near the military capacity of the U.S., "The most likely scenario for such a war was provided by the U.S. in Vietnam when Washington undertook to expand its 'police action' in the south to start bombing the north because of its support to the national liberation movement. In other situations which the Pentagon is likely to view as 'strategic' to U.S. interests, the possibility of Washington raising the stakes and forcing a military confrontation with the Soviet Union is certainly real." (June 30, 1976)

The implications of Silber's statement are obvious: a world war between the two superpowers would not be an *inter-imperialist* war but a war of U.S. imperialism launched against the Soviets for supporting nation-

al liberation movements. According to this logic, the only correct stand would be for the working people of the world to support the Soviet Union in such a conflict.

### Class Basis of Events

Pretending that the danger of world war is not growing and portraying the Soviet Union as a friend or even a harmless enemy is a dangerous line which would lead the masses of people in this country into an ambush. The USSR will continue to launch new Angola-like military adventures, and the U.S. bourgeoisie will continue to label this aggression as "communist" as it steps up its own aggression and war preparations.

Trying to portray Soviet social imperialism as "socialist" and its aggression as "support for liberation movements" will never succeed in mobilizing the masses of workers in this (or other) countries against U.S. imperialism because this picture of the USSR does not reflect reality, it is simply not true.

Only by understanding the actual *class basis* of the increasing superpower rivalry can the working class come to realize that it has no interest in siding with the exploiters of this country in a war between exploiters.

The *Guardian's* line does nothing to advance the struggle of the U.S. working class in a revolutionary direction. True, the words "working class revolution" occasionally find their way into the pages of the paper, in much the same way as do pious proclamations that "sooner or later" "all peoples must stand up against the two superpowers" (1975 New Year's editorial): something that exists in the far off and nebulous future (much as the priests talk about the kingdom of heaven on earth) totally without significance for action.

But the actual direction for the struggle offered in the pages of the *Guardian* is anything but revolutionary. While portraying the workers' struggle as something limited to strikes and other struggles around economic issues, "progressive" union officials like Cesar Chavez and Arnold Miller, leaders of bourgeois organizations like NOW and the NAACP, progressive lawyers and congressional liberals are, in practice, promoted as the leaders of the "political struggle."

The basis of the *Guardian's* line is not love for the Soviet Union but contempt for the working class and the masses of people and their ability to make revolution. Instead, they search for "saviors" and easy solutions—sometimes trailing "progressive" union bureaucrats and other times justifying reliance on Cuban troops and Soviet rubles and tanks. With a line incapable of mobilizing the masses for revolutionary struggle, the *Guardian* will find itself left high and dry as developments lead toward a superpower showdown.

In such circumstances, and especially the actual outbreak of such a war and the increased exploitation and oppression it will bring in this country, those who hold the line of the *Guardian* will find themselves with little of substance to say to the masses, little to base themselves on in opposing U.S. imperialism and will find they have "little choice" but to capitulate to the

U.S. bourgeoisie in one form or another.

A quick look at one of the *Guardian's* current part-time pals, the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, (the above-ground mouthpiece of the Weather Underground) shows how such "revolutionaries" can flip from one opportunist line to another. When they started out, the Weathermen claimed they were going to tear down "pig amerika" by the actions of a small handful, while screaming about how they opposed revisionism and the Soviets.

They quickly ran up against the futility of this line which was not based on relying on the masses and concluded that even the Vietnamese people, let alone the masses in this country, were incapable of winning victory through their own efforts. The supporters of the Weathermen flipped into supporting George McGovern.

Now the Prairie Fire crowd is trying to outdo the *Guardian* in cheering on the Soviet/Cuban aggression in Angola, gleeful in fact that they have finally found a force—an imperialist force—capable of "standing up" to the U.S. bourgeoisie. But without basing themselves on the masses of people in this country, these people, also could easily abandon this stand and capitulate to U.S. imperialism.

### Labels Can't Cover Role

One of the charges the *Guardian* levels at the People's Republic of China is that, in making use of contradictions within the ruling circles of different countries, China has quoted imperialist spokesmen the *Guardian* deems "more reactionary" or "more right wing." (May 26, 1976)

But the world is not divided into "wings" between the "right" and the "left" but into *classes*, a basic fact which the *Guardian* continually ignores. This view of the world goes hand-in-hand with their attempt to obscure and cover up the class nature of the Soviet Union.

