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El Salvador: Nothing Satisfies Like Death-Squad Democracy

March 28. El Salvador. A heartwarming day for democrats everywhere. The unmistakable sights and sounds of an election in process titillated the senses of the U.S. observers. Helicopter gunships hovered overhead, as soldiers smartly decked out in the latest camouflage gear stood bayonets at the ready. And long, long lines, as the flock waited their turn to be searched head-to-toe, "inky-pinkied" (a marvelous American innovation for marking the fingers of voters), and waited to have their I.D. stamped so that the army would know at a glance just who had done their duty to their country and who hadn't. And what a historic privilege—to be free to choose which motherfucker's death squad would be on top when it was all over. It was a day for compassion. Why the Salvadoran Green Cross even went around telling people like those in the Santa Tecla refugee camp that people should vote "for their own safety," since it was illegal not to vote. And in San Antonio Abad, people were only beaten on election day, rather than killed outright by the dozens as they had been not much more than a month earlier. It was a day for equality. Why the loyal upper classes, tickled pink to demonstrate their support for the U.S.-backed fascists who protect their interests, stood together with the rabble they despise. Oh frabjous day! And after it all the votes would be tabulated on a U.S.-made election computer—how proper, modern and oh, so democratic.

So there certainly can be no quarrel that the Salvadoran elections were a solid and excellent expression of American democracy. One would be hard-pressed to argue with such notables on the observation team as Clark Kerr, the infamous chancellor of UC Berkeley during the Free Speech Movement who knows well the importance of the police baton among the other weapons in the arsenal of democracy. Or take his holiness Theodore Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University which coincidentally is the place where José Napoleón Duarte was trained to be a U.S. puppet—he gave his sacred blessing saying, "I've never seen a fairer election at home. I'll say that. And I think their system, while simple, was almost fool-proof—dealing with the kind of voters they had..." And the head of the team Nancy Kassebaum said, "Just very im-

pressive." Hardly surprising that these ladies and gentlemen are so proud of these elections. They even got all teary-eyed and poetic over it, with such joyous descriptions as this one from the TV, "They climbed the walls, they walked for miles, they stood for hours in the hot sun, they braved the bombs and bullets just to vote." Reagan told a story about someone who supposedly was hit by a ricocheting bullet from a guerrilla but refused to get out of line to have her wounds treated.

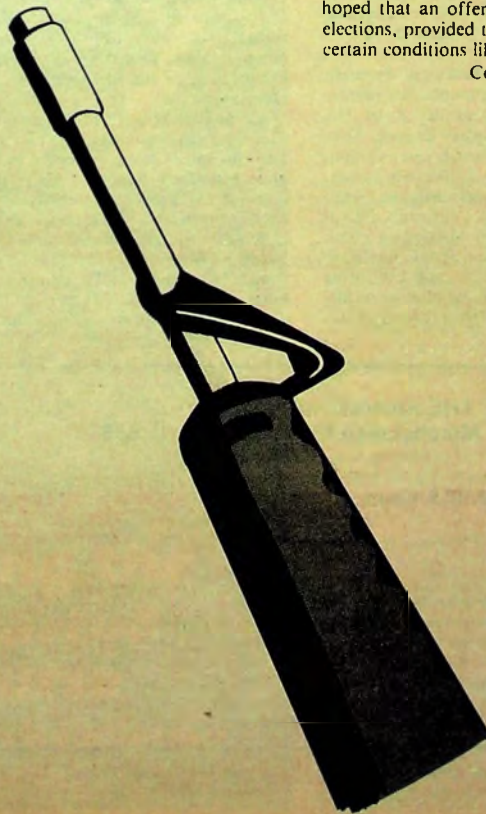
And don't forget the broad spectrum of choices the anxious electorate was offered. While unfortunately it was not possible in El Salvador, as in the case in many countries ruled by the U.S., to offer up a liberal imperialist spokesman, there were six—count 'em—alternatives to pick from. First, there was José Napoleón Duarte, the incumbent, and his Christian Democrats (PDC)—he has presided over the murders of 32,000 people in the past 2-1/2 years among many other glorious deeds on behalf of the good people in Washington, D.C. And then there was the ARENA party led by Major Bob D'Aubuisson, former chief of intelligence of the National Guard and founder of the White Warriors Union death squad. Major Bob was trained in the U.S. someplace in New York and then someplace in Virginia, and he is quite different than Duarte whom he calls a watermelon (*green* on the outside and *red* on the inside). Major Bob wants to employ napalm massively in El Salvador and openly calls for the slaughter of at least 100,000 to 200,000 of the Salvadoran people. Voters could easily remember Major Bob's symbol, a red, white and blue cross. Following these two parties you have the National Conciliation Party (PCN) which is the party of the Romero regime which was ousted in 1979 by the U.S. coup which installed a 5-man junta and then Duarte. The PCN is headed by the current defense minister and commander of the Salvadoran military, José Guillermo García. Continuing you have the party led by the founder of the government's official death squad, ORDEN and another whose slogan is "God-Order-Progress." Pity those already killed by the above didn't have a chance to vote for which one will lead the government, isn't it?

With a slate like this and guns and

bayonets in people's backs, how could the forces of democracy lose? No wonder the post-election remarks of U.S. officials and the U.S. media coverage had the distinct ring of being prepared well in advance of the actual event. But while one can only be thankful to the team of observers and all those in the U.S. ruling class for so heartily and unabashedly claiming this display of their democracy at its finest as their very own, the claims of U.S. officials that the elections demonstrate popular support for their

puppets are as ridiculous as they are transparent. As in the case with bourgeois elections everywhere, the balloting in El Salvador was not about letting the people speak and all that garbage. The whole election farce was cooked up by the U.S. and its Duarte regime simply as a tactic in their frantic political maneuverings to get on top of the situation in the country. It was especially hoped that they would become a key lever in U.S. efforts to win away certain more pro-U.S. elements in the FDR/FMLN opposition coalition, such as the large numbers of former Christian Democrats who have joined the FDR in droves and Social-Democrats like Guillermo Ungo, a former junta member and running mate of Duarte in 1972, who is now a leading figure in the FDR. It was hoped that an offer of participation in elections, provided that these forces met certain conditions like laying down their

Continued on page 16



Just Where Did Guatemala's General Get His Religion?

With eyes turned heavenward, Guatemala's fatigue-clad born-again General Rios Montt, a .45 dangling from his waist, announced on Guatemalan TV that his orders to head up the new junta came directly from "My God," and that "I am trusting my Lord and my King, that he shall guide me. Because only he gives and takes away authority." Amen, and now Rios Montt why don't you have the congregation close the service by bowing their heads and offering a prayer of grateful thanks and fervent devotion to Our Father, who art in a five-sided building in Washington, D.C.?

The U.S. government has continued to read what is, even with Rios Montt's born-again twist, a thoroughly familiar script, denying any direct responsibility for a coup. Rios Montt, however, apparently had all the information he needed from the appropriate places, and he seems to have gotten it through his religious connections in the evangelical church which he preached for in Guatemala.

This church, interestingly enough, seems to go under a number of names. The *New York Times* has it as The Church of the Complete Gospel; *Time* magazine lists it as The Christian Church of the Word—hardly a different translation; NBC news, interviewing its North American affiliate in California, calls it the Gospel Outreach Mission (a check with the National Council of Churches in both Washington, D.C. and California failed to turn up a phone number or any confirmation at all of the existence of this

name, only a puzzled, "That's odd, you'd think we'd have it here somewhere..."). Evidently this is not exactly your typical neighborhood church with its sign posted squarely out front for all to see. But what's so important about a name—after all, the Gospel Outreach Mission sounds like it might be a fitting enough billing in light of their recent outreach in Guatemala. But as long as things are so loose, we'd like to suggest another name, something more elegant like Church of the Redeemer of Latier Day Juntas.

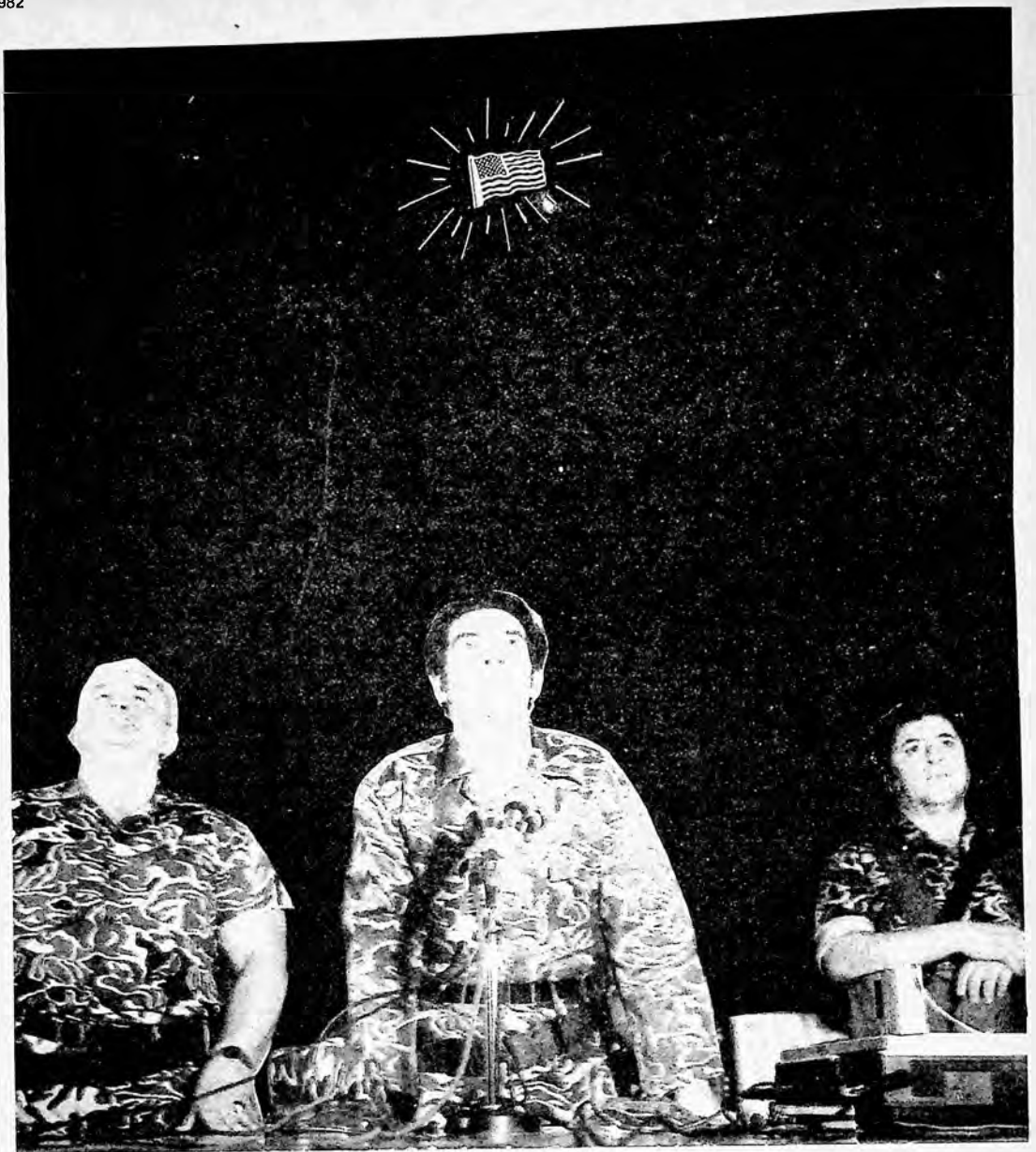
As for Rios Montt's church activity, a spokesman in Guatemala relates that last fall Rios Montt was considering running in the election, but then "during a three-day fast and prayer session we received some prophecies." The message was that "the general's time would come in the future." He should bide his time and that soon enough "we would be councillors to kings and queens." Hark, the holy vision: the cloud's parting, the sky

opening up and then a divinely-inspired trench-coated man walking up and delivering the coded telex.

On the day of the coup itself, a church spokesman told reporters that Rios Montt again joined with the Church Elders "with his eyes closed and palms uplifted in prayer" when suddenly out of the heavens dropped an army helicopter—praise the appropriate Lord—in order to pick up Rios Montt and deliver him to the National Palace. Rios Montt however chose to trust his religious brethren, and was driven to the palace to take charge in a Church van, which of course had "darkly tinted windows" to "prevent him from being spotted," and with an unnamed elder riding in the front seat with him "to witness" the unfolding events.

While the U.S. imperialists are still publicly maintaining a proper distance from Rios Montt, according to *Time* magazine, a "top U.S. official" says that at least "there is an element of hope

where previously there was none." Rios and all of his associates—even those who didn't successfully complete the Dale Carnegie course on the Powers of Positive Thinking along with him—are very hopeful. One of his exuberant relatives tried to help explain Rios: "He loves democracy, but he is so strict, so rigid, that his way of seeing democracy is, well, very undemocratic... (but) he's definitely an honest man. He will probably be a very good dictator, a benevolent dictator." Hallelujah and hosannas to the highest are no doubt ringing through the main church where the head minister and deacon Haig currently preside—but no one can really expect the Guatemalan people to fall on their knees and rejoice at 20th century feudalism with its divine right of kings ethos. As long as there's some prophetic interpretation going on, we'd like to offer some confirmation of at least one part of the general's prophecy: his time will, indeed, come. []



Rios Montt, center, flanked by two other junta members.

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More on Mao, Lin Biao & Deng

The '60s-'70s Shift

Recently, Bob Avakian responded to a number of questions from a comrade who has been involved in the revolutionary struggle throughout the decades of the '60s, '70s and into the '80s. The answers elaborate on a number of questions raised in the talk, "Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will," published as a special issue of Revolution magazine (issue No. 50). Earlier excerpts in this series dealt with questions about the party (RW issues 136-144) and about anarchism (issues 145-6) and "'60s people" (issue 147). Bob Avakian's remarks are edited from a tape. This segment began in issue 148 and will continue next week.

Why did Mao and Lin Biao come into such sharp conflict? Well, there were a lot of different reasons, having to do with the revisionist lines of Lin Biao and the fact that he refused to advance with the continuing advance of the revolution. But also there is the fact that on the international plane, his line ended up capitulationist to Soviet social-imperialism. If people have trouble understanding how Lin Biao could be anti-Soviet in the way that is reflected in *Long Live the Victory of People's War*, but not be a thoroughgoing anti-Soviet revisionist, they should look at people who in the '60s were against Soviet revisionism and now are apologists for Soviet revisionism. That phenomenon is significant in the movement in the U.S. and around the world. Some of the forces who were in leadership of national liberation struggles—whether in Palestine, Africa, Latin America, Asia, a number of places—with the changing expression of the contradictions in the world and the shifting forces, have gone over to being pro-Soviet and apologists for Soviet imperialism at a time when it's pushing out much more aggressively in confrontation with the U.S. and its bloc in the world. In the "Basic Principles..."* document we called attention to this type of force. And Lin Biao was a major exponent of this view—the view that the Soviet Union was bad, it was revisionist, but it was socialist, and a bad socialist country or a revisionist socialist country is better than an imperialist country.

Look at the CWP [Communist Workers Party] in the U.S. today. That's their position. If you want to understand this phenomenon, they are also people who in their best expression have been radical democrats and radical nationalists. I hesitate to call them revolutionary nationalists. Maybe some of them have revolutionary sentiments. They are bourgeois democrats in the final analysis. If you want to take the U.S. movement, again they're a good example of this phenomenon of Lin Biaoism, although at this point their line is not the same as Lin Biao's. And if Lin Biao had survived to this point, his line might not be the same either. Or if he did cling to that line he would be an insignificant figure because there's not the same kind of basis for that line as there was then.

Lin Biao and Mao came into conflict because already by the early '70s, even by '71, which is as long as Lin Biao hung around, that kind of line was already beginning to run up against its limitations. There was a shift going on. In retrospect you can see it a lot more clearly; U.S. imperialism, while it was still trying to win the war in Vietnam, was also moving toward a position of trying to get out of Vietnam on the least damaging basis to its international interests and position. There already was that kind of maneuvering beginning, which became tied up with the contradictions between China and the Soviet

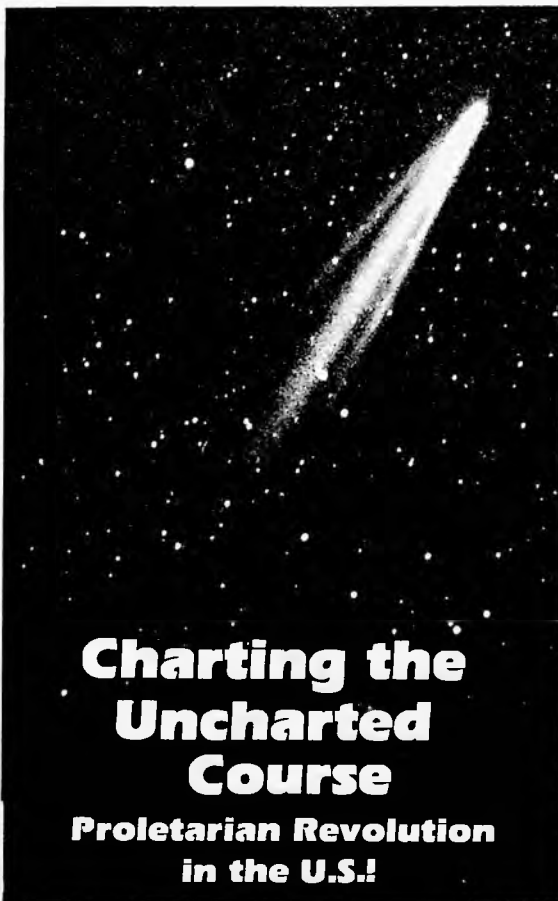
Union, China and the U.S., and the U.S. and the Soviet Union. All these different contradictions interpenetrated. Lin Biao basically thought that it was better to ally with the Soviets and on that basis "support" the Vietnamese than it was to enter into certain relations and even a certain kind of alliance with the U.S. to deal with the Soviet threat.

