

CLASS WAR

For The Dictatorship Of The Proletariat

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WATERGATE AND CHILE MEANS—

BOYCOTT THE ELECTIONS!

Watergate proved that elections are rigged.

Chile proves that elections can kill—that is, that elections can be used to pacify the working class into an impotent and passive position, without either arms or effective organization, its neck at the chopping-block, awaiting the murderous axe of the fascist counter-revolution.

Without the organization of the working class for the united revolutionary struggle for power, there will not only be more Watergates, more collapse of the capitalist "business as usual", more rot in the decaying corpse of bourgeois society as a whole, but there will also be more Chiles, more slaughters of the working class and the revolutionary movement after a necessary preliminary period of "softening-up", Kremlin-directed "Popular Fronts", illusions about petty-bourgeois "radical" leaders, like Allende, along with confusion about the violent organs of the state, the army, police, etc., and all-pervasive parliamentary cretinism. More Watergates and more Chiles, capitalism pulling us all, the toiling peoples of the whole world, into the pit of its destruction—unless there is revolution.

In the so-called "United States of America", they tore open the ballot boxes and found that they were stuffed with money, with bribes and pay-offs, and that they were bugged, a farce which is even more farcical because everybody knew it anyway.

In Chile, it is not farce, but bloody tragedy, that unfolds as the ballot boxes are torn away, together with the so-called "constitutional legality" of Chile, to reveal the bayonets, machineguns, tanks, and recently-purchased, with Allende's approval, fighter planes of the fascist military, integral and undivided loyal servants of the entire bourgeoisie.

Across the long border from Chile, in Argentina, elections are once more, but in slightly different forms than in Chile, serving the bourgeoisie, foreign and native alike, in the most useful way—being used to both divide the revolutionary forces, most importantly the working class itself, and gather the forces of counter-revolution, political and military. A large section of the would-be revolutionary movement, as in Chile, but with much less "justifiable" excuses, has given to Peron the weapons which he needs to slaughter them, the political initiative, the trust of large numbers of workers, the allegiance of the radical intelligentsia, and the time and place, for Peron personally to decide, for the mass slaughter of the revolutionary left, the Marxists, genuine and phonies alike, for the "emergency measures" which he has been threatening from the beginning to impose, measures which can only mean intensive slave-labor, the destruction of even reformist labor bodies, and a Brazil-type massive sucking of the whole country dry by world banks and imperialist governments.

Everywhere, the capitalist elections mean mass propaganda and the virtual artificial projection of "public opinion" by government-directed agencies of psychological warfare, in this country contained within the general CIA network, to prepare successive campaigns of further enslavement, speed-up, and general exploitation of the entire working population, campaigns which very often are not reflected in the elections themselves in even the slightest manner. Thus, for the elections, a special series of staged "controversies" are fabricated, "special issues" and "vital concerns", which are fed through the multi-form mass media communications of all kinds to the population, issues which are calculated to play upon the backward, divisive, chauvinist and essentially bourgeois ideology prevailing for the moment, issues which distort or deny the real class issues, that is, the question of revolution or counter-revolution which is put before the people of the world in this period of general crisis.

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STATEMENT OF CLASS WAR ON THE TENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

1. Class War cannot greet the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China because this congress represents a severe setback for the Proletarian Revolutionary Line in the C.P.C. and is in fact the culmination of a process over the past couple of years which has temporarily and partially liquidated the historic gains achieved in the course of both the Polemic against modern revisionism and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

2. The Tenth National Congress, the shortest and most secretive national congress ever held by the C.P.C., signals the imminent crisis of the "three-in-one" revolutionary committees, whereby a temporary alliance was achieved between the New Organs of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (Red Guards, Red Rebels, and rebel general headquarters), the Left faction in the People's Liberation Army (represented by Lin Piao), and the Party and State cadres which had survived the storms of the Cultural Revolution (represented mainly by Chou En Lai). The "three-in-one" combination was specifically designated as a provisional organ, with a more advanced model based on the Paris Commune in mind as the eventual aim of the Cultural Revolution. However, today, one element, the Party and State bureaucrats, dominates. Nothing more is heard of the great mass organizations of the masses, such as the Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters in Shanghai, and the so-called "September 13th incident" an alleged plot by Lin Piao and Chen Pota to kill Mao Tse-tung, has been used to remove the last immediate obstacle to the undivided domination of the bureaucrats, including many of Liu Shao Chi's closest supporters, over the "revolutionary committees" at the highest, decision-making levels, regional and municipal government, foreign affairs, etc. Today, the bureaucracy revives the revisionist-dominated Trade Unions, Young Communist League, etc. even as it attempts to do away with the genuine mass organizations created by the workers, peasants, soldiers, and students in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

3. The Tenth National Congress also signals the temporary victory of the right-opportunist "detente" policy in foreign affairs, a policy with which Chou En Lai has been intimately associated. In the documents and statements of the Tenth National Congress, for the first time, the revisionist concept of the "Third World" enters the official terminology of the Communist Party of China, a concept which is introduced even as Mao Tse-tung's principle of People's War, of the revolutionary war led by the proletarian party, is removed. The tactical line of neutralizing "intermediary" forces and dividing the enemy has been expanded into a long-range strategy which places the foreign diplomacy between governments on a higher level of importance than the relations between the various sections of the international revolutionary movement.

4. Likewise, the Tenth National Congress is the first actual public statement by the Chinese leadership on the so-called Lin Piao-Chen Pota "plot". The manner in which this "affair" has been handled gives it all the superficial resemblance to a "Chinese Watergate", including a fabricated "cover-up story". Although it was earlier known, and even mentioned by Wilfred Burchett in the sycophantic Guardian that Lin Piao and Chen Pota opposed the trend in foreign policy from the left, opposing the entry into the United Nations, Nixon's visit, etc., now we are treated to a completely absurd allegation that Lin Piao was a Soviet agent, a "super-spy", and a would-be assassin, and Chen Pota, Mao Tse-tung's personal secretary, a "Trotskyite" and a "anti-communist Kuomintang element". The cover-up story presented by Chou En Lai and his stooges was "leaked" in the Watergate tradition to sources in the imperialist countries by specific bureaucrats, directly under Chou En Lai's control in his personal domains, the State Council and Foreign Ministry, such as the Chinese Embassy in Algiers, which was the first reported source of the "Lin Piao affair." Furthermore, since around the time Lin Piao was alleged to have been killed in an airplane crash in Mongolia, supposedly on his way to the Soviet Union, there ceased to be any further plenary sessions of the Central Committee of the Party. And, greatest source of our suspicions, is the singular fact that Mao Tse-tung himself did not even address the Tenth National Congress, and that, since May 20th, 1970, he has not made any public statements, including about either the entry into the United Nations, the "Lin Piao affair", or the Party congress itself. In the past, it has been believed that such silence, at important Party affairs, etc., was considered to be a form of symbolic protest, but surely more than symbolic protest is needed at this time!

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In the Mayoralty Elections this November in New York City, and in the continuing rigged farces which the capitalists will stage over the coming years, right up until the moment when they find that even the elections cannot contain the class struggle any longer, and that they must resort to the iron fist that lies inside their "democratic" velvet glove, the only revolutionary position is to agitate and organize for the Election Boycott, for the anti-parliamentary and extra-parliamentary class struggle of the proletariat for state power.

To those, who, like the Labor Committees, through their Labor Party electoral campaigns, declare "We will not spread illusions about capitalist state power, we will use the elections against those who run them, who stage them" we answer—How is this different than those who say "We will take money from the government or foundations and use it against them"? It is because we sincerely consider the comrades of the Labor Committees to be genuine revolutionaries that we must polemicize against them on this question of the "tactics" of using the elections, which always manages, with numerous historical examples, to "slip" into an overall strategy, a general line, and a prevailing, essentially hustling, outlook, corroding and corrupting the developing revolutionary cadres and their activities. Even in your own propaganda for and about your election campaigns, we notice the tendency to say "we will take over the government" when, of course, as relatively "orthodox" Marxists, you recognize the need to smash the capitalist state machine, creating an entirely new revolutionary state power of the armed proletariat. However, these "slips of the phrase" are now joined by comrade Chaitkin's proclamations that the Labor Party can actually win the elections in New York! Such grave errors of estimation of the actual disposal of forces at present, particularly the absence of a centralized revolutionary party in the Leninist sense, raise the expectations of the cadres to a point, which when unsatisfied, can result in backward, downward slides into pessimism and under-estimation of forces at some future point.

We consider that all the energy of all the "left-wing" parties in all the "protest campaigns" and "third-party" efforts cannot, altogether, have as revolutionary an effect as a single, nationwide Election Boycott campaign, put forward as a united-front organizing effort to assemble the advanced workers from every section of the workingclass, preparing both the basis for the indispensable centralized, revolutionary Marxist Party and the New Organs of Struggle for power. Such a campaign has never been attempted in recent times—Class War does not pretend to wage such a nation-wide campaign at this time, we are developing a general polemic on this question, including the diverse historical precedents of debate on this question, which we hope will provoke a wider discussion, resulting in a firmer grasp, of the vital question of State and Revolution, of which elections are a part.

In fact, although this ignored by practically every single "historian" of every political tendency on the left, in the years 1919 and 1920, the Communists in this country, affiliated to the Communist International, had an official policy of boycotting the capitalist elections, and organizing outside and against the capitalist government. The chief slogans put forward in the elections of 1919 and 1920 by both the Communist Party and Communist Labor Party were "Boycott the elections!" The organ of the Communist Party of America, The Communist, October 4th, 1919 declared:

"At the moment when it is necessary to strengthen the mass action tendency of the proletariat, as at this moment, it becomes necessary to boycott the elections, as the Bolsheviks boycotted the elections for the second Duma in 1906."

Right now it is necessary to "strengthen the mass action tendency of the proletariat" as opposed to the divided reformist tendency. We must strengthen the tendency to unite across the most difficult barriers, typified in the class-solidarity exhibited in Attica, in the most developed of the so-called "riots", in the General Strike in France May 1968, and in the numerous world-wide expressions of the struggle of the working class everywhere for its own centralized socialist state power, its own armed dictatorship against the capitalists, and its own world-wide collective development of every productive force, but especially itself, ourselves, in a conscious seizure of control over history.

We raise the call to Boycott the Elections in this country together with the irreconcilable Marxist-Leninist program of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Against the state power of the capitalists, imperialists, bankers, and bloodsuckers, there can only stand the state power of the armed and organized working class. By this manner, we oppose ourselves to all the petty-bourgeois anarchist, syndicalist, situationist, or other would-be "anti-state" activity typical of these elements, which opposes to the capitalist state its imbecile notions of the decentralized "commune", Soviets without Bolsheviks, as similar elements called for in the Kronstadt rebellion, a return to primitive rural existence, or other such idiocy.

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

DON'T VOTE—REVOLT!

5. A further clue to the situation is presented by the makeup of the Politburo and Central Committee as elected in the Tenth National Congress. The Left forces, represented mainly by Chiang Ching, Yao Wen-yuan, and Chang Chun-chiao, (the last two having been leaders in the Shanghai Commune and January Revolution in 1967) have been greatly reduced in power, removed from any effective decision-making positions. In their place, the "newcomer", Wang Hung-wen, a protege of Chou En Lai, who can hardly be considered to really rank third in the collective leadership bodies, as implied in the reports on the Congress. But it is the return of the Liu Shao Chi men, the Teng Hsiao-Pings and Ulanfus, that really signals the process underway. Eventually, the left forces, who, especially through Chiang Ching, have always been most closely associated with Mao Tse Tung himself, will have to stop letting themselves be used as "token" representatives of the revolutionary masses, will have to exercise their revolutionary right to rebel, and strike down the bureaucrats who have usurped the revolutionary power.

6. The right-opportunist turn has also raised the most serious error: in relation to the struggle against modern revisionism. Since the end of 1971, Peking Review has begun to include Rumania in the list of socialist countries, and even worse, has referred to the so-called "Rumanian Communist Party" as a fraternal Marxist-Leninist Party. At the same time, the Communist Party of China did not even send any representatives to the Sixth Party Congress of the Albanian Party of Labor in November of 1971, an unprecedented act, since, the Albanian Party has since the late '50's and the Polemic against Soviet revisionism been considered the closest fraternal party. The inclusion of the notorious extreme right-revisionists of Rumania, in no way representative of the interests of the Rumanian proletariat and people, in the camp of socialist countries and fraternal parties represents a grave deviation from the Marxist-Leninist line of the Great Polemic of the 1960's, which resulted in an entirely new situation in the international workingclass movement, giving rise to a whole new world-wide alignment of revolutionary Communists and anti-revisionists, with which Class War is proud to be associated through our origins and general political line. Every indication points to a gigantic revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat and oppressed peoples in the revisionist-ruled countries, including inside the social-imperialist U.S.S.R., an upsurge that is bound to come very soon, and for which the Czechoslovak uprising in 1968 and the Polish workers' uprising of 1970 will prove to be only rehearsals. Ceausescu and his clique, so palsy with Nixon, Golda Meier, etc. and riding rough-shod on the backs of the Rumanian proletariat, will not escape the fate of all the parasitical bureaucracy, their destruction in the storms of the Second October.

7. Far from representing the end of the process begun in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of 1966-1969, the Tenth National Congress actually stands at the beginning of the second great outbreak of proletarian struggle under socialism in China, the second great Struggle-for-Power between the revolutionary masses and the bureaucracy, the bourgeoisie-in-embryo. In 1966, in a letter to Chiang Ching, Mao Tse Tung said that the next Cultural Revolution will come in either 1973 or 1974, at least once every seven or eight years. The bourgeoisie all over the world is heaping praise on Chou En Lai for "stabilizing" China, for "quelling" the Red Guards, for his "realism" and "pragmatism". But the world situation will not let things rest, either inside or outside China. The comments by Chou En Lai to the extent that "the world is in disorder" reveal the bankruptcy of the bureaucracy in the face of the general crisis, their inability to either understand or act upon the actual events of this period. Likewise, all the talk about "irresistible historical trends" shows that the bureaucracy cannot even envisage a possible active role to take in the present situation—for them, the "trends", whether good or bad, are beyond their, or our, intervention, as revolutionaries, as sections of a world-wide movement.

8. At the same time as we criticize the Tenth National Congress, we must also point out the important gains made through the struggles of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, because it is precisely these gains that are threatened by the opportunism of the bureaucracy. The system of revolutionary committees at the base, in the factories, communes, and schools, where, it must be noted, the role of women is steadily growing, and the general egalitarian attitudes and traditions in the People's Liberation Army, the revolutionized health system, and the high political level achieved during the past decade of complex struggles of various kinds, all of this stands in opposition to the intentions and initial policies of the bureaucracy. The committees at the base have a rotational system of participation, allowing the greatest number of workers, peasants, and soldiers to make and carry out decisions. However, the higher you go up in the levels of power of the system, the less this is true, up to the upper-most point where seventy and eighty-year-old cadres maintain the same posts they have held since Liberation in 1949. This confrontation, between the revolutionary masses and the bureaucracy, is the main reason why there have been no massive rallies or demonstrations of any kind in Peking, Shanghai, or other major cities, even for May Day or October 1st, allegedly to "avoid waste", actually to prevent the large-scale concentration of organized masses, including political debates, exchange of experiences, and other extensively democratic activity which characterized the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The bureaucracy aims to decentralize the power of the masses at the same time as they centralize their own, usurped

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NATIVE AMERICAN QUESTION AND THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

There are basically two paths open to the Native American people in fighting their oppressors at this time in history. The first is the mainly defensive and immediate struggle waged separately on the actual basis of being an oppressed minority or caste of people. That is, as a nationalist movement or as a "national culture". The second method is the offensive and conclusive struggle fought on an actual partisan of the whole working class. This requires joining and identifying with other sections of the working class against the imperialist US ruling class. Obviously these two methods do not lead by different paths to the achievement of the same goals. Let us examine both the question of nation and the larger labor question in relation to the Indian people.

The population of the North American "Indians" at Columbus' time has been estimated by different sources to be between one and twelve million but usually around two million. These people were divided into more than 600 different societies with almost as many dialects although many shared the use of sign language as a secondary language in their travel, peaceful contact and wars. The peoples of North America had independently reached different levels of development ranging from upper stages of savagery signified by the use of bow-and-arrow of some tribes to the middle stages of barbarism signified by cultivation of their main source of food, maize, in artificially irrigated plots of ground, lived in adobe houses, and also domesticated some animals thereby winning an adequate material existence from the land. There were at the same time Native Americans of the Northwest coast, an area of bountiful food supply in fish, especially salmon and sea mammals, that boosted the normal hunting and gathering subsistence, who even developed within the tribe features of rank and status based on wealth, but who used the bow-and-arrow and were acquainted with neither pottery nor any form of horticulture.* The highest development of political association among the Native Americans was the federation of tribes as found in the League of the Iroquois and the confederation of tribes which were originally related, populated a continuous territory, subsisted by the same basic techniques of hunting and fishing and planting and spoke similar dialects of the same language was the first step toward a nation and signified the start of the internal break-up of the gentes form of social organization. The invasion of European (settlers) moving westward behind constant attacks on the Native Americans for their land and resources, and later, by the U.S. government by a systematic and deliberate program of genocide, together reduced the Native American population to the low point in 1901 of 269,388 and to the higher population according to the 1970 U.S. census of 792,000. Thus the consolidation of the Native American societies was cut short in the most direct and brutal way.

The nation, in a scientific approach to history, is defined by J.V. Stalin as a "historically constituted stable community of people formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture." The emergence of a common economic life is what ties the nation as a historical phenomena to the rise of capitalism. This material development is crucial to the synthesis of a nation. Stalin also describes: "The (home) market is the first school in which the bourgeoisie learns its nationalism." The home market of developing capitalism depends on a basis of productive skills and significant commodity production in the first place, and also the systems of communication and transportation to consolidate it. Common economic ties depend also for the free flow of commerce on a common language which links all members of each class to the market. The culture of a people is also a vital consolidating factor for the nation developed from the historical conditions of various peoples, and actively shaping and giving form to their way of life. These factors taking place within a common territory are all required to build a nation, and to develop national consciousness, fully-developed bourgeois consciousness. But the Native American tribes were interrupted early in their development toward a nation and prevented from forming these features and especially the key dynamic, a common economic life. It is initially through the thrust of developing capitalism that the relatively independent economic units of feudal or tribal social relations are broken for the more unified and efficient form of the national state.

(* This sketch of development of Native American prehistoric culture is drawn from the work of the anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan who, although not a Marxist, applied the method of historical materialism to his research of kinship systems among the Native Americans and derived the sequence of social forms in humanity's early history based on the development of the "successive arts of subsistence". Morgan's book, "Ancient Society" provided the basis for F. Engels' book "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State" which focused on the theoretical meaning of Morgan's work and carried through the materialist interpretation of history to its application to present-day class society.)

The Native American struggle in the U.S. has not tended toward a strict demand for self-determination as a nation, but it has developed as a separate Native American peoples' movement unattached to other real allies or potential allies. Beyond the essential definition of a nation there are processes of the national movement which are related to the Native American Question. The role of the national movement in history, so interconnected with the development of capital, is not limited to the awakening of national consciousness alone. This tendency centers around the struggle of the national bourgeoisie for the home market in some countries. At the same time as capitalism develops toward into imperialism, the trend is toward assimilation of nations and peoples by breaking down national barriers through the international economic, politics, and science of world capital. Although the Native American people were not assimilated as a nation by world capital originally, this way of capital is the main force in preventing the Native American people from any measure of independent economic development or political self-determination.

The assimilation of nations by monopoly capitalism however is historically progressive and provides a material foundation for the development of socialism by bringing about a world economy and communications and breakdown of national conservatism, such as by immigration. Although generally progressive, this is by no means a democratic process nor does it represent any equality of nations, but obviously breaks down into oppressor and oppressed nations. In this period new movements break out furiously against the ravages of imperialism on economically undeveloped peoples, but the possibility to consolidate an independent home market under the leadership of the local bourgeoisie grows more and more remote in the face of imperialist finance capital, intrigues and military power.

It is for these reasons, though, that the progressive aspect of monopoly capitalism in history is a source of error and opportunism in the outlook on the national question. Many overlook the oppressive basis for this capitalist assimilation and arrive at the conclusion that to support struggles for national liberation is to support bourgeois movements, which split the world working class and doom these oppressed nations to capitalist exploitation. But false internationalism built on national privilege is just as the bourgeoisie would have it. The proletariat must without question fight the hardest against national oppression and struggle for the revolutionary equality of nations and sovereignty of peoples. This struggle of the proletariat takes a negative form since to actively support the national demands of a particular bourgeoisie would be to deny the primary importance of the class struggle over the national question. This error is repeatedly made by those who call themselves communists, but give uncritical support to every national movement and bourgeois nationalist leader.

Among nations already formed, as described above, the struggle against national oppression and imperialist exploitation must be led by the proletariat of the oppressor nation particularly—to fail in this would be to split the workers of the oppressed nation from those in the oppressor nation, and thus deliver those forces to the bourgeois leaders of that national movement. The proletariat of the oppressed nation on the other hand must take the lead to establish the struggle against imperialism on an international basis by forming strong ties and organizations with workers of the oppressor nation.

In the concrete case of the Native Americans, it would be incorrect to strictly follow the above type of relationship since the Native American people have not formed the foundations of a nation on which a politically-independent movement for self-determination can be based. The Native Americans have many of their people become proletarians in the U.S. as a whole though and it is on this basis these people will join the larger working class struggle, not as a separate nation but as an oppressed sector of the class. The struggle of the Native Americans for economic progress, democratic rights, and cultural freedom cannot be achieved under capitalism nor will any real land reform. Only under socialism can genuine regional autonomy be achieved. Valuable land must be given back to the Native American people as a whole to develop industrially with the help of the whole proletariat in order to enrich the lives of people who have been culturally and economically depressed under capitalism.

Today the American Indian Movement (AIM) is the largest and most well-known organization developed out of the Native American struggle. It has been successful in bringing together individuals and members of the surviving tribes across the country in recent confrontations with the U.S. government. These struggles have been militant and "illegal" and focused on demands such as restoration of treaty-making authority with the U.S. government, land reform, and cultural integrity, investigations by liberal senators into government dealings with

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Native Americans, the custer of Dick Wilson and other Bureau of Indian Affairs puppets, and improved health and educational institutions. These demands may sound big but they are only a plea for crumbs, or for small reforms within the continued general oppression of the Native Americans which the ruling class is not about to materially alter, particularly in the present world capitalist crisis. What is a more serious defect of the AIM leadership than their reformism is their opportunist goals of maintaining the Native American struggle as a separate movement disconnected from "outsiders" and in competition with other oppressed sections of the working class by limiting their methods to gaining sympathy and winning public opinion, mainly of the petty-bourgeoisie, in the Native Americans' favor.

Besides AIM's nationalism there are those Native American leaders and writers on the question who issue a call under the banner of culture for a return to some innate "Indian-ness" or mystical "essence" of the Native American blood. This appeal is a phenomenon or symptom of reactionary, even fascist, ideology. The net result of this outlook of cultural nationalism is the importance of tribal solidarity on the limits of the particular reservation as the key in dealing with economic and political struggles for the development of the Native American people. The danger in this approach again lies in keeping the Native Americans isolated and fragmented, not on their original lands even in many cases, but on their U.S. government reservations as illustrated by the military confrontation and legal outcome of Wounded Knee. This romantic call to the mythical culture of the Indian "Noble Savage" was created by the Western bourgeois culture and used to appropriate Indian resources. It is used here again as a call backward to the past, and to deny the social and material advantages brought by industrial development and scientific technology that are accessible to all the laboring population, including the Native American people, under socialism. This call to go backwards has been faithfully answered by petty bourgeois youth of the counter-culture as they mimic the Native American stereotype in their quest for "nature", a quest taking them more and more in a fascist direction.