The label worn by imperialists is of little concern to the victims of their plunder. The U.S. launched its first imperialist war (the Spanish-American War) under the guise of aiding the people in Spain's colonies in fighting for their liberation. But the results of U.S. imperialist "liberation" are well known—the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico were seized from Spain and made into colonies of the U.S.

Similarly, when the U.S. went all-out following World War II to replace the old colonial powers, Britain and France, as the chief exploiters of the people of Asia and Africa, they did so under the name of "democracy and freedom" and of opposing colonialism. In 1956 the U.S. condemned the British, French and Israeli effort to seize the Suez Canal from Egypt—did this make the U.S. imperialists more democratic, progressive or less reactionary? Obviously not. Imperialist powers have always opposed the imperialism of their rivals.

Several years ago India and the Soviet Union launched a phony "national liberation movement" in East Pakistan and used it as an excuse for Indian troops armed with Soviet military equipment to "liberate" the people there and form "independent" Bangla Desh.



At that time there were many who hailed this aggression as liberation. But today, five years later, few would dare argue that the invasion led to progress for the masses there.

Yet there are some, including the *Guardian*, who repeat the same error today around Angola and, under the guise of focusing on the "main enemy," promote a political line which in effect gives the Soviet Union a blank check for their imperialist aggression.

The framework the *Guardian* has tried to create for the debate on the international situation is one in which two opposing and equally wrong camps argue over which superpower is the "main enemy" of the world's people. What the *Guardian* (and for that matter the October League) try to obscure and cover up is that

there is a *third* stand, the Marxist-Leninist stand on the world today where revolutionary struggles are on the rise and the danger of war is increasing. This is the stand of opposing both superpowers, arming the working class of this country with the understanding necessary to advance the struggle against the U.S. bourgeoisie in the context of worldwide struggle against the two superpowers. The working class does not have to pick its poison—choose which superpower to side with. In this country, the working class, armed with the understanding of the class nature of both superpowers and the conflict between them, will direct its main blow against its own exploiters—the U.S. imperialist ruling class, and will build the kind of movement that can really stand up to it and actually bring it down. ■

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# Imperialist War and The Interests of the Proletariat

As the contention between the two superpowers increasingly heads toward war, communists must work to arm the working class with a clear class understanding of the situation. This will not only enable the workers to make the superpowers' war preparations more difficult but also, should war break out, help them seize the opportunities the war presents to advance the struggle for socialist revolution.

Unfortunately a tendency has arisen among some Marxist-Leninists in several imperialist countries within the bloc headed by the U.S. to make an incorrect and one-sided analysis of the present situation, and as a result to view the Soviet Union as the main enemy of the world's people. This is a step away from the correct and, until recently, generally held view: that the U.S. ruling class is being challenged by its up-and-coming rival in the Soviet Union for control of the imperialist world, that this imperialist rivalry is the cause of the growing danger of a new world war, and that the two superpowers comprise together the main enemy of the world's people. As opposed to the correct view, this new tendency has dangerous implications for the revolutionary strategy of workers in many countries. As Mao Tsetung points out, "The principle of using different methods to resolve different contradictions is one which Marxist-Leninists must strictly observe." ("On Contradiction," *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 322)

This is a lesson that should be kept in mind in analyzing the question of war, particularly by those who argue that "reading between the lines" of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China reveals that they are not serious about opposing both superpowers as the main enemies of the world's people. This ignores the different situation and contradictions faced by the working class when it holds state power and deals with other nations, including imperialist ones, on a state to state level. A *Revolution* article on world war published in November, 1975 explained this: "As a country where the working class is in power, China is able to use its diplomacy and state to state relations to make use of contradictions among the imperialist and reactionary forces, and to build unity between peoples and countries in resisting superpower domination."

Where the working class is suffering under and struggling against the dictatorship of capital, it doesn't have the freedom to employ this method nor is it compelled to make the compromises necessary to carry it out.

This article will deal with the errors that arise from a one-sided view of the world situation and show how the strategy of "aiming the main blow at the Soviet

Union" is the wrong method for communists to use in building the struggle for proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries in the U.S. bloc under present conditions.

## The Question of the USSR

What are the facts about the Soviet Union? Its rulers are a young, lean and hungry class of imperialists driven by the most basic laws of capitalism to expand their empire or face being crushed at the hands of more successful imperialists. To expand they have to challenge the American capitalist class, which established itself as the most powerful imperialist country and the main exploiter and oppressor of the world's people following World War 2. To make this challenge they have to be more aggressive, make more rapid war preparations, and so on than their better-established rivals. To conclude from this, however, that the Soviet Union is the *cause* of war or the main enemy is incorrect.

