

Section I - The Era of Imperialism

THE FIVE BASIC FEATURES OF IMPERIALISM AND THE DIVISION OF THE WORLD TODAY

We are living in the era of imperialism. To correctly grasp the international situation, we must understand what imperialism is. Briefly, imperialism is monopoly capitalism, which has replaced the earlier, free-competition industrial capitalism. Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, which has been dominant since the beginning of this century in all major developed capitalist countries. It has five basic features, laid out by Lenin:

"1) The concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; 2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this 'finance capital', of a financial oligarchy; 3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; 4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist combines which share the world among themselves; and 5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed." (Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, FLP Peking, p. 106)

The United States and the Soviet Union are the two major imperialist powers, or superpowers, in the world today. In the U.S., all the major industries, such as auto, steel and oil, are controlled by a handful of monopolies. The auto industry, for example, is dominated by three giant companies: General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler. Similarly, a handful of banks, having merged with the major industries through such mechanisms as interlocking boards of directors and patterns of loans, have produced a small group of financial oligarchs who dominate the whole U.S. economy. The best known example of these is the Rockefeller family, whose power is based on control of Chase Manhattan Bank and such industrial enterprises as Exxon (Standard Oil of New Jersey). U.S. export of capital has increased tremendously since World War II, largely based on the fact that the U.S. was the only major country to emerge from the war with its industrial plant intact. U.S. direct private investment ~~abroad~~ today stands at about \$200 billion.¹

The U.S. transnational corporations divide up the world for the profit of U.S. monopolists. They not only exploit the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America as sources of raw materials, cheap labor and captive markets (getting oil from Saudi Arabia and Venezuela, copper from Chile, setting up textile mills in South Korea and Taiwan, and petrochemical refineries in Puerto Rico). They also have large investments in the major industries of the developed capitalist countries of Western Europe, Japan, Canada, etc. The U.S., as well as all other imperialists, also exploits other countries, particularly the oppressed nations, through unequal trade. (We are further studying the basis for this exploitation.) U.S. imperialism's share of the world's territory has grown tremendously since its beginnings with the annexation of Hawaii in the 1890's and the war against Spain in 1898, from which it took Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Phillipines and Guam as its booty.* Since the end of World War II, when it turned many of the European (and Japanese) colonies into its neo-colonies, it has brought much of Asia and Africa into its sphere of influence. Latin America (with the exception of Cuba since 1959) has long been under U.S. imperialism's domination.

It should be noted that U.S. expansionism is not based on the malice of individuals, but on imperialism's drive for maximum profits. There is a "superabundance of capital" in the imperialist countries which can not find an outlet for sufficiently profitable investment at home. Therefore, capital is exported; since profits are generally higher abroad than in the U.S., and the highest in the oppressed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. As Lenin points out:

"In these backward countries, profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap." (Imperialism...., p.73)

The U.S.'s bloody rule also points out the aggressive nature of imperialism. Under the slogan of defending its "leadership of the free world," it has launched barbaric wars of aggression, as in Korea and Vietnam, sent troops to intervene against popular rebellions, as in Lebanon (1958) and the Dominican Republic (1965), and engineered military coups to set up ruthless puppet fascist regimes, as that of Indonesia under Suharto and Chile under Pinochet, all

*Of course, U.S. capitalism was expansionist in its pre-monopoly stage also, stealing land from the Indians, kidnapping Africans as slaves, and taking the Southwest from Mexico. However, during this stage, the main reasons for conquest were natural resources, land and the labor to work on it, rather than for capital export. The purchase of Alaska in 1867 had elements of both pre-monopoly and imperialist expansionism.

in an attempt to suppress the resistance of the peoples of the oppressed nations to the domination of U.S. imperialism. It does not hesitate to use its forces of repression against the struggles of the working and oppressed peoples within its borders as well, suppressing rebellions by armed force (as in the urban uprisings of the late '60s or in Attica in 1971), using police violence against strikes and demonstrations and assassinating revolutionaries (such as Malcolm X and Fred Hampton). In doing this it has expanded its armed forces, maintaining a huge system of troops, the most modern and destructive weapons, and military bases throughout the world. It has two major secret police systems - the FBI for internal suppression, and the CIA set up to control and expand its huge sphere of influence after World War II. It is clear that imperialism can only sustain itself through violence.

The other superpower, the Soviet Union, is social-imperialist, that is socialist in words but imperialist in deeds. Since the seizure of power by the Khrushchov revisionist clique, capitalist relations of production have been fully restored. Although their form is concealed by state ownership, their capitalist essence is the same as in a country such as the U.S. Production for maximum profit has replaced production to meet the material and cultural needs of the people² as the motive force guiding the development of the Soviet economy. This has been ensured by tying bonuses of managers to the profits of the enterprise. Furthermore, the workers have been deprived of any say in the running of the factories, which have come under the exclusive control of the managers. The Soviet Union too exhibits the five basic features of imperialism laid out by Lenin. The once socialist industry and banks have degenerated into state monopoly capitalism, owned by the state but run in the interest of a financial oligarchy of state managerial bureaucrats. The Soviet Union exports capital, either in the guise of "aid", or by setting up "joint-stock companies", usually in "partnership" with a state monopoly in the foreign country. This is how it operates with the steel plants it has set up in India or the bauxite mines in Guinea, for example.* Under the signboard of "socialist community", the Soviet Union dominates the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe, as well as Cuba, Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, etc. During Stalin's time, the socialist Soviet Union aided the countries of Eastern Europe in developing their own industries. Now, however, it gears the economies of these countries to

* In India, Soviet "aid" has given them control of 30% of the total Indian steel production. In Guinea, the Soviet Union provided the capital to mine bauxite for its aluminum industry. Guinea had to give part of the bauxite to the Soviet Union free in repayment, had to sell the Soviet Union another part and the rest Guinea was free to use as it pleased.⁴

meeting the needs of the Soviet Union, calling this the "international division of labor." For example, it uses Eastern European labor to build a gas pipeline on Soviet territory, helping to provide for its own energy needs.⁵ By calling itself the "natural ally" of the oppressed nations and liberation movements, it tries to expand its sphere of influence and undermine its rival, U.S. imperialism. Thus, it tries to take advantage of the Arab countries' just hatred for Israel and Sadat's traitorous "peace" treaty to increase its own political, military, and economic influence in the Middle East.

