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## Introduction

Since the death of Mao Zedong in September, 1976, a number of questions have been raised by the international communist movement regarding the positions taken by the Communist Party of China, which for so long played a leading role in the world revolutionary movement. As it becomes more and more apparent that the new leadership of the Communist Party of China is pursuing a revisionist course, more and more aspects of the Chinese revolution are being studied, examined and criticized, among these: the import of the Cultural Revolution; the content of the Communist Party of China, as a democratic centralist party or one that tolerated factions and factional activities; the theory and practice of New Democracy; as well as the leadership of Mao Zedong himself, bourgeois nationalism or genuine Marxism-Leninism.

The first position of the Communist Party of China to be seriously disputed, however, was the theory of three worlds. Enver Hoxha's "Report to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania", presented in 1976, brought the polemic against the theory of three worlds into the limelight and greatly enhanced its exposure.

We became aware of this polemic in 1977 at a time when the Red Dawn Committee was in the early stages of construction. When we split with the Workers' Congress in 1976, one of the precipitating factors was their position on the international situation, which posed the danger of an interimperialist war as an immediate event, i.e. like tomorrow, and called for civil war the next day. The shallowness of their analysis was to be exposed in the first issue of Red Dawn magazine, and indeed we dutifully prepared an article on the international situation. As we became aware of the struggle against the three worlds' theory, however, we recognized the inconsistencies and non-Leninist premises in our own approach and line on the international situation and, needless to say, decided not to publish our original article.

Rather, we decided to collectively take up the necessary theoretical work to begin to analyze our errors and to place our future position on a correct Leninist footing. We decided not to drop all our other work to come out with a position on the international situation, as we felt this would constitute a form of bowing to spontaneity and would take the question of the theory of three worlds out of the context of our central task, party building. Rather, we completed our first two issues of Red Dawn, which helped cement ourselves and our contacts around our position on party building as well as deepen our collective understanding of the need and uses of Marxist-Leninist theory. Furthermore, as we

stated in Red Dawn #2, we refused to adopt a position simply for the sake of "having a position". That it took us over a year to write this article only shows the seriousness with which we approached the question and the amount of theoretical work and struggle which was necessary to pursue it. It also reflected our limited human and material resources as well as our continuing struggle to overcome our amateurishness.

Our article begins with an overview of the features of imperialism, based on our study of Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, by Lenin. Since we live in the epoch of imperialism any assessment of the world's development and divisions has to be based on the Leninist analysis of imperialism. While we recognize that there have been tremendous changes in the world since 1916 when Lenin wrote Imperialism, ..., we hold that his analysis of the economic and political bases of imperialism as well as his thesis that imperialism is a moribund system, the eve of socialist revolution, remains correct and has to be utilized as the basis for understanding the world today. We attempt, then, to assess the correctness or incorrectness of the theory of three worlds as well as the critique of this theory by the Party of Labor of Albania in the context of the fundamental features of imperialism.

All the polemics in the world are not going to have any effect against the theory of three worlds if it is viewed as an isolated phenomenon outside of the context of the international revisionist trends of today. These trends cannot be clearly grasped unless their material basis in society is understood. We therefore included a summary of the major revisionist trends in the section on imperialism in order to accentuate the link between imperialism and revisionism. We found our study of Lenin's book The Split in Socialism to be particularly illuminating to our perception of the revisionism of the new Chinese leaders.

The second section of the article deals with the subject of strategy and tactics. Since the theory of three worlds describes itself as a strategy for world revolution and since there have been gross misconceptions of proletarian strategy and tactics in our movement, we felt it was necessary to study generally what is meant by this subject as well as to summarize the particular strategies of communists during two events of worldwide import, namely World War I and World War II. We used Stalin's chapter on "Strategy and Tactics" in Foundations of Leninism and a pamphlet entitled "Readings in Leninism" which deals with specific writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin on strategy and tactics as the basis for this section. A bibliography is provided at the end including further readings on World War I and World War II.

Our critique of the theory of three worlds is concentrated in the third section of the article. Rather

than rehash what we learned from The Theory and Practice of the Revolution by the Party of Labor of Albania, or restate what is said in the "Statement by the Latin American Parties", the "Letter from the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile to the Communist Party of China", or the "Statement of the European Parties", we tried to approach our exposure first from its history - how the theory of three worlds developed and was adopted and what that signifies - and second from its practical implications, i.e. what it has meant internationally. Finally we wanted to emphasize its negative influence on the U.S. communist movement, including ourselves, to examine some of the reasons we adopted it so readily and to repudiate its hold on ourselves in particular.

Although we are well aware of some of the limitations of this article - particularly in terms of our grasp of political economy - we hope that it offers more than the usual cursory analysis of the theory of three worlds. Written as a collective effort by the Red Dawn Committee and our closest contacts we hope that this critique will be useful to advanced workers and revolutionaries from other classes as a propaganda tool that will unify Marxist-Leninists and that will assist in the process of winning advanced workers over to the science of proletarian revolution, Marxism-Leninism.