As long as there are imperialist countries, they will be driven by the basic laws of capitalism itself to dominate and exploit other countries and to expand at the expense of their competitors. At any given time, some will be more successful than others, and the haves will always seek to hang onto and expand what they've got as much as their have-not brethren will try and take it away from them. This uneven development will always lead to war—the only way the imperialists can resolve the contradiction. It is imperialism itself that causes war.

The superpower drive toward war exists now because the Soviet capitalists can only establish their dominance over the imperialist world through armed conflict. Likewise the American capitalists can only reconsolidate their domination by crushing their rivals, in particular beating down the Soviet challenge, through war. To identify the New Tsars of the USSR as *the* cause of war is simply to defend the status quo in the world, and thus the U.S. imperialists.

What of the U.S.? Do its rulers need defending? U.S. imperialism is far weaker than it was even a decade ago, when it was the undoubted No. 1 imperialist power. It is caught in the quicksand of economic crisis, under attack from imperialist rivals and moves toward independence in the Third World, and more and more, mistrusted by the broad masses of American people, whose struggle against their rulers is growing more intense.

Vicious infighting within the capitalists' ranks ham-

pers their ability to deal effectively with the challenge of the less fragmented Soviet ruling class and its more tightly controlled bloc. None of this, however, justifies depicting the U.S. monopolists as senile and toothless, barely able to oppress and exploit any longer, let alone defend their empire or defeat their rivals in a war.

This is ridiculous on the face of it—the American ruling class continues to plunder untold billions from its worldwide empire annually and to maintain and modernize its armed forces around the globe to protect that empire. It is hardly so aged as to forget its class interests and permit the Soviets to move in on its action without a fight, as the defeats it has recently handed Moscow's ambitions in Egypt and Portugal clearly demonstrate.

Those who feel the U.S. can be "counted out" in advance fail completely to understand the effect the approach and outbreak of war can have, and is beginning to have, on the American ruling class. War is precisely what is required to galvanize them into decisive action and deal with many of the problems they face. It would cause further concentration of capital and necessitate more rational bourgeois "planning" and the all-out employment of America's vast productive forces, far greater and more developed than the USSR's, thus giving new life to the shaky economy.

The outbreak of war would greatly strengthen U.S. influence over the "allies" who rely on its armed might, like the lesser imperialists and many of the Third World nations. This tendency can be seen today in the moves by many NATO members, chief among them the U.S., to beef up that military pact.

And what more convincing basis is there for the capitalists to win the working class and masses of people to "national unity"—not to mention anti-communist sentiments—than a holy war against "Red Russia"? Like the export of capital, war is no "policy" that the U.S. monopoly capitalists can choose to employ at their whim, it is a necessary, and to the capitalists frequently desirable, part of the way their system works.

Of course, as such wars drag on, especially if there is no clear-cut "victory," they place increasing strains on the whole society and intensify the suffering of the masses and the basic contradictions of society. This is exactly why war often leads to a revolutionary crisis. But that doesn't change the fact that *at the start of a war* it may temporarily help the ruling class stave off a crisis.

### What Kind of War?

The nature of a war between these two superpowers can thus be readily summed up—it would be an imperialist war between camps headed by the two superpowers over the redivision of the world, centering in all likelihood, like the last two, in Europe.

During World War 1, V. I. Lenin, great leader of the international proletariat, waged a sharp struggle against self-proclaimed "socialists" who came up with dozens of excuses for deciding that the "main enemy" was whatever side their own rulers were fighting. He pointed out, "Dialectics calls for a many-sided investigation into a given social phenomenon in its develop-

ment," and, he added, it calls for the "external" and the "seeming" to be "reduced to the fundamental motive forces, to the development of the productive forces and to the class struggle."

Then, criticizing one particular opportunist, he continued, "He does not make the slightest attempt to study the economic and diplomatic history of at least the past three decades, which history proves conclusively that the conquest of colonies, the looting of foreign countries, the ousting and ruining of the more successful rivals have been the backbone of the politics of *both* groups of the now belligerent powers." ("The Collapse of the Second International," *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 218, emphasis Lenin's) Can it be denied that these words apply with remarkable aptness to the world situation today?