Soviet social-imperialism has shown itself to be no less violent than U.S. imperialism. When Czechoslovakia tried to weaken its domination by the Soviet Union in 1968, its attempt was stopped by the invasion of tanks and hundreds of thousands of troops led by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is backing the fascist Ethiopian junta in its war of extermination against the heroic Eritrean people. It has taken its methods from the U.S. war in Vietnam, using napalm, mass bombing and strafing against the civilian population.⁶ It too has huge armed forces, a vast fleet which it deploys all over the world, and the most modern weapons of mass destruction.

The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, though united in their opposition to revolution and the peoples' struggles for liberation, are contending for spheres of influence on a world scale. They are both the main enemies of the world's people. (We will discuss this more fully in the third section of this article.)

The other imperialist powers, despite their subordination to the superpowers, have the same monopoly capitalist system as the two superpowers. The main differences between them and the superpowers are in the amount of their export of capital and the extent of their spheres of influence and domination as well as their military capabilities world wide. Their status as second rate imperialist powers is mainly a result of the fact that they were defeated in or weakened by World War II, far before the war some of them, such as Britain and Germany, were major imperialist powers themselves. After the war, the U.S., largely through the Marshall Plan, allied the Western European imperialists to itself, and they became its junior partners in the aggressive NATO bloc. Japan also became a junior partner as a result of its post-war occupation by the U.S. Due to the economic and military weakness of these countries after the war, U.S. neo-colonial domination replaced the open colonialism of these countries in many areas, and the U.S. became the main power fighting against the liberation struggles of the peoples in these areas. This is what happened when U.S. imperialism replaced French colonialism in Indochina. However, many of these countries still have their own spheres of

influence, as Britain and France have in certain of their former African and Asian colonies, or are still able to exploit other countries within the U.S. sphere, as Japan does in parts of Asia. Their military interventions in these countries serve their own interests as well as that of the U.S., as was seen in the intervention of French and Belgian troops against the Katangese mercenaries in Zaire in 1978.

The revisionist countries of Eastern Europe have similarly become bound to the Soviet Union after they too restored capitalism, through the aggressive Warsaw Pact and the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON). Four other countries of the Warsaw Pact joined the Soviet Union in the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, and East German (as well as Cuban) troops and "advisers" have joined the Soviet Union in the war against Eritrea.

Since Hua Guofeng-Deng Xiaoping clique took power, China too has joined the imperialist camp.* It has formed an alliance with U.S. imperialism against Soviet social-imperialism. Although some of these practices began while Mao was still alive, it now gives full support to NATO, constantly calling on the U.S. to increase NATO's military capabilities. It bolsters up all the pro-U.S. reactionary bourgeois cliques in the oppressed nations, giving them not only verbal but also material support. For example, it has given loans to Pinochet's Chile, and has helped train Mobutu's troops in Zaire. It also has expansionist designs of its own, as was evident in its recent war of aggression against Vietnam, launched with U.S. approval. China's new alliance with U.S. imperialism is definitely a heavy blow to the world revolutionary movement.

None of the lesser imperialist powers can in any way be considered friends of the peoples. They have contradictions of an inter-imperialist nature with the superpowers (and even with one another), and the world's revolutionary forces must learn to take advantage of these. For example, when the countries of Western Europe (except fascist Portugal) refused to let the U.S. use their territories to resupply Israel in the 1973 war because they feared an Arab oil boycott, that was a good thing. The disputes over trade and currency exchange rates between the U.S. and its allies also show that these contradictions are continuing. The European Economic Community (Common Market) has often been a means for the Western European imperialists to unite to oppose the U.S. But making use of these

*We use this somewhat ambiguous formulation on purpose. While there is much evidence pointing to the conclusion that China has already or will soon become a social-imperialist power in its own right, we also see a possibility that it may simply become a dependency of the United States and other imperialists. The fact that China is on the capitalist road, however, is undeniable.

contradictions can not mean support for these imperialist powers themselves.

THE FOUR MAJOR CONTRADICTIONS OF THE ERA

Imperialism, which Lenin called capitalism in decay, or moribund capitalism, is the era of proletarian revolution. Imperialism has intensified all the contradictions of capitalism, particularly the fundamental contradiction between the exploiters and the exploited, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between capitalism and socialism, on a world scale. Enver Hoxha underlines this contradiction when he says, attacking the revisionist use of terms such as "third world,"

"All these terms, which refer to the various political forces acting in the world today, cover up and do not bring out the class character of these political forces, the fundamental contradictions of our epoch, the key problem which is predominant today on a national and international scale, the ruthless struggle between the bourgeois-imperialist world on the one hand, and socialism, the world proletariat and its natural allies, on the other." ("Report to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania," pp. 172-173; quoted in Theory and Practice of the Revolution, p.7)

The whole history of the imperialist era, particularly since the October Revolution in Russia in 1917, has proven the truth of this statement.

In this era, on a world scale, there are four major contradictions. These are: 1) the contradiction between two opposing systems - socialist and capitalist; 2) the contradiction between labor and capital in the capitalist countries; 3) the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and nations and imperialism; 4) the contradictions between imperialist powers.⁷ All these contradictions, which are interrelated, exist at the present time, and will continue as long as the imperialist system exists. Although one or the other plays the principal role at any particular moment, it is incorrect and not Marxist to deny the existence of any one of them.

The contradiction between the socialist and capitalist systems is far from dead, though the Chinese revisionist upholders of the "theory of the three worlds" would like to bury the socialist countries under the label of "first," "second," and "third world". There is no long a socialist camp in the sense of a bloc of socialist countries as there was for a period after World War II, due to the revisionist reversal of socialism, first in the Soviet Union and the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe, and now in China. However, socialism exists in such countries as Albania,

which has faced capitalist and revisionist encirclement for years and is now successfully confronting the cutting off of aid by the revisionist Chinese leadership.

The continuing struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in all the developed capitalist countries show that this contradiction continues to exist, despite the lack of a revolutionary situation in these countries at the present moment. There have, moreover, been mass revolutionary upsurges in these countries, as in France in 1968, the United States in the late 1960's and early '70's (although these did not involve the working class as a whole, but were led by the national movements), and in Poland in 1970 and 1976. These struggles have also been weakened by the lack of Marxist-Leninist leadership.

The contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism has been in the forefront in the period since World War II. The last few years alone have seen this in such examples as the defeat of U.S. imperialism by the three peoples of Indochina, the overthrow of the Shah of Iran, the continuing struggles of the Palestinian people and the Zimbabwean people against the imperialist-backed settler regimes, and the continuing struggle of the Eritrean people against the Soviet backed fascist Ethiopian junta. At this time, when each superpower is trying to use the movements of the oppressed nations against its rival, it is crucial that the liberation movements oppose this by upholding the principle of self-reliance. It is necessary for the Marxist-Leninists to strive to lead these movements through the stage of national democratic revolution and on to socialism.

The contradiction between the imperialist powers is steadily growing as the United States and the Soviet Union sharpen their contention for world hegemony. The superpowers are stepping up their arms race, intensifying their domination over the peoples, and trying to use the peoples' struggles to undermine their rival. This poses a grave threat to the revolutionary movement and can lead to the danger of a new world war. We must also point out, on a secondary level, the contradiction between the superpowers and their allies, such as that between the United States and the Western European countries and Japan over matters such as the balance of trade.

THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE RECENT CRISIS

The era of imperialism has been one of general crisis for the world capitalist system, both in the economic and the political spheres. This crisis is due to the intensification of all the contradictions of capitalism, and particularly due to the emergence of the socialist system since the time of the October Revolution. The crisis began with World War I, in which the

imperialist powers, having no new territories into which to expand, had to struggle to redivide territories which already "belonged" to rival imperialists. A major result of this was the birth of the socialist Soviet Union, and the first shrinking of the area of the capitalist world market. This in turn greatly aggravated the crisis. It was further heightened by World War II and the subsequent development of a socialist camp including the Soviet Union, Mongolia, China, Vietnam, Korea and the Eastern European people's democracies. This led to a situation of two opposing world markets and the resulting shrinking of the area for capitalist exploitation.⁸

Of course, this general crisis does not develop evenly, but has its ups and downs. When capitalism was restored in the Soviet Union, the Western imperialists thought this would give their moribund system a new lease on life. But instead Soviet social-imperialism became the greatest rival to U.S. imperialism. With the restoration of capitalism in China, the U.S. again has been shouting with glee that China will provide a great market for U.S. exploitation. However, their joy has already been somewhat dampened as China has been reconsidering some of its initial economic agreements. Whatever happens in this arena it is clear that it will not allow the capitalist system to escape from its general crisis.

Together with the general crisis of capitalism go the periodic economic crises, the crises of overproduction which have plagued the capitalist world since 1825. These occur when the capitalist system produces more goods, and at higher prices than the masses of the people can afford to buy. These crises are a consequence of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, that between socialized production and private ownership, which leads to anarchy of production. The inherent contradictions in the capitalist system and the intensified struggles of the world proletariat and peoples have led to the grave crisis which the whole capitalist world went through recently. It was the most severe of the economic crises since World War II. More than an economic crisis, it was also a social, political, ideological, military, and cultural crisis. As Enver Hoxha points out in his "Report to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania" (p. 162):

"At first, this crisis was apparent in the form of the falling rate of production and an increasing of inflation. It became still more acute and assumed broader proportions because it was complicated with an extremely grave energy crisis* and the currency crisis, which caused very great upsets in all the capitalist-revisionist countries."

The crisis took place in the context of the stepped-up

*See page 9 bottom.

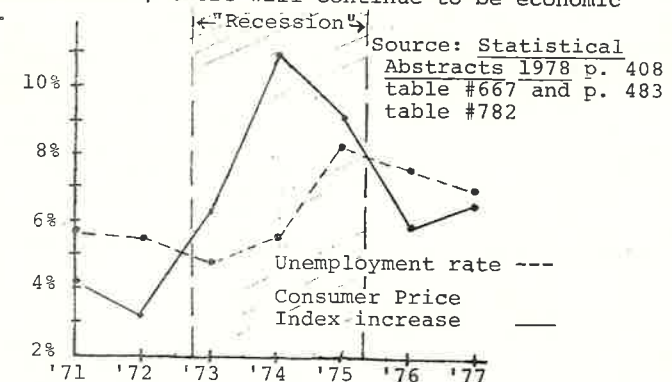
rivalry between the superpowers (and their allies), which resulted in increased militarization of their economies and thus greater expenditures of national income for non-productive purposes. It was also sharpened by the heightened competition among the Western imperialists, as in the struggles of the U.S.'s allies for greater shares of markets and capital exports.

The bourgeoisie, of course, in order to maintain the maximum profits possible, tries to push the crises off onto the backs of the working and oppressed peoples. At the height of the crisis, about a hundred million workers were unemployed worldwide and inflation and increased prices reached new heights. In New York in particular, the city's financial crisis resulted in the layoff of tens of thousands of workers and cut-backs in the already limited services to the people. The crisis had its most severe effects on the oppressed nationalities. But also internationally, the bourgeoisie tried to push the crisis off on the oppressed nations by the imposition of austerity programs through the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, as in Zaire, Turkey and Egypt. In Egypt in 1977, the attempt by Sadat to comply with IMF demands to reduce food price subsidies led to major riots and the regime was forced to continue the subsidies.

It is important to note that even though the U.S. economy came out of its last "recession," which officially lasted from late 1973 to 1975, the working people were still saddled with a higher unemployment rate and rate of inflation than before the start of the 1973 recession. (See graph.) And the economy is already entering a new "recession". Moreover, this phenomenon of both high unemployment and high inflation is one which the bourgeois Keynesian economists are unable to explain. It is important for the revol-

* (From p. 8) Although we are not yet able to give a full explanation of this crisis, we do not believe that it is due to a shortage of fossil fuels, such as oil. We can only lay out certain factors which should be taken into account in any serious analysis. Among these are: 1) the imperialist rivalry over oil-producing countries, 2) the instability of imperialist control of certain OPEC countries (as the situation in Iran has shown), 3) the consequent need for the U.S. to develop energy sources within the United States or in other countries whose relations with the U.S. are more secure (such as Canada); however, the oil companies will only develop these sources if they can make a profitable investment, something which the OPEC price rises have helped them to do, 4) the need for the U.S. to ensure energy sources for its Western European and Japanese allies as well, especially in the face of the future possibility of war with the Soviet Union, and 5) the declining profits of the U.S. oil companies in the period before 1973.

utionary movement to strengthen its grasp of political economy, in which we are all still weak, to help win over the advanced workers to Marxism-Leninism as a step in our struggle for socialist revolution. But the recent crisis once again confirms that as long as capitalism exists, there will continue to be economic crises.