To this day, and looking back over these events, I still can't say that in principle the idea of entering into certain agreements with the U.S. to deal with the Soviet threat to China, especially agreements in a more limited tactical sense, was in and of itself wrong—or would be wrong as a matter of principle. In other words, when we analyze what China was doing and when we try to evaluate its policies, we have to actually analyze the necessity it was up against. Then we can determine whether it kept the larger picture in mind and whether it correctly dealt not only with the necessity that it faced but the objective conditions and the necessity facing the international proletariat as a whole. There were significant errors made, that's obvious. But there was a situation where I think it's very clear the Soviets were planning to launch a major attack on China, very probably a nuclear attack to knock out China's developing nuclear installations, and very probably other facilities besides. It was a real threat and a real danger, and it was an immediate one. Nixon in his memoirs says that the Soviets were at the point of

testing to see what would be the U.S. response if they went ahead and did this, and that means they were quite serious about it. So it's wrong to condemn the Chinese out of hand and state as a matter of principle in an absolute way that they should not have made certain temporary agreements with the U.S. and that this represented betrayal of principle and of revolution and of the interests of the international proletariat. Now that's one thing.

On the other hand, the line that developed was an attempt by Mao to apply the lessons of the anti-Japanese war in China in different circumstances and on a world scale. I was saying earlier (see last issue—RW) that Mao influenced Lin Biao, and Lin Biao and the conditions that made unity with Lin Biao possible and necessary (at least up to a certain point) influenced Mao in turn. So here on the other side, unity of a sort and up to a point became possible with Zhou Enlai and the kind of forces he represented; and Mao fought to maintain the correct line in command and influence those people, or to impose certain conditions, limitations and necessity on them. But they also did the same with him, and you can't say there was no influence. I'm not talking about some sort of metaphysical process where things rub off on people because they have contact with each other and you have no freedom to influence to what degree and in

(Continued on page 18)



Charting the Uncharted Course Proletarian Revolution in the U.S.!

Reprinted from a section of the report from the 1980 Central Committee Meeting of the RCP, USA

"The point is to challenge old, economist conceptions of what an insurrection and civil war is. We have to get away from straight-jacketing preconceptions of the sort that the enemy is 100 families and that millions upon millions will surround them [after a round of successful general strikes]. In 'Guerrilla Warfare' Lenin wrote, 'The forms of struggle in the Russian revolution are distinguished by their colossal variety as compared with the bourgeois revolutions in Europe, Kautsky partly foretold this in 1902 when he said that the future revolution [with the exception perhaps of Russia, he added] would be not so much a struggle of the people against the government as a struggle between two sections of the people...'"

"Historically, having a majority working class has always been viewed as an advantage for the revolution in a certain sense, it is. But isn't there some strategic significance to this fact? Isn't it more difficult to win this whole class to a revolutionary banner? Doesn't it mean we have to look at the strategic significance of the stratification within the working class itself, even within the industrial proletariat?"

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* "Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and for the Line of the International Communist Movement", a draft position paper for discussion prepared by the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, Jan. 1, 1981.

Spring Thunder at Naxalbari

In May 1967, spring thunder broke out in Naxalbari, India. It was unleashed by poor and landless peasants, tea plantation workers, tribal people whose routine for generations was humiliation. They armed themselves with bows and spears, snatching guns when they could, and with the most advanced ideas—Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. Led by revolutionary communists in an uprising inseparable from the revolt against revisionism raging throughout the world, inspired by the Chinese Cultural Revolution despite the fact that India had recently been at war with China, these peasants were seized with the idea not just of taking land, but of taking power and changing the whole earth.

A glimpse of what they stood up against is given by an Indian journalist: "The small peasants, to begin with, were gradually being pauperised. They were too poor to feed themselves, let alone the soil, which needed inputs like irrigation and fertilizers that were too expensive for the subsistence peasants. At first they mortgaged their small plots to the big landlords, and later had to sell them, reducing themselves to the position of tenants or sharecroppers..."

"Dispossessed of the land, and reduced to a tenant, the erstwhile small peasant now entered an even more precarious stage of existence. In many states, his rights were not even nominally defined by law, and the rent he had to pay to the big landlord was exorbitant, ranging between one-half and two-thirds of the crop he produced. In some places, it was as high as 70-80% of the crop. In some areas, the landlord provided him with implements, like a plowshare and a pair of bollocks (oxen), in some other areas, he had to use his own, if he had any, or rent them from someone..."

"Forms of exploitation of the tenants were varied. 'Begar' or forced work for

the landlord's private chores, and imposition of levies on the tenants to make them bear the costs of ceremonies in their employer's house on special occasions, were fairly common in the countryside.

"But at the lowest rung of the rural hierarchy were the rural laborers or landless peasants. (The author goes on to describe how "terrifying" poverty drove the landless laborers into the arms of the money lenders, to whom they became virtual slaves under the system of bonded labor.)

"Besides poverty, the rural poor also suffered from social exploitation and oppression, since a large number of them also belonged to lower castes and the aboriginal (tribal) community... I remember having met some landless laborers belonging to the Chamar caste, who worked the farms of the local big landlords, but were not allowed to draw water from the village well which was reserved for the upper castes. They were not even permitted to enter the compounds of the house of their employer—pukka houses made of bricks and cement, often fitted with the latest gadgets, standing in sharp contrast to the dingy hovels where the landless were condemned to live. In South India villages, lynching and burning of low-caste peasants on the flimsiest excuses, reminiscent of the witch-hunting days of the Inquisition, were common occurrences." (From *In the Wake of Naxalbari*, by Sumanta Banerjee, Subarnarekha, 1980.)

The myth that "rural India had always been a mass of sleeping villages, accepting and acquiescing in every form of injustice and oppression," exploded forever in Naxalbari, in the northern part of West Bengal, near the border with Nepal. There had been land reform movements. A new state government which included the Communist Party of India (Marxist) repeated the old promises. But revolu-

tionary communists within the CPI(M), drawn to Mao's line in the international debates against revisionism and inspired especially by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, were breaking with the revisionist party. Under their leadership, the upsurge in Naxalbari broke the bonds of parliamentarism and economism.

"From March 1967 to April 1967 all the villages were organized. From 15,000 to 20,000 peasants were enrolled as whole-time activists. Peasants' committees were formed in every village and they were transformed into armed guards. They soon occupied land in the name of the peasants' committees, burnt all the land records 'which had been used to cheat them of their due,' cancelled all hypothecary debts (mortgages), passed death sentences on oppressive landlords, formed armed bands by looting guns from the landlords, armed themselves with conventional weapons like bows and arrows and spears, and set up a parallel administration to look after the villages... By May that year, the rebels could claim as their strongholds Hatighisha under the Naxalbari police station, Buraganj under the Kharibari police station, and Chowpukhuriya under Phansidew police station, where no outsider could enter without their permission."

For three months the old way was driven out. In 2,000 villages around Naxalbari, the revolutionary mass organization of peasants held political power, administering affairs according to their revolutionary interests under the leadership of the communist revolutionaries. In July, the government's encirclement and suppression campaign finally snatched back that political power. But the Naxalbari movement flared throughout the length and breadth of India. In May 1969, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was formed, founded

by Charu Mazumdar.

"You are not considered a man at all," writes another Indian journalist. "Born a slave, your life is strictly tied to spade, sickle and the lord's feet. You produce everything that the lord boasts of, yet your children are drumming the aluminum plates. Everyday one landlord or the other takes away your wife and daughters. If your working daughter is not spoiled in the fields in the day, the son of some lord will break into your single-room mud hovel in the night and humiliate her right there; for you the best course is to feign deep slumber. How long, you will ask yourselves, will I live like this? Is this my fate? No! And that means Naxalbari... 'Naxalite' had become, in the vocabulary of the police and landlords, a word to describe any landless or poor peasant walking with his head high and talking like a man, not as a slave." (From *Naxalbari And After*, a Frontier anthology, Kathashilpa, 1978.)

From Naxalbari there arose a flame which drew in many millions of peasants, proletarian revolutionaries who led battles in the fields and hills and in the cities, students who went to the countryside at least a million strong, and so on. They shook India's landlords and capitalists and the imperialist masters who keep India what it is today, and challenged everything reactionary, from landlords to literature, from the moneylender to the revisionist rulers of Russia and their Indian would-be counterparts. When U.S. Secretary of Defense McNamara landed in Calcutta, a massive and violent demonstration at the airport against U.S. imperialism and in support of the Vietnamese people forced him to take off again.

The Naxalbari movement was put down in the early 1970s. At least 10,000 men and women gave their lives for its revolutionary goals and many times more

Continued on page 12

WE ONLY WANT THE EARTH!

Comrades:

I came across this poem on a bulletin of Irish history in a local college and liked it; it is from a book or collection called Songs of Freedom and was written (or published, it's not clear which) in 1907.

—D., a New York Youth

WE ONLY WANT THE EARTH

*Some men, faint-hearted, ever seek
Our programme to retouch,
And will insist, whene'er they speak
That we demand too much.
'Tis passing strange, yet I declare
Such statements give me mirth,
For our demands most moderate are,
We only want the earth.*

*'Be moderate' the timmers cry
Who dread the tyrants' thunder.
'You ask too much and people fly
From you aghast in wonder.'
'Tis passing strange, for I declare
Such statements give me mirth,
For our demands most moderate are,
We only want the earth.*

*Our masters all a godly crew,
Whose hearts throb for the poor,
Their sympathies assure us, too,
If our demands were fewer.
Most generous souls! But please observe
What they enjoy from birth
Is all we ever had the nerve
To ask, that is, the earth.*

*The 'Labour Fakir' full of guile,
base doctrine ever preaches,
And whilst he bleeds the rank and file,
Tame moderation teaches.
Yet, in despite, we'll see the day
when, with sword in its girth,
Labour shall march in war array
To realize its own, the earth.*

*For Labour long, with sighs and tears,
to its oppressor knelt.
But never yet, to aught save fears,
Did the heart of tyrant melt.
We need not kneel, our cause no dearth
of loyal soldiers' needs
And our victorious rally cry
Shall be we want the earth!*



A Catholic section in Northern Ireland, British troops, Irish youth.

International Financial Ills: Large Scope for Contagion

One of the most extraordinary events of the past year has been the relative dearth of comment from within both financial and administration circles about the rapidly deteriorating state of world financial markets and institutions. Of course, there is squawking in Congress over high interest rates, an occasional cover story in *Newsweek* on the problems of the savings and loans banks and even surveys in *Business Week* which point nervously to some "soft spots" in the structure of international finance. But compared with the alarms that went off in the early 1970s when the gold/dollar standard was officially scotched or the dire warnings sounded in 1978 when a massive bolt from the dollar in the overseas currency markets nearly detonated a financial panic, the official stance of the U.S. imperialists is presently one of measured calm. Could there be a financial collapse? Here, in compressed form, is the argument routinely put forward to allay any fears—and it is patently designed for public consumption: The international financial system has shown remarkable resiliency in the past decade; in 1973 and 1979 it withstood oil price shocks; it has grown in spite of two major bank failures (one a German, the other an American bank) in the early 1970s and endured in spite of various third world debt reschedulings. The reasoning is as calculatingly deceptive as it is tautological, i.e. there can be no collapse since there has been no collapse.

The international banking and monetary system is beset with grave difficulties. In point of fact, the prospect of mounting financial disorder is of major concern to policy-planners at the highest levels, and desperate, if unreported, shoring-up action is taking place. Things have greatly worsened since the early 1970s. Both the further ballooning of the financial superstructure and the stop-gap measures to prevent its bursting are playing themselves out. But exactly on account of intensifying crisis and sharpening rivalry between the two imperialist blocs, the focus of attention and repair within the U.S.-led bloc has shifted very directly and immediately into the political and, especially, military spheres. Nevertheless, the financial structure that is at once a sort of lubricant and glue for the bloc remains a concentration point of economic contradictions and is by no means immune to a major snap, the shockwaves from which would be profoundly felt through the world economy. And the stability—or lack of stability—of this structure interacts with the broader tightening and war preparations that are on the imperialist agenda.

The alarm of the early '70s and the ostensible calm of today are essentially flip-sides of the same pragmatism. A collapse is certainly more likely in the current period than it was ten years ago, but it is not imminent next month. However, neither is it out of the question before and while the imperialists are building towards war. Some of the events taking place today foreshadow the potential for such shocks and the sudden sharpening of revolutionary possibilities. In what follows, this financial crisis will be briefly examined and situated in this larger context. Before turning to some of the more current manifestations of this crisis, some introductory, theoretical comments are in order.

Finance Capital

With the rise of imperialism, finance capital emerges as the dominant force in the accumulation process. Finance capital is not institutionally reducible to a bank or corporation, nor is it simply a matter of credit operations. The piling up of debt is a normal accompaniment to capitalist accumulation. Credit promotes the expansion of production and circulation by lessening the dependence of capitals on direct and immediate money payments and by allowing particular capitals to draw on a pool of surplus value, in the form of loans from banks, which is far greater than the surplus value

that is generated within their own operations. The credit extended between capitalists and advanced as loan capital is predicated on the regularity of returns, that is, the process of continued expansion which assures the capacity to repay.

But finance capital is more than this. It interpenetrates banking and industrial entities, without being locked into any mode of activity; it straddles the circuits of money, commodity and productive capital, and it extracts surplus value from different sites of accumulation. In a word, finance capital stands above these things and plays a special role. The imperialists are primarily engaged in a process of financial centralization—merging surplus value from diverse sources, through a network of international interconnections, into a highly centralized and fluid capital that can be readily shifted and flexibly applied. What is involved is a dialectic of the centralization out of and the reallocation of capital into highly complex and overlapping circuits. Financial operations and this process of financial centralization are not primarily matters of manipulation or swindle, but represent the necessary means to sustain satisfactory rates of accumulation of enormous blocs of highly internationalized capitals.

Nevertheless, however mobile and flexible and far removed from production proper finance capital is (in the concentration of wealth in the highly abstract form of claims to surplus value) and however far-reaching and seemingly "artificial" the imperialist state's stimuli might be, all this is grounded in the real production of values. Finance capital is more immediately operating in the realm of monetary operations, but the alpha and omega of accumulation remains productive capital and finance capital must concern itself with its profitability. By channelling capital into profitable domains and achieving higher levels of integration, finance capital pushes forward the process of accumulation, but this is something which in its international dimensions ultimately turns into its opposite and undermines itself. Accumulation is an international process which takes place within the framework of a specific political division of the world. The anarchic character of capital finds concentrated expression as the contradiction between nationally based capitals which must accumulate internationally. Crisis cannot be understood as something arising from the internal motion of accumulation in the imperialist countries, looked at separately and taken by themselves, but arises out of the interaction of the laws of accumulation with changes in international relations, including political struggles. With these points in mind, let us briefly survey the latest rumblings of financial disorder.

Three Pressure Points of Crisis

Basically there are three major sources of pressure and disturbance to the inter-

national financial system. First, exceptionally high and volatile domestic and international interest rates have combined with unstable currency exchange rates in a period of bloc-wide recession to produce serious strains in the corporate and banking sectors of the advanced capitalist economies. The Italian banking system has been wobbling for over a decade. But the problem has spread to countries formerly regarded as pillars of banking stability. Austria's third largest bank has been kept afloat for the past year only with extensive state guarantees, and the third largest West German bank has also required government injections. Banks borrow in order to lend and many of these difficulties arise from the maturity mismatching of assets and liabilities, that is, a loan extended by a bank may not come due for 8 years while a borrowing to fund that loan might have to be paid back in a year's time. This kind of mismatching is nothing new, in a certain sense it is what commercial banking is all about, but the cost of funding fixed interest loans can now vary by as much as ten percentage points within a matter of a few months.

Such problems are especially acute in the domestic U.S. banking system. Two years ago the First Pennsylvania Bank

almost became the largest bank casualty in American history had it not been for a major bail-out orchestrated by the Federal Reserve Bank and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. But, for the moment, the savings and loans banks have emerged as the most vulnerable segment of the banking sector. In 1981 these institutions lost \$6.5 billion—or more than the combined loss of the ailing auto and airline industries. Their capital is tied up for the most part in long-term fixed interest rate mortgages (which are not turning over on account of the slump in housing sales) and they must pay dearly for short-term funds. The Federal Reserve Bank has been quietly arranging mergers, most recently shopping for support for a large New York bank. The Brookings Institution estimates that at least one-fourth of these banks must be merged or propped up if they are to survive. Even a "blue-chip" commercial bank, like the Bank of America, has been buffeted: it saw a three-fold increase in delinquent loans from year-end 1980 to year-end 1981.

The seeming paradox of high interest rates at a time when inflation is subsiding and recession deepening is explained by the wariness of lenders to sink their

Continued on page 15

Concentration of long-term debt

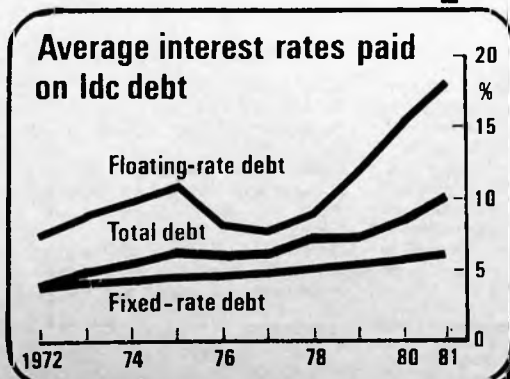
End-1980 total: \$456 bn



The thirsty 13*

THIS IS ONE OF THE MAIN REASONS WHY IT FINDS EXPRESSION... (WELL, INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT DOES PLAY A ROLE...)