Furthermore, Lenin dealt in this context with some of the specific arguments being heard again today, for instance the position that the "aggressor" is the guilty party in such a war:

"Both groups of belligerent nations were systematically preparing the very kind of the war such as the present. The question of which group dealt the first military blow or first declared war is immaterial in any determination of the tactics of socialists. Both sides' phrases on the defence of the fatherland, resistance to enemy invasion, a war of defense, etc., are nothing but deception of the people." (Lenin, "Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad," *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 159)

Likewise, Lenin heaped scorn on "sophists" who attempted to make out that one group of imperialists was somehow less nasty or more democratic than the others. If a French or British opportunist upheld his republican form of bourgeois government against Germany, Lenin would remind him of their alliance with Tsarist Russia, "the most reactionary and barbarous of governments." If a German "socialist" pointed self-righteously at the Tsar—"German imperialism too is monarchist; its aims are feudal and dynastic." (The European War and International Socialism, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 22)

What about the savage repression by the New Tsars of the masses in Russia and in the Eastern European nations their troops occupy? Does this make the USSR "the greater evil"? For all imperialists, their form of rule—fascist or "democratic"—is geared to suit their needs at a particular time and place. Consider the U.S. imperialists—the butchers who murdered hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese, to cite one crime in an endless list—and their allies, the white settler government of South Africa, the Israeli Zionists, Spain, the blood-soaked Shah of Iran.

With Lenin's analysis of the first great imperialist war holding so many lessons on how to sum up the drive to war of the two superpowers, it makes equal sense to study the method by which Lenin and the Russian working class resolved this contradiction—working for the *defeat* of the Tsarist government in the war in order to weaken it and facilitate its overthrow by revolution. Here is the key to how the working class attacks war, not by "dealing the main blow"

at the rising imperialist power on behalf of the status quo, but by destroying through revolution in one country after another the real cause of war, the imperialist system!

### The Western European Nations

One particular justification for the tendency toward a "USSR is the main enemy" line at this time is the "national independence" or "national defense" of the lesser imperialist powers of Western Europe from the Soviet menace. Western Europe will more than likely be a major battlefield in any new world war, and under these circumstances occupation by one or both superpowers is a foregone conclusion. Already one third of the U.S. Army's combat divisions are stationed in West Germany.

Struggles taking place in Western Europe against American troops and other superpower bullying are significant and should be strengthened. However, it is wrong to equate the situation in these countries with the Chinese people's Anti-Japanese United Front of the late 1930s and early '40s, or with the struggles of some Third World countries today where even when sections of the ruling classes are in the leadership of the national struggle, they can be united with "insofar as they continue to oppose imperialism." (*Programme of the RCP*, p. 74)

As Mao Tsetung points out, "Qualitatively different contradictions can only be resolved by qualitatively different methods. For instance the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is resolved by the method of socialist revolution; the contradiction between the great masses of the people and the feudal system is resolved by the method of democratic revolution; the contradiction between the colonies and imperialism is resolved by the method of national revolutionary war." ("On Contradiction," *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 321)

It would certainly seem that the countries of Western Europe are characterized by the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In fact, unless Lenin's definition is incorrect, these countries are imperialist. Do not their monopolies play a decisive role in economic life? Are they not ruled by finance capital? Do they not export capital? Do not their capitalists take part in international monopoly capitalist combines? Are they not out to increase their share of the spoils from the imperialist division of the world?

Are these just "tendencies" of these countries which need to be "opposed" while encouraging some redeeming features, or are they their essential characteristics? Furthermore, under existing conditions, the West European imperialists can only accomplish this last goal by riding the coattails of a more powerful imperialist power. They do not oppose both superpowers but are basically in the camp of U.S. imperialism. (Although it is not inconceivable that some could try to switch their eggs to Moscow's basket if they thought it opportune, just as Italy changed sides in the middle of World War 1.)

The world war in preparation will be a war between

the imperialist blocs headed by the superpowers and as Lenin pointed out 50 years ago, "In short: a war *between* imperialist Great Powers (i.e., powers that oppress a whole number of nations and enmesh them in dependence on finance capital, etc.), or *in alliance* with the Great Powers, is an imperialist war." ("A Caricature of Marxism," *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 34, emphasis Lenin's)

Even in the highly unlikely event some maverick monopoly capitalist class should actually militarily take on both superpowers at once (not merely staying "neutral" to make sure of later jumping in on the winning side), it would make no difference in the overall nature of the imperialist war. During World War 1, the masses of the Serbian people led by their bourgeoisie, who had not developed into imperialists, were waging a national liberation struggle against the Great Power Austria—not in "defense" of an existing imperialist state—but to consolidate into a modern nation.