The economic crisis, the loss that U.S. imperialism suffered in Indochina, the Watergate scandal, all affected the social, political, ideological and cultural forms of the crisis. This can be seen in such social factors as the increase in crime and in all forms of degeneracy. The bourgeoisie responds to the increase in crime by strengthening the state apparatus (e.g. more cops, prisons, judges). It encourages the rise of racist fascist groups such as the Klan and the Nazis, directed particularly against Black people and other oppressed nationalities.

In the sphere of ideas, the crisis can be seen in the decline of established bourgeois values, morals and traditional Western religions and churches. This has led some people to see the need to fight imperialism, even though they spontaneously gravitate to new forms of bourgeois ideology, and even sometimes to new religious movements. The bourgeoisie uses the crisis to push all sorts of ultra-reactionary ideas, such as mysticism (for example movies like "The Exorcist" and "The Amityville Horror"), cults (like those of Jones in Guyana and Manson in California), and "new" religious based fascist groups (such as the Moon church). It also strives to revitalize the established churches and other more traditional sources of bourgeois ideology. The material basis for these reactionary ideas lies in the parasitic nature of imperialism, which produces a large stratum of rentiers who live off their income from securities and take no part in production whatsoever.

The bourgeoisie propagates these ideas, and the ideas take hold especially among the petit-bourgeoisie (which is also isolated from the means of production)

but they also have an effect on the working class. It is the task of the revolutionary proletariat and Marxist-Leninists to explain the material basis for this, to combat all kinds of unscientific ideas and show how they serve the bourgeoisie, and to divert the spontaneous movement away from bourgeois ideology and to propagate, apply and develop Marxism-Leninism. It is also our task to combat cynicism, which the bourgeoisie plays on. This cynicism is due in part to the failure of the revolutionary upsurge of the late '60's and early '70's, the growth of revisionism, and the lack of a thorough-going dialectical and historical materialist world outlook, which the opportunist "leaders" in the revolutionary movement fight so hard against.

IMPERIALISM AS THE EVE OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

The proletariat has been on the scene of history as an independent force since the time of Marx and Engels. They provided it with the ideology of scientific socialism, gave leadership to its revolutionary struggles during the era of free-competition industrial capitalism, and organized the first International Workingmen's Association. However, this, the era of Marxism, was basically a period of the preparation of the working class for revolution.¹⁰ The first attempt by the proletariat to seize and hold power, the Paris Commune, occurred in this period, in 1871. Although this confirmed the inevitability of socialism, and proved the necessity for violent revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, it was short-lived and defeated.

However, since the beginning of the era of imperialism, the conquest of power by the proletariat has been on the order of the day. Imperialism has itself created the material conditions for successful proletarian revolutions. It has transformed the world of individual capitalist states into a single world system including both developed capitalist countries and the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. As we have seen, it has intensified all the contradictions of capitalism to the highest degree which has led to a general crisis of capitalism. This has brought about the possibility and necessity for proletarian revolution on a world scale. It was in the conditions of the first great inter-imperialist crisis, World War I, that the first successful socialist revolution, the October Revolution in Russia, took place. As Lenin summed it up: "...Imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat. This has been confirmed since 1917 on a world-wide scale..." (Imperialism,...., preface, p. 10, written 1920). This has been repeatedly reconfirmed ever since. There has been no part of the globe left untouched by the revolutionary upsurges since then. Many of the major revolutions in this period have been under the leadership of the proletariat and its

Marxist-Leninist parties. These have led to socialism in the Soviet Union, China, Albania, Korea, the countries of Indochina, etc. This period has also seen the collapse of the colonial system and the winning of political independence by almost all the countries of Asia and Africa, even though in many of these neo-colonial regimes have been established.

The proletarian revolutionary character of era has not been changed by the revisionist betrayals of socialism, first in the Soviet Union and the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe, and now in China. Although these setbacks are serious, and we can not minimize their effect, they are part of the twists and turns of the proletarian revolutionary struggle. Marxist-Leninists must seriously study the negative lessons provided by the socialist reversals in these countries, as well as the positive lessons where socialism has been maintained, particularly the exemplary role of Albania.

LENINISM IS MARXISM IN THE ERA OF IMPERIALISM

We have seen that capitalism has undergone marked changes as it developed into imperialism, and that these changes made proletarian revolution a practical possibility on a world-wide scale. It was Lenin who scientifically summed up imperialism as a further development, the highest stage of capitalism. Regarding the tasks of the proletariat in this era, Lenin laid out the theory, strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Of special importance to the communist movement in the U.S. today, where the proletariat has for a long time been without a vanguard party, and where there have been so many opportunist attempts at forming one, he in particular laid out the ideological basis for the formation of a genuine communist party. Lenin did all this in the context of carrying out proletarian revolution in practice, and in struggle against the opportunism of the Second International. As Stalin summed it up: "...Leninism is Marxism in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution..." (Foundations of Leninism, FLP Peking, p.2)

Since we are still in the era of imperialism, we are still in the era of Leninism. The world has not entered some new era. It is necessary to raise this now because some of the revisionist forces who uphold the "three-world's theory" have claimed that we are in a new era, the "era of Mao Zedong Thought." The first to have raised this as a "new era" seems to have been the renegade Lin Biao (though with a slightly different political line than that of the present "three-worlders"). In his "Report to the Ninth Party Congress of the Communist Party of China", in 1969, he stated (p. 67):

"...Mao Tsetung Thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory..." This militant-sounding phraseology is used by the present "three-world" revisionists to deny the need for proletarian revolution. They claim that changed conditions have made proletarian revolution unnecessary since the "third world" is now the motive force for world revolution. This position is anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary. The era of imperialism will last until imperialism is overthrown and socialism is established on a world scale, and therefore we are still in the era of Leninism. This is, of course, not to deny the contributions of others, such as Engels, Stalin, Mao Zedong and Enver Hoxha, to the theory and application of Marxism-Leninism.*

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF THE OPPRESSED NATIONS IN THE ERA OF IMPERIALISM

The struggle of the oppressed nations has undergone a crucial change in the era of imperialism. Before World War I and the October Revolution, the liberation movements in the colonial and economically backward nations had as their objective the setting up of independent capitalist states. They were part of the bourgeois-democratic world revolution. However, since that time, the imperialists have had to depend more than ever on the oppressed nations. Moreover, the first victorious socialist revolution led to the setting up of the socialist system opposed to the capitalist system. This provided a reliable rear area for the liberation movements and helped the proletariat to arise and place itself in the leadership of these movements. As Mao Zedong summed it up: "...This revolution attacks the very foundation of imperialism. But it is approved by socialism and supported by a socialist state** and the international socialist proletariat. Therefore, such a revolution inevitably becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution..." (On New Democracy, FLP Peking, p.8).