Total long-term debt of developing countries has increased from \$87 billion in 1971 to \$524 billion in 1981. As can be seen, interest rates have risen and this debt is highly concentrated among a few countries.



KIDS OF THE COMMUNE



Above: Distributing literature.



Left: Even the youngest children tore up the pavement to carry bricks to build the barricades.

Below: A seaman teaches a street youth how to fire cannons.



Youth—in every revolutionary upsurge they play a vital role, plunging forward and adding their indispensable passion to tear up the old ways to the ferment! And so it was in the Paris Commune, the first proletarian revolution and dictatorship, arising in March 1871. Although historians have generally ignored the role of youth in the Commune, enough hints and incidents have filtered through to give a glimpse of their participation.

Youth were involved in many aspects of the Commune, but most notable (or most noted) was the part they played in the fighting. Reprinted page 7, for instance, is a Commune newspaper report of an incident which took place during the fighting that went on almost continuously during the Commune's existence as it beat back the military attacks of the bourgeoisie headquartered in Versailles. Or, again, the last issue of the *Official Journal* of the Commune (May 27, 1871) reported how, as the Versailles troops advanced into Paris, in one street a barricade was raised in a few hours "by

fifteen children whose highest age was no more than fourteen."

Many young fighters came from families of Communards, like the 16-year-old son of a National Guardsman (Commune soldier) whose father wrote the Commune's military commission saying that his son "desires with all his heart to be enrolled in no matter what battalion; for he has sworn to his brothers and to me that he will take up arms to sustain our young Republic against the hangmen of Versailles." But there were also thousands of Parisian youth who had no family, or who had left their families, and who lived on the streets.

When the bourgeoisie finally recaptured Paris, they went on a rampage killing tens of thousands of proletarian men, women, youth—whoever appeared rebellious—and hauled thousands more off to stand trial before military tribunals, including some 660 youth. The interrogations of some of these "street urchins" reveal some facts about their lives:

Colonel Boisdemetz: Druet, what did your father do?

Druet: He was a mechanic.

Boisdemetz: Why didn't you go to work like him?

Druet: Because there was no work for me.

Boisdemetz: Cagnoncle, were you a ward of the Commune?

Cagnoncle: Yes.

Boisdemetz: Why did you leave your family?

Cagnoncle: Because there wasn't any bread.

Boisdemetz: Did you fire many shots?

Cagnoncle: Fifty or so.

Boisdemetz: Lescot, why did you leave your mother?

Lescot: Because she couldn't feed me.

Boisdemetz: How many children were you?

Lescot: Three.

Boisdemetz: Were you wounded?

Lescot: Yes, by a bullet in the head.

Boisdemetz: Lamarre, you too, you left your family?

Lamarre: Yes sir, it was hunger.

Boisdemetz: And where have you been, then?

Lamarre: At the barracks to sign up.

When the Colonel asked Cagnoncle if he was a ward of the Commune, this was more than just a phrase. The street youth who were being tried were known as the *pupilles* ("wards") or "children of the Commune." They formed a special corps, and those who were not killed at the barricades were captured guns in hand. These youth, whom the bourgeoisie regarded as part of the riffraff and refuse of society, had nothing to lose but their chains. The Commune became their "family", imbued in them a vision of the future, and regarded them as one of its precious assets.

One eyewitness reported how after the Commune's defeat, as the Versailles troops forced along a group of prisoners ranging in age from six to twelve, a bourgeois and reactionary mob shouted, "To death, to death. They will be insurgents later." These vicious dinosaurs apparently could not grasp that these were *already* insurgent youth—and certainly not the last.

A quotation taken from *La Commune of the 12th April*—

“On Thursday the 6th, at the moment when the 26th battalion of St. Ouen defended the barricade of the cross-roads, a child, V. Thiebault, fourteen years old, ran up amidst the balls in order to give the defenders something to drink. The shells having forced the Federals to fall back, they were about to sacrifice the victuals of the battalion, when the child, in spite of the shells, sprang towards a barrel of wine, which he staved in, crying, ‘At any rate they shall not drink our wine.’ At the same ins-

tant, seizing the rifle of a Federal who had just fallen, he charged it, took aim, and killed an officer of the gendarmes. Then perceiving a waggon with two horses harnessed to it whose driver had just been wounded, he mounted the horses and saved the waggon.—Eugene Léon Vanvière, thirteen and a half years old, contrived to save the guns at the outpost of the Porte-Meillot, in spite of his wound.”



Above: March 18, 1871: Communards retake the cannons from the French army. When the French General Lecomte orders the army to fire on the Communards, the soldiers refuse, even though he threatens to shoot them, and the general himself is arrested. The Parisian National Guard, composed of workers and masses of the city seize power in Paris as the French national government flees to Versailles.



Left: a Youth confronts the Versailles troops as they lead off some of the first prisoners taken at the fall of the Commune.

Below: Some of the 660 “Wards of the Commune” imprisoned for their role in the revolution.



The Red Prisoners of Cherm

This excerpt is taken from Through the Russian Revolution, an eyewitness account of the early days in 1917 and 1918 of the revolution, by Albert Rhys Williams. Williams went to Russia as a foreign correspondent for a progressive U.S. magazine. He was profoundly influenced by what he saw there, and proceeded to take part with John Reed in helping to put out revolutionary propaganda aimed at British and American soldiers who were stationed in Russia at that time. Later he helped organize the Internationalist Legion of the Red Army, people from dozens of countries who fought alongside the people of Russia to spread and defend the revolution. The following excerpt takes place as Williams, together with Charles Kuntz, a New Jersey farmer and internationalist, are leaving Russia through Siberia, since the more direct routes through Europe were virtually sealed off by an imperialist blockade. Cherm (now Chermkhovo), is located in far eastern Siberia, above Mongolia and near Lake Baikal.

The Emigrés' View of the Revolution

Already our fellow passengers are stretched out in their compartments, sipping tea and smoking cigarettes. In our car are about twenty landowners, speculators, war-profiteers, ex-officers in mili-

ti, evicted officials, and three over-painted ladies — all members or retainers of the old privileged class.

Their ancient privileges are gone. But life still has its glamor. Even now, are they not engaged in the thrilling adventure known amongst their fellow-émigrés as "Escaping out of the bloody clutches of the Bolsheviks"? And before them, a few weeks hence, lies another thrilling adventure in the salons of Paris, London and Washington, recounting the terrors and perils of their escape.

That it was an escape *de luxe* in an International sleeper, with excellent beds, dining-car and porter inclusive, will be omitted from their tales. Other details will be inserted however — little figments about Bolshevik murders, rapes and robberies. Every émigré must have his atrocity. At all costs his escape must be harrowing and dramatic. Otherwise no thrill for the jaded palates of the western democracies.

Supplied with Bolshevik passports, stamped with a Bolshevik seal, these émigrés were driven to the station by Bolshevik cabmen; aided by Bolshevik porters they boarded this train, whose conductor, brakeman and engineer belonged to the Bolshevik faith. Riding now over a track tended by Bolshevik laborers, guarded by Bolshevik soldiers, guided by Bolshevik switchmen, and fed by Bolshevik waiters, they while away their hours in

cursing these self-same Bolsheviks as bandits and cutthroats. A curious spectacle! Damning, reviling, execrating the very ones upon whom they depend for food, shelter, travel — for the very breath they draw. For every member of this train-crew is a Bolshevik — all except the porter (*provodnik*).

He had the soul of a flunkey, and the creed of a monarchist. Tho of peasant origin, he was more Czaristic than the Czar himself. All the émigrés he still addressed as "my lords!" (*barin*).

"You see, my lords!" he said, "we dark people are a lazy, shiftless lot. Give us a bottle of vodka and we are happy. We don't need more freedom. We need a club over us to keep us at work. We need a Czar."

The Red Convicts of Cherm

The émigrés on our train had many points of conflict. But on one point they agreed: the grave danger lying ahead of us in Cherm, the great penal colony of Siberia.

"Fifteen thousand convicts in Cherm," they said. "Criminals of the worst stripe — thugs, thieves and murderers. The only way to deal with them is to put them in the mines and keep them there at the point of the gun. Even so, it is too much liberty for them. Every week there are scores of thefts and stabbings. Now most

of these devils have been turned loose, and they have turned Bolshevik. It always was a hell-hole. What it is now God only knows."

It was a raw bleak morning on the first of May, when we rode into Cherm (Chermkhovo). A curtain of dust, blown up by a wind from the north, hung over the place. Curled up in our compartment half asleep, we woke to the cry, "They're coming! They're coming!" We peered thru the window. Far as we could see nothing was coming but a whirling cloud of dust. Then thru the dust we made out a glint of red, the gray of glittering steel, and vague, black masses moving forward.

Behind drawn curtains, the émigrés went frantically hiding jewels and money, or sat paralyzed with terror. Outside, the cinders crunched under the tread of the hob-nailed boots. In what mood "they" were coming, with what lust in their blood, what weapons in their hands, no one knew. We knew only that these were the dread convicts of Cherm, "murderers, thugs and thieves" — and they were heading for the parlor-cars.

Slowly they lurched along, the wind filling their eyes with dust and soot, and wrestling with a huge blood-red banner they carried. Then came a lull in the wind, dropping the dust screen and bringing to view a motley crew.

Their clothes were black from the mines and tied up with strings, their faces grim

Continued on page 14

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Dear RW,

I would like to receive a May Day poster. I'm incarcerated in Attica Correctional Facility; also am not financially able to pay for this poster. I would be grateful if your publication would send me one.

Revolutionary Greetings,

I received the order of literature intact that you sent. I offer my heartfelt thanks to everybody at RCP Publications for allowing the light of a very revolutionary culture to shine in my cell. I have much reading to do, and learning. I will keep in touch!

On to May Day!

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* has established a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654



In a protracted campaign stretching over the last two months, the revolutionary forces of Eritrea and Tigray have delivered a stunning military defeat to the forces of the Ethiopian military junta backed by Soviet social-imperialism. The current fighting began at the end of January with an Ethiopian offensive dubbed "Operation Red Star" by junta head Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, and ended in March with the rout of the Ethiopians on all fronts. Ethiopian casualties were put at over 13,000 killed and wounded by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), combined with enormous losses in weapons and material.

Personally directing the operations from Asmara, the occupied capital of Eritrea, Col. Mengistu announced the campaign (the sixth campaign to annihilate the EPLF) in a boastful speech on Jan. 25. Referring to the fighters of the EPLF as "these pitiful dregs of history," he went on to spew out his chauvinist designs for the total conquest of Eritrea, declaring: "Comrades, I am now talking about our mother, socialist Ethiopia, revolutionary Ethiopia, the Ethiopia that is not for sale or exchange, that is not for division or secession—the everlasting great Ethiopia." It was a speech that would have made Emperor Haile Salassie, who engineered the annexation of Eritrea in league with U.S. imperialism, burst with pride. In fact, Mengistu has taken on more than a few of the royal trappings and almost as many titles as the "Conquering Lion of Judea," as he is now referred to as Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the Provisional Military Administration, chairman of the Committee to Organize the Party of the Workers of Ethiopia, Commander of the Revolutionary Army, the Enlightened One, and a True Communist Leader.

Mengistu's "Red Star" quickly dimmed, however, as the EPLF struck first on Jan. 22, attacking the Asmara airport and ammunition dump, which was followed by an even more devastating attack on the 27th which destroyed on the ground most of the campaign's Soviet supplied aircraft. In all there were five attacks on the Asmara airport during a campaign which heard almost daily announcements from the Ethiopian capital that the remnants of the EPLF "bandits" were being wiped out.

The plan of the Ethiopian attack was to advance on the EPLF base area from three directions, while using a fourth contingent of Ethiopian troops to garrison



the city. 90,000 troops were employed. The oldest base area of the EPLF is called Sahel, the mountainous area of northern Eritrea. In addition, the EPLF recently (in November) occupied the Barka region stretching along the Sudanese border south of the Sahel, as the forces of the rival Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) collapsed and retreated across the border into Sudan. The first column of the Ethiopian attack was transported by sea to the far northern coast of Eritrea. Its purpose was to cut the supply line from Port Sudan to the Sahel and advance south on the base area centered around Nakfa. The second column was to advance from the south toward Nakfa from Keren. And a third column starting from Agordat was to sweep around through Barka and advance on Nakfa from the southwest. Then in the grand dreams of the Dergue (as the Ethiopian junta is called), after the annihilation of the EPLF, the triumphant "people's army" would mop up the remaining resistance in Tigray.

The Ethiopian Dergue had every reason to expect victory—using imperialist logic, that is. They were massively armed by the Soviets, they outnumbered their opponents, they controlled the lines of communication, they were equipped with Soviet advisors down to the regimental level, and Soviet-trained pilots from South Yemen were flying their aircraft. The 20,000-odd Cuban troops gar-

risoned in the southern part of the country freed Ethiopian troops for the advance. But things didn't exactly work out the way the Dergue had planned.

The fighters of the EPLF turned first to the most isolated and exposed Ethiopian column, the one in the north which threatened their vital line of supply. Employing their own precious small armoured forces, the EPLF virtually annihilated this column in several days of fighting. So badly mauled were the Dergue's forces that they were even forced to retreat across the border into Sudan where the fighting continued. It was on this front that the Ethiopians in a desperate move to stave off defeat unleashed gas attacks, with gas shells fired from mortars, against the advancing Eritreans. All to no avail. In the end the EPLF reported Ethiopian casualties of 1,177 killed, 1,115 wounded and 55 captured on the northern front.

The EPLF next turned its attention to the column advancing from the south. This column was equally routed in a decisive battle near the town of Afabet. With the defeat of this column, the third column advancing from the southwest now lay exposed, and its advance collapsed with some units recalled to defend the major towns, some fleeing, and still others defecting to the EPLF.

At the same time the forces of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) did not stand idle. In fact they took ad-

vantage of the Dergue's preoccupation with Eritrea to launch their own offensive in a series of attacks throughout Tigray and in adjoining Wollo province. "Operation Red Star" was to have been a 7th offensive against the Tigray base area, but in the third week of February the TPLF delivered a smashing defeat to the Dergue in the Sekota region of southern Tigray. Three battalions advancing from Hanus Gebeya toward Sekota backed with tanks and big jets were routed with casualties of 383 killed (including 7 officers), 432 captured and 2 tanks destroyed. A quarter million rounds of Soviet-supplied ammunition were captured in this one engagement alone. Then following a series of other local victories, the TPLF carried the fight to the Dergue's own heartland in two battles in Bali, in Wollo. Here 600 Dergue soldiers were killed and a vital microwave relay facility was destroyed.

As the fighting in the Horn grows more bitter and more decisive, every imperialist dirty trick is being dragged out of the sewer. Recently, the European office of the Supporters of the Oromo Liberation Front received a package from agents of the Dergue which turned out to be a bomb that exploded when it was opened. This little message from Moscow killed two, injured several, and caused one person to lose both hands.

Both the U.S. and the Soviets, for reasons of their own, have done everything within their power to suppress news of the struggles taking place in the Horn of Africa. For obvious reasons.

For their part, the Soviets generally have every reason to hide their role in the continuing oppression of Eritrea and Ethiopia's nationalities. The European press has even speculated that, while backing Mengistu, the Soviets would like to keep the war going as long as possible in order to continue Mengistu's absolute dependence on Soviet arms and aid. On the other hand, the U.S., which normally leaps at the chance to play up anyone fighting against Soviet domination, has been utterly silent in this area. There was a Poland Day, an Afghanistan Day, but no Eritrea Day. While it can perhaps tolerate Eritrean disruptions, the U.S. is against any kind of Eritrean victory. Its eggs are in the other basket. The U.S. has continued its economic aid to Mengistu, and after the previous expulsion of Soviet advisors from Egypt, Sudan and Somalia, the U.S. has reason to believe the trick can be repeated in Ethiopia, which is the real prize in the region.