Nevertheless, Lenin warned, "The national element in the Austro-Serbian war is an entirely secondary consideration and does not affect the general imperialist character of the war." ("Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad," *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 159)

All this obviously does not mean that there are not contradictions of many sorts among the imperialists. China has been able to utilize its position as a socialist country to take advantage of these as pointed out in the November *Revolution* article cited earlier, which continues:

"In the present situation, China, recognizing the fact that the Soviet Union is overall on the offensive is giving special emphasis to making use of contradictions—even those between the U.S. and Soviet imperialists—to place obstacles in the path of Soviet expansion. This China does in order to delay the outbreak of war and to make the conditions more favorable for the masses of people and their revolutionary leadership to develop their struggles, strengthen their forces and get prepared to continue the struggle under the conditions of world war, should it break out from superpower contention.

"The Chinese also do this in order to make it more difficult to launch an attack on China. And as a part of strengthening the forces of the working class and its allies worldwide, China is paying serious attention to preparing itself for defense against attack. Under the present conditions the greatest danger of such attack comes from the Soviet social-imperialists."

Again, it is one thing for China to do this and quite another for communists within an imperialist power to mechanically adopt this policy to avoid the task of developing a revolutionary strategy and tactics by using Marxism to analyze concrete conditions.

"By the same token, a working class which does not have state power, while it does not have the same ability as the socialist countries to use state to state relations, etc. to further the worldwide struggle, also does not have the necessity to make compromises with various imperialist and reactionary forces and governments, in the same way as the socialist states do in order to make use of contradictions, etc." (Same article)

With the contradiction of a war between imperialist

bandits looming, can making a revolutionary strategy of "national defense" advance the interests of the proletariat of the Western European countries or the U.S.? It doesn't matter whether it is used to imply openly uniting with the bourgeoisie or to say the bourgeoisie will somehow betray the interests of its own nation so the workers must uphold them. In either case the argument literally cries aloud for *class analysis*.

Whose interests are the "nation's"? Is there no monopoly class? Has this class no dictatorship, no state apparatus? Has it no armed forces? Are these armed forces not used to threaten and crush the struggle of the working class and masses as well as for protection and aggression against neighbors and rivals? How in the hell can the working class advance its interests by standing up for all this?

If "national independence" means independence from any superpower control and exploitation it can be achieved only two ways. One way is as a byproduct of working class revolution and the construction of socialism. If this is what is meant, communists should not be organizing for it under the national flag, because in long established imperialist countries national ideology is a tool "now being utilized in a totally different and imperialist epoch by the sophists of the bourgeoisie, and by the traitors to socialism who are following in their wake, so as to split the workers, and divert them from their class aims and from the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie." (Lenin, "Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad," *Collected Works* Vol 21, p. 160)

If bourgeois rule is not overthrown, the only way one of these lesser imperialist countries can ever be qualitatively more "independent" is to be more powerful than imperialists now trying to dominate them! Should the working class really be fighting to see that Japan, for example, or a re-united imperialist Germany, becomes a new superpower?

It does not matter if lip service is rendered to the goal of proletarian revolution, so long as the political line steers the masses away from it. Thus we are confronted with the absurdity of the October League asserting in the August 2 *Call* that "it is only by aiming the main blow against the revisionists and their social-imperialist masters that the fight to overthrow U.S. imperialism can be brought to a victorious conclusion." Overthrow U.S. imperialism by aiming our main blow at the rival it is preparing for war against? Come again? The future efforts by the ideological acrobats of the October League to *explain* this interesting thesis should be spectacular.

### What World War 2 Teaches

One final justification offered for this line is based in comparisons to history. The USSR is just like Hitler Germany, it goes, and wasn't Hitler Germany the main enemy of the world's people? Bearing in mind that revolution can be made only by concrete analysis of concrete conditions and not simply by historical analogy, there is still much to be learned from the comparison that is offered.

Yes, the Soviet Union, like Japan or the Third Reich in the 1930s is an up and coming imperialist power, desperate to increase its piece of the action, to "expand or die." It too is under the fascist form of bourgeois dictatorship, spends a great portion of its GNP on military preparations, has fifth columns in the countries upon which it has designs, etc., etc. But these characteristics do not make the Soviet Union a "greater evil" than the U.S. now, any more than they made Germany a "greater evil" than France or Britain when World War 2 broke out in 1939.

Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the Chinese revolution and the international working class, declared at that time, "On whichever side, the Anglo-French or the German, the war that has just broken out is an unjust, predatory and imperialist war." ("The Identity of Interests Between the Soviet Union and All Mankind," *Selected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 277)

This class analysis was the key to the situation. It made no real difference in the character of the war that in Germany the capitalists ruled by naked terror, while in France and Britain the bourgeois dictatorship was in the guise of a democratic republic.

In fact, World War 2 is a good example of how different contradictions must be resolved by different means. The character of the war changed with the invasion of the Soviet Union by Germany on June 22, 1941. The imperialists did not change their nature—both blocs remained imperialist to the core.

Again class analysis provides the key to understanding the situation. With the invasion, the overall character of the war became determined by the contradiction between a state "under the dictatorship of the proletariat and states under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." (Communist Party of China, *Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, p. 7) The Axis powers and Germany in particular then became the main enemy. In different countries, "communists grasped the necessity of entering the war on the same side as the imperialist bloc that had been forced to ally with the Soviet Union and turned this necessity into freedom. They took advantage of the split in the imperialist camp and the alliance of one bloc with the Soviet Union, to fight for leadership of the struggle against the Axis, and use that leadership to advance the struggle to socialism. Within a few years of the end of World War 2 the socialist camp had grown to a dozen countries." (This is from an article focusing on the history of the proletarian line on war in the May 15, 1976 *Revolution*.)

In the course of a new world war such a change could conceivably occur again. If either superpower were to attack China, the working class of every country would act to defend the People's Republic as part of the overall task of building the struggle for working class rule around the world. The overall concrete situation at the time would determine what form this defense would take.

In any case, the workers will be ill-equipped to grasp and implement a quick change in strategy like that of World War 2, should it be required, unless communists have worked to help them understand the situation po-

litically, in class terms, and how the central question is advancing the struggle of the proletariat toward the goal of socialist revolution through whatever twists and turns the situation may take.

### The Real "Lesser Evil"

Communists must work to fill the workers with class understanding of and further develop their class hatred for the whole system of imperialism and particularly their own capitalists, not with misleading nonsense about how those selfsame capitalists should be supported as the "lesser of two evils."

To take this last course condemns the workers to perpetually side with one bourgeois bandit against another and always at the expense of carrying their struggle through to victory.

As Lenin pointed out, the revolutionary working class movement "will remain true to itself only if it joins neither one nor the other imperialist bourgeoisie

only if it says that the two sides are equally bad, and if it wishes the defeat of the imperialist bourgeoisie." ("Under a False Flag," *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 144)

Further he pointed out that the workers in every country have a special need and duty to work for the defeat and the overthrow of their own rulers. Applying this to the tasks of the Russian workers, he wrote, "We consider the defeat of Russia the lesser evil in all conditions." ("Conference of R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad," *Collected Works*, Vol 21, p. 163)

In the event of a new world war like the one shaping up now—a vicious and predatory combat over which set of imperialists will be the number one plunderer of the people—communists in the Western capitalist countries and, in particular in the U.S., will learn from Lenin to organize the masses of workers and their allies to welcome the only real "lesser evil"—the defeat of their own capitalist class—and pave the way for the greatest good—working class revolution. ■

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## Appendix

*This article appeared before the recent upsurge in Azania (South Africa) and Kissinger's latest flurry of diplomatic activity resulting in the abortive announcement of a "settlement" of the struggle in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). Nevertheless the analysis in this article of the imperialist contention in the area and the growing national liberation struggles remains the basis for understanding developments in southern Africa.*

# Can a Leopard Change His Spots? U.S. Tries "New Policy" in Africa

1969—Presidential advisor Henry Kissinger defines U.S. policy in Southern Africa in a secret memo to Nixon. It opposes any support for African liberation struggles, declares that "The whites are here to stay and the only way that productive change can come about is through them," and calls for "closer relations with the white-dominated states."

1976—Secretary of State Henry Kissinger flies to Southern Africa for the first time. Speaking to newsmen as "a senior government official" he says the U.S. will provide "economic, moral and political aid" to liberation movements and hints at military aid too. In a major speech in Lusaka, Zambia, he declares complete opposition to the white settler government of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), calls for "majority rule within two years" there and warns South Africa that the segregationist *apartheid* system must end.