The liberation movements of the oppressed nations

*We are not unaware of the criticisms that Enver Hoxha has made of Mao Zedong, and his claim that Mao was not a Marxist-Leninist. We are still studying these criticisms.

**Mao was referring to the Soviet Union at that time. Today, this refers to all genuine socialist countries.

are national democratic revolutions directed against imperialism, feudalism, and the comprador bourgeoisie,* as the first step to socialist revolution. No matter which classes take part in these struggles, as long as they oppose imperialism, they are revolutionary struggles. However, the bourgeoisie can not consistently lead these movements. The comprador bourgeoisie serves as an outright agent of imperialism in these countries. The national bourgeoisie is weak economically and politically, both because of imperialist domination and the strength of the proletariat. While it has a certain revolutionary aspect, it tends to compromise in the fight against imperialism and feudalism.

Only the proletariat can lead these movements consistently and through to the end, opening the way for socialist revolution.¹¹ Numerous historical examples since World War II have clearly shown this to be true. For example, both the Algerian war of independence and the Cuban revolution were historic victories over imperialism. However, due to the lack of genuine proletarian leadership, Algeria is still economically dependent on both Western imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, while Cuba is today a neo-colony of the Soviet Union, heavily dependent on it economically while playing the military and political role of its henchman around the world. The basis for the national democratic revolution must be the worker-peasant alliance, led by the working class, but it includes the urban petit-bourgeoisie, and also the patriotic national bourgeoisie as a vacillating ally.¹² (The character of these revolutions and the importance of a united front between them and the proletarian revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries will be discussed further in Section II of this article.)

These national democratic revolutions are still necessary in the vast majority of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. For although the old colonial system has collapsed in almost all these countries, most of them are still ruled by neo-colonial puppets or bourgeois regimes dependent on imperialism. This is evident in the most openly neo-colonial countries, such as Marcos' Phillipines, Mobutu's Zaire or until recently Somoza's Nicaragua. But it is just as true in the more disguised dependencies. We will take Guzman's Dominican Republic as an example. There, the liberal reformist government took over from the openly reactionary and pro-imperialist Balaguer regime. However, though it did release the political prisoners and allowed the people certain limited democratic

*In the colonial days in China a comprador was the Chinese agent of a foreign business house. Mao defined them as the sector of a country's bourgeoisie whose economic interests are directly tied to imperialist exploitation of their country.

rights as a concession, it is an even more efficient servant of imperialism's interests. The country's economy is still controlled by U.S. corporations such as Gulf & Western (sugar), Rosario Mining (gold), and Falconbridge (nickel and other metals). It also gives political support to U.S. imperialism, as when it recently served on the mediation commission trying to find a "peaceful solution" to sidetrack the Nicaraguan revolution.

It is our proletarian internationalist duty to give concrete support (through propaganda, sympathy and material aid) to the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of such countries as Iran, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico. However, many of the supposedly communist groups in the United States, particularly those that support the "three-world's theory," dominated as they are by revisionism and social-chauvinism, give only lip-service to these struggles, especially those in the U.S. colonies and within the state borders of the U.S. They are more interested in supporting pro-U.S. reactionary movements in countries dominated by Soviet social-imperialism, such as that of the Moslem rebels in Afghanistan. This, of course, does not mean that we should in any way curtail our support of genuine revolutionary struggles in countries within the Soviet sphere, as for example in Eritrea.

While great-nation chauvinism has been the predominant form of opportunism on the national question, and especially in the United States, we can not ignore the existence of narrow nationalism internationally. For example, although we must support the Kampuchean people's resistance to the Soviet-Vietnamese takeover of their country, we can not support the Pol Pot regime's basing this struggle on the ancient enmity that feudal Cambodia had for feudal Vietnam, or their support of reactionary elements within Vietnam, such as FULRO.*

REVISIONISM

We can not discuss the international situation without having a basic grasp of revisionism. Modern revisionism is not a phenomenon peculiar to individual countries, but exists on an international scale. This

*FULRO is the French acronym for the United Front for the Liberation of the Oppressed Races. It is a group composed of Montagnard tribesmen in Vietnam that the CIA used during the U.S. war of aggression to attack the National Liberation Front. Apparently, it is still carrying out some harassment raids against the Vietnamese government, which the Pol Pot regime is praising in its radio broadcasts.

has become especially true since the revisionist takeover in certain formerly socialist countries.

REVISIONISM IN THE FORMERLY SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Class struggle does not die out once socialism has been achieved. This was pointed out first by Marx and especially since the time of Lenin who stated:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is not the end of class struggle but its continuation in new forms. The dictatorship of the proletariat is class struggle waged by a proletariat which has been victorious and has taken political power in its hands against a bourgeoisie that has been defeated but not destroyed, a bourgeoisie that has not vanished, not ceased to offer resistance, but that has intensified its resistance." ("Foreword to the Speech 'On Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality'", Alliance of the Working Class and the Peasantry, FLPH Moscow, 1959, p. 302, quoted in On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and its Historical Lessons for the World, FLP Peking, pp. 10 - 11.)

The old bourgeoisie that struggles to return to power is joined in its fight against the proletariat by new bourgeois elements. These have grown up from within the ranks of the working class and from among the state and party functionaries, as well as managerial personnel in state and collective enterprises. The material and ideological bases for these new bourgeois elements are the continued existence of small production, the influence of the bourgeoisie, and the corrupting petit-bourgeois atmosphere and habits. The bourgeoisie, both old and new, is also continually nurtured by capitalism internationally. Moreover, bourgeois right is still expressed in the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work". Thus, the danger of capitalist restoration exists as long as there are classes, and as long as capitalism exists internationally. During this period, it is the international task of the dictatorship of the proletariat to prevent armed and other attacks by imperialism and to support the world revolution. Its internal tasks are to suppress the bourgeoisie and abolish all exploiting classes, to raise the communist consciousness of the working masses, to develop the socialist economy, and to strive step by step for the abolition of the differences between ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, between workers and peasants, between town and country, and between manual and mental laborers. Only with the end of bourgeois right and the realization of communist society, with its principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need," will the possibility

of capitalist restoration be completely eliminated.*

One of the crucial factors for correctly carrying the class struggle through to the end is the communist party, genuinely based on Marxist-Leninist principles. The vanguard role of the party is as necessary under the dictatorship of the proletariat as it is in bringing about socialist revolution. A party that continually tolerates the existence of factions, rather than basing itself on Bolshevik unity around a proletarian line, will eventually turn into a revisionist party. The experience of China shows this. Tremendous mass struggles were waged there against the bourgeoisie, particularly during the Cultural Revolution. However, the Communist Party itself was not united around Marxism-Leninism but included various revisionist factions (such as those of Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Lin Biao) so it could not give leadership to these struggles. Mao and the other genuine revolutionaries ended up siding with one revisionist faction to defeat another. The victories won could therefore only be temporary and so after Mao's death the revisionist Hua-Deng clique was able to consolidate their power.