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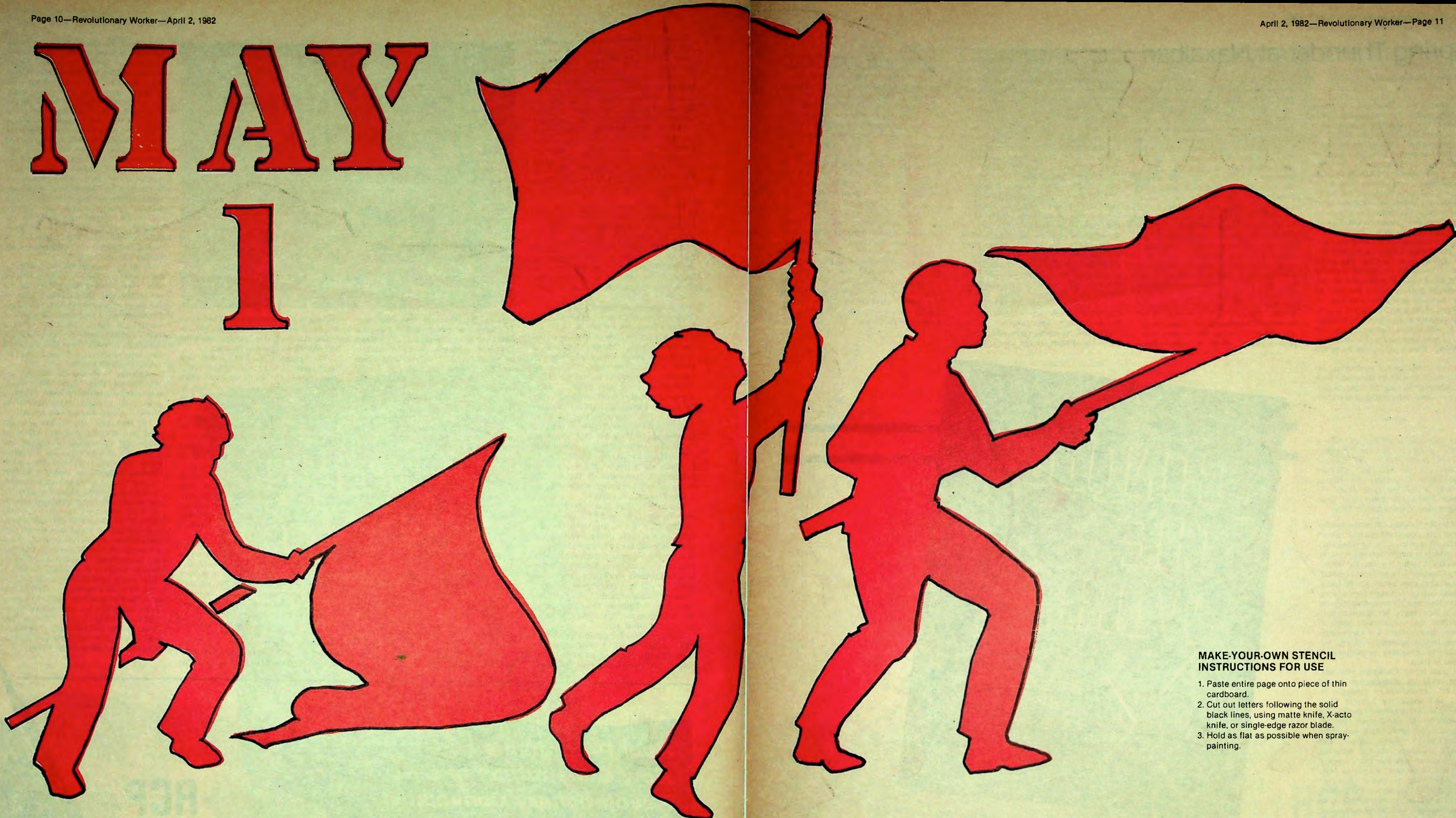
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RCP



MAY 1



MAKE-YOUR-OWN STENCIL INSTRUCTIONS FOR USE

1. Paste entire page onto piece of thin cardboard.
2. Cut out letters following the solid black lines, using matte knife, X-acto knife, or single-edge razor blade.
3. Hold as flat as possible when spray-painting.

PICK UP THE

RED FLAG



Spring Thunder at Naxalbari

Continued from page 4

than that were imprisoned. A young Calcutta student from a peasant family murdered by a landlord's goons in a village wrote home before he died, "The fight has started. Throughout the world the battle has started, initiating the end of the dark age. In every country, the sleeping, exploited masses are waking up. Asia is awakening, and Africa and Latin America. All those black and timid people who have toiled and toiled and never been recognized as human beings are now announcing their pledge to build a new world, raising their firm, clenched fists. The hungry masses of this land are fighting. Srikakulam is fighting, Gopiballavpur-Baharagada is fighting. The single spark of Naxalbari has lighted a prairie fire in the whole of Bharatbarsha. In that fire will be burnt to death the rich, all those who built their palaces on loot, on the blood of the poor. The wheel is turning. It will turn more. The world is changing. It will change further. I am one among those who are fighting to change the world. That is what is to be proud of."

For the international proletariat, including in the citadels of those who built their palaces on looting the world, Naxalbari is an event to be proud of and learn from.

The following is an excerpt from a message of support for the Naxalbari revolt in India written by Chinese peasants of the Shaoshan District Revolutionary Committee (in Hunan Province) which emerged from the Cultural Revolution. (Reprinted from Peking Review, September 19, 1969).

Led by the Indian Communist revolutionaries, the oppressed peasant masses of India have risen in a revolutionary storm which is unprecedented in scale. Like a clap of spring thunder, the revolutionary struggle of the peasants of Naxalbari and other areas has shaken all India. The sparks of revolutionary armed struggle have been steadily spreading to many places in the country. We Shaoshan people acclaim the revolutionary spirit of rebellion demonstrated by the poverty-stricken Indian peasants and the unprecedented excellent revolutionary situation in India.

Our great leader Chairman Mao personally made an investigation of the peasants' revolutionary struggle in Hunan and wrote the brilliant work *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan* 42 years ago. He predicted at that time: "In a very short time, in China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation."

The disaster-ridden Indian peasants are in a situation similar to that of the Chinese peasants 42 years ago. The Chinese people were then weighed down by the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. In particular, the peasants, who accounted for more than 80 per cent of the population, went through inhuman ordeals. A folk song of misery and indignation circulated among us Shaoshan peasants who were weighed down by the three big mountains:

*The valleys of Shaoshan interlink
in a chain,*

*Out of every ten,
Nine, let there be no mistake,
Find it hard a family to maintain.*

*Tillers of the soil,
Always under threat—
Like three swords over the head,
High interest, rent and debt.*

*Tillers of the soil,
Before them only three choices
to make—
Prison, beggar's stick,
Or home to forsake.*

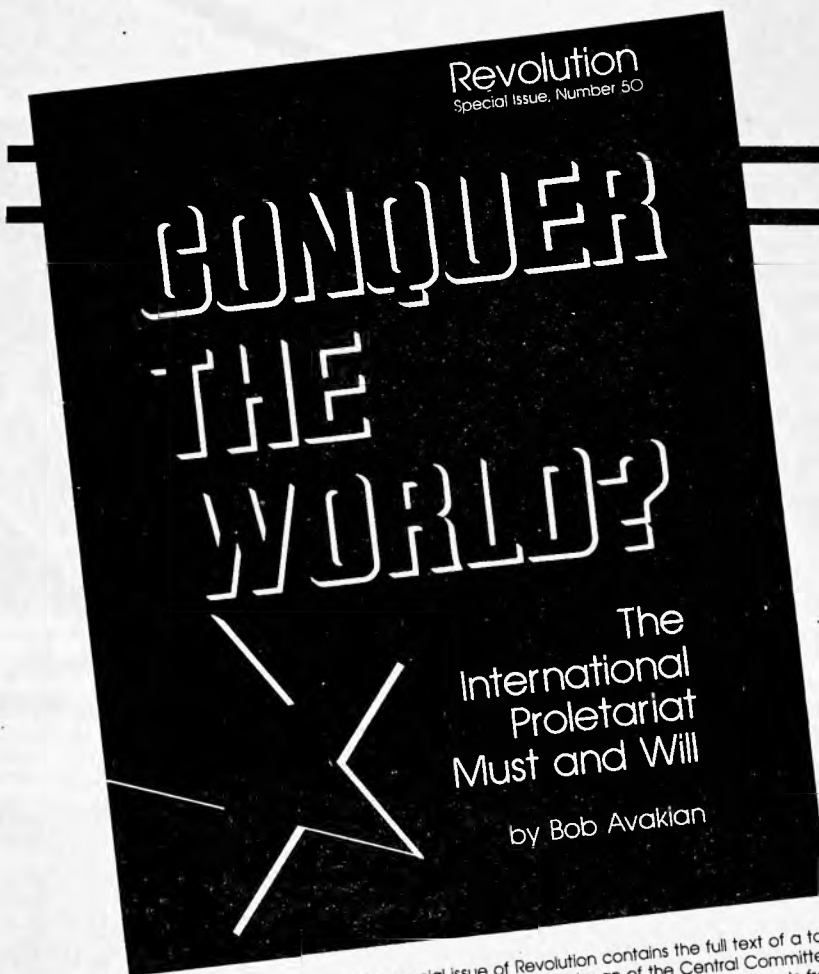
A true picture of the countryside in old China, this song is a stirring indictment of

the reactionaries. Where there is oppression there is resistance. Chairman Mao pointed out the road of emancipation and liberation for us poverty-stricken peasants. To get organized and armed, overthrow the local tyrants, evil gentry and lawless landlords, eliminate feudalism and put all power in the peasant associations. Initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao, the peasant movement in the Shaoshan area, as in other parts of Hunan Province, developed swiftly and violently. Under the solid leadership of the Shaoshan Party Branch of the Communist Party of China, revolutionary mass organizations like peasant associations, women's associations and children's corps were established one after another. Mammoth demonstrations and political gatherings were held which greatly heightened the revolutionary people's morale. To meet the needs of the struggle, the poverty-stricken peasants in 41 townships in the vicinity of Shaoshan rapidly joined forces and began making their own weapons—spears, which increased from

about a dozen at the beginning to several thousand. With weapons and power in our hands, we grew in strength with each day. We launched vigorous and sustained offensives against the local tyrants, evil gentry and feudal landlords and scored one great political and economic victory after another. First we banned shipping food grain out of the area and prohibited the landlords from hoarding grain and forcing up grain prices. Then we attacked the "township defence corps" and seized weapons from the landlords, set up peasant armed forces, and put down the despotic landlords. "In force and momentum the attack is tempestuous; those who bow before it survive and those who resist perish. As a result, the privileges which the feudal landlords enjoyed for thousands of years are being shattered to pieces. Every bit of the dignity and prestige built up by the landlords is being swept into the dust." The revolutionary people were beside themselves with joy when the head of the "township defence corps" (the landlords' armed forces), who had committed murder without bating an eye, was put to death by the furious peasants. This punctured the arrogance of the reactionaries and greatly raised the morale of the revolutionary

peasants.

Today, we are glad to see that under the Indian Communist revolutionaries' leadership, the Indian peasants are getting organized and launching fierce attacks on the enemy. They have armed themselves with weapons seized from the enemy and with home-made weapons. They have struck at the reactionary police who were sent to suppress them; they have raided landlords' plantations, suppressed despotic landlords, carried out land reform and set about eliminating feudalism. All these revolutionary acts of rebellion are excellent! As pointed out in the Political Resolution of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), "without overthrowing the enemies of the Indian people—U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, India's comprador-bureaucratic capital and feudalism—there can be no solution of any of the problems of the Indian people, the reign of darkness over India cannot be ended, nor can India advance one step along the road of progress." At present, the Indian peasant movement is developing and the revolutionary Indian people are advancing. India has a bright future!



This special issue of *Revolution* contains the full text of a talk given recently by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Three short excerpts from it were published in the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper.

Its sections are:

- Further historical perspectives on the first advances in seizing and exercising power—proletarian dictatorship—and embarking on the socialist road;
- More on the proletarian revolution as a world process;
- Leninism as the bridge;
- Some summation of the Marxist-Leninist movement arising in the 1960's and the subjective factor in light of the present and developing situation and the conjuncture shaping up;
- Some questions related to the line and work of our Party and our special internationalist responsibilities.

"In an overall sense, and to close with this, while we have to do everything possible toward revolution in the U.S., it's not just that we have to do. And it's not just that our greatest contribution to the world struggle is to make revolution in the U.S. Even that's too narrow, though in a more limited sense there's truth to it. We have to look at it even more broadly. In fact, even seeking to make revolution in the U.S., even that has to be done as part of the overall goal and with the overall goal in mind, of doing everything possible to contribute to and advance the whole struggle worldwide toward communism and in particular to make the greatest leaps toward that in the conjuncture shaping up."

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AN INTERNATIONALIST CALL TO MAY FIRST ACTION

"An Internationalist Call to May First Action" by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA has now appeared in 19 languages—in Aleut, Arabic, Chinese, Creole, Dutch, English, Farsi, French, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Oromo, Polish, Sinhalese, Spanish, Sutu, Turkish and Warora.
Very soon this call will be going out and going up all across the country in advance of, and in preparation for, May Day, 1982.

This internationalist call must be broadcast far and wide in as many languages as possible, and we are still calling on people broadly to send us more translations right away. For copies of the call in the various languages, and to get new translations to the RW, contact the RCP in your area or write us at P.O. Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654.

Kuntî Kuntatim cya pinja ni kenja
ngalja paniyara.

Warora (an aboriginal language of Australia)

kaat meal chungulet tad orlock tarlin woort
Twank narnae peep coqul marr chen toul chow
mawp maicor Farlin auest teamil cheerung pouak
nordlebull wallowinny woortil Taup keit mear toot cul
koit knweel nweel Hoc, ky. un waumb un Bourloc ca u-lla
Buloco un urelip uelclup unget kypunaan tad
Kioe Yoke Bocun woorie oporn nehp nelbitur E naaw
enoc eem wotkun Quaxp ne Buypul Quypungur kyunere
kartiak Bennan meue chaat condernone Yerdwener
manie maniana kartise poodel jubal corrasa quatahit
mulgan uelot eeniung copil nahluac yuccan pauluc
pwoy mammoak paelre keardit keard auukur tazt
Warkamen Wineren Coatchuck murlie warlit tiajip
bernanore toweren ter Coriore Combiae nome doct wakul
yemur wandy munnaer meene tuboc caumuck.
Pest challyp challow kilon pooye pooyiore naak mam
mai barlak mammany martiat wallak pooriok wanker
yanger marnem purtup bowuk mendait tootokc ziber
wimberner mai e poole Twank a Toot neent pest keepine
yahluac curle tokenor carloc rent yaccan toot mit
yurpur yock yock pindy narnaccaruck narnapool
narnatowaller narnae poote coolon wainceonung
Coppullel yock dukc manjalyly mulgnoradok
mohuan Tombidler, maupern nerran nerran cuinkur
techer paljoe wernung meue cong wern warra keit
moreue maukur meonungul maunpioner berne
meestilluc pourner bernany yerlimber meonan
woortit kein cogine taut on noustuckeeen wooringoort
mongiore mongiore partait dalwin corapan wamma
nandobest pandue Balingur Bort Barta barukur barup
bepir bepil bettich biljar bin dot ki-in gungel
Inji kaljin kalja mulburn ny-ardak nam-yango
nodytch waljap yalbot meay lungk katta mingyt
dya warbo yaba aburda nanya mamercup yabp-mur
karyp moko gidyal mieute Twank kaat mingyt,
wunt yama koqul ktant nyoonper koondurt dyoydit
kyp kyk goodjat nyangur Yailangpoooro moonak
deity gurembue mullijee beerdypat beerat
maiyu - mural gangoween mooro nyoomon
beelior nanya batta walyer boodjar

darbulase katta boorda moko dyaloowa
nyoora dyoondul dya nalyo dallany
coono warbo nungyt dooyat yabee-maar
gabooluk dyoondul moora katta dya
moorda dungh damillee goondo yaba moko
mingyt meel meelana moolykarup dya nalyo
goonyer warbo nungyt dooyat 1417 dtower wante
bonet matta bilja yeena ngardee geenabunara
ngoolydtomarya wanyo nyot mara nara kabun
gonyo kabarka narul-velje dtowel matta wallit
bilja yeena ngardee bunara geenabunara monye,
narye wanyo nyot mardal kabura naryonyo beree
mara-bere yeena beree dyonyu E-embu muboo ngoboo
boolja katta dyedan kypedal booran ngoolyar mameryp
manderigo Godingooree goolany goorat mel gidayan
babing babing-gare ngoolyar gden nullobo
kyjee bidany booka warbooydye Goocho willong
warbo-Gookyenee, willong booran woonda nyarde
wonda-nyoon moolyatat meuo koilee muidat
bulsonay Tabed mooringween nyprow nyantit
mingula Boneelanuyaween Yeeramanuyaween
Derdowne Goonpoo Titown-Kanweng. barlo
Tukameeroodyebit loyalit? U riarowee ninyawee
meel boyel doorguree meryn baen booranypk garo.
Ganyak nyoomon Anaba Yollarye narye banye nare
Yilye Eih-hearken Begrooy gumo kal moobbeben
mooro wunanyu gooriuna gooiara waraloo,
werra magoooro calyutta wolga mampen deyeida
onawer weede dydjenak wandeloop woore
waraneen garba moolya niremba nguld
brygoonee.

Meluleuca Vimsinarix Tew-Trelwongp
Yeede yaen.

Make a Living Force of Proletarian Internationalism!

A Powerful Exchange

The following letter comes from Clark Kissinger who was in Iran during the embassy takeover with the Hands Off Iran! Send Back the Shah delegation:
The letter in last week's RW by an Iranian comrade calling for the visible exchange of internationalist greetings throughout the world on May First is right on the mark. The political experience of internationalist revolutionaries has shown time and again both the explosive power of bold internationalist actions erupting right where the imperialists least expect them and the warmth and

feror with which the masses take up these actions as the genuine expression of their own sentiments.
This was confirmed once again by the experience of the Hands Off Iran/Send Back the Shah delegation of six Americans who traveled to Iran at the height of the embassy spyneet crisis and the frenzy of debased national chauvinism whipped up in this country. Just before we left, we were as electrified as the bourgeoisie was horrified to see a news conference on TV in which three American women living in Iran were pledging to fight alongside their Iranian

brothers and sisters should the U.S. invade that country. Then when we visited the embassy itself, we found the walls of this 26-acre compound of the imperial overlords festooned not only with messages from all over Iran, but banners in German, Spanish and other languages sent by people all over the world.
Plunging into the crowd outside the embassy, which was daily described by rabid TV commentators as "mobs filled with hatred for Americans," we were mobbed alright, but by people wanting to shake our hands and tell us how much they consider the American people to be

their friends. We also had brought a banner of support, covered with the signatures of dozens of workers from the main post office in Chicago. This was immediately hung up on the bars of the main gate, with one result being that the ritual evening U.S. TV shots of the dour-faced American commentator standing in front of the gate had to be suspended for a week.
Even in the middle of their orgy of imperialist patriotism, the spirit of internationalism could not be extinguished!