### Can a Leopard Change His Spots?

What miraculous development is this? Can U.S. imperialism have changed its nature to take the side of the liberation struggles of the African masses? Hardly! Rather this development is a move by the U.S. ruling class to cut its losses in Southern Africa—the ones it has already suffered in Angola and the ones that loom on the horizon in Namibia (South West Africa), Azania (South Africa) and most immediately in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

In fact, Kissinger's "Lusaka doctrine," as it's being called by the press, shows that the U.S. is still committed to the present regime in South Africa. The point of the "meaningful changes" the U.S. is demanding—basically elimination of the most blatant barbarisms of the *apartheid* system and a few token blacks in government—is to undercut internal and external opposition to the South African government by making it appear to be an advocate of "progress," even if at a snail's pace. The heart of the U.S. policy in Southern Africa, however, is not preserving white rule, but keeping in power an exploiting class that will open its arms to U.S. imperialist plunder of the area. The U.S. ruling class will go along with changes necessary to in-

sure the minimum of interference with its investments and profits, scheming all the while to extend its control.

### Zimbabwe—Focus of Struggle

This is clear in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) where the U.S. can no longer hang on too tightly to the minority white settler government of Ian Smith, which faces collapse under the blows of the liberation struggle of the African masses. In fact, Zimbabwe is the next test in Africa not only for the U.S. imperialists, but for their opposite numbers in the Soviet Union, the new bourgeoisie there.

Rhodesia is an "independent" former colony of Britain with 275,000 white settlers, where an all-white government maintains traditional colonial rule over 6,000,000 black Africans. This setup has been under increasing pressure from a growing national liberation movement engaged in guerilla warfare and other forms of struggle, and externally from independent African nations and an international trade boycott called by the United Nations.

### Armed Struggle Growing, Despite Traitors

Lately Prime Minister Ian Smith has been stalling desperately for time, opening phoney negotiations for "eventual" majority rule—he suggests a thousand years—with a few traitors to the national liberation movement, and even bringing a few traditional African chiefs into his cabinet for display purposes. Meanwhile however, the liberation forces during April were able to cut for a while both the railroad and the main highway from Zimbabwe to South Africa, the Rhodesian government's only friendly neighbor since the final liberation of Mozambique from Portuguese colonialism last year. Thousands of new liberation fighters are training in base camps in bordering nations and several African governments have indicated their willingness to provide not only supplies but military troops for an all-out push in the near future. Zimbabwe is rising

up. "Rhodesia" has had it!

As the struggle in Zimbabwe develops, it is becoming a good example of the common approach the leaders of both superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, use to try and turn the situation to their advantage (or, in the case of the U.S. especially, at least minimize losses) and to win to their camp sections of the leadership in the struggle. Basically each is trying to offer an enticing "short cut" to those struggling for the liberation of their country. From the USSR, the "short cut" is the offer of military hardware and at least 15,000 Cuban soldiers as shock troops—expendable as far as the Kremlin is concerned—to put the hardware to best use. These, they promise will cut through the Rhodesian army like cheesecake. On its part, the U.S. government's suggested "short cut" lies in trying to turn a weakness, its ties with the racist governments of Rhodesia and South Africa, into a strength—pointing out that it is in a position to twist arms and "avoid needless bloodshed." Perhaps, Kissinger implies, he can persuade Smith to agree to majority rule and with 20 times as many black voters as white, that should take care of things. At the minimum, it should be possible to keep South Africa out of any fighting, at least, Henry suggests, provided the Russians and their Cuban expeditionary force aren't invited in by the liberation forces or the African governments.

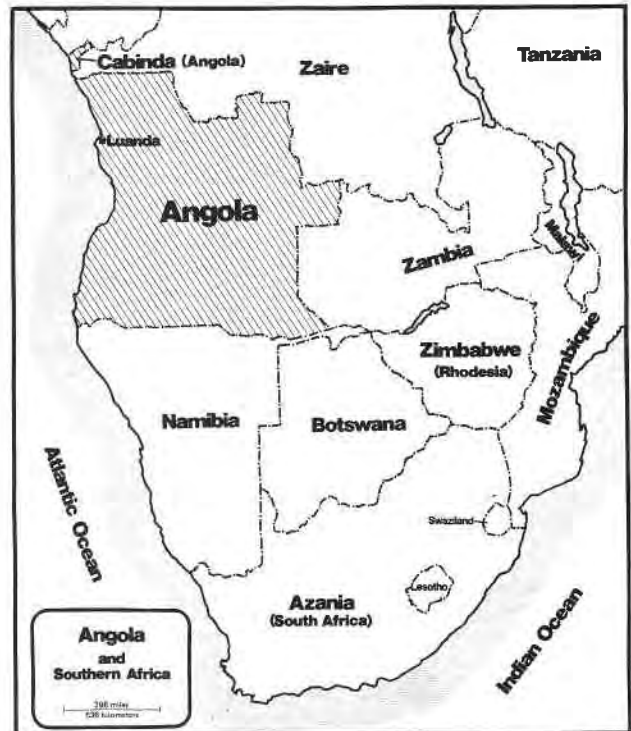
### Superpower Maneuvering in Southern Africa