We have seen the first major example of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union in the mid-1950s. There, Khrushchov began by attacking Marxism-Leninism with his attack on Stalin. He and his clique opposed revolution and socialism with their revisionist theories of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition," and "peaceful transition." They threw out genuine proletarian revolutionaries of both party and state organs and replaced them with representatives of the privileged bourgeois stratum. They overthrew the dictatorship of the proletariat and restored the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie under the guise of establishing the "state of the whole people" and the "party of the entire people." They restored capitalist relations of production based on profit in place of socialist relations based on meeting the needs of the people.

We have seen the same thing happen in China since Mao's death. The Hua-Deng clique has not only consolidated the "theory of the three worlds" as the strategic line of the party to oppose revolution and socialism. They have thrown genuine revolutionaries out of power and restored all the revisionist elements that had previously been condemned by the Chinese party and people. They have opposed the class struggle of the proletariat. They have put forward a new version of the "theory of the productive forces," the "4 modernizations"

*The question of the bases for capitalist restoration and how to prevent it is one on which there have been long-standing differences between the CPC and the PLA. There is still much to study and be learned on this, from both positive and negative example.¹⁴

in order to restore capitalist relations of production and develop China into a big capitalist country with its own expansionist ambitions. At the same time, they have undermined China's independent economic development by relying on capital from the United States and other Western imperialists. Both the Soviet Union and China well illustrate Mao's teaching that "the rise to power of revisionism is the rise to power of the bourgeoisie."

The fact of capitalist restoration is one that is not understood by our petit-bourgeois democrats, as exemplified by "The Guardian." They have a typically Kautskyite attitude towards imperialism, calling the Soviet Union "revisionist," and even a "superpower," while denying that capitalism has been restored there. Similarly, they say that China has a reactionary foreign policy, but continue to call it socialist. Their contradiction came out clearly in regard to the recent situation in South-East Asia. There, they headlined their editorial "End the Wars in Indochina" (February 28, 1979, p.1), an essentially pacifist slogan. All they could do was to call both China's invasion of Vietnam and Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea "a great mistake," made by "a great socialist country." This offers no guidance to the proletariat in grasping the situation, and reinforces the idea that socialist countries fight among each other just as capitalist countries do.

The restoration of capitalism in these countries has dealt serious setbacks to the world revolutionary movement. The Soviet Union has become an imperialist superpower contending with U.S. imperialism for hegemony on a world scale. China has joined the imperialist camp and become one of the chief allies of the U.S. in its contention with the Soviet Union. Also, most of the countries of Eastern Europe have become part of the Soviet sphere of influence and its allies in the Warsaw Pact. This obviously weakens the proletariat and strengthens imperialism. However, the revisionists have not been able to eliminate the contradictions that exist within any capitalist society. In China we have seen this already in the demonstrations of the urban intellectuals who have returned from the countryside and are unable to find jobs. Revolutionary struggles are bound to develop within these countries and socialism is bound to triumph once again. There has already been evidence of this in the uprisings in Poland in 1970 and 1976, and the mass demonstrations of the peoples of the Transcaucasian republics of the Soviet Union in 1978 against the attempts to restrict the use of their national languages. The twists and turns in the world struggle for socialism are inevitable. Similar things have been seen in every previous historical epoch. The first half of the 19th century in Europe was marked by attempts of the bourgeoisie to prevent the return of feudal-monarchical rule. It should be no surprise

that the course of struggle to eliminate all forms of the exploitation of man by man should be at least as protracted. But no force on earth can prevent the triumph of the proletariat throughout the world.

THE SOCIAL BASES FOR OPPORTUNISM

In the capitalist countries, imperialism provides the basis for opportunism within the working class movement. As Lenin explained: "...Imperialism... creates the economic possibility of bribing the upper strata of the proletariat, and thereby fosters, gives form to, and strengthens opportunism..." (Imperialism,..., p. 125). Imperialism has created a labor aristocracy consisting of the trade union bureaucrats as well as the upper strata of the proletariat. It bribes this labor aristocracy out of its monopoly profits and the super-profits extracted from the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries, as well as from the oppressed nations and nationalities within its borders. This labor aristocracy is the main social prop of imperialism and the social basis for opportunism within the working class movement itself.

This situation, which exists in all the developed capitalist countries, is especially evident in the United States. Here, every single trade union on a national level is controlled either by outright supporters of imperialism, or by Communist Party-influenced pro-capitalists. Workers from upper strata of the working class, such as certain New York construction workers,* were even used by imperialist and Mafia-controlled unions to attack anti-war demonstrators in the early '70's. More recently, we have seen white construction workers fighting against Black and Puerto Rican workers trying to get into "their" unions. Imperialism not only creates national privileges for U.S. workers compared to workers in the colonies and dependent countries. It also creates national divisions through the oppression and super-exploitation of workers of the oppressed nationalities within the U.S. This is the material basis for social-chauvinism. The labor aristocracy here dominates the whole working class ideologically, politically and organizationally. This is not at all surprising, since the U.S. is an imperialist superpower which has dominated the majority of the world since the end of World War II. It has been in a position similar to, though on a higher level than, that of Britain in the second half of the 19th

*We do not mean to imply by this that all construction workers are part of the labor aristocracy (particularly in those areas of the country where pay scales are different than New York). The determination of which workers belong to the labor aristocracy must be based on an analysis of the concrete conditions of the particular industry.

century. Britain then, like the United States now, exploited the whole world, had a monopolistic position in the world market, and had a colonial monopoly. As in the U.S. now, this led to a section of the proletariat becoming bourgeois and permitting itself to be led by men paid by the bourgeoisie.¹⁵

This does not mean that the whole working class, or even all the white workers, are part of the labor aristocracy, or sold out, as certain petit-bourgeois revolutionaries have claimed. We can not ignore the forces that counteract imperialism and opportunism. The increasing crisis of imperialism is bound to shake growing sections of the working class from their complacency. We have seen the liberation movements in the colonies and the national movements within the United States begin to influence the awakening of the whole working class. But this does not mean that the working class will spontaneously break with opportunism and social-chauvinism. It will take a long, protracted struggle to win over the masses of the working class and bring them to the side of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat.