Clark Kissinger

Red Prisoners

Continued from page 8

and grimy. Some were ox-like hulks of men. Some were gnarled and knotted, warped by a thousand gales. Here were the cannibal-convicts of Tolstoy, slant-browed and brutal-jawed. Here was Dostoevsky's "House of the Dead." With limping steps, cheeks slashed and eyes gouged out they came, marked by bullet, knife and mine disaster, some cursed by an evil birth. But few, if any, were weaklings.

By a long, gruelling process the weak had been killed off. These thousands were the survivors of tens of thousands, driven out on the gray highroad to Cherm. Thru sleet and snow, winter blast and summer blaze they had staggered along. Torture-chambers had racked their limbs. Gendarmes' sabers had cracked their skulls. Iron fetters had cut their flesh. Cossacks' whips had gashed their backs, and Cossacks' hoofs had pounded them to earth.

Like their bodies their souls, too, had been knouted. Like a blood-hound the law had hung on their trail, driving them into dungeons, driving them to this dismal outpost of Siberia, driving them off the face of the earth into its caverns, to strain like beasts, digging the coal in the dark, and handing it up to those who live in the light.

Now out of the mines they come marching up into the light. Guns in hand, flying red flags of revolt, they are loose in the highways, moving forward like a great herd, the incarnation of brute strength. In their path lie the warm, luxurious parlors — another universe, a million miles removed. Now it is just a few inches away, within their grasp. Three minutes, and they could leave this train sacked from end to end as tho gutted by a cyclone. How sweet for once to glut themselves! And how easy! One swift lunge forward. One furious onset.

But their actions show neither haste nor frenzy. Stretching their banners on the ground they range themselves in a crescent, massed in the center, facing the train. Now we can scan those faces. Sullen, defiant, lined deep with hate, brutalized by toil. On all of them the ravages of vice and terror. In all of them an infinitude of pain and torment, the poignant sorrow of the world.

But in their eyes is a strange light — a look of exaltation. Or is it the glimmer of revenge? A blow for a blow. The law has given them a thousand blows. Is it their turn now? Will they avenge the long years of bitterness?

The Comrade Convicts

A hand touches our shoulder. We turn to look into the faces of two burly miners. They tell us that they are the Commissars of Cherm. At the same time they signal the banner-bearers, and the red standards rise up before our eyes. On one in large letters is the old familiar slogan: *Proletarians, arise! You have nothing to lose but your chains.* On another: *We stretch out our hands to the miners in all lands. Greetings to our comrades throughout the world.*

"Hats off!" shouts the commissar. Awkwardly they bare their heads and stand, caps in hand. Then slowly begins the hymn of the International:

"Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth!
For justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind you;
Arise, ye slaves! No more in thrall.
The world shall rise on new foundations,
You have been naught: you shall be all."

I have heard the streets of cities around the world, ringing to the "International," rising from massed columns of the marchers. I have heard rebel students send it floating thru college halls. I have heard the "International" on the voices of 2,000 Soviet delegates, blending with four military bands, go rolling thru the pillars of the Tauride Palace. But none of these singers looked the "wretched of the earth." They were the sympathizers or representatives of

the wretched. These miner-convicts of Cherm were the wretched themselves, most wretched of all. Wretched in garments and looks, and even in voice.

With broken voices, and out of tune they sang, but in their singing one felt the pain and protest of the broken of all ages: the sigh of the captive, the moan of the galley-slave lashed to the oar, the groan of the serf stretched on the wheel, the cries from the cross, the stake and the gibbet, the anguish of myriads of the condemned, welling up out of the long reaches of the past.

These convicts were in apostolic succession to the suffering of the centuries. They were the ex-communicate of society, mangled, crushed by its heavy hand, and hurled down into the darkness of this pit.

Now out of the pit rises this victory-hymn of the vanquished. Long bludgeoned into silence, they break into song — a song not of complaint, but of conquest. No longer are they social outcasts, but citizens. More than that — Makers of a New Society!

Their limbs are numb with cold. But their hearts are on fire. Harsh and rugged faces are touched with a sunrise glow. Dull eyes grow bright. Defiant ones grow soft. In them lies the transfiguring vision of the toilers of all nations bound together in one big fraternity — The International.

"Long live the International! Long live the American workers!" they shout. Then opening their ranks, they thrust forward one of their number. He is of giant stature, a veritable Jean Valjean of a man, with a Jean Valjean of a heart.

"In the name of the miners of Cherm," he says, "we greet the comrades on this train! In the old days how different it was! Day after day, trains rolled thru here, but we dared not come near them. Some of us did wrong, we know. But many of us were brutally wronged. Had there been justice, some of us would be on this train and some on this train would be in the mines.

"But most of the passengers didn't know there were any mines. In their warm beds, they didn't know that way down below were thousands of moles, digging coal to put heat in the cars and steam in the engine. They didn't know that hundreds of us were starved to death, flogged to death or killed by falling rock. If they did know, they didn't care. To them we were dregs and outcasts. To them we were nothing at all.

"Now we are everything! We have joined the International. We fall in today with the armies of labor in all lands. We are in the vanguard of them all. We, who were slaves, have been made freest of all.

"Not our freedom alone we want, com-

rades, but freedom for the workers thru-out the world. Unless they, too, are free, we cannot keep the freedom we have to own the mines and run them ourselves.

"Already the greedy hands of the Imperialists of the world are reaching out across the seas. Only the hands of the workers of the world can tear those clutches from our throats."

The range and insight of the man's mind was amazing. So amazed was Kuntz that his own speech in reply faltered. My hold on Russian quite collapsed. Our part in this affair, we felt, was wan and pallid. But these miners did not feel so. They came into the breach with a cheer for the International, and another for the International Orchestra.

The "Orchestra" comprised four violins played by four prisoners of war; a Czech, a Hungarian, a German and an Austrian. Captured on the eastern front, from camp to camp they had been relayed along to these convict-mines in Siberia. Thousands of miles from home! Still farther in race and breeding from these Russian masses drawn from the soil. But caste and creed and race had fallen before the Revolution. To their convict miner comrades here in this dark hole they played, as in happier days they might have played at a music festival under the garden lights of Berlin or Budapest. The flaming passion in their veins crept into the strings of their violins and out into the heart-strings of their hearers.

The whole conclave — miners, musicians and visitors, Teutons, Slavs and Americans — became one. All barriers were down as the commissars came pressing up to greet us. One huge hulking fellow, with fists like pile-drivers, took our hands into his. Twice he tried to speak and twice he choked. Unable to put his sentiments of brotherhood into words he put it into a sudden terrific grip of his hands. I can feel that grip yet.

For the honor of Cherm he was anxious that its first public function should be conducted in proper fashion. Out of the past must have flashed the memory of some occasion where the program of the day included gifts as well as speeches. Disappearing for a time, he came running back with two sticks of dynamite — the gifts of Cherm to the two Americans. We demurred. He insisted. We pointed out that a chance collision and delegates might disappear together with dynamite — a total loss to the Internationale. The crowd laughed. Like a giant child he was hurt and puzzled. Then he laughed, too.

The second violinist, a blue-eyed lad from Vienna, was always laughing. Exile

had not quenched his love of fun. In honor of the American visitors he insisted upon a *Jazz-Americane*. So he called it, but never before or since have I heard so weird a melody. He played with legs and arms as well as bow, dancing round, up and down to the great delight of the crowd.

Our love-feast at last was broken in upon by the clanging signal-bell. One more round of hand-clasps and we climbed aboard the train as the orchestra caught up the refrain:

It is the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place;
The Internationale—
Shall be the human race.

There was no grace or outward splendor in this meeting. It was ugliness unrelieved — except for one thing: the presence of a tremendous vitality. It was a revelation of the drive of the Revolution. Even into this sub-cellar of civilization it had penetrated — into these regions of the damned it had come like a trumpet-blast, bringing down the walls of their charnel-house. Out of it they had rushed, not with bloodshot eyes, slaving mouths and daggers drawn, but crying for truth and justice, with songs of solidarity upon their lips, and on their banners the watchwords of a new world.

The Emigrés Unmoved

All this was lost upon the émigrés. Not one ray of wonder did they let penetrate the armor of their class-interest. Their former fears gave way to sneers:

"There is Bolshevism for you! It makes statesmen out of jail-birds. Great sight, isn't it? Convicts parading the streets instead of digging in the mines. That's what we get out of Revolution."

Leaning out from the car steps we waved farewell to the hundreds of huge grimy hands waving farewell to us. Our eyes long clung to the scene. In the last glimpse we saw the men of Cherm with heads still bared to the cutting wind, the rhythmic rise and fall of the arms of "Jean Valjean," the red banner with "Greetings to our Comrades thruout the World," and a score of hands still stretched out towards the train. Then the scene faded away in the dust and distance.



Novel of armed class warfare

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A vivid, penetrating account, based on actual events, of the tension and struggle during May Day 1929, Berlin. The relationship of the working class to the German Social Democrats is a central theme of this novel. Communist-led workers battle police in the streets—police acting on the orders from the Social Democratic government.

"The inhabitants drew the tattered red flags into the windows, lest they fell into the hands of those blue devils below. But over the entrance to number 3 a small red flag was still shining from the first floor.

"Down with the rag!"

"Take the flag down!"

"Four, five of them shouted one after another. The windowpane crashed on the pavement in front of the house. But the red spot did not disappear from the grey wall. A soft wind raised the small four-cornered cloth and made it swell as if it were mocking at the powerless fountains of lead.

"And suddenly something unexpected happened. Something that was more terrifying and dangerous for the police than anything else. A woman laughed! Somewhere as if in the thin air, a woman laughed. A short resounding burst of laughter, the expression of a provocative feeling of strength that was certain of victory."

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International Financial Ills: Large Scope for Contagion

Continued from page 5

capital into fixed-dollar long-term investments, given the recent history of inflation and, more important, the extremely uncertain state of investment activity and returns. A kind of risk premium has been incorporated into interest rates; more specifically, the long-term capital markets have virtually collapsed, with interest rates pushed up to abnormally high levels for the long-term money that remains available, while the bulk of funds has moved into the short-term markets. As a result, borrowers have had to hustle more desperately and frequently to get money, which in many cases is being used simply to ward off bankruptcy and to cover previous debts. On the corporate side of the ledger, the latest government statistics show that corporate liquidity, or the ability of companies to pay their bills when they come due, is at its lowest level since World War 2!

Second, the international banking system has been walking a tightrope in dealing with potential defaults by government entities, particularly the third world countries which have continued to accumulate massive external debts. At the bottom of the contradictions associated with short-term financing is the need, yet inability, of the imperialists to send out higher levels of surplus capital with which to reorganize these economies. This indebtedness has been growing at the rate of 25 to 30 percent per year since 1978. Most of it has, as suggested, been in the form of high interest and short-term borrowings from private banking institutions. The repayment pressures are intense, especially in an atmosphere of steep interest rates and global slowdown. The proportion of export earnings from third world countries that must go towards repayment of principal and interest on loans rose 50 percent between 1973 and 1981, averaging one-fifth of total export earnings for these countries; for some, like Brazil, the figure stands over 100 percent. Added to this is the relatively more recent surge in East European borrowings from Western banks. All told, in 1974 only three countries were in arrears on their external debt; by 1981 25 countries were in such a position. The tightrope the banks walk is that they must increasingly weigh the risk of calling in potentially unpayable debt and suffering large losses against the risk of refinancing this debt, with all the problems and potential losses that this entails, in the hope of facilitating future repayment. That the two most massive and significant reschedulings of debt have involved Turkey and Poland—the former country a key flank of the Western alliance and the latter a weak link in the Soviet bloc—underscores just how interpenetrated all this is with strategic concerns.

Finally, and very much related, is the inherent shakiness of the dollar. The complete suspension of dollar/gold convertibility and the institution of a regime of dollar-based floating exchange rates in the early 1970s (in other words, currency values were no longer fixed in relation to a dollar tied to gold, and the dollar itself was set afloat) reflected the contradictory position of U.S. imperialism. On the one hand, it was in decline, battered in Vietnam and challenged by other imperialists within its bloc; yet, on the other hand, it was still the dominant and organizing force within the bloc, particularly in relation to an incipient global challenge from the Soviet social-imperialists. The dollar, though weakened, remained the linchpin of international finance—no other national currency could assume its international functions. Throughout the 1970s the U.S. bourgeoisie pursued highly stimulative policies, both to offset a deep structural crisis that unravelled in that decade and to increase its freedom of movement vis-à-vis its allies. Government deficits and expansion of the money supply were the principal means through which U.S. imperialism pushed others into a similar expansionary posture while integrating its debt with theirs (since foreign central banks were compelled to buy up dollars to preserve their com-

petitive exchange rates, which meant increasing their money supply to buy these dollars). Much of this credit expansion appeared as a huge build-up of liquidity in the international lending markets, the so-called Eurodollar markets, which are the source of much of the lending that has been described.

The danger exists, however, if confidence in the dollar is shaken, that a massive diversification out of the dollar-denominated assets which figure prominently in government and private portfolios (dollars account for about 3/4 of net Eurocurrency liabilities) will take place. The result could be major monetary upheavals. For the moment the dollar has strengthened relative to other currencies (and the price of gold has come down). Significantly, this is *not* based on any surge of the U.S. economy—quite the opposite—but rather in part on high interest rates encouraged by the U.S. bourgeoisie in order to attract investment into dollar-denominated securities to bolster the dollar and to slow inflation, and on a certain political attractiveness of U.S. financial investments with international tensions mounting. Intermittently during the last 19 months, West Germany, among others, has responded in kind to these upward movements in interest rates to prevent precipitous capital outflows. But what potentially constitutes the most serious threat to this temporary strengthening of the dollar and monetary stability is the projected budget deficits associated with the enormous increase in U.S. military spending, a substantial portion of which will have to be monetized, that is, paid for with inflationary finance. (See "Reagan-omics"—The Imperialist Science of Preparing for World War," RW No. 106.)

High and volatile interest rates, the vast accumulation of unsustainable debt in the third world, and the fragility of the monetary system are interrelated aspects, then, of a financial crisis which is international in its origins and in its scope. But the real significance of these phenomena can only be grasped in light of the particularity of the post-war period—of which this financial crisis is an expression.

Post-War Restructuring

Now one of the most significant outcomes of the last revision of the world, that is, World War 2, was the fact that the U.S. imperialists not only defeated their war-time enemies (although they let others do the bulk of the fighting), but came out on top of their war-time imperialist allies as well. This war represented a far more decisive and thoroughgoing revision of the world than had taken place as a result of World War 1. The difference in economic, political and military strength between the U.S. and the other imperialists was immense and the U.S. imperialists were able, on the basis of the redistribution of political power and the spoils won, particularly the colonies, to carry out a massive restructuring of the international capitalist order. The result was a much higher level of integration of investment, trade and finance. A bloc of mammoth proportions was constituted into which the U.S. imperialists, acting in response to politico-strategic needs, dealt the other imperialists, although they were always the "chairman of the board," as it were.

The removal of pre-war barriers facilitated the freer international flow of capital among the imperialist powers and between them and the colonies. The interknitting of different nationally based imperialist capitals in countries and regions that had previously been more the bailiwick of one or the other was an important element of the post-war expansion. The establishment of the dollar as the key international transaction and reserve currency (the former function involving the circulation of commodities and the latter the settlement of external debts) stood in contrast to the fragmented currency blocs that characterized the inter-war period. This privileged international role of the dollar rested on the superior productivity

of U.S. capital along with the gold reserves that had been accumulated through the war and the new possibilities for profitable expansion in a world carved anew. The development of a more internationalized money market sped-up the turnover of capital, that is, shortened the time between one round of production and the next by allowing for more rapid and integrated credit transactions. And one of the most striking features of the post-war expansion was precisely the unprecedented and sustained rise in government and private debt. At the same time, the outflow of U.S. dollars, dollars initially grabbed up by foreign central banks in need of trade finance, allowed the U.S. to appropriate productive resources and further concentrate capital, as well as to finance its military machine. The advantages enjoyed by U.S. imperialism and its ability to drain and shuffle about surplus value internationally had as their counterpart the growth of an enormous financial superstructure.

The establishment of new investment and trade patterns among the imperialists and the further centralization of capital are manifestations of the continual necessity of capital to transform production relations (in this case quantitatively) as a condition for its forward advance, which is exactly what the revision of the world permitted and what these financial arrangements facilitated. But this necessity found its most significant expression in certain parts of the third world where in fact the imperialists were able to make more substantial quantitative and qualitative changes, including the introduction of capitalist relations as part of this (for instance, the transition from semi-feudal to capitalist agriculture), which were crucial to the overall process of accumulation. In the 1960s this took a major leap with massive aid, imperialist-sponsored land reform and industrialization programs in a select but key circle of countries. These changes took place, however, in the context of imperialist subordination, and in these as well as other third world countries, external domination leads to the distortion of internal economic structure and growth. As a result, these countries, even as the super-profits and cheap raw materials wrenched from them decisively stimulate the imperialist economies, can only function with injections of capital, much of which takes the form of debt capital. The spiral of development set in motion by the resolution of World War 2 cannot be understood without recognizing the qualitatively greater role played by the third world countries in allowing imperialist capital to profitably reproduce itself—and in figuring integrally in the emergence of crisis.