Imperialism does not permit the preservation or development of any culture except bourgeois national culture. The only culture that remains for working people is Proletarian culture which can only emerge under socialism. Under socialism however proletarian culture does not exclude the existence of national culture but on the contrary stimulates the development of its progressive aspects by overthrowing the capitalist oppression common to all subject peoples. Stalin describes this process taking place in the Soviet Union in 1925: "We are building proletarian culture. That is quite true. But it is also true that proletarian culture which is socialist in content assumes different forms and modes of expression among the various peoples that have been drawn into the work of socialist construction, depending on differences of language, customs, and so forth. Proletarian in content and national in form—such is the universal human culture towards which socialism is marching. Proletarian culture does not cancel national culture, but lends it content. National culture on the other hand does not cancel proletarian culture but lends it form."

What then is the only alternative method of bringing about the revolutionary change in the conditions of the Native American people as opposed to the reactionary cultural nationalist or purely nationalist methods? The capitalists are presently unloading their deepest economic crises on to the working class through the use of slave labor as implemented initially through the pilot WIN (Work Incentive) program or workfare. That the capitalists first chose to dump welfare victims at slave wages into trade union jobs is not an accident or an arbitrary device in their whole depression scheme. On the one hand the most oppressed, the unemployed and welfare sector is already in a forced position of dependance and vulnerability to the state through its various agencies and manipulation against the other sectors of the working class, and on the other hand the chauvinism and political backwardness of employed trade unionists will, unless we organize correctly, not only permit workfare to be fully implemented on a mass scale, but to develop a reactionary "popular" acceptance of slave labor generally. Similarly along with their almost complete political and economic domination by the Federal agencies, there is the highest level of unemployment among the Native Americans over any other group in the working class as a whole, and for these people to remain politically isolated in this period as a strictly "Indian Movement" is to present a vulnerability on which the bourgeoisie will not fail to ruthlessly capitalize.

The only correct method fighting this attack on the whole working class, represented by the various slave labor programs, is to fight as a class, not as a community or a trade union or a culture or any other subdivision of a class that already is divided according to various particular special interests by the effects of the general crisis. Right now is the crucial time to expose the plans of the bourgeoisie and to organize as a class in spite of the reconcilable contradictions within the class bequeathed to us under capitalist social relations. NUWRO, the National Unemployed and Welfare Rights Organization, organizes on this class-wide basis and is correctly fighting by its tactics not only against divisions in the class, against the working class' own backward conceptions of itself, but also is to out knowledge the only movement at present fighting concretely against slave labor, the most dangerous threat to working people, in the only way possible of succeeding by uniting employed and unemployed, unionists and non-unionists, factory and community,

industry and industry. In our support for NUWRO we recognize the limitation imposed on it by its formal program of reformist demands for full productive employment, adequate wages, and expanded services at capitalist "expense", but we do fully support NUWRO's undeniably revolutionary content and organizing tactics and potential to develop out of these limits as other revolutionary forces enter and fight within it. NUWRO was formed by the National Caucus of Labor Committees and a split of the pro-workingclass forces led by Jeanette Washington out of the collapsing "National Welfare Rights Organization" (NWRO), whose remaining leadership of Faith Evans and Beulah Sanders enlisted their services as welfare overseers for the government by supporting the WIN program. NUWRO was built to just as great an extent on the awareness of the organizers who experienced over the last few years the limitations and defeats of a narrow welfare struggle, isolated and disconnected from its allies in the entire working class. This change in outlook represents an important qualitative step forward for working class politics and an actual defeat for the ruling class. The politically principled strike support of a welfare workers strike by welfare victims in spite of heavy but resolvable antagonisms, in addition to providing a concrete force in that particular dispute, goes further in undermining the divide-and-conquer rule of the bourgeoisie than all the results, for the most part counter-productive, of organizations that fight "racist ideas" as phenomena disconnected from their material reality in imperialism.

Right now the revolutionary task before the Native American people in fighting imperialism is to take that vital step of building strong ties within the working class. The bourgeoisie has shown what future it has for all working people. No illusions of reform should remain within us. The means to our mutual development and prosperity is socialism and the closest voluntary alliances are necessary to achieve it.

There is though a wide gap between the economic, political, and cultural levels of the Native American people and other sections of the working class, especially for those remaining on the tribal reservations with their dehumanizing conditions of life. The effects of hundreds of years of oppression on a people cannot be eliminated by passing a law "guaranteeing" equality. The fundamental conditions of this oppression must be removed by the proletariat under socialism. The only correct method in accomplishing this development and transition of a people from primitive forms of economy to fully expanded industrial technology without drastic or undesirable social upheavals is a form of regional autonomy. Land with valuable resources should be selected for this region or regions by the Native American people with consideration of history, homelands, and social and economic life. The basis of development of these regions and their resources must be economic cooperation with the center of the workers' state. Regional autonomy provides flexibility in the degree of development and the extent of local political administration. This autonomy should provide in any case for the creation of local schools, courts, and administrative bodies conducted in the Native American dialects by people recruited from the region and familiar with the culture. In this way the greatest possible advancement can be realized by the Native American peoples in the most efficient and natural way without destroying their culture but by revitalizing it in a socialist context. At this point a very clear and critical distinction must be drawn between the fundamental character of regional autonomy under socialism and the government-organized counter-insurgency "community control" programs under capitalism. In the one case the form of regional autonomy is designed for peoples with a distinct social life and economic autonomy but all forms are based on actual territory and most important the region is contained within the central socialist state. On the other hand all current programs of "community control" being organized under capitalist rule, contrary to their sometimes revolutionary-sounding slogans, serve the bourgeoisie by dividing the working class and pitting one section against the other in fatal competition over ever-tightening jobs and programs for "local development", sponsored by municipal, state, federal, and even private agencies. These programs and jobs are always awarded to those working people whose government-appointed "leaders" bid the lowest on their lives and labor (as evidenced by Baraka, Dick Wilson, Fuentes, etc.) Instead of developing economically backward areas as regional autonomy under socialism is designed to do, community control under capitalism is designed to organize ghettos and reservations to police themselves while their human resources are being sucked dry by the capitalists.

Monopoly capital is at present exploiting the last untapped areas of natural wealth in resources that remain on earth. These areas are also, in many cases, the homes of the few remaining aboriginal peoples living in their natural ways, who have been either untouched by civilization or who have taken refuge from it. The tremendous demands of capital will find the shortest possible route to the highest profits and the aboriginal peoples, such as the Eskimos of Alaska, the tribes living in the Amazon forest, and the Aborigines of Australia present an obstacle to capital that will be written off at their lowest possible costs, genocide in some cases, extreme forced-labor exploitation in others. The only force which can intervene in this process to prevent these peoples' degeneration and their own is the working class. We are now in the historical position to take control of the productive forces of society before they are destroyed by capitalism in its decay. Alone, the aboriginal peoples cannot survive. The creation of socialism through world-wide proletarian revolutionary organization and struggle is the only event which will permit the aboriginal peoples to flourish and preserve the best of their culture, and to take an active part in this historical process instead of extinction or continual existence but as subject peoples.

Whither China?

Note: This draft solicits your opinions on the following questions. Is it appropriate to announce it publicly at present? May it serve as the "Inaugural Declaration of the 'Ultra-Left' Commune?" How should it be further revised? Please write your opinions on the right-hand margin of each page and return this draft to the issuing source before the 20th.

A soldier of the Steel 319 Corps,
"Seize Military Power" of Sheng-wu-lien,
First Middle School, Red Rebel Committee,
January 12, 1968

When the counteroffensive in the struggle against the adverse current reached July, August and September [of 1967], the people of the whole country had a sense of vigorous growth, believing that there was hope of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution being "carried through to the end," and that all traditional ideas that fettered the mind of the people would be cast aside. However, an adverse current of counterrevolutionary reformism appeared after October at the upper levels and descended below. An atmosphere of class compromise [in place of class struggle], calling for "an end to the first cultural revolution," suddenly became intense. Again, the people of the whole country were bewildered. The educated youth and students in particular, being extra sensitive, were the first to feel it. Again, questions were asked. What shall we do? Whither China? The establishment of the "Ultra-Left" Commune was for the sake, first of all, of answering this solemn question.

To answer this question correctly, it is necessary earnestly to sum up the very rich experience and lessons brought forth since 1967 by the greatest revolution in history, principally the experience of great significance created by the "January Storm" and the "August partial domestic revolutionary war" [in later sections of this essay, this is usually referred to as the "August Storm"; for convenience, this shorter term will be used in this translation].

(1) The Scientific Prediction

Contemporary China is the focus of world contradictions, and the center of the storm of world revolution. As regards this crucially important subject of where China is going, the great teacher of the world proletariat, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has outwardly made only an abstract prediction.

Just before the world-shaking Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was to rise from the east with the force of a thunderbolt, Chairman Mao, with his great all-embracing proletarian feelings, announced to the world that China's first Marxist big-character poster "is the manifesto of the Peking Peoples Commune in the 1960s" [PR, No. 6 (February 3, 1967), p. 13]. It was these words that announced the official beginning of the vehement development among the masses of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. These words also showed that Chairman Mao "wisely and with genius foresaw the emergence of a brand-new situation in our state organs" (*Red Flag*, No. 3, 1967, editorial), that is, political organs of the Paris Commune type. In the January Revolution, Chairman Mao again proposed the name "Peoples Commune of China." That meant that, as an ultimate result of the first Great Cultural Revolution, China would advance in the direction of a "Peoples Commune of China."

However, because the revolution had developed at the time only to a very low level, historical limitations enabled almost no one to understand the ultimate goal of the first Cultural Revolution as pointed out by Chairman Mao. People regarded this statement of Chairman Mao as words of general praise and gradually forgot it.

Even before the Cultural Revolution officially began, Chairman Mao, in his famous May 7 Directive [1966, in PR, No. 32 (August 5, 1966), pp. 6-7: sections in bold type], had already depicted the contents of this new type of political structure—the "Peoples Commune of China." But people in general regarded the sketch in the May 7 Directive as an idealistic "communist utopia." Everyone thought that it was not practical to take the May 7 directive as the immediate goal of our recent struggle. At present it is only part of the educated youth that keep reciting the May 7 Directive, and loudly declare that they want to fight for realization of the May 7 Directive. They realize that only the new society sketched in the May 7 Directive, which is different from the existing society, is the society in which they will gain liberation. But even among the educated youth, there are many who think it impractical to realize in the near future the kind of society described in the May 7 Directive. It is truer to say that their energetic publicity about the May 7 Directive is self-consolation for their dissatisfaction with reality, than it is to say that they are striving with full faith for the realization of the May 7 Directive.

Chairman Mao's scientific prediction has left a utopian impression in people's minds. This is in accord with the fact that class struggle has not yet developed to an acute and high stage. The development of new productive forces in China today has brought into conflict the class that represents the new productive forces [presumably the proletariat, the representative of which Sheng-wu-lien claims to be] and the decaying class that represents [old] production relations which impede the progress of history. [Probable meaning: the present Red bourgeoisie, which still represents the old (i.e., capitalist) production relations, prevents the proletariat from exercising its self-government which would correspond to the new (i.e., socialist) production relations.] Moreover, it will lead inevitably to a great social revolution, and a new society will inevitably be born amid the fierce flames. This objective law is the solid basis for Chairman Mao's scientific—not utopian—prediction. At present, people do not yet understand this law. It is natural, therefore, that this scientific predic-

tion has left people with the impression of being purely a utopian dream of the beautiful future? People believe that China will pass peacefully into the society depicted in the May 7 Directive.

What is the reality? "Peaceful transition" is only another name for "peaceful evolution." It can only cause China to drift farther and farther away from the "Commune" depicted in the May 7 Directive, and nearer and nearer to the existing society of the Soviet Union [which Sheng-wu-lien abhors]. What Chairman Mao puts forward, i.e., "revolution in which the class overthrows another" and "a great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from the capitalist-roads," solves the question of practical transition toward the commune. The rule of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie must be overthrown by force in order to solve the problem of political power. Empty shouting about realization of the May 7 Directive, without any reference to power seizure and complete smashing of the old state machinery, will truly be the "utopian" dream.

(2) The January Revolutionary Storm

Lenin once made this famous statement: "Any revolution, as long as it is a true revolution, is, in the final analysis, a change of class. Therefore, the best means of heightening the awareness of the masses and exposing the deception of the masses with revolutionary vows, is to analyze the class changes that have taken place or are taking place in the revolution." Let us follow this teaching and make an analysis of the class changes which took place in the January Revolution, so as to expose the deception of the masses with revolutionary promises.

As everybody knows, the greatest fact of the January Revolution was that 90 per cent of the senior cadres [of the Party] were made to stand aside. In Hunan, Chang Ping-hua, Chang Po-shen, Hua Kuo-feng and the like had their power reduced to zero. At the Center [Peking], power seizure [by representatives of the Cultural Revolution] took place in the Ministry of Finance, the Radio Broadcasting Administration Bureau and other departments; and the power of people like Li Hsien-nien, Ch'en Yi, T'an Chen-lin, as well as that of Chou En-lai who represented them, was greatly diminished. Into whose hands did the assets go at that time? They went into the hands of the people, who were full of boundless enthusiasm, and who were organized to take over the urban administrations and the Party, government, financial and cultural powers in industry, commerce, communications, and so forth. What the editorial had called for was truly realized, i.e., that "the masses should rise and take hold of the destiny of their socialist country and themselves administer the cities, industry, communications, and finance."

The storm of the January Revolution turned all this within a very short time from the hands of the bureaucrats into the hands of the enthusiastic working class. Society suddenly found, in the absence of bureaucrats, that they could not only go on living, but could live better and develop quicker and with greater freedom. It was not at all like the intimidation of the bureaucrats who, before the revolution, had said: "Without us, production would collapse, and the society would fall into a state of hopeless confusion."

As a matter of fact, without the bureaucrats and bureaucratic organs, productivity was greatly liberated. After the Ministry of the Coal Industry fell, production of coal went on as usual. The Ministry of Railways fell, but transportation was carried on as usual. All departments of the provincial Party committees fell, but the various branches of their work went on as usual. Moreover, the working class were greatly liberated in their enthusiasm and initiative for production. The management of industrial plants by the workers themselves after January was impressive. For the first time, the workers had the feeling that "it is not the state which manages us; but we who manage the state." For the first time, they felt that they were producing for themselves. Their enthusiasm had never been so high, and their sense of responsibility as masters of the house had never been so strong. Changsha Weaving and Spinning Mill and other factories also created rebel working-groups and countless other new things. [According to information reaching the outside world from Shanghai, the situation there was far from happy at this time and was reflected in workers' criticisms of changes enforced by the Red Guards.]

This was the true content of the class changes in the January Revolution. As a matter of fact, in this short period some places realized, though not very thoroughly, the content of the "Peoples Commune of China." The society found itself in a state of "mass dictatorship" similar to that of the Paris Commune. The January Storm told people that China would go toward a society which had no bureaucrats, and that 90 per cent of the senior cadres had already formed a privileged class. The objective law of the development of class struggle caused the majority of them to stand aside in January. The fact that 90 per cent of the senior cadres had to stand aside in the storm of the January Revolution was certainly not an error by the "masses." "The masses are the real heroes." Those who committed the most serious crimes were duly punished: "very few received undue punishment."

Facts as revealed by the masses, and the indignation which they brought forth, first told the people that this class of "Red" capitalists had entirely become a decaying class that hindered the progress of history. The relations between them and the people in general had changed from relations between leaders and the led, to those between rulers and the ruled and between exploiters and the exploited. From the relations between revolutionaries of equal standing, it had become a relationship between oppressors and the oppressed. The special privileges and high salaries of the class of "Red" capitalists were built upon the foundation of oppression and exploitation of the broad masses of the people. In order to realize the "Peoples Commune of China," it was necessary to overthrow this class.

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The January Revolutionary Storm was a great attempt by the revolutionary people, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, to topple the old world and build a new world. The program of the first great proletarian political [sic] revolution was formulated at that great moment. Chairman Mao stated: "This is one class overthrowing another. This is a great revolution." This shows that the Cultural Revolution is not a revolution of dismissing officials or a movement of dragging out people, nor a purely cultural revolution, but is "a revolution in which one class overthrows another." With relation to the facts of the January Revolutionary Storm, the overthrown class is none other than the class of "bureaucratism" formed in China in the last 17 years. . . .

There is no place here for reformism—combining two into one—or peaceful transition. The old state machinery must be utterly smashed. "Completely smash the old exploitative system, the revisionist system, and the bureaucratic organs." . . .

The problems of system, policy, and guideline touched upon in the January Revolution mainly concerned such capitalist systems of labor employment as contracted labor and temporary labor, as well as the revisionist movement of going to the mountainous areas and the countryside.

At present, the "Ultra-Left" must organize people to sum up and to study properly the multitude of things created by the January Revolutionary Storm. These new things are the embryonic form of a new society, of the Paris Commune type.

(3) The Revolutionary Committees

Why did Chairman Mao, who strongly advocated the "commune," suddenly oppose the establishment of the "Shanghai Peoples Commune" in January? This is something which the revolutionary people find hard to understand.

Chairman Mao, who foresaw the "commune" as the political structure which must be realized by the first Cultural Revolution, suddenly proposed: "Revolutionary committees are fine!"

Revolution must progress along a zigzag course. It must go through a prolonged course of "struggle—failure—struggle again—failure again—struggle again—until final victory."

Why cannot communes be established immediately?

This is the first time the revolutionary people tried to overthrow their powerful enemy. How shallow their knowledge of this revolution was! Not only did they fail consciously to understand the necessity to completely smash the old state machinery and to overhaul some of the social systems, they also did not even recognize the fact that their enemy formed a class. The revolutionary ranks were dominated by ideas of "revolution to dismiss officials" and "revolution to drag out people." The wisdom of the masses had not yet developed to the degree at which it was possible to reform society. Therefore, in the final analysis, the fruit of the revolution was taken away by the capitalist class [of the China of 1967].

Any revolution must naturally involve the army. Since a Red capitalist class is already formed in China, the army of course cannot detach itself from this reality. Yet the January Storm did not in any way touch on this vital problem of all revolutions—the problem of the army. Thus it may be seen that the [January] Revolution lacked depth and remained at a low stage of development. The degree of maturity of the political thought of the revolutionary people also was in conformity with this low level revolution—it, too, remained at a very immature stage.

At this kind of time when complete victory is impossible, to try to achieve real victory is Left adventurism. In light of the inevitability that the capitalist class will seize the fruits of the revolution, the correct strategic policy is to enable the people to forge their political and ideological weapon in struggle at a higher stage and, through the ebb and flow of the revolution, to prepare their strength for winning the final victory. Otherwise, if "communes" are established while the masses have not yet fully understood that their interest lies in the realization of "communes" in China, the "communes" will be communes in name only, and in reality they will be sham "communes," essentially the same as the present revolutionary committees in which power is usurped by the [Red] bourgeoisie.

Therefore, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great supreme commander of the proletariat, did not hesitate in the least to go against the dream, cherished by immature revolutionaries, for the immediate establishment of communes. He adopted the correct strategic policy, and at the same time called upon the army to "Support the Left" [January 23, 1967]. "Support the Left" is, in fact, Chairman Mao's ingenious means of carrying out cultural revolution in the armed forces. . . .

The three-in-one combination is the concrete content of the Revolutionary Committees. [What is meant is the informal alliance between Army, cadres, and mass organizations which preceded the official formation of Revolutionary Committees.] Proposing the three-in-one combination is tantamount to helping the reinstatement of the bureaucrats already toppled in the January Revolution. Moreover, the three-in-one combination will inevitably be a type of regime for the [Red] bourgeoisie to usurp power, in which the army and local bureaucrats will play a leading role. Chairman Mao also called the revolutionary committee of the three-in-one combination a "provisional organ of power." It is only a transitional form, and not the ultimate product of the first Cultural Revolution. The ultimate product of the first Cultural Revolution will be the "commune" and not the revolutionary committee. . . . However, the aforementioned transitional form is necessary. To deny the transitional form is Leftist empty talk.

(4) The February Adverse Current

The force and intensity of the January Revolution caused the bureaucrats to carry out a hurried usurpation of power. Contrary to their usual attitude, they adopted the most urgent and savage means of suppression. This proves negatively the intensity of the "redistribution of property (of means of production) and power" resulting when 90 per cent of the senior cadres stood aside in the January Revolution. The tragic consequences of the February Adverse Current also prove the correctness of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's prediction that "there can be no immediate victory."

The "Red" capitalist class gained an almost overwhelming ascendancy in February and March [1967]. The property (of means of production) and power were wrested away from the hands of the revolutionary people and returned to the bureaucrats. In early spring, in February, Lung Shu-chin, Liu Tzu-yun, Chang Po-shen, Hua Kuo-feng, and bureaucrats throughout the country and their agents at the Center, wielded unlimited power. It was their heyday, while the power of the revolutionary people dropped to zero. Moreover, large numbers of revolutionary people were thrown into prison by the state organs—public security, procuracy, and judicial organs—controlled by the capitalist class.

Intoxicated by his victory of February-March, Chou En-lai—at present the chief representative of China's "Red" capitalist class—hurriedly tried to set up revolutionary committees in all parts of the country. If this bourgeois plan had been achieved, the proletariat would have retreated to its grave. Therefore, without waiting for the establishment of all the revolutionary committees, the Central Cultural Revolution Group [of Chiang Ch'ing, etc.] gave orders at the end of March to launch a counteroffensive. From then on, the great August Storm began to brew.

In the struggle to hit back at the February Adverse Current, the important sign that the revolution had entered into a higher stage was that the problem of the army really began to be touched upon. During the January Revolution, the revolutionary people had very childish ideas on the problem of the army. They thought that as soon as the local capitalist-roaders were overthrown, the armed forces would unite with the revolutionary people in accordance with Chairman Mao's order for union from the upper to the lower levels. The bloody facts of the February Adverse Current made the people aware that the upper-to-lower order alone could not bring about an implementation of Chairman Mao's intentions in the armed forces. The common interests of capitalist-roaders in the armed forces and those of local capitalist-roaders would make it impossible for the army to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. It was necessary to carry out cultural revolution from the lower level upward in the army, and to rely on the people's revolution—the locomotive of progress in history—in order to change the antagonism between the army and the people brought about by the control of the army by the bureaucrats.

The struggle since February has placed the grave problem of the army before the broad masses (previously it had been discussed only before Chairman Mao and a few others). This is gradually providing the conditions for solution of the problem through the strength of the broad masses of the people. It has been scientifically foreseen that in the new society of the "commune," the military force will be very different from the present-day army. The struggle since February has enabled this idea of Chairman Mao gradually to take hold of the masses.

(5) The August Local Civil Revolutionary War

Since the end of January [1967], the rebels have written many articles on the problem of the armed forces. . . . Many articles discussing the problem of the army are very immature and have great shortcomings. These writings, however, constitute a new thing which history will prove to be of significance.