In other developed capitalist countries, imperialism has similarly led to the development of a labor aristocracy as the social basis for opportunism within the working class. Although we will not go into detail here, we must note that in Western Europe, the majority of the proletariat is still under the influence of either the revisionist parties (as in France and Italy), or even the old Social-Democrats (as in Britain and West Germany). In these countries, though, the decay of imperialism is more evident, and there is more of a basis for the advanced workers to break with all forms of opportunism and revisionism and follow the leadership of the genuine Marxist-Leninists.

The other major social base for opportunism is the petit-bourgeoisie. Although individual members can be won over to the side of the proletariat, this class as a whole is reactionary, being tied to the bourgeoisie by thousands of threads. It also benefits from its privileged position derived from imperialism. It acts in alliance with the labor aristocracy against the interests of the mass of the proletarians, against the oppressed nationalities, against revolution and in the defense of the bourgeoisie, for capitalism. It is particularly the petit-bourgeois intellectuals in our movement who have facilitated the growth of opportunism. As Lenin pointed out in What Is To Be Done (FLP Peking, p. 12): "...It is precisely the extensive participation of an academic 'stratum' in the socialist movement in recent years that has secured such a rapid spread of Bernsteinism..." (referring to the leading opportunist in the Second International at that time). This is especially true in the United States today, where the majority of the groups calling themselves

Marxist-Leninist, both genuine and opportunist, have weak roots in the working class, especially among advanced workers; their cadre are still very largely from the petit-bourgeoisie.

The petit-bourgeoisie is usually a social base for right opportunism and economism. However, it can also be a base for "left"-opportunism, especially among those elements who have been forced by economic conditions into the ranks of the working class. These elements are a source for the various terrorist and adventurist lines in the revolutionary movement. This has been most evident recently in Western Europe, especially in Italy, where the large number of unemployed petit-bourgeois youths have been the base for groups like the Red Brigades.

While the social bases for opportunism are the labor aristocracy and the petit-bourgeoisie, its ideological basis is the theory of spontaneity. Although we can not go into this question in the present article (and we have expounded our views more fully in Red Dawn #2, Section A), we must point out the basic fallacy of this theory. It holds that socialist consciousness develops spontaneously out of the working class movement. But, as Lenin pointed out:

"...the spontaneous development of the working class movement leads to its becoming subordinated to the bourgeois ideology... for the spontaneous working class movement is trade-unionism... and trade-unionism means the ideological enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie. Hence, our task, the task of Social-Democracy, is to combat spontaneity, to divert the working-class movement from this spontaneous trade-unionist striving to come under the wing of the bourgeoisie, and to bring it under the wing of revolutionary Social-Democracy." (What Is To Be Done, p. 49)

The working-class movement in the United States has fully revealed this bourgeois trade-unionist ideology, and it still the task of genuine Marxist-Leninists to win the working class, step by step, to revolutionary socialist consciousness.

TRENDS IN MODERN REVISIONISM

There are three main trends in modern revisionism: the Soviet, "Eurocommunist," and Chinese trend. (These are besides the older revisionist trends, such as Social-Democracy and Trotskyism, which we will not discuss here.) They have certain differences in line, and we will take them up separately.

The pro-Soviet modern revisionists to a certain extent promote collaboration with their own bourgeoisie, but primarily serve as a 5th column for Soviet social-imperialism. They oppose revolution and proletarian dictatorship, try to develop close ties between their

own bourgeoisie, but primarily serve as a 5th column for Soviet social-imperialism. They oppose revolution and proletarian dictatorship, try to develop close ties between their local ruling class and the Soviet Union, oppose self-reliance in the liberation movements, and promote the line that to liberate oneself from U.S. imperialism one must rely on Soviet social-imperialism. Although they oppose revolution, they are not opposed to seizure of power by violence or violent repression of the people, as the coup in Afghanistan and the actions of the fascist military junta in Ethiopia have shown. In certain countries where they are not in power, such as in Portugal, they have had certain support among the masses, mainly due to their new-found militancy towards U.S. imperialism as the contradictions between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism have grown sharper. Their choice of violent or peaceful tactics depends on the situation in a particular country and the relation of that country to U.S. imperialism. In the United States, the main representative of this trend is the revisionist Communist Party. It has little support among the masses, although it still has ties with a few liberal trade-union bureaucrats for historical reasons. (The Communist Labor Party also supports social-imperialism, although they also have sympathy for the "Eurocommunists.")

The "Eurocommunists" basically support their "own" local bourgeoisies, while at the same time collaborating with the Soviet Union. They openly oppose proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and some have even openly declared their opposition to Leninism. They are open supporters of bourgeois democratic dictatorship and the existence of a multitude of bourgeois parties. They also support the aggressive NATO bloc. In the countries where they still have a strong base in the working class, particularly in France and Italy, they have played an important role in diverting the masses from proletarian revolution, in Italy even going so far as to support the Christian Democratic government's "austerity program." Despite their services, however, the bourgeoisies of these countries, and U.S. imperialism, are still reluctant to let them into the government. This is both because of their continuing ties with Soviet social-imperialism, and because their entrance into the government would allow for a further exposure of their role among the masses, thus drawing larger sections of the masses to the side of the Marxist-Leninists and bringing the proletarian revolution a step closer. For this latter reason, some of the revisionists have preferred to remain outside the government themselves. This trend has little organized support in the United States, although some former members of the Communist Party on the West Coast, around Dorothy Healey, have put forward a similar line.