Crisis in '70s

In fact, the various gains, transformations and thrusts forward, particularly what was released by the changes in the 1960s, were turning into their opposite by the end of that decade. The disarticulation of the economies of the oppressed nations was ultimately heightened by imperialist penetration and transformation—the thoroughly lopsided development of a country like Iran and the contradictions this generated is a case in point. These contradictions and the assertion of the tendency towards overproduction meant, on the one hand, that the imperialists were no longer obtaining a sufficient rate of profit on their overseas investments (and domestic investments as well) and, on the other and in dialectical relation, that they could not export sums of capital of a sufficient magnitude to radically restructure the third world economies, as had been done earlier, since these economies were in such deep crisis. The mobility and interknittedness of the different imperialist capitals, previously a source of strength as capital moved to avoid recession and to garner higher profits and very much conditioned by the arrangements already described, was also turning into its opposite. In particular, the massive flow of U.S. capital to Europe and Japan in the 1960s and the

need of European and Japanese capital to more directly and substantially export capital to the third world during the same period was now leading to the synchronization of crisis, finding expression in the global 1974-75 downturn. At the same time, the relations within the bloc had undergone change: U.S. economic strength had declined relative to the other imperialists and the dollar was no longer as reliable a store of value. And all this was interpenetrating with the emergence of the Soviet Union as a global challenger.

Which brings us back to the financial and monetary strains discussed earlier, and that analysis can be extended. Several important developments occur in the 1970s against the backdrop of and in reaction to the more limited possibilities for profitable, productive investment. The weakening of the dollar began to lead to a run on precious metals and certain national currencies like the West German mark. Speculation against the dollar led to an enormous increase in the price of gold by early 1980. And in general there was an explosion of financial trading and speculation not just in precious metals, but in commodities, financial instruments and currencies of a variety and dimension that has not existed before in the history of capitalism. (It is perhaps revealing that when the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank was criticized for violating its own standards for intervening to protect certain speculators during a brief silver mania in 1980, its chairman responded by saying that it was hard to distinguish between speculative and non-speculative activity at this point, particularly as applied to banking institutions.)

There were notable signs of the speculative bubble bursting in the 1970s. The collapse of real estate investment trusts in the U.S. triggered massive banking losses. Even more telling was the failure of a relatively small West German bank in 1974. It caused such severe dislocations in the foreign exchange markets that the central banks of 11 countries were compelled to reach an agreement providing emergency support if needed in order to preserve confidence in the international financial system. Also, as mentioned earlier, there was an enormous increase in private and government debt throughout the U.S.-led bloc and particularly in the wake of the 1974-75 downturn. The rate of increase exceeded the credit expansion of the two preceding decades and it was far out of proportion to the actual expansion of the base of real production and new capital formation. The point is that the conditions favoring renewed accumulation on any significant scale did not exist and there was a marked tendency towards short-term and increasingly speculative investments. On the other hand, there was a continuing, if rapidly diminishing, capacity of the imperialist states and financial institutions to embark on some stimulative activity and to prop up weak and threatened segments. But all this was only intensifying the underlying crisis and fragility of the structure of world accumulation. The interdependent links were being more tightly drawn, being stretched to the limit.

Crisis and the Possibilities of Collapse

In this regard, the debt accumulated by the third world countries must be looked at more closely, because it reveals how some of the favorable factors for the imperialists in this spiral are turning into their explosive opposites. Specifically, this involves the high degree of integration and concentration of imperialist capital and the penetration of imperialist capital, on an unprecedented scale, into certain countries of the third world. The huge run-up in third world debt in the post 1973-74 period represents a major flashpoint of crisis. Why did this debt grow so dramatically? It is obviously the other side to the increased importance of these countries to imperialist accumulation that was referred to earlier and it has very profound political dimensions. In some cases this debt has been a chief means by which the imperialists have squeezed profits out of these countries in a climate of narrowing investment possibilities and increasing long-term risk. Brazil is one such country where the imperialists have been able to squeeze

Continued on page 16

*ACTUALLY THIS WAS OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE. THE DESTRUCTION OF CAPITAL WAS THE MAIN THING.

* THIS IS WRONG...
N CAPITAL SHORTAGE AGAIN!

YES!

NO!
THE ODD CAPITAL SHORTAGE IS THE MAIN THING

THIS KEY

IS

THE

REACT

Financial Ills:

Continued from page 15

some growth out of an increasingly distorted and crisis-ridden economy, although only with huge financial injections. But their stake is very high in this country and for any reader who might doubt how important Brazil is, it would do well to ponder the fact that 10 percent of Chase Manhattan's and Citibank's total income in 1979 came from investments in that country!

And this interlinks with the phenomenon of stabilization that began in the 1970s. In the face of growing crisis and inter-imperialist rivalry with the Soviet-led bloc, capital has been required simply to prevent collapse and social instability, the potential for which is real enough and completely bound up with the very process of imperialist penetration, in order to safeguard strategic emplacements, like Zaire, which might not otherwise be a favorable investment basin outside its vital raw materials, and to ward off Soviet advances. All this turns on an international calculus and depends on the international circuits of imperialist capital—it cannot go on indefinitely, given the depths of the global crisis, and it can only compound the overall difficulties of accumulation and finance.

The dynamic of mutual transformation between the advanced countries and the oppressed nations, the turning into its opposite of the expansion of productive capital in the third world under the aegis of finance capital, has tremendous reverberations throughout the imperialist system, at different levels, in different circuits. One such link is in the realm of money, as the circuit of money capital is highly sensitive and overloaded. What kind of effects might be sent out at such a level are treated in an important study written by scholars from one of the U.S. bourgeoisie's important "think tanks," the Wharton School. They conclude that the actual probabilities of a major shock to the Eurocurrency markets have increased greatly. At the core of their "disorder" scenario is the increasing financial vulnerability of several debtor countries and the increasing concentration of claims on these countries in the portfolios of several major banks. Moreover, these problems are exacerbated when the credits to an individual borrower are large relative to a bank's capital. Here some data illustrate the old banker's maxim that if you borrow a million dollars from a bank and can't repay, you are in trouble—but if you borrow a billion dollars and can't repay, the bank is in trouble! The 24 largest U.S. banks account for 83 percent of lending by U.S. banks to less developed countries, and if Brazil, Mexico and South Korea (the first two accounting for 25 percent of total third world long-term debt) all defaulted on their loans to Western banks in the same year, then 100 percent of the capital and reserves of America's nine biggest banks would be wiped out. The last time there was a major collapse in foreign lending was in the 1930s, but it should be noted, according to the Wharton study, that its impact was mitigated by the fact that defaulted foreign bonds were widely held, as opposed to their heavy concentration today. Many of these banks face the mismatching problem discussed earlier. And such a shock would not be limited to one bank. The other side of the question of concentration is the extensive network of interbank credits. At least two-thirds of Eurocurrency deposits are interbank deposits. In other words, a bank which does not have direct holdings of some of these credits can in fact be exposed indirectly, let's say to a default by Zaire, if it has holdings in the banks that are directly exposed. And what about the prospects for growth in a country like Brazil? Last year industrial production fell by 9 percent, the foreign auto companies lost record sums, domestic interest rates are running 125% and this year more than half the country's borrowings are simply to service existing loans. The Eurocurrency markets are not the only route through which a major blow would reverberate—developments in the realm of trade and investment might also have a

triggering and snowballing effect—but this does exemplify the sensitivity of the organism. And it is quite plausible.

On a theoretical level, what is being described is very much the outcome of the particular resolution of World War 2 and the specific motion of this spiral, but all this represents an intensification of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, between socialized labor and private appropriation, on a world scale. A country like Brazil, where significant transformations took place, is prone to a collapse in a way that semi-feudal China, where prolonged stagnation was more the nature of things, was not. In these circumstances, given the degree of develop-

ment and integration, things can come to a head more sharply. A collapse and/or revolutionary upsurge can have major repercussions throughout the whole bloc.

Is a more generalized collapse possible? The conditions for it do in fact exist, but this is not to say that it will happen; if it does, it will have unique features and assuredly be of unprecedented dimensions. Politically, the imperialists need to stabilize the monetary and financial structures so that the bloc will be in the strongest possible position to square off against the Soviet Union. But the deepening of crisis and certain aspects of war preparations themselves are destabilizing elements. A stable monetary order is not

a pre-condition to go to war nor are credit and monetary activities in and of themselves principal over the sphere of production; in fact the former rests on the latter. But the financial and monetary structures are key links because the bloc is stitched together through them—and yet they are also transmission belts of the anarchy of crisis. Grasping these developments and their underpinnings and seeing these facets of crisis in relation to intensifying inter-imperialist rivalry reveals the material basis for sudden and sharp changes in the objective situation and, to borrow a banker's phrase, the "large scope for contagion"—revolutionary contagion. □

Death-Squad Democracy

Continued from page 1

weapons, would serve as both a bribe and a threat to these forces. In other words it was said: here's your chance to get a share of power and it may be your last since the "extreme right" and the military are gaining ground and they're against all elections and all negotiations with the opposition, and all you have to do is meet certain conditions including breaking away from the more pro-Soviet and pro-Cuban forces in the leadership of the opposition. These hopes so far remain hopes. It was also hoped that the spectacle of orderly elections would help mitigate some of the dissension from several of the Western European imperialists over U.S. policies in the Central American region. Finally it was clear that the Duarte regime as it stood could not last. Great disagreements were boiling in the regime with the growing isolation of Duarte and the PDC, and the demand from the so-called "extreme right" for his ouster was rising steadily. (Several PDC mayors have recently been assassinated by these forces for example.) Better that some more orderly process be found where an acceptable replacement for Duarte could be decided upon rather than coups and other messy affairs that would testify to U.S. political weakness in the country.

It was these kinds of exigencies that were behind the election farce, and just what the U.S. gained from it in relation to these problems still remains to be seen. For as might have been expected, the voting itself has solved nothing, only altering somewhat the form of some of the imperialist maneuverings in El Salvador. Now we have all the backroom meetings with the U.S., Duarte and the four "extreme right" parties over what kind of coalition will come to power, who will head it, and to what degree will the new regime continue Duarte's supposed reforms that are opposed by some forces in the Salvadoran bourgeoisie because they are less in their own immediate interests and more in the immediate interests of the U.S. It has been made completely clear that whatever emerges out of this process, the U.S. will have almost totally engineered it (having to pay attention to the particular political terrain of course). There has been little effort to hide this with TV reportage of meetings in the U.S. embassy between U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton and the other

parties concerned working to hash out a new regime. The U.S. has also reiterated many times that it is *they* who have all the strings to pull in El Salvador when it comes to the actions of their henchmen down there, just in case any of them are thinking about getting too uppity. Remarkable isn't it that with all this, the press still continues to run out fairy tales of how the people of El Salvador have "been given a say in their government" or that the State Department can say with a straight face that the current talks are "an internal matter for the Salvadoran people."

Sharp disagreements in the ruling circles in the U.S. are being openly aired, as to the effect of the elections and how to proceed. There has been more than a little alarm expressed that Duarte and the PDC are being weakened in El Salvador. Some worried voices speak of "tremendous polarization" and "possible civil war." What! A war in El Salvador? What a shocking new development! What they are really worried about is that the leading U.S. strategy may backfire, further "polarizing" things politically—that is in the favor of the Soviet Union and their frontmen.

One thing that is increasingly clear whatever particular permutations or combinations come out of current flinching is that the political and military situation facing the U.S. in El Salvador and Central America is continuing to sharpen up. And the twisted and complex nature of recent political maneuverings in the region are a profound indication of the depths of the underlying contradictions facing the U.S. there despite whatever temporary and limited ability they may have to maneuver. Things are not going well for them militarily or politically in El Salvador in spite of intentional efforts by the FDR/FMLN leadership to keep the fighting within definite bounds. Their main objective is to force the U.S. to recognize some form of historic compromise government (that is a government where pro-Soviet forces have a share of political power with the pro-U.S. forces) while not risking the dangers and uncertainties of actually overthrowing the current regime.

While the elections could not be carried out in a number of areas controlled by the guerrillas, there was not a big push by the opposition to thwart the elections. Various forces including Mexico, Nicaragua and Cuba put pressure on the opposition to not disrupt the elections. Still 11% of all the ballots were turned in blank or spoiled at obvious personal risk.

The growing tenuousness of the Duarte regime and deepening splits within the puppet government are a sure indication

of the worsening situation for the U.S. Whatever changes in faces occur in the regime such moves clearly cannot go on forever. The U.S. still has not been able to force a split in the FDR/FMLN, though the reaction of the Western European governments of France and West Germany, in particular, to the elections will have some effect on this one way or the other. Already there is tense expectation over what their response will be. Both France and West Germany opposed the elections and supported calls for direct negotiations with the FDR/FMLN and the Duarte regime as did Mexico and a number of other governments. Mexico, however, has since praised the elections, with Lopez-Portillo calling them a "very beautiful spectacle." Guillermo Ungo has flown to Bonn to meet with other Social-Democrats in the Social-Democratic International. If the U.S. is unable to force this split in the opposition through its continued pressure, it will be faced with increasingly limited options more and more pointing in the direction of more direct and open military actions in the area which is bound to intensify the contradictions within the Western bloc. The U.S. also clearly wants to split off certain forces in the FDR on strict U.S. terms (though there is real dispute within the bourgeoisie over how hardline to be on this). They want to limit any involvement of pro-Soviet revisionist forces. The Western European imperialists are more willing for their own reasons to accept a greater role for the revisionists in Central America, though this is within certain definite limits of course. All this points to the profound international dimensions to events in the region. It would be wrong to dismiss U.S. bluster about naval blockades against Cuba and Nicaragua for example as idle chatter. Such contingencies are being considered with obvious international consequences. For example, in a recent breakfast interview given to reporters by Navy Secretary John F. Lehman, Lehman discussed the particular "suggestion" of a naval blockade to stop the alleged "arms flow" from Cuba to Nicaragua to El Salvador. He said, "Hypothetically, if the Soviets engage our naval forces, whether it is in the Strait of Hormuz or the Norwegian Sea or the Caribbean, there will be a global war at that point." Lehman said that the possibility of this comes from the fact that the U.S. and the Soviet forces are facing off every day in all parts of the world and there is a "high premium today on who shoots first." That is, the U.S. might appear to be the aggressor—a further dangerous development for the entire bloc. And the military is disconcerted by the fact that just moving ships into the Caribbean would require taking them away from other hotspots in the world, giving the Soviets more room to pressure in those areas. But Lehman made it clear that he was just pointing out the problems involved, and certainly wasn't doubting the U.S.' ability to do what was necessary. He finished up his little talk by saying that the Navy "can rapidly mount an effective blockade against all comers—if that is the national decision. We have the capability."

Such dramatic steps are not immediately in the offing but these few comments graphically illustrate the profoundly international terms of developments in Central America. Recent events in El Salvador, including the election spectacle, are definitely not the "internal affair of the Salvadoran people" but have become an important focus of worldwide contradictions. As for U.S. declarations of a triumph for democracy American-style in El Salvador it can only be said: American-style democracy... most definitely, a triumph... hardly. □

DOWN WITH THE OLD ORDER AND FIGHT TO BRING ALIVE THE NEW!

MAKE A LIVING FORCE OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

... AN AMOUNT EQUAL TO ...

... EARLIER FIGURE

AN EXCITING DEMONSTRATION

On March 27, major demonstrations, called by a broad coalition of forces with significant revisionist and social-democratic influence in leadership, were held across the country against U.S. involvement in El Salvador. Tens of thousands marched in Washington, D.C. while thousands more marched in other cities. As was the case with similar demonstrations last year the march organizers went to great lengths to keep things within the political bounds of anti-Reaganism and pro-red, white and blue chauvinism. Kennedy-types sent messages of greetings to the demonstration reflecting both infighting among the imperialists and conscious efforts to gain hegemony in the movement. Such greetings in large numbers signify the dramatically changed world situation since the '60s—it took these guys a bit longer to get into the act around the Vietnam war. Slogans such as "Fund Jobs and Human Needs, Not Massacres in El Salvador" and "Unite Against the Reagan Policy of Oppression at Home and Intervention in the Third World" were the rage among the march organizers. Nevertheless, significant numbers of more advanced people hungered to break through this fog, and in some cases it was broken through. The letter below from a comrade recounts events at the March 27th demo in Seattle.

To the RW,
I'm writing to tell you about an exciting demonstration against U.S. involvement in El Salvador on Saturday, March 27 here in Seattle where, like May 1 in the last couple of years, "If you had a radical statement to make about the society... you make it in the color red." CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) had been actively building for the demonstration for weeks, passing out and posting flyers across the city. We were expecting a lot of people to be there—and there were. Over 10,000 people to demand that the U.S. get out of El Salvador. It was probably the largest demonstration to hit the streets of Seattle since the days of the Vietnam war. As we drove past the federal courthouse lawn where the rally was to take place later on I shook my head in sheer disgust. Here for a demonstration against the bloody domination of U.S. imperialism in El Salvador the leadership of CISPES had outdone themselves in their attempts to wrap the entire protest in the red, white and blue, the flag of the murderers and torturers of the Salvadoran people and tens of millions worldwide. Two huge flags flanked the stage area and tables decorated in red, white and blue dotted the lawn. There were voting booths where people were supposed to register their protest against U.S. involvement in El Salvador in the proper way according to the desires of the backers of the Salvadoran death squads. And to think that the revisionists in the CISPES leadership were doing all this very, very consciously on behalf of their imperialist masters, strangely the Soviet Union in this case. They were straight-up serving the Soviet historic compromise strategy of cynically trying to make an alliance with certain sections of the U.S. imperialists purely to gain advantage in the international superpower jockeyings and actually oust sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie at some point. Ironically, this alliance is best served by raising the flag of U.S. imperialism and becoming staunch defenders of the American national interest. This is strange but true. There is in fact no contradiction in being a worshipper of Soviet imperialism and waving the flag of U.S. imperialism proudly at the same time. (See RW No. 141: "A Night on the Town With Revisionism".)

By the time we reached the Federal Building where the march was to begin, hundreds of people had already gathered. Already different flags were flying—the El Salvadoran national flag, the anarchist black flag and the red flag, marking different currents among the crowd.

Hundreds of banners and picket signs bobbed up and down. Iranian revolutionaries brought one banner reading, "Long Live the Solidarity of the Iranian and El Salvadoran People." People had caravanned up from Oregon and down from Bellingham (a college town north of Seattle) to march. People from eastern Washington and the peninsula converged on downtown Seattle. People who hadn't been active in political life since the Vietnam war ended were there. People from the anti-nuke movement, the women's movement, members of punk bands, hundreds of people whose first conscious political act was coming to this demonstration massed in front of the Federal Building spilling onto the street, jamming traffic.

Many had seen the courthouse lawn and a section of the demonstrators were outraged by the patriotic hoopla—after all, this wasn't a democratic convention! This was supposed to be against the U.S. Even some active members of CISPES were taken by surprise. One guy on security commented dryly, "I'd consider carrying a red flag but my superiors wouldn't like it."

As the march got underway pockets of people throughout the throng were figuring out how best to deal with those American flags up ahead. By the time we were nearing the courthouse, an internationalist contingent was running toward the stage. Before they could get there though a couple of radical feminists heaved the bloody flags into the bushes. A guy in a Reagan mask, acting his part, went to retrieve a flag. An internationalist grabbed the other end and a tug-of-war broke out. Some middle-aged patriotic women shrieked, and went to save their beloved rag. But youth and punks ripped the flags from their poles, tore them, spit on them and stomped them into the dirt. (Later on they tried to burn one, but CISPES had had the foresight to invest in non-flammable ones.) The moderator of the rally and the spokesman for CISPES felt compelled to jump from the stage and enter into the fray. One security team for the demonstration made up of revolutionary anarchists carried red flags from the get and participated in the trashing of the American flag. Other security people were going around to the rabid patriots begging them to "ignore the people with the red flags; don't even talk to them," in a vain attempt to isolate the hundreds of advanced from the rest of the demonstration. The revolutionary anarchists heard their security team being paged over the speakers, being called on, they figured to quell the red flag rioters. They responded by turning in their security badges to the head honchos, and continued to hold the red flag high. Few listened to the banal speeches from the podium as politicians bellowed on. A doctor, his brother, a lawyer, and a friend of theirs from New Zealand worked their way as close to the podium as possible, then waved their red flags in the speakers' faces and catcalled the die-hard reformists. Meanwhile someone tried to seize the microphone to cut through some of the garbage; he was quickly hustled off.

Debates raged throughout the crowd. Two youths tore up scores of draft registration cards to a cheering crowd. A particularly bright spot was Revolution Books' literature table doing a brisk business and selling out of red flags in less than an hour. All kinds of people bought them: re-awakening '60s people, and people first awakening to political life (two youths bought red flags saying that they'd been politically active for about two weeks and these seemed to represent the most radical thing around). Several knots of punks took up the red flag and made them into streamers, armbands, headbands; some added the anarchist symbol, others left them solid red. One young woman drawing the circled "A" explained that she was for "socialism, not communism" because "communism was the Soviet Union." A member of the

RCYB struggled with them for the more radical trend of revolutionary communism and the critical role of revolutionary leadership.

Students from at least 4 different high schools raised the red flag. Two youths, determined to raise the red flag as high as possible, climbed to the rooftops of two office buildings overlooking the courthouse. From there they waved the red flags as police scrambled to get them down.

Iranian revolutionaries took up various tasks including distributing the May First Internationalist Call and selling the RW.

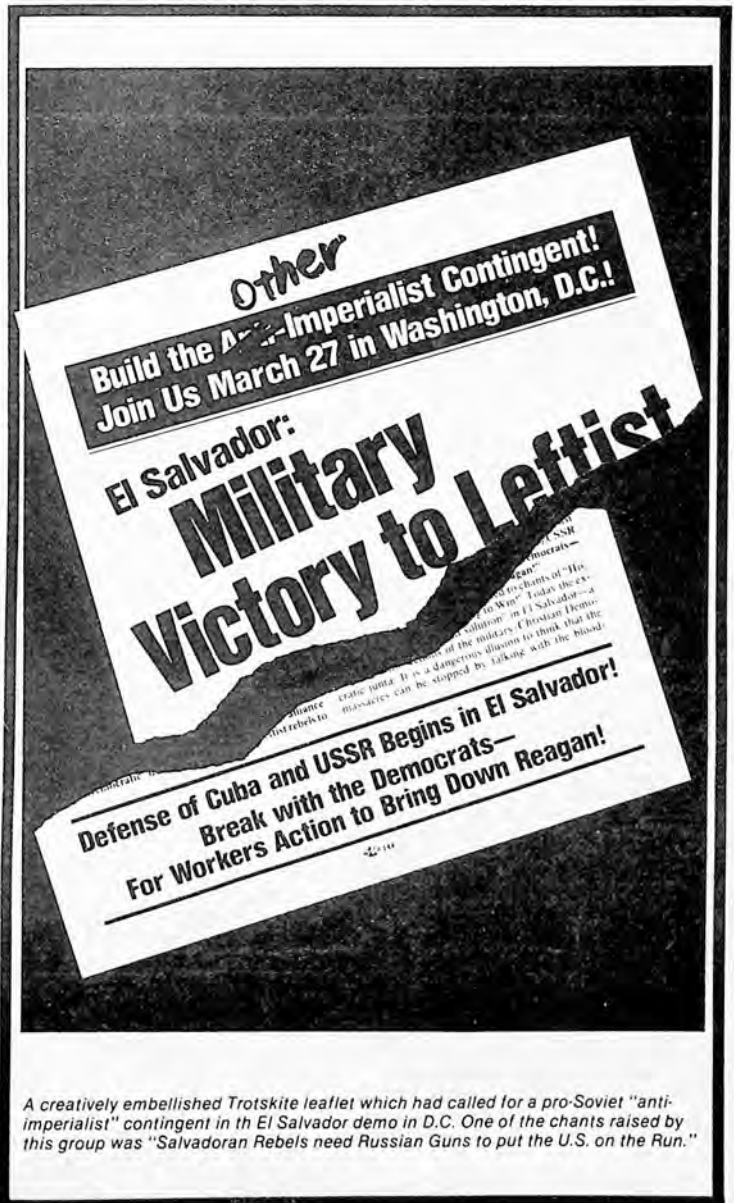
A young Black man took a bundle of RWs. He'd just quit the National Guard because all he was learning was how to put down rebellions he intended to be part of. One punker who had marched on May 1, 1980 in Los Angeles took a bundle of RWs to distribute. Another punker who lives on a local Indian reservation offered to help distribute the paper there. A Chicano brother was excitedly talking with an RW seller about May First in New York where almost every language in the world is spoken when he grabbed the seller's arm telling him to: "Listen to that guy over there (an agitator) because that's what we need to know."

One RW seller agitating about building for May First in Los Angeles got into struggle with a guy over whether or not the Soviet Union was a friend of the people in Latin America; he was saying that in fact the Soviet Union had postponed the outbreak of world war. A crowd gathered and a reporter from a

local public radio station taped the debate that ensued about the Soviet strategy of historic compromise in El Salvador and the revolutionary communist trend in the international movement. When the debate was over, the reporter turned off his tape recorder and started on a whole new topic for struggle, how people have demonstrated before and it hasn't done any good, so why should it be any different this time?

As the demonstration broke up, the red flags did not come down but continued to accent the scene wherever the advanced were headed. One punker, flanked by three punkers carrying the red flag, carried at the end of his stick a charred and ragged scrap of the American flag, his trophy from their sorties against it. Two women held the red flag high as they walked through downtown Seattle. One was jumped by a reactionary who broke the stick but she would not allow him to throw the red flag on the ground. On the bus she and her friend engaged other demonstrators in debate about the need for proletarian internationalism symbolized by the red flag.

Off of the intense struggle for proletarian internationalism that characterized the actions of the advanced at the demonstration, several people have volunteered to go to the target cities to build for May First. Struggle has continued to rage about why CISPES attempted to put the stamp of patriotism on this demonstration, and how, in stark relief the sights of thousands have been raised to the questions of proletarian internationalism and world revolution. □



A creatively embellished Trotskyite leaflet which had called for a pro-Soviet "anti-imperialist" contingent in the El Salvador demo in D.C. One of the chants raised by this group was "Salvadoran Rebels need Russian Guns to put the U.S. on the Run."

The '60s-'70s Shift

Continued from page 3

what ways that happens, I'm just talking about a general tendency.

Here we see from a different angle that Mao was again attempting to apply the anti-Japanese war analogy, which was that they singled out one main enemy among the imperialists, not that Mao ever said the others weren't imperialists, or that Chiang Kai-shek wasn't ultimately a target of the revolution, that he was a long-term and permanent ally of the revolution. He never said those things. He said the opposite, and educated people to the opposite, and to the overall long-term picture of the struggle against all imperialism and reaction. But he did make a distinction, and he did develop the policy, which was correct under those conditions, of forging a united front with Chiang Kai-shek and ultimately that meant unity of a limited and conditional sort in China with the imperialists, particularly the British and U.S., who were behind Chiang Kai-shek. In the context of the anti-Japanese war in China, that was correct. I think that viewing it with the perspective of more experience since then, of historical development and of the work and struggle to sum that up, we can and should still say it's correct. It's not just correct because in the short run it won out, because that's opportunist and pragmatist if that's all you say. But looking at it overall, even with the deepening understanding that we're struggling to forge around some of these questions, and the criticisms that we make of certain aspects, even some important aspects, of Mao's policies as a secondary thing in terms of his overall role, certainly a very secondary thing in that context—still I don't think this anti-Japanese united front was wrong as a basic policy and the way it was applied. It was necessary and correct.

But again, it was wrong for Mao to project that experience onto a world scale in such a way that it meant on a world scale singling out one imperialist power or one imperialist superpower and its bloc (that is, the Soviet Union) as the main enemy and the most dangerous source of war, and putting it in the role of Japan. If you want to extend the analogy, China was seen in an analogous position to the base areas within China during the anti-Japanese war, with the people of the world as a whole being like the people of China at that time. There was acknowledgement of differences regionally and within countries, but still overall it was seen as necessary to wage wars of national liberation converging against the Soviet Union with China being the base area.

Mao No Capitulator

I think this kind of anti-Soviet united front in the way that I have described it, was the basic approach of Mao and defined the basic policies he attempted to implement by the early 1970s. This brought him into conflict with the Lin Biao forces, who were in fact taking a position that would have meant capitulation to the most immediate and direct enemy of China—the Soviet Union—and would have meant betrayal of the Chinese revolution as well as the people of the world by selling out to Soviet social-imperialism. But on the other hand Mao's approach brought him into unity with forces who wanted to use this anti-Soviet united front policy and the tactics associated with it to capitulate to U.S. imperialism. Mao's intentions, actions and policies during this period included the thrust of *not* capitulating. In other words, he was maintaining and carrying forward the same stand he had always had of not capitulating to imperialism and reaction from any quarter. That was made clear during the anti-Japanese war. They never would have had the Chinese revolution afterwards if Mao had not prepared for it, including doing ideological and political preparation and exposing even the imperialist and reactionary forces with whom they were temporarily allied. It's very clear that his actions and intentions were aimed at doing the same thing during this period of the early '70s up to his death, when he was trying to give leadership to a policy of the anti-Soviet united front internationally.

That's clear for example in the Henry Kissinger book. Kissinger tells the story about when they were initiating the U.S.-China official relationship, working with Zhou Enlai on a draft of what became the Shanghai communiqué. The U.S. drew up a draft which was basically a typical bourgeois diplomatic statement and Zhou Enlai approved it. Then Zhou came back later and had to give this whole rap about how Chairman Mao had said that we can't have this kind of statement and the differing and opposing positions of the two sides have to be clear as well as the points on which they agree. What was added was a whole dimension on the part of the Chinese on their support for revolution in the world, which obviously was not mere rhetoric, but was Mao working to keep their independence and their independent line and making clear to the revolutionary forces and the oppressed masses of the world that revolution was still necessary and the Chinese were still supporting it. That could not be sold out, in Mao's view, because of the necessity as he saw it of certain agreements during that period of time with U.S. imperialism. But despite steps like these, and Mao's clearly revolutionary intentions, it was still not correct to extend that earlier (and correct) anti-Japanese united front policy onto a world scale and in the conditions which were beginning to sharpen up in the '70s. We cannot avoid saying that it was incorrect, and we cannot avoid the conclusion that Mao himself—and not just the revisionists in China—was seeking to implement this policy.

One thing as an aside here; it's absolutely ridiculous

for anyone to on the one hand uphold the policy carried out by the Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership before, during and after World War 2, and on the other hand turn around and criticize Mao for implementing a similar policy (and frankly, done in a better way) during the period of the early to mid-'70s. If you're going to criticize Mao, you certainly have to criticize the policy of the Soviet Union under Stalin, and I think that in fact you should, and in a much more thorough way, criticize it because it had the same weaknesses, the same erroneous basis, but *not* some of the same strengths and *not* some of the independence (as represented by that episode around the Shanghai communiqué, as related by Kissinger). But still with all that I think you would have to say this policy was incorrect and not only did it bring Mao into unity with forces like Zhou Enlai and even in a certain limited way at a certain point with Deng Xiaoping, but also by Mao's furthering this policy, even if in a way it was opposed to these revisionists, I believe it also gave them more ground, more initiative and strengthened them in their struggle to betray revolution internationally and, as a crucial part of that, to betray it in China, to restore capitalism there and to sell out to imperialism. It's very important to sum up this error; you can't avoid summing this up if we want to really draw the most profound lessons.

All this is not to say that if a basically correct line had been upheld and fought for, if Mao had not made the error of trying to project the lessons of China during the anti-Japanese war into a different situation and onto a world scale 30 years later, then the revolutionaries would have won in China in 1976. Even had they not made those errors, that's no guarantee they would have definitely succeeded in that there would not have been the temporary triumph of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in China. Just having a correct line does not in the short run guarantee that. Mao himself pointed that out: sometimes you can have the correct line but the forces of reaction are temporarily stronger and gain a temporary victory. But still, in terms of the overall development of the revolutionary movement, we would be further ahead had a correct line been fought for and put forward not only around the crucial questions where that was the case in terms of the class struggle within China itself, but specifically in terms of the international line.

Frankly, there's an irony here because the very last thrust that was made by the revolutionaries before they were defeated, right before and right after Mao's death, was an attempt to popularize the very important analysis of bourgeois democrats becoming capitalist roaders. They were trying to point out the limitations of the bourgeois-democratic outlook, but what was missing from their analysis was the expression of that outlook around the national question and around the international situation. On the one hand, here were the proletarian revolutionaries trying to fight bourgeois democrats and expose how they haven't made a radical rupture, how bourgeois democrats become capitalist roaders as the socialist revolution enters the socialist period and advances are made; on the other hand, here these same revolutionaries were taking a line which deviated in the direction of nationalism and reflects bourgeois democracy in that way. So they were undermining the very base on which they were attempting to fight these things.

That's not saying that having any kind of united front with any kind of reactionary force, even imperialism under certain conditions, having certain agreements or relations with them, is automatically betrayal or a reflection of bourgeois-democratic thinking. But concretely in those conditions it was an error in the direction of nationalism and ultimately an error in the direction of bourgeois democracy—not a thorough rupture with it in that regard. It went along with promoting bourgeois democracy, nationalism, even in fact chauvinism in the imperialist countries other than the two superpowers (this was even true in the U.S.). It promoted national defensism, social-chauvinism, defense of the fatherland in the name of the great anti-Soviet patriotic war, war against the Soviet main danger.

So even while the revolutionaries were fighting the bourgeois democrats who were turning or had turned into capitalist roaders, they were undermining some of that very ground by their international line—in which they found themselves to a significant degree in unity with these same bourgeois democrats. Of course, we don't know how the overall struggle that was being waged would have been carried out, what expression it would have taken in the field of international line had the revolutionaries won out. Maybe carrying through that struggle and what it would have taken to win would have caused them to call into question some of these very lines and policies and to change them, I don't know. But that's speculation; what we do know is that, while the revolutionaries were very clearly opposed to these capitalist roaders on the question of maintaining independence and not capitulating to imperialism and reaction, at the same time they had a common ground, that they should not have had under those conditions, with the policy of a united front against the Soviet Union internationally. That's on the one hand, Mao and his comrades made errors; but on the other hand, theirs was an entirely different class viewpoint than the viewpoint of counterrevolution, of restoring capitalism and selling out to imperialism, on the part of those who were grouped around Zhou Enlai and particularly around

Deng Xiaoping in the last period.

Shifting of World Forces

It's also necessary to sum up some things about the objective situation in order to be able to most profoundly sum up the errors of the revolutionaries in China, and in order to be able to oppose the counterrevolutionary revisionists there, as well as to be able to oppose the other errors and the opposite pole of revisionist stupidity, as for example the line put forward by the Albanians in the last few years or any of those who would be soft on or even apologize for Soviet social-imperialism. To be able to analyze and deal with a very complex and sharpening situation, to be able to correctly assess friends and enemies, it's necessary to understand what was happening in the world in the late '60s and early '70s, in particular with regard to the role of the Soviet Union and some of the things that were favoring it then and which still have relevance and importance today. This gets us back again to the problems with Lin Biao and the *Long Live the Victory of People's War* analysis. While that analysis talks about the need for a Marxist-Leninist party to lead the struggle, one of the problems with the attempt to project a uniform extension of the Vietnam experience around the world, or the Chinese experience from earlier in the anti-Japanese war into the present-day third-world-wide scale, is that in general the forces that had the initiative and were mainly the leadership of these national liberation struggles were, in one form or another, bourgeois or petty-bourgeois forces. Under the conditions of the time, these forces might have been taking a genuinely anti-imperialist stand, even a revolutionary stand, but changes were taking place in the world. This had its effects whether you're talking about Cuba, Algeria, Palestine, a number of struggles in Africa, or ultimately whether you're talking about Vietnam itself. Because the Soviets were stabbing the Vietnamese struggle in the back and attempting to sell it out and suppress it in the mid-'60s, the more pro-revolutionary, anti-revisionist and pro-Chinese tendencies (and undoubtedly some forces) gained some ground within Vietnam—perhaps to no small degree on a pragmatic basis. Nevertheless, in the final analysis, because of the shifting relation of forces in the world and the changing expression of world contradictions, these were not the forces and tendencies that gained the upper hand in the Vietnamese party—to say nothing of a lot of these other parties.

On a world scale things were changing. U.S. imperialism was suffering defeat in Vietnam and had a need to try to extricate itself from that situation. Yes, the U.S. tried to win, but when it became clear that wasn't really possible without throwing everything in and literally risking everything, the U.S. imperialists tried to extricate themselves, pull back, maneuver and regroup on a world scale the best they could. All that gave openings to the Soviets. This, together with the driving compulsion of Soviet social-imperialism itself to redivide the world and the things that it had to do, brought about a change increasingly through the late '60s and into the '70s. In particular there was a change in the whole Soviet stance and policy in the world vis-a-vis the U.S. and toward struggles opposed to U.S. imperialism. While of course the Soviet Union still sought to stab these struggles in the back, and use them for its own ends and suppress any genuine revolutionary struggle, the Soviet Union nevertheless would supply arms when before it wouldn't; it would in fact give backing to struggles that before it would openly oppose.

Under these conditions a lot of these petty-bourgeois forces and even the bourgeois forces who had the initiative and had a leadership role in many of these struggles tended to gravitate toward the Soviet Union because the Soviet Union offers a seeming short-cut to winning the struggle against U.S. imperialism—which is genuinely powerful. It's not easy to wage a struggle against U.S. imperialism. Even though we can say that it's been proved possible to puncture and batter U.S. imperialism, it's not easy. It's not without tremendous sacrifice, and the Soviets offer a way that seems easier to do that. And not only were some of these petty-bourgeois and bourgeois forces drawn toward that, but also, they're not a monolith either. There are different forces among them, and those who tended more to gravitate toward that illusory but seemingly easier course tended to be strengthened.

So, here's China in the early '70s in a difficult position where if you want to put it in crude, almost bourgeois, terms it can't compete with the Soviets on that level. And the Marxist-Leninists in China didn't want to, either. But nobody, neither them nor even the revisionists, could compete on that kind of a level. Even those who wanted to use these struggles for their own ends couldn't compete with the Soviets on that kind of level. The revolutionaries in China were fighting for a policy (and in a large part it was implemented) of extending genuine internationalist aid to these struggles, charging little or often nothing for the arms they were supplying, fighting for the line of sending Marxist-Leninist literature along with the technical equipment. They were waging ideological struggle on a principled basis among the forces within this movement, and attempting to build up the Marxist-Leninist forces. But there's a problem. And the problem, to put it provocatively, is you can't make people be Marxist-Leninists if they don't want to be. And you're dealing with the fact that a Marxist-Leninist line doesn't always win out. In fact, it's the line that demands—because reality demands, and as a reflection of that, the Marxist-Leninist line demands—that you

take the most arduous path, and one that involves the most sacrifices. And so, in the short run, things don't always favor the Marxist-Leninist forces.

Soviets in the '30s, China in the '70s

In a number of ways, the kind of line the Chinese revolutionaries were fighting for, and the forces, the tendencies that they were representing and seeking to help come to the fore, were suffering setbacks in the face of the changing conditions, and the changing stands and tactics of the Soviet social-imperialists. There's an analogy here to what happened in the Soviet Union in the '30s after some of its attempts to support revolutionary movements (including some of its errors) led to frustrating results, even crippling and devastating defeats such as in Germany. There was then a kind of retrenchment of forces and tendencies, both socially and also even within individual leaders such as Stalin. They tended to retrench and adopt a more nationalist position—a position of, "well, I guess we have to defend what we've got," which converges with defending the fatherland, or the "socialist fatherland." That comes to the center, and you lose sight of the fact that while there may be temporary defeats due to the developing and sharpening contradictions, the opportunities and the prospects for advance may actually ripen and increase exactly as everything comes to a head. This includes the need to figure out how to defend what you do have to the greatest degree on the best basis—that is, overall as a subordinate part of the international struggle and in a way that seeks to enhance the whole international movement.

It seems to me the same kind of phenomena occurred in China partly on the basis of some of the setbacks that were being suffered internationally. Not so much in Vietnam, ironically that struggle was not losing, in fact it was winning, but there were some other struggles that had run up against their limitations, were either getting bogged down, were suffering defeats, or weren't getting off the ground, depending on the concrete circumstances. Some even got drowned in blood and crushed—temporarily but in a fairly thorough, if temporary way. And beyond that, even within those struggles that weren't suffering such setbacks at the time, the Marxist-Leninist forces and line were suffering setbacks, in particular vis-à-vis the Soviet revisionists and their influence, their forces and allies. So in this kind of context, somewhat analogous to the Soviet Union in the early and mid-'30s, there was a retrenching in China. The political result was the uniting around the line of an anti-Soviet united front, analyzing the Soviet Union as the main danger on a world scale, and losing sight again of how the sharpening contradictions would also mean, not only more difficulty and more dangers in the period ahead, but also increasing opportunities and the prospects for revolution and for advance, taking the world as a whole.

And again, this related to some of the limitations of the Lin Biao line and of revolutionary nationalist upsurges with a Marxist-Leninist current of varying kinds, and of varying strength within them. The limitations of all that began to much more sharply assert themselves in this whole changing situation of the late '60s and particularly in the early '70s. And as that began to happen, the opposite pole of the Lin Biao-type errors, and the one which has no revolutionary expression, but has an openly capitulationist expression of the bourgeois-democratic outlook, began to assert itself much more strongly. Even the revolutionaries were pulled toward that because of some deviations toward nationalism and methodological limitations in how they tried to sum up and apply the lessons of the past struggles that they'd been a part of and, more broadly, some errors in summing up and applying the lessons of the international communist movement, particularly around World War 2. They had summed up basically that the Comintern line around World War 2 was correct, but the problem was that there was a capitulationist tendency within that which was to a large degree fostered and encouraged by Stalin and the Comintern, but which also had its expression within most of the parties that were a part of the Third International. The Chinese Marxist-Leninists summed up that was what was wrong but the overall line was correct. And they generally tried to apply the same line that was applied in World War 2, and in particular they tried to extend the experience that they specifically had in the anti-Japanese war onto a world scale. That's where their own errors interconnected with the openly capitulationist stand of the Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping-type forces—even though there was a qualitative difference, and ultimately an open antagonism between the forces grouped around Mao, who were overall upholding a revolutionary line while making significant errors of this kind, and the forces grouped around Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping and that whole counterrevolutionary farago grouped around, which unfortunately won a temporary victory and now are in power with various differing and conflicting tendencies.

There are real reasons why the Soviet Union was able to make headway and why sticking to and upholding a Marxist-Leninist line became more difficult in many instances within some of these revolutionary movements in the third world at that point. In the imperialist countries, too, there were difficulties of a not totally different nature: bourgeois and petty-bourgeois tendencies and forces, tendencies toward reformism and capitulation toward imperialism (often in the form of capitulation to Soviet social-imperialism with a socialist mask). These

tendencies were temporarily strengthened—not uniformly, not without contradiction, not everywhere and all the time, but as a general phenomenon this was occurring. And this was a factor contributing to the erroneous position and errors taken up and made by Mao and those forces grouped around him.

We have to learn not only from the heroic contributions of these revolutionaries, but also from these errors, and we have to sum up very deeply both the objective and subjective aspects that contributed to these errors and to the defeats that were suffered. This is particularly important because today is not a time when there's been a tremendous revolutionary upsurge and now there's an ebb; instead we're in a period when the ebb is beginning to give way to something else. We are approaching an historic conjuncture on a world scale where all these contradictions are, as Stalin correctly described it, being gathered together into a single knot and thrown on the scales for resolution. This is an important analysis as long as we don't understand it to mean (and Stalin didn't put that forward) they all literally become one contradiction, but they are much more closely interknit and interconnected with each other at this point, they are all brought to a head and thrown on the scale for resolution. And in that light it's all the more important and urgent that we sum up the objective and subjective factors leading to this temporary ebb, and also how that influenced the terrain on which the revolutionary leaders such as Mao were struggling. We can only sum this up correctly by looking at the overall development of the contradictions and the ways in which there was a shift in the situation and conditions. We can't do it by just ignoring the necessity that posed itself, nor of course can we do it by failing to recognize that given that, they still made errors. Not that they would have been guaranteed to win or not suffer any setbacks if they hadn't made those errors, but given the necessity, they still in some aspects (again, secondary but still important) responded to and incorrectly dealt with that necessity.

Mao's Contributions, Our Tasks

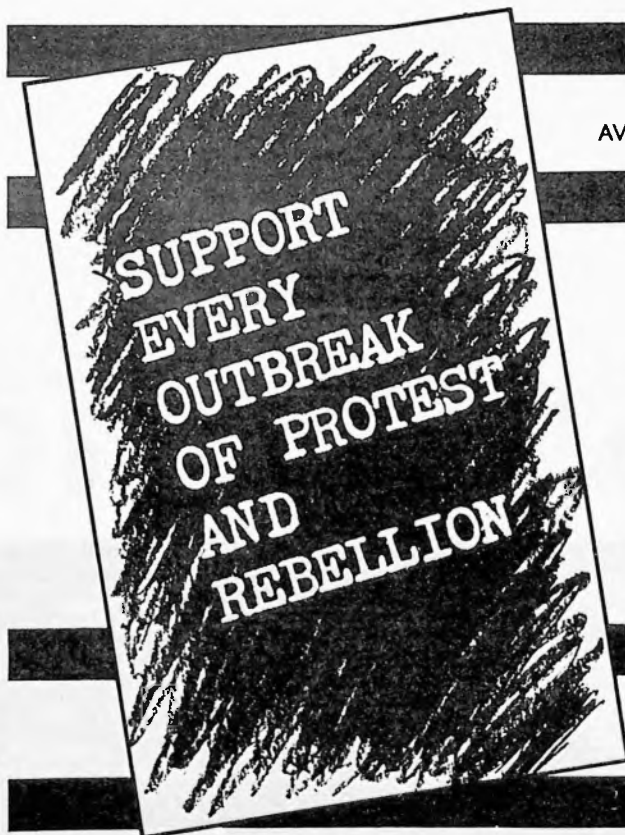
To sum up the specific point of what there is in common with *Long Live the Victory of People's War* and the Deng Xiaoping "three worlds" theory, and how does Mao relate to the one and the other: you could say that there was some of Mao in each, but in a qualitative sense he was different from both. He was different in the sense that he was a Marxist-Leninist—whereas the Lin Biao line, even *Long Live the Victory of People's War*, had errors and deviations which reflect revolutionary nationalism and bourgeois-democratic thinking as opposed to Marxism-Leninism, and on the other hand, the "three worlds" theory is openly capitulationist and counter-revolutionary. So, you could say there is some of Mao and Mao's positions in each, but Mao is qualitatively different from both of them. Mao was a revolutionary and a Marxist-Leninist who advanced both Marxism-Leninism in the realm of theory and also the struggle of the international proletariat concretely—advanced them, in fact, to new and unprecedented heights.

Just one point that I think we should further add here: it's not so simple a question as the ideological question of whether you dare to make revolution or whether you become conservative and just simply try to hang on to what you have. I mean, Mao said a number of times after they

had power, that we came from the caves of Yenan, we fought for years in the hills, and if we have to we'll go back to them. And he said it in the context where he was putting it on the line; it wasn't just empty bombast and rhetoric, he put it on the line. Mao said this in the context of inner-party struggles and in the face of threats of attack from the imperialists, so I think it clearly was his stand that for the interests of the revolution he'd be willing to take a temporary step back. He did that in a more limited but important way for example during the struggle against Chiang Kai-shek in 1947, when they temporarily abandoned the center that they had in Yenan in order to lure in Chiang Kai-shek more deeply and to be able to annihilate his forces and win victory throughout the whole country. I think Mao was ready to do that again on a broader scale, even taking into account the possibility of imperialist attack on China, and also the class struggle against the bourgeoisie within China, particularly the revisionist forces within the party. In the face of the one or the other or both, he was ready to do that.

That basic stand is indispensable and without it you never could be a Marxist-Leninist and never could contribute to advancing the revolution. It's basic to any revolutionary, and to any revolutionary outlook, any revolutionary program. Nevertheless, it's not enough. There's still the question of what political line you have and there's also the question of correct versus incorrect methodology, even in someone like Mao. Mao made tremendous contributions in the area of philosophy, Marxist-Leninist methodology and outlook in general, but there were still some aspects of his methodology that were incorrect, and in political line, some tendencies toward nationalism, which were in some ways a significant (even though secondary) counter-current to his tremendous contributions. So it's not simply a question of do you have the interests of revolution at heart, or even more than that, are you willing to risk what you have in order to maintain principle and to continue fighting for revolution. There's also the question of methodology and especially the question of political line—the struggle around political line and what's your understanding and what the concrete actions flowing from that are in the realm of political line. Mao's errors, for example their expression in terms of anti-Soviet united front, were not due to the fact that he was freaked out or panicked in the face of the Soviet threat or because he was afraid of a Soviet attack on China and afraid to risk what had already been gained. The mistakes stemmed from some errors in methodology and some erroneous political tendencies which found their expression in a sharp way in the '70s in terms of this united front against the Soviet Union policy. That's very important to sum up, because, again, clearly in Mao—and in a qualitatively different way I would even say than in Stalin—there was that willingness to risk what had already been won; there was the insistence on the necessity to do that rather than to give up principle and sacrifice the revolution. There was that ideological stand on Mao's part. But what that proves is that on the one hand that's indispensable, but on the other hand just that is not enough. And we have to learn and sum up more deeply than that.

(To be continued)

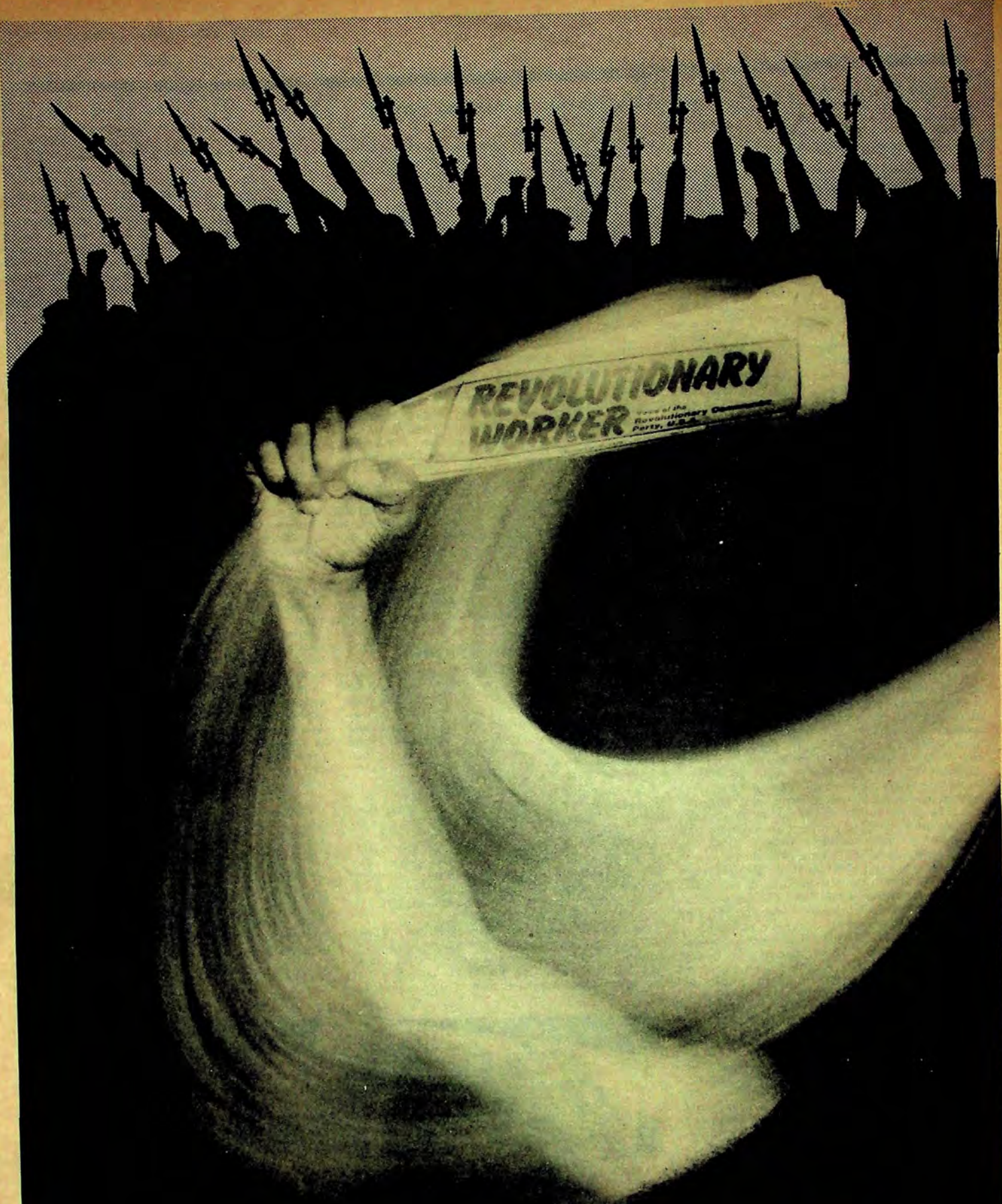


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