How well Engels spoke when he commented on utopian socialism: "Let the pedlars of the circle of authors solemnly find fault with the imaginations which at present can only make people laugh. Let them gratify themselves with the thought that their strict way of thinking is superior to such mad ideas. What makes us glad is the gifted ideological buds and gifted ideas that show themselves everywhere by breaking through the outer shell of imagination. These things the mediocre people cannot see."

There are two essential points in the articles about the army.

1. It is now seen that the present army is different from the people's army of before the Liberation [i.e., before 1949]. Before Liberation, the army and the people fought together to overthrow imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism, and feudalism. The relationship between army and people was like that of fish and water [Mao's favorite picture for describing the ideal relationship between guerrillas and the masses]. After Liberation, as the target of revolution has changed from imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism to capitalist-roaders, and as these capitalist-roaders are power-holders in the army, some of the armed forces in the revolution have not only changed their blood-and-flesh relationship with the people that existed before Liberation, but have even become tools for suppressing the revolution. Therefore, if the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is to succeed, it is necessary to bring about a basic change in the army. The "Ultra-Left faction" has found the basis for its thinking in *Quotations from Chairman Mao*. Chairman Mao . . . has also pointed out that after the troops were kept in barracks, they became separated from the people.

2. It is now seen that a revolutionary war in the country is necessary before the revolutionary people can overcome the armed Red capitalist class. The large-scale armed struggle in August between the proletariat and the Red capitalist class, and the local revolutionary war, proved this prediction. The experience created by the local revolutionary wars in August is moreover un-

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paralleled in history and very great. Contrary to the expectations of the mass of mediocre people, history advanced in the direction predicted by the "heretics." Hitherto unimaginable, large-scale gun-seizing incidents occurred regularly in accordance with the pace of historical development. Local wars of varying magnitude broke out in the country in which the armed forces were directly involved (in some places, including Kiangai and Hangchow, the army fought directly). The creative spirit and revolutionary fervor displayed by the people in August were extremely impressive. Gun-seizing became a "movement." Its magnitude, and the power and heroism of the revolutionary war, were so great that in that moment people were deeply impressed that "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force of historical development."

For a short time, the cities were in a state of "armed mass dictatorship." The power in most of the industries, commerce, communications, and urban administration was again taken away from Chang Po-shen, Hua Kuo-feng, Lung Shu-chin, Liu Tzu-yun and their like and put into the hands of the revolutionary people. Never before had the revolutionary people appeared on the stage of history in the role of masters of world history as they did in August. Primary students voluntarily did the work of communications and security. Their brave gestures in directing traffic, and the pride with which "Storm Over Hsiang River," "Red Middle Committee" [See Document 5] and other mass organizations directly exercised some of the financial-economic powers, left an unforgettable impression with the people.

August was the time when the power of the revolutionary mass organizations rapidly grew, while that of the bureaucrats again dropped to zero. For the second time, a temporary and unstable redistribution of property and power took place. Once more, society tried to realize the great "Peoples Commune of China." Once more, people tried to solve the problem raised in the May 7 Directive, namely, that "the army should be a great school" and "workers, peasants, and students should all study military affairs." This attempt had not been made in the January Revolution. Before Liberation, the army actually was a great school which maintained excellent relations with the masses, and which combined the roles of soldiers, students, civilians, peasants, and workers. This was summed up by Chairman Mao just before the victory of the Democratic Revolution. Why then, more than ten years after Liberation, should the question again be raised of improving army-civilian relations, and "the army should be a great school"? As said in the preceding paragraph, it is because after the Liberation the army has undergone changes and, to greater or lesser degree, has separated itself from the masses. As a result, this question is again put on the agenda.

The great pioneering act of the August Storm was the emergence of an armed force [in addition to the Army] organized by the revolutionary people themselves. This force becomes the actual force of the proletarian dictatorship (or dictatorship over the capitalist-roaders). They and the people are in accord, and fight together to overthrow the "Red" capitalist class. The people, instead of lamenting the fall of the Military Region command—a bureaucratic organ—rejoice at it. Yet formerly they used to think they could not get along without it. This fact has enabled the proletariat to foresee more realistically where China's army is going, and to envisage the armed strength of the new society—the "Peoples Commune of China." It may be said with certainty that China will be a society in which the army is the people, the people are the army, the people and the army are united as one, and the army has shaken off the control of the bureaucrats. . . .

(6) The September Setback

While people were rejoicing, boldly forging ahead, and loudly talking about a "thorough victory," the great teacher of the proletariat saw a new danger on the horizon. Let us look at the content of this new danger!

On the one hand even the "Red" capitalist class, owing to the nakedness of its "February suppression of rebellion," keenly perceived the inevitability of its own defeat. After May, China's "Red" capitalists changed their tactics. In many places there appeared a trend of cadres "making appearances." One after another, Red capitalists like Sung Jen-ch'ung in the Northeast and Chang Po-shen in Hunan—bloodsucking vampires who used to ride roughshod over the people—suddenly displayed "fervor" for the revolutionary struggle of the slaves. Individually they declared support for the revolutionary masses in their bombardment of the power-holders in the military region or district commands. As at that time the revolutionary people had not yet tried to overthrow the capitalist-roaders as a class, and as the proletariat and the broad masses of revolutionary people were still under the influence of the doctrine of "revolution through dragging out people" and "revolution by dismissal of officials," people believed that the purpose of the Cultural Revolution was the purging of individual capitalist-roaders and that it was proper to use some of the revolutionary leading cadres (who were also bureaucrats) for attacking other bureaucrats. As a result, this tactic of big and small Chang Po-shens easily deceived the people. This determined the objective inevitability that the [Red] bourgeoisie would wrest the fruits of victory of the August Storm. Meanwhile, owing to the hurried suppression by the bourgeoisie and the immediate counteroffensive by the proletariat after February, dictatorship by the revolutionary committees—a power organ during the transition to the "Commune"—had not yet begun. There was no [protracted] period of transition in which the "Red" capitalists could fraudulently win the trust of the people and suppress the people. The people therefore could not learn from bloody facts that the capitalist-roaders were a class; and did not accept the program of the first Cultural Revolution—a revolution of one class overthrowing another. Thorough social revolution could not be carried out.

On the other hand, to realize the demand in the May 7 Directive for changes in the army, it was necessary to carry through to the end the Cultural Revolution in the field armies. It was also necessary to cause the field armies to "support the Left." As a matter of fact, without first launching an all-out campaign of "supporting the Left" among the field armies, it would be Leftist adventurism to carry out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution among the field armies and try to win an immediate victory.

There was also the problem of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the rural areas. If no revolutionary storm took place in the countryside, no power-seizure of any kind would represent the true interests of the peasants. The May 7 Directive called for factories to set up and operate farms, and for rural villages to set up and operate workshops. It indicated that in the new commune, the differences between industry and farming, and between urban and rural areas, will be much smaller than at present. This reduction of the gap should be brought about by launching a peasant movement—a locomotive of historical progress—guided by the Thought of Mao Tse-tung. Before the peasant movement is launched, it is empty talk to try to win a complete victory of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. While complete victory is unrealistic, the task of the Marxists-Leninists is to show the hypocrisy of the clamor for "thorough victory." Should the [Ultra-Left] Marxist-Leninists have power, they should exercise it in banning the cry to "immediately overthrow the revolutionary committee and establish the commune" as well as any agitation for this purpose, so that the splendid name of "commune" may not be tarnished by false practice.

Meanwhile, the capitalist bureaucratic class in the Party and army began to carry out sabotage against the Central Cultural Revolution Group in August and September. They deliberately created confusion in the army, and caused stagnation in economic and other spheres. [As a matter of fact, this "stagnation" was largely brought about by the disorders during the "August Revolution."] A senior army cadre openly and arrogantly assailed the Central Cultural Revolution Group. This was their general policy in August and September. "Does the Central Cultural Revolution Group still want the Peoples Liberation Army? If it doesn't, then we will pack up and go home. The Central Cultural Revolution Group has so shifted the veteran army cadres that they are separated from their wives and children, their homes broken up, and their kin lost!"

In view of this series of developments . . . the wise supreme commander, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, once again disregarded the unrealistic demands of impatient revolutionaries for victory and made a broad retreat after September [1967]. . . . The extent of this retreat was unprecedented. The unlimited relaxation of the cadre policy after September was in fact an extensive concession to the capitalist-roaders, who were allowed to remount the stage. . . .

But because the revolutionary forces of the proletariat have been greatly strengthened, the retreat has not ended in a "rout" as it did in February. This time the bourgeoisie has not been able, as in March, to devour the revolution in one gulp. In Hunan, the revolutionary forces bombarding Chou En-lai were not annihilated. On the contrary, they established Sheng-wu-lien and have made progress in certain respects. This is proof that the revolutionary force has grown up and become strong.

To seize the fruits of victory won by the proletariat in August, and turn the mass dictatorship again into bureaucratic rule, the bourgeoisie in the revolutionary committees must first disarm the working class. The guns in the hands of workers have infinitely strengthened the power of the working class. This fact is a mortal threat to the bourgeoisie, who fear workers holding guns. Out of spontaneous hatred for the bureaucrats who tried to snatch the fruit of victory, the revolutionary people shouted a resounding revolutionary slogan: "Giving up our guns amounts to suicide." Moreover, they formed a spontaneous, nationwide mass "arms concealment movement" for the armed overthrow of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

The August gun-seizing movement was great. It was not only unprecedented in capitalist countries, but also, for the first time in a socialist country, it accomplished the fact of turning the whole nation into soldiers. Before the Cultural Revolution, the bureaucrats did not dare actually to hand over arms to the people. The militia is merely a facade behind which the bureaucrats control the armed strength of the people. It is certainly not an armed force of the working class, but rather a docile tool in the hands of the bureaucrats. In the gun-seizing movement, the masses, instead of receiving arms like favors from above, for the first time seized arms from the hands of the bureaucrats by relying on the violent force of the revolutionary people themselves. For the first time, the workers held their "own" arms. Chairman Mao's inspiring call, "Arm the Left" [no such direct statement by Mao has been found], was the intensive focus of the courage of the working class. But the issuance of the September 5 Directive [to return the weapons to the Army] completely nullified the call to "Arm the Left." The working class was disarmed. The bureaucrats again came back to power.

(7) The Political Enlightenment of the Proletariat

The editorial of July 1, 1967 [in PD, taken from RF, No. 11] raised the question of Party building. During the violent class struggle in July and August, a very small number of "Ultra-Leftists" put forward the demand that the "Ultra-Left should have its own political party." It was felt necessary to have the basic level organizations of a revolutionary party in order to realize Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership in the Communist Party, to actuate the people to overthrow the new bourgeoisie, and to fulfill the task of the first Cultural Revolution. In this way, the dream of a few intellectuals in Peking in the initial stage of the movement to rebuild a Marxist-Leninist Group became, for the first time, a practical and steadily growing demand of the fighting proletariat: "To make revolution, it is necessary to have a revolutionary party!" [It would seem that the authors of the essay advocate the formation of "Marxist-Leninist" cells at the "basic levels" of the existing Party. The paragraph, however, is not entirely clear.]

During the past several months, the class struggle has entered a higher stage. What sort of stage is it? In this stage, the revolutionary people have already accumulated the rich experience of "redistribution of property and power" on two occasions (the January and August Revolutions). This experience is the program of the first Cultural Revolution, which was produced by the January Revolution, for a great revolution in China in which one class

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overthrows another. It is to "overthrow the new bourgeoisie and build a new society without bureaucrats similar to the Paris Commune—the Peoples Commune of China." There is also the method, suggested in the August Storm, of gradually bringing about revolutionary changes in the Army and of armed seizure of power.

The reverses and the higher-stage struggle after September [1967] also tell the revolutionary people why neither the January Revolution nor the August Revolution ended in thorough victory; why, after such prolonged struggle, the fruits of victory were snatched away by the bourgeois bureaucrats; why the bourgeoisie was able to recapture the assets and power which they had lost in August; and why the courage and pioneering spirit displayed by the proletariat in the January Revolution and August Storm was almost completely extinguished and submerged. The appearance of a large-scale adverse current tells people that all illusions about bourgeois bureaucrats, and all distrust in the people's own strength, must be completely abandoned; and that the revolution of one class overthrowing another must be carried out.

However, the Revolutionary Committee is a product of the "revolution of dismissing officials." In Hunan, Chang P'ing-hua and Liu Tzu-yun were dismissed from office, but that did not remove the acute antagonism between the new bourgeoisie and the masses of the people. Moreover, a new situation of acute antagonism has emerged between the Revolutionary Committee Preparatory Group and the people, represented by Sheng-wu-lien. A new bourgeois reactionary line, and a new adverse current of capitalist restoration, have again appeared. A complete and stable "distribution of property and power" has not been realized. The revolution of dismissing officials is only bourgeois reformism which, in a zigzag manner, changes the new bureaucratic bourgeois rule prior to the Cultural Revolution into another type of bourgeois rule by bourgeois bureaucrats and a few representatives from several attendant mass organizations. The Revolutionary Committee is a product of bourgeois reformism.

Problems cannot be solved by merely dismissing a few officials. Bourgeois reformism will not work. The result of reformism—the Revolutionary Committee or its Preparatory Group—again brings about a new bourgeois dictatorship, which arouses even more violent opposition from the people. Events in Heilungkiang, Shantung, Shanghai, Kweichow, Hunan, and other places where revolutionary committees or preparatory groups for such committees have been established, have proved, or are proving that China cannot move in the direction of bourgeois reformism through revolutionary committees, because that means capitalist restoration. China can only go in the direction of the thoroughly revolutionary socialism of the "Peoples Commune of China" as proclaimed by the "Peoples Commune of Peking" of the 1960's [see Mao's statement of June 1, 1966, mentioned in Chapter I] The people should be brought to understand this truth and to form their own resolution to carry it out, instead of our determining it for the people. . . .

It is only when all panaceas are proved useless that the revolutionary people will resolve to follow the most painful and most destructive, but also thorough, road of true revolution. The struggle in the transitional period of the revolutionary committees will inevitably disillusion the masses regarding their cherished panacea of bourgeois reformism. . . .

The stage of struggle since last September has been educating the people in this regard about the new phase.

As a result of the practice of struggle having gained rich experience and having entered a higher stage, the maturity of the political thinking of the revolutionary people of China has also entered a higher stage. A new stream of ideas, reviled by the enemy as the "Ultra-Left thought trend" (i.e., "overthrow the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie," "abolish bureaucratic organs," "thoroughly smash the state machinery" and similar truths), wanders among the revolutionary people like a "spectre" before the eyes of the enemy. The political-ideological weapon of the revolutionary people for winning the complete victory in the proletarian socialist [sic] great revolution has begun to appear in a new form in the "Ultra-Left faction." The Thought of Mao Tse-tung, which is carrying out a new social revolution in China, will gradually cause the masses to awake from all contradictions of the past. The revolutionary people are beginning gradually to understand in practice why revolution is necessary, against whom they make the revolution, and how revolution is to be carried out. Revolutionary struggle begins to change from the stage of spontaneity to that of consciousness, from necessity to freedom.

In the higher stage of the struggle since September, a higher stage of the fiery movement of educated youth has also appeared, as well as a higher struggle by contract workers and temporary workers. This plays a great stimulative effect in this stage of enlightening muddled thinking. . . .

When the revolutionary people enter from blindness into the stage of enlightenment of political thinking, when Mao Tse-tung-ism forms an independent, positive, political current of thought among the masses, and its political influence begins gradually to become a fact, the organization and establishment of basic level organizations of the Chinese Communist Party—a political party of Mao Tse-tung-ism—is put on the agenda by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the revolutionary teacher of the proletariat. Comrade Mao Tse-tung puts forward the principle of rebuilding the Party and reorganizing the class ranks under new historical conditions, i.e., "The Party organization should be formed of advanced elements of the proletariat. It should be a youthful and vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses to wage struggles against the class enemy."

The putting forward of this principle for the building of a revolutionary political party—the Mao Tse-tung-ism party (Chinese Communist Party)—that will lead the people to overthrow today's class enemy—the new Red bourgeoisie—proves that in order to fulfill the first true proletarian socialist revolution, and to build in China the "Commune" delineated in the May 7 Directive, the existing Communist Party of China must undergo revolutionary changes. The convening of the 9th National Congress of the Party is not expected to settle completely the question of whether the Communist Party is going [the Congress convened on April 1, 1969]. The political party that will emerge [in the 9th Party Congress?] in accordance with the provisions promulgated by the present Central Committee for rehabilitation, regulation, and

rebuilding of the Party (if such a party can be formed) will necessarily be a party of bourgeois reformism that serves the bourgeois usurpers in the revolutionary committees. The convening of the 9th Party Congress will be only a reflection of local "revolutionary committees" in the Central Committee during the transitional period. This determines the fact that the "9th Congress" can never thoroughly settle the question of whether China is going (the core problem of which is whether the Chinese Communist Party and whether the Peoples Liberation Army).

When a truly stable victory gradually becomes possible, the following several questions will become salient.

1. The unevenness of the revolution will assume prominence. The possibility of first winning true, thorough victory in one or several provinces, overthrowing the product of bourgeois reformism—the rule of revolutionary committees—and reestablishing political power of the Paris Commune type, will become a crucial problem if the revolution is to be able to develop in depth with rapidity. This is unlike the previous period, which was a blind and spontaneous stage in which the unbalanced character of the revolution played a decisive role in the development of the revolution.

2. To truly overthrow the rule of the new aristocracy and completely smash the old state machinery, it will be necessary to go into the question of how to evaluate the past 17 years. This is also a major problem of fundamentally teaching the people why it is necessary to carry out the Cultural Revolution, and what its final objective is.

3. To make the revolution really victorious, it will be necessary to settle the question: "Who are our enemies, who are our friends?" This "paramount question of the revolution" requires that we make a new analysis of China's society, where "a new situation has arisen as a result of great class changes," so as to revise the class standings, rally our friends, and topple our enemies.

This series of new questions was raised by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing in her speech on November 12, 1967 [full text in *CCP Documents*, pp. 596-601]. This speech of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing announced the beginning of a new stage, unparalleled in history, into which the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has entered. Though this important speech dealt only with the literary and art circles, "the revolution of literature and art is the vanguard of political revolution." The joyous reviving and burgeoning struggle among Chinese literary and art circles shows the direction which China's revolution will take. Actually, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's speech tells us that the revolution in the previous period . . . was basically dealing with problems in the Cultural Revolution, and with the problem of the 50 days that shielded the past 17 years. It merely touched upon the charm that protects the bourgeoisie. It tells us that the real revolution, the revolution to negate the past 17 years, has basically not yet begun. . . .

The genesis and development of Hunan's Sheng-wu-lien represents prominently the growth in strength of the proletariat since September. Sheng-wu-lien was in fact born of the experience of the Attack With Words, Defend With Arms Headquarters (run by the people)—a form of dictatorship of the January Revolution. It is a power organ of mass dictatorship of a higher grade than those of January and August. It may be compared to the soviets of the January [and February, 1917] revolution in the Soviet Union [at that time still Russia], when power was usurped by the bourgeoisie. The Provincial Revolutionary Committee Preparatory Group also is comparable to the bourgeois Provisional Government in Russia of that time. The contradiction between Sheng-wu-lien and the Preparatory Group is a new situation in which "power organs of two systems co-exist" as the soviets and the Provisional Government co-existed in the Russia of 1917. However, the actual power is in the hands of the Provincial Revolutionary Committee Preparatory Group—the bourgeois Provisional Government.

Sheng-wu-lien is a newborn sprout comparable to the soviets of 1917. It is an embryo form of a more mature "commune." . . . This correct newborn Red political power of Sheng-wu-lien will certainly mature and gather strength continuously amid big winds and waves.

(8) Refute the Reactionary "Second Revolution Doctrine"

The current answer to the serious question of where China is going, an answer which dominates the ideological field, is the reactionary "doctrine of second revolution." People's minds are greatly confused. Almost unanimously they say: "The first Great Cultural Revolution can do only so much. There is nothing we can do except wait for the second revolution." After the failure of the Great Revolution [1924-1927], the admitted division of the country under the warlords became the rule of "Commanders-in-chief of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Army." To maintain and prop up the rule of Chiang Kai-shek, Ch'en Tu-hsiu's reactionary "second revolution" was opportunely brought forth. [Ch'en was the first leader of the Chinese Communist Party, who was expelled in 1927.] The "doctrine of second revolution" used the superficial change in political power to deceive the people. It declared that imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism, and feudalism had been overthrown, that China's bourgeoisie had gained the political power, that the democratic revolution was accomplished, and that we had only to wait for the [second, i.e.,] socialist revolution. This reactionary trend of thought not only dominated intellectual circles in the country generally, but also enjoyed considerable popularity even within the Communist Party.

However, the task of China's bourgeois democratic revolution is determined by the basic contradictions in Chinese society—the contradiction between imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism, and feudalism on one side, and the broad masses of the people, on the other—was not yet fulfilled. Therefore, despite the prevalence for a time of the seemingly strong second revolution, the more vigorous and intensive development of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal people's revolution was still governed by an objective law that does not change according to man's wish.

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Similarly, the task that has to be accomplished at the "end" of the first Great Cultural Revolution is determined by the social contradictions that led to this revolution. Unless the program of the first Great Cultural Revolution, prescribed by these social contradictions, is carried out, the first Great Cultural Revolution can never be brought to an end.

As said in the preceding paragraphs, the basic social contradictions that gave rise to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are contradictions between the rule of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the mass of the people. The growth and intensification of these contradictions determine the need for more thorough changes in the society. This means overthrow of the rule of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, complete smashing of the old state machinery, realization of social revolution, carrying out the redistribution of property and power, and the establishment of a new society—the "Peoples Commune of China." This is the basic program and final goal of the first Great Cultural Revolution.

As of today, are these basic contradictions of Chinese society resolved? Has the objective of the first Great Cultural Revolution been attained?

As stated above, the form of political power has superficially been changed. The old Provincial Party Committee and old Military District Command have become the "Revolutionary Committee" or "Revolutionary Committee Preparatory Group." The old bureaucrats continue, however, to play the leading role in the "new political power." The contradiction between the old Provincial Party Committee and old Military District Command on one side, and the people on the other, and the contradiction between the capitalist-royalists of the 47th Army and the people, remain basically unresolved. The contradiction between the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the mass of the people is also basically unresolved; it appears in the new form of contradiction between Sheng-wu-lien and the "new political power" [i.e., the Preparatory Group]. All the basic social changes which must be carried out by the first Great Cultural Revolution, such as overthrow of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, changes in the armed forces, and the establishing of communes, have not been carried out. Of course, such "redistribution of property and power" was partially and temporarily realized during the January Revolution and August Storm. But the fruits of victory of both the January Revolution and August Storm were basically usurped by the [Red] bourgeoisie. Social reforms were aborted. Social changes were not consolidated and fully realized. And the "end" of the first Great Cultural Revolution was not attained. As the masses have said: "Everything remains the same after so much ado."

Since the basic social contradictions that led to the eruption of the first Great Cultural Revolution have not been resolved but are becoming more and more acute in new forms, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is developing more intensively and vigorously, in spite of the seemingly powerful reactionary "second revolution doctrine" which dominates intellectual circles and deceives the masses with a superficial change in the form of political power. This development of the Cultural Revolution is in accordance with objective law and independent of the wishes of men. The usurping [Red] bourgeoisie hope to corrode the resistance of the revolutionary people with the doctrine of second revolution. But whoever supports their rule and sinister scheme will certainly go bankrupt, just as Ch'en Tu-hsiu's "doctrine of second revolution" was unable to save the Chiang family dynasty, and as the powerful controls of religious thought failed to stop the disintegration and collapse of the economic basis of feudalism. The new trend of thought (the Ultra-Left trend of thought) is still weak and somewhat immature. But its overcoming of apparently powerful traditional ideas, and the rotten, mummified doctrine of second revolution, will be the inevitable trend of historical development.

The bourgeoisie [in general] always describe the political form of their rule as most perfect and flawless in the service of the whole people. The new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, and the Rightist pig-dogs of the petty bourgeoisie who depend on them, are at present doing [in China] exactly that. They ignore the provisional character of the "Revolutionary Committee" while praising it nauseatingly. Marxist-Leninists must relentlessly expose the suppression of the revolutionary people by the Revolutionary Committee, must energetically declare that the Peoples Commune of China is the society which we proletarian and revolutionary people must bring about in the Cultural Revolution, and must energetically make known the inevitable doom of the Revolutionary Committee. . . .

Some people criticize us for wanting to reach communism in one step by immediately eliminating classes and the three major differences. They say that a regime of the Paris Commune type, as envisaged by Chairman Mao, is a dream; and that all this is unrealistic before the realization of communism. These people deliberately distort our views. We certainly do not wish to do away immediately with classes, with the legal rights of the [remaining] bourgeoisie, or the three major differences. This is indeed impossible before the realization of communism. They are taken only as our highest program, not our lowest. Our minimum program calls for the overthrow of the rule of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the narrowing of the three major differences. It is of course not [yet] possible to destroy the exploiting classes. After the victory of the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, there will inevitably be new class changes. It is these new class changes that will again lead to new social reform, and so push history forward. . . .

People who criticize us in this way actually are saying that all our efforts will be in vain, that society cannot take a new leap, and that property and power cannot be "redistributed" but can only be somewhat altered. Forgetful gentlemen! The January Revolution and the August Storm already did bring about (although only temporarily and locally) a "redistribution of property and power" and a qualitative leap of the whole society. Has that not already shattered the gloomy liquidationist views you spread?

Cadres of the proletariat have not yet matured politically, and the revolutionary people have not yet produced cadres with true proletarian authority. Hence, we are almost unanimously condemned by people saying that we have

no use for cadres and want to make them all stand aside. . . .

We really believe that 90 per cent of the senior cadres should stand aside; and that at best they can only be subjects for education and uniting. This is because they have already come to form a decaying class with its own particular "interests." Their relation with the people has changed from that, in the past, between leaders and the led to that between exploiters and the exploited, between oppressors and the oppressed. Most of them, consciously or unconsciously, yearn for the capitalist road, and cherish and nurture capitalist things. Rule by their class has completely blocked the development of history.

Is it possible, instead of overthrowing this class, that they can be persuaded to give up the vested interests derived from their bourgeois legal rights, such as high salaries, and follow the socialist instead of the capitalist road? The proletariat truly has made steady efforts in that direction. Chairman Mao's extensive concessions to the bourgeoisie are the pure expression of these efforts. However, the bureaucrats have once again launched a counterattack, and reverse accounts with increasing frenzy, pushing themselves closer and closer to the guillotine. All this proves that no decaying class has ever been willing voluntarily to exit from the stage of history.

In the new society of the Paris Commune type, this class will be overthrown. This was demonstrated by the iron-clad facts, so surprising to mediocre people, of the great changes in the January Revolution and the August Storm. Those who will rise and take their place will be cadres with true proletarian authority who will be produced naturally by the revolutionary people in the struggle to overthrow this decaying class [of the Red bureaucrats]. These cadres will be members of the commune. They will have no special privileges. Economically, they will receive the same treatment as the masses in general. They may be dismissed or replaced at any time at the request of the masses. Such new cadres with [true] authority have not yet emerged.

However, such cadres will be produced spontaneously as the political thinking of the revolutionary people grows in maturity. This is a natural result of the political ideological maturity of the proletariat.

(9) Refute the "Leftist" Doctrine of One Revolution

Some infantile revolutionaries of the revolutionary ranks suggest that there is no first or second Cultural Revolution; and that the revolution should proceed until communism is realized. This is the "Leftist" doctrine of one revolution. People who hold this idea are very few in number and they have a low political level. Chairman Mao's theory that the transitional period will be divided into different historical stages is the best enlightenment for them. The revolution must necessarily be in stages. We are for permanent revolution, and also for revolution by stages. . . .

Where China goes also determines where the world goes. China will inevitably go toward the new society of the "Peoples Commune of China."

If dictatorship by the Revolutionary Committee is taken as the final goal of the first Great Cultural Revolution, then China will inevitably go the way already taken by the Soviet Union, and the people will again be returned to the bloody fascist rule of capitalism. The Revolutionary Committee's road of bourgeois reformism is a dead-end.

This is because the present is the age of the great banner of Mao Tse-tung-ism; a great age in which imperialism is going downhill toward its debacle, while socialism goes uphill toward world victory. Today's world is one in which capitalism is definitely dying, and socialism is definitely flourishing. In this great revolutionary period of unprecedented significance, in this era of rapid changes, "miracles—at present not yet thought of but completely conformable to the law of historical development—are bound to happen in the history of mankind." (Ch'en Po-ta, March 24)

Both the victory of the Chinese proletariat and the broad masses of revolutionary people, and the extermination of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, are likewise inevitable. The world-shaking great festival of the revolutionary people—the overthrow of the Revolutionary Committee and birth of the "Peoples Commune of China—will surely come.

The commune of the "Ultra-Left faction" does not conceal its views and intentions. We publicly declare that our objective of establishing the "Peoples Commune of China" can only be achieved by forceful overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship and the revisionist system of the Revolutionary Committee. Let the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie tremble before the true socialist revolution that shakes the world! What the proletariat can lose in this revolution is only their chains, what they gain will be the whole world!

The China of tomorrow will be the world of the "Commune."

Long live Mao Tse-tung-ism!

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The rally of 1,000,000 Red Guards at the Gate of Heavenly Peace on August 26, 1966.

STRUGGLE AGAINST RELIGION!

On May 4th of this year, one-time would-be "radical leader" Rennie Davis came to the Anderson theatre, in Manhattan's Lower East Side, with a message to all those demoralized and desperate youth, petty-bourgeois, lumpen, even young workers, with a message—CRAWL. Crawl and kiss the toe of the "living god". Crawl and kiss the boot of fascism. Crawl in the "bliss" of slavery and mass murder.

Some came to crawl and some came to gawk and some came to heckle. But most of the hecklers in the Anderson theatre, maybe a third of those present, had no real understanding of what the revival of religion and cultism means, what the nature of the general crisis is today, and, most important of all, the perspective of the proletarian revolution. Many of the hecklers were relics of the SDS "New Left" which, soon after ritually expunging the Progressive Labor from their midst, adapted to the counter-culture—in most, if not all, its hideous aspects. They heckled Rennie Davis because the same thing is happening to them, they too feel the "pull" of the religious-cultists upon them and they are ill-equipped to understand, much less combat against, the reactionary mysticism which fills the air like the stench of corpses. They hate Rennie Davis because he is embarrassing to them, he is only in the "vanguard" of that trend which so many of them feel pulled into, that trend which can be described in no other way than as fascism, counter-revolution. They too, the hecklers, feel the need for some "perfect master", either in the form of an individual or in something else they can "plug into" to relieve themselves of the responsibility for making the real, serious, political, and ultimately, world-historical decisions which stand before us in this period. The hecklers, like the worshippers, are submitting before the forces of reaction. The hecklers, like the worshippers, were essentially hostile to the agitation carried out by a small number of revolutionary organizers who by literature and heated arguments attacked the Guru Maharaj Ji, and the religious-cultist trend as a whole, as a fascist movement in every sense of the word. (Class War was the only political tendency present.)

The events in the Anderson Theatre were protected by a platoon of police from the Ninth Precinct, including plainclothesmen, as well as a fascist goon squad, selected from various rightwing Martial Arts scenes, lined up in front of the stage. This is the same element which fractured the skull of a person who hit the Guru with a pis a few weeks later—religiously and cultist-oriented Karate goons who represent an embryonic stormtrooper element—today they protect the Guru, tomorrow they will break strikes, help in hunting down and killing revolutionaries, etc., all in a mental state of "blissful" enslavement.

The frenzy in the Anderson Theatre is only the tip of an iceberg. Throughout the rotting corpse of bourgeois society, the pus gathers—Scientology, Hare Krishna, Rev Ike, Children of God, Muslim "nationalists" and psychopathic Satanists, a fatal disease contracted by society in its death agony, a life-consuming poison which is shipped out by the ton all over the world to the masses of people who join it out of fear and despair and out of simple suicide—a way to die quietly, to starve slowly with struggle, without protest—ask the Guru, in his country the reactionaries promote this as the "way of life".

But there is another aspect to the question aside from the submission and passivity demanded by religion, a submission which must, in the final analysis, be forced upon the basic population by the capitalist class, at the risk of their being overthrown by us, by the revolutionary workingclass and its struggle for power, for a socialist society.

Many of the emerging cults perform a double service to their capitalist backers. Not only do they spread their ideological heroin, but many of these groups are recruiting and using people in slave-labor and scab projects as part of the general "recycling" of the entire workingclass population, the forcing of welfare-recipients, methadon addicts, etc. into previously minimum-wage paying jobs, the forcing down of the overall standard of living of employed and unemployed through slave-labor and speed-up, the essentially fascist process which NUMERO has been organizing and fighting against so effectively.

Such cults offer their converts as "volunteers" to work, usually without any pay at all, in jobs previously held by even union members. Sound too far-fetched? So you think that these Jesus freaks and funny-looking characters wearing robes and beads are just harmless? You think—maybe they're better off praying and fasting, better off than the kids shooting dope and killing each other? Actually, in the long run these religious and cultist groups will prove more dangerous to the survival of the entire workingclass than either the junkies or the street-gangs. Already, hundreds of Yoga and ecology cultists do volunteer clean-up work in Central Park, work formerly done by municipal workers—more than 2000 parks employees have been dropped in the past couple of years. Consider the "Process", also known as the "Church of the Final Judgement", a neo-nazi group, complete with swastika-type emblem, black and purple uniforms and capes, originally founded by one Robert De Grinston in England, a group which promotes

fascist ideology in the name of the "unity of Christ and Satan". The Process, well-funded by the look of their slickly printed magazines, pamphlets, and even books (one of these, entitled simply "War" contains dozens of sickening atrocity photos and very little text) now sponsors, through their groups operating openly in more than a dozen U.S. cities, a "Social Involvement and Community Action" program, which, as the January 1973 issue of "The Processians" says: "runs an everyday volunteer service to many local institutions", including, as photographs and reports detail, hospitals, schools, homes for the elderly, even mentally-retarded children!

Central to the outlook of these cultists' groups is the idea of the "apocalypse" and the "armageddon", which is their distorted, religious, counter-revolutionary view of the actual crisis, the world-wide second depression and total collapse of all existing social relations. They sense the coming, if not already here, collapse of society through their limited, backward, social existence, the existence characteristic of the petty-bourgeois as a whole throughout the epoch of imperialism. They sense the class struggle and they hide from it in a puddle of "universal bliss", the shallow illusion of classless-ness to cover the reality of powerlessness, the characteristic of the petty-bourgeoisie in the entire historical epoch of imperialism. But this "apocalypse" mentality serves another purpose for the capitalist class. In cultivating this outlook, the capitalist class instills in these demoralized youth the idea that in the midst of the coming chaos of the "second coming", or whatever, they can have some special role, can perform some "divine task", can assume that "rightful position" of authority which is theirs by right by virtue of their "self-less devotion". What does this really mean? It means that in the event of a nation-wide General Strike, for example, these religious and cultists maniacs will be enlisted, and will be used themselves to enlist, battalions of scabs, to man "essential services" in the main urban-industrial centers, including police, collect garbage, etc. It means that in any revolutionary upheaval, and we are definitely in a period when such events are highly likely, if not inevitable, the cultists will be an auxiliary police force for the capitalists, taking over functions to free increased numbers of police and military for repression. It means that, in the form of the thousands of youth who are grouped in the growing religious cults of all kinds, the capitalist class has the core of a potential mass fascist movement, to be used to crush the working class and revolutionary movement, to police total slave-labor, murder the "excess unproductive population", and enforce capitalist rule in general.

One "Brother Gideon" of the "Process", explaining why he became a member of the cult, illustrates the mentality of these groups: "It wasn't that I believed the doctrine or became obsessed with the theology or loved the ritual, or even that it all made sense to me. No! I felt at home, I couldn't stay away. I came back to discuss and argue even, but all I really felt was that the Process is where I felt best, like a jungle must feel to a newly escaped lion from the zoo." Of course, these "escaped lions", yearning no doubt to be those "blond beasts of prey" exalted by the early fascist Nietzsche, are not by themselves to carry out the counter-revolution, but taken together with dozens of such cults around the country, an increasing number of which turn away from the "love" and "peace" themes towards more sinister notions of discipline, sacrifice, and...holy war. It is not hard for any politically-conscious worker or unemployed person to imagine who that "holy war" is to be waged against, or in whose behalf. But in terms of the general population, the widest variety of confusions exist concerning these cults, ranging from cynical amusement to outright sympathy.

In the earlier stages of the crisis, as in the fascist movement in Germany which pre-dated the domination of the Nazi Party, the capitalist class can afford the luxury of a wide variety of crackpot reactionary outfits, ranging from pseudo-scientists and academiquacks to the fringes of psychopathic degenerates, victims of the most grandiose illusions, self-proclaimed "reincarnations" and the like, a kind of lumpen-intelligentsia, some of which does not fail to be thrown into the left as well as the right.

In this earlier period, it is difficult for many people to understand how these "kooks" could be a danger to them, except in the Manson-type case where a cult starts killing rich people. But the capitalist class intends to unify, centralize, and combine all of these cults under a single banner of ecumenical consensus against the growing revolutionary workingclass movement. They have already launched the Guru Maharaj Ji with the aim of creating a number of key centers for these reactionary cults, a center dominating the Asian-oriented cults, a center dominating the "Jesus freaks", a center for the various Muslim cults, who are already murdering each other for hegemony over their pitiful area of hustles, etc. Both Guru Maharaj Ji, and to a greater extent, Scientology, more and more serve this role as potential "centers" for a wide variety of cultists outlooks and projects. The Guru has sponsored religious events inviting all cults to gather under his banners, and many have, and Scientology likes to

(continues on next page)

maintain its "populist" and pseudo-radical posture as "defender" of the cults against those "arch-enemies" the Internal Revenue Service and the Mental Health system. Scientology has been congratulated by the anti-semitic Liberty Lobby for their "courageous fight" against IRS, a pseudo-campaign long the favorite of Ayn Randists and other assorted petty-bourgeois scum. Scientology also helps local police precincts set up "block associations" and "tenants' patrols", in New York's Greenwich Village for example, and their notorious fascist theories and practices have already made them a refuge for astronauts, architects, priests, policemen; not to mention rock singers.

One of the most dangerous aspects of the religion-cultism revival is the fact that large sections of the would-be revolutionary workingclass movement in this country have either ignored the question or else even looked upon it favorably. We know that the pro-Moscow "Communist Party" in India supported the Guru Maharaj Ji when he was arrested for smuggling a sack full of watches, jewelry, etc. back into India, but this is to be expected from a rotten revisionist gang that is a part of the reactionary government murdering and suppressing the workers and peasants in India, a loyal opposition to Indira Gandhi. The Kremlin has long been involved with so-called "Christian-Marxist dialogue" detente with the Vatican, and advances towards the "liberal" wing of the Christian Democratic Parties, in Italy, France, and in Latin America. They have revived the Church in the U.S.S.R. itself, to even a greater extent than was done by Stalin during World War II, allegedly to promote "patriotism", actually a severe mistake on Stalin's part and the CPSU(B)'s part, a concession to the most backward and vile ideological poison in the arsenal of the bourgeoisie, part of the revisionist degeneration in the U.S.S.R. which attacked the earlier militant atheism of the Soviet Union, the anti-religious campaigns of the "League of the Militant Godless". The People's Republic of Albania is today one of the staunchest enemies of religion, which is banned. The Albanian workers are proud that there are neither mosques nor churches anywhere in Albania, as enforced by law and upheld by the whole population. This is a unique situation even for socialist countries, and has made the Albanian people the target of constant Vatican-directed slander campaigns.

In opposition to the intransigent revolutionary stand of the genuine Marxist-Leninists, the centrists, like the revisionists, find themselves softer and softer on the question of religion, on the need for a materialist dialectics which fearlessly used to combat every form of reactionary ideology. The New Left, in rejecting the formalist and mechanical dogmatics of the "old left", the hollow litany of recitations of the proletarian "perfect masters", flew out in all directions, but away from, often against, the question of theory itself, of philosophy as "a sharp weapon in the hands of the masses" (Mao Tse-tung). Those sections of the New Left which had a hunger for some mental activity, aside from purely organizational and factional scheming, were temporarily satisfied by Marcuse, Wilhelm Reich, and other similar pseudo-Marxist radical "humanists", who, with one foot in Freudian psychology or neo-Hegelianism and the other foot dipping slightly into Marxism, won the widespread acclaim and benevolence of the most respected capitalist "intellectual" circles. In a certain sense, the religious-cultist revival that is taking place today can partially be blamed on the New Left anti-theoretical pseudo-theories, the failure, not only to grasp dialectics, but to make this central to the political life of the movement as a whole, to popularize the study and debate on questions of philosophy, methods of thinking, and that essential outlook on the totality of things as the fundamental context and basis for our collective conscious activity—the world proletarian revolution. One of the most important aspects of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was the fact that philosophy moved into the very center of the battlefield of the struggle between two lines, the class struggle. This aspect has not, for the most part, been reflected in the Maoist movement internationally, and the recent right turn opens the way for even more retreat in this area, which is, after all, the harrowing point of the development of Marxism itself—Marx's struggle to develop/overcome German Classical Philosophy in the creation of not only a new world outlook, but a method of revolutionary transformation of the world.

It is in the vacuum of the hollow and formal political lines of most of the left in this country, including the would-be Marxist-Leninists, that we can witness the recent phenomenon of Huey Newton publicly declaring his belief in God, Young Lords Party sporting Cuban posters of Jesus with a gun (1), "Merry Christmas" and other religious greetings in the "leftwing" press, sucking up to the "concerned clergy", church foundations, and the CIA-riddled "American Friends" int'l networks, as well as actual members of left groups dropping out of politics and into some kind of religious-cultist activity.

Class War has developed out of a struggle in the communist movement which placed the questions of fundamental world outlook, program, and methods of thinking on a higher scale, at this crucial point of the birth of the revolutionary movement in this historical period than the anti-theoretical "activism" and "Serve the People" projects of so many of our contemporaries in the late 1960's. We still consider the mastery of dialectics and understanding of history to be the beginning points of the revolutionary education of the present and future generations of communists. Without this, no matter what other superficial gains are made, the revolutionary movement will itself be disintegrated into a goal-less "rebellion", which, through its own disintegration in consciousness and organization, becomes the basis of, not the revolution, but the counter-revolution.

Maudood's judgment on Communism and Socialism is just as harsh as that on colonialism and Capitalism. He views both as manifestations of the same materialistic Westernism "which developed in Europe and which, in revolt against the church, freed itself of God and prophethood to solve its problems in its own way". The differences between Capitalism, Fascism, Communism, etc. are only of a secondary nature. They all have one cultural concept in common: there may or may not be a God but man is under no obligation to obey Him (obey Him consciously and deliberately), is in no need of guidance from Him, is not answerable for his deeds before Him; and there is no life after this life in which man's worldly deeds will bear fruit. Man is totally independent and has to find his way in life in the light of his own knowledge, experience and needs and that the purpose of life is prosperity in the life lived in this world. He competently and thoroughly attacks the very selfish, anti-social bases and imbalanced principles of Capitalism and Communism, demonstrating aptly how their spirit, objectives and accomplishments differ from the Islamic system of life. The specific weakness and fallacies of both materialistic systems are revealed historically, with factual delineation and contrasted with the attested pronouncements and achievements of the Islamic system, so that the essential incompatibility is easily grasped. So evil and violent has been the result of secularism, Capitalism, Communism and Nationalism—all ideological variations on the same theme—that the Muslim has an obligation to put an end to their detested influence, especially within the so-called Muslim world.

Classical fascist themes appear in this section from the newspaper of the Washington D.C.-based "Islamic Party" (on the left, above) and Hitler-worship emerges in the letters column of Guru Maharaj Ji's slickly-printed "And It is Divine" magazine. (right, above)

Dear Editor,
In my previous studies in an astrology and ancient history, I came across an interesting fact concerning Hitler's use of the swastika.
While reading about Schlemmer's excavations of Troy I came across where it said that in Hitler's earlier years his interest in an astrology led him to follow the work of Schlemmer. After some of the first artifacts of Troy were discovered, Hitler found that the swastika was a common symbol among several ancient cultures. Assuming the significance it must have had in ancient times he incorporated it as a symbol of power for his own use. The common swastika sun on ancient artifacts was also found, hence the complete derivation of the symbol of the Third Reich.
In reading a book on the hollow earth theory, one chapter spoke of Hitler confirming what I just mentioned, but in further detail.
It stated that Hitler was very much aware of this theory being the inception of the Golden Age of man. In complete lateness to the man, but still maintaining objectivity, it is my opinion that there is a very strong possibility that "for a period" Hitler sincerely felt he was building a political foundation for the Golden Era. During the war, dreams "were shattered. In the sleepless months, "Hitler: The Last 10 Days," he clearly expressed his early failure in the war, but continued out of duty.
I hope this sheds a better understanding on his use of the swastika.
Sincerely,
Jay R. Kurogh
Minneapolis, Minn.

PEASANT CHILDREN VERSUS SOVIET ATHEISTIC REVOLUTION

by Thomas Harlins

FATIMA, OCTOBER 13, 1917
—From the poor peasants came most of the recruits which make up the industrial working class in Russia. Finally in 1917 (17 years ago) there was the formation of First Soviets (Councils) of striking workers and the first collaborations of Revolutionary workers with revolutionary peasants.

In this climactic year of 1917 a vision has spoken to the Peasantry of the world, through the medium of three peasant children here at Fatima, Portugal.

For over a hundred years the material dissatisfaction of the masses throughout the world has been building a vast machine which has power to kill both body and soul. Governments are trembling in the face of this unrelenting materialism which has possessed the world; they have turned to every human means to avert the danger. Being steeped in materialism, it is the material power of this great War of 1917 which man decides will solve the problem.

We know that the world is at the cross-roads. The future is dark; a huge and evil destruction may be budding in the East. Whether it be simple material-

ism, or Atheistic materialism, it is a fact that revolts begin where individuals emphasize self-importance of human needs.
The balance of power lies therefore with the choice of the masses: Whether they choose Christ and His Cross, or Atheistic materialism. In the fact of this choice, INDIVIDUAL FEELINGS AND DESIRES MUST NOT COUNT!
That is why in 1858, Heaven as though anticipating the danger of a materialistic "world revolution", sent a beautiful lady to another

The "Blue Army" of Fatima fanatics also put forth classical fascist lines—the glorification of the "spiritual" rural life as opposed to the "atheistic" and "greedy" workers in the cities, also the sense of the "divine mission" of the "Blue Army" to defeat the Red Army, to crush the revolution. Needless to this, this cult, which is probably maintained as part of the int'l Jesuit propaganda arm of the Vatican, was all for Franco in Spain, Mussolini in Italy, and Salazar in Portugal, the birthplace of the "Blue Army".

little girl born of the Peasantry in France. The Message: Prayer, Penance; and many Sacrifices.
It was important to Heaven that the Peasantry especially would use these tools against materialism.

Message: Harold Colgan, founder of the Blue Army of Our Lady, wrote: "Like every peasant as well as most Catholics, I did not begin to hear about the message of Fatima until after the war."

Two years later, facing a bleak hospital wall and waiting for death, I began to consider the message of Our Lady said so. The war the forecast was over, but the prophecy of the continued spread of Communism with further war and annihilation of nations remained my alternative to hearing her response.
"I promised," she said, "to do all I could to make known the conditions of Our Lady of Fatima for the conversion of Russia."

Message: Colgan was cured, and a few weeks later in one of his sermons, he said:
"Atheists have developed a Red Army... In this world let us be a Blue Army of Our Lady to fill all her conditions for their conversion."

And that is how it began: With a Marian priest, smothered from the jaws of death, and a promise.
Today the Blue Army is the "official" Fatima apostolate of the world. It has been adopted by the Bishops of Fatima, by all the Bishops of Portugal, and by hundreds of Bishops throughout the world. It has full-time active centers in the most important nations of the world and a 120-room International Center of Fatima itself.

Dear Guru Maharaj Ji,
My daughter has told me much about you and the work of the Divine Light Mission. Although I am not personally involved, I have respect for your efforts to bring peace to this world. For my daughter, her friends, and the premises in western New York, I hope that you will find time in your schedule to visit Buffalo when you next come to the United States.
Peace and freedom,
William M. Kunstler

Dear Guru Maharaj Ji,
In the opinion of many of us, it would be a great blessing if you could at some time in the near future, visit the United States. You are undoubtedly aware that our need of spiritual sustenance is very great. We have concluded a war which is a scandal to civilized minds; it has left us spiritually bloodied. Many of our young people are without direction or hope; and our own churches are able to offer very little, being themselves complicit in many of our social crimes.
We would be happy to hear from you.
Sincerely and gratefully,
(Rev.) Daniel Berrigan, S.J.

The above two letters appeared in the fat little Guru's rag, the "Divine Times". Kunstler and the Berrigans follow Rennie Davis into "bliss"...who's next???

THIRD PERIOD

BACKWARD GERMANY AND ADVANCED CHINA

DIALECTICS OF UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

"Backward Europe and advanced Asia. The conjunction of these words seems paradoxical. Who does not know that Europe is advanced and Asia backward? But the words taken for the title for this article contain a bitter truth."

(V.I. Lenin, Vol. 19, Coll. Works
published in May 18, 1913)

Eight years after the above was written, at the Third World Congress of the Communist International in 1921, Lenin further developed the concept of the colonial revolutions in the world revolution, in polemics against the belittlers of this process:

"The movement in the colonial countries is still regarded as an insignificant national and completely peaceful movement. However, that is not the case. Great changes have taken place in this respect since the beginning of the 20th century, namely millions and hundreds of millions — actually the overwhelming majority of the world's population — are now coming out as an independent and active revolutionary factor. And it is perfectly clear that in the impending decisive battles of the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the world's population, originally aimed at national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will, perhaps, play a much more revolutionary role than we expect."

Of course, this assessment, and others made by Lenin and the Communist International, have nothing to do with Third Worldism in two important respects. The first is that nowhere does Lenin use the above assessment to deny the ultimately revolutionary role of the proletariat in the imperialist nations, or the need for the revolution in the oppressed and oppressor nations to aid and support each other. The second is that Lenin never supported the repulsive racist or chauvinist concepts of Third Worldism that eat like cancer into the body of the workingclass movement—the "black nation" versus "white nation"—and which many would-be revolutionaries are poisoned by today.

The colonial revolutions have proceeded at a time when the proletariat in the imperialist countries has suffered defeats, setbacks, and divisive corruption of its most advanced organizational expressions, political parties, trade unions, etc. However, the importance of the colonial revolutions lies precisely in its role in helping to shatter this temporary and partial relative lull in the class war in the imperialist heartlands, not in the alleged role of replacement of the proletariat. Today, the importance of the colonial revolutions lies in their inter-relation with, not substitution for, the Proletarian Revolution in the imperialist nations as well as the class struggle in the socialist countries. However, the point at which we have arrived today, which throws before us, once again, the tasks of a world-wide revolutionary crisis, is itself a development from a point where the uneven development of the world revolution, particularly the "bitter truth" that Lenin refers to above, reached its apex. We are referring to the Third Period, the period of the first world depression.

Marx once remarked that history repeats itself, first as tragedy, then as farce. Today the second world depression has broken upon us in the most severe general crisis of capitalist society as a whole. To the extent that we fail to learn from the first world depression, particularly, we believe, the events in Germany and China, will be the extent to which tragedy is indeed repeated as farce. Therefore, we will present our historical analysis in the light of various present-day questions in the revolutionary movement, continuing in this manner a number of discussions begun in the first part of this article which appeared in *CLASS WAR* issue no. 2.



COUNTER-REVOLUTION : NAZIS ON ELECTION-CAMPAIGN

In the Third Period, Lenin's phrase, "Backward Europe and Advanced Asia", was vindicated in the most concrete manner, in a striking contrast that was to stamp the whole period following it and continues to act upon us today. On the one hand, the rise of Fascism and counter-revolution in Europe, together with the revisionist degeneration of the Communist International itself. On the other hand, the birth of the Red Army and Soviet power in China, together with the development, in the heat of battle, of new revolutionary movements of workers and peasants throughout Asia. The U.S.S.R. in the Third Period, which is not the subject of this immediate article, to the extent that it was subject to the effects of both the Chinese Revolution and the German counter-revolution, expressed in its own development the uneven and combined development of the world revolution as a whole. Thus the Third Period is both the point of some of the greatest achievements of both the Comintern and the U.S.S.R. as well as the basis for the subsequent degeneration of both of these, beginning in 1934-1935, and extending up through the unprincipled dissolution of the Comintern in 1943 to the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. in the following decade.

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The defeat of the German Revolution, a process finalized in Hitler's so-called "national revolution" in 1933, but whose true origins must be located in the degeneration of the German Social Democracy that was already underway in Marx and Engels' time, is the most important and most tragic of all the defeats and setbacks suffered by the world proletarian revolution as a whole. Following the October Revolution in 1917, the failure of the revolution to extend, through Germany, into all of Europe, is the fundamental basis for the grave difficulties and sufferings, with their inevitable effects up to the present day, endured in the first attempts to build socialism in the Soviet Union. Likewise, the failure to grasp upon the opportunity offered by the first world depression in Germany, more severely affected than any other major capitalist country, a failure to really carry out the Comintern Third Period by the German Communist Party, plunged that party, the other European CP's, and almost the entire Comintern, into a sharp detour away from the Class-against-Class line of the Third Period and into a mire of right-opportunism and class-collaboration from which they have never emerged—the notorious "Popular Front". Today, the utter bankruptcy of this line, which was nothing less than a reaction against the line of the Third Period, is written for all to see, in letters of blood, on the streets of Santiago, Chile, where the social-fascists of so-called "communist" and "socialist" parties and trade unions have once more delivered up the working-class to be butchered by the counter-revolution.



REVOLUTION : "RED SPEARS" PEASANT MILITIA MARCH

The rise to power of Hitler in 1933 was only the final result of the defeat of the German Revolution. In that sense, it was the result of a process, its apex. On the other hand, the advance of the Chinese Revolution proved to be the beginning-point of the new world-wide revolutionary process which has unfolded up to today. Those who fail to understand the first point cannot readily accept the second either. A million volumes of theories of the supremacy of the development of productive forces in determining the proximity of social revolution, the well-known placing of "objective factors" in greater importance than "subjective factors", itself an un-dialectical construct, cannot erase the actual course of development of the world revolution over the past half-century. There has not been a single successful proletarian revolution in any capitalist-imperialist country since the October Revolution in 1917. On the other hand, the process of National-Democratic and then socialist revolution has unfolded, not without distortions and setbacks of course, in China, North Vietnam, North Korea, and one, formerly colonial European nation, Albania. This overall process of "Backward Europe and Advanced

Asia" must be understood so as to be able to transcend it, to overcome that aspect of it which is uneven, partial, backward, and static in both sides of the question, for so long as the revolutionary process in Europe and North America remains backward, relatively speaking, so will the process in "Advanced Asia" itself be marked by a backwardness, which it cannot, by itself, resolve at this particular point of history.

GERMANY : REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION

The German Revolution is the least studied and most misunderstood of the general defeats suffered by the proletariat in the 20th century. This stands in sharp contrast to the vanguard role played by the German proletariat in the century before this one, to the role of German Critical Philosophy, culminating in Hegel, as both the starting-point and initial adversary of Marx, and to the models for working-class organization provided by the German Social Democracy, including its party, trade union, and youth league structures, models which were copied, with both good and bad results, from Tsarist Russia to the "democratic" United States.

Germany was the focal point for both proletarian struggle and the struggle for a new, revolutionary philosophy, which would no longer remain a philosophy, in the 19th century, yet it becomes the focal point for reaction and counter-revolution again and again in this century. Does this imply that, for Germany, history has reversed itself? Only if, like bourgeois historians, we isolate and separate instead of looking at the whole, the totality, both in terms of the world context as well as from the point of view of what is possible from this point on—concretely, what we can do to overcome the legacy of defeat and setback, how we can join with and support the proletarian struggle in Germany, and everywhere else.

However, in the interests of grasping, changing, this totality, we must proceed from the particular, pin-pointing those phases of development which bring the acute questions, sometimes blurred and distorted in "ordinary times", into sharpest focus. It is at these nodal points of development, where what is possible may become the opposite of what would be probable, that we must focus, for this is, in an even deeper sense than before, the point at which we find ourselves today. Such a point is the period of crisis in Germany during and just following the great crash of 1929, the period of the Weimar Republic.

Germany entered the first world depression worse off than any other major capitalist country. Between 1924 and 1930, the Weimar Republic, inheriting the shattered post-war economy of defeated Germany, borrowed 7 billion dollars, mainly from the United States, and even the temporary and superficial prosperity allowed by this borrowing was violently shattered by the crash of the Wall Street Stock Market Oct. 24, 1929. The last Social-Democratic chancellor of Germany, Hermann Mueller, resigned less than 5 months after the crash, in March 1930, to be replaced by Brüning, a leader of the Catholic Centre Party, supposedly intended to "stabilize" the worsening economic situation from a rapidly-shrinking political "middle-of-the-road". However, even U.S. President Hoover's July 6, 1931 move, temporarily calling a halt to Germany's need to continue paying war reparations as stipulated in the Versailles Treaty could not stem the tide. Industrial production in Germany was cut by a half between 1929 and 1932, throwing millions of even the most skilled workers into the ranks of the unemployed.

Under these conditions, the political center in Germany, the traditional "liberal" and moderate political forces which upheld the interests of both urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie, was ground to dust in between the two opposite poles of the class struggle—on the one hand, the revolutionary proletariat as expressed through its vanguard Communist Party (German section of the Communist International), on the other hand, the state-monopoly-capitalist bourgeoisie, German section of the modern world-wide imperialist ruling-class, which put forward as its political and military arm, the Nazi movement, including party, armed units, youth movement, and even Nazi "labor unions". The Nazi movement in Germany was neither the throwback to feudalist, pre-capitalist social forms, nor the political expression of the "middle class" or lumpenproletariat, nor the voice of the "right-wing of the bourgeoisie", nor the signal of the approach of some new social system, as many Nazis themselves claimed, "neither capitalist or Marxist". The Nazi regime and the movement which produced it were nothing less than the specifically German component of the world-wide development of new counter-revolutionary political, military, and ideological forms created by the world-wide imperialist bourgeoisie as a whole in the face of the class struggles of the proletariat. Fascism, together with its social-fascist twin partner, as the violent concentration of Capital's exploitation and oppression of labor in the State, was, and continues to be, the general historical response, sometimes more subtle, sometimes openly brutal, of the bourgeoisie as a whole, to the class struggle.

German Social Democracy, which in 1914 proved itself to be, in Lenin's words—social-patriot, social-chauvinist, and social-imperialist, had, by the outbreak of the first world depression in 1929 completely suited the Comintern's description of it as

social-fascist, as Stalin described it in 1924—"the moderate wing of fascism." This is did, not only demoralizing, splitting, and corrupting the more privileged workers, the union bureaucrats, officials, etc. thus giving them a shove in the direction of the pre-Nazi Party fascist and nationalist bands, but also, by its "reforms" and "labor legislation" which strengthened the control of the capitalist state machine over the working-class, in the name of "nationalization" and "socialization" binding the unions, cooperatives, and other proud creations of the German Social-Democratic Party tighter around the bourgeois state. In 1919, the armed militia of the Social Democrats and the nationalist "Freikorps", forerunner of the stormtroopers, officially collaborated to crush the Communist-led Spartakus uprising, murdering Luxemburg and Liebknecht. The Social-Democracy was already crumbling, like the petty-bourgeois "center" parties, with the difference that a small revolutionary element of it, breaking off to the left rather than the right, aligned itself with the growing German Communist Party.

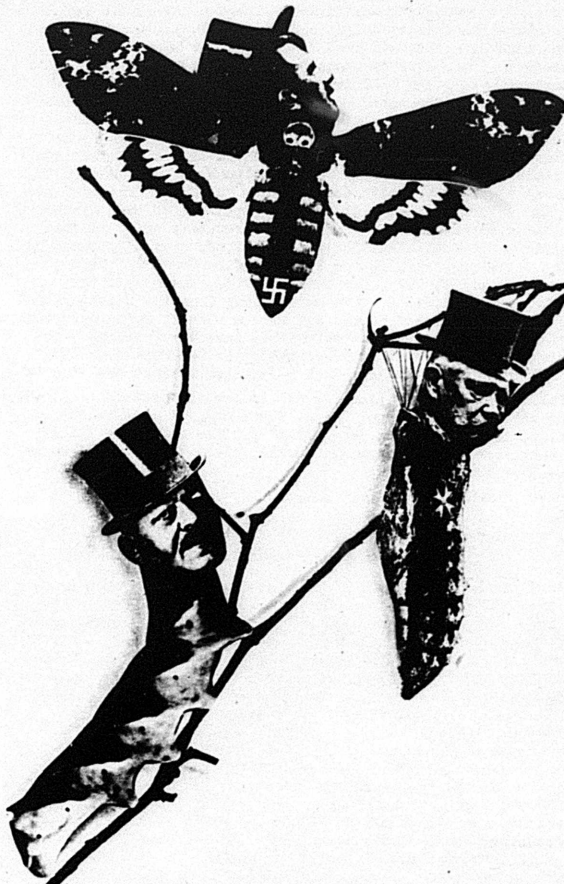
With the onset of the general crisis, both the forces of the revolution and the counter-revolution grew rapidly, more and more clashing violently against each other, rapidly bringing on a situation of civil war, where the bourgeoisie casts aside its last "democratic" pretense, where the proletariat must likewise cast aside every obstacle to its revolutionary struggle for power, inside and outside its ranks. In this context, such forms as parliaments, senates, and Dumas no longer serve as the actual political centers of even bourgeois "public opinion", and are relegated to less and less importance as the organs of organized violence and class struggle, on both sides, become more and more important. The real center where decisions are made and acted upon shifts from the debating-halls, where "class peace" and "national unity" of the old type prevails into the streets, where struggle and conflict reigns. In Germany, the elections were used by both the Communist Party and the Nazi Party as a means of determining support, as a kind of political barometer, and the actual Communist and Nazi Reichstag deputies and their deliberations in the Reichstag cannot be considered to be anything but a minor aspect of the actual struggle. In fact, examining the situation from our own historical perspective, we may criticize the Communist Party in Germany for the overdone emphasis they gave to electoral activity—perhaps they were not Third Periodist enough in this respect. Election Boycott, which was the policy of the K.A.P.D. (Communist Workers' Party of Germany, a small ultra-left party which, in Lenin's lifetime, was affiliated to the Communist International alongside the K.P.D. and was the object of Lenin's polemics, alongside the Bordighists, Dutch "Tribunists", Georg Lukacs, etc. in his "Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder".) might have served as a powerful impetus to breaking the bulk of Social Democratic workers away from the Moskes, Schiedemanns, etc. As it was, whereas both the Communist Party and Nazi Party increased their votes, it was the Nazis that gained most in this area and used it to build their real forces, their para-military bodies contending for hegemony in the streets.

Communist Party votes in Germany went from 3,265,000 in 1928 to 4,592,000 in 1930. But in the same two-year period, the Nazi Party vote went from 810,866 in 1928 to 6,409,600 in 1930. In 1931, the credit crisis hit, affecting Germany and Austria, the most indebted of the major capitalist countries. Inflation was driven to such insane proportions that the price of a loaf of bread went into the hundreds of millions of marks. Sixty people committed suicide daily in the city of Berlin in this period. Thousands starved to death in the main urban centers. The desperation and despair of a large section of the population went hand in hand with the decadent pleasure-seeking and cynicism of the scum which, temporarily, had floated to the surface of the cabarets and "night-life". Only the cries of the starving and the sounds of gun-battles between Communists and Nazis occasionally disturbed the drunken stupors and wild parties of those who had chosen to "eat, drink, and be merry" while the existing social order crumbled around them.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

A full history of the German Communist Party deserves serious attention as a necessary project, not only for German revolutionary workers, but also for revolutionaries in every "advanced" capitalist country. Undoubtedly, the leadership of the Communist International bears much responsibility for the mistakes of the German Communists, but it must not be forgotten that even the best leaders of the K.P.D. had never sufficiently broken with the methods and outlook of the Social Democracy, although with some, it must be admitted, it was a case of not having broken with the left Social Democracy, such as the "Independent Social Democratic Party" which existed for a time as a centrist trend between the K.P.D. and "official" Social Democracy. However, the fundamental weakness of the K.P.D. is to be sought in the actual character of the German proletariat and its relation to the overall European proletarian struggles. German imperialism having been defeated in WWI and forced to pay, for a while, reparations to the U.S., Great Britain, France, etc. gave the German bourgeoisie a powerful weapon in its drive to attack the class-struggle consciousness of the already Social Democratically-poisoned workers and to impose a pseudo-radical, even pseudo-"revolutionary" nationalism, so-called "National Socialism".

In the face of this situation, the Comintern Third Period line, which had special importance to the German situation for a number of reasons, offered a basis upon which the leadership of the



A COLLAGE BY HEARTFIELD SHOWS THE DEVELOPMENT OF FASCISM—FROM EBERT THROUGH HINDENBURG TO HITLER.

K.P.D. could have rooted out the last vestige of social democratic influence within their own ranks and the ranks of the German proletariat. Although it did not fully carry out the tasks put forward in the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern in 1928, the "Third Period Congress", the K.P.D. did develop some important forms of struggle which have the greatest relevance for today.

The K.P.D. basically put forward a three-pronged policy, three elements of Third Period policy which were also carried out, to a greater or lesser degree, in other Comintern sections as well, and which today are denounced as "Ultra-left" by practically every tendency on the left.

The first prong was the R.T.U.O.—Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition—which included both Red Trade Unions, and, where possible, Communist-led caucuses or groups in other unions.

The second prong was the Unemployed Movement. This was developed in opposition to, sometimes violent conflict with, both Nazi and Social Democratic and religious "unemployed organizations".

The third prong was the Red Front, officially known as the Red Front Fighters' League. This was the mass para-military defense organization of the proletariat, built to counter the development of similar para-military mass organizations by the Nazis (the SA brownshirts or stormtroopers) and the Social Democracy (the Reichsbanner, a "patriotic workers" militia).

Undoubtedly, the first prong, the R.T.U.O., was the weakest of the three. The K.P.D. in the early thirties could only claim the allegiance of 4% of the factory committees—the Social Democrats 9%. The massive unemployment had hit those areas hardest where the K.P.D. had been the strongest, and Communist workers had, of course, been the last-hired and first-fired as the depression really hit. Furthermore, the Social Democratic party ordered its trade unions to carry out an official policy of expulsion of all known K.P.D. members, following in the traditions of 1919 when, alongside the fascist whiteguards, they declared themselves to be "saviours of the nation from the Bolshevik beast." The Social Democratic hegemony in the trade unions was never broken, and probably could never have been broken by the K.P.D. within the narrow limits of trade unionism that is. The problem was that, in the context of the three-pronged policy, the K.P.D. did not actively raise the call for New Organs of Struggle, for the higher development of the trade union, unemployed, and Red Front forces into revolutionary mass assemblies on a city-wide, regional

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and eventually national basis, posing a dual power against the crumbling Weimar Republic. While Trotsky harangued the K.P.D. and Comintern on this point, from the relative safety of his exile, he could only see the "German soviets" built on the basis of a bloc with the rotten Social Democracy, a return to the policies which had crippled the K.P.D. from the beginning. In 1934, one year after Nazi victory, Trotsky ordered his own small following to merge with the Social Democracy in the notorious "French Turn". What the K.P.D. needed was not a united front with the Social Democracy, and certainly not the miserable "Popular Front" which in 1935 became dominant in the Comintern but a further extension of the Red Front, unemployed, and R.T.U.O. organizing drives into a higher, more centralized form of class struggle. At its height the R.T.U.O. had 150,000 members as opposed to the 5 millions in the reformist trade unions, but together with the other K.P.D. mass organizations, this could have been the basis of a successful struggle against both Fascism and social-fascism, a struggle for power.

Although the K.P.D. three-pronged strategy ultimately failed, their evaluation of the situation, even before the Nazis took power, proves to have been correct. Early in 1931, Ernst Thaelmann, K.P.D. leader, murdered later by the Nazis, already determined the fascist nature of existing bourgeois rule before 1933:

"Today the Bruening government itself has become a government of fascist dictatorship in its commencing stage. For the question of a fascist dictatorship is for the Marxists not a question of persons, not the problem that a Mussolini or a Hitler must take over the helm, but rather a question of the class role of a regime... The task of the fascist dictatorship, the aim of this dictatorship in the interests of the capitalist system to crush the revolutionary proletariat, can be the result of the fascist rule only in the event it can maintain itself successfully against the proletariat and succeed in solving its tasks. That the Bruening government, with its social-fascist assistants, has set itself the task of suppressing the proletariat and its party is obvious to every thinking worker in view of the terror which is assuming sharper forms every day... The present role of the social democratic party of Germany is that of auxiliary police to fascism. This applies to its police presidents, to the actions of Severing and Gresinsky (Social Democratic police chiefs who ordered the shooing-down of strikers—Ed.) but also no less to the social fascist trade union bureaucracy who help the fascist dictatorship to put through wage cuts and assist in sabotaging the defensive fight of the proletariat... the bloody attacks of the "national socialists" on revolutionary workers are again increasing. Hardly a day passes without somewhere in Germany a proletarian falling victim to the bullets and knives of the fascists. Needless to say, the working class should not fail to give a reply to the organized murder and the open civil war measures of fascism..."

(from an article in *The Communist*, organ of the CPUSA, March 1931)

And, through the Red Front, the German proletariat did give a reply.—not enough to stop the Nazis. However, we would be dishonoring the memory of the thousands and tens of thousands who did fight the Nazis if we failed to indicate the nature of the street-fighting at that time, in the bloody years preceding 1933.

The accusation that the K.P.D. surrendered to the Nazis "without firing a shot" is a lie. Continual street-battles, assassinations and counter-assassinations, bombings of Party offices, and a general condition of protracted civil war was the state of affairs, particularly in the major industrial and urban centers, for several years up to 1933. In 1932, these struggles reached a peak when, following Franz von Papen's accession as Chancellor on June 1, 1932, a partial "ban" against SA stormtrooper activities (mass parades, drilling, etc. which often provoked bloody battles) was lifted on June 15, with the bans against similar activities by the Red Front remaining in effect. In Prussia alone, between June 1st and 20th, there were 461 pitched battles in the streets, in which 82 were killed and 400 seriously wounded. In July, 38 Nazis and 30 Communists were killed. On July 17th, the Nazi stormtroopers, under escort of the Social Democratic-controlled city police, attacked Altona, the main workingclass neighborhood in the city of Hamburg. In the pitched battle which took place all that day, where fire-arms and grenades were freely used on both sides, 19 were killed and 285 wounded. And so it went. During this period the attitude of the Social-Democrats was either favorable to the Nazis, or else based on the hope that the Nazis and Communists would cancel each other out, allowing the Social Democracy to "restart" the Weimar Republic.

There were exceptions of course, even amongst some lesser leaders in the Social Democratic party and trade unions. Increasing numbers of Social Democratic rank-and-file workers drilled under the banners of the Red Front, recognizing it as the only existing defense organization of the class as a whole.

COMMUNIST ERRORS AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC TREACHERY

One of the major errors of the K.P.D. leadership was its vacillation in the face of the pseudo-radical nationalist agitation around the question of the Versailles Treaty. Although the official slogan of the Comintern Sixth World Congress was "Class Against Class", the K.P.D. leadership seriously weakened the strength of this policy by their occasional talk about a "People's Revolution" and

even about "National Liberation"—in an imperialist nation! This attitude, which basically tail-ended the unstable nationalistic moods which affected even large numbers of workers and unemployed at that time, moods which diverted the hatred of the masses away from their own, German, ruling-class, and against the powers which had imposed the Versailles treaty, against an external "national enemy" instead of the actual class enemy. These deviations, culminating in the notorious so-called "Red Referendum" of July, 1931, when the Communists temporarily united with the Nazis in a referendum against the Social Democratic government in Prussia (after the same Social Democrats had refused an offer by the K.P.D. for a united front against the Nazis!) can be seen as the precursor of the later degeneration of the Comintern sections throughout the capitalist countries, including the CPUSA here, into various levels of "united fronts" with the bourgeoisie, beginning with the policy which Trotsky had advocated, of united front with the Social Democracy, and extending on up to the formal entry of the CP's into bourgeois governments, the "Popular Front". This line was in direct opposition to the Third Period line, the line of struggle put forward by the Sixth World Congress in 1928.

However, this question of the political errors of the Communist Party can in no way be identified with the outright and deliberate treachery of the German Social Democracy, which expresses itself today in the person of Willy Brandt and through the policies of so-called "workers' control" (of their own exploitation!) and "co-participation", the so-called "Swedish Way", as well as in outright collaboration with both U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism against the world revolution. Social Democracy today deserves the title of Social-Fascism even more than it did in the Third Period, if that is at all possible. Furthermore, they have been joined in that respect by the Moscow-line so-called "Communist Parties" in every country, including the wretched CPUSA in this country which today practices the "Popular Front" with Nixon himself against the revolutionary workingclass organizing drive of N.U.W.R.O., against what it denounces everywhere as the "ultra-left".

Social Democracy continues to play the social-pacifist and social-patriot roles alternately, using both to disarm the political consciousness of the proletariat concerning the threat of new imperialist wars. On the one hand, the Social Democracy of all countries hails the United Nations, constituting an important element, alongside the social-imperialist union federation the WFTU, in the UN's "International Labor Organization", hailing the new era of "perpetual peaceful coexistence" and "detente", and catering to the pacifist frenzy that occasionally sweeps over the petty-bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the Social Democracy presides over the raising of military expenditures by the capitalist government, upholds the "sanctity" of "national defense", and even directs wars of aggression, such as the role of Golda Meier's "Labor Party" government in Israel.

The "left" flank of Social Democracy, populated by Trotskyites, Tito-ites, third worldists, and anarchists alike, and, in a number of countries, supported also by would-be Marxist-Leninists and Maoists, is incapable of countering the reactionary influence of the Social Democracy and in some cases is actually helping to strengthen its grip upon the working-class.

In this country, the recent maneuvers of the forces represented by Michael Harrington, the so-called "left" split off the "Social Democrats U.S.A.", shows that the ruling-class is grooming a new set of social-fascists to take the place of the decrepit "old-line", and perhaps even to replace the shattered CPUSA, now completely discredited by its "united front" with the cops in response to the Labor Committee's Operation Mop-up. It must be noted that Harrington has been closely identified with the Kennedy wing of the Democratic Party, and obviously expects to try to pick up the pieces of the disintegrated "New Left" together with the "radio-libe" to construct a new mass social-fascist, anti-communist, populist party within the next few years. Waiting in the sidelines to kick in their two-cents worth are the hordes of ecology freaks, youth cultures, as well as the CIA "Community Control" and counter-insurgents with their more substantial "contributions".

REVOLUTIONARY-MILITARY TASKS OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

The Comintern Third Period line stressed the civil war conditions which the deepening world crisis had forced the bourgeoisie to resort to, and the necessary steps which every Comintern section would have to take. The situation which befell the Communist Party in Germany, culminating in the Nazi "revolution" in 1933, was not the exception, but, rather the rule. As an article in the official Comintern publication "The Communist International", no. 23, 1934 stated:

"Since the Sixth Congress (of the Comintern—Ed.) there has been a big increase in the number of countries where the Communist Party has been driven underground. This means that the fascist terror is systematically tearing from the ranks of the Party those Party workers who are the most valuable and who possess the most authority among the masses... The vast majority of the Sections of the C.I. in the capitalist countries have been driven underground. Only thirteen Sections are still legal, and even this legality is of a very limited character... Twenty-two of our parties which were legal at the time of the Sixth Congress have been driven completely underground..."

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Of course, in many countries where the Communist Parties retained their "legality", they were under attack by the extra-legal arms of the capitalist state, the armed fascist bands and social-fascist thugs. Against the armed counter-revolution the Comintern raised the banner of the armed proletariat—beginning on the level of workers defense guards and special revolutionary-military detachments directed by the Party, on up to the mass Red Front organizations, training schools for a future proletarian Red Army. In the resolutions on "The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists" passed at the Sixth World Congress, the Comintern pointed out:

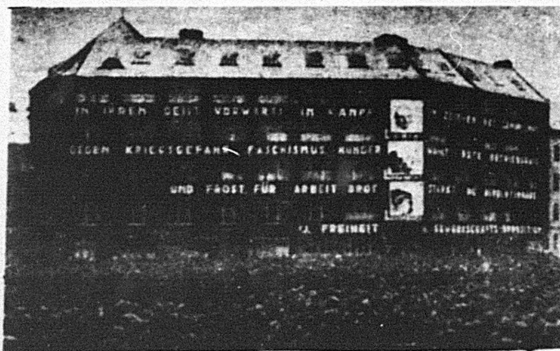
"The fight against fascism has not up till now received sufficient attention from many of the Sections. The greatest initiative must be displayed in this connection, both in regard to the ideological struggle, as well as in regard to revolutionary mass actions against fascism...The fight against fascism in all its forms must be closely linked up with the fight against imperialist war...The closest possible contact must be established between all sections before the outbreak of war, and every means must be employed to maintain these contacts throughout the whole course of the war. The terror against the CP's and the revolutionary movement as a whole that will accompany the mobilization will assume unparalleled intensity. Thousands of Communists and revolutionary workers, whose names have been listed beforehand will be put away in concentration camps. The imperialists will not only try to destroy the legal CP's but the whole apparatus and leadership of the underground parties as well. The legal CP's must exert every effort to prepare for the timely transition to underground conditions. The underground parties must make preparations to adapt their leadership and their organizations to conditions of a worse terror than prevails at present."

Fascism was analyzed not only in terms of its political nature, but also in terms of its implications to the military policies of the capitalist class, the new features of that essential component of any state power, any class rule, including the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, namely, the armed forces or organized violence, which had arisen on the basis of both the first imperialist war of 1914-1918 and the post-war counter-revolutionary wars carried out in various places, including the Whiteguard interventions carried out against, and defeated by, the newly-created Soviet Union.

The Comintern in the Third Period repeatedly warned its sections not to be fooled by the temporary and partial occasional "bans" imposed by the existing bourgeois regime upon the armed fascist bands and para-military formations, including one episode where the Nazi brownshirts in Germany, "banned" by the pre-Nazi regime from wearing uniforms, appeared in full parade formation—but shirtless! These bans served to double purpose: to build up the supposedly "radical" character of the fascists in the eyes of the most backward sections of the masses by making the fascist hirelings of Capital appear as enemies of the "establishment," etc. as well as to give a false "anti-fascist" character to the various varieties of pre-fascist, usually social-fascist regimes, creating illusions that the "democratic" bourgeoisie will "defend" the working class against the fascists.

Today, the process is repeated on a world-wide basis—from the "Death Squads" employed by the fascist regime in Brazil to enforce the CIA-directed slave-labor system to the right-wing formations in this country, which although disguised as "anti-establishment" are actually nothing less than extra-legal arms of the bourgeois government itself. Likewise in France, the Pompidou government bans a fascist group along with a leftist group, to give the illusion that its opposes all "extremism" while in reality, this and other fascist formations, including the hideous collaborationist so-called "French Federation of Labor" which opposes strikes and bases itself on a fascist-corporatist and racialist ideology, are being extensively developed, overtly and covertly, by the highest organs of bourgeois state rule. The Watergate events have also clearly revealed the close ties between the Presidential and Cabinet-level government "leaders" and the extremist-fascist circles, the assassins for hire and other mercenary scum who, alongside the "legal" CIA, are the military core of any future mass fascist movement in this country, whatever its "radical" or even "anti-capitalist" demagogic rhetoric.

The Comintern revolutionary-military manual in the Third Period, "Armed Insurrection", the last chapter of which was written by Ho Chi Minh, points out:



NAZI BROWNSHIRTS MARCHING ON COMMUNIST PARTY HEADQUARTERS IN BERLIN IN 1933



THAELMANN, GERMAN COMMUNIST LEADER, WITH UNIFORMED MEMBERS OF THE RED FRONT

"One of the most remarkable features of the new military policy of the bourgeoisie is in fact its orientation towards the formation of a politically reliable army. This is a phenomenon which can be observed in all the bourgeois countries, and which involves the creation of mercenary armies, and volunteer military organizations of the bourgeoisie, side by side with (or even in place of) the old "national" armies formed by means of compulsory military service. In many countries this tendency has already had the result that these detachments recruited for civil war against the proletariat have become the decisive armed force of the bourgeoisie."

Today, the major area of development of bourgeois military affairs is in the realm of counter-insurgency, that is, civil war against the revolution in the capitalist countries and colonial zones alike. This has the greatest bearing on determining the present-day nature of fascism and the tactics and strategy of the present-day bourgeois counter-revolutions. The character of the CIA, the methods it employs, etc. are a sign of both the highly-developed technology which it has at its disposal as well as the grave weaknesses inherent, not only in capitalist-imperialist "counter-insurgency", but also in the totality of bourgeois institutions and ideologies. The reliance of the CIA on "divide and conquer" schemes, although successful to some degree in normal times, proves insufficient in periods of total general crisis, such as we are entering now, where the bourgeoisie must hastily attempt to assemble some coherent political-cultural "collectivity", usually national or racial, out of a disintegrating, essentially heteronomic, system of "normal" bourgeois society. The bourgeoisie is torn between the necessity to divide the population against itself at the same time as it must attempt to put together some "unity" in the face of a rapidly emerging, (depending upon the activity of existing revolutionary parties and other organizations) class demarcation, the creation, through conscious scientific intervention, of that "other" collectivity, the international proletariat. The success of the CIA in "community control", "workers' control", "decentralization", and other divide-and-conquer schemes, is not matched by a fundamental political and ideological weakness in their ability to pull their own coherent "unity" out of the chaos which is partially their creation, partially the results of the general process of collapse of the capitalist system on every level. Watergate shows this clearly.

This point of weakness is precisely the point of greatest strength of the forces of international proletarian revolution—that we represent, not in any mystical sense but as expressed in our immediate capacity to struggle for, and use, power, the future of humanity, the world-wide collectivity of the workers and toilers of every country. Only the revolutionary proletariat, organized through its Marxist Party, its combat organs and centralized councils and mass assemblies, which cannot respect any "national sovereignty" or other separations, represents that collectivity which is the antithesis of the disintegration and chaos, both planned and un-planned, of the living hell of present-day capitalist society. (continued on next page)



Just as the counter-revolution in Germany, culminating in the Nazi take-over in 1933, was the focal point of the overall process of setback for the proletarian revolution in all the advanced capitalist countries, so the Chinese Revolution is also the focal point, the peak, of the whole process of revolutionary struggle in the colonial countries, particularly in Asia, with both the Korean and Indochinese revolutions, among others, emerging in their "maturity" in the Third Period, alongside the Chinese Revolution. The setbacks undergone by the proletarian movement in the capitalist countries were the conditions under which the degeneration of the Communist Parties in these countries, with few exceptions, became the predominant aspect of the policies of the Comintern as a whole, culminating in the wretched "Popular Front" policies of the 7th World Congress in 1935, the last world congress of the Comintern. Stalin, as leader of the most important Comintern section, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, shares full responsibility for the errors committed during this period, which did not, as the trotskyites and other claim, cause the setbacks suffered, but which failed to maintain the principles of the Communist International, as expressed in the Six World Congresses, from 1919 to 1928. We cannot accept the thesis of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Britain, echoed by its American and West German affiliates, that the line of the 7th World Congress was the responsibility of Dimitroff and not Stalin. Surely they are both responsible for the policy of the "Popular Front", the policy which liquidated all the principles of struggle against social-fascism and social-patriotism, and which marks the birth of Modern Revisionism itself, a policy which today is even echoed by those professional "anti-stalinists" of the various "Fourth Internationals", who have given forth their own "left" and workerist version of the "Popular Front", the notorious "Transitional Program". The question of the line of the 7th World Congress itself deserves full study, hopefully an article in a future issue of *CLASS WAR*, however, what we are concerned with in terms of the Chinese Revolution is the extent to which, as opposed to the severe setbacks of the Communist movement in the capitalist countries, the revolution in the colonial countries made important advances, with repercussions extending therefrom to this day.

THE STALIN-TROTSKY DEBATE ON CHINA

The events in China from 1925 to 1927, including the Northern Expedition, the bloody massacres of workers in Shanghai and elsewhere, etc. were the subject of an intensive polemic, not only in the Communist Party, but throughout the Comintern.

This polemic is best expressed in the writings and speeches of Stalin and Trotsky on the Chinese Revolution, from 1926 on, many of these addressed to sessions of the Executive Committee of the Comintern and the Chinese Commission set up by the E.C.C.I.. Stalin's main writings and speeches of this period on this subject are contained in volumes 8, 9, and 10 of the Selected Works of J.V. Stalin, and include "The Prospects of the Revolution in China" 1926, "Questions of the Chinese Revolution" 1927, "Notes on Contemporary Chinese China" 1927, etc. Trotsky's main works of this period are contained in the volume "Problems of the Chinese Revolution" covering the period from 1927-1931. Equally vitally important to an understanding of the polemic on the Chinese Revolution are the writings of Mao Tse-tung in this period, including "Why is it that Red political power can exist in China?" 1928, "The struggle in the Ching-kang Mountains" 1928, and "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" 1929, all of which are in Volume 1 of Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works.

A close study of these works alone would reveal the shallow nature of the current "revival" of the Stalin-Trotsky polemic in the left in this country, including both the stuff offered up by the miserable hacks of the *Guardian*, and the "response" puked back by the Spartacists, Workers League, S.W.P., etc. Both sides of the current "debate" are huddled around the same circles of inactivity as the so-called "Communist Party", both sides of the "polemic" in fact allied with the C.P.U.S.A. in the face of Operation Wop-up and NUWRO, revealing their pathetic "controversy" to be nothing less than a commonly-shared smokescreen for their identical hostility towards and fear of genuine revolutionary workingclass organizing, a process leading inexorably to New Organs of Struggle of the proletariat throughout the world.

In the Program of the Comintern adopted in the Sixth World Congress the most important general definition has been given to the entire question of the role of the colonial revolutions in the world revolution as a whole, a definition which is closely resembled by Lin Piao in his 1965 work "Long Live The Victory Of People's War!" in certain important respects:

"The international proletarian revolution represents a combination of processes which vary in time and character: purely proletarian revolutions, revolutions of the bourgeois-democratic type which grow into proletarian revolutions, wars of national liberation, colonial revolutions.

"The world dictatorship of the proletariat comes only as the final result of the revolutionary process.

"The variety of conditions and ways by which the proletariat will achieve the dictatorship in the various countries may be divided schematically into three main types.

"Countries of highly developed capitalism (United States of America, Germany, Great Britain, etc.)...In such countries, the fundamental political demand of the program is direct transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat...

"Countries with a medium development of capitalism (Spain, Poland, Hungary, the Balkan countries, etc.) In some of these countries a process of more or less rapid development from bourgeois-democratic revolution to socialist revolution is possible...

"Colonial and semi-colonial countries (China, India, etc.) and dependent countries (Argentina, Brazil, etc.)...The principal task in such countries is, on the one hand to fight against the feudal and pre-capitalist forms of exploitation and to develop systematically the peasant-agrarian revolution, on the other hand to fight against foreign imperialism and for national independence...

"The special conditions of the revolutionary struggle prevailing in colonial and semi-colonial countries, the inevitably long period of struggle required for the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry and for the transformation of this dictatorship into the dictatorship of the proletariat and, finally, the decisive importance of the national aspects of the struggle, impose upon the Communist Parties of these countries a number of special tasks which are preparatory stages to the general task of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The Communist International considers the following to be the most important of these special tasks:

- 1) To overthrow the rule of foreign imperialism, of the feudal rulers and of the landlord bureaucracy.
- 2) To establish the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry on a Soviet basis.
- 3) Complete national independence and national unification.
- 4) Annulment of State debts.
- 5) Nationalisation of large-scale enterprises (industrial, transport, banking and others) owned by the imperialists.
- 6) The confiscation of landlord, church, and monastery lands. The nationalisation of all the land.
- 7) Introduction of the 8-hour day.
- 8) The organization of revolutionary workers' and peasants' armies.

"Colonial revolutions and movements for national liberation play an extremely important part in the struggle against imperialism, and in the struggle for the conquest of power by the workingclass. Colonies and semi-colonies are also important in the transition period because they represent the world rural district in relation to the industrial countries, which represent the world city..." (emphasis in the original)

This general outline is nothing less than the Comintern's restatement of Lenin's contributions on the National-Colonial Question as put forward in the first four Comintern world congresses, and vindicated by the development of the Chinese, Korean, and Indo-Chinese revolution. If we view the above eight points as mutually dependent upon each other, which is the only genuinely programmatic way of looking at it, the only Marxist and Leninist way of looking at it, than we must hold it up against, and not in support for, practically every single so-called "nationalist" regime that is currently lumped together by even the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China in the general category of the "Third World". Not a single one of the Bassers, Ben Bellas, Allendes, or Bandarinaiques can come anywhere near the program put forth by Communist International in 1928, in relation to the revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies. The eighth point in the Comintern statement, the organization of revolutionary armies, comes into special importance in the Chinese Revolution, where it is to unfold, throughout the decades of revolutionary civil war and national war, into a monumental contribution to the experience of the world revolution, summarized in the theory and practice of People's War. (It is also the concept of People's War, even the mere mention of it, which is missing from all of the documents issued by the recent Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China) As Stalin said in 1926:

"In China, the armed revolution is fighting the armed counter-revolution. That is one of the specific features and one of the advantages of the Chinese Revolution." (from "Prospects of the Revolution in China", Vol. 8)

What did Trotsky have to say? What were Trotsky's prospects for the revolution in China, and what did he see as should be the main political demand at this particular point? This can be best answered by referring to his article of July, 1928, entitled "The Chinese Question after the Sixth Congress"; after blaming the Comintern repeatedly for the setbacks in the Chinese Revolution, and heaping scepticism on the revolutionary armed struggle developing amongst the peasantry in the "backward regions", Trotsky offers the following analysis:

"It must be distinctly understood that there is not, at the present time, a revolutionary situation in China. It is rather a counter-revolutionary situation that had been substituted there, transforming itself into an inter-revolutionary period of indefinite duration. Turn with contempt from those who would tell you that this is pessimism and lack of faith..."

And what is Trotsky's suggestion to the Chinese Communist Party, under these counter-revolutionary and inter-revolutionary "conditions"?

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"The Communist Party can and should formulate the slogan of the Constituent Assembly with full powers, elected by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage. In the process of agitation for this slogan, it will obviously be necessary to explain to the masses that it is doubtful if such an assembly will be convened, and even if it were, it would be powerless so long as the material power remains in the hands of the KMT generals..."

This is put forward in practically the same breath with denunciations of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry and the national liberation program of the Comintern. Again, where Trotsky "expounds" on the situation in China, only the vaguest statements are made:

"Will China come for a certain period to democratic parliamentarism? What will be the degree of its democratization? What strength and what duration will it have? All this is a matter of conjecture. But it would be radically wrong to base oneself on the supposition that parliamentarism is unrealizable in China...the idea of the representation of the entire people, as has been shown by the experience of the bourgeois revolutions, and especially those which liberated nationalities, is the most elementary, the most simple and the one most apt to embrace really vast popular strata."

This, from the "mortal enemy" of the forthcoming Popular Front! At the end of this article, the voice of despair sounds louder than ever, betraying Trotsky's ignorance about the real meaning of the events in China, as well as his basic pessimism in relation to the national-revolutionary colonial struggles in general.

"...Further decline is ahead. There will be great difficulties in rising again. Every false step will fling the party into a deeper ditch. The resolution of the Sixth Congress dooms the Chinese Communist Party to errors and false steps. With the present course of the Communist International, under its present regime, victory is impossible..."

But it was precisely under the direction of the Comintern Third Period line that the revolutionary struggle in China, particularly the armed agrarian revolution, proceeded. As we shall point out, one element of the Chinese C.P. leadership in particular, was to anticipate this line by one year at least, in respect to two central aspects of the Comintern colonial policy—the workers' and peasants' soviets as the basis of state power, the revolution-aries led by the Communist Party.

One year later, Trotsky is to refer to the emerging revolutionary armies in the most pessimistic and derogatory manner, like the bourgeois imperialist press of that time and since, identifying them with banditry as well as "adventurism and ultra-leftism" which Trotsky, like the modern revisionists, always identifies with the Third Period:

"Among the telegrams of Pravda, there has been communicated several times during October, in the smallest type, that an armed Communist detachment under the command of comrade Chu Teh is advancing successfully towards Tchao-Tcho (Kwantung), that this detachment has grown from 5,000 to 20,000, etc... What is the meaning of this struggle? Its origins? Its perspectives? Not a word is breathed to us about it... perhaps the Chinese Communists have risen in rebellion because they have received the latest comments of Molotov on the resolution on the "Third Period"?...The rebellion of Chu Teh appears to be a reproduction of the adventurist campaigns of Ho Lung and Yeh-Tin in 1927 and the Canton uprising...what is the perspective opened up by this uprising of the today isolated Chinese Communists in the absence of war or revolution? The perspective of a terrific debacle and of an adventurist degeneration of the remnants

of the Communist Party. In the meantime, it must be said openly: Calculations based upon guerrilla adventure correspond entirely to the general nature of Stalinist policy." (from "What Is Happening in China?", 1929)

And a year after this article, again referring to the still growing Red political power being built by the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, in relation to Stalin's statement in Pravda, June 29th, 1930, where he stated: "The Chinese workers and peasants have already replied to this by the creation of Soviets and a Red Army. It is said that a Soviet government has already been created there." Trotsky again laches out at the perspective of the armed revolutionary peasantry:

"...we say that the appearance of the Soviet government under these circumstances is absolutely impossible...To think that the peasantry is capable of creating its Soviet government independently means to believe in miracles. It would be the same miracle to create a peasant Red Army. The peasant partisans played a great revolutionary role in the Russian revolution, but under the existence of centers of proletarian dictatorship and a centralized proletarian Red Army. With the weakness of the Chinese labor movement at the present moment, and with the still greater weakness of the Communist Party, it is difficult to speak of a Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the task of the day in China." (from "Stalin and the Chinese Revolution", Aug. 1930)

However, what Trotsky saw as an impossible "miracle" in 1930, he was grudgingly forced to recognize as a world-historical reality two years later, when an article entitled "Peasant War in China" actually written as a letter to the so-called "Chinese Left Opposition", he states:

"...The peasant movement has created its own armies, has seized great territories and has installed its own institutions."

After a nod in the direction of the revolutionary implications, the international implications, of these developments, he launches into a long mistrustful diatribe against the direction he sees the "peasant armies" (actually made up of workers, lumpen, deserters from the reactionary military bodies, often minority peoples and tribal peoples in remote areas, as well as peasants) moving, that is he sees them as potentially, even basically counter-revolutionary, a potential anti-workingclass force. He whines:

"...It is understood that a peasant also is capable of raising himself to the socialist viewpoint. Under a proletarian regime ever larger masses of peasants become re-educated in the socialist spirit. But this requires time, years, even decades. It should be borne in mind that in the initial stages of revolution, contradictions between proletarian socialism and peasant individualism often takes on an extremely acute character...The peasant detachments, flushed with victories they have achieved, stand under the wing of the Comintern. They call themselves "the Red Army" i.e. they identify themselves with the armed forces of the Soviets. What results consequently is that the revolutionary peasantry of China, in the person of its ruling stratum, seems to have appropriated to itself beforehand the political and moral capital which should be the nature of things belong to the Chinese workers. Isn't it possible that things may turn out so that all this capital will be directed at a certain moment against the workers?"

Then in a postscript to this letter, which we must remember is a communique from Trotsky to his followers in China itself, he unveils the ultimate conclusion of his assumption that the peasants will end up using their guns against the workers, which he says is "theoretically quite possible":

(continued on next page)



Women members of the Red Guards in the eastern part of Kwangtung Province during the Agrarian Revolution.



"Comrades: Don't damage wheat sprouts." The people's army always takes care not to damage crops whether on a march or during battle.

"Let us assume that the Chinese Left Opposition carries on in the near future widespread and successful work amongst the industrial proletariat and attains the preponderant influence over it. The official party, in the meantime, continues to concentrate all its forces on the "Red Armies" and in the peasant regions. The moment arrives when the peasant troops occupy the industrial centers and are brought face to face with the workers. In such a situation, in what manner will the Chinese Stalinists act? It is not difficult to foresee that they will counterpose the peasant army in a hostile manner to the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyists". In other words they will incite the armed peasants against the advanced workers...The revolutionary development of events in China may draw this tendency to its conclusion, i.e. to a civil war between the peasant army led by the Stalinists and the proletarian vanguard led by the Leninists."

Of course the Chinese proletariat had more sense than its would-be "vanguard" in the so-called Left Opposition. The Chinese workers did not either provide a mass base for the trotskyites nor did they end up in a civil war with the armed peasants. Furthermore, the Chinese peasantry, particularly the poor and landless peasants, under the leadership of the Chinese Red Army, did not in any sense play the same historical role as the Makhnovite anarchist counter-revolutionary peasant army. In fact the Chinese Red Army, for the first time in Chinese history, liquidated all forms of banditry and warlordism in the regions they controlled or passed through, turning over weapons seized from bandits to the local population.

Even the most reactionary "Sinologists" have been forced to pay tribute to the extremely high political morale which typified the officers and men, sharing the same "weal and woe" for the most part, of the Chinese Red Army, a tradition which has served as a model for so many subsequent workers' and peasants' revolutionary armies throughout the world. It was this essentially political strength of the Chinese Red Army, as Mao points out again and again, which was tested in the immortal Long March, a military retreat from the besieged Soviet zones which became a great political victory, a great organizing drive across China which has had a profound effect on world history.

Furthermore, it was these egalitarian-revolutionary principles in the People's Liberation Army, successor to the Red Armies, which became, in the same decade as the Great Debate, the polemic against Soviet modern revisionism, the basis of a struggle between two lines within the command of the P.L.A. itself. Lin Biao, today denounced by the Chou En Lai clique as everything from a "feudalist" to a "super-spy", represented the Left line in the P.L.A., backed by Mao and Chen Pote in the Central Committee, which in 1965, anticipating the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in a certain sense, abolished all insignia of rank, saluting, etc. and began to carry out a series of extensive changes in the structure of the army and the militia based on a general principle of arming the entire people (minus class enemies of course!) not only as a safeguard against possible US imperialist or other attack, but also as a safeguard of the internal threat.

as a safeguard against the internal threat of possible coup d'etat aimed at restoration of capitalism. If Lin Biao was, as Chou En Lai claims, a kind of warlord in revolutionary disguise, it is hard to understand why he would undertake revolutionary changes in the P.L.A. (incidentally against the wishes of large numbers of P.L.A. commanders) which would make it difficult for ANY warlord types to come into positions of real power.

Chou En Lai's own record in the Third Period is not so good. In every phase of history of the Chinese Communist Party, Chou En Lai appears as the "moderator" and the "negotiator", always trying to resolve the contradictions between opposing wings of the Party, later, between the Party and the Kou Min Tang.

On January 7, 1931 Chou En Lai personally drew up a directive in the name of the Central Committee condemning Mao Tseung because of his role in the "Fu-tien Incident". Fu-tien was a village in southern Kiangsi where, in early December, 1930, a number of Red Army commander met and planned mutiny and capitulation to Chiang Kai Shek. Mao Tseung moved swiftly to crush this threat, but Chou En Lai claimed that his action "has created fear and suspicion among the party ranks and reduced our comrades to living under abnormal strain. This same year,

Chou represented the Chen Shao-Ya opportunist clique which was predominant in the Central Committee of the Party after the Fourth Plenum of the CC in January, 1931, being sent by the CC personally to Kiangsi province, where Mao Tseung has built up Soviet areas and the Red Army, to try to make him "toe the line". In January of 1932, Chou En Lai presented a report to the Central Bureau of Soviet Areas, more or less the central provisional revolutionary government in China, entitled "A Resolution Regarding the Measures Taken to Wipe Out Anti-revolutionaries in the Soviet Areas" which reviewed the work done in the Kiangsi areas and castigated Mao Tseung for his role.

Towards the end of 1932, the Chinese Red Army and Soviet areas prepared for the imminent "Fourth bandit-annihilation campaign" by the Kuomintang, which was to be carried out beginning in January of 1933. Mao Tseung advocated a protracted guerrilla campaign, to lure the enemy into the Soviet areas, force them to

spread out their forces thin and stretch their supply lines, making them vulnerable to the kind of attack which the Chinese Red Army, at that point, was capable of carrying out. Chou En Lai on the other hand supported the line of the Chin Pang-hsien clique leading the CC at that moment, which advocated a completely disastrous policy of "swift frontal counterattack". Unfortunately, Mao's argument did not win, and the Chinese Revolution paid dearly for that error. Furthermore, when Mao's close subordinate, Lo Ming sent a plea to Central Committee members asking them to reconsider this policy, Chou En Lai voted for "disciplinary action" against Lo Ming and those who shared his views. Among the victims of this purge were a number of Mao Tseung's staunchest supporters.

This incident, which came to be known as the "Lo Ming Incident" was to be a cause of bitter controversy in the Chinese Communist Party for years afterwards. It has been mentioned in any current histories issued by the C.P.C. itself, and we do not expect the Chou En Lai clique to mention it!

It was not until the end of August in 1934, under the attacks of the "Fifth annihilation campaign", that Chou En Lai finally had to reluctantly agree with Mao Tseung's policy for dealing with the Kuomintang suppression campaigns, however this is not the last instance in the history of the C.P.C. when Chou En Lai is to play an opportunist and/or centrist role.

A CLOSER LOOK AT THE CHINESE THIRD PERIOD AND ITS INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

To get a better idea of the situation in China during the Third Period, we must study the writing of Mao Tseung as well as Comintern material of that period. This, plus the added vantage point and additional empirical evidence available to us, some four decades later, should be enough to not only conclusively prove the trotskyites wrong on this question, but also, to clarify for the entire revolutionary movement just exactly what the paths opened up by the Chinese Revolution represent, in terms of the other developing revolutions in Asia at that time, and in terms of the present-day upsurge in the world revolution.

In March 1927, in his "Report on an investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan", Mao Tseung foresaw the potential of the peasantry in the famous words:

"...the present upsurge of the peasant movement is a colossal event. 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..."

Further on in the same article, listing the "14 great achievements" of the peasant movement, the first one "organizing into peasant associations" points out how in a period of a couple of months, the membership of the peasant associations grew from 300,000 to over one and a half million, with an actual base over ten million strong. One year later, writing just a couple of months following the Comintern Sixth World Congress, Mao Tseung sums up the developing revolutionary armed struggle in the light of the Comintern directives thus:

"According to the directives of the Communist International and the Central Committee of our Party, the content of China's democratic revolution consists in overthrowing the rule of imperialism and its warlord tools in China so as to complete the national revolution, and in carrying out the agrarian revolution so as to eliminate the feudal exploitation of the peasants by the landlord class..."

Then, citing the basis for the emerging Soviet regions, or Red areas, Mao Tseung then points out how this "red political power" will eventually expand into the immediate areas surrounding it, and eventually, all of China:

"...The prolonged splits and wars within the White regime provide a condition for the emergence and persistence of one or more small Red areas under the leadership of the Communist Party amidst the encirclement of the White regime. In difficult or critical times some comrades often have doubts about the survival of Red political power and become pessimistic. The reason is that they have not found the correct explanation for its emergence and survival. If only we realize that splits and wars will never cease within the White regime in China, we shall have no doubts about the emergence, survival, and daily growth of Red political power...The significance of the armed independent regime of workers and peasants in the Hunan-Kiangsi border area, with Hinggang as its centre, is definitely not confined to the few counties in the border areas; this regime will play an immense role in the process of the seizure of political power in Hunan, Hupeh, and Kiangsi through the insurrection of the workers and peasants in these three provinces..."

In the Notes on this article, published in the 1995 Peking edition of the Selected Works, the following important points are raised, which further illustrate the implications of the experience of the Chinese Revolution in the Third Period:

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"The organizational form of China's Red political power was similar to that of the Soviet political power. A Soviet is a representative council, a political institution created by the Russian workingclass during the 1905 Revolution... After the defeat of the 1927 revolution in China, the representative council was adopted as the form of people's political power in various places in the mass revolutionary uprisings led by the Chinese Communist Party and first and foremost, by Comrade Mao Tsetung."

In the article "Struggle in the ChingKang Mountains" written in November 1928, Mao Tsetung once again deals directly with the question of the rising political power of the revolution, and in "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" December 1929, he puts forward a number of basic guidelines dealing particularly with the relationship between the party and the armed struggle. In "A Single Spark can Start A Prairie Fire" January 1930, which Chou En Lai claims, although this has never been heard before, is actually a polemic against...Lin Piao, Mao Tsetung criticizes the pessimists in the Party who see only the appearance of things and not their essence, who ignored the international situation—the general crisis in all the capitalist countries brought on by the first world depression in 1929—and the direct effect this has on the revolution in China.

In Edgar Snow's book "Red Star Over China", Mao Tsetung himself recounts how the Red Army emerged, and how, at the initial point of the struggle, just before the Third Period began, he disagreed with the Comintern on a most important point:

"On August 1, 1927, the 20th Army, under Ho Lang and Yeh Ting, and in cooperation with Chu Teh, led the historic Nanchang Uprising, and the beginning of what was to become the Red Army was organized. A week later, on August 7th, an extraordinary meeting of the Central Committee of the Party deposed Chen Tu Hsiu as secretary... A new line was adopted by the Party and all hope of cooperation with the Kuomintang was given up for the present, as it had already become hopelessly the tool of imperialism and could not carry out the responsibilities of a democratic revolution. The long open struggle for power now began.

"I was sent to Changsha to organize the movement which later became the Autumn Crop Uprising. My program there called for the realization of five points:

- 1) Complete severance of the provincial Party from the Kuomintang
- 2) Organization of a worker-peasant revolutionary army
- 3) Confiscation of the property of small and middle, as well as great landlords
- 4) Setting up of the power of the Communist Party in Hunan, independent of the Kuomintang.
- 5) Organization of Soviets.

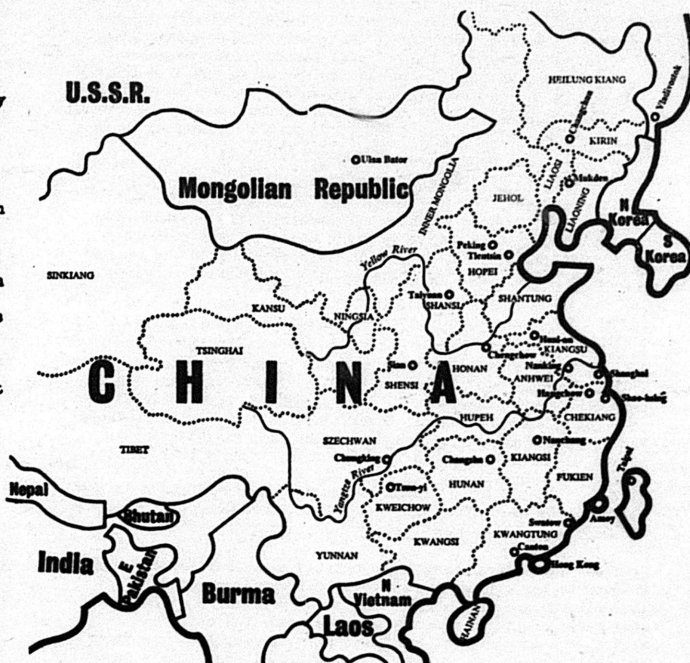
"The fifth point at that time was opposed by the Comintern, and not till later did it advance it as a slogan.

"In September we had already succeeded in organizing a widespread uprising, through the peasant unions of Hunan, and the first units of a peasant-worker army were formed. Recruits were drawn from three principal sources—the peasantry itself, the Hanyang miners, and the insurrectionist troops of the Kuomintang. This early military force of the revolution was called the "First Division of the First Workers and Peasants Army."

This is only one point, among many in this account, where Mao Tsetung dispels the notion of purely "peasant armies", which Trotsky, among others, raises as a straw-man, by which to deny the world-historic process at hand. The entire question of the peasantry and its relation to the revolution in the colonial countries continues to be a source of the greatest confusion. The Progressive Labor idiots, opening what for them is a Pandora's Box of the "historical origins of revisionism", even claim that the entire peasantry has already been proletarianized—that, in fact, Marx and Lenin, not to speak of Mao Tsetung, are in error, because, you see, the peasants are proletarians! At the same time Bukharinite right-opportunist errors in relation to the peasantry, exemplified by the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and its maneuvering with feudalist-rightist and chauvinist elements, are prominently displayed by wide varieties of would-be revolutionary forces in the colonial countries. Third Worldism include its occasional glorification of "the land" has been feeding on its opposite, but twin, partner, the outlook which completely denies the revolutionary potential of the peasantry.

Mao Tsetung continues to relate, in his account to Edgar Snow, how he felt that the Comintern Sixth World Congress vindicated his policies, and his struggle inside the C.P.C.:

"In May of 1928, Chu Teh arrived at ChingKanshan and our forces were combined. Together we drew up a plan to establish a six-hsien Soviet area, to stabilize and consolidate gradually the Communist power in the Hunan-Kiangsi-Kwantung border districts, and, with that as a base, to expand over greater areas. This strategy was in opposition to recommendations of the Party... Our main tasks, as we saw them, were two: to divide the land, and to establish Soviets. We wanted to arm the masses to hasten those processes... The Party Central Committee, however, had not yet given the movement (the Soviets movement—ed.) its sanction. This was



not relieved till the winter of 1928, when the report of the proceedings of the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party held in Moscow, reached ChingKanshan. (This congress took place immediately following the Comintern World Congress—ed.) With the new line adopted at that Congress, Chu Teh and I were in complete agreement."

Thus, Mao Tsetung and Chu Teh and others essentially represented the left-wing in the Communist Party of China at that point, anticipating the Third Period line, and even to the extent of breaking Party and Comintern discipline, carried out that line in respect to the two fundamental questions of the revolutionary army and the Red political power of the Soviets.

The Chinese Revolution, like every other revolution in history, threw up situations where a principled "minority" in the Party or revolutionary movement breaks from the existing "majority" line and leadership—such a fact disturbs all the sycophants and detractors alike, including the present-day post-Cultural Revolution crop of "Maoists", who, mistaking the line of the Chou En Lai centrist clique for the general line that was hammered out in the polemics against Soviet modern revisionism and in the mighty storms of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, find themselves well adapted to the revisionist and trotskyite style of "polemics", the pursuit of pure orthodoxy in the realm of the abstract.

Of course the Soviet modern revisionists seize upon this aspect of the situation, namely the differences between the Comintern and certain sections of the Chinese Communist Party leadership, to cut away the fundamental agreements between them, which far overshadow the differences. In their "Outline History of the Communist International" (Moscow, 1971) like Trotsky, they attack the policy of creating workers' and peasants' Soviets, as they attack the other key Third Period policies, in the form of a self-righteous "critique" of "ultra-leftism":

"...some of the guidelines which the Comintern gave to the Communist Party of China, in the early thirties, contained appraisals which overestimated the level of the revolutionary uprising, the extent of the crisis in the Kuomintang regime, and the possibilities of the revolution's forces... The CCP strove to carry out a policy of complete sovietization of China (the slogan: 'Only Soviets Can Save China') and a seizure of power everywhere, which, under the prevailing conditions, was impracticable."

Of course, seizing power "everywhere" was impossible, but the Soviet modern revisionists, whose anti-China polemics increasingly serve to cover their explicitly aggressive and imperialist intentions vis-a-vis the People's Republic of China, use this question to attack the line of New Organs of Struggle, the line which today must take hold of the revolutionary struggles throughout the colonial world. The United Front against imperialism today in the colonial zones, as in the Red Areas in China in the Third Period, can only take the form of councils of armed workers and peasants, or it will not be at all. Even the limitations of the Indochinese revolutions can be located in the absence, sometimes not complete, of Soviet-type mass organs of the revolutionary struggle, linking the peasant-agrarian revolution with the urban proletariat and popular insurgency.

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Returning to the revisionist criticism of the Comintern Third Period line on China, did the Comintern really "overestimate" the level of the revolutionary uprising? And, was the line of "Only Soviets can save China" really impracticable? What was the rate of growth and record of success of the Soviet regions in this period? To best answer these questions, we refer to an article entitled "Soviets in China" by L. Magyar, originally published in *Bolshevik*, no. 18, 1930, a Russian publication, and reprinted in *The Communist*, in this country, Jan. and Feb. 1931.

"The temporary victory of the counter-revolution in 1927 and the economic and political crisis meant, for the workers, losing whatever gains the revolution had made... Still the Kuomintang could not fulfill one of the major tasks set for it by the imperialists and the bourgeoisie. It could not crush the labor movement.

"During 1928 about 400,000 workers participated in strikes; during 1929 about 750,000 workers participated. The strike wave spread in width and depth all over the country... In Shanghai, Hankow, Tsing-Tao and in Canton the proletariat proved in mass demonstrations and in street-fighting that it has recovered from the bloody knocks of the counter-revolution and that it continues to struggle as the leading class.

"Painfully, slowly, through hard struggles, the Red trade unions are being reconstituted and are beginning to penetrate into ever bigger, and some of the largest enterprises in the most important branches of industry. The Red unions are not yet mass organizations, comprising only sixty thousand to seventy thousand workers. They have not yet by far, nor could they have, succeeded in consolidating organizationally the rapidly-growing ideologico-political influence of the revolutionary wing upon the proletariat.

"Most remarkable, most characteristic of the present phase of the Chinese revolution is the upsurge of the peasant movement, the ever-spreading peasant war...

"In the South, at the junction of three provinces—Kwantung, Futsian, and Tsiansi—small detachments of the incipient Red Army, under the leadership of the Communists Mao Tse-tu and Chu-de, held aloft the banner of the Soviets. In various counties in small territories sprang up separate Soviet islets, which survived in a sea of Kuomintang counter-revolution. The Soviet movement moved to the south and developed there. In South Huanan Ho Lung's detachments fought under the banner of the Soviets against the landlords. Thence the movement jumped to South Hupei and later to western Hupei. In the summer of 1929 all the detachments of the Red Army, taken together, counted 10,000 bayonets and the Soviet islets spread over several counties. But the Soviet movement stirred the villages, roused them and called forth into life the partisan (guerrilla) movement of the immense peasant masses. In March 1930, the Red Army already counted over 60,000 troops, the power of the Soviets extended to 127 out of 760 counties in southern China; guerrilla warfare raged in 170 counties, and hundreds and hundreds of thousands participated in the guerrilla bands.

"At the present writing the Soviet power is already established in 200 counties in southern and central China. The Soviet movement spread to the province of Tsien-tsiens into the backward, remote Szechuan, into northern Hupei; it is beginning to embrace southern Huanan and Anhui. On the northern shores of the Yang Tse-tsiens, also, the Red banner of the Soviets now consists of 22 army corps, and counts in its ranks nearly 300,000 troops. In the guerrilla movement participate somewhere between three million and four million peasants.

"...The 'left' renegade Trotsky, as far back as 1928, prophesied the stabilization of Chiang Kai Shek's power for many years to come. The right renegade Chen Du-Su prophesied a prolonged period of consolidation for the Kuomintang which became, in the opinion of Chen Du-Su, the bourgeois power. The Chinese peasant smashed these conceptions. Simultaneously, the Chinese peasant settled the argument over the main slogan of the present stage of the revolution. The 'left' and right renegades, with froth at their mouths, defended the slogan of a constituent assembly. The Comintern and the Communist Party of China put forth the slogan of Soviets.

"Ten millions of Chinese peasants decided this question by voting for Soviet power. They voted with rifles, lances, halberds, pitchforks, clubs, and whatever else came to hand, for Soviets. And when masses vote with arms, it is the most effective, the most undeniable vote. The Chinese peasant is at present procreating into life the ingenious statement of Lenin that the Soviets can and must become the organs of revolt and of power, even in the backward agrarian countries. The Chinese peasant is at present voting for Lenin's Thesis of the Second Congress of the Comintern...



Comrade Mao Tse-tung speaking to representatives from poor peasant leagues of eight counties in southern Kiangsi and western Fukien in June 1933.

"The international significance of the Chinese revolution is immense. The Soviets in southern China are leading the way for India, Indo-China, Korea, for the proletariat and peasantry of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. These Soviets in southern China blazed forth the beam of the red Leninist beacon. The heavy peasant reserves of the world revolution are entering into battle...

"Lenin at the Second Congress of the Comintern said: 'The imperialist war drew the subject nations into world history and it now becomes one of our foremost tasks to consider how to lay the cornerstone for organizing a soviet movement in the non-capitalist countries. Soviets there are possible. They will not be workers' soviets, but they will be soviets of the peasants, of of the toiling masses'."

"The Soviets in China are the greatest victory for Leninism!"

We know today the full significance of the process described above, against all the detractions during and since.

There is no better way of completing this study of the Third Period than to refer to the actual struggles in that period which we may connect with the growth of the Red Army and the revolution in China—specifically, the areas that L. Magyar refers to directly in the article above.

First, India. Beginning with the national strike movement in 1928, and building up to the nation-wide general strike and near-insurrection in April and May of 1930, the Third Period in India, like China, signalled the birth of mass revolutionary movements of the proletariat and peasantry. Although Soviets were not created in India in this period, such new forces as the Girm Kaagar Union or Red Flag Union of Bombay textile workers, 65,000 strong, and the virtual take-over of entire cities and regions in protest against Gandhi's arrest, but actually rooted in the situation of general crisis, in the beginning of 1930, are an expression of the same revolutionary impulse that gave birth to the "red political power" in China.

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In Indo-china, this same period is the period of the mass revolutionary upsurge of workers and peasants, beginning with the strike by 3,000 workers at the Phu Rieng rubber plantation in Nam Bo in February 1930, and culminating in the Nghe-Tinh Soviet in 1931. As the official "Outline History of the Vietnam Workers' Party" (Hanoi, 1970) states:

"The 1930-1931 revolutionary upsurge and the Nghe-Tinh Soviet had a great historic significance. It was the dress rehearsal by the Vietnamese people in preparation for the successful August Revolution at a later date...In the course of this powerful revolutionary movement, our Party was tempered and matured."

In Korea, this period is likewise marked by the appearance of mass-scale revolutionary struggles, including the birth of the first revolutionary army in Korea, which developed, as in China, amidst bitter struggles inside the Korean Communists' ranks and differences, at various stages of development, with the directives of the Comintern. Chapter 13, Vol. 1 of Baik Bong's "Political Biography of Kim Il Sung" relates:

"...in the late 1920's, the Korean people, with revolutionary workers and peasants in the forefront, took up a powerful struggle under the guidance of Communists in 1929; the workers of Wonsan waged a general strike, followed closely by large-scale strikes and revolts of workers of the Pusan Textile Mills, the Sinheung Colliery, and the Pyongyang Rubber factory. Encouraged by the revolutionary advance of the workers, the peasants, too undertook vigorous struggles in various parts of the country...In the autumn of 1931, Korean peasants in the Chientao area rose in the Chosoo (Autumn Harvest) Uprising under Communist leadership. Over 100,000 peasants participated in this revolt from all parts of East Manchuria, and this struggle triggered the Choonhwang (Spring Lean Season) Uprising in the spring of 1932...The most significant feature of the revolutionary struggles during this period was the active, violent advance by the masses. The situation demanded urgently that this advance of the masses be generalised and organized to develop into a prospective armed struggle of a higher form."

That higher form was the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army, founded by Kim Il Sung on April 25, 1932, and soon following that, the People's Revolutionary Government, established on the basis of the liberated zones in East Manchuria.

Thus, we can see that the process underway in China in the Third Period was in no way an isolated process. Compare this general development with the situation, at the same time, in Europe. Can there be any greater vindication of the Marxist concept of uneven development in history? Considering the question from this perspective, can we really accept the shallow and limited outlook of the Guardian and other such would-be defenders of the Chinese Revolution, who, in all their 'polemics' have really ignored the most important points? Can there be any doubt that the revolutionary program of struggle in the colonial countries, as put forward by Lenin and the Communist International in its first Six World Congresses, has nothing to do with the "Third Worldism" of either the Cuban revisionist Castro or the Chinese centrist Chou En Lai? Can there be any question that the line of People's War, of revolutionary war of the oppressed nations, joining with, not in opposition to, the class war of the proletariat in the imperialist nations, is the direct development from and true defender of the Leninist theory of the role of the national-colonial question in the world revolution? And, finally, can there be developed, against all varieties of opportunism and treachery, and taking into account critically the experience of the world revolution in all its inner complexity and dialectics of development, an international program, strategy, and tactics for today?

These questions are posed before us stronger and stronger with every passing day.

With this article, the series on the Third Period is completed. In the next issue of Class War, "Struggle Between Two Lines in the Communist Movement", which is our ongoing project of historical research and analysis, will present a study of Left-Wing Communism, its origins in the proletarian movement, the polemics in the early Comintern, as well as the subsequent development of the various Left Communist elements--Bordiga, Lukace, Kollontai, Pannekoek, Karl Korsch, Sylvia Pankhurst, etc.--on up to the present-day trends which are often amalgamated under the title "Ultra-Left".

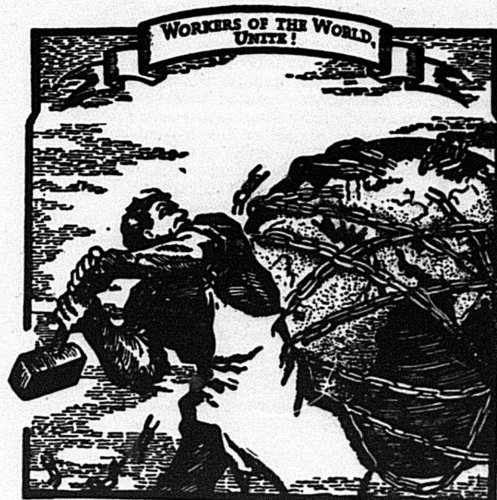
In the next issue as well, we will present our outline history, analysis, and polemics on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, the first one, that is, from 1966-1969. We will deal therein with the various distortions and slanders which have been developed by revisionists, trotskies, and Chou En Lai-line centrists alike against the Red Guards and Red Rebels movements, against the political line of the Cultural Revolution. We will also point out the international context and influence of the events in China in the late sixties in connection with the world-wide revolutionary upheavals, from the ghetto uprisings in this country, the 1968 May General Strike in France, and Czechoslovak uprising, to the Tet Offensive in South Viet Nam. This article will continue the polemics begun in this issue of Class War, through our Statement on the Tenth National Congress of the C.P.C. and in "Whither China?".

power, bringing back the capitalist-roads and sending the Red Guards to remote areas. The last large-scale rally was on May 20, 1970, half-a-million strong in Peking, which was also the occasion of Mao Tse-tung's last official public statement.

9. In foreign policy, the recent accommodations to a wide variety of reactionary trends, from the Common Market, which the Albanians have correctly denounced as anti-workingclass, to the return of Juan Peron, who plans to visit Peking after butchering the left, the Chou En Lai clique is able to go farther to the right than is possible in China itself. However, in the context of the second world depression and the general crisis world-wide, these opportunist maneuvers are bound to fail, however spectacular they may appear in the eyes of the bourgeoisie's "world opinion". Many of the direct results of the international "detente" policy, concocted by the U.S. and U.S.S.R. imperialists, and accepted by the Chinese bureaucracy to the extent that they can maneuver within it, have already collapsed. The "cease-fire" in South Vietnam is only a bad joke. The talks between North and South Korea have fallen through. One of the major objectives of the Chinese operating within the "detente" policy is that the bureaucracy wrongly believes this to be a way of preventing, or at least, postponing, a military attack by the Soviet Union. The case is just the opposite. The detente frees both U.S. and U.S.S.R. military forces from their mutual confrontation, and for use against the revolutionary struggles in the colonial zones, in the capitalist countries, or against China or other socialist countries. The "joint communiques" and other scraps of paper are no defense against imperialist attacks, but in fact increase the appetites of the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie for military adventures.

10. The next Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China is bound to be even more connected with the world-wide revolutionary process than was true in the 1960's, reaching a peak in the gigantic revolutionary upsurge throughout the world in 1968. The period of general crisis we are entering will witness the next great development in the theory and practice of the world proletarian revolution, of the international communist movement. In the 1960's the fate of the development of the international revolutionary process depended upon the break from modern revisionism and the emergence of a counter-force against the revisionist capitalist-restorationist trend which reached its peak in the U.S.S.R. but was actually expressed in every socialist country as well as every Communist Party. This break was carried out by the Chinese and Albanian Communists, and then, achieved the apex of its development in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the first revolution of its kind in history, and a contribution to Marxism with world-wide implications. In the 1970's the fate of the development of the world revolution everywhere depends on the carrying through of the great world-wide proletarian revolutionary struggles that emerged in the 1960's, the class war as a struggle for power. This demands the most ruthless critical assessment of the historical experience of this period, in the light of the general experience of the workingclass movement over the last hundred years or more. Such an assessment has already begun to mesh with the demands of the hour--the building of a new revolutionary international, the creation of the world-wide strike committees and other international organs of the revolutionary struggle in the capitalist, colonial, and socialist countries. The setbacks in China, against the background of the enormous revolutionary potential of this period, appear as yet another temporary and partial backward flux in a general current of the Long March of toiling humanity out of the dark ages of class society. We do not despair, but set ourselves even more determined to the revolutionary tasks in this country which develop the world revolution everywhere, including in China.

September 24th, 1973
New York City



(continued from page 24)

as the Communist League correctly pointed out, to carry out the tasks implied in the name of the conference itself, not a general "mass conference", but a meeting of organized groups to discuss important political questions and tasks.

Class War did not participate in either of the "unity" conferences which is partially due to a deliberate policy on the part of both the C.L. and ACWM(M-L) to not inform us concerning the time, place, transportation, etc. of these conferences. This policy became, we believe, deliberate, following our intervention in a preliminary meeting, held February 4th in New York City, co-sponsored by both the C.L. and ACWM(M-L), where Class War demanded an open discussion of the political differences between, to begin with, the Communist League and the ACWM(M-L), as opposed to the ritual chanting and all unity--no struggle atmosphere in the meeting. We were subsequently denounced by both the CL and ACWM(M-L) as "splittists", although their own subsequent split proves our demand for discussion of differences, for principled polemics, to have been entirely correct.

The Communist League, which is a much more serious group than the ACWM(M-L), is certainly to the left of the Fosterite centrists. The CL has made contributions on the National-Colonial Question and has produced a press which is relatively on a higher level than the rags produced by the R.U., O.L., and ACWM(M-L).

However, like the centrists, they remain largely paralyzed in the face of the present-day general crisis, particularly as it has developed over the last crucial six months. A prime example of this paralysis is the C.L.'s reaction to Watergate. Although they admit, in *People's Tribune* May 1973, that this is "the biggest governmental crisis in the history of the U.S.N.A.", in the end of the article, they declare that we must make two "demands"--the first, build a new communist party, and the second, --hold new elections! They say:

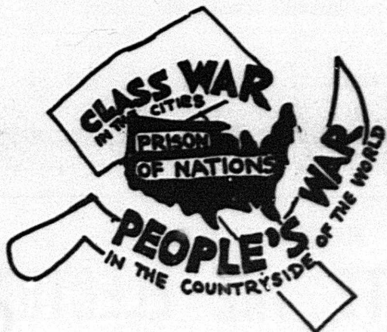
"We must demand that the arch-criminal, Nixon, not simply be replaced by the equally-arch-criminal, Agnew; but that the whole government resign and new elections be held to determine who should run the country."

How is this different in any way from the CPUSA's pathetic "impeachment petitions" or the S.W.P.'s suing of the government? Is this not a capitulation to the "populism" which is rampant among the petty-bourgeoisie and the most backward sectors of the workingclass, a populism which, overtly or covertly, serves the direct interests of the capitalist class, divided the workers against themselves, and prepares a base for outright-fascist and "radical" populist movements? Taking their place, alongside the revisionist auxiliary-police of the CPUSA, as the "true defenders" of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, the C.L. despite its constant rhetorical quotations from Lenin and Stalin, has only the most popular of all the present populist "demands" to offer in relation to Watergate--"hold new elections!"

Class War, in the "Report on the Election Boycott", in issue no.1 had already exposed the miserable vacillations of the Fosterite centrists on the question of the elections. Ranging from outright support for McGovern to a pathetic silence, the centrists showed their true colors as the left-flank of the revisionists and the twin-partner of the various trotskyite groupings. Now, we are witness to the spectacle of the Communist League, the most "hard-line" of all the M-L groups with a nation-wide structure, responding in the same manner as the Fosterites on this question.

Both of these trends contain large numbers of revolutionary workers, unemployed, students, etc. who have been attracted to the revolutionary movement in this period of general crisis, and, in many cases, have simply joined the first tendency or group which they came into contact with. There is also a minority of older persons, many of them ex-CP'ers, in both of these trends who carry with them both much valuable experience as well as a lot of useless baggage. Class War will continue to polemicize with both of these trends, the centrists and the sectarians, with the understanding that the step forward they have taken, away from the CPUSA-dominated "Old Left", has been followed by two steps backward--their failure to criticize the right-turn of the Chinese leadership, and their hostility towards HUNED.

We sincerely hope that the serious revolutionaries in the ranks of both the centrist and sectarian groupings will aggressively challenge the dead-end policies, and if not other course is possible, break from these groupings, and join us in the building of the revolutionary movement around the world.



YOUTH AND KARATE

If you walk down any block in the ghetto you are sure to see youths practicing karate moves or swinging nunchakas. As a communist, I can't help asking, what is the trend of thought of these youths? And from these observations and having talked to a few, the obvious conclusion has to be that their trend of thought is militarism. Militarism not just in the sense of the Japanese imperialist variety, but all-encompassing, adding the historical essence of militaristic mentality stemming from past warriors, the Romans or Samurai, and generally all military areas of the past emperors, kings, fascists, etc. The non-thinking order-following types. The bourgeoisie have imported and adopted this militaristic mentality, a main vehicle being karate movies. These movies relate to the youth in this way: the youth sees himself as the "powerful individual" able to kill 100 people in 5 minutes like Bruce Lee. He sees the spectacular feats as something that, if he could do it, would distinguish him from the other people trapped in the ghetto. A cry to be something.

The bourgeoisie use this feeling in many ways. They imply that by doing something "great" better than anyone else, they can get out of the ghetto. (That's why the bourgeoisie love Lackey Willy Mays.)

How does the militarist thinking affect the youth insofar as they can be revolutionaries?

Example--Youth under the influence of the Bushido cult, when confronted by an organizer and asked to struggle on the broad revolutionary plane of demonstrating, organizing, polemicizing, writing, studying, etc., may cop out and say: "Right now I am studying karate or martial arts. When the revolution starts I'll be there and ready," or "you have to get guns", etc.

We must struggle with any person showing these backward tendencies. We must explain the importance of joining us and becoming revolutionaries in the total sense--doing things collectively decided-on and moving only on prerequisites in importance, in a disciplined manner.

As far as each one's personal opinion is concerned, it shall always be challenged on the content. A struggle should always ensue in ideas that stem from the bourgeoisie and those which benefit the masses. Thus the term "struggle between two lines".

As far as Karate is concerned, I don't want to leave the impression that I'm against it. I believe that Karate has its place in the Revolution. It's great training in physical discipline, developed self-confidence, strength, speed, etc. and as adapted for street use, fighting in larger groups, is great. Karate like any art can be a benefit in scientific use.

One problem with Karate is who teaches it. As an art it was introduced by monks to ward off bandits, then used by warlords and emperors. Karate and martial arts proved effective in maintaining the ruling classes in power. Even during the Japanese and Korean wars, Karate was used. After these wars, the same instructors who taught troops in them then went throughout the world teaching martial arts. The two who stand out most are Mas Oyama and Yamaguchi. In the case of Yamaguchi, he still is a friend of the Emperor of Japan, and his headquarters in New York is run by Sensi Lopez, who is also one of the main persons responsible for bringing the fat guru Maharaj Ji, the "15-year old perfect master" over from India. At one of the guru's meetings at Hunter College, hecklers shouted insults to the stage. Sensi Lopez had them physically removed by his Black Belts.

One can utilize these reactionary instructors to get training. But keep in mind that these instructors are linked with the most reactionary elements: P.A.L., police academies and military schools throughout the world. The smaller instructors tend to want to start a type of cult around themselves with religious implications and a U.S. army approach to training.

In closing, I would like to say that it is on the youths' shoulders that the burden of carrying on the revolution lies. They will be the builders of socialism in the world. They must be aware of how the bourgeois or any culture operates, movies, art, etc. Only in this way can they break from the hold of the bourgeoisie. Hopefully this article will make that clear.

1 STEP FORWARD— 2 STEPS BACK

Under the pressures of the world-wide general crisis, most of what has been calling itself the "Marxist-Leninist" movement in this country has collapsed.

We realize that many, if not most, of the adherents of the various M-L groupings will protest vehemently against the above statement. According to their publications, they are part of the "main trend in the world", and isn't that enough? Whatever the leadership of these groupings tells their members and supporters, the truth is that every one of these tendencies has exhibited its complete political bankruptcy in the face of the most important questions facing the workingclass.

Every one of the self-described Marxist-Leninist or Maoist tendencies, with the exception of Class War, has either remained silent, "neutral", or openly hostile in relation to the launching and building of the National Unemployed and Welfare Rights Organization (NUWRO), as well as the completely principled and unprecedented Operation Mop-Up carried out by the National Caucus of Labor Committees against the scab and social-fascist "Communist Party U.S.A.". Both of these events have exhibited international implications, which will become clearer and clearer, making it less and less possible for either a silent or "neutral" stand to be taken.

Not a single one of these would-be Marxist-Leninists displays the slightest notion of the strategy and tactics of slave-labor and the recycling of workers and unemployed in an ever-downward plunging spiral, which, combined by the CIA and KGB "labor experts" with the insidious "workers' control" and "community control" constitutes the essence of Fascism and counter-revolution in this period. By ignoring, or even attacking NUWRO, they likewise display their ignorance of the only means to defeat the fascist and social-fascist drives—creating and building up the New Organs of Struggle, uniting the now-divided sectors of the workingclass, organizing directly the struggle for power. The mystical adulation most "Marxist-Leninists" bear for either Trade Unionism or its junior partner Rank-and-Fileism paralyzes them in terms of the leap that must be made, that must be actively and consciously introduced by revolutionaries, in the consciousness and activity of the advanced workers.

For all their talk of "building a multi-national communist party", they have all averted their gaze, with few exceptions, from the "dreadful spectacle" of the revisionist police dogs of the CPUSA getting smashed by the Labor Committees. Although they do not hide under the protective blanket of "Workers' Democracy" and "Free Speech in the movement" like the Spartacists, most of the Marxist-Leninists have looked upon Operation Mop-Up with a guilty apprehension, aware that some of them own petty scabbery is as deserving of political and physical punishment as the larger-scale treachery of the CPUSA.

Although they have nothing but spite for each other, the would-be party-builders of the Communist League, the ACNM(M-L), the Revolutionary Union and October League share a common instinctive fear and dislike of NUWRO. This is not only because NUWRO, with whatever admitted weaknesses deriving from the NCLC's Luxemburgism, is more advanced than their various attempts as "mass organization" and united fronts. It is also because, to deal with NUWRO seriously, the party-builders would have to confront their own shallow, philistine, and even anti-intellectual viewpoints, many of which do not even bear a superficial similarity with Marxism.

In the pages of the *Guardian*, *Palante*, *The People's Tribune*, and the *Call* alike, there is little room for practical theory or theoretically-guided practice. For the "orthodox" M-L groups and "orthodox" trotskyite groups alike, it is "business as usual", a little quantitative increase or decrease here or there, a recital of catch-words, no grasp of dialectics, of the totality of things, of the potentially-active role of consciousness, of what must be done. The reaction of these pathetic rags is to become, for the most part, more and more anti-intellectual, vulgar, and boring, this, in the face of the most severe general crisis in the development of capitalism, the most revolutionary period in history!

The collapse of the Marxist-Leninist movement has given rise to two general trends, the one softening up, becoming more compromising and right-opportunist, the other "hardening" up, not to prepare to expand and organize, but more in retreat, towards a purely sect-like existence, a would-be revolutionary cocoon, promising but never giving forth, its contents already dying before birth.

The former trend is the Fosterite centrist amalgam typified by the *Guardian*, the Revolutionary Union, October League, Black Workers' Congress, and Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers' Org. This is populated by droppings from SDS, Black and Latin nationalists posing as "socialists", and flotsam and jetsam

from the shattered CPUSA, including the "original" Fosterites from the "Ad Hoc Committee for a M-L Party" in Chicago. This first general trend is the largest in numbers and the most inter-connected by numerous ideological and financial threads with the petty-bourgeoisie, such as it is now, at the beginning of the second world depression. This trend is likely, in part or in whole, to enter into an open alliance with the CPUSA, despite its sometimes vociferous "anti-revisionism", and has already proved this in numerous instances, notably in the current wave of relative growth of "rank-and-file caucuses" and "left" union bureaucrats, and the Fosterites' uncritical adaptation, alongside their Browderite and trotskyite rivals, to this tendency, including its worse aspects.

This centrist tendency around the *Guardian* is also, significantly, the "scene" that at present has the greatest access to travel in and contact with the People's Republic of China, including meetings with high-ranking officials mentioned in *Peking Review* and close relations with the petty-bourgeois China Friendship associations, riddled with McGovernites. Their opportunist appetites have been fed by the recent errors of the Chinese leadership, by the detente-ism implicit in the policies adopted at the recent Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, which none of these tendencies has yet openly discussed.

The second general trend is most clearly represented by the "regroupments" developing around the Communist League, primarily, but also including, to a lesser but noisier extent, around the American Communist Workers' Movement (M-L). Both of these groups, the Communist League with much greater success, carried out "North American Marxist-Leninist Unity Conferences" this year. The ACNM(M-L) now calls itself the "Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists", whereas the Communist League maintains a unity committee with several groups—both of them will eventually declare themselves to be the new Communist Party in this country, which will in no way relieve the stifling political atmosphere in these groups which invariably drives the best elements out of them, often towards the Spartacists, who have already received unto their covenant many similar repented "Stalinist" sinners from decomposing Progressive Labor.

Initially, the Communist League and the ACNM(M-L) intended to collaborate with each other, but the ACNM(M-L) idiots demanded to turn the Chicago conference into one of their "mass democracies" drawing in every possible person, making it quite impossible,

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REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

BOYCOTT THE ELECTIONS!