The two superpowers interfere in liberation struggles like the one in Zimbabwe and seek to gain the deepest possible influence in them. This is not out of any genuine desire to aid them to victory and independence but rather to hold them back and to create the conditions to control these nations to the greatest possible extent once political independence has been won. Because of their socialist cover, the New Tsars of the USSR have an easier time extending their influence, but their motives are becoming more exposed. Some months ago, for instance, Mozambique's Premier Joachim Chissano expressed some disillusionment with Soviet "aid," saying he hoped they would not try to pressure the Angolan forces they backed the way they had his government.

The basic strategy of each superpower toward the independent nations of Africa and the Third World in general is to aid in the consolidation of a capitalist or feudal ruling class, loyal or at least tied to it.

### Nature of Independent African States

Although several independent African nations have governments that call themselves "socialist," in fact none of them are dictatorships of the proletariat. In many cases they are governed by people who led the struggle for political independence—intellectuals, professionals, colonial civil servants and military officers, patriotic merchants and businessmen and, particularly where there was protracted armed struggle, leaders from the ranks of the peasants and workers. But over time one class or another must rule. If the proletariat



does not hold power in alliance with the peasantry and the broad masses of people, a capitalist class will emerge to do so.

Even where this occurs, the government will not necessarily be subservient to imperialism. "A number of non-socialist governments in the Third World, including even some that represent the rule of the landlords and big capitalists in these countries, are to one degree or another resisting the domination of the imperialists, especially the two superpowers. While in the final analysis these forces are fighting for a bigger chunk of the exploitation of their own peoples, and while they cannot and will not fight for complete independence from imperialism," (*Programme of the RCP, USA*) nevertheless they can be united with to the extent they continue to resist imperialist domination. This is important for the working class, led by its Party, in these countries to do, as it carries on the struggle only it can lead in the final analysis—to defeat imperialism, achieve socialism and eliminate all exploitation.

### Self-Reliance or Imperialist "Aid?"

The winning of political independence from colonialism by the nations of Africa was a great setback for the imperialist system and a great victory for the world's people. However, winning political independence is only one step and cannot be maintained for long if the struggle does not go ahead. Centuries of colonial and imperialist plunder have left a legacy of poverty and economic underdevelopment in these countries. Their economies at independence were weak, scarcely industrialized and dependent on cash crops like cocoa or unprocessed mineral ores to the

U.S. and Western Europe.

As a result, one of the main questions the class struggle rages over in these nations is: what road to economic development? Depend on foreign investment and "aid" or continue to fight imperialism and practice self-reliance? This is where the two superpowers, as well as Japanese and various European imperialists, move in. As they do with the liberation movements, the imperialists offer "short cuts" to developing nations—big infusions of capital and technical know-how. This can come in the form of direct capitalist investment or "aid" with a million strings and conditions attached. The superpowers offer other kinds of "aid" besides economic, too, with the aim of increasing dependence—they will be only too happy to train and equip a country's army, help run its educational system and so on.

All this goes to "develop" the economy along capitalist and state capitalist lines, thus reinforcing capitalist relations of production and helping to consolidate a dependent capitalist class. And, needless to say, all this also goes to enrich the imperialists through

debts, "mutual trade agreements," etc. In fact, the other half of Kissinger's Lusaka doctrine consists of flashing around a fat roll of cash, offering aid here, there and everywhere, including a well-publicized seven billion dollar project to reclaim part of the Sahara Desert as farmland.

The Kissinger visit only highlights the intensity of both superpower contention and revolutionary turmoil in Southern Africa. His trip highlights imperialism's weakness, not its strength. His was a twofold task—to prevent further victories like Angola for the Soviet rivals of the class he serves and to try and protect the future of U.S. influence and investment in Southern Africa, whether by cleaning up the act of the traditional white settler governments or by finding acceptable ways to replace them.

But it is the struggle of the masses that is toppling the old order in Southern Africa, creating the battlefield on which the superpowers are clashing and it is the struggle of the masses that will determine the future there, despite the schemes of one or another imperialist to advance its interests. ■

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