renegades from Marxism-Leninism. The main political line that they put forward is the "theory of the three worlds." As this is the subject of the third section of this article, we will not discuss it in detail here. One point that is important to note here is that, basing itself on the fallacy that Soviet social-imperialism alone is the main enemy of the people of the world today, it promotes all-around collaboration with U.S. imperialism. In the colonies and neo-colonies in the U.S. sphere, it calls for an alliance between the masses of the oppressed peoples and the reactionary comprador bourgeoisies and their governments to oppose social-imperialism, and in the neo-colonies of the Soviet sphere, it supports any reactionary and especially pro-U.S. forces against social-imperialism. In the developed capitalist countries allied with U.S. imperialism, it calls for unity between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to defend "national independence" against the threat of social-imperialism. It is one of the strongest supporters of the reactionary NATO alliance. Even towards the revisionist countries of Eastern Europe, it supports the revisionist governments whenever they have minor contradictions with their social-imperialist overlords, rather than the peoples' revolutionary struggles. The "theory of the three worlds" is thus an all-around counterrevolutionary theory. The main representatives of this trend in the United States are not only the October League (now the Communist Party-ML), but also the whole collection of supporters of the "three worlds theory", including I Wor Kuen and the August Twenty-ninth Movement (now the League of Revolutionary Struggle), the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters, Resistencia (now the League for Proletarian Revolution), the Congress of Afrikan Peoples (now the Revolutionary Communist League), the Workers Congress, and the Proletarian Unity League. Although none of these have a strong base in the working class, and few have won over many advanced workers, they still have some influence among revolutionaries (primarily from the petit bourgeoisie) because of the lack of serious polemics against them from genuine revolutionary groups within the United States. This is still an important task for Marxist-Leninists here.

One other form of modern revisionism (which we have not dealt with separately) is Yugoslav revisionism. Historically, this was the first example of modern revisionism in power, openly breaking with the socialist camp in 1948 and allying with U.S. imperialism, which provided it with billions of dollars in arms and other aid in return for its services. Yugoslav revisionism has similarities to all of the three main modern revisionist trends. Tito's Yugoslavia provided a model for Khrushchov in restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union; the Yugoslav model of "workers' self-administration" of factories is being studied by the Chinese revisionists (who have established party-to-party relations with

Tito's clique); and politically the Titoites now seem to stand closest to the "Eurocommunists." Therefore, we have not considered them as a separate trend.

What should be clear from the above discussion is that although the different modern revisionist trends have distinct political lines, they are ideologically united in opposition to Marxism-Leninism. They all take a clear stand against proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has always been the main dividing line between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. In effect, they attempt to split the proletariat on a world-wide scale, by trying to win over a section of it to their revisionist ideology, promoting social-chauvinism and supporting the bourgeoisie. They similarly attempt to divide the proletariat from its allies, especially the national liberation movements. They thus strengthen imperialism on a world-wide scale. This is why we say that revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement. The main difference between the different modern revisionist trends mainly comes down to which of the imperialist powers they support: the U.S. (and their Chinese allies), the Soviet Union, or even the lesser Western imperialists allied with the U.S. As the contradictions between the United States and the Soviet Union become sharper, the political differences between the different revisionist trends will also become sharper as they line up with one superpower or the other in their preparations for war. This is not surprising, and has its historical precedent when, during World War I, the different parties of the Second International supported their own bourgeoisies fighting on opposing sides, while maintaining ideological unity against Bolshevism.

THE QUESTION OF WAR

There have been wars ever since the division of society into classes. War is a consequence of class exploitation and oppression, the class struggle, and the struggle of the ruling classes among themselves. We do not like war; it is a horrible thing, causing as it does the mutual slaughter of people. A new world war today, involving the most modern means of destruction could mean the deaths of hundreds of millions of people. But we are not pacifists, and we cannot simply oppose all wars. As Marxists, we must determine the concrete nature of any war to determine our attitude towards it, whether it is a just war or an unjust war. Just wars are wars for the liberation of the peoples and for social progress, wars that advance the revolutionary movement. Unjust wars are wars for the oppression of the peoples and for reaction, wars that retard the revolutionary movement.

The era of imperialism has been an era of many wars,

But this does not mean that a new world war is absolutely inevitable, although it is a serious danger. Both superpowers rest on shaky foundations. There are constant revolutionary movements in their own backyards that they must try to suppress. The flames of revolutionary peoples war in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, as well as the revolutionary struggles of the working people in the advanced capitalist countries, including the superpowers themselves, are great obstacles to the ability of the superpowers to launch a major war. It is thus of especial importance in this period that the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces strive to lead the peoples' revolutionary struggles, and to steer clear of the traps laid by the imperialists and revisionists. The possibility that a world-wide movement genuinely opposed to the war plans of the superpowers could at least lead to a postponement of such a war has to be more carefully investigated. But the firmest revolutionary struggles for liberation and socialism, without allying with one superpower or another, are the surest means by which a new world war might be prevented. And the total elimination of national oppression and class exploitation is a precondition for the final elimination of wars.

Section IIA - Strategy and Tactics

Through our struggle to rid ourselves of the influence of the "theory of the three worlds," we have begun to reexamine our conception of strategy and tactics, and the relation between a given strategy and the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Most Marxist-Leninists in this country, if asked to explain strategy and tactics, would simply say that strategy is the overall plan for the disposition of forces in a given stage of the revolution and tactics deal with particular tasks at a particular moment of history. Further, they would generally elaborate that there are three strategic tasks: party building, the united front and armed struggle. These were adopted directly from the "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung" (p.3) where Mao speaks of "...the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy..." (quoted from "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship", Selected Works, P.L.P. Peking, Vol. IV, p.422). Since we are in a period in this country in which party building constitutes the central task, and since party building is generally viewed as one of the three strategic tasks, the various plans for building the party - all the various "key links" formulated by the various and sundry groups and organizations - are viewed as strategies towards building the party. Tactics in general, if discussed at all, are usually relegated to our relation to the "mass movement" - e.g. a set of tactics for the trade union movement, another for the women's movement, another for youth, etc.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THEORY

The "theory of three worlds" puts forth a strategy of unity with the comprador regimes in the "third world" and with the capitalist states of the "second world," and now of a united front against Soviet social-imperialism. It was credible to many of us because of our own facile approach both to the theory of Marxism (our belittlement of theory) and to its practical application, i.e. the strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution. The "theory of three worlds" gives a fundamentally incorrect analysis of the world situation today. With such an incorrect appraisal of the objective situation, the strategy advanced could not be a strategy for proletarian revolution, but a strategy of reformism that leaves the proletariat tailing behind the bourgeoisie.

The strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution must be based on a correct assessment of the objective situation. In this lies the importance of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, for it is the theory of Marxism-Leninism that enables us to grasp the inner laws of society's development, and, based on this